Kamaludin Yusra*, Yuni Budi Lestari and Yulia Juwaeriah

Commodification of English and English-like structures in shop names in Lombok Island, Indonesia

Abstract: English has been for centuries seen as the native language of speakers in the English-speaking inner circle countries, as the second language of speakers in the former British-colony outer circle countries and as an international business lingua franca among speakers in the techno-economically powerful extended circle countries. Little is known how speakers in the Expanding Circle countries where English is learned as an additional foreign language make use of the language in everyday life, for communication, and for business purposes. This article fills the gap by examining how and why English and English structures have been used in shop naming in the Expanding Circle. Surveying and observing shop names, products on sale, and neighborhood's socio-economic conditions, the study identifies possible connection between the nature of the language used, the types of products being sold and the socioeconomic nature of the neighborhood. Distributing questionnaires and interviewing shop owners, staff and buyers in the central business districts on Lombok Island, Indonesia, the study establishes linguistic ideology and socio-economic and cultural expectation behind the name selection. Three clusters of CBDs were observed: urban, suburban and tourism areas. With Chi-square analyses, the study establishes a strong relationship between the choice of language for shop names and the types of products on sale irrespective of the socio-economic conditions of the shop neighborhood. With linguistic analyses, the study shows that the choice of names in English or in English-like structures is affected by the ideology of English as the language of science, technology and modern lifestyle. English is strongly associated with modern lifestyle and the majority of lifestyle, entertainment and fashion shops are named in the English language. English-like structures are connected to English as the language of technology and shops dealing with electricity and machinery technologies are named in English-like structures. The use of these linguistic

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ideologies is expected to boost the image of the shops and the sale of the products and this expectation was statistically verified.

Keywords: language choice; linguistic ideology; linguistic landscape; shop names

1 Introduction

This article examines the roles of English in shop names in Lombok Island, Indonesia, by identifying the features, functions and the socio-economic conditions leading to the ideological choice of English (E) or English-Like Structures (ELS) – nouns in Indonesian language, Bahasa Indonesia (BI), or in the local language, Sasak language (SL), structured in English-like noun phrase constructions – as a popular way of shop naming preferable to BI and SL. Such structures in shop names in Indonesia are common but they have not sufficiently received academic attention. This study is intended to fill this gap by looking, firstly, at the relationship between the choice of language for shop names, the socio-economic conditions of their neighborhoods and the types of products being sold, secondly, at the symbolic roles of English as the language of business communication, and, thirdly, at the ideological views shaping and reshaping shop naming in central business districts (CBDs) in Lombok Island, Indonesia.

The spread of English has been associated with the expansion of the British Empire to Southeast Asia in the seventeenth century (Low 2020) creating in the area Outer Circle countries at former colonies of English speaking countries (i.e., Brunei, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore, and the Philippines) where English is formally learned since primary school as a compulsory second language, used as a medium of instruction (Kirkpatrick 2010) and officially spoken and written as a formal language. The spread has also been linked to techno-economic and socio-political superiority of the natively English-speaking Inner Circle countries (i.e., UK, Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand) leading to more prominent roles of English as the language of science and technology, the language of international business, and the language of global professions.

Though unassociated with the British colonial rule, the Expanding Circle countries in Southeast Asia (i.e., Cambodia, East Timor, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam) have since independence looked at English as the foremost foreign language. Used as a lingua franca, English has been nominated as the language of the ASEAN[1] community (Kirkpatrick 2010; Yusra and Lestari 2020). In these

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1 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) includes these member nations: (1) Brunei Darussalam, (2) Cambodia, (3) East Timor, (4) Indonesia, (5) Laos, (6) Malaysia, (7) Myanmar, (8) Singapore, (9) Thailand, (10) the Philippines, and (11) Vietnam.

countries, except Indonesia, English has been formally taught as a foreign language since Year 1 primary schools to postgraduate studies. In Indonesia, English is formally taught as late as Year 7 but parents and schools have introduced English informally in after-school English courses since kindergarten or formally as a local content in the school curriculum since Year 1. Besides, English proficiency and communication skill has been used as prerequisite for school administration and graduation as well as career promotion. Minimum pre-intermediate level of English has been set up for students leaving high schools while 450 and 500 TOEFL scores have respectively been set up for the minimum requirement for graduation at undergraduate and postgraduate levels of study. Additionally, publishing in English in internationally indexed reputable journals has also been established as the requirement for both completing PhD studies and promoting to full professorship. Competition among the nations in academic publication and citation indexes has even strengthened the urgency for better English.

The vitality of English in Indonesia likewise has started since independence movement in 1940s, continued in the development discourses of the Old Order in 1960s and the New Order[2] in 1980s and enhanced in the current Reformation era. Shops named in E or ELS have become omnipresent. In this article, we will look at the dominant use of English and English structures in shop names in CBDs in urban, rural and tourism-centers of Lombok, Indonesia's recently most tourist-visited island. We will examine the status of English among the languages of Lombok multiethnic communities before explicating how shop names should have been phrased if the grammar of the national language (BI) and the local language (SL) has been followed. Selection of these languages for shop naming is similar to language choices for public domains and, thus, the shared assumptions governing language use in public signs needs to be first established.

2　Linguistic ideology, linguistic landscape, and language choice in shop names

Selecting languages for naming brands, shops and products on sale is performed under linguistic ideology which Woolard (2021) and Lanza and Woldemariam (2009), among others, described as established and prescriptive judgment about

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2 New Order '*Orde Baru*' was the tag line used by the second president of Indonesia, Soeharto, to describe his reign and his focus on economic development, contrasting it from that of the first president, Soekarno, who was in favor of building the national ideology during his reign in the so-called Old Order 'Orde Lama'.

languages that guides speaker's shared beliefs, moral values and sociopolitical actions with regard to selecting languages appropriate for particular settings.

In relation to shop naming, linguistic ideology can be seen from a number of perspectives. Silverstein (1979) and Woolard (2021) suggest that, firstly, there is an iconic relationship between language and social phenomena (i.e., age, gender, social status, ethnicity, education, professional ranks, and other social dimensions) which indicate particular qualities of speakers and this connection, following Piller (2015: 5), is "always multiple, fractured, contested, and changing." In Indonesian contexts, the use of the national language (BI) can be stereotypically associated with the nationalistic love of the nation. The use of the local language (SL) is linked to participant's association with the local language and culture. The use of a foreign language like English might be seen as a stylized register used by a particular group with a particular quality of education, profession, and socio-economic status. Thus, the connection between shop names as iconic registers and the imagined qualities of potential customers that they represent exist in indexical field wherein, at the first order, all forms from all languages in contact are equally available, but, at second order, the shop owners associate them with certain quality of potential buyers as social phenomena. In this way, the shop names and the language therein become symbolic capital commoditized as material capital (Heller 2010) through the sale of the products and services associated with them. Consequently, these commoditized forms become productive names and are recursively used onto wider multiple social scales, and other forms, unassociated with the imagined quality, are erased and removed from sociocultural experiences of the speakers (Kroskrity 2006). Piller (2015) has shown that the national language has been politically preferred over the erased others due to the nationalistic one-nation one-language ideologies of nation states, but a neoliberal world, following Piller and Cho (2013), has positioned English as the most favored language for global business exchange. The spread of global tourism has also strengthened this status (Mufwene 2010; Piller 2007; Thurlow and Jaworski 2011). The widespread presence of English or the absence of other languages in shop names is in itself a "*de facto* language policy and practice" (Shohamy 2006: 110).

