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The *jeepney*, the text and the image: mapping space and plotting intersections in the linguistic landscape of public transportation in the Philippines

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Abstract

Using Baguio City in the Philippines as my research site, multi-sited ethnography as my data collection method, and assemblage and the Global South as theoretical lenses, my research illustrates how the jeepney becomes a space of interconnection—of different people who ride the jeepney and are involved in the jeepney industry. These interconnections highlight the complex web of social, economic, and political relationships that shape the jeepney as a symbol of Filipino culture and identity. Furthermore, my research sheds light on the ways in which these interconnections contribute to both the perpetuation of social inequality and the potential for resistance and social change within the jeepney industry. My project uncovers the multiple levels of assemblages in my research site: Baguio City in the Philippines, which is a city steeped in American colonial history and, at the same time, a cradle for indigenous peoples of the Cordillera region, and the traditional jeepney, which is a product of Filipino ingenuity and artistry and a relic of World War II. The jeepney (and its linguistic landscape) as a cultural icon and a mode of transportation in Filipino society articulates the various experiences of Filipino commuters and illustrates how commuting reflects the multiple ways our lives are interconnected. Adapting Coupland and Garret's (2010) discursive frames to thematically categorize the jeepney's linguistic landscapes, my data reveals the following significant frames reflecting the Filipino worldview: (1.) the Christian religious influence that dominates the jeepney's linguistic landscapes; (2.) a strong and prevailing influence of American Colonial experience as evidenced in the preference for English as the language in the linguistic landscapes; (3.) a personal attachment of the jeepney owners and drivers to the jeepney itself, extending their personal lives and identity on the linguistic landscape; (4.) the assertion of a collective or ethnic identity that shows through the use of local language to convey cultural nuances; (5.) a strong humorous streak in the witty combination of linguistic and semiotic elements; and (6.) a machismo frame demonstrating a prevailing influence of patriarchy. These discursive frames provide insights into the cultural and historical factors that shape the jeepney's linguistic landscapes.

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work and has been written by me in its entirety. I have duly acknowledged all sources of information, data, and ideas that are not my own. This thesis has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for any other degree or diploma at this or any other institution. I understand the university's policy on plagiarism and academic integrity, and I affirm that this work complies with all relevant academic standards and ethical guidelines. Furthermore, I declare that my thesis abides has not exceeded the allowed word-count and has a total of 68,073 words.

Chapter 1: Introduction

My twofold objective in this thesis is to describe the traditional Philippine jeepney (I am adding the word "traditional" now because simply using the term "jeepney" may have a very different reference henceforward) as a communicative space used as a uniquely moving linguistic landscape and to identify the various discursive frames that are apparent in the traditional jeepney's linguistic landscape. More specifically, my thesis deals with these questions: First, what are the characteristics of the jeepney as a communicative space? Second, what are the various discursive frames on the jeepneys' linguistic landscape within Baguio City and how do these demonstrate Global South qualities and assemblages? I used Baguio City as my research field because of its unique characteristics as a city. Its historical, cultural, and economic characteristics make it an ideal urban cityscape. As a member of Baguio City's community, I find it ideal to conduct research here due to my familiarity with the city and its people. I was able to conduct my ethnographic data collection methods from an emic perspective. I have lived in Baguio City for more than twenty years, and I am also fairly proficient in the Ilocano language variety used as a lingua franca in the community. My thesis contributes to the field of LL by choosing the traditional jeepney as its text, applying Marcus' multi-sited ethnography as a methodology, and assemblage as my theoretical frame. By choosing the traditional jeepney as the text for my thesis, I was able to shed light on its linguistic landscape and its significance to Baguio City. This iconic mode of transportation serves as a means of mobility and reflects the city's cultural identity and history. By applying Marcus' multi-sited ethnography as a methodology, I captured the dynamic interactions between language, culture, and space in different locations within Baguio City. Coupland and Garret's (2010) discursive framing enabled me to analyze how various elements come together to shape the linguistic landscape of the jeepney and its role in the city's urban environment. Additionally, using assemblage as my theoretical frame and the Global South as perspective, I highlight the intersections of

the local and global in the jeepney's linguistic landscape. Both Baguio City, my research site, and the traditional Philippine jeepney, my LL text, are assemblages. Baguio City is an assemblage of its historical ties with the U.S., its rich ethnolinguistically diverse population, and its modern role as a cultural and economic hub north of Manila. The jeepney is an assemblage in its material composition, made from surplus engines from Japan, China, or Korea; an assembled body of stainless steel; and a gaily decked exterior from local artists inspired by the owners' personal lives, values, and experiences. These assemblages reflect the dynamic and ever-changing nature of both Baguio City and the jeepney, showcasing the blending of different cultures, histories, and influences. These assemblages influence the city's urban environment, which adds to its distinctive identity and character. I outline these in detail in the different chapters of my thesis.

