| RESEARCH ARTICLE

Glocalisation of English in Kupang Linguistic Landscape, Timor, Indonesia

Marcelinus Yeri Fernandez Akoli[1] ✉ **Elvis Albertus bin Toni[2] and Alexander H. Kabelen[3]**

[13]*Lecturer, English Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and Educational Sciences, Universitas Nusa Cendana, Kupang, Indonesia*
[2]*Lecturer, English Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and Educational Sciences, Widya Mandira Catholic University, Kupang, Indonesia*
Corresponding Author: Marcelinus Yeri Fernandez Akoli, **E-mail**: marcelinus.akoli@staf.undana.ac.id

| ABSTRACT

This paper aims to describe the glocalisation phenomena of English expressions found on minivans as a means of public transport in Kupang city of Indonesia. This is a linguistic landscape study. The use of English on public minivans is an easily observable thing for people of Kupang because, basically, the public vehicles in Kupang are attractively designed with a lot of symbolic and linguistic objects. The data in this study were collected through picture-taking techniques and interviews. The data were analysed using an interdisciplinary approach under linguistics studies. Results show that English use on public minivans is predominantly characterized by language errors (38%) and variations (62%). The high percentage of language errors and variations on the minivans probably indicates both low English proficiency among those involved in the transportation business and Kupang people as a creative but careless society. Moreover, the appearance of the English expressions serves a number of functions such as English attractiveness, Pragmatics, Social criticism, fashionability, customers' ease with vehicles' identification, and religiosity. Although English in this domain shows a typical style developed by Kupang people, for a number of reasons, it cannot be assumed as a new English variety that is coming into existence.

| KEYWORDS

English, Glocalisation, Linguistic Landscape, Kupang, Indonesia

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

1. Introduction

English nowadays has undeniably grown to become a global language. Everywhere we go, in any countries we visit, a lot, if not some, of people are at least intelligible to English, and it opens chances for us to communicate with them. Briefly, today English has become a global lingua franca in which it facilitates people from different cultural and language backgrounds to meet and share their ideas. Crystal (2003, 4 - 5) wrote that there are two basic reasons for a language to be called a global language. Firstly, it is taken as an officially-used medium of communication in a number of formal domains such as 'government, the law courts, the media, and the educational system'. In fact, there are more than 70 nations around the world considering English as their formal language. Secondly, it is used as the medium of foreign language teaching instruction, although the country does not consider the language as a formal language. In fact, English today is taught in more than 100 nations around the world.

Being phenomenally popular as a linguistically global trend stimulates Kachru (2009) to divide the sociolinguistic layers of what he names 'World Englishes' into three circles. The first division is the Inner Circle which consists of a number of countries where English historically originated from there, that is, the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This circle is also called 'norm-providing' speaking areas where their societies are claimed to speak 'English as Native Language' (ENL) (Bolton 2006b, 249). The second group is called Outer Circle, which includes countries such as India, Singapore, the Philippines, and Bangladesh. This English group is also labeled as 'norm-developing' speaking regions in which their speakers are said to speak 'English as Second

Language'(ESL) or some others call it 'institutionalised varieties' or 'indigenised varieties' (Bolton 2006b; Davydova 2012). Moreover, Davydova (2012) stated that this circle was historically established due to British imperialism, where English was introduced to British colonies. The last is Expanding Circle which contains countries like Russia, China, Indonesia, Thailand, etc. These speaking areas are classified as 'norm-dependent' varieties where their speakers are believed to speak 'English as Foreign Language' (EFL) or 'performance varieties' or 'foreign speaker varieties of learner English' (Bolton 2006b; Davydova 2012). This last group is believed to emerge by virtue of the expansion of English as the medium of international communication.

This article approaches the issues of Englishes in the Indonesian context in the light of linguistic landscape studies. A linguistic landscape can be understood as a linguistic study of written expressions that are publicly found on road signs, advertising billboards, street names, commercial shops, public sign signs, and also public transport and personal vehicles in a given territory or region (Landry & Bourhis 1997). Being a member of the expanding circle, it is interesting to see how such a linguistically and culturally diverse country like Indonesia responds to the presence of English in public spaces. It has been argued that there is a theoretically-intertwined correlation between world Englishes and linguistic landscape research (Bolton 2012; Manan et al. 2017). In fact, there is growing interest among sociolinguists, anthropologists, and cultural observers in the use of English, national languages as well as local languages in public places (Bolton 2012). Therefore, this article examines any English expressions on public transport, locally called 'bemo', moving around Kupang, the capital city of East Nusa Tenggara province, Indonesia. This article again attempts to contribute to the voluminous literature on glocalisation and world Englishes. The linguistic, particularly sociolinguistic theories used in this article try to analyse English expressions in terms of language variations, language errors, code-mixing between English and Kupang Malay, as well as the semiotic meaning behind those expressions.

2. Literature Review
A. Glocalisation of English in Indonesia
The term 'glocalisation' itself is a cross-disciplinary vocabulary as it can be found in a number of subjects such as geography, sociology, anthropology, and language studies. 'Glocalisation' is a blending of two words, that is, 'global' and 'local', with semantically flexible meaning (Robertson, 2014), as things we consider global can sometimes be found in local expressions, and so is local. A local phenomenon can sometimes be seen in a wider context where it is identified in many places throughout nations. Simply saying, when global things are adapted into a particular place, or when universal themes are particularized in a local situation, that is what we call 'glocalisation' (Robertson, 2014). In our words, 'glocalisation' can be better understood as a combination or even blending of global culture with local variety.

