This paper aims to show the extent of linguistic diversity and ideology in the multilingual advertisements or the linguistic landscape (LL) of Amadeo, a segregated town in the Southern Tagalog, Province of Cavite, Philippines. The LL, considered the country's coffee center, will be explored, considering the town's diverse language status, as well as its current economic challenges. The research will focus on 14 barangays that have been molded by 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' forces in the context of the complicated link between the languages utilized and their depiction in the chosen coffee-related LL for which Amadeo is well known. Because English is the most used foreign language in town, particularly in product advertisements, the researcher goes on to define the level of English language visibility, diversity, ideology, and position in the labeling of store signs, coffee products, and emblematic structures in Amadeo's LL. The study is investigated utilizing Sebba's framework on the unit of analysis, which covers (a) language-spatial linkages, (b) language-content relationships, and (c) language mixing as reflected in signages. Extensive documentation of LL items will be gathered and determined only based on frequency count. The frequency count results for each unit will be represented in the coding chart. The study will determine whether there is a high level of English visibility in the LL across 14 barangays in Amadeo, because the proponent believes that the English language's informative and symbolic functions in the LL serve to communicate the coffee products' essential features and details that entice educated local and foreign tourists, while also exuding modernity, sophistication, and globalness. It is also claimed that the town's business and tourism, rather than the preservation of its indigenous culture, are the primary driving forces determining Amadeo's spatial practice, symbolic construction, and language ideology as the coffee capital of the Philippines.
LANGUAGES USED IN AMADEO COFFEE MARKETING

Unlike in many other contexts, marketing a product and the area itself is seen as a sort of nationalism with a strong link to promoting the town’s rich culture in Amadeo. Its expanding popularity is reflected in an increasing number of venues, such as the Pahimis Festival, a one-week-long celebration organized each year to promote the town and its famed coffee goods.¹ Numerous coffee-related activities and ceremonies are conducted, not to mention the ongoing sale of coffee products, which has become one of the inhabitants’ main sources of income.² This resulted in an increase in the number of stores that have opened since the advent of coffee farming. Since the festival’s inception, all these cultural activities and rituals have been held annually, not only to improve coffee production in the town, but also to seriously aspire for the globalizaion of the product.

Coffee advertisements can be found across town, such as concrete structures that have become iconic since their construction, as well as the various layouts of business signs and coffee product packaging. Although most printed signs in Amadeo are in Tagalog, other languages such as Spanish and Amadeo dialect can be found in product names, slogans, signature coffee lines, descriptive copy (flyers), illustrations such as tarpaulins, and store signage. This is a corollary to the assertion that foreign language phrases are frequently used as attention-getters and memory facilitators in advertising around the world.³ Given Amadeo’s multilingual context, it is worthwhile to investigate, as in previous studies, the status and position of the languages used in this town in the twenty-first century as reflected in the town’s linguistic landscape, as well as the roles they play in the town’s culture, tourism, and economy. After all, signs serve not only linguistic but, perhaps more crucially, iconic functions.³

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OR SIGNAGE

It was observed that scenarios determined by how space and place are constructed and portrayed, as well as the various relationships and identities that are conceivable in those places, have a substantial influence on how individuals use a language. There are numerous and diverse ways in which space is transformed into (specific) place, ‘real material and symbolic locations in which humans anchor a dense complex of symbolic and material behaviors’ (p. 206). The linguistic landscape (LL) is one way a place is formed.⁴

Previous research has employed the linguistic landscape in a variety of ways. Some studies consider it to be “an overview of the languages spoken,” whereas others concentrate on “the social context in which more than one language is present” that is relevant to multilingualism.⁵ Gorter adapted Landry and Bourhis’ (1997) definition:

“[t]he language of public road signs, advertising billboards, place names, street names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings, of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration” (p. 2).⁶

¹ Pahimis Festival, a one-week-long celebration organized each year to promote the town and its famed coffee goods.
⁴ Blommaert, Jan. Locality, the Periphery, and Images of the World.
Many years later, it was defined as “any sign announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location” (p.8). 7

The revolution in LL studies came from utilizing the affordable digital photo camera. 8 Researchers can now produce virtually an unlimited number of pictures and use a computer to process them. 9

LL has two functions: informational and symbolic. The informative function denotes the boundaries of a linguistic group’s area. It displays the specific language or languages used for communication or product sales. The symbolic function, on the other hand, relates to the worth and status of languages as seen by members of a language group in comparison to other languages. 10 Some state and regional governments, for example, have language policy guidelines governing the languages to be used in signage. Language policy shapes LL regulations in education, media, economics, and other social sectors. The main premise of LL analysis is that visual language employed in public settings represents observable expressions of multilingualism-related ideas in circulation. 11

The LL is the setting for society’s public life, consisting of streets, corners, circuses, parks, and buildings. 12 As such, it has critical socio-symbolic significance because it identifies and thus functions as the emblem of societies, groups, and regions. 13 LL analysis is concerned with how a specific public space is symbolically produced “by a large variety of factors such as public institutions, associations, firms, individuals, that stem from the most diverse strata and milieus.” 14

The linguistic landscape in peripheral and rural places, such as Amadeo must also be explored because they have a distinct LL, particularly one present in its coffee branding, that requires deeper exploration and comprehension. There have been very few language landscape studies conducted in the Philippines’ fringe areas of business and advertising. Furthermore, the study of LL is vital for persons in the periphery, such as Amadeo, to determine whether the languages written on their store signs and coffee items are the most efficient approach to sell their wares. By examining this, the project will assist people, particularly business owners and farmers, in reviving and improving the ailing coffee industry of Amadeo, Cavite.

**LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY**

Because LL “reflects the relative power and status of the different languages in a specific sociolinguistic context,” it is critical to investigate the language ideology that governs a region and influences people’s linguistic behavior. 15 Language ideology is “beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language that are socially shared and relate language and society in a dialectical fashion” (p. 4); in other words, it

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emphasizes the social function of language. It is also a collection of “beliefs about language that represent the interests of a particular group in society” (p.4). Because different people have different ideas, values, ways of life, and so on, language ideology is described as “multiple, fractured, contested, and changing” (p.5).  

One assertion believes that the study of linguistic ideology is significant and has the potential for multidisciplinary applications for two reasons. The first is that national identity and national languages go hand in hand in the formation of an ideology; the social or political effects of a community cannot be overlooked when discussing which national language to employ. Similarly, language has always had an impact on how individuals construct their national identity because language is a tool for people to convey their beliefs, worldviews, or attitudes. Second, language ideology is inextricably linked to other ideologies or elements of cultural discourse, as language becomes a symbol or figure that represents a group’s views or identity. It was projected that the power dynamics between dominant and subordinate groups, as LL may be a strong expression of a community’s identity and different languages may have varying attraction to diverse audiences, would be examined in his study. Thus, LL can be viewed as a “symbolic construction of the public place” (p. 4), and this construction may emerge as the ideology to which most people belong and which defines who they are as individuals.

Huebner (2008) concurs with Gorter, referring to these “linguistic marks” as “artefacts of a central government... that reflect a state’s overt linguistic policies” (p. 32). These potential instruments of status and power in society can also be used in the form of signs and advertisements by multinational corporations, religious institutions, banks, and others to signify a community’s unwritten language policy, which may reflect the cultural identity and aspirations of its members.

As a result, it is not surprising that language ideology can have a significant impact on the economic life of a town as it markets its best-selling product, like in the instance of Amadeo’s coffee branding. Interestingly, how language contributes to product branding can eventually connect to how the product contributes to nation branding, especially if the product has the potential to go worldwide. Language, commerce, and politics all interact in this way to show something important about a community’s philosophy. “Language is a visual index ethnicity that, when linked to various products, places, and experiences, contributes to the commodification of culture typical of the symbolic economy” (2003; p.468).

Amadeo’s famed coffee is a prime example of how a single product can be used to promote a community’s culture to the rest of the country and the globe, with language serving as a main tool for the “spatialization of culture” and the “commodification of space.” Through the symbolic and pragmatic usage of Amadeo’s languages, this study might either confirm or refute the town’s efforts to maintain its status as the coffee center of the Philippines.


The study seeks to examine the distinct features of the linguistic landscape of Amadeo as the coffee capital of the Philippines. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the extent of Amadeo's linguistic diversity across the coffee-related signs and packaging of 14 barangays?

2. What is the English language's position in the signs and packaging vis-a-vis the other languages used in the Amadeo town by examining the (a) language-spatial relationships, (b) language-content relationships, and (c) language mixing?

**LL Research in Multilingual Settings**

Since LL was introduced as “a new approach to multilingualism,” various research in LL in multilingual settings has contributed to a greater understanding of the ideologies and politics that surround language use in a specific locale by simply examining the top-down (posted by government offices) and bottom-up (posted by individual actors) signs present in cities, neighborhoods, markets, schools, and others.

Many Asian cities have piqued the interest of LL scholars. One conducted empirical research on the multilingual signs discovered in Tokyo’s LL in 2003, categorizing them as official or nonofficial, and those with mutual translations or not. He divided them further based on code preferences (Japanese vs. non-Japanese) and whether the language employed was intended to establish power or encourage solidarity. It was discovered that official agents had begun making signs in English, as well as, to a lesser extent, Chinese and Korean. Despite this, the Japanese language continues to be the “language of power,” as evidenced by its prominent position and separation from the minority languages, which they are, however, beginning to accept already in comparison to before. The primary reason for using other languages in non-official signs is to express solidarity with the English-speaking society or Western values. This study shows how Tokyo, which was once predominantly monolingual, is progressively becoming more linguistically diverse and resistive to the influence that the Japanese language once held. The current study will employ sign analysis to determine English’s place in the Amadeo coffee branding LL in comparison to the other languages used.

The investigation on the LL of 15 Greater Bangkok communities, where Thai and English language mixing, has become prominent. Unlike Backhaus' findings from Tokyo’s LL, this study revealed a disparity between the official government language policy and the language use patterns practiced within the city’s various communities and promoted by the commercial sector, despite the incentive provided to commercial establishments that adhere to this policy. National signs, as well as street and traffic signs, are not just in Thai but also in English. It also uncovered the depth of the metro’s linguistic diversity, as well as the movement through time from Chinese as an important commercial language to English. On some occasions, the combination of English and Thai is utilized to convey a cosmopolitan air, while on others, it caters to educated English users who are fluent in both languages. Furthermore, the study documented the English language’s influence on Thai lexical borrowing, spelling, pronunciation, and grammar, as well as its evolving Thai variation.

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of English. Using empirical sign analysis, this study will also determine whether there is a gap between the Amadeo local government’s policy and the current trend in the creation of multilingual signs and packaging in Amadeo. Research in multilingual signage in the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in Thailand, specifically the extent to which and how official and nonofficial signs promote multilingualism. Bilingualism between Thai and English was shown to be dominant among the 11 languages utilized in these signs, like Huebner’s (2006) findings. This is an acknowledgment of the global relevance of English and in consideration of the ASEAN context. Foreign languages are not encouraged in the Faculty’s LL, even though this could have been used to expose students to other languages. The classification of signs used in Siricharoen’s study will be used in this study as well, as it was inspired by Backhaus and Huebner’s system. While her research was limited to a small educational context and focused on the linguistic components of the signs, this study will look at LL in a commercial context and go deeper into language ideology. However, this study may come with the same multilingual problem as this Thai university.

