

LINGUISTIC SCHOOLSCAPE: STUDYING THE PLACE OF ENGLISH AND PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES OF IROSIN SECONDARY SCHOOL

Susan Fresnido ASTILLERO
Sorsogon State College & Ateneo de Manila University

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the linguistic landscape of one public secondary school in Irosin, Sorsogon, Philippines. In particular, it identifies what language/s are displayed in the signs, who produced the signs, what materials are used, and who the intended audience is. It also determines how the languages are used, displayed and regulated in the school premise. Based on the 90 signs collected, the paper shows that English dominates in the linguistic schoolscape followed by Filipino while Bikol is scantily visible. It also illustrates that English functions in different spaces of the school - in the 'center' (or top-down), English is used for formal communication while in the 'periphery' (or bottom-up), it is used as the language of youth, language of fashion and language of fetishization. On the other hand, Filipino, Bikol languages and mixed languages are mostly observed in bottom-up signs which are mostly used informally such as to impose particular order, to express transgressive personal feelings and emotions, political choices, or individual and group identity. These findings may connote that these languages especially the Bikol language are only relegated at the periphery of the school premise. The high preference of English in the school top-down signs is shown by capitalizing, highlighting and using vivid inks or paints as well as using durable materials for long lasting presence of English in the LL. Though evidences show that there are spaces for bilingual and mixed languages in the schoolscape, the findings show that the general institutional infrastructure and the stakeholders through their language practices do not fully support and strengthen the multilingual speakers of the area as well as the general goal of language policy on multilingualism promoted by the Department of Education.

Keywords: linguistic schoolscape, Philippine languages, multilingualism, Bikol language

INTRODUCTION

Considering the quest for the study of LL, it is still considered as a relatively new developed and young field (Gorter, 2006; Shibliyev, 2014). Urban places and spaces have usually been focused on due to: 1) most cities are bilingual or multilingual, 2) multilingual cities are commoditized, 3) language policy can be better seen in metropolitan areas (Shibliyev, 2014). While the focus is on the 'center' or 'cities', rural/local areas are less established in the study of LL.

Therefore, this paper focuses on the rural area where stakeholders reveal different languages practices regarding the place of English and Philippine languages in linguistic schoolscape. It would also be interesting to find out the evolution of LL in schoolscape (if there is any) as the language policy in education moves from global (English) to local (mother tongue) languages. Through the investigation of languages in schoolscape (e.g. Bikol, Filipino, English), this may portray the inclusion/vitality of multilingualism in school domain on one hand or this may show exclusion/ invisibility of any of these languages and may show hidden struggle of other local languages in schoolscape on the other.

The paper provides first a brief discussion of the position of English in the history of language in education in the country followed by the contextualization of the challenges in the implementation of multilingual language policy in the country. Lastly, the discussion of the historical, demographic and sociolinguistic situation in Sorsogon to specifically anchor the paper on its contribution by representing the multilingual situation in the local context which may shed light on what is the real situation in the micro-level setting such as the school domain.

Position of English in the language-in-education policy in the Philippines

For decades, English is already deeply entrenched in the psyche of the Filipinos and adding other local languages in the school curriculum have been topics of debates in the Philippine education system. The reality in the Philippines as a post-colonial nation is this: a change in government administration propels change in language policy. And one thing interesting in the language shifts in the country is its recursive implementation of English as the dominant language by the powerful government officials who have the privilege to alter or revive the policy.

Revisiting the history of language policies in the Philippines tells two opposing views: 1) the recursive adherence to the English language as a ‘civilizing tool’ (Martin, 2008) and the language to promote economic stability, and 2) language policy tries to break the history of dominance of English as the only ‘standard’ language and put forward the notion that since the Philippines is a multilingual country such claim of only one language or the notion of “one size fits all” that can dominate the society is being rejected.

It is interesting to note that E.O No. 335 was the only one in the history of language policy in the Philippines which explicitly stipulated the use of Filipino and English in the signs of all offices signed in 1988 in consonance with the Bilingual Education Policy (BEP). Clearly, E.O. No. 335 was concerned about the promotion of Filipino as the national language side by side with English as an international language. This seemed promising since it pointed out to the equal visibility of two languages on signs.

Other related policy about the use of signs particularly in school domain is the issuance of Regional Memorandum No. 215, s. 2015 (Policy in Establishing Standardized Schools’ Signages & Reiteration Guidelines in Revitalizing Classroom Structuring Cum Child-Friendly School System (CFSS)). While the institutionalization of mother tongue in the country is very promising, one thing that is missing in this memorandum is the discussion and inclusion of local languages in the linguistic schoolscape. Consideration of what language to write was not given much attention despite the fact that the school domain houses multilingual speakers who can speak and knowledgeable of different Philippine languages.

Contextualizing challenges in the implementation of MTBMLE policy

Philippines has an estimated current population of 102, 668, 409 as of October 10, 2016 (<http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/philippines-population/>). Also, the country is said to have 183 living languages (Ethnologue, 2016). From these data, the Philippines is not only rich in population but also rich in linguistic diversity. Thus, positioning language policy in the country seems complicated, on one side, claiming for local and national identity, on the other, meeting the challenges of ASEAN integration 2015 and the globalized world in general.

Since the implementation of MTBMLE policy in 2009, there have been several challenges which hindered its effective implementation. Tupas (2014:1) argues this is because of the existence of ‘inequalities of multilingualism’. According to him, MTBMLE is shackled by ‘ideological’ and ‘structural’ challenges that is why despite its positive role in education the policy is still struggling to be implemented successfully. The ideological and structural constructs are clear manifestations that resistance is ongoing phenomena in the Philippines.