As English represents global power, it is inevitable that by the time it is spoken by people from different geographical, social, and linguistic backgrounds, these speakers cannot hide themselves from combining English with their local linguistic features. When this situation happens, local speakers are caught in a dilemma as they, on one side, acknowledge that it is their responsibility to speak English the way a native speaker does. They also, on the other side, desire to express English in their local styles. For these people, speaking English in their local ways can free them to show their identities (Jenkins, 2009).

The situation above explains how world Englishes are established. Englishes nowadays can be seen as evidence of how English in many places around the world has developed and successfully gained its autonomies (Bolton, 2006a), such as Indian English (Baumgardner, 1993); Chinese Pidgin English (Chinglish) (Honna, 2006; Shi, 2009); Singapore English, Malaysian English and Philippine English (Bautista & Gonzales, 2006; Lim, 2009); and Nigerian English (Kperogi, 2015).

Since the introduction of the English teaching curriculum in Indonesia in 1914, English actually got its formal status as a compulsorily-taught subject in 1989 (Lauder, 2008). Ever since, English has played some functions in the life of Indonesian people. The functions are as follows : (1) a medium of international communication (Diem & Abdullah, 2020) ; (2) a means of obtaining science, knowledge, and new technology ; (3) a source of lexical influx for Indonesian development and modernization processes; and (4) a way of exchanging English culture, literature and widening people's horizons. However, these romances cannot hide the reality that the implementation of English is still far from successful as Indonesian students, in general, do not show adequate English proficiency in their real-world, particularly when speaking to their friends, interacting with foreigners, or even to understand western movies as well as English proficiency test (Gunantar, 2016; Kirkpatrick, 2012; Hamied & Musthafa, 2019).

Outside of the formal settings where English exists, the use of English in Indonesians' daily activities mainly occurs in informal domains where Indonesian speakers like to combine or mix English words within the Indonesian sentences they utter. From language contact phenomena, the existence of English among Indonesian people can be exemplified in a number of code-switching as follows :

- 'Kayaknya dia sedikit **jealous** sama sama kamu dech' (Sumiarsih, Siregar, Bahri, & Sanjaya 2014). ='I think he is somewhat jealous of you'.

- 'Setelah UAS waktunya **happy happy** bersama teman' (Windyanti & Aurima 2018). ='After finishing the exam, it is time to be happy with friends'. The inserted English part is a reduplication of 'happy'.

- 'Terimakasih selalu **stand by** buatku kapan pun aku butuhkan' (Windyanti & Aurima 2018). ='Thank you for always being ready by my side anytime I need'. Here, 'stand by' is semantically an idiom inserted in the middle of the Indonesian sentence.

- 'Kamu bisa **call** aku **anytime**' (Sumiarsih, Siregar, Bahri, & Sanjaya 2014). = 'You can call me anytime'. In the intra-sentential situation, the verb 'call' and the adverb 'anytime' are inserted to replace the Indonesian words 'telpon' and 'kapan saja', respectively.

- 'Kamu seharusnya tahu bahwa **health is important**' (Nuraeni & Farid 2018). = 'You should know that health is important'. In this example, the speaker inserted an English clause into the sentence.

B. Kupang city in Sociolinguistic Context

Kupang is the capital city of East Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia. It is geographically located in the southwestern part of Timor island inside Kupang bay [see Map. 01]. It is home to around 434,900 inhabitants from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds (Central Bureau of Statistics at Kupang City 2020). This city is settled by local Timorese people as well as immigrants from throughout the East Nusa Tenggara Province and outside the province. Different from many other islands and cities in Indonesia, where Islam has become the main religion, the city is dominantly covered by Christian believers (Protestant and Catholic). However, there is also an increasing number of Moslems and a small number of Hindu and Buddhist followers.

Figure 01. Kupang City in the East Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia (as shown by the arrow)

Kupang is a multi-lingual city. There are at least 4 different languages used by its inhabitants. Firstly, Bahasa Indonesia as a national language is widely used in formal domains such as government, media, schools, trade, and finance. In daily activities and informal settings, Kupang people speak Kupang Malay, a Malay variety that is widely spoken in Kupang city and surrounding areas. It is estimated that there are about 200,000 native speakers of Kupang Malay and possibly other 400,000 second speakers of the language (Pauuw, 2008). As a part of the Timorese ethnic, many Kupang people also speak Uab Meto, a local language which is also called Dawan. Many Uab Meto speakers are also the second speakers of Kupang Malay. This situation, in many cases, results in code-switched expressions between Uab Meto and Kupang Malay among these speakers. Last but not least, high school students in Kupang are also exposed to English not only through formal activities but also through informal settings such as listening to English songs and movies as well as speaking to their fellows.

3 Methodology

As linguistic landscape study involves an investigation of any written expressions in public places (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), and minivans are objects that can be easily found in public areas, this research, therefore, only uses minivans in Kupang city as the object of research. Quantitatively, there are around 500 minivans functioning as the city's modes of public transportation (Akoli, 2016).

This research has two techniques of data collection, i.e., taking photographs and interviewing. The photographs were taken using Canon 600D, while the data of interviews were recorded either directly using Sony IC Recorder ICD-UX200F or through phone calls using OPPO A9 2020. As a result, this exploratory study has come up with 344 photographs that were taken from the minivans moving around Kupang City. Moreover, this investigation successfully carried out 30 interviews with either the drivers or owners of the minivans.

Table 01. Research tools and respondents

| Research Tools	Respondent's Number
Photographs	344
Interviews	30

Data in this research were then analyzed by using a number of linguistic theories such as Second Language Acquisition, English grammar, Sociolinguistics, and Semiotics and Semantics. The data were then presented and described based on the findings.

