Place Names and Place Names Rebranding in Nusa Penida

I Gusti Ayu Gde Sosiowati (Corresponding author)

English Department, Faculty of Arts, Udayana University

Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

E-mail: sosiowati@yahoo.com

Ni Made Ayu Widiastuti

English Department, Faculty of Arts, Udayana University

Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Bambang Dharwiyanto Putro

Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, Udayana University

Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Abstract

The current paper specifically deals with toponymy (especially) studying place names in Nusa Penida, Bali. The analysis is based on linguistic landscapes, using applied descriptive qualitative methods. Basically the data of this article was obtained from selected informants based on whether or not they were able to provide the needed information. The purpose of this paper is mainly to present how the place names came into being from their socio-historical background, how the signposts are written in terms of government regulation and a generic-specific way. The findings show that the English signposts are written with two elements, in which the first qualifies the second (Khvesko, 2014) while the signposts written in Indonesian show the structure of the second qualifying the first (due to the nature of those two languages); that there is a clash between state and local regulation leading to the non-uniformity of the signposts presentation; that the renaming of the place names were done for mainly economic reason (serving the needs of tourism as the main income generating),

and that the places under discussion were given the names after the legends known by the people.

Keywords: Toponymy, Place-names, Linguistic landscape, Signposts, Generic-specific

1. Introduction

This paper documents our research on place names in the island of Nusa Penida, one of the islands located southeast off the island of Bali, Indonesia. The island is administratively within the province of Bali, and the people of Nusa Penida island are ethnical Balinese. The research on place names, especially the names of tourism objects is very important to do considering that the names under study carry certain values namely, moral, economic and ethnic loyalty. Those values are very crucial in shaping the characters of people in the island of Nusa Penida.

Some of researches have been done in Nusa Penida but none of those is related to place names. Those are related to (1) tourism in terms of planning of tourisn development (Arisa, Treman, 2015; Kamil, Kastolani, Rahmafitria, 2015; Damayanti, Wijaya, Kanca, 2015), the impact of tourism (Jubaedah, Anas, 2019), (2) economy (Artawan, 2019), (3) demography (Purbhadharmaja, Sukarsa, Indrajaya, Yogiswara, Apriliani, 2014), (4) linguistics (Dhanawaty, Budiarsa, Simpen, Suryati, 2017; Adhiti, 1984).

Concerning place names, studies (none of them is conducted in Nusa Penida) with various findings have been conducted by many other researchers. Among others, names of streets are given to deserved members of society (Dube, 2018; Madden, 2017; Karimi, 2016; Therborn, 2013; Rose-Redwood & Alderman, 2011; Smith, 2017); to increase the economic values (Madden, 2017; Medway & Warnaby, 2014; Light & Young, 2014; Rose-Redwood & Alderman, 2011), to remember the name of a person (Nash, 2010); to be related to biological and cultural features found in that area (Pinna et.al., 2017).

In doing the research on place names in Nusa Penida, the previous researches (even from different field) were used to give general description about the perception of the local people about tourism. This is very useful because the data was taken from tourism sites by talking the people considered have knowledge about the data. The researches about place names also make a great contribution on what happened behind the names of places, how they came into being.

Place names are always interesting to discuss considering behind some of the names there is confusion and also there is government regulation involved in naming places. The various ways of giving names that quite often in non-local language, sometimes creates confusion. Two similar names are found in two different places either within one country or even in two different countries. For example "Birmingham" can be found in England and USA (Alabama), the name of "Batu Kandik" is given to two villages, both located in the same province (the Province of Bali); one is located in the island of Nusa Penida and another one is located in the island of Bali. To make it worse, those similar names are not completed by coordinate. Due to this confusion and to minimize it, there is a suggestion from the United Nation

Organization that names should be generated in a local language or if the name cannot be changed, those two similar names must be provided with clear coordinate (Lauder, 2019).

Despite of the confusion in giving names, the initial step that must actually be done in place naming in Indonesia, especially in the Province of Bali, is following two regulations. These two regulations were issued by two different levels of government (the state government and the local government) that should support one another. The first one is the regulation issued by the Indonesian Government 24/2009 on how to use the national flag, language, state symbols, and national anthem) specifying that the Indonesian language must be used in road signs, road directions, public facilities, banners, and other public facilities (article 38, paragraph 1); mass media can use the local language or foreign language for special purposes or special targets (article 39, paragraph 1). The second regulation is the one issued by the Provincial Government of Bali on how to use Balinese language, script, and literature (1/2018). It says that Balinese language, letters and literature must be used in *pakraman* villages, traditional villages and other traditional institutions (article 6d) as well as in various media, public areas both belonging to government and private sectors (Article 8, paragraph 4b). A *pakraman* village is a group of villages that are bound together under the same tradition and worship the same *Tri Kahyangan* 'three temples for worshipping *Brahma, Wisnu* and *Siwa*' (Kompasiana, 2017).