The ideological challenges in the Philippines are actually very strong as reflected in the attitudes and beliefs of the stakeholders (e.g. teachers, students, administrators, politicians) towards the policy. While

the language attitudes of these people position the English language as only key to economic asset and stability, global competitiveness and worldwide opportunities, local languages are being devalued and placed at the periphery (Mahboob & Cruz, 2013; Burton, 2013; Mwabaleka, 2014).

Structural challenge is also experienced in the country. One example is the expulsion of three 13 years old students who speak Ilocano inside the school premise in Saviour's Christian Academy in Ilocos Norte. This report is one of the concrete manifestations of how 'linguistic imperialism' (Philipson, 1992) comes out from the 'ground' (e. g. the school). Ironically, the school which should be considered the bridge for promoting proper education and balance treatment was the one that created inequality, discrimination and gap. From this point, this is very alarming considering that the issue came out after a month when President Benigno Aquino signed R. A. 10533 otherwise known as 'Enhance Basic Education of 2013' which clearly stated the use of mother tongue in basic education.

Another issue that is being confronted by the policy until now is the debate on number of local languages that were not considered. For instance, there were only 19 languages out of 183 living languages which were considered and recognized by the policy. The inclusion of only few languages in the education curriculum led to resistance on the part of some groups who moaned that their languages were excluded in the policy while others are afraid that 'Tagalog Imperialism' (Martin, 2015) will be heightened through the implementation of the MTBMLE policy.

An additional challenge is the number of varieties spoken by the people in a specific town or province. For instance, Tagalog has many varieties with distinct features in 'intonation and morphophonemic, lexicon and grammatical morphology' (Gonzales 1998: 489). Similar situation also apparent in other languages in the country specifically the varieties of Bikol languages which are discussed in the succeeding section. On this basis, there are instances when unintelligibility of certain variety of language will happen because of its distinct feature from other variety.

Hence, the ideological and structural challenges in education discussed above are few of the many other bigger challenges that continuously mutilate the effectiveness of MTBMLE policy in the country. Thus, this paper forwards the argument of Tupas (2014:10) 'MTB-MLE in this sense is ultimately about **transforming social and educational infrastructures** (*emphasis added*) which tolerate and breed harmful language attitudes and ideologies'. While MTBMLE is basically for classroom utilization, the real and bigger classroom is the 'spaces' and 'places' where these students and other speakers of other languages are exposed to. This paper believes that the need for the study of the language practices in school where languages are displayed to students are as important as the pedagogical approaches being used in the classrooms.

Tracing the Historical, Demographic and Sociolinguistic situation of Sorsogon

Though 'Bikol' is the term used by the 'Sorsoguenos', there are different Bikol languages used in different provinces. These different language varieties may be associated with the mountain ranges surrounding the areas which divided the Bikol provinces into isolated towns and this is probably the reason why there are languages called 'Standard Bikol' and 'Timog Bikol' (Cunanan, 2015: 35). Also, migration of different groups of people from the south of the island thousands of years ago is another factor of the development of varieties of Bikol languages.

Dery (1991) says that both Bikol- Albay and Waray have great influence on the language varieties of Sorsogon province. Yet, there are language varieties in Bikol region particularly in Sorsogon which are very distinct in different ways. Thus, linguists (e.g. Cunanan, 2015:37-41; Lobel & Tria, 2000) categorize the Bikol languages using several criteria and show that there are similarities and differences in their groupings which connote that indeed, Sorsoguenos are multilinguals. Yet, despite these language varieties in the Sorsogon province, Bikol Naga is considered the *lingua franca* of the region and used as referent of 'Bikol' term. Naga City and other towns in Camarines Sur are the provinces wherein Bikol Naga is spoken (Zubiri, 2014). There are also other varieties namely Bikol Legaspi, Bikol Daet, Bikol Sorsogon but the status of Bikol Naga is dominant compared with other Bikol varieties mentioned. This may be associated with 'Bikol Naga Imperialism' both oral and written which is apparent in Bikol

Catholic religious mass and bible translations, dictionaries, formal documents, local newspaper, teaching materials used in elementary education (e.g. books and other teaching aids) and in linguistic landscape to name a few.

Having considered the discussion of the diversity of language (and culture) in Sorsogon, together with the shifting of language policies, and the importance given to the mother tongue in education today, it is essential to consider the landscape of Philippine public school to determine if the general goal of language policy on multilingualism especially on the promotion of mother tongue imposed by the Department of Education is being supported or strengthened by the institutional infrastructure and its stakeholders as revealed in their language practices. Hence, the present study aims to examine the place of English and Philippine languages in the linguistic landscape in one secondary school in Irosin, Sorsogon. In particular, this will answer the following questions: What are the language practices in the schoolscape of Irosin, Sorsogon? a) What are the languages displayed in the LL in school premises? b) Who produced the signs? c) What are the materials used? Who are the intended audience/reader? d) How are these languages displayed, used and regulated?

METHOD

This study utilizes the quantitative and qualitative method in schoolscape research (based on Cenoz and Gorter, 2009 and Scollon and Scollon, 2003). The quantitative aspect of the study includes the numerical statistics about the signs to be collected, whereas the qualitative data focuses on the content analysis of the signs. The study makes use of gathering devices such as collection of digital photographs of signage and observations.