To define language use and analyze the situation of multilingualism in modern Macao, one proposed a framework of separate and flexible multilingualism (cf. Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Following Sebba’s framework, it was discovered that most of the posters used Chinese, Portuguese, and English were distinguished from one another by space, color, font, or other visual devices, resulting in what is known as separate multilingualism; in the rest, the distance between languages is much smaller, and multilingual use is much more flexible, demonstrating translanguaging between languages and modes. The concept underlying distinct multilingualism aims to clearly identify groups of people from one another, highlighting the norm and the separation of power. The flexible one, on the other hand, was utilized since addressing a single set of individuals is not required, and so it can be used to question the notions of linguistic fixity and essentialism. This study will likewise adhere to Sebba’s framework, as used in Zhang and Chan’s study, with special emphasis on the visual features of the indicators in the analysis. However, in this study, the items for analysis will not be classified using distinct and flexible multilingualism. In addition to marketing posters, the packaging of Amadeo’s coffee goods will be scrutinized.

A study on multilingual signboards in the public space of Sana’a, Yemen, indicated a disparity between the monolingual speaking community in Arabic and the multilingual LL of the country’s major metropolis. Using reader-oriented typological model, which will also be used in this study, and concept of writing system mimicry (WSM), it was discovered that all four types of multilingual writings exist in Yemen’s LL, but duplicating and fragmentary ones predominate in both top-down and bottom-up signs. The lack of overlapping and complementary multilingual

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top-down signs reflects the local government’s aversion to adopting several languages. The usage of Arabicized English (AE) demonstrates the location’s modernity, high quality, and compatibility with the local community. The widespread usage of English demonstrated the country’s attraction to Western culture, particularly among the upper class. Linguistic glocalization, the “use of international elements alongside local ones” (p. 161), added power to Arabic and English slogans, whereas “the choice to make a text in one writing system superficially resemble the text in another within the LL” (p. 150), is used only for advertising and promotions, not to assert the ethnolinguistic minorities’ identity, as in Sutherland’s study of the LL of London. The qualitative method (sign analysis) used in Al-Athwary’s study will be used in this study as well, but with a focus on Amadeo coffee branding signs and packaging. The current study will determine whether Philippine English and linguistic glocalization will be distinguishing elements of Amadeo LL, particularly with advertising signage, but WSM is not applicable in Amadeo’s environment.

A prior study on the LL on the main highway alone of Amadeo town reveals that the Filipino language in Amadeo’s coffee products just (bottom-up items) acts as an emblem and a tool in marketing and branding in a Philippine LL setting. He also discovered that using the local language authenticates the products as coming from Amadeo, while using English certifies their quality as suited for international consumption. Another study in the Philippines’ outskirts when the researcher explored the linguistic environment of one public secondary school in Irosin, Sorsogon, Philippines. According to the survey, English is the most common language in schools, followed by Filipino, while Bikol is barely visible. The study also indicated that English operates differently in different parts of the school: in the ‘core’ (or top-down), English is used for official communication, whereas in the ‘periphery’ (or bottom-up), it is utilized as the language of youth, fashion, and fetishization. This study may yield similar results as the use of English and the indigenous language in Amadeo, a rural area located south of Manila.

Based on the findings of this study, the three previous attempts to investigate the role of English in peripheral areas, where English is largely used for globalization and formal communication, will be validated. Whether or when this study yields the same results, it will serve as an additional resource for scholars interested in the role of English in the LL of rural areas.

Still in the Philippines, one studied the LL of two major train stations in Manila: Metro Rail Transit (MRT) and Light Rail Transit (LRT). The data demonstrate that English dominates the LL of these two stations, and there is likely no “active competition” between English and Filipino in the LL of the country in many parts of the Philippines. As a result, rather than being bilingual, the language landscape appears to be primarily “unilingual” (p. 26). However, the LL at train stations falls short in this regard because English remains dominant even in bilingual signs. Using top-down and bottom-up analytical lenses to study the signs, and more importantly, framing these signs within Scollon and Scollon’s

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(2003) “place semiotics,” Reyes discovered that the dominance of English in the linguistic landscape of the two train stations could not be construed as “normal” and “necessary,” devoid of any ideological underpinnings (2014). Given its rural and multilingual surroundings, as well as its coffee industry promoted through its LL, it would be interesting to investigate whether Amadeo, Cavite, has the same contentious LL concerns. More recently, an analysis indicated that English was the most visible language in Binondo Chinatown's LL. Chinese, on the other hand, seems to serve as a secondary language, with Filipino being the least preferred language in the LL. Given that LL serves two purposes: informational and symbolic, the inquiry concentrated on the roles that these languages play in the LL. It was also shown that Chinese and English were the most often utilized languages in product naming and attracting the greatest number of potential clients; however, Chinese-run companies frequently exemplified the use of both English and Chinese. The usage of both English and Chinese in their signs appears to be aimed at targeting both English and Chinese-speaking clients. However, it was noticed that while most of these establishments’ brand names were in Chinese, other informational elements such as menus, prices, and other details were printed in English. This suggests that the Chinese have greater symbolic value than communicative value since they are utilized to convey a sense of authenticity. Chinese were not employed primarily to converse with Chinese speakers but rather to emphasize that their establishment is authentically Chinese. The survey also demonstrated that the government prefers English over the local language; as a result, English occupied a dominant position in the LL of Binondo, challenging the presence of Filipino (2017).

The absence of language could endanger its ethnolinguistic viability. This necessitates the reconstruction of the LL, as well as the rehabilitation of the presence of local languages. It was asserted that “the visibility of their own-group language on public signs helps maintain or restore this language in key domains of language use” (p. 46). The presence of Filipinos in the LL may help to change opinions of its importance. The findings of Jazul and Bernando’s study could be contrasted to the findings of our current study on the usage of English in product nomenclature, notably for coffee branding and packaging in Amadeo, Cavite’s multilingual LL.