Traditionally, selection of languages in shop naming in multilingual contexts is ideologically associated with the degree of imposition, social distance and sociocultural positions (Brown and Levinson 1987). Being high in imposition, shop owners might have to name the shops in the native language of the majority buyers as a way of claiming ethnic co-membership with them. As most of shop owners are non-native or non-local Indonesians, the use of the national language (BI) or the locally dominant language (SL) would reduce the distance and, thus, invite more buyers. Lanza and Woldemariam (2009) illustrated this as bottom-up language policy where local languages would be raised for use in public signs. The use of the

national language (BI) and the international language (i.e., English) as a top-down language policy would induce higher social positions of the shop owners within the local indexical field and similarly decreases potential local buyers. But, as later shown, the use of English and English structures is more dominant and other factors might be in charge of this phenomenon.

Landry and Bourhis (1997) have suggested that the salience of a particular language in public spaces like shop names in a given territory is dependent upon ethno-linguistic vitality of the languages and this is affected by demography, political support from and political status of its speakers (Ehala 2015). In several countries, the landscape has been politically regulated that it must accommodate linguistic rights of the languages in that geographical area. In other countries, other factors are found to be more relevant than language policy: for example, literacy (Backhaus 2007), imagined values of the languages (Piller 2007), linguistic condition, community size, job opportunities, migration policies of the countries (Barni and Bagna 2010), socio-economic status of the migrant communities (Leeman and Modan 2009), language mobility, commodification, and re-contextualization (Vandenbroucke 2015). Government and private signs might follow the language policy (Lanza and Woldemariam 2009), but language diversity in shop names are more likely to reflect the multilingual and agglomerative nature of a region. In Europe (see Schlick 2003), however, English is used in non-English speaking countries for fashion, jewelry, electronic, and cosmetics shops and money changers. In Tokyo, global visitors have also enforced the use of Japanese, English and French (MacGregor 2003). To Tufi and Blackwood (2010), diverse use of languages in shop names represents brands, imagined collective memory of the products, and the products' country of origin. In Indonesia, such linguistic diversity might have been reflected in street names written in Latin, Arabic and local alphabets but not, as shown later in this article, in shop billboards and names where English names and English-structured Indonesian names are dominant for particular types of shops although the real active speakers of the language and its varieties are not demographically dominant in the area. Thus, linguistic diversity and demography alone cannot be responsible for language choice for public signs.

Other scholars (e.g., Helot et al. 2012; Shohamy and Gorter 2009) have also associated linguistic ideology in public signs with construction of identity, exercise of power, construction of solidarity, socio-political changes, and management of language in public spaces. Amos (2016), Blackwood et al. (2017), Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Shohamy (2015) have shown how languages in public spaces have been used as indices of constructing in-group identities and, at the same time, an exercise of socio-economic power of the community. Coupland and Garret (2010) consider public signs in Welsh and Spanish in Patagonia as instigators of

resurgence of Welsh historical and cultural heritage within English-dominated globalization. Backhaus (2006) looks at multilingual public signs in the city of Tokyo and finds that official signs in Japanese represent linguistic exercises of power by those in Japan's political offices while non-official signs in foreign languages are motivated by the need for solidarity with non-Japanese visitors. Similarly, Coupland (2012) describes public signs as an exercise of power and as an instrument of socio-political changes where Welsh language is institutionalized as in independent language parallel to English as the institutional language of the UK. In less institutionalized premises, the Welsh language has been portrayed as distinguished system but syncretic from the greater English culture. But, in the heartland of Wales, it is the only legitimate language. Backhaus (2007) has shown this as semiotic relationship where public signs signify the existence in the contexts of the signified entities as well as its spaces, products, rules and other related concepts. But Shohamy (2015) has warned us that the languages used in public signs do not always represent the languages that the people know but, rather, a linguistic revolution where languages are mixed and new words, spellings, syntactic rules are publicly exposed in public display (Shohamy and Gorter 2009). Thus, it is necessary to look at how public signs including shop names are constructed in a particular socio-cultural context.

Several scholars have explained the theoretical rationales behind the choice of language in public displays. Gumperz (1982) links it to in-group solidarity claim when a shared language is used, and when a foreign language is used, non-membership with target audience is claimed. Kelly-Holmes (2014), however, argues that in commercial texts, the language is more symbolic and fetishized than instrumental and communicative in purposes and visual forms of the texts are more important than the content. Sharing this symbolic idea, Shohamy (2015) argues that although the target audiences do not always have the linguistic ability to comprehend the content, the texts and their visual presentation are rationally selected in order to present private and collective identities, socio-political power, social and linguistic rights, globalization, local multilingualism and other social dimensions that help signers to symbolically construct the public spaces. Clemente et al. (2012) and Adrien Kasanga (2012) associate language use in public signs with promotion of linguistic, cultural, ethnic and (inter)national tolerance. Shohamy and Gorter (2009) have noted that new forms are created in order to denote the imagined phenomena. Bagna and Machetti (2012) and Lamarre (2014) exemplify these forms respectively in the iconic use of pseudo-Italian in Italian menus and ambiguous bilingual 'winks' and wordplay in Montreal's spaces. In this article, English and English-structured Indonesian or Sasak shop names have been metaphorically used among middle class citizens, which Bolton (2019), Haarman (1984) and Piller (2003) described as symbols of technological advancement,

socio-economic prosperity, and modernity. As shown later, local names are confined to locally sacred spaces and completely erased for public signs, national Indonesian names are used mainly for shops dealing with finance services or selling medicine and everyday household necessities, while English and the English-like names are dominant for shops selling machineries, electronics, fashions, and products representing modern lifestyle.

The study also extends recent paradigm shift in the use of English and English Structures in Extending Circle as bilingual's creativity – inventive linguistic practices resulting from the ability to function in multiple languages (Pandharipande, 2019). İnal et al. (2021) illustrate how globalization and migration in Turkey have led not only to dominance of English in monolingual signs but also to a creative code-mixing, code-switching, or translanguaging mixture of Turkish, English, and Arabic languages and scripts in public signs. Pandharipande's (2006) has explicated how multiple languages in South Asia are ideologically associated with multiple social identities of the participants. Different language varieties have been used for different functions, creating unique diglossic situations and multiple linguistic resources for speakers to manipulate for particular psychological, sociological, and attitudinal reasons (Pandharipande 2019). While Sanskrit is used in Hindi public rituals, modern Indian languages are preferred for individual, domestic rituals. Additionally, the local languages are Sankritized, Arabicized, or Persianized in regional religious discourses in order to accentuate religious sense of the activity. Thus, one language variety is seen more powerful for one contextual purpose while others are more suitable for others. In Indonesian contexts, the Indonesian language is "Arabicized" with Arabic words, accents, or Arabic-like sounds by Islamic preachers for accentuation of religious identities but it is "Englishized" by secular experts including shop owners for techno-economic advantages.

Fishman (2006) and Pandharipande (2019) suggest principles governing the choice of one language from multiple languages in public discourses. There is always a language or its variety associated with a multilingual or multivarietal community. In the context of Indonesia, the language might be English, BI, SL or a mixture of them. Fishman argues, the language is not singular as it varies in patterns and functions according to changes in the community across time. Due to socio-economic changes over time, one variety becomes more stable and more prestigious than others. Over time, the variety is also more sanctified and co-sanctified than the erased counterparts. Its ebb, flow, growth or spread within the community is subject to complex and differentiated sociocultural and socio-economic changes and, thus, changes within the speakers' sociolinguistic repertoire. But, the repertoire changes do not always follow the language-context patterning but they are rather uniquely patterned according to local linguistic

creativity which is in turn affected by local language repertoire. Thus, identifying these linguistic patterns in shop naming can, to some extent, unravel local socio-political changes in the history of a locality. Let us see how socio-political changes have brought about English vitality in the Expanding Circle like Lombok.

3 English and English vitality in Lombok shop names

For whichever reasons mentioned above, the vitality of English in Expanding Circle like Indonesia in general and Lombok in particular has obtained sufficient attention. Globalization, modernity and tourism are assumed to be responsible for the choice of English as it is the only possible language for tourists to use when interacting with locals. But, the use of English and English-structured languages in shop names as mediators between non-English speaking shop owners and potential buyers is new to Indonesian contexts and, perhaps, a brief historical background is essential here.