4. Results and Discussion
4.1 Results
Of the 344 collected photographs, we classified them into a number of linguistically-similar features. As a result, it was found that 130 photographs (38%) were classified into 'Language Errors' consisting of phonological errors (60 pictures), lexical errors (33 pictures), and syntactic errors (37 pictures). Secondly, there are 109 photographs (32%) grouped into code-mixing between English and Kupang Malay. There are also 53 photographs (15%) showing acceptable forms of English due to their simplicity and correctness, and another 20 photographs (6%) indicating semiotic variations. Finally, in terms of language contact situations, there is a process of 'Englishization' or what we label as 'Englishized Malay' with 16 pictures (4%) and a process of nativization or it is referred to as 'Malayized English' with 18 photos (5%). The percentages of the linguistic features, together with the spread of the photographs, can be visualised in Figure 1 as follows.

Figure 02. Patterns of the English Glocalization in Kupang Linguistic Landscape
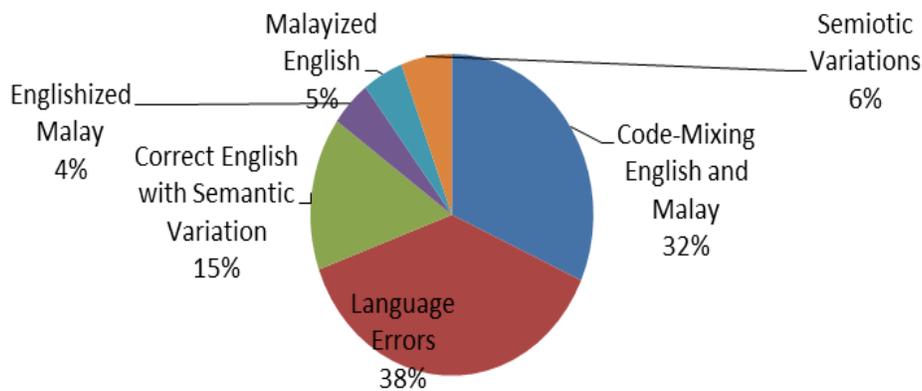
4.2 Discussion
A. Language Errors
The majority of the English expressions on Kupang minivans are full of language errors which take 38 percent of the total English-related expressions in our collection. Based on the data we collected and how the data reveal the truth, the language errors found in Kupang city's minivans can be divided into phonological errors, lexical errors, and syntactic errors. Of the three types of language errors, phonological errors account for almost half of them (45.3%). It is then followed by the syntactic errors (29.1%) in the second position, in which the number of lexical errors (25.5%) is slightly less than the grammatical errors. From a cognitive linguistic viewpoint, this high percentage of language errors compared to the other types of English utterances illustrates the lack of English proficiency among those involved in Kupang city's public transport business.

1. Phonological Errors
In our findings, phonological errors, once again, outnumbered the other two linguistic errors found in the public minivans. Phonological errors here cover any orthographical mistakes of English words. Therefore, besides the two examples we attach below, there are many other phonological errors we found, such as *debt collector*, *Galaxi*, *Felling Bless*, *Five Sisther*, *Extrme*, *Lagend*, *Factory Effex*, and *Messenger*.

In the (1.a), 'simple bat strong' resulted from first language interference in which the creator of this error used the Indonesian phoneme /a/ to replace the English phoneme /u/. The person is unaware that the English phoneme /u/ can phonetically be articulated as [a]. Compared to English, /a/ phoneme in the Indonesian language is only allowed to be articulated as [a]. It never happens in the Indonesian phonetic system that /a/ can be pronounced as other vowels. Therefore, this error can, in terms of its

systematicity (Ellis, 1994), be classified into 'presystematic error'. Ellis claimed this process occurs rarely, but in this case, it is conceivable. This is because Kupang people are expressive but careless speakers in which; they like to mention things they have in their minds no matter whether they know about them well or not.

(1) a.

    simple   bat   strong

            but

'simple but strong.'

   b.

    Father   neet   for   speed

          V.

          need

'Father, (you) need (to increase the) speed'.

The second example is more complex than the previous one. Similarly to the previous case above, 'neet' is caused by the first language interference where instead of using /d/ phoneme, the creator took the phonological element from the Indonesian language, /t/. This error is unique because although the writer already knew almost all the phonemes involved, he forgot the last one. In terms of its systematicity, Ellis (1994) called this a 'systematic error'. It means that the writer perhaps already knew the word, but by the time he performed it, he became confused and created a wrong expression. Moreover, 'neet for speed' is a semantically strange phrase because it is not well-collocated. This kind of error is usually called 'transfer', where the first language of the creator interfered with the structure of English as the target language. 'Father neet for speed' can be blindly compared to 'Bapa butuh cepat', meaning 'Father, you need to increase the speed' in the Kupang Malay variety. When the creator thinks in the same way a Kupang Malay speaker thinks, not in the way an English speaker thinks, that is the process where 'transfer' happens.

Figure 03. Phonological Errors

2. *Lexical errors*

Lexical mistakes have the lowest percentage among the linguistic errors in our investigation. In fact, of the 130 data for the language errors, there are only 32 pictures showing this type of error. Even though these errors are the minority in terms of the available data, the interesting thing about them, on the one hand, is that they appear due to phonetically-similar environments of the related words. On the other hand, the English data, for certain cases, also exhibit how the words come up because of the first language interference and lexical triggering. Both the data below show that way.