**Position of English in Coffee Advertisements**

An evaluation of the effect of English in Polish glossy magazine advertisements on young educated Polish women was initiated. The researchers conducted a survey to determine the participants’ views of the product/brand image, attitudes toward the advertisement, purchasing intentions, and levels of comprehension. Respondents who viewed English commercials did not judge the product/brand image or the ad substantially differently than respondents who saw Polish ads. The same pattern emerged when it came to customer purchasing intentions. There were only a few statistically significant changes in comprehension, and non-native consumers had few comprehension issues. The findings of their study contradicted previous studies since they concluded that English's status in Eastern European countries, particularly in advertisements, is no longer seen as “special,”

resulting in its low consumer attraction.\textsuperscript{40} The impact of the use of English in the LL of Amadeo coffee branding could also be revealed in this study, although brand image, purchase intention, and comprehension will not be included as factors; however, these may be examined in future studies.

**Framework**

The multilingual signage found in the five emblematic structures (top-down), the 14 store signs, and 14 product packaging (bottom-up) produced in the LL of the Amadeo coffee branding be subjected to discourse analysis to determine the dominant textual and visual characteristics in terms of their unit of analysis; and the degree of visibility and diversity of the English language across 14 barangay coffee-related signs and packaging. Sebba (2013) provided a methodology for assessing multilingual texts that includes the following aspects:

1. **Language-spatial relationships.** It refers to the relationship between the units containing a specific language or a mixture of languages in terms of the space they occupy—whether it is symmetrical or asymmetrical.

2. **Language-content relationships.** It determines whether the texts have similar content in both languages (equivalent), have different contents (disjoint), or have some parts that are repeated in another language (overlapping).

3. **Language mixing type.** It means the nature of language mixing or the absence of it—whether it has mixed units (containing elements from two or more languages) or language-neutral (containing items that can be assigned to both or all the languages used in the text) (Sebba, 2013).\textsuperscript{41}

Sebba (2013) was able to create two major categories of multilingual writing using this framework: parallel and complementary. The parallel type has “matched units, symmetrically arranged, and identical content in each language, without any mixing” (p. 20); the complementary type has “asymmetrical language-spatial relationships and disjoint language content relationships”. However, transitional units may form that are a blend of a parallel and a complementary type of characteristic.\textsuperscript{42}

**Locale and Items for Analysis**

Many prior investigations collected samples for LL analysis in metropolitan environments. One study mentioned that it is also vital to research the LL of peripheral places because they may disclose intriguing discoveries about the idiosyncrasies of their LL and culture.\textsuperscript{43} As a result, the subject of this study was Amadeo, Cavite, a provincial town in the Philippines noted for its coffee goods.

This study looked at top-down and bottom-up signs on the streets of Amadeo’s 14 barangays. There was a total of 33 signs gathered. The five iconic structures, 14 retail signages, and 14 coffee product packaging are shown below. Because a few stores in each barangay are extremely young and are just getting started, the stores were chosen based on their year of establishment. Some were not fully functional at the time of data collection. They just had tarpaulin signage printed, while those who were considered had their signage erected in their individual establishments. Because the designs


are frequently the same and the only variable is the kind of coffee inscribed on each container, the researcher chose to consider only one product packaging for each business. The majority of these are written in English, Amadeo dialect, Filipino, Spanish, Italian, Chinese, French, or a combination of these languages. The ‘top-down’ LL objects included the five iconic huge coffee structures found in the town’s five important areas: one at the entrance, one at the far end of town, one in front of the town plaza, and two in the town’s largest barrios. Individual social actors, on the other hand, issued ‘bottom-up’ things such as the 14 coffee-related store signs and 14 samples of coffee product packaging. One study emphasized that product brand names should not be excluded from linguistic landscape analyses because this would imply denying the linguistic impact of trademarks on individuals and groups in the globalized world; thus, the brand names of the town’s coffee products were also included in this study. Most of the signs collected were the names and designs of the establishments on all Amadeo’s 14 barangay streets. Individual stores usually display the name of their product on the top of their buildings, but in certain large stores where each store is fighting to find a place for their names, the names are placed on the walls of buildings or houses to notify passers-by or advertise themselves. The packaging examples were collected from the 14 coffee shops and stores located in the same neighborhood.

METHODS

Sign analysis and interviews are the optimal approaches utilized for this study since LL translanguaging may be divided into three dimensions: multilingual units, multilingual and multimodal repertoires, and social settings.

Sign analysis. Extensive documentation of LL items was collected via digital cameras; the data, in the form of photographs, were stored safely in a device. The collection entails traveling from one store to another, covering the 12 barangays. Each store for every barangay was selected based on the year of existence since there are barangays where other stores are very new and do not have so many products being sold. Also, the availability of the store owners was considered since taking photographs of the store signs and products requires permission and personal communication. During the taking of the photographs, the researcher also asked short informal questions to get relevant information, specifically on how the signages and packaging were laid out. It was articulated to the owners of the stores that the reason for the data gathering is for research purposes only. After the data collection, all the photos were carefully examined and tallied as to the degree of visibility of the languages, specifically the English language in the coffee-related top-down and bottom-up signs and packaging in each of the 14 barangays using frequency count. Secondly, the extent of the diversity of the languages from the comparison of the findings across the 14 barangays was identified using frequency count. A total of thirty-three (33) photos collected were subjected to analysis.

The units were patterned after Sebba’s framework (2013). He emphasized the need to consider the language preference and linguistic competence of both the producer and reader of the multilingual texts (and the connection between the two), as well as the context of the


production and the interpretation. He also focused on seeing not just the textual features of these multilingual writings but also the visual elements (e.g., the use of complex layouts, multi-layering, and the use of a range of font styles and graphic devices) and spatial context. This then calls for more acceptance and consideration of the multimodality of these texts when they are analyzed; though rare, the interest in this subject is growing, as seen in several studies.