The importance of English in Indonesia has begun since freedom movement in 1940s. As parts of the independence fight against Dutch rulers and Dutch language, the Malay language was appointed, firstly, as a unifying language and, secondly, as the national language of the multiethnic nation and English has since become the favorite language for communicating with the then European powers, replacing the Dutch colonial language. The Indonesian slogans such as "*Merdeka atau Mati*" and "*Anjing NICA.*[3] *pulang!*" and the English counterparts "*Independence or Death*" and "*NICA dogs, go home!*" were painted on walls by Indonesian freedom fighters as a symbolic resistance to the use of Dutch colonial language. The pro-English attitude was even stronger when modernization was initiated during the New Order since late 1960s. Strong ties between the regime and the British and the US governments had also facilitated more political vitality of English. The first national curriculum for all school subjects in 1975 including English was aided by US fund and it was very much influenced by the American view of language as grammatical constructions and the American Audio-lingual method as the main method of teaching communication. The 1985 student active learning curriculum was funded from the British loan and was also characterized with the British communicative language learning. Massive reformation movement in 1998 challenged these centralistic government and monotheistic

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3 *Nederlandsch-Indische Civiele Administratie* (NICA) was semi-military Dutch colonial administration in Indonesia after the Second World War since April 3, 1944 up to transfer of sovereignty on December 27, 1949.

approaches to English language learning and it has in turn introduced Australian text and task-based language learning in the 1995 and the 2013 curricula.

The fall of New Order following economic crisis in 1998 and the successes of the governments after reformation and the tough implementation of anti-corruption laws have brought more prosperity to the nation. Increase in the country's GNP and average income has also opened up more business opportunities. Technological parks and shopping malls flourish in big and small cities alike. In Lombok, an island east of Bali, new parks and malls emerge taking over the privilege of the old ones. Local branches of multinational companies begin to dominate the landscape of the island's cities. English and Indonesian names have begun to replace Sasak names. Thus, English and Indonesian names for brands, shops and products have become very popular. Interestingly, a new way of naming appeared where BI or SL words are structured not in the head-first structures as in BI or in SL but in head-last composition as in English structures. These structures, as shown later in this article, have become common choices in naming brands, shops and products and omnipresent on the island. Nonetheless, such phenomena have not been sufficiently studied. This, in itself, as scholars (e.g., Berns 2019; Kachru et al. 2006a; Pandharipande 2019; Proshina 2019) have suggested, deserves scientific attention in order to capture the increasing fusions, hybridizations, and variations of linguistic forms and grammatical structures in global and local functioning of English.

In most Asian countries, English has been the most favorite foreign language although the national and the local languages have been legislated to be taught and used as the medium of instruction. English has also become a compulsory subject at Year 1 (Kirkpatrick 2010), except Indonesia where English formally starts at Year 7. In practice, however, English is taught since Year 1 as a local content for view of its vital role in globalization. English in Indonesia has been offered even at kindergarten and private schools. In fact, parents provide extra English classes for their children by sending them to private courses or by hiring English teachers for home tutoring. Kirkpatrick (2011) suggests that in addition to globalization needs, the vitality of English in Asian countries is motivated by a number of other factors: the status of being former colonies of English-speaking nations, the need to partake in globally Americanized internationalization, being facilitated through formal education, being used as a medium of science and math instruction, and the presence of off-shore English-speaking international education institutions. Of these factors, Americanized globalization might have to a great extent affected local shop owners to choose English and English-structured names as a way of claiming global and prestigious images for the shops and for the products and services therein.

Graddol (2006) has similarly explained that the prominence of English in foreign or extended contexts particularly is related with economic, educational, historical, social and technological dynamics of the area. The booming economic growth of China, India and Southeast Asian countries triggers widespread English-medium education, growing high-tech industries, growing urbanization and creating new middle classes. Modernized changes in human life (for example, from village to town, from illiteracy to literacy) and increase in income can also stimulate more use of national language and English as symbols of middle class modernity as opposed to local languages symbolizing traditional and less prosperous life. In Macao, according to Zhang and Chan (2017), English and other European languages have been used for shop signs in prosperous casino areas while the Chinese language and the right-to-left writing system are used in traditional Chinese territories. As Liddicoat (2009) puts it, technological advancement in English-speaking countries expands the linguistic ecologies of the country's language mitigating its demography factor. Consequently, adoption of the national and international languages becomes a symbol of modernity, prosperity, and middle-upper class identities in metropolitan societies (Bolton 2019; Haarman 1984; Piller 2003).

Bolton (2019) mentions several essential factors are responsible for the widespread use of English in Asian communities including shop naming: modernity and development, multilingualism, speakership, and globalization. Economic and technological development in Asian countries has intensified regional collaboration and English has been the most preferred means of communication. Regional bodies like ASEAN have actually adopted English as the working language (Kirkpatrick 2010; Yusra and Lestari 2020). As Asian communities are multilingual, English is an additional language learned later at schools after a native language and a national language. In ASEAN's Outer Circle, it is spoken as a second language by 20–80% of the population, but in its Expanding Circle, the number is around 5–20% of the population. In Indonesia, the number of speakers is around 5% and English would not be a vitally important language if demography alone is concerned. But, as Bolton (2019) exemplifies, global politics and economy supported by global technology and communication has spread English and its American variety to every corner of the world. This framework basically provides a theoretical rationale why shops in non-English environment are in English or in English-like structures. Before illustrating these structures, let us contrast how shop names should have been linguistically constructed in English, BI and SL.

4 Shop names in English, Indonesian and Sasak noun phrases

Shop names as names in general are framed within noun phrases (NPs) and the structural patterns of these phrases vary from one language to another. While such patterns are not new, the patterning has been strategically used in business for marketing brand and product names.

Plank (2003) suggests that in order to compare and contrast NPs in the world's languages researchers need to perform as a series of linguistic action. Firstly, they need identify NP features in the language. Secondly, they need to determine whether the features are also shared with other languages and whether the co-variances construct similar meanings. Thirdly, they need to provide rationales for the co-variations. Ordering and syntactic functions of NP constituents have been the starting points for identifying variation and co-variation, but, Plank (2003) suggests, form and language samples representative of the languages and their NPs are essential for discovering the full range of NP diversity: the more and the wider the samples the more meaningful and comprehensive the findings will be. The explanations of the co-variation are cast in higher-level generalizations based on perception, cognition, communicative functions, or genetic predispositions that the language speakers have on the meanings of NPs.

The connection between NPs and meanings has been implied within external and internal grammar of NPs (Plank 2003). The grammar of NPs is external when referring to person, things, notions, or events and when predicating actions, attributes, and designations. The grammar is internal when referring to how NP is usually manifested in the language, how its constituents are syntagmatically connected, what words, phrases, and clauses are found in it, and how it is enriched through word formations. The internal connection is often described based on interaction between head and modifier. NPs in shop names might have just the heads (for example, *Ruby*) without any modifiers. They mostly come with heads and dependent constituents (for example, *Praya Ruby*) where the locational constituent *Praya* defines the constituent *Ruby,* excluding other Ruby supermarkets at other locations. They can also come in heads and adjuncts (for example, *Lotte: Distributor Store*) with relative clause-like modifiers adding new information about the store. They can come in heads and independents: for example, *Pejanggik KFC* (with definite determiners), *Pizza Hut Delivery* (with indefinite determiners), *New MGM* (with attributive adjectives), *New Tiara* (with complementary adjectives), *Java Laundry Harum* (with appositional adjectives), *3 Second* (with adverbial quantification) and *Hypermart* (with classification). They can also come with head-modifier semantic relation: for example, *Johny Motor* (possession: a motorcycle

mechanic workshop belonging to Johny), *My Kopi-O* (agents), *Jaya Bangunan* (materials: Shop *Jaya* selling building materials *bangunan*), and *Ayam Taliwang* (origin: grilled chicken '*ayam*' from a village called *Taliwang*). Nonetheless, the external reference can be reflected internally and vice versa, for example, through syntactic agreement and coordination with other NPs at clause levels and through morphological references with definiteness to external NPs. Although our priority in this article is on the internal grammar, we will not endeavor in details into all linguistic mechanisms governing NP formation in the languages in contact, but, rather, on comparing and contrasting NP varieties and co-variations and explicating the socio-pragmatic expectation of the co-variations.