When I first conceived of my jeepney project in 2018 as part of my application for a PhD in Applied Linguistics at Lancaster University, plans were already well underway by the Philippine government to replace the traditional jeepneys with more efficient, environment-friendly, and roadworthy e-jeepneys. At the time, both traditional jeepney operators (owners and drivers) and the riding public strongly opposed the proposal. The major objection stems from the proposal being anti-poor, as the traditional jeepney was an icon symbolizing the daily economic struggle of the Filipino masses. Dimalanta et al. (2023) sum up the positive qualities of the traditional jeepney as being affordable, accessible, convenient, and versatile. Mettke et al. (2016) also affirm how the traditional industry has been a major source of livelihood for jeepney barkers (people in charge of queuing the jeepneys and passengers), drivers, operators (owners), artists, and filling stations. Additionally, critics argue that the modernization proposal fails to consider the impact on the livelihoods of those involved in the traditional jeepney industry. The loss of jobs for jeepney barkers, drivers, operators, artists, and filling stations could have severe economic consequences for these individuals and their families. Furthermore, the

proposed changes may disproportionately affect low-income individuals who rely on affordable and accessible transportation options like the traditional jeepney. On my part, my primary objective for choosing to examine the jeepney's linguistic landscape was to pay homage to what is considered the quintessential epitome of everything Filipino. I believed it was the right time to write extensively about the jeepney, as its presence on the streets was almost certainly nearing an end. The jeepney's demise was imminent. For someone who has spent most of her life riding the jeepney, this project is personal. The jeepney was my only mode of transportation while I was an undergraduate at the University of the Philippines Diliman. It was convenient and affordable. On campus, a jeepney route called "Ikot" (meaning "to go around") took struggling students literally around the sprawling campus from one building to the next where classes were held. We were familiar with the jeepney drivers, and they were familiar with us. They practically know our class schedules because we regularly ride their jeepneys, scrambling to make it on time for the next class in a building halfway across campus. The jeepneys play a significant role in the lives of students. Years later, as a young professional, the jeepney not only transported me to and from job interviews but also served as a constant companion during my early teaching stint in Manila. Almost three decades since graduating from college, I am still technically in school, as a university lecturer and as a PhD student. The jeepney has once again come through for me as the focus of my linguistic landscapes PhD proposal. It is mobile, functional, and displays a rich mix of linguistic and semiotic elements that proved very interesting for a linguistic landscape project. Its space is unique. The jeepney serves as a valuable text for a linguistic landscapes project, offering rich linguistic and semiotic data. As a mode of public transportation, the jeepney unites people in a shared space throughout their journey. The jeepney ride has its rules; passengers look out for each other and need to cooperate while on the trip. They are a small community, albeit temporarily, within the jeepney's space. Those who sit closest to the front (or the driver) are mostly tasked with passing the fare from

passengers sitting farthest (near the door). They do this almost automatically when someone blurts out, “Bayad po.” (Here is my fare.). They hold out their hand to get the money and pass this along until it reaches the driver. Usually, the driver receives the money after two to three exchanges. If a change in coins has to be handed back out, the order is reversed, with the driver passing the change to the passenger sitting closest to him until it reaches the passenger it is owed to. Unlike buses, jeepneys have no predetermined stops. A passenger can hail a jeepney anywhere; it stops and picks up passengers along its route. In the same manner, it can drop off passengers almost anywhere. That is one reason why more people still prefer to take the jeepney. According to Barcero and Vergel (2009), the jeepneys accounted for 50% of the total passenger trips per day in Metro Manila in 1989, but this is higher in Baguio City because the alternative to the jeepney here is only the taxi, which is significantly pricier. The Metro Manila statistics on the jeepney’s share of riders have consistently decreased owing to the availability of more commuting options like Uber and Grab offering motorcycles as alternative solutions to cutting through rush hour traffic. The jeepney is more convenient than the bus or the train, which have regulated pickups and stops. The jeepney can also go into small side streets and take on routes that are not serviceable by buses. Unlike the trains, jeepneys do not follow a timetable. These features can be an advantage and a disadvantage. One can wait for and get on a jeepney anywhere along its route. However, unpredictable factors like rush hours and traffic jams can result in stranded passengers who eventually come in late for class or work. The jeepney is like an easygoing fellow. It has its own rules. It follows a (more or less) fixed route but runs on its own time. It is cheap and accessible to anyone who is up for the challenge of a jeepney ride. No one judges those who take the jeepney to school, work, or anywhere else. No one can be under- or overdressed for a jeepney ride. The jeepney has been a fixed feature on the streets of the Philippines since post-WWII.