Figure 04. Lexical Errors

For 'Don't live me alone', we believe that there are two reasons why the creator made such a mistake. The first is that 'live' and 'leave' are two phonetically-identical English verbs that are only distinguished by [ː] as length marker when pronouncing 'leave' [ˈliːv]. If non-native speakers of English do not know well about this, they are more likely to commit errors, particularly in written texts in which this error can be easily detected. Secondly, the Kupang Malay variety and local languages around Kupang city do not possess such the same phonetic feature in which one prosodic element like length is distinctive to change the whole meaning of the words as well as their spellings. As a result, they become phonetically-less sensitive to such lexical distinction. That is why they treat 'leave' and 'live' as the same words, even though their meaning can also probably be distinguished from the context of the sentences.

According to its typology (Ellis, 1994), such the error above can be considered as an overgeneralisation which is a part of intralingual errors. It means that the creator of the sentence above overgeneralized the rule of English, which distinguishes 'leave' and 'live'. Moreover, as this error exists in the same language, it is then called an 'intralingual error'.

The second lexical error is interesting because there are some linguistic processes involved in the 'Mobile Clasic' phrase. The linguistic processes are (1) borrowing, (2) lexical triggering, and (3) first language interference. Initially, both 'mobile' and 'clasic' are borrowed from English into the Indonesian vocabulary as 'mobil' and 'klasik'. However, the meanings of English 'mobile' and Indonesian 'mobil' are different. The English 'mobile' is an adjective, while the Indonesian 'mobil' is both a noun and an adjective. As a noun, the Indonesian 'mobil' means a vehicle, while its adjective form has the same meaning as the English word. Meanwhile, the English 'classic' itself has no different meaning with the Indonesian 'klasik'. Furthermore, now both 'mobil' and 'klasik' are Indonesian words and have been lexemes at Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (The Big Dictionary of Indonesian Language). Therefore, the noun phrase 'Mobile Clasic' above has undertaken a lexical triggering process as both 'mobile' and 'clasic' are loaned from English. Moreover, it should be taken into account that the morphological structure of the Indonesian language is totally distinct from English. In the Indonesian morphological structure, the head of a noun phrase goes following its modifier. In contrast, the head of a noun goes preceding its modifier in an English noun phrase. That is why an English speaker says 'classic car', while an Indonesian speaker says 'mobil klasik'. It is unsurprising that the noun phrase 'mobile clasic' , as seen in Figure 03 above, is influenced by the interference of the Indonesian language where the head of the noun phrase go preceding its modifier.

3. *Syntactic errors*

Figure 05. Syntactic Errors

Syntactic errors of English expressions in Kupang public transport are dominated by inconsistency in applying English grammatical rules. Particularly, two data of Figure 04 above show clearly how the errors appear due to morphological addition. In detail, it can

be seen that the sentence 'God Blessing You' is wrong by virtue of the –ing suffix that is attached to the verb 'bless'. As we already know, the –ing suffix grammatically functions when attaching Present Continuous verbs as well as to change a verb into a gerund which can behave either as a noun or an adjective in a noun phrase. However, 'God blessing you' cannot be accepted in two conditions. Firstly, it needs to be added with an auxiliary verb 'is' to make the sentence grammatically-correct. Secondly, even if we accept that 'God is blessing you' is an acceptable sentence, the meaning lying behind the present continuous tense only emphasizes things that just are occurring right now. Common people know that the familiar form for this is 'God bless you'. Therefore, the question that can come up about this situation is 'why did the creator of the sentence add the –ing suffix to the 'bless' verb without inserting 'is'? We argue here that it is possible that the creator of the sentence even does not know about 'God is blessing you'. Although it is obvious that the creator of the statement lacks English proficiency, he was probably interested in using the –ing suffix he used to find in many English verbs, and he was perhaps fascinated by the verbs + -ing.

Similar to the first grammatical error above, 'Im promise a you' is a sentence with morphologically-unexpected addition. The creator of the sentence probably knew partially that every time 'I' subject exists, it needs 'am' or its allomorph 'm' as an auxiliary verb like other clauses such as 'I'm sorry', 'I'm happy', I'm OK', 'I'm from Java', etc. He does not know that 'am' or other auxiliary verbs only appear when verbs do not exist. However, compared to the appearance of 'm' auxiliary verb that is predictable, the article 'a' above is totally unpredictable. Moreover, it is not clear how 'a' in the sentence should be understood. We propose here that it is better to understand 'a' as a morphologically-wrong addition with unclear meaning. In terms of second language acquisition, 'Im promise a you' can also be conceived as an example of interlanguage, which is conceived as a mental stage of language proficiency that a person possesses toward a target language (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Before achieving a better level of language proficiency, the person is more likely to make mistakes by applying some rules from either his/her first language or imperfect knowledge of the target language the person gains.

B. Code-Mixing between English and Malay
Code-mixing between English and Malay is one of the most sociolinguistically-popular expressions found on Kupang public transport. In fact, there is 32 percent of the total English-related signage expressed in code-mixing. Either drivers or owners of the vehicles found it more stylistic and educated when they could combine local words with English.

Figure 06. Code Mixing between English and Malay

The first data of code-mixing, as shown in Figure 05, is *Bahodeng has come back*. 'Bahodeng' is a Kupang Malay word meaning 'stylish' or 'dressy'. As a constituent of the sentence, it is inserted as a noun phrase into the subject position of the sentence even though it is basically an adjective. Moreover, this sentence is grammatically wrong as either 'is' or 'come' should be omitted to have a correct sentence. Therefore, an acceptable version of the mixed sentence above is either 'Bahodeng is back' or 'Bahodeng comes back'. As this kind of mixed sentence is semantically context-related, a thing that can be understood by this sentence is either 'Stylish driver is back,' or 'Stylish car is back'. In terms of its switching function (Appel & Muyskens 2005), 'Bahodeng is come back' fulfills both referential and metalinguistic functions. It carries out 'referential function' because the creator of the utterance may find it more appropriate to use the Kupang Malay word that he found more familiar with instead of using an English word that he himself does not exactly know. Moreover, it serves a metalinguistic function since by using the English clause 'is come back', the creator seems to impress the readers on the use of English, although once again, it is grammatically-misleading.