Such use of NPs as shop names is not at all random, but in fact it has been used as a marketing strategy. Baumgardner's (2006) study shows that the use of English in Mexican advertising, shop names and product names is motivated by the belief that English, rather than Spanish, represents globalization and quality which imply positive aura to the shops and the products. Piller (2003) has similarly shown that the choice of foreign languages is one of the strategies to link the promoted products with stereotypes associated with the speakers of the language. Although the target buyers do not really comprehend the advertised message, they could at least identify the language forms with particular groups of speakers and, then, transfer the stereotype about the groups onto the advertised products. Haarmann (1984) has exemplified that the choice of English is stereotypically assumed to be internationally-appreciated, highly-reliable, high-quality, and practical in style and it is usually used for promoting cars, TV sets, sports gears, and alcohol. The choice of French, on the other hand, is assumed to be highly elegant, refined, attractive, and sophisticated and these usually include fashions, watches, food, and perfumes.

A number of studies in different socio-economic contexts have shown that the use of English NPs as shop names has been associated with success in sale of products. Aghekyan-Simonian et al.'s (2012) study of customers in Korea has shown that physical examination of brand and shop images is one of the most essential steps to purchase of products because such names both directly and indirectly link to perceptions of risks and security on the products. In Lanza and Woldemariam's (2014) study of Addis Ababa customers, shop and product named in English or other international languages are perceived so prestigious that they are purchased for upward social mobility. Siregar et al.'s (2018) study of Indonesian customers have similarly found the same result that sale of products is dependent upon the reputation of the brand, shop and products in addition to product price and imagined value, all of which are stereotypically associated with the products' linguistic packaging. Thus, selecting the most appropriate language for the shop name NPs is essential as parts of marketing strategies for the shops'

products and services. This study, nonetheless, seeks to epistemologically measure if this assumption is substantiated in the Expanding Circle like Lombok and the socio-cultural and methodological contexts of the study should first be explicated.

5 The study: context and method

The main aim of the study is to examine if the language selected for shop names is related to the nature of the neighborhood and the products on sale by identifying the ideology and socio-economic reasons behind the selection.

5.1 Context: the social settings

The study was conducted in four clusters of central business districts (CBDs) on the island of Lombok, Indonesia (see Map 1) selected based on ethnic and socio-economic considerations. Business centers included in the study are located in 3 urban areas (i.e., Ampenan, Mataram, and Cakranegara), 8 suburban areas (i.e., Masbagik, Pancor, Praya, Selong, Tanjung, Gerung, Aikmel and Labuhan Haji) and 4 tourism areas (i.e., Gili Trawangan, Pamenang, Kuta and Senggigi). These are all CBDs on the island which were selected as the population of the study.

Ampenan is an old port city revived during the reformation era. Shops for fishery and agricultural products, perfume, clothes, and telecommunication devices can be found here was an important international port. Cakranegara is
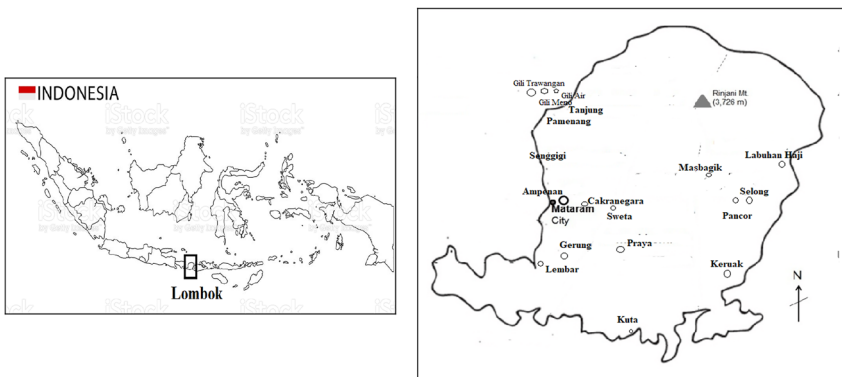
Map 1: Research sites.

the biggest CBD on the island and shops could be found in almost all of its corners. Mataram, the capital city of West Nusa Tenggara Province, has the biggest shopping center on the island. Socio-economically, these are the urban areas of the island with average annual household income of 40 million rupiahs (BPS NTB 2021). The Indonesian language is the medium of interactions.

Masbagik, Aikmel, Pancor, Selong, Praya, Gerung, Tanjung, Labuhan Haji and Keruak are the suburban areas dominantly populated by Sasak ethnic group and the shop names are expected to be dominantly in the Sasak language (SL) or in the Indonesian language (BI). Around 35–55 km away from Mataram, the people here live primarily on agriculture with average annual household income of around 16 million rupiahs (BPS NTB 2021).

Senggigi, Pamenang, and Kuta are tourism centers and the shops are hypothetically in English. With average income of 20 million rupiahs, these are second richest sections of the city (BPS NTB 2021).

5.2 Method: data collection

The study was conducted in ethnographic approach where fieldwork, observation, survey and interview were the main methods of data collection.

Formal ethnographic fieldwork of the CBDs was intensively conducted for more than eight months whereby the authors lived in each location for around two months and this was long enough for the researchers to get to know the neighborhoods, the shops and some of the owners and staffs. Modes of participation and non-participation were taken, firstly, by becoming customers or shop assistants, when possible, and, secondly, by visiting as friends of owners, staffs or customers. However, more extensive informal observation of the locations has been done by the authors with numerous visits to the research areas since migrating to the island in early 1980s. The formal data collection were done by interviewing and distributing questionnaires to shop owners and customers as well as taking notes and pictures of the shop names, the products that they sell, the types of customers that they serve (seen from these factors (i.e., vehicle they drive, the dress they put on, and the way they talk) confirmed during interviews) and the socio-economic conditions of the neighborhoods that they were in based on distance from the capital city and documented average annual household income. These data were then stored and numbered in Microsoft Excel Program per location wherein store names, products on sale, language used, the types of products, and the types of customers were also recorded. This extensive fieldwork enabled us to observe 2053 shops from the 15 CBDs in a research procedure that Blommaert (2007) designated as ethnographic methodology.

Five-option Likert-scale closed-ended questionnaires were distributed to all store owners asking them ideological reasons for naming the stores in the languages that they have used. Similar questionnaires were also distributed to customers asking them reasons for frequenting the stores. Nonetheless, the rate of return was very low (less than 10% in each location) and, alternatively, onsite questionnaire-guided casual interview-type talks were instead used. Informal casual interviews were also conducted to staffs and buyers with questions on their attitudes to the shop names and how these attitudes have actually shaped purchase decisions. With this technique, we could accumulate a large corpus of data from which we could draw in each location 45 responses from store owners, staffs, and customers accumulating to a total of 135 responses for data analysis. List of the questions is shown in Appendix 1.

5.3 Data analysis

The language used for shop names was linguistically analyzed by comparing the NP structures of the names: when the name is structured in head-last NP, it is English. When it is head-first, it might be BI or SL. When it is the case, our knowledge and the respondents' knowledge of BI and SL were both used as the bases of identification. The association between the choice of language for shop names, the types of products on sale and the socio-economic conditions of the shop's neighborhood was measured using one-way Chi-square analyses. Commodification of English and English structures, compared to BI and SL, was analyzed by using one-way Chi-square analyses by comparing frequencies of the languages use according to geographical locations of Lombok (i.e., urban, rural and tourism centers). Ideological reasoning for name selection by owners and the attitudes of workers and customers to it were analyzed using content analysis of the interview-transcript corpus strengthened with Chi-square analyses for generalizable inferences.