Data Gathering Method

There were 90 signs photographed in different parts of the school premise. The number of photographs collected vary depending on the number of signs which have direct relevance to the present study. Also, observations from the site visit supplemented the analysis of the data. This provided a more complete picture of the nature of signage in the multilingual school and allowed to further classify the signs according to who are responsible for the posting of the signs, the functions of the signs they made, the intended audience and the materiality of the signs.

Data Analysis Method

The analysis of the data included two parts. Firstly, the study started observing the school site to obtain information on how to classify the signs. Secondly, this was followed by gathering information on what languages are on the signs, who produced the signs, what are the materials used, and who are the intended audience, then the results were tabulated and were presented in graphs. Specifically, in categorizing the sign, the paper distinguished between the ‘top-down’ signs (official signs placed by the administrator/principal and teachers) and ‘bottom-up’ signs (signs placed by the students such as student output, and marks or outputs on walls as well as the parents). The top-down and bottom-up categories were applied by Cenoz and Gorter (2009) together with the version of Hynes (2012), however, the type of signs that were categorized were modified to situate it to the present study.

PRESENTATION

Language Practices in LL of one secondary school in Irosin, Sorsogon

- **Languages Displayed**

This part presents the languages displayed in one secondary school in Irosin, Sorsogon using Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) & Cenoz & Gorter’s (2009) categorization process (top-down and bottom-up signs). Based on the 90 signs gathered in September 2016, the results in table 1 show that 44 (49%) of all signs are produced in monolingual English, 9 (10%) are in monolingual Filipino, only 1 (1%) is in monolingual Bikol, 23 (25%) are in bilingual languages (Bikol-Filipino, Bikol-English and Filipino-English)

combined and 13 (14%) are in mixed languages (Bikol, Filipino and English; Bisaya, Filipino and English). Of the 44 English signs, 26 (76.47%) are top-down signs and 18 (32.14%) are bottom-up signs. Of the 9 Filipino signs, only 1 (2.94%) are top-down signs with the remaining 8 (14.28%) being bottom-up signs. Of the 23 bilingual signs, only 7 (20.58%) are top-down signs and the remaining 13 (23.21%) are bottom-up signs. All of the mixed language signs, 13 (21.06%) are bottom-up signs and none in top-down signs. These findings indicate that most signs are top-down English-only which outnumber the Filipino-only, Bikol-only, bilingual or multilingual signs combined. In other words, there are numerous signs displayed which are produced in English than in Filipino and Bikol languages. However, interestingly, the findings show that in bottom-up signs, mixed languages (Bikol, Filipino, English) appear in about 12 (19.28%) of the LL items.

Table 1							
<i>Percentage of the languages displayed</i>							
Languages on Signs		Category					
		Top down	%	Bottom-up	%	TD & BU	Total %
monolingual	English	26	76.47	18	32.14	44	49%
	Filipino	1	2.94	8	14.28	9	10%
	Bikol	0	0	1	1.78	1	1%
	Total		79.41		48.2		60%
bilingual	Bikol & Filipino	0	0	1	1.78	1	1%
	Bikol & English	0	0	2	3.57	2	2%
	Filipino & English	7	20.58	13	23.21	20	22%
	Total		20.58		28.56		25%
Mixed languages	Bikol, Filipino & English	0	0	12	19.28	12	13%
	Bisaya, Filipino & English	0	0	1	1.78	1	1%
	Total	34	0		21.06		14%
	Total Signs: 90	34		56			100%

The findings indicate that the top-down LL items show that English is predominantly used and displayed in school linguistic landscape. Interestingly, this is followed by mixed languages (Filipino, Bikol, English) which are all found in bottom-up signages. Other languages are found both in top-down and bottom-up signs such as monolingual Filipino and bilingual Filipino and English signs while monolingual Bikol, bilingual Bikol-Filipino and Bikol-English are all found in the bottom-up signages. Based on the findings, these are clear manifestations of conflicting beliefs about languages between top-down and bottom-up sign makers based on the signs they made and displayed and the accounts they shared during the interviews.

- **Producer of signs, materials used and intended audience/reader**

Producers of signs

Of the 90 signs examined, Figure 1 shows that 56 (62%) of all signs are bottom-up and 34 (38%) of the total signs are top-down. Interestingly, the figure indicates that there are more signs which are made by the teachers, students and parents combined as compared to the signs made by the administrator and the administrative staff. This figure may indicate that bottom-up sign makers have places and spaces in the school LLs. This may be an indication of displaying the ‘hidden voices’ of the stakeholders (parents, teachers and students) if corpus of signs is considered.

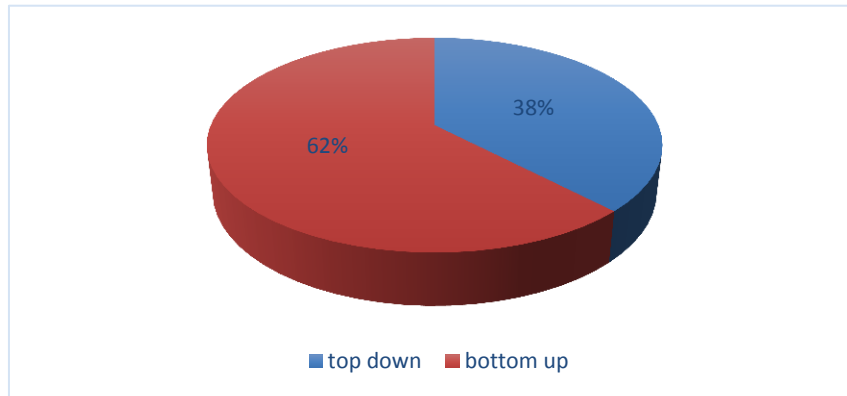


Figure 1: A pie chart showing the percentage of top-down and bottom-up signs.