(2) a.
  Bahodeng is come back.
  Adj
  dressy/stylish
  'Stylish (driver) is back.'
 b.

Experiment cinta
N
love
'love experiment'

In (2.b), the English word 'experiment' is mixed with the Standard Malay cinta 'love'. Initially, 'experiment' has been borrowed into the Indonesian language vocabulary, that is, eksperimen with more or less the same meaning. For Indonesian speakers, the term 'eksperimen cinta' is a familiar phrase. Therefore, changing the word 'eksperimen' into its English cognate 'experiment' is an easy thing before mixing it with an Indonesian word, cinta 'love'. Van Hell and Witteman (2009) call this phenomenon 'lexical triggering' in which a switch or mixing can be seen as a result of triggering a cognate word to the other language. In this case, when 'experiment' is facilitated by its Indonesian cognate 'eksperimen', it can be said that 'experiment cinta' is the result of triggering 'eksperimen' into its originated form. In terms of its function (Appel & Muyskens, 2005), 'Experiment Cinta' serves 'metalinguistic function' as the creator of the phrase aims at astonishing the readers by using the English word.

1. *Englishized Malay*

Figure 07. Englishized Malay

(3) a.
Vafitick   community
fafitik
Adj.
acting like a busy person
'a group of people who makes themselves busy, so other people respect them for what they do.'
b.
baking   love
bekin, bikin
make
'making love'

In a multilingual society like Kupang city, expressing more than one language code in public settings is considered a common phenomenon. Consequently, speaking Kupang Malay and then switching it to Indonesian or English can usually be found in daily conversations, particularly among young speakers. Interestingly, in order to be perceived like English, Kupang Malay speakers deliberately changed the normal orthography of 'fafitik' into 'vafitick' (see 3a), then this word will physically look like some English words such as black, truck, stuck, clock, stick where /k/ in the words' coda position is orthographically represented as /ck/. 'Fafitik'or 'Vafitick' means 'acting like a busy person'. Therefore, 'Vafitick Community' means ' a group of people who makes themselves busy, so other people respect them for what they do'. In terms of language contact perspective, Kellerman called this process 'transfer to nowhere' (Gullberg, 2008), in which 'vafitick', on the one hand, may inherit the English feature of /ck/ in coda position. On the other hand, it still semantically and orthographically maintains Kupang Malay characteristics. In other words, it can be said that 'vafitick' in its physical form has gone nowhere as it traps between the English phonemic feature of /ck/ and Kupang Malay perspectives of semantics and orthography. From a phonologically-oriented perspective, the borrowing of a foreign orthographic representation like /ck/ to replace /k/ in Kupang Malay indicates Campbell's 'expressive symbolism' concept (Campbell, 1998). It outlines that some phonetic characteristics are adopted to increase expressive values, the speaker's attitude, or to intensify affections. Consequently, every time people read 'Vafitick Community', they find the expression more valuable because it is English-like. In terms of its function as a code-mixing (Appel & Muyskens, 2005), 'Vafitick Community' carries out both referential and metalinguistic functions. It serves the referential function due to facilitating the concept of 'acting like a busy person', which

probably does not exist in English vocabulary. Moreover, it also has the metalinguistic function because by making 'Vafitick' an English-like word, the creator of the phrase tries to impress the readers on how 'fafitik' can exist in an English version.

Similar to 'Vafitick Community', 'baking love' can superficially be assumed as an English phrase. However, 'baking love' is probably the best example of code-mixing between Kupang Malay 'baking' and English 'love'. The word 'baking' in the verb phrase 'baking love' is derived from the Malay language 'bikin' or 'bekin', meaning 'to do'. In this case, 'bikin/bekin' is changed into English 'baking' for Campbell's 'expressive symbolism', which in turn makes it phonemically closer to the English word 'making' (Campbell, 1998). As a result, 'baking' and 'making' are a minimal pair in which both constitute semantically and phonologically identical elements. Moreover, as the words become identical, their language contact situation gets rather vague due to their transfer direction. Although 'baking' is an Englishized Malay word, its pronunciation is clearly English which makes us difficult to distinguish its contact direction.

2. Malayized English

As the opposite of Englishization, where Malay words are changed into English-like expressions, nativization, or in this case, Malayized English in many cases, is the result of lexical borrowing, which is then remodeled to fit into the Indonesian phonological system. The Indonesian 'overdosis', for example, is a loanword from the English 'overdose'. However, we argue here that it is more likely that in the process of nativizing the English 'overdose' into the Indonesian 'overdosis', it involves a hypercorrection process. As 'overdose' is a countable noun, consequently, its plural form is 'overdoses'. By the hypercorrection process, this form is then taken into the Indonesian lexicon through a phonetic adaptation where it is orthographically expressed in the same way as it is articulated. In the context of English glocalization in Kupang city, 'overdosis' can be considered as an 'expressive symbolism' where the writer of this phrase intended to emphasize the expressive values of 'overdosis'. It means that when a person gets overdosed, he/she creates a kind of life that is totally different from normal people. Therefore, the person becomes unique and strange. From this point, an interesting thing appears.