6 Findings and discussion

The study collected 2053 shop names classifiable into 1170 English, 854 Indonesian, 14 the Sasak language, and 18 others. An example of each category is presented in Picture 1 to 4. As shown in Figure 1, English has overpowered the national language (Indonesian) and the local language (Sasak Language) in shop naming and the ideological reasons behind the selection deserve academic scrutiny.

Picture 1: A shop name in English.

Picture 2: A shop name in Indonesian (Zifa Farma Drugstore).

As studies in other Expanding Circle countries (see Kachru, et al. 2006b; Kirkpatrick 2010, 2011) have reported, the use of English in shop names as public domains is expected to be less dominant. Our data, nonetheless, show otherwise. As shown in Figure 1, out of 2053 shops, 57% of them were named in English, 42% in Indonesian, and around 1% in the local language and other languages (i.e., Arabic, Chinese, French, Italian, and Spanish). With one-way Chi-square analysis, we obtained a Chi-square value of 508.98 and this is greater than Chi-square critical value of df = 3 at 0.001 level of significance (p-value 0.00001 is significant at $p < 0.01$). This indicates that English is significantly preferred as shop names to other languages in contact. Our questionnaire data also show that

Picture 3: A shop in Sasak language (Pradje, A Wooden Horse).

Picture 4: A shop name in other language (Gildak, Korean street food).

around 56% of shop owners,[4] 51% of staff,[5] and 53% of customers[6] prefer English names because, according to one respondent, they signify better product quality, prestige, and lifestyle which BI and SL failed to deliver.

> …. [N]ot sure it will work. I once opened one here, using an Indonesian name, *Coco Gila* 'Crazy Chocolate'. Not many customers [appeared]. I changed it to *Crazy Chocolate*. More and more young customers started visiting, hanging out with friends here, ordered drinks and took selfies. That was the way it got started (Lia, 23 y.o., a street chocolate milk shake vendor)

4 42% BI and 0% SL.
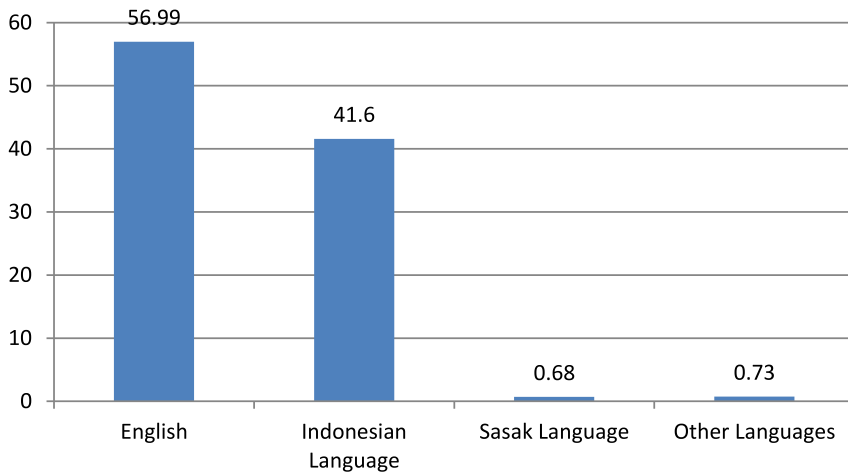**5** 49% BI and 0% SL.
6 42% BI and 5% SL.

Figure 1: Percentages of languages used in the corpus.

The study also found that English was dominant in the three areas of the study (see Figure 2). Understandably, the majority shops (67%) in the tourism areas were named in English compared to the Indonesian national language (32%), and other languages (0.89%). None of the shops in these areas were named in the local language. In the urban areas, English (54%) was also more dominant than other languages in contact (Indonesian 44%, Sasak 1% and other languages 1%). In the suburban areas, the national language is more dominant than English. Only 48% of shops were named in English while 51% of them were in the national Indonesian language. Again, the use of the Sasak language was very limited. With one-way Chi-square analyses, the study finds a significant difference in language use based on area categories (p-value is 0.001 is significant at $p < 0.01$). In urban and tourism areas, English is more dominant than the national language (BI) which is dominant in suburban areas.

Perhaps, there should be an explanation with regard to the minimal presence of the Sasak language in the linguistic landscape. Sasak language is associated with Sasak identities and it is not, therefore, suitable for shop names targeting larger potential customers. When asked why she did not use Sasak language for the name of her restaurant, the owner of a well-known Sasak restaurant in Mataram explained that the choice is based on consideration for better selling of the products to potential customers and the local language would fail to deliver.

> Sasak people can read Indonesian, but others from other islands do not understand it [Sasak language]. So I use Indonesian. In Indonesian, chicken is *ayam* and *Taliwang* is the village.
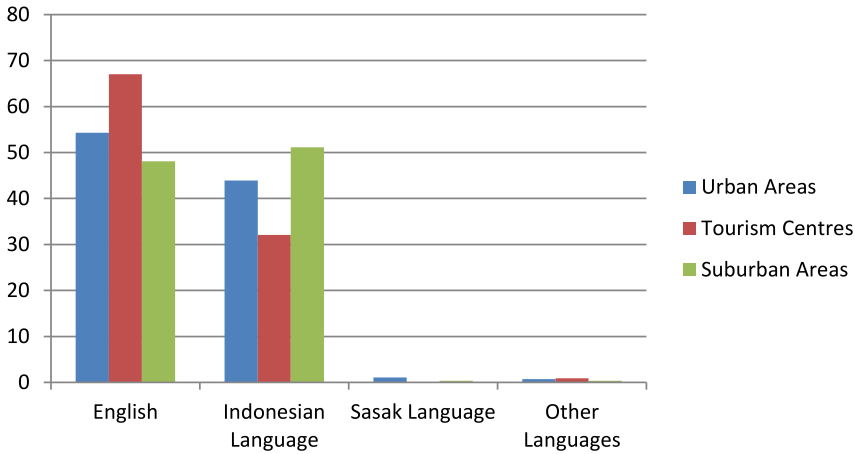
Figure 2: Language use and the nature of neighborhood.

> With *Ayam Taliwang* 'Taliwang Chicken', [it will say] we sell chicken dishes. But, with *Manuq Taliwang* 'Taliwang Chicken', it says we are selling life chickens. So, nobody [laughter] would be interested (Yenni, 56 y.o., Sasak restaurant owner).

Though minority in numbers, some shops selling Sasak lifestyle can be found to be named in pure Sasak language (e.g., *Pawon Kupi* 'the Coffee Kitchen') or combined with Indonesian language (e.g., *Konveksi Inaq Tuan* 'Mother's Convection') or English (e.g., *Kelambik Shop* 'Clothing Shop', *Batur Hotel* 'Friend's Hotel'). Targeting local customers and their ways of life, these shops offered Sasak traditional ways of life as products and product presentation. *Pawon Kupi*, for example, sold coffee made, presented and drank in Sasak ways. Romantic and nationalistic ideologies of preserving Sasak way of life were reported to be responsible for this matter.

> I am a coffee drinker. When you go out with friends, you can find *Starbucks* or *Chatime* or others. It is coffee, but it does not smell or taste like Sasak coffee. And when drinking it, you drink it in plastic glasses. [You drink] Alone. In Sasak, you drink it in a mug. [You can choose] Plenty of flavor, rice, ginger, eggs, milk, chocolate, sweet or plain. Most importantly, you drink and share it with friends or [through it you] make friends with new ones. [You] cannot find it in other places (Pardin, 36 y.o., Sasak cafe owner).