A coding manual was created to guide the researcher in classifying the signs and packaging captured. The data corpus of the signs was primarily employed numerically to account for the frequency of occurrence of these units. Each was exemplified coming from the data. The results of the frequency count for each unit are reflected in the coding chart created. The coding chart is a Microsoft Excel file that contains the sign code, the barangay where the sign was found, the coffee shop’s name, the coffee product (only for coffee packaging), and the languages or the categories taken from Sebba’s (2013) and Leech’s (1966) frameworks that were subjected to frequency count. The researcher carefully encoded the materials gathered as to the degree of visibility of the languages, the extent of the diversity of the languages present, the characteristics of multilingual signages, and the English language position for each picture gathered. It is worth mentioning that even though the interview is not part of the study, during the data gathering, the researcher asked permission from the owners to provide salient information. Through personal communication, the researcher then asked questions to the store owners on how they named and designed the store and their product packaging, and the reason for their language choice.

Lastly, a discussion of the most important findings based on the sign analysis followed, which became the basis for recommendations for future studies.

**Interview.** To further investigate the official language policy in Amadeo and the shop owners’ motivations for their language use, an informal interview was conducted with two local government employees working in the town’s municipal office. The representatives voluntarily answered a few questions as regards the design of coffee emblematic structures found around the town. Also, the coffee store/shop owners were present and willing to be interviewed during the data-collection period. These informants were advised before the data collection that the reason for asking questions is for research purposes only and that the questions would only pertain to the design and the use of languages.

The following are the findings of a discourse analysis that focused on the extent of linguistic diversity found in Amadeo town’s linguistic landscapes and the English language’s position in signs and packaging in comparison to the other languages used in the town, using frameworks to analyze multilingual texts (Sebba, 2013) and visual design (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

**The Extent of Linguistic Diversity in Amadeo’s LL**

The proliferation of English used in the signs and product packaging in the coffee-related shops and signs across Amadeo’s 14 barangays, determined through frequency count, is explained below.

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Top-down signs. Based on the findings, it is evident that except for Brgy. Dagatan and Brgy. Salaban, English use was spread out in the three barangays where the top-down signs are located as local government officials themselves mandated that the design be such (C. Honrada, personal communication, October 23, 2018), considering that English is an official language and that many of the locals understand and use English. This then reveals the language ideology that governs the “symbolic construction” of Amadeo, which has been fashioned as a modern town hospitable to local and foreign tourists through its mere language choice. It can be seen here that, affirming Lefebvre’s concept of “spatial practice,” the economy and tourism of this fourth-class municipality greatly influence its language ideology, which may also have an impact on the people’s culture. Unlike Huebner’s studies of Greater Bangkok’s LL revealed a disparity between the government’s language policy and the current LL trend, and this ideology prevailed in Amadeo without visible compunction from its residents and is reinforced by the dominant use of English in bottom-up signs and packaging across the coffee shops or stores in Amadeo as revealed above. This concretely shows what Moriarty called the “commodification of culture typical of the symbolic economy” (p. 468).^{50}

Brgy. Baruso became an exemption as it is in a secluded area of the town, away from the main highway. It also has the fewest passersby, as well as local and foreign tourists; thus, the coffee promotions cater more to the locals than the tourists. The top-down sign here is the oldest structure among the other four and was built at the time when Amadeo had not been proclaimed yet as the coffee capital (D. Javier, personal communication, October 27, 2018). Also, coffee during that time was not yet very famous; thus, it was one of the early attempts of Amadeo to boost the popularity of its coffee industry.

Bottom-up signs. Interestingly, English was largely used in only six (6) out of 14 barangays: Tamacan (6), Dagatan (7), Loma (8), Maitim (4), Buho (5), and Baruso (6). These are located along the main highways of Amadeo (except Brgy. Baruso) and very near Tagaytay City, which is a very popular tourist destination for both Filipino and foreign tourists such as Koreans, Japanese, and Americans, who migrated and own businesses in the area as well. The use of English in their signs serves as a branding strategy that attracts not only the locals but international consumers, too, who can read and understand English. The rest used English minimally (from 0 to 2 only) with Amadeo dialect and Italian used instead of English or they were mixed with English as the coffee store/shop owners wanted to emphasize the sophistication and authenticity of the product.

Product packaging. The presence of English in the product packaging across the 14 coffee stores and shops is also not even throughout Amadeo, as only three (3) barangays used this language most extensively: Loma (87), Maitim (49), and Buho (35). Understandably, these are the areas along the main highways where most local and foreign tourists visit. The rest used English, though it still is the more dominant language used over other languages. Six (6) barangays mostly used Filipino, Spanish, and Amadeo dialects alongside English. Notably, Barista Loft in Brgy. Halang used mostly Filipino and not a single English word in its product packaging. The owner used mixed Italian and English for the store name “Barista Loft” and used the Filipino language in their only product that is

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packaged in native sackcloth because the owner wants to have a balance as far as the language, the look, and marketing are concerned (L. Escalante, personal communication, October 28, 2018). The product is a marketing strategy. The black text on the brown cloth background is very striking, and the packaging used to store coffee beans gives off a native feel. The logo is, again, a take on modernizing the product. The text “Kapeng Barako” reiterates that the coffee is grown in Amadeo, and the packaging is the method in which the coffee is marketed as organic and very natural.

The Filipino language in Amadeo’s coffee products is used as an emblem and a tool in marketing and branding. The use of the local language authenticates the products as having come from Amadeo, and the use of English verifies its quality as fit for international consumption. In international trade, English may be seen as the ultimate source of mobility in marketing local products, but it cannot stand alone, and this situation necessitates the use of local languages.  