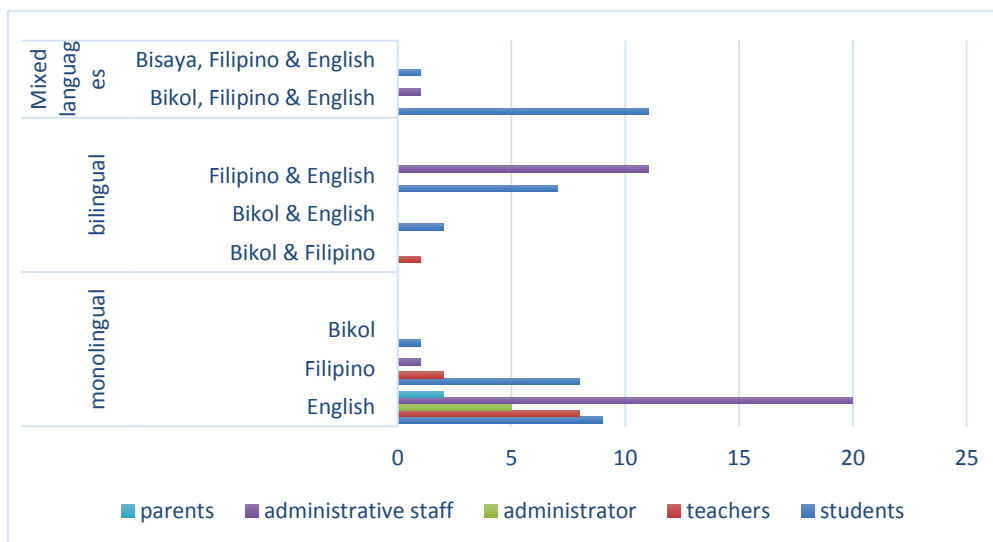


Figure 2: Graph showing the number of sign makers of monolingual, bilingual and mixed Languages

Based on the data, as shown in figure 2, the bottom-up sign producers show contesting language ideology against the top-down sign makers. In other words, while the top-down sign makers prefer English-only in their signs, the bottom-up sign makers utilize and appreciate mixed languages.

Materials used in Top-Down and Bottom-Up signs

When it comes to materials used by the sign makers in their respective signs, Figure 3 illustrates different kinds of materials used in top-down signs. As shown in this figure, the paper is the highest material used followed by the concrete, which may indicate two things: the writing on the bond paper may show an aspect of impermanence, temporality and changeability depending on its purpose and the use of concrete may illustrate permanence or stability of the signs and power of the sign makers in claiming the school spaces.

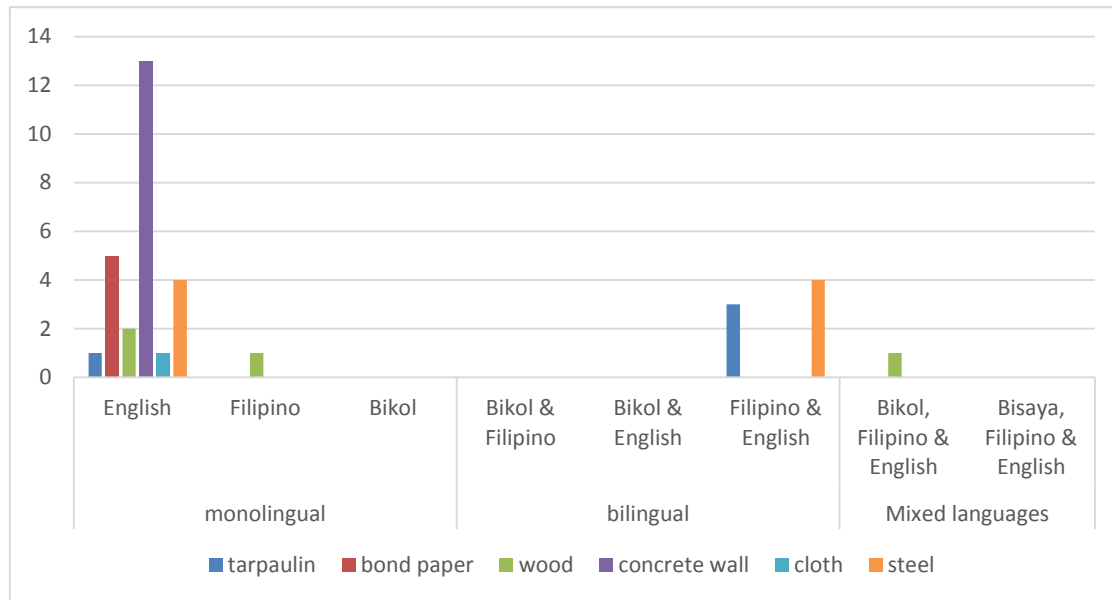


Figure 3: Materials used in top-down signs

While the top-down signs indicate that paper is the highest material used followed by the concrete, the bottom-up signs show a different picture. To demonstrate this, figure 4 indicates that the bottom-up signs are mostly written on the concrete (as manifested by the graffiti) and followed by the utilization of paper materials.