The use of languages for shop naming also follows the types of products put on sale. As shown in Appendix 2 and summarized in Figure 3, English names dominated products associated with lifestyle, fashion, technology, automotive, and entertainment-related stores. Of 348 shops providing lifestyle products and services (i.e., beauty salon, jewelry, parfume, laundry, hotels, arts, souveniers, and hospitality shops), 82% were in English, 18% were in the Indonesian language (BI) and
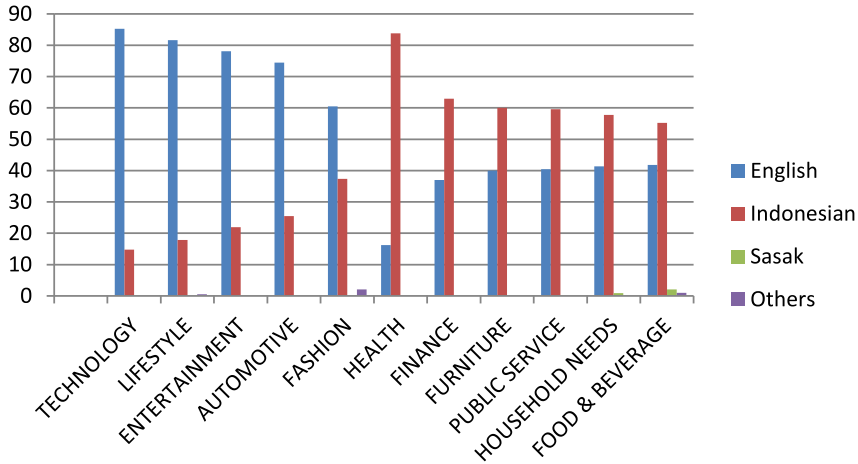
Figure 3: Language use and products on sale.

0.57% in other languages (i.e., Arabic and French). Of 337 fashion-related stores, 61% of them were in English, 37% in BI, none in Sasak language (SL), and 2% in other languages. Of 176 shops selling technological products (e.g., communication devices, printing machines, photocpy centers, electricity and other technological products), more than 85% of them were named in English and only around 15% of them were in the national language (BI) and none in the local language (SL). Of 98 automotive stores (i.e., authomotive dealers, mechanics, accessories, and in-surances), 74% of them were in English, 26% in BI, and none in SL and other languages. Of 82 entertainment stores (i.e., electronics, musics, TV, and movie stores), 78% are in English and 22% in BI. With one-way Chi-square analyses, the study found significant differences ($p < 0.001$) in the use of English names for these types of stores. These products are not present in agriculture-based traditional Sasak culture and when present they are treated as modern culture and English or English structure is more suitable than the national and the local languages.

The Indonesian language, as shown in Figure 3, was used to name shops and services dealing with food and beverages (e.g., rice, bottled water, and other daily nececities), health (e.g., farmacists, drug stores, and clinics), household needs (e.g., curtains, stoves, and other needs), furniture, finance (e.g., banks, automatic teller machines), and public services (e.g., police stations, government offices, and community centers). Note, however, in tourism areas, the great majority, if not all, of these shops were named in English. Out of 105 health-related shops, 88 (84%) were in Indonesian and 17 (16%) were in English. From 54 finance-related services, 34 (63%) were in Indonesian and 20 (37%) in English. From 60 furniture selling

shops, 36 (60%) were in Indonesian and 24 (40%) in English. 28 out of 47 public services were broadcast in Indonesian and 19 of them in English. 67 out of 116 shops selling houshold appliances carried Indonesian names, while 48 in English and 1 in the Sasak language. Of 639 food and beverage shops, 353 (55%) were in Indonesian, but 267 (42%) in English, 13 (2%) in the Sasak language, and 6 (0.94%) were in other languages. The latter were normally international restaurants and cafes in the tourism and business areas of the island. With one-way Chi-square analyses, the study found significant differences (p-value <0.001) for the dominant use of BI names for these types of stores.

These data indicate that a strong ideological association between the choice of language for shop names and the types of products on sale irrespective of the socio-economic conditions of the shop neighborhood. Following Pennycook's (2010) depiction of cities as trans-cultural spaces for acts of identity play, our data show how languages in contact have been used, through shop naming, as a means of contesting numerous social identities. English has been predominantly used to index prestigious post-modern social identities associated with the products and the services in the shops and only English in this context to "imply" the imagined identities (Piller 1999). Our interviews with respondents working in culinary industries, for example, indicate that the nature of the products and the imagined identities of the potential customers are the bases for selecting languages for the names. To a traditional Sasak restaurant owner, targeting local people and (inter)national visitors to the island, the choice of BI and the local spatial name *Kalisari* 'river of flowers' is ideologically believed to be more inviting to the customers.

> My restaurant is the first of its types in town. Local people are our regular customers, but visitors [from other islands] come here to enjoy local dishes. With English, we will miss our target. We cannot do it in Sasak language [and] we do not have *Lesehan* 'floor sitting restaurant'. I borrowed it from Yogya culture. That's how I got the name. (Taufik, 56 y.o., owner)

To a coffee shop owner targeting youngsters and their lifestyle, an English name *Shinta Coffee* or English-like name *Shinta Kopi* is ideologically assumed to be more inviting to them, when he said,

> … [T]he name is strange when using Indonesian or Sasak language. *Kopi Shinta* 'Shinta's Coffee' or *Kupi Shinta* 'Shinta's Coffee' means the coffee belongs to Shinta and it does not sell. But, *Shinta Coffee* or *Shinta Kopi* informs customers [that] it is a coffee shop belonging to a young person named Shinta and it is a place for them to hang around with friends. (Amir, 53 y.o., owner)

The Indonesian language is dominant for government offices providing health, finance and public services and for shops selling furniture, household needs, food

and beverage and this represents the centralized and nationalistic ideology of Indonesia where one and only one language (i.e., the Indonesian language) can be used in public. Though limited, the Sasak language was used for shops selling authentic Sasak cuisine targeting Sasak diners and this new trend indicates an exercise of local linguistic and cultural rights for recognition with the newly reformed Indonesia. Though patterned as such, both languages were also selected for naming other types of shop and our data, to a great extent, represent what Tufi and Blackwood (2010) described as linguistic ideological conflicts between the languages for recognition in the city spaces.

However, the dominant use of English in this Expanding Circle shows some forms of creativity in constructing English-like names from the local language (SL) and the national language (BI) as linguistic resources. Of 1142 instances of English use, 672 (59%) of them were in English and 470 (41%) were in English-like structures – that is, Indonesian or Sasak words designed in English-like noun phrases. In urban areas, 327 shop names were in English (as exemplified in Picture 1 above) and 339 in English structures (as in Picture 5 and 6) and these were equal in percentage (English 49% and English Structure 51%). In this area, there is a conflict between English as the language of global and modern economy and the Indonesian language as the natonal language as the polically-legislated rightful language for public signs. In tourism areas, English constituted 84% of shop names and the use of English-like structures was indeed limited (16%). In suburban areas, the English structure is more dominant (61%). If the use of English in the tourism areas might have been designed to accommodate international tourists speaking English only, the use of English-like structures in urban and suburban areas indicate local creativity, firstly, in using linguistic resources for personal socio-economic gains and, secondly, in responding to competing ideologies of language use in the local context. Let us now see in what contexts these varieties are used.

As shown in Figure 3 above, English has been dominantly used for shops selling products of technology, lifetyle, entertainment, automotive and fashion, the use of English-like structures, however, follows an interesting pattern. English is used for lifestyle, entertainment and fashion shops while English-like structures are dominantly for technology and automotive shops. More than 80% of lifestyle shops and more than 60% of entertainment and fashion shops were named in standard English representing the global brand names of the products that they represent in the locality. Interestingly, 80% of technology-related shops (i.e., shops selling electronic, machinery, and telecommunication devices) and more than 95% of automotive shops (i.e., shops selling motorcycle and car spareparts and repair services) were named in English-like structures representing local linguistic creativity in responding to global ideology of language use. As linguistic forms, these names deserve linguistic attention and explanation.