The Balinese people as the Indonesian citizens should obey the government regulation including the regulation of how to write place names. This is important to reach uniformity. However the clash between the regulations of central and local government has resulted in the various ways of writing signpost. Another important thing to mention is that the people of Nusa Penida are religious people considering that there are many big and famous temples found there. Those previous statements lead the researchers to discuss about: (1) how the two regulations contradict one another, resulting in inconsistency of the way of presenting place names in the island of Nusa Penida, (2) to present that some place names were actually derived from legends with good moral teaching.

To prove that the signposts in Nusa Penida island are varied as the reflection of the clash between state and local regulations, the data was taken from various signpost posted in tourism areas and to find out the stories behind the place names, the data was taken from some reliable local informants.

The result of the research can be used as the proof that the signposts in Nusa Penida island have both informational and symbolic functions as mentioned by Landry & Bourhis, (1997). The result of the research also shows that the island has the potency to develop the tourism by combining the existing tourism and the local wisdom contained in the stories of place names, thus it can increase their economic condition.

2. Method

The present study is a qualitative documentary research on place names investigating the dimensions of traditional and contemporary place names in Nusa Penida and the renaming dynamics in modern Indonesia.

The data was collected from the informants through different methods and techniques including interviews and ethnography, complemented by standard documentation methods, of recording and processing of digital audio-video (for the oral histories) and picture data (for how the signposts are written). The informants were those who know about the histories behind the place names informed by the village authority. They are prominent members of the village.

The data was processed and analyzed from an interdisciplinary perspective, taking into account the linguistic features of place names in a larger socio-cultural-ecological context of contemporary Bali. As will be seen later, tourism is the primary driving force in the contemporary process of (re)naming places in Nusa Penida.

An integrated analysis is undertaken by scrutinizing certain salient dimensions of toponyms that reflects language contact, linguistic landscape, and cultural (oral) histories, especially in relation to languages used in public areas (cf. Hough 2016). We propose the notion of ethno-linguistic landscape as an extension of the widely adopted notion of linguistic landscapes. Theoretical insights are drawn from the (ethno) linguistic and socio-cultural pragmatics of language use in public spaces (e.g., Landry & Bourhis 1997; Spolsky & Cooper 1991). The key points are that the linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function (Landry & Bourhis 1997), and that important considerations of deciding language use in public signs include, among other things, what language is known by the user/reader and what language the user wants to be identified with (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991).

3. Results

In the history of Nusa Penida island presented in "Sejarah Nusa Penida" (https://www.gowisatanusapenida.com) it is said that this island used to be the prison of the convicts in the era of Gelgel Kingdom (one of the powerful kingdom at that time). As for the name, it has its own history. According to BeritaBali.com, the name of Nusa Penida presents the meaning as follows: Nusa means island, Penida derived from Ped 'memati-mati' meaning very great and Ida 'power'. Thus Nusa Penida means an island with very great power (www.beritabali.com/read/2016/11/21/201611210007). The name was given after the Balinese soldiers from the mainland (Bali island) could not defeat this island because the people there defended the island with all their might.

Nusa Penida has ten famous tourism objects which in original names are called *mata air Guyangan, mata air Seganing, mata air Tembeling, Pasih Uug, Pantai Penida, Pantai Kelingking, Pantai Atuh, Pantai Suwehan, Angel's Billabong, Bukit Teletubbies*. These have been known since 2010 when the first Nusa Penida festival was held by the Indonesian government collaborating with the government of Bali to promote the exotic island of Nusa Penida. Our research found out that there are various ways of giving names to those tourism objects namely: based on the location (Pantai Suwehan), based on the socio-historical history (Mata Air Tembeling), based on how the landscape looks like (Bukit Teletubbies) and given by a foreigner who discovered it (Angel's Billabong).