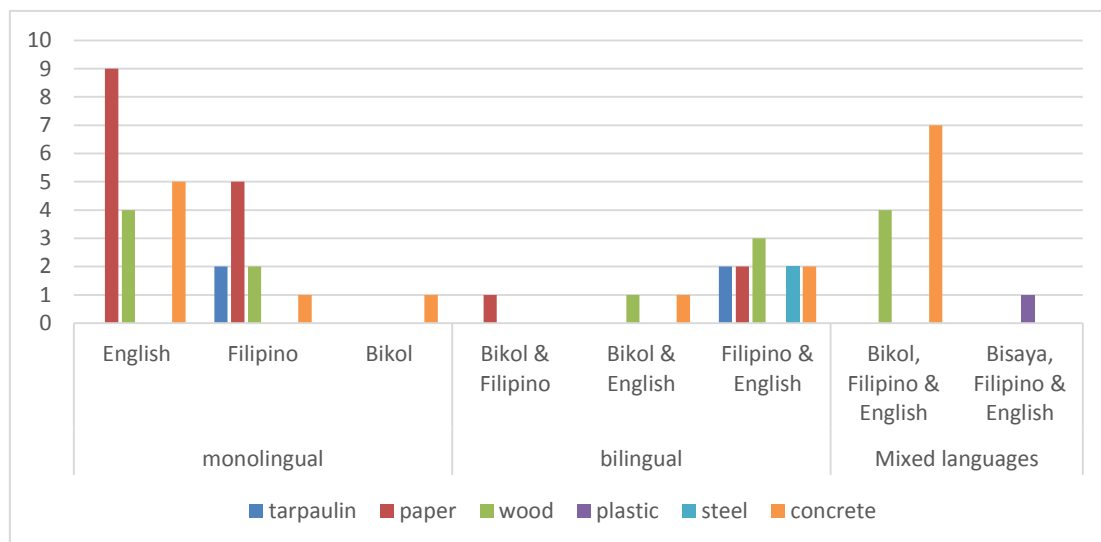


Figure 4: Materials used in bottom-up signs

The findings show there are different materials used both in top-down and bottom-up signs. The findings also reveal the dichotomy between the materials used in top-down and bottom-up signs, in which top-down signs mostly use paper materials followed by concrete materials while the bottom-up signs utilize concrete materials followed by paper materials. Based on the results, these materials including steel or metal frames and tarpaulin are positioned to claim for either permanency or transitory depending on the contexts where the signs are placed.

Intended Audience/Readers

About the intended audience/readers of the signs, figure 5 shows that 63 of the signs are made for students followed by the 17 signs which are intended for all the stakeholders (students, parents, teachers, administrative staff) and 10 are for teachers. These findings indicate that signs are projected towards different audiences through the employment of language/s on signs.

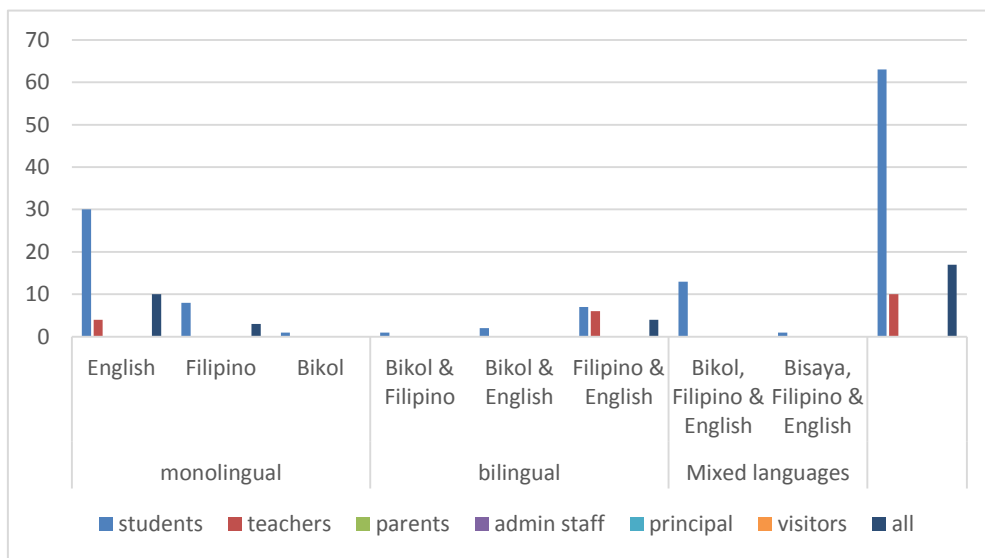


Figure 5: The intended audience of the signs made and displayed by the sign makers.

The findings show that English language used to address the students are straightforward and formal while Filipino is more informal and usually appeal to emotions. When it comes to bilingual languages used in the signs intended for the students, they are used to deliver information in the most comprehensible way and at the same time help regulate students’ behaviors. Similarly, mixed languages are also used by the student-writers for understandability. Student-readers can also easily relate and respond to the messages of the signs. As for the language intended for all the stakeholders, students and parents, and teachers, English is dominantly used to deliver specific official information, notification and transaction.

How languages are used, displayed and regulated

In determining how the languages are used, displayed and regulated in linguistic schoolscape, this study utilizes the ‘place semiotics’ of Scollon & Scollon (2003) which constitutes *code preference*, *inscription*, and *emplacement* in bilingual and mixed language signs.

Code Preference in school LL signs

Shown in table 2 are the different code preferences in top-down and bottom-up bilingual signs. The table illustrates that the seven top-down bilingual signs (Filipino-English) reveal that English is highly

preferred than Filipino. On the other hand, as can be seen in bottom-up signs, of the 13 bilingual signs collected, 6 signs prefer English than Filipino language. Then, only two Bikol-English signs found in the school site which reveal that English is preferred that Bikol language.