Figure 08. Malayized English

C. Correct English with Semantic Variation

Out of English errors and variations found on Kupang public transport, there is 15 percent of the total data we got showed how English is expressed correctly. Besides Bomber and Explosion, which are seen in Figure 08, there are some other expressions such as Rasta Style, Broken, Your Beautiful, Ear, bulldozer, super mega fresh, etc. The most outstanding reason for the language creators to put the words on their minivans is that they are onomatopoeic and symbolically expressive. The English word 'bomber', for example, can be conceived as '(1) an aircraft designed to carry and drops bombs ; (2) a person who plants, detonates, or throws bombs in a public place, especially as a terrorist. However, in the Kupang Malay context, it is a distinct word, although it is English-like because this word has a different meaning and word-class. In fact, among Malay speakers, 'bomber' is considered an adjective and understood as 'fat' or 'corpulent'. 'You are a bomber person' means that your body is big and fat. From an onomatopoeic perspective, the first syllable of 'bomb-er' gives the Malay speakers the impression that a person's body is physically big and fat.

Figure 09. Acceptable English

Similar to 'bomber', where its meaning in Kupang Malay is different from its original meaning in English, according to the driver of the minivan where we found 'Broken', 'Broken' in the driver's way of thinking means 'brother'. It should be syllabically separated into 'bro-ken' with 'bro-' as the head and '-ken' as the additional part. Therefore, instead of understanding it as a negative thing, 'broken' is a call addressed to a young male person. Therefore, it semantically refers to a different word. In our interpretation, the driver is trying to impress the readers by presenting a familiar English word with a totally different meaning.

D. Semiotic Variations

We label this linguistic feature as semiotic variation as there is no link between what is written and it's meaning. In other words, the meaning relationship shown in Picture 08 below can only be understood under semiotic interpretation, which allows us to semiotically examine their meanings. Barthes (1986) called this situation 'discontinuity', meaning that there is not a direct connection between syntagmatic unit (spoken/written form) and speech (meaning). Therefore, people will easily associate 'X-Send' with the word 'action' and 'Func-Q' with the word 'funky' because they find that there is phonetic proximity among their pronounced sounds. Thus, this is an example of phonemic discontinuity where the meaning of the words is determined by things you listen to, not by things you read. Moreover, it is human creativity that enables people to link unrelated things to get related. From a postmodern perspective, the current style of human language expressions is caused by fun or pleasure (Piliang, 2003). That is why people like to leave the standard form of writing behind their excitement. In this way, the driver or the owner of the minivans would like to show the exciting side of twisting the words 'action' and 'funky' with other forms which are similarly pronounced, that is, 'X-Send' and 'Func-Q', respectively.

Figure 10. Semiotic Variations

In the light of the semantic triangle proposed by Odgen and Richard (1989), the semiotic relationship between 'X-Send' and 'action' can be visualised and explained as follows :

Figure 11. A semiotic triangle describing the semiotic relationship between the
words 'X-Send' and 'action.'

'action'

'X-Send'   'a way of moving.'

Semantic Discontinuity
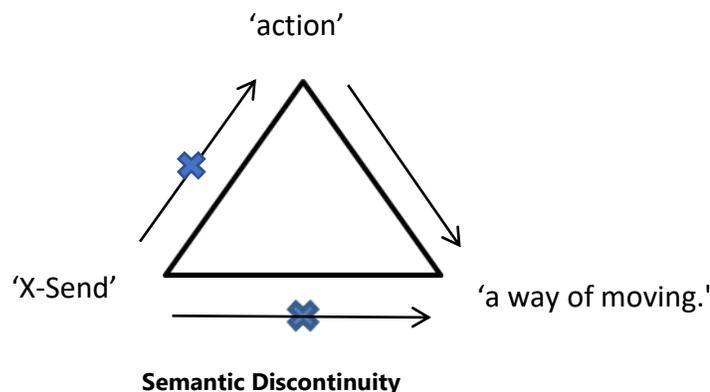
There are three main elements of the semantic triangle above, that is, form 'X-Send', thought 'action', and referent 'a way of moving' in which there is no connection between 'X-Send' and 'action' and also between 'X-Send' and 'a way of moving' although the thought has a connection with referent and that is why 'action' is understood as 'a way of moving'. Therefore, the 'phonemic discontinuity', as found above, can be assumed as a semiotic disjuncture between the form 'X-Send' and the thought 'action'. Moreover, the 'semantic discontinuity' above can be conceived as a semiotic disconnection between the form 'X-Send' and the referent 'a way of moving'.

E. Drivers'/Owners' Reasons for Posting the English Expressions

Table 02. Drivers'/owners' reasons for posting the English expressions

Reasons for Posting the English	Examples
1. Attractiveness of English	- Simple bat strong 'simple but strong.' - Mobile classic 'classic car.' - Bahodeng is come back 'Bahodeng is back / Bahodeng comes back.'
2. Pragmatic Expressions	- Father need for speed 'Father, you need to increase the speed.' - Don't live me alone ' Don't leave me alone.' - Im promise a you 'I promise you.' - Experiment cinta 'Love experiment' - Baking love 'Making Love.'
3. Social Criticism	Favitick Community
4. Fashionable Language	- Oto King 'King's Vehicle' - Func-Q 'funky' - X-Send 'action'
5. Custromers' Ease For Vehicle Identification	- Over Dosis 'overdosis' - Bomber 'obese person.'
6. Expressing Religious Value	God blessing you 'God bless you.'