In general, for the sake of tourism, the local names of the tourism objects in Nusa Penida have been translated into English with no Balinese scripts. Those place names above have been translated into English or at least they have the English version. *Mata air Guyangan* Guyangan waterfall; *mata air Seganing* Seganing waterfall; *mata air Tembeling* Tembeling waterfall; *Pasih Uug* Broken Beach; *Pantai Penida* Crystal Bay, *Pantai Kelingking* Kelingking Beach; *Pantai Atuh* Atuh Beach; *Pantai Suwehan* Volcom Beach; *Bukit* Teletubbies Teletubbies hill. *Angel's Billabong* is the only famous tourism object that does not have a local name. The phenomena that can be seen in the English name is that *mata air* 'water spring' is translated into 'waterfall'. The reason for this is because 'waterfall' is perceived to be able to describe the natural condition of the objects (the water fresh water comes out from the wall of the hill rather than from underground. Translating the Indonesian generic words into English (pantai beach) and written on the signposts was done to serve the economic purpose and to promote tourism. By looking at the name, the tourists will immediately recognize the kind of natural landscape that they will see. Understanding the stories behind the names is also another interesting thing that can attract tourists especially when the stories contain moral teachings and local wisdom, for instance how to pay respect to women (contained in the story of Tembeling Waterfall), how to protect nature (contained in the story of Atuh Beach).

This naming put on the signposts as public and commercial signs carries the notion of linguistic landscape (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Those signposts can make the environment better and more beautiful if they are presented in an attractive way but they make the environment unsightly if they are carelessly presented. In terms of the script used, the way of writing the signposts is actually regulated by the government. The regulation concerning how to use language, both national and local authorities have created script parallelism in writing the sign. This means that in one sign there are two scripts depicting similar things. For example Figure 1. Both scripts say the same thing *Pesimpangan Ratu Kanjeng*. *Pesimpangan* means one of the worshipping places and *Ratu Kanjeng* is the name of the goddess worshipped there. This shrine is located in one of the tourism sites called Suwehan Beach.

Figure 1

The (ethno) linguistic landscape in Nusa Penida also reflects the language contact. It shows the variation of how place names are formed (monolingual vs. mixed), their relative ordering

(if more than one name is displayed), and how the written signs apply or violate government regulations.

There are two patterns of how place names are formed: first, monolingual names (in Balinese only, Indonesian only, or English only), and second, mixed names (a combination of Indonesian-Balinese or Indonesian-English). The monolingual place name is exemplified by Figures 2 and 3. The place name is expressed monolingually in Indonesian Mata *Air Guyangan (*Figure 2*)* and the place name expressed monolingually in English is Suwehan (Figure 3)

Figure 2

Figure 3

The order of various languages written on the signpost is shown in Figure 4. Consider the signpost shown in picture 4. It shows the place names that are written in Indonesian (*Pulau Seribu, Rumah Pohon*) and English (*Giant Blow*, *Sebela Beach, Pajukutan Hill*). *Sebela* and *Pejukutan* are not translated since those are the names of the village where the beach and the hill are located. The interesting thing is the order of writing the mixed-language signpost: Indonesian names are first written followed by English. The signpost appears to apply the government regulations of 24/2009, saying that Indonesian should come first, followed by the local language (in this case Balinese) and a foreign language (in this case English). The signs that apply the government regulation derive from the fact that they were created by the students of UNUD (*Universitas Udayana*) who did KKN (Practical Social Work) in Nusa Penida in 2017. These students were under the supervision of the head of the village who turned out to be the agent of the government. As a member of government it can be assumed that the head of the village instructed the students to create the signs in accordance with the regulation.

Figure 4 is an instance of the so-called 'top-down' flow of agency in the production of the linguistic landscape (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006: 10 in Puzey, 2006), where choosing and ordering languages is under the control of the authority. Thus it can be said that picture 4 is an example of the obedience to the government regulation.

Figure 4

The names in Nusa Penida also experienced (re)naming. The phenomenon of (re)naming is very closely related to the fact that the island has been visited by many tourists. The (re)naming is done to serve the needs of the tourists namely, to make it easy for them to read the signpost and to present the landscape of the tourism objects (hill, beach or waterfall). Presenting a comfortable situation for visitors/tourists is a must. This is not surprising since tourism in Nusa Penida-Bali is the primary source of income. The use of English is clearly driven by the market force of English as an international lingua franca in tourism. Thus English has become quite prominent in the linguistic landscape of Nusa Penida.