Thus, the findings vary when code preference is taken into consideration. The results demonstrate that English is the preferred code in top-down bilingual signs. On the other hand, when bottom-up bilingual Filipino-English signs are observed, the findings show that Filipino is preferred than English language while in bottom-up mixed language signs, the data reveal that there is no clear language preference on either Bikol, Filipino or English language

Table 2
Code Preferences in Bilingual signs in School LL

Languages on signs					
		Top down	- code preference	Bottom-up	code preference
bilingual	Bikol & English	0	-	2	English
	Filipino & English	7	English	4	English
				9	Filipino
				13	

Inscription in bilingual and mixed-language signs

Further observation using the second element of place semiotics is the *inscription*. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003), inscription focuses on the physical materiality of the language on the sign such as the graphic qualities which include size, shape, design, color, style, and other text/image features.

To summarize the inscriptions in school LL, two different results are revealed. Firstly, the top-down Filipino-English signs show that they seem to index appreciation of both English and Filipino. Secondly, the results in bottom-up Filipino-English signs show that Filipino is highly preferred/valued than English.

Emplacement in school LL signs

In terms of *emplacement* in 34 top down signs, they all show *situated emplacement*. In other words, these top-down signs in the school site show that they are strategically emplaced for they are considered essential aspects of the semiotics of educational atmosphere of the school spaces.

Concerning the 56- collected bottom-up signs, 53 monolingual signs (Filipino and English) and 16 bilingual signs (Bikol-Filipino, Bikol-English and Filipino English) are considered *situatedly emplaced* while 1 monolingual Bikol and 13 mixed-language signs are seen to be *transgressively emplaced*.

To sum up the emplacement of LL signs in the school investigated, the findings show that situated emplacement of signs are all observable in top-down signs. On the other hand, in bottom-up signs both situated and transgressive emplacements are observed.

DISCUSSION

In the light of the findings presented, this section discusses the issues posed in the research question regarding the language practices in the linguistic schoolscape under study.

Languages Displayed

Unquestionably, the findings show that English occupies a very high status in the secondary school investigated and this is clearly manifested in the use and display of this language by different stakeholders (such as administrator, administrative staff, teachers, parents and students). A number of reasons are behind the preference to the English language among the participants. First, English is considered the 'more formal language' than Bikol and Filipino. Second, English is associated with the 'language of professionals'. Third, English is associated with 'quality services'. Fourth, English portrays 'trendiness and more appealing to the readers. Lastly, English is much felt by the sign makers. These results suggest that despite the promotion of multilingual education in the Philippines, the school stakeholders have clearly shown high preference to the English language and resistance to the local language/s especially the Bikol language.

These results echo the findings of Floralde (2016) and Ambion (2013) stating that the dominance of English in linguistic landscape in the Philippines is the product of the national implementation of country's national English language policy which resulted in the unbalance representation of other local languages. The use of English language in the case of this school is also reminiscent of Mahboob and Cruz's (2013:3) argument that 'English is the major language of higher education, socioeconomic and political opportunities while local languages were restricted to other functions.'

While there are visibility of bilingual and mixed in the linguistic schoolscape, it is to be noted that if the corpus of signs is considered, the visibility of the use and display of mixed languages in the secondary school LL cannot be at par with English language. Therefore, the contention of 'co-existence of languages' (Shohamy, 2006) in school investigated cannot be generalized when the overall language practices are taken into consideration.

Producers of signs, materials used and intended audience/readers

Based on the findings, considering that the number of the bottom-up sign makers is almost the same as the top-down sign makers they seem to be showing their subversive power using different languages on their signs. There are three possible explanations for these findings. A first explanation may be found in the reason that since the school investigated is a government/public institution which is composed of more than 5000 students enrolled, it appears that students' behaviors could hardly be controlled by the school authorities. A second reason may be the lack of top-down supervisors who are going to monitor the actions of the bottom-up sign makers that is why they are free to write anywhere in the school property. Last reason may be the school administrators have limited support, understanding and guidance on the sentiments/views of the bottom-up sign makers particularly the students that is why they tend to become more dominant in manipulating the school LL.

As for the materials used, these may be interesting findings considering that the bottom-up signs use more durable materials than top-down sign makers. Hence, these indicate that bottom-up signs are more eager to achieve permanence, stability and power over school spaces. This is probably because the bottom-up sign makers especially the students nowadays are more expressive and possessive or to some extent becoming aggressive in expressing themselves despite the formality of the school institution.

However, it cannot be denied the fact that top-down signs still hold most of the power of the school spaces even when they are just temporal (such as paper) because they are continuously occupying the same spaces in the school. Also, even though the concrete only ranked second in the materials used in top-down signs, still its power is highly seen as the main concrete buildings are mostly utilized. Hence, these findings suggest that both top-down and bottom-up signs are struggling to claim the school spaces for permanence and power.

As regards the intended audience of the signs in the school site, the corpus of signs shows that more than half of these LLs are addressed to students followed by all stakeholders (such as teachers, parents, administrative staff, students and visitors). Based on the findings, the languages (English, Filipino, Bikol, bilingual and mixed languages) intended for the students have different uses. Specifically, English is used as straightforward, strict and formal. Its use is also associated with the belief that English helps the students to become a 'good person'. As for the use of Filipino addressed to students, it is found that this language can easily affect the feelings of students while the Bikol language is used to regulate students' behavior and share personal expressions. In terms of bilingual signs intended for the students, Bikol-Filipino languages are also used to regulate students' behavior while the use of Filipino- English are used to relay the information easily. Mixed languages are also used to encourage the students/audience to respond to the written messages. These findings suggest that the use of different languages intended for the students may be sound interesting since these may manifest that the school signs at some point recognized the multilinguals in the school community.