Beyond the errors, the variations, and the sociolinguistic features we identified, a number of reasons revealed by the drivers/owners of the minivans through interviews can be described here (see Table 04). Some expressions on the public minivans, such as 'Bahodeng is come back' and 'Simple bat Strong,' are linguistically attractive because the drivers believed that mixing Kupang Malay and English words can enhance the value behind the sentence. Moreover, they added that people find the linguistic forms eye-catching whenever they use unique English expressions.

Also, we find pragmatic expressions in several expressions such as 'Im promise a you' and 'Don't live me alone'. The drivers of the vehicles argued that they could communicate their vision to passengers through English sentences. Pragmatically, 'Im promise a you', according to the driver, means that the driver promised his passengers that he would not arrive late. Meanwhile, 'Don't live

me alone' is an indirect request from the driver to invite passengers to get in the vehicle, and they hopefully will not let the seats empty.

Furthermore, 'Vafitick Community' is symbolic evidence where public vehicles can become media of social criticism. The owner of the minivans acknowledged that although 'Vafitick Community' refers to a negative tendency of social life, high school students look to enjoy this phrase as they like to behave somewhat indifferently to what happens around them as opposed to those who like to make themselves busy.

In another case, the creator of 'Oto King' phrase prefers to use English in that way because he thought his minivan was the most popular public transport in Kupang city. Meanwhile, the driver of the minivan on which we found the 'X-Send' writing said that he was motivated to write that way because the word 'action' is a common thing, and it does not attract public attention. Like 'Func-Q', the driver believed that in order to look trendy, those words need to be written differently.

However, some English expressions of the minivans are probably written without a clear intention. According to the owners of minivans where we found 'Over Dosis' and 'Bomber', they posted the writings on their vehicles because they expected the phrases would become markers that would ease passengers to identify their minivans anytime they are about to pass by the passengers. Last but not least, the sentence 'God blessing you' is made on the backside of the public vehicle with an intention. The owner revealed that he hopes soon after the passengers get out of his minivan, they will get a good impression which is not only a common expression like 'Good Bye' but more than that, it needs to be religiously delivered like 'God blessing you'.

5. Conclusion: Emergence of Kupang English?
This research explores the use of any English-related expressions in public spaces, particularly on the public vehicles which move around Kupang city on Timor island, Indonesia. Data show that the actual situations of English use on the minivans are largely dominated by a lot of language errors and variations. This research also investigates a number of reasons triggering the drivers or owners to use English forms in their ways through interviews. By using several perspectives in linguistics studies, it can be concluded that all English errors and variations found in the public minivans reflect both imperfect second language learning as well as local creativity as a result of adoption and adaptation processes to a new social, cultural and linguistic setting. In this case, English expressions have been used to satisfy the Kupang people's need to communicate their ideas in attractive, fashionable, pragmatic, and religious manners. The glocal English utterances, we argue here, are the projection of the linguistic landscape in Kupang public spaces, where it may be best understood as the mixture of the global spirit of English and the desire of Kupang Malay speakers to freely communicate English in their own style. In our finding, the high number of errors, variations, and code-mixing between English and Kupang Malay indicates several phenomena. Firstly, Kupang people have a positive attitude toward English. Using English shows a sort of elitism that many local people appreciate. However, it is also true that Kupang people are outspoken communities; they are not afraid to express their ideas no matter whether what they say has been well understood or not.

As we have opened the horizon of English used in Kupang city's public settings, a question that needs to come up is that: 'Does all of these phenomena lead to the emergence of a typically new English variety called 'Kupang English (Kuplish) ?' Although it is too early to claim that Kupang people are developing a new variety of English, it is also unrealistic to consider the English situation in Kupang as the dawn of a new English variety due to the following reasons. Firstly, Kupang people do not actively use English in daily settings, and even if they use English, these activities are limited to some small domains such as listening to and singing English songs and medium of instruction and interaction in English classes. Secondly, although the local government has already encouraged local people to use English, it is people's disobedience and reluctance that should be responsible for not using English periodically. Outside of these conditions, English is dominantly conveyed with interlanguage errors and local variations as been found on the public minivans.

In the future, the emergence of a new English variety in Kupang, in our argument, will depend on the national language policy. If the language policy will still guarantee the Indonesian language as the only standard language in many formal domains, and English will still be considered a foreign language, then it will be difficult for English to get closer to local people's lives. On the other hand, we also understand that complexity of language use in Indonesia presents a problematic situation for English as a foreign language. This is due to limited domains available for local people to use English, while these local people also find the national language and their mother tongues have been more than enough to fulfill their communicative needs.

References

[1] Akoli, M. Y. (2016). Errors and Variations of English Expressions on Bemo as the Kupang City's Mode of Public Transportation. In Yanti (Ed.) *Konferensi Linguistik Tahunan Atma Jaya 14 (KOLITA 14)* , 579-583. Jakarta: Pusat Kajian Bahasa dan Budaya, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atmajaya.

[2] Appel, R., & Muyskens, P. (2005). *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Academic Archive.

[3] Barthes, R. (1986). *Elements of Semiology*. New York: A Division of Farrar: Strauss & Giroux.

[4] Baumgardner, R. J. (1993). The Indigenisation of English in Pakistan. In R. Baumgardner (Ed.)*, The English Language in Pakistan*, (pp.41-54). Oxford University Press.

[5] Bautista, M. L., & Gonzales, A. B. (2006). Southeast Asian Englishes. In B.B.Kachru, Y.Kachru, & C.L.Nelson (Eds.), *The Handbook of World Englishes*, (pp. 130-144). Blackwell Publishing.

[6] Bolton, K. (2006a). Varieties of World Englishes. In B.B.Kachru, Y.Kachru, & C.L.Nelson (Eds.), *The Handbook of World Englishes*, (pp. 289-312). Blackwell Publishing.