Picture 5: A shop in English-like structure from Indonesian language (juice & coffee).

Picture 6: A shop in English-like structure from Sasak language (Batujai Meubelair).

To a certain extent, English used in the shop names could ideologically represent a number of interesting cases: (a) the English-speaking backgrounds of the owners living in the locality (e.g., *The Mexican Bar, Albany near the Bay, Billabong Board Shop)*, (b) (inter)national companies (e.g., *The Jayakarta Hotel, Pepper Me, PP Base Camp)*,(c) global landscape (e.g., *Boston Drug Store, London Spa, Paris Photo),* (d) local landscape (e.g., *Pamenang Fashion, Bayan Lombok Gallery, Kuta Pet Care*), (e) owner's names (e.g., *Selly Salon, Zooma Perfume Refill, Ade Laundry, Yudi's Motor, Fika Phone Cell*), (f) local innovation (e.g., *Kura Reef Surf Shop, Ketapang Homestay, Bamboo Tattoo*), (g) socio-ethnic identity of the owner or the potential customers (e.g., *Bro Barbershop, Dragon Toys, Warung Jeans),* and (h) prestige (e.g., *Top Parfum, Blessing Hair Studio, Jaya Electronics).* The use of English here represents the status of English as the global language used by (inter)national and local owners to create what Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith (1991) illustrate as global (inter)national places in the local spaces where post-modern human experiences are symbolically enacted.

Picture 7: A shop in English-like structure from English and Indonesian language (family cake).

Shop names in English structures usually contain names in Indonesian or Sasak and English words functioning respectively as modifier and head nouns and names in Indonesian (see Picture 5), Sasak words (see Picture 6), or English and Indonesian words (see Picture 7) not in head-first construction as in the noun phrase structure rule in both languages, but in head-last construction as in English noun phrases. Such names are structured in company names (e.g., *MPM Motor*, *Istiqlal Parfum*, *Tataracana Bengkel*), global landscape (e.g., *Tokyo Motor,*[7] *Bahraen Kebaya, ASEAN Cell*), national landscape (e.g., *Bandung Collection, Jakarta Grosir, Manggarai Cell*), local landscape (e.g., *Cakra Motor, Selaparang Bengkel, Keruak Diesel*), owner's name (e.g., *Ummi Konveksi, Dedi Computer, Juwita Salon),* expected prestige (e.g., *Gaya Motor, Star Peci, Lari Jaya Eletronik*) and the types of products or services that they deal with. In the questionnaire, all of the owners realized the English nature of the names, but, in the interviews as shown above, they perceived them as the only structures for them to name their shops as the Indonesian or the Sasak structures fail to convey the intended business messages.

The ideological connection between English and modern life was also accentuated in the shop names and this connection is mutually shared among shop owners, staffs and customers. Our interviews with them show that English names were selected based on the ideological belief that it creates desirable modernity-related prestige and they are expected to boost sale. This has been shown above in the experience of Lia, a street chocolate milk shake vendor who experienced an increase in sale after altering the name of her vendor from *Coco Gila* 'Crazy Chocolate' to *Crazy Chocolate* with accessories attractive for youth photo selfies. The effect of modern life style in shop names is not only apparent in the

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7 "Motor" in this context refers to motorcycle repairing workshops or *Bengkel* 'workshop' in Indonesian and not to the motorcycle machines which are locally called *montor* 'motorcycle'.

local existence of global shop names such *McDonald's*, *Converse*, *Starbucks*, *Bread Talk*, or *the Body Shop* but also in shops selling goods and services related to modern life style: for example, technology (i.e., *Laptop Store, Galaxy Electronic, Brawijaya Mobil* 'Brawijaya Cars'), technological services (e.g., *Dwi Motor Variasi* 'Dwi's Workshop Car Accessories', *Bengkel Kican Motor* 'Kican's Workshop Workshop'), food and beverages (e.g., *Dante Meat House*, *Maktal Coffee Bar*, *Trully Lombok's Cuisine Begibung* 'Communal Eating'), health care (e.g., *Kimia Farma Apotek* 'Kimia Farma Drugstore') and fashion (e.g., *Star Peci* 'Star Hat'*, Raja Cukur* 'King Barber' *Barbershop, KAKO Babygear, *Barbie Eye Softlanse, *Arjuna Fashion dan Textile*). Although some of the shop owners have failed to spell or translate the names into correct English, they have instead used the ELS versions of them for the purpose of accentuating the modernity of image of the shops. To a shop owner like Yusuf, his linguistic creativity in shop naming has assisted in selling, but to others like Kako names alone cannot sell products.

> I thought I would use *Songkok Bintang* 'Star Hat', but it sounds like it sells hats for film stars [which is] not. [And] *Songkok* 'Hat' or *Topi* 'Hat' sounds very old fashion. So I used *Star Peci* and it says I sell *Peci* 'religious hat' for *bintang* 's*tars*'. Why not *Toko Peci*? It sounds just like old shops selling old fashion hats. Not interesting. Who will come? My shop sells modern-style hats although I also sell some old ones (Yusuf, 45 y.o. *Star Peci*, hat shop owner).

> My parents named the shop *Toko Bayi* 'Baby Shop' selling all what babies need. More and more competitors emerged. We no longer sell things which babies traditionally need like clothes, nappies, baby powder and the like. We now sell what modern mothers need for their babies. [For example] baby strollers, toys, dining chairs. *Toko Bayi*? [It is] *Jadul* 'very old fashioned'. [I think] *Kako Baby Gear* is good for that (laughter). We have more *mama muda* 'young mothers' visiting, but I do not know if they come because of the name. I think "not" (Kako, 38 y.o. *Babygear*, manager).

The Yusuf's and Kako's notions of modernity, shop names and product sales are also echoed in other interview and questionnaire data. Around 70% of shop owners that we interviewed opted to choose English for ideological reasons of expecting high-selling, prestige, popularity and fanciness and others have just followed trends. Around 65% of staffs also reported their preference to work for shops named in English for reasons of better sales and salary. To customers, around 56% of them assumed that goods purchased at shops named in English were of good quality and with reasonable prices as they are local retailers with fixed retail price, different from those in Indonesian which were assumed to be resellers with extra price for profit.

Nonetheless, our chi-square analyses of all interview and questionnaire data indicate unique findings. Respondents viewed shops named in English and English-like structures as being prestigious, better selling and paying higher worker salary than those named in the national language (BI) and these prove to be

statistically significant (p-value is 0.001 is significant at $p < 0.01$). Respondents also perceived them as selling better quality products but the p-value is 0.900 and the difference is not significantly substantiated at $p < 0.05$. Other studies (e.g., Blackwood and Tufi 2015) have similarly shown that prestige and expected economic advantages have motivated the choice of more prevalent prestigious languages for shop names, this study shows that the prestige has significant impacts on sales and worker salary but not product quality.

7 Conclusions

The study has examined how and why English and English structures have been used for shop naming in the Expanding Circle. It has surveyed shop names, products on sale, and socio-economic conditions of the neighborhood and identified strong association between the use of languages in contact (i.e., English, English-like structures, the Indonesian language, the Sasak language and other languages) and the types of products on sale but not with neighborhood socio-economic conditions. While English is dominantly used in tourism areas, English-like structures are competing with the national language in urban and suburban areas. Shops named in other languages (i.e., Arabic, Chinese, French, Italian, and Spanish) could be found in urban and tourism areas, but those in the local language were very limited and close to none.

The study also finds that the choice of language for shop names is associated with the types of products and services that the shops provide. English and English-like structures were used for shops selling technology, lifestyle, entertainment, automotive and fashions. The Indonesian language was dominantly used for shops providing health, finance, and public services or selling furniture, household tools, food and beverages. Though rare, the Sasak language and others were limitedly used in food and beverage stores.