The examples of renaming are *Pantai Penida* that became Crystal Bay (because the sea is as clear as crystal), *Pantai Suwehan* has become Volcom Beach (because there is a stone that looks like volcom brand right in front of the beach)*,* and *Pasih Uug* '(lit.) 'Damaged sea' has been renamed into Broken Beach (because the rock seems to separate the ocean forming a big hole). Those English names have no semantic relationship to the original ones.

There is also a place named *Angel's Billabong* (Figure 5). This place has no local Balinese or Indonesian name. This name has two words: angel's and billabong. Angel's is used to show that the place is beautiful. It looks like a pool surrounded by rocks. *Billabong* is an Australian aboriginal word which means a stagnant pool in Australia. Thus the name of Angel's Billabong really suits the physical condition of the place. No one knows who gave the name but looking at the word (billabong) used, the person must be an Australian. The name Angel's Billabong has proved to be of high market value, a touristic commodity attracting many visitors throughout the year.

Figure 5

Renaming has become the common thing to happen in a tourist destination including Nusa Penida. In Nusa Penida, most of renaming takes place in the part of generic words indicating landscapes like hill, beach and waterfall. The examples of renaming of only the generic words are as follows: *Kelingking Beach* (*Kelingking* is a name of a temple in the location and this name also has a story behind it.); *Seganing Waterfall*, *Guyangan Waterfall, Tembeling Waterfall, Molenteng Tree House,* (*Seganing, Guyangan, and Molenteng,* are the names of the villages); *Tembeling waterfall and Atuh Beach (Tembeling* and *Atuh* derive from the legend behind the names of the places). Another way of naming is applied in the name of Teletubbies Hill that used to be called Bukit Telletubies. This name is a mix between Bukit "hill" (generic) which is an Indonesian word and Teletubbies (specific) which is actually the name of a film for children whose actors are puppets of different colours whose names are Tinky-Winky (purple), Laa-Laa (yellow) Dipsy (green) and Po (red). The area is called Bukit Teletubbies because it looks like the setting in the Teletubbies film. It can be seen in the picture below.

Setting in the Teletubbies film

Teletubbies Hill in Nusa Penida

The discussion above has shown that the original names (either using Indonesian or English) are given based on (1) the similar image that they have with something else (Crystal Bay, Volcom Beach, Broken Beach, Angel's Billabong and Teletubbies Hill), (2) what people can find there (Kelingking Beach, Molenteng Tree House), (3) the villages where they are located (Seganing Waterfall, Guyangan Waterfall), and (4) the legend behind the name (Tembeling Waterfall, Atuh Beach, and Broken Beach). Molenteng Tree House is a special one because Molenteng is the name of a village that makes it belong to (3) but since people can also find tree houses there, it also belongs to (2). In type of naming (4) stories behind the names are responsible for the name given and for that reason it is considered the best to present those stories.

Story behind the Names

Names including place names are part of unique identities, often associated with a specific natural meaning, and/or certain cultural and historical significance transmitted across generations through oral histories (Montello & Clarke, 2019). To have a clear idea about how stories have become the bases on giving place names in Nusa Penida, brief descriptions of those histories are presented in this part of the article. The purpose is to highlight their cultural significance contained in the oral histories from the Balinese perspective and their value in the context of contemporary tourism, for the benefit of tourism.

At present, Nusa Penida (meaning the island of Great Power) has been visited by both local and foreign visitors with various purposes. The Balinese people from the mainland visit this island mostly to go on a pilgrimage, a kind of local religious tourism; foreigners mostly go to the island to enjoy the beautiful panorama of the tourism sites. However, both of them can actually enjoy the beauty of the panorama since in almost all tourism sites there are temples or shrines. The difference between these places and the places found in the mainland is that the tourism sites (where temples are also located) in Nusa Penida island are very problematic and hard to reach, for example Atuh Beach, Guyangan Waterfall, Suganing Waterfall, and Tembeling Waterfall.