[7] Bolton, K. (2006b). World English Today. In B.B.Kachru, Y.Kachru, & C.L.Nelson (Eds.), *The Handbook of World Englishes*, (pp.240-269). Blackwell Publishing.

[8] Bolton, K. (2012). World Englishes and Asian Englishes: A Survey of the Field. In A. Kirkpatrick and R.Sussex (Eds.), *English as an International Language in Asia: Implication for Language Education*, (pp.13-28). Springer.

[9] Campbell, L. (1998). *Historical Linguistics: an Introduction*. Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

[10] Central Bureau of Statistics at Kupang City. (2020). *BPS Kota Kupang*. Retrieved September 20th, 2020 from https://kupangkota.bps.go.id/subject/12/kependudukan.html#subjekViewTab3.

[11] Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[12] Crystal, D. (2018). *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

[13] Davydova, J. (2012). Englishes in the Outer and Expanding Circles: A Comparative Study. *World Englishes,* 31(3), 366-385. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2012.01763.x

[14] Diem, C. D., & Abdullah, U. (2020). Promoting Multiculturalism: Teachers' English Proficiency and Multicultural Education in Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics,* 10(1), 46 - 58. https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v10i1.24983

[15] Ellis, R. (1994). *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[16] Gullberg, M. (2008). Gestures and Second Language Acquisition. In P.Robinson, & C.N.Ellis (Eds.), *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics and Second Language Acquistion*, (276-305). Routledge.

[17] Gunantar, A. G. (2016). The Impact of English as the International Language on English Language Teaching in Indonesia. *Journal of Language and Literature* 10(1), 1410151. https://doi.org/10.15294/lc.v10i2.5621

[18] Hamied, F. A., & Musthafa, B. (2019). Policies on Language Education in Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 9(2), 308 - 315. https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v9i2.20279

[19] Honna, N. (2006). East Asian Englishes. In B.B.Kachru, Y.Kachru, & C.L.Nelson (Eds.), *The Handbook of World Englishes*, (pp.114-129). Blackwell Publishing.

[20] Jenkins, J. (2009). English as a Lingua Franca. *World Englishes* 28(2), 200-207. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2009.01582.x

[21] Kachru, B. (1994). Englishization and Contact Linguistics. *World Englishes* 13(2), 135-154. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1994.tb00303.x

[22] Kachru, B. (2009). English: World Englishes. In K. Brown and S.Ogilvie (Eds.), *Concise Encyclopedia of Languages of the World,* (pp.363-370). Elsevier.

[23] Kirkpatrick, A. (2012). English as an International Language in Asia: Implications for Language Education. In A.Kirkpatrick, & R.Sussex (Eds.)*, English as an International Language in Asia: Implication for Language Education*, (pp.29-44). Springer.

[24] Kperogi, F. A. (2015). Glocal English: The Changing Face and Forms of Nigerian English in a Global World. In I.Rauch (ed.)*, Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics*. Peter Lang.

[25] Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16(1), 23-49. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0261927X970161002

[26] Lauder, A. (2008). The Status and Function of English in Indonesia: A Review of Key Factors. *Makara : Sosial Humaniora* 12(1), 9-20.

[27] Lim, L. (2009). Not Just an 'Outer Circle', 'Asian' English: Singapore English and the Significance of Ecology. In T.Hoffman, & L.Siebers (Eds.), *World Englishes - Problems, Properties, and Prospects*, (pp.179-206). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

[28] Manan, S., David, M. K., Dumanig, F. P., & Channa, L. A. (2017). The Glocalisation of English in Pakistan Linguistic Landscape. *World Englishes* 36(4), 645-665. https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12213

[29] Myers-Scotton, C. (2006). *Multiple Voices: an Introduction to Bilingualism*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

[30] Nuraeni, B. L., & Farid, M. Z. (2018). The Use of Indonesian English Code Mixing on Instagram Captions. *Professional Journal of English Education* 1(4), 448-453. http://dx.doi.org/10.22460/project.v1i4.p448-453

[31] Odgen, C. K., & Richards, I. A. (1989). *The Meaning of Meaning: a Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism*. Harcourt-Brace Company, Inc.

[32] Pauuw, S. H. (2008). *The Malay Contact Varieties of Eastern Indonesia: A Typological Comparison*. USA: Department of Linguistics, The State University of Buffalo.

[33] Piliang, Y. A. (2003). *Hipersemiotika : Tafsir Kultural atas Matinya Makna*. Jalasutra.

[34] Robertson, R. (2014). Europeanisation as Glocalisation. In R.Robertson (Ed.), *European Glocalisation in Global Context*, (pp.6-34). Palgrave-Macmillan.

[35] Shi, X. (2009). The Glocalisation of English: A Chinese Study Case. *Journal of Developing Studies* 29(2), 89 - 122. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0169796X13480442

[36] Sumiarsih, Siregar, M., Bahri, S., & Sanjaya, D. (2014). Code Switching and Code Mixing in Indonesia: Study in Indonesia. *English Language and Literature Study* 4(1), 77-92. http://dx.doi.org/10.5539/ells.v4n1p77

[37] van Hell, J. G., & Witteman, M. J. (2009). The Neurocognition of Switching between languages: a review of electrophysiological studies. In L.Isurin, D. Winford, & K. d. Bots (Eds.), *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Code Switching*, (pp.53-84). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

[38] Windyanti, & Aurima, Y. O. (2018). An Analysis of Indonesia English Code Mixing in Facebook Status Users. *Professional Journal of English Education* 1(5), 539-544. http://dx.doi.org/10.22460/project.v1i5.p539-544