As for all the stakeholders, English is usually used to inform or deliver information to the general audience. Similarly, the findings also show that English is the language used intended for the teachers for it is considered as the language 'allowed in official communication and transaction'. Since English is used mostly in school LL for decades already to address different audience, possibly, it is already considered accepted as the *lingua franca* of education.

How languages are used, displayed and regulated

Code Preference

With regard to how the language are used, displayed and regulated in the school investigated, the findings show varied *code preference*, *inscription* and *emplacement* in bilingual and multilingual signs both in top-down and bottom-up which underscore the reality that languages are not at all uniformly or equally distributed in the school LL.

In terms of *code preference* observed in bilingual (e.g. Filipino-English) signs, the findings show that English is highly preferred in top-down signs. On the contrary, bottom up bilingual signs reveal that Filipino is preferred than English. As for the mixed language signs, the results indicate that there is no clear preference on either Bikol, Filipino or English language. In their study in Ethiopia's LL, Lanza & Woldemariam's (2009) reported that the English language is the most preferred code both in top-down and bottom-up bilingual signs. In contrast, the present study shows that English is only highly preferred code in top-down but not in bottom-up signs. These conflicting results may be due to the fact that English in the previous study was used mainly for symbolic purposes while the present study shows that in many cases, English is used to convey practical purposes as well (e. g. giving information on what to do during disaster such as volcanic eruption).

Inscription

As for the *inscription* in Filipino-English signs, the findings reveal two different points: English and Filipino are both inscribed using quality graphics in top-down signs which indicate preference for these two languages. This is an interesting finding since bilingualism seems valued in the school LL. This contrasts with the results obtained by De los Reyes (2015) in the top-down signs found in the train stations in the Philippines, where English inscribed primarily in bilingual Filipino-English signs.

On the other hand, Filipino is inscribed more prominently than English in bottom-up signs which may index preference toward the former. Further, the findings show that the font style and irregular font sizes inscribed in bottom- up Filipino-English signs help the readers to focus on important words which is best delivered in Filipino language. Hence, the different inscriptions applied in the top-down and bottom-up signs as revealed by this study reflect the different intentions of the sign makers. This is possibly for the reason that these depend on the speakers and their languages as well as their contexts where the signs are displayed.

Emplacement

Lastly, the *emplacement* in Filipino- English signs and mixed-language signs differ in top-down and bottom-up signs. In particular, all top-down signs show that they are situatedly emplaced while in bottom-up signs, the results indicate that bilingual signs are emplaced in situated position and mixed-languages are emplaced transgressively. These findings may be interesting since the school appears to be accepting or in some way already tolerating the transgressive acts of the bottom-up sign makers particularly the graffiti made by the students. Possible explanation for this is that since the students are protected by the child protection law, the administration can only reprimand the students if they are caught doing such transgressive act. In other words, they cannot impose serious sanctions to the graffiti sign makers for there is a law that protects the students' rights.

Further, the transgressive signs found in the linguistic landscape made by the producers of the signs reflect the 'social change' (Papen, 2012) such as the significant alteration of behavioral patterns of the sign makers as well as their cultural values and norms which yield profound social consequences as manifested in the change of linguistic schoolscape over time. Three possible explanations may be offered based on the findings. First, this may be related to the poor academic performance of students especially those who already belongs to the lowest sections. They tend to commit transgressive acts for they probably seek attention since they are not anymore being taught properly. Second, this is probably due to peer pressure since there are groups of students or 'fraternity' who tend to destroy the school property including the writing on the building walls, destroying the chairs, windows, doors, toilet bowls, and so on. Third, this may be related to the students' lack of discipline despite the values inculcated to them by the school. Some students project their behavioral indifference based on how they are nurtured at home.

CONCLUSION

The language practices in the linguistic landscape of one secondary school in Irosin, Sorsogon preferred English highly in top-down signs and some bottom-up signs which are guided by the sign makers' educational, social, political and personal convictions that mark the languages displayed. The finding shows that the school as formal institution maybe considered to have been infiltrated by historical colonialism and international prestige attached to the English language.

Considering the multilingual speakers of Irosin, the languages on display in school environment may show that local languages are only relegated at the periphery. This may connote that local (henceforth the Bikol language) language is only used informally and English language is only used formally in education. In other words, this may seem that local languages have very limited space in formal education especially in secondary level.

As regards the producers of the signs, the ideologies of the top-down sign makers such as the administrator and administrative staff mostly reflect in the school signs observed through their use of monolingual English. On the other hand, bottom-up sign makers utilize bilingual and mixed languages in limited spaces of the school. In terms of materials used, two points come out in this study, the first one illustrates the argument that both top-down and bottom-up sign makers claim for spaces. This may show the struggle of the sign makers to achieve permanence, stability and power over school spaces. Second, varied use of materials in LL may also underscore varied degrees of importance and meanings depending on the intention of the writers and the possible reception of the reader. Thus, the materials used in LL is relative with the intended audience/reader.