The use of English and English-like structures is motivated by socio-economic potentials of language and its symbolic functions in the community. English has been associated with modern lifestyle and, in the current study, the majority of shops selling lifestyle, entertainment and fashions are named in English. English is also connected with modern electricity and machine-based technology as opposed to manual agriculture-based culture and, consequently, the majority of shops dealing with electricty-and-machine-based technologies such as electronics and automotive shops and mechanics are named in English-like noun phrase structures.

The Indonesian language, on the contrary, is used for shops retailing goods and services for personal, family or national necessities. The Sasak language and

others are rarely used and, only very recently, limited to stores selling traditional food and beverage and the lifestyle associated with it. This, in itself, deserves further scrutiny.

There are, however, some limitations that require improvement in future studies of the linguistic landscape of the area. The study is limited to ideological relationship between shop names and products therein and it has not gone deeper into labels used in the products. It has also discussed the imagined positive impact of shop names on shop prestige, product quality, and worker salary in ethnographic data although the claim is not significantly verified in statistical analyses.

Appendix 1: List of questions in questionnaire and interviews

	To Shop Owners	To Staff	To Customers
1	How long have you owned this shop? a. 1–3 years b. 4–6 years c. 7–9 years d. 10–12 years e. More than 13 years	How long have you been working in this shop? a. 1–3 years b. 4–6 years c. 7–9 years d. 10–12 years e. More than 13 years	How long have you been a customer to this shop? a. 1–3 years b. 4–6 years c. 7–9 years d. 10–12 years e. More than 13 years
2	What do you sell in the shop? a. food & beverage b. Clothes, jewelry, perfume and others c. Technology and telecommunication devices d. Workshop & repair work e. Service	What do you sell in the shop? a. food & beverage b. Clothes, jewelry, perfume and others c. Technology and telecommunication devices d. Workshop & repair work e. Service	What do you buy at the shop? a. food & beverage b. Clothes, jewelry, perfume and others c. Technology and telecommunication devices d. Workshop & repair work e. Service
3	In which language do you name the shop? a. English b. Indonesian c. Sasak Language d. Other Language (mention): e. Mixture	In which language is the shop that you work in? a. English b. Indonesian c. Sasak Language d. Other Language (mention): e. Mixture	In which language do you think is the shop? a. English b. Indonesian c. Sasak Language d. Other Language (mention): e. Mixture

(continued)

	To Shop Owners	To Staff	To Customers
4	Which is the reason for selecting the language for the shop name?	Which is the reason for working in the shop?	Why do you shop here?
	a. It sells well	a. It pays well	a. It is cheap
	b. It looks modern	b. It looks modern	b. The product is good
	c. It looks beautiful	c. It looks beautiful	c. It has a beautiful name
	d. It is prestigious	d. It is prestigious	d. It is prestigious
	e. Other reasons (mention):	e. Other reasons (mention):	e. Other reasons (mention):
5	Which market segment are you targeting?	From your observation, the majority of buyers at this shop are ….	How often do you do your shopping at this shop?
	a. Local people	a. Local people	a. Very often
	b. Indonesian visitors	b. Indonesian visitors	b. Often
	c. Non-Indonesian tourists	c. Non-Indonesian tourists	c. Sometimes
	d. Resellers	d. Resellers	d. Seldom
	e. Any customers	e. Any customers	e. Rarely
6	At which age are the majority of your customers?	At which age are the majority of the customers?	What is the impact of the name on your visits to the shop?
	a. Children	a. Children	a. Excellent
	b. Teenagers	b. Teenagers	b. Very good
	c. Adults	c. Adults	c. Good
	d. Senior citizens	d. Senior citizens	d. Poor
	e. Anybody	e. Anybody	e. No impact
7	What is the impact of the name on customer visits?	What is the impact of the name on customer visits?	Are you satisfied with your shopping in this shop?
	a. Excellent	a. Excellent	a. Very satisfied
	b. Very good	b. Very good	b. Satisfied
	c. Good	c. Good	c. Average
	d. Poor	d. Poor	d. Unsatisfied
	e. No impact	e. No impact	e. Disappointed
8	What is the impact of the name on sales?	What is the impact of the name on sales?	What is the impact of the shop name on your shopping here?
	a. Excellent	a. Excellent	a. Excellent
	b. Very good	b. Very good	b. Very good
	c. Good	c. Good	c. Good
	d. Poor	d. Poor	d. Poor
	e. No impact	e. No impact	e. No impact
9	Are you satisfied with the performance of your shop?	Are you satisfied you're your salary working in the shop?	Do you have other shops that you frequent for your shopping?
	a. Very satisfied	a. Very satisfied	a. A lot
	b. Satisfied	b. Satisfied	b. Many
	c. Average	c. Average	c. Not many

(continued)

	To Shop Owners	To Staff	To Customers
	d. Unsatisfied	d. Unsatisfied	d. Few
	e. Disappointed	e. Disappointed	e. None
10	If you want to change the shop names, which language are you going to use?	If you want to work in other shops in town, in which language do you want the shop names to be?	For your next shopping, a shop name in which language are you going to visit?
	a. English	a. English	a. English
	b. Indonesian	b. Indonesian	b. Indonesian
	c. Sasak Language	c. Sasak Language	c. Sasak Language
	d. Other Language (mention):	d. Other Language (mention):	d. Other Language (mention):
	e. Mixture	e. Mixture	e. Mixture

Appendix 2: Sampled shop names, language, and products on sale

No	Names	Language	Products
1	Yudi's Motor	English	Automotive: Motorcycle Mechanics
2	Aladin Advertising	English	Entertainment: Printing
3	Anugrah Kids	English	Fashion: Clothes
4	Arei Outdoor Gear	English	Lifestyle: Adventure
5	Arena Sport	English	Lifestyle: Sport
6	Aditya Salon & Hair Style	English	Lifestyle: Beauty
7	Mad Monkey Hotel	English	Lifestyle: Travel
8	Mekar Club & Karaoke	English	Lifestyle: Music
9	Petshop	English	Lifestyle: Animal Care
10	Eton Authentic Store	English	Technology: Music
11	Dwi Motor Variasi	Indonesian	Automotive: Car Accessories
12	Central Jaya	Indonesian	Automotive: Car Mechanics
13	Kota Mas	Indonesian	Entertainment: Music Karaoke
14	Toko Suara Mas	Indonesian	Technology: Musical Instruments
15	Cakar Mas	Indonesian	Fashion: Shoes
16	Toko Mas Sembilan Jaya	Indonesian	Fashion: Jewelry
17	Ellok Bagus	Indonesian	Fashion: Clothes
18	De Bakoel Nasi	Indonesian	Food & Beverage
19	Meuble Axellino	Indonesian	Furniture
20	Apotek Medi Smart	Indonesian	Health
21	Toko Sumber Rejeki	Indonesian	Household Tools

(continued)

No	Names	Language	Products
22	Petualang	Indonesian	Lifestyle: Adventure
23	Spare Part Handphone	Indonesian	Technology: communication
24	HP Kana	Indonesian	Technology: communication
25	Tataracana Bengkel	English Structure	Automotive: Mechanics
26	Istiqlal Parfum	English Structure	Fashion: Perfume
27	Hero Foto	English Structure	Technology: Printing
28	Muara Fashion	English Structure	Fashion: Clothes
29	Anak Menteng Art Shop	English Structure	Lifestyle: Tattoo Service
30	Toko Main Trend Toys	English Structure	Technology: Toys
31	Bale Jaje	Sasak	Food & Beverage
32	Gumi Praya	Sasak	Food & Beverage
33	Al Madani	Arabic	Lifestyle: Hotel
34	Les Femmes	French	Fashion: Perfume
35	Pappa Roti	Italian	Food & Beverage

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