In summary, a high degree of visibility in the top-down and bottom-up signs and product packaging was found for English across the 14 barangays, with Spanish and Amadeo dialects also emerging to be more preferred than Filipino. The broad extent of the use of English across the 14 barangays, especially in sites of luxury, was also noted to lure the more educated local and foreign tourists to experience the authentic and high-class coffee products that Amadeo offers. On the other hand, it was mentioned that linguistic diversity at local levels is a necessary counterweight to the hegemony of a few ‘international’ languages. The ‘World Languages’ should, just as roads and bridges, be seen as tools for communication of ideas and matter, but the creation of authentic ideas and products is in most cases necessarily best done locally, such as in bottom-up LL and different coffee products of the town. Though they come in different packaging styles and colors, it is very evident that there is an interplay of different languages in each, if not all, of the packages. These products have become known due to their authentic local sound (like the use of barako, pahimis, etc.) that non-locals develop curiosity on what is in the term that makes the product sellable, not to mention its great tasting coffee blend. Following another study, the use of local terms such as barako and pahimis perform an informative function wherein it marks the territory of a linguistic group, specifically, in this case, the people from Amadeo. By using the terms unique to them, they can assert their specific language when it comes to selling their products. Using local terms is also indicative of the symbolic function of LL whereby value and status are placed on the local language while also emphasizing the English language when compared to other languages. As mentioned by Blommaert, language functions in a community because it provides local meanings: meanings that provide frames for understanding the local environment, to categorizing and analyzing the (strictly) local world. This means that the use of the local language as viewed by the locals gives them a sense of authenticity not to mention the feeling of pride and independence. The dominant use of the local language, which sounds very original and exotic as well, as they are also being found in the signs of the stores around the town, has become the trend and orientation in putting up a business-like coffee here. Blackwood

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53 Blommaert, Jan. Locality, the Periphery, and Images of the World.
reiterates that the choice of language itself can be an exotic choice, where exotic stands for foreign and therefore different and therefore better. In other words, it is the consumers’ aspirational behavior that is being manipulated (2009). From the given set of data, it is evident that the mixing of languages is an accepted practice that the people of Amadeo employ to keep a foothold on the international market while maintaining local pride in the product. This is the language orientation of the people of Amadeo, which shows the framework in which their language attitudes are formed and how they feel about their own and others’ language. Moreover, the local coffee entrepreneurs, and perhaps the residents that tolerate this language choice, do not see English as a threat to their local languages, Amadeo dialect, and Filipino unlike in Spierts’ (2015) study on advertisements in Egypt. This practice can be viewed as healthy since the construction of local identities and language use complements the dynamic nature of language.

In studying the language orientation of Amadeo and its effect on coffee shops and products, it is significant to note the role that Western colonization plays in many provinces of the Philippines.

Cultural hegemony is referred to by Gramsci as the “domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling class who manipulate the culture of said society.” This definition covers beliefs, perceptions, values, and mores so much, so that whatever the ruling class perceives as the norm, the ruled class accepts it as such. The Philippines was colonized by Spaniards for nearly 400 years and by Americans for almost fifty years, and during this time, two important contributions were given by the two countries: religion (Spain) and education (United States). These two influences are heavily felt today, with the country being predominantly Catholic and recognizing English as one of its official languages.

The influence of American English being alive and well–practiced in the Philippines can be seen in the linguistic landscape of Amadeo. As in the data presented in the first part of this chapter, English is heavily used in the dissemination of information and execution of marketing strategies. The notion of “West is Best” has prevailed in the country, from television viewers preferring mestiza or mixed-race actors to consumers patronizing imported goods to people perceiving English as a more sophisticated language. In addition to presenting a landscape that offers sophistication and modernity, it can be inferred that the use of the English language in Amadeo is also for the benefit of tourists.

Aside from cultural hegemony, it is also important to note how Lefebvre’s (1991) Spatial Triad factors into Amadeo’s Linguistic Landscape. Lefebvre (1991) defines space as “produced and reproduced by humans and their interests” (p.28). The development of Amadeo as a municipality relies heavily on its identity as a coffee capital. This means that its products are meant to be consumed not just by those within the area but by the international community as well. Thus, Amadeo’s development necessitated the use of both the local and English languages.

In sum, the spatial practices of Amadeo have led to a higher degree of visibility of English than the Spanish, then Amadeo dialect when it comes to top–down and bottom–up signages and product packaging. The mixing of languages that is present in the LL of Amadeo is indicative of

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translanguaging space: transcending the norms of the use of language in branding by integrating English, an agent of globalization, and Spanish, or the local language, a symbol of their pride and esteem. Simply put, the signage and product packaging were designed to be appealing to the international eye by using the English language, but at the same time, entrepreneurs use the local language to intrigue and pique the tourists’ and locals’ interests alike. The prevalence of the English language in the LL of Amadeo seems to indicate the heavy emphasis on globalization, on making their product seen and known by possibly being eye-catching and attention-getting.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE’S POSITION IN AMADEO’S LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

This part examines the English language’s position concerning other languages in the signages and packaging of coffee-related products as to the (a) language-spatial relationships, (b) language-content relationships, and (c) language mixing. Using Sebba’s framework, the position of English in the multilingual signs and product packaging of the 14 coffee stores and shops is identified and analyzed below.

Language mixing. The findings present the prevalence of language mixing in the top-down and bottom-up signs and product packaging.

Top-down signs. Findings display the occurrence of language mixing in the multilingual top-down signs of the five emblematic structures found in the key areas of the town. Almost all these signs’ texts (5) are in mixed language. English is mixed with other languages used in all signs. This is like Huebner’s study, which posited that Thai signs are not in pure Thai but are also mixed with English to display a cosmopolitan air and to cater to educated English users who are proficient in both Thai and English.