The original meaning of a place name is sometimes hard to understand due to a general set of processes whereby its original meaning has been lost over time, or masked through oral histories not widely known by the public. For the people of Nusa Penida, place names have a meaning but there is another opinion saying that names do not have meanings, they just have a reference (Nyström, 2016). Since the idea of place names of Nusa Penida is different from Nyström's idea, this article presents the discussion on how each place under discussion has a meaning. Our study also reveals that certain place names in Nusa Penida have intriguing oral histories, which are only locally known by certain community members. *Kelingking* Beach is a good example. The word *Kelingking* might have been (mistakenly) associated with the Indonesian word *kelingking* 'small finger'. However, our study has revealed that this beach name is in fact associated with the name of a temple there *Pura Kelingking* (Kelingking Temple) that used to be located far down the hill. The temple itself is now no longer there, as it has been moved up the hill. When the temple was relocated up the hill is unknown, but the oral history tells that its relocation was an instant miracle performed by the god. According to

the oral history, there was a pregnant woman who wanted to pray at the temple down the hill but due to her condition she could not do it. She cried and said how she could pray in that down-the-hill temple. Feeling sorry for her, the god then moved the temple up the hill, right in front of her. This existence of Kelingking Beach refers both to the meaning and the reference. The implied meaning of the story is that people should respect women especially pregnant ones. Even gods respect her. Besides having an implied meaning, the names also have a reference, referring to the beautiful environment with a temple called Kelingking located there.

Pasih Uug, which is more popular now in its English (translation) name as *Broken Beach,* also has an oral story which is not well known to the public. According to the oral story, the name *uug* (which is a Balinese word meaning 'destroyed') is associated with a disaster that destroyed the village, which used to be located around the hole of the Broken Beach. The village was submerged and destroyed by the flood brought about by the (spiritual) ruler of the area who was angry because the villagers had killed his big snake. The villagers mistakenly took the snake for a big tree (Sosiowati et al., 2018; Widiastuti, 2018). They slaughtered the snake and served it at a party. Some of the villagers were sent to other villages to share the food. When the people told the ruler of the area (taking the shape of a frail, dirty old man) that they knew nothing about having slaughtered the snake (since they thought it was just a big tree with good taste) the old man took it as lying. He rammed his stick into the ground and said that if the people were not lying, they would be able to pull the stick out. But no one could do it. Then the old man pulled it out and suddenly lots of sea water gushed out from the hole and covered the whole village and killed all the villagers. The ones who were saved were those sent to other villages to share the food. The lessons to be learned from the story are (1) do not destroy the environment (the people cut down the snake because they thought it to be a big tree. Thus they damaged the environment), (2) do not lie, and (3) do not judge someone by his/her physical looks.

The popular tourist destination of *Tembeling* Waterfall, according to the local oral history, got its name from the story of a pregnant woman who found the place. Tembeling derives from *beling (Balinese)* 'pregnant'. (Sosiowati et al., 2018). The story of *Tembeling* teaches the local people to respect women because it was a woman who found the water that symbolizes life. This story tells that a long time ago, a god showed a shepherd a water spring which never got dry no matter what the season was. One day a woman washed her red cloth (suspected as the cloth stained by her menstruation blood) there and this made the spring to fall dry. This showed that woman was powerful, capable of destroying the source of life. People were worried since it was the only source of water. Then, again a god told them to lower the pregnant woman down the cliff to search for a water spring. The male villagers did it and the pregnant woman found it. This proved that a pregnant woman was more powerful when symbolically she could recover the source of life. Being pregnant provided her with specialty. A story behind the name can also carry social messages as reflected in the following place names. The messages conveyed are (1) that women, especially the pregnant ones must be respected because one of them had found the water spring. Without water nobody can live. Thus women should be respected. They also carry and feed the fetus in their wombs during

pregnancy, (2) women are powerful. They can destroy lives - the one with the red cloth could dry up the water spring but they can also bring about life (Sosiowati et al., 2018).

Finally, the meaning of *Pantai Atuh* (*Atuh* Beach), a popular beach in Nusa Penida, might have been semantically opaque in Balinese. However, our study of the oral history of this place name has discovered that the meaning is in fact transparently compositional. It is etymologically traceable to its Balinese root *tuh* 'dry' and the Sanskrit prefix *a-* 'not'. Hence, *atuh* means 'never dry'. According to local oral history, this is the place where the local villagers were supposed to build a temple and get fresh water, following up the *pewisik* 'message' from god. The location of the temple is the place where the villagers were reported to see a turtle bird drinking water under a coconut tree. The local Balinese consider the place with its temple and water spring sacred and protected by god (Sosiowati et al., 2018). The oral history is also believed to carry an important message to both the locals and non-locals to respect and protect the natural resources including the water spring in Atuh Beach. The names mentioned above both have meaning and reference.