Finally, with regards on how the languages are used, displayed and regulated in one secondary linguistic schoolscape of Irosin, the findings reveal high preference of the sign makers towards English language based on code preference and inscriptions on the signs. Thus, the preferential use of English in the school LL, on one side, underscores the power, prestige of the language over the national and local languages and on the other, it may be contingent on the context where the dominant language (henceforth English) is used. In terms of emplacement of signs, the top-down signs show situated emplacement while the bottom-up signs appeared to be highly transgressive. The situated emplacement in top-down signs may indicate the power of the language as well as the sign maker. As regard the transgressive signs made by

the students, the space is transformed into a place of students' social practices, personal expressions, political preference and personal identity.

Though it may sound promising that there are few spaces for bilingual and mixed languages in the linguistic landscape of the school, still, the findings show that the general institutional infrastructure and language practices of the stakeholders do not fully support and strengthen the multilingual speakers of the area and the general goal of language policy on multilingualism especially on the promotion of mother tongue imposed by the Department of Education. If these challenges are not addressed properly, local/languages and local identity of its people will always be relegated at the periphery.

In the present era of globalization, it is hoped that the school which houses multilingual speakers should consider that globalization means productively presenting, preserving and protecting the local languages which mirror the local identity and culture of the Bikolanos. At the same time, fruitfully integrating and combining these local languages with the 'global' English as a sign of their co-existence which is also the general goal of Association of Asian Nations (ASEAN) integration in 2015 and beyond.

REFERENCES

- Ambion, L.J. (2013) Linguistic landscape as a reflection and ideological conflict in the coffee community of Amadeo. Presented in the 9th International symposium on Bilingualism (ISB9) June 10-13, 2013. Singapore: Nanyang Technological University.
- Burton, L.A. 2013. Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education in the Philippines: Studying Top Down Policy Implementation from the Bottom up. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota.
- Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2006). Linguistic landscape and minority languages. In D. Gorter (Ed.), *Linguistic landscape: A new approach to multilingualism* (pp. 67–80). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cunanan, F. (2015). Ang dialect area ng Bikol-Sorsogon. *Daluyan, Journal ng wikang Filipino*. Vol. XXI: 32-64.
- De Los Reyes, R. (2014). Language of "Order": English in the linguistic landscape of two major train stations in the Philippines. *Asian Journal of English Language Studies (AJELS)* -Department of English. Volume 2, pp. 24-49.
- Dery, L. (1969). *From Ibalon to Sorsogon: A historical survey of Sorsogon province to 1905*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.
- Ethnologue (2016). [Available at <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/PH/languages>]
- Executive Order No. 335. (1988). Official Gazette of the Philippines. [Available at <http://www.gov.ph/1988/08/25/executive-order-no-335-s-1988/>]
- Floralde, R. (2016). Multilingualism as a Resource in Language Policy in Education: Examining the Linguistic Landscapes of Irosin, Sorsogon. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Manila: De La Salle University.
- Gonzales, A. (1998). The Language Planning Situation in the Philippines, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19:5, 487-525.
- Hynes, P. (2012). Welsh Language Policy: A Study of the Linguistic Landscape at Cardiff University. Unpublished Dissertation: University of Birmingham, Wales.
- Lanza, E. & Woldemariam, H. (2009). Language Ideology and linguistic landscape: Language policy and globalization in a regional capital of Ethiopia. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 189-205). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Lobel, J.W. and Tria, W.J. (2000). *An satuyang tataramon: A study of the Bikol language*. Naga: Lobel and Tria Partnership, Co.
- Mahboob A. and Cruz P. (2014). English and mother tongue-based multilingual education: Language attitudes in the Philippines. *Asian Journal of English Language Studies*, 1, 1-19.
- Martin, I.P. (2015). English in mother tongue based multilingual education (MTBMLE) in the Philippines. In Terance W. Bigalke and Salbrina Sharbawi (Eds.), *English for ASEAN Integration: Policies and Practices in the Region* (pp. 110-119). Brunei Darussalam.
- Martin, I. P. (2008). Colonial education and the shaping of Philippine literature in English. In K. Bolton & L. Bautista (Eds), *Philippine English and literary perspectives* (pp. 29-48). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Papen, U. (2012) Commercial discourse, gentrification and citizen protest: the linguistic landscape of Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 16/1: 56-80.
- Philippine Population (2016) [Available at <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/philippines-population/>]
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Regional Memorandum No. 215, s. 2015. [Available at http://www.depedroxii.org/download/memo/memo-2015/december_2015/Region%20Memo%20215%20School%20Signage%20and%20Reiteration%20of%20Classroom%20Structuring.pdf]
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S.W. (2003). *Discourses in place: Language in the material world*. London: Routledge.
- Shibliyev, J. (2014). Linguistic landscape approach to language visibility in Post-Soviet Baku. *Bilig*. Number 71.
- Shohamy, E. 2006. *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Tupas, R. (2014). Inequalities of multilingualism: challenges to mother tongue-based multilingual education. *Language and Education*. UK: Routledge.
- Wa-Mbaleka, S. (2014) English teachers' perceptions of the mother tongue education policy in the Philippines. *European Journal of Research and Reflection in Education Sciences*. Vo2. No. 4.
- Zubiri, L.A. (2014). Some notes and critiques of selected lexicographic texts in Bikol. *Social Science Diliman*. 10-2; 30-55.

AUTHOR

Ms. Susan Fresnido ASTILLERO is an Assistant Professor I at Sorsogon State College, Sorsogon City, Philippines. Currently, she is taking up Doctor of Philosophy major in English Language and Literature (Ph.D. ELL) at Ateneo de Manila University under scholarship grant of the Faculty Development Program- Phase II of the Commission on Higher Education (CHED). Her research interests include Teacher Education, English Language Teaching, Language Policy and Linguistic Landscape. Email: susane317@yahoo.com