Noticeably, Spanish (4) is the preferred language combined with English, rather than the Amadeo dialect (2), and Filipino was not mixed with English at all. With the hope of the Philippines and Amadeo town to boost the local coffee industry, as mandated by the then Mayor Benjarde Ambion Villanueva and upon the proclamation of Amadeo as the “Coffee Capital of the Philippines” in 2002 by the then president, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (C. Honrada, personal communication, October 27, 2018), English in the top-down signs, mixed with other foreign languages, was used to promote the products to tourists and to easily penetrate the international market. As mentioned earlier, the use of languages other than Filipino, or Amadeo dialect, for that matter, is perhaps part of the municipality’s attempt to reel in international attention. It is Amadeo’s way of showing the world that its coffee is on par with the products of other countries famous for their coffee.

Bottom-up signs. Similar results also revealed that almost all the signs are also written in mixed language (12). English is mixed with other foreign and local languages, as shown in Figure 33, except for Brgys. Salaban, Minantok, Tamakan, and Buho, as the coffee stores and shops here are located on the main highway and are therefore very accessible to local and foreign tourists. Thus, they largely use English in their store or shop signs.

Spanish (7) is mixed with English more, than with the Amadeo Dialect (6) though the difference is negligible. Filipino (4) came only next to these two languages. Spanish has a higher status than Filipino in this case since most of the owners (who have the last say on
what to include in the store signs or products) of
the coffee farms belong to the older generation
and know how to speak Spanish since the
country’s education system in the ‘60s and 70’s
required the inclusion of Spanish language in
the curriculum for both secondary and tertiary
education (E. Belardo, personal communication,
October 26, 2018). The use of the Amadeo
dialect, together with Spanish, also connotes the
authenticity of the coffee products produced in
Amadeo as the coffee capital. English is used to
give the products a global appeal, especially if
the children of the coffee store owners were the
ones who designed the shop signs and decided
on what language to use that would best fit their
coffee branding strategy. Through this, it can
be said that, aside from the local government
officials who dictate the languages to be used in
top-down signs, the coffee business owners are
indirect catalysts of the spread and privileging
of English in this town. On the other hand,
Filipino is not largely present in the Amadeo LL
since the main objective of the store owners is to
make the product known internationally and to
sell to foreign consumers.

Product packaging. The same findings from the
bottom-up signs are also revealed in the product
packaging, where English (12) is also mixed
with other languages in all packaging, except
in Brgy. Bucal. It is identified as one of the
“sites of luxury” that caters primarily to Class A
customers, who solely use English. Spanish (6)
and Amadeo Dialect (6) are the usual languages
mixed with English; Filipino (4) was only the
fourth visible language for the same reasons
explained above.

Language-spatial relationships. The succeeding
discussions focus on the kind of language-
spatial relationship present in the top-down and
bottom-up signs and product packaging across
the 14 coffee stores and shops in Amadeo.

Top-down signs. Studies show the language-
spatial relationship existing in multilingual
coffee-related top-down signs. It shows that the
languages used in the signs are asymmetrical with
each other (5), and English (5) is the dominant
language that causes the imbalance.

Bottom-up signs. Here are the results in top-
down signs, which are also alike to the ones
in bottom-up signs, as most languages are
asymmetrical (11) with English as the dominant
language, while the rest of the languages’
presence was very minimal, like the store signs
in Barangays Salaban, and Pangil; interestingly,
Filipino was not very prominent compared with
foreign languages such as Italian, French, and
Spanish with at least one occurrence each. This
is not surprising considering that in Jazul and
Bernardo’s study (2017), Filipino was also the
least favored language in Manila Chinatown’s
LL, with English and Chinese being the most
widely used languages. However, Amadeo’s case
is not the same, considering Amadeo’s long
distance from Manila and its dialect influenced
by its Spanish colonial past.

Product packaging. The languages here have an
asymmetrical relationship, and English (12)
is dominant in almost all the coffee stores and
shops except in Barangay Halang, where there is
no English used in the product packaging.

The asymmetrical relationship found in all the
signs and packaging can also relate to the findings
of Reyes’ LL study of the Metro Rail Transit
and the Light Rail Transit in Metro Manila,
Philippines, wherein English dominates the LL
and where there is no strong “active competition”
between English and Filipino and English and the
Amadeo dialect. This may imply that Amadeo’s
LL can be described as essentially “unilingual”,
which some might consider an “aberration of the
country’s bilingual policy” (p. 26). For Reyes, this situation could not be construed as “normal” and “necessary;” however, for this study’s context, it is the opposite, as English is deemed as a crucial marketing strategy to boost the coffee industry in Amadeo by catering to the educated local and foreign English users who can afford expensive coffee products such as the ones sold in most of Amadeo’s shops and stores. Similarly, English, the privileged language, dominated and served an informative function in Manila Chinatown’s LL (Jazul & Bernardo, 2017), as it was found to appear in many of the informational materials of the establishments examined. Chinese was only used to display the authenticity of the culture of the place as shown in the brand names; however, in Amadeo’s case, Filipino or Amadeo dialect is not largely used to show this same authenticity, as the marketability of the product is more prioritized, and English can surely give them this.

One study also revealed the same results wherein the researcher found that English product names and expressions in the ad also dominate to catch the attention of the consumers and create a Western and modern appeal for the product (minus the scientific appeal) that will make the coffee products more attractive to its target international market. In this case, English performs its symbolic function: the Amadeo residents perceive and value English vis-a-vis other languages as Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, and Hecht found in their study of Israel’s LL (2006).

**Language-content relationships.** The language-content relationships present in multilingual coffee-related top-down and bottom-up signs and product packaging: whether the languages are similar in content (equivalent), different (disjoint), or have some parts repeated in another language (overlapping).

**Top-down signs.** The language-content relationship exists in multilingual coffee-related top-down signs in Amadeo’s LL. It is revealed that almost all the languages in the signs have a disjoint relationship.