4. Discussion

This section contains a brief discussion of the main findings highlighting salient linguistic properties of place names, expressions, agency and identity in ethno-linguistic landscape production in the context of multilingualism and tourism in contemporary Bali, Indonesia. The pride of being the Balinese, language contact and the clash of regulation between state and local regulations have created variety in the order of languages on the signposts. Another reason why this non-uniformity occurs is that the weakness of law reinforcement. There is no punishment in any way that is given to any violation to state regulation. The followings are how those place names are written

Place names in Nusa Penida consist of two-word noun phrases expressed in the following four patterns: (i) fully in Balinese (e.g. *Pasih Uug*), (ii) fully in Indonesian (e.g. *Raja Lima*), (iii) fully in English (e.g. *Crystal Bay, Angel's Billabong*), and (iv) in Indonesian + local names: *Pantai Kelingking, Air terjun Tembeling*; Balinese-English: Peguyangan Waterfall). Places that have become known as tourist attractions are more famous in their English names. The structure of the names follows their respective grammars; e.g. right-headed in Balinese and Indonesian (types i-ii) vs. left-headed in English (type iii). In type (iv) when presented in English, the pattern shows a left-headed pattern, following English grammar. The head noun (e.g. *Seganing* in Seganing Waterfall) is always the noun referring to a unique place, whereas the non-head word (e.g., Waterfall, Beach etc.) is the qualifier specifying the toponymic locative information, for example, whether the place is a beach or waterfall. The two-word pattern of place names in Nusa Penida is not unique as it has been reported in the literature (cf. Khvesko, 2014).

There are currently no place names of the third and fourth types that make use of non-English foreign languages. This provides evidence for the strong influence of English as the world's most powerful lingua franca in contemporary multilingual Indonesia. Specifically in the context of Nusa Penida-Bali, in our analysis it is strongly motivated by tourism. English is

mainly used there in spite of many tourists coming from other countries such as China, Germany, and Holland.

Translating the local names into English is done for marketing purposes, explainable in terms of 'glocalization' (Arka, 2015). Glocalisation which is the local-global inter-connection is the creation of products and services intended for the global market but customized to suit the local culture (Habibul, 2005). Thus, renaming of *air terjun Segening* and *Pasih Uug* into *Segening Waterfall* and *Broken Beach* respectively can be regarded as part of an effective communication strategy with international tourists. English qualifiers such as *waterfall* and *beach* in mixed place names would make the meaning of places names immediately transparent to the target customers. Full English renaming such as *Crystal Bay* for *Pantai Penida* is also an attempt to depict the Nusa Penida bay as a place with sea water as clear as crystal, ideal for tourists to snorkel and dive (cf. the description in http://www.bali-indonesia.com/magazine/crystal-bay-nusa-penida.htm). Crystal Bay can be categorized as a descriptive place name since the specific part is a common noun. However, when the specific part of the name is a proper noun or proper name such as in Teletubbies Hill, it is categorized as non-descriptive (Jan, 2016), instead it is a reference. Renaming in marketing, language exploits word meaning or reference to gain speakers' positive mental description (cf. Löbner, 2013), and in the context of international tourism, this is achieved through English.

Turning back to Nusa Penida's ethno-linguistic landscape as discussed in the findings section earlier, it can be highlighted that the following important points are related to identity, language contact and multilingualism. Firstly, how the place name signs in Nusa Penida are traditionally set up as seen in Pictures 1 and 2 reflects a strong Balinese identity. That is, the names of culturally important places like temples, and names of villages and government offices are written in Balinese script (in addition to the Latin-based Indonesian orthography) and are framed in unique Balinese style (e.g. with Balinese carving). The Balinese are very proud of their unique Hinduism-based cultural identity, an important asset exploited for tourism. The Balinese script on place name signs reflects literacy-contact on the islands of Nusa Penida and Bali. Its inclusion in the place name signs is symbolic in nature: whether or not its denotative meaning is understood from the script is secondary to its primary symbol to signpost an entity in the ethno-linguistic space of Bali. This symbolic function is clearly given by the fact that the Balinese are all literate in Latin script too, and therefore can read the Latin script presented in parallel to the Balinese script in the place name signs. In short, the presentation of place names in Balinese script is not only intended for the Balinese to read, but also for non-Balinese to know that they are in Bali. The discussion on the intended reader brings us to the second point, to which we now turn, regarding agency in the production and interpretation of name signs.

Agency (i.e. who produces and who is intended to read the signs) in multilingual context determines the nature of presentation of place names in Nusa Penida's ethno-linguistic landscape. We have seen place names presented in Balinese, Indonesian and English (cf. Pictures 1, 2 and 3). This reflects widespread multiculturalism in Indonesia, with place name signs made for clear purposes. For temples, as mentioned before, there is a symbolic cultural

value, in addition to informational purpose. They are also displayed to meet government regulations, with production involving 'top-down' flow of agency (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006: 10).

In contrast, we have found that name signs for place names that are purely for leisure such as beach names (e.g. Figure 6) or for places with no cultural significance (e.g. hotel name signs), are written in Latin script only. They appear to be purely informational.

Signposting for the general public, particularly tourists, is presented without additional symbolic cultural values. The presentation of place-name signs around Nusa Penida also reflects variations in quality and agency. The name signs of culturally and socio-politically prominent places such as big temples and government offices are typically of high quality, presented with parallel scripts including the Balinese script and permanently installed in Balinese style sign-frames as seen in Figure 2.

The production process of these signs has definitely involved complex agency with careful planning involving different experts providing advice in Balinese script and government regulations, executed by skillful artists/craftsmen. The production process involves different levels of decision making, in line with the points outlined by Spolsky's and Cooper's (1991) that is, the preferred language in sign production is the one known by the writer and understood by the presumed readers, and crucially also the language that has a symbolic value with which the user wishes to be identified.

Figure 6

However, there are also simpler place-name signs of lower quality. They are usually bottom up agency. The examples are *Pesimpangan Ratu Kanjeng* (Figure 1) and Guyangan (Figure 2). The simplicity of the signs (e.g., with no artistic framing featuring any Balinese identity) suggests that each of the signs was created through a simple process of 'bottom-up', initiated and executed by single author coming from ordinary community members. *Pesimpangan Ratu Kanjeng* was proposed by the local people.

Mata Air Guyangan was created by the Udayana University students who happened to do social work in the area.

The presentation of signposts in the island of Nusa Penida contributes to the chaotic landscape. The order of the languages is not in accordance with the state regulation, there is no standardization of the size of the signposts, and there is no regulation where and how they should be posted. can be This is really the proof of Landry's & Bourhis' idea (1997) saying that environment will look unsightly if the signposts are carelessly presented. By putting the Balinese language in the first order can satisfy the need of self-identity but it cannot fulfill the purpose of the local government to maintain the Balinese language because the Balinese transcript does not present the Balinese language since it is only the same name written in different script.

The result of the research shows that it is very important to have regulations to control the place naming with some flexibility so that the top-down and the bottom-up can be made possible. The important thing that can be learned from the way of naming and renaming of tourism objects in Nusa Penida is that they are supported by the lenience of government regulations on various levels as long as it concerns a special purpose which is obviously economic marketing. The naming also carries the socio-historical values as has been pointed out in the four stories. The socio-historical aspect is very important to be transferred from one generation to the next generation to maintain the cultural and religious values of the names.

5. Conclusion and the Implication of the Study

The previous discussion shows that some of the tourism objects actually have local names (except Angel's Billabong) but to suit the needs of tourism, that is to make it easier for the foreigners to read, those names were rebranded into English. This rebranding affects the presentation of the signposts in terms of the order of the languages used. State government regulates that Indonesian language should be the first in order but the local government states that the Balinese should be the first in order. Those two regulations are conflicting one to another. To make it worse, in reality the local people present the signposts based on their ideology. If they believe that the Balinese is the most important language since it is related to their religion and culture, they will write the Balinese script in the first order. However, those who believe that tourism is the most important thing providing them with financial need will write English at the top followed by either Indonesian or Balinese. This situation causes chaotic ways of presenting the signposts. To fix this chaotic situation and to respect the state regulation, the local government should obey the state regulation (rather than violating it to show power) and make the society obey this regulation, by making them understand the importance of respecting the national language (since they are the Indonesian citizens) as stated in the state regulation or the next thing that can be done is punishing those who violate the regulation.

Some places also have stories behind them. It is important to let people know about these stories. The reason is that those stories contain the values of how to respect nature and women, especially the pregnant ones. Nature is considered to be the source of life, and that is why it must be well preserved to be sustainable. Ecotourism will help both the government and the local people to preserve it. Respecting women is also very important since those stories have proved that women can do what men cannot. Thus, it is good than men and

women should live side by side and complement one to another. None of them is more inferior to the other.

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