**Bottom-up signs.** Similar results can also be said here, wherein there are more disjoint relationships among the languages in the bottom-up signs. However, noticeably, there is a minimal but notable presence of equivalent and overlapping relationships (4).

**Product packaging.** The dominance of disjoint relationships (14) among the languages used in Amadeo’s coffee-related LL is also obvious.

The dominance of disjoint relationships helps the town officials and the coffee stores emphasize the Amadeo coffee products’ distinctive characteristics and information, as well as the international image that they want to exude, thus fulfilling both an informative and symbolic function for the benefit of the educated local and foreign tourists that in turn also bring favorable returns to the coffee shop/store owners. The use of English here can be seen as “an attractive differentiation and segmentation strategy” targeting consumers that are “economically powerful” as these advertisements “speak the customer’s language” (p. 479) while also emphasizing its uniqueness from other local brands. It can be inferred in this case that the elitist strategy as mentioned by Kelly-Holmes somehow separates the masses since the products’ packaging is designed to target only those who can speak and understand English.

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In summary, it was found that the English language enjoys a superior position vis-a-vis other languages, as displayed by the frequency of its mixture with other languages. This observation is further reinforced by the asymmetrical and disjoint relationship with the other languages, which was purposively designed as such, to give information on the unique and saleable features of the coffee shop’s products and to attract educated local and foreign tourists as part of the town’s common branding strategy.

This usage of the English language does not only speak of Amadeo’s intent to market their product on an international level but also of the reality that the Philippines is still very much under the influence of American hegemony. That the products and coffee shops are branded solely in English shows that more value is given to English-speaking consumers. This is a reality that has existed in the country for many decades and does not show signs of changing in the immediate future. Lefebvre states that “architecture, population, and economy are driving forces in structuring the vision that takes place within a space.” It will take a radical movement of sorts before the linguistic landscape of Amadeo shows distinctive changes.

It can be inferred that Amadeo’s linguistic landscape and coffee branding are characterized by its seeming strong preference for English over its native languages dispersed across the 14 barangays, but especially prevalent at the sites of luxury visited by local and foreign tourists. This has assisted both the local government and coffee shop and business owners in catering to a worldwide clientele rather than just the local one. Furthermore, the predominance of English persuasive words in both signs and product packaging highlights the uniqueness and originality of Amadeo coffee products; its aesthetic and strategic visual design elevates English to a more visible position, flaunting its eliteness, globalness, and sophistication; and the asymmetrical and disjointed relationships that English shares with the Amadeo dialect and with Filipino, all conspire to strategically emphasize English. Furthermore, the local coffee entrepreneurs, and perhaps the residents who tolerate this language choice, do not see English as a threat to their local languages, the Amadeo dialect, and Filipino, which is worth considering in terms of language and culture preservation, as well as the linguistic identity that the town, and country, chooses to display in the face of globalization.

Following Lefebvre’s method, the findings of this study evaluated the Amadeo people’s concept of space as a container of communication behaviors and theorized it as a social construction in the context of the coffee industry. Amadeo town is investigated as a mere habitat in which language is prioritized, and its people are regarded as active generators of new practices in terms of coffee promotion. Simultaneously, the social construction of space sheds light on the development of new cultural practices and conceptualizations. The collection and analysis of records confirm that linguistic landscapes are an important source of information about social processes; in this case, how the Amadeo town used rural space to live together within an environment and how this action on the space influenced people (consumers) in terms of the use of native language and the construction of linguistic and cultural heterogeneous spaces, as well as participation in economic activities. The study’s observation of rural space activity contributed to a deep understanding of the


processes of space production through the linguistic practices of Amadeo’s locals and the recognition that these occur in other rural spaces, leading to the study of Amadeo, a rural area in transformation, which has ceased to be monolingual and inhabited by a local population, and which is becoming a space of cohabitation of tourists and consumers from various places and cultures. In contrast to the creative use of space in the coffee business, the influencing processes in the Amadeo community do not imply a total transformation of rural space. In this case, the transformation of space through linguistic practices shapes social mediations, including interventions in the coffee industry; in the case of Amadeo, the participation of tourists and consumers in the social field of selling/consuming its finest coffee product is related to its transformation into a diverse community. Thus, as Lefebvre (2009) explains, social groups in this scenario refuse to passively accept their conditions of existence, life, or survival and attempt to master them. According to Lefebvre, this immensely diverse approach is known as ‘autogestion,’ and it involves both enterprises and territorial regions, as well as the strengthening of all associative ties or civil society.

Overall, an interdisciplinary examination of the multilingual units, multimodal repertoires, and social context that characterize Amadeo’s coffee-related LL leads to the conclusion that the town’s economy and tourism (primarily dependent on its thriving coffee industry), rather than the preservation of its native culture and language, are the main driving forces that determine Amadeo’s spatial practice, symbolic construction, and language ideology. These benefit the town as well because they not only “create a stream of revenue” but also “enhance the touristic and leisure value of the places themselves.”

It is consequently critical for future research to investigate how this type of coffee branding strategy affects the many layers of Amadeo culture. The language in signs can influence people’s perceptions of the languages spoken in their area, as well as their linguistic behavior and social identification as an ethnolinguistic group. Thus, for a more multidisciplinary and qualitative approach, it would be preferable to learn more about the motivations of sign developers and advertisers in favoring English over other languages, as well as the impact of this on consumer brand evaluation, perceived globalness, perceived quality, and a variety of other consumer variables, to determine whether the use of English at the expense of other local languages’ survival is worthwhile. A survey can also be done to determine whether there is a disparity between the town’s official language policy and the people’s use of the language. Conducting the same study in other places of the country, such as Tagaytay City and Amadeo’s neighboring towns, which likewise promote a unique product catering to local and worldwide markets, would be intriguing as nothing has been studied about this study thus far.