On the 31st of December 2023, the Philippine traditional jeepney's reign as "Hari ng Kalsada" (King of the Road) ends. This transition could lead to a significant shift in the transportation landscape of the Philippines, potentially causing financial hardships for those who have invested their time and resources in the traditional jeepney industry. Additionally, the cultural significance and nostalgic value associated with the traditional jeepney may be lost as it is replaced by more modern and standardized modes of transportation. December 31, 2023, was the last day given to traditional jeepneys to join cooperatives and join the Philippine government's effort to modernize public transportation. The deadline has since been extended several times. At present, the Transportation Secretary, Vince Dizon, hopes for the passing of the Public Utility Vehicle Modernization Act in 2025. Once enacted into law, there will be no more reason to delay its full implementation. Three government organizations—the Land Transportation and Franchising Regulatory Board (LTFRB), the Land Transportation Office (LTO), and the Philippine Department of Transportation—led the Public Utility Vehicle Modernization Program (PUVMP) in 2017. The objective of this program is twofold: to modernize public transportation by introducing environmentally friendly jeepneys and to comply with passenger safety requirements. The PUVMP aims to phase out old and dilapidated jeepneys that contribute to air pollution and pose safety risks to passengers. Through this program, the government provides financial assistance and incentives to operators who choose to transition to modernized jeepneys, which are equipped with Euro 4 engines and have features such as CCTV cameras, GPS trackers, and automated fare collection systems. This initiative not only improves the overall quality of public transportation but also promotes a greener and safer environment for commuters. An outsider might be wondering why there is so much objection to an otherwise very positive step in the right direction for the Philippine public transport industry. The jeepney is a rhizome; it branches into many political, economic, and social issues. For instance, a nationwide jeepney strike paralyzes the public transportation industry, even with

buses and trains. This even calls for work and class suspensions, especially in Metro Manila. This demonstrates the extensive influence of the jeepney industry. Therefore, politicians capitalize on the situation and want to be on the good side of a block of voters coming from this industry and a huge chunk of the masses who continue to patronize the jeepney. Jeepney fare hikes, which occur due to rising oil prices, are also a persistent major economic issue. When fuel prices increase, jeepney drivers immediately lose a significant portion of their meager daily earnings. The fare, on the other hand, goes through months of public hearings and legal processes before it can finally catch up with rising oil prices. My research on the linguistic landscapes of jeepneys, then, is a timely tribute to the end of an era when the traditional jeepney ruled the road. Initially, I saw my project as an homage to the jeepney as a historical, cultural, and artistic artifact and as an icon that stands for everything Filipino. I look back with nostalgia on riding the jeepney as a child and being entertained while on the road by the gay chatter of fellow passengers, the colorful interior of the jeepney, and the booming sound from its stereo and horn. The jeepney ride was not just a means of transportation for me then, but also a glimpse into the vibrant culture and energy of the city. It was a constant reminder of the resilience and creativity of the Filipino people, as each jeepney was uniquely decorated with bright colors and intricate designs. Each jeepney ride I took was a unique experience. The jeepney became an unwavering companion in my struggles and victories during my undergraduate years. It came to represent and share my tenacity and perseverance, qualities I believe millions of other Filipinos share, who also take a jeepney ride or two to get through their daily struggles. The jeepney rides not only provided me with transportation but also served as a window into the diverse stories and experiences of my fellow passengers. From the conversations I overheard to the sights and sounds of the bustling streets, each ride offered a more profound understanding of the country's pulse and its people's unwavering spirit. In 2018, I was accepted as a PhD student at Lancaster University in the U.K. with my jeepney project as my thesis. I felt a sense

of pride that once again the jeepney had brought me to another exciting journey, and it is no coincidence that I am writing this thesis now with the impending end of the traditional jeepney on the roads of the Philippines. My thesis is a tribute to the traditional Philippine jeepney, and I am grateful to be able to tell its story. Throughout my research, I have witnessed the transformation of the jeepney from a symbol of Filipino culture to a fading relic of the past. As I explored its history and significance, I realized that the jeepney represents more than just a mode of transportation; it embodies the very soul of the Filipino people. The impending end of the traditional jeepney era is bittersweet, but I am hopeful that my thesis will serve as a reminder of its cultural importance for generations to come.

In Chapter 2 of my thesis, I attempt to explain the nature of linguistic landscapes (LL) as a subfield of sociolinguistics. I explore its evolving definitions, methodologies, and significance in understanding language use within various social contexts. Initially inspired by the creative use of English in the Philippines, I examine how LL encompasses public signage, including road signs, advertisements, and shop names, contributing to the cultural identity of communities (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). This chapter also discusses the interdisciplinary nature of LL research and emphasizes its role in better understanding multilingualism and social dynamics in urban areas (Cenoz & Gorter, 2023). It traces the evolution and development of LL studies from quantitative approaches that largely focused on documenting language visibility to qualitative analyses that investigate semiotic meanings and the interplay between language and identity. I also cite in this chapter various LL research, including those by Gorter (2006) and Shohamy et al. (2010), illustrate how LL reflects social hierarchies, power dynamics, and the effects of globalization. In this chapter, I also cite critiques of the simplistic definitions of LL and present arguments for a broader understanding that incorporates the sociopolitical context of signage and the importance of examining authorship and audience interpretations (Spolsky, 2020). I conclude this chapter by discussing the growing body of LL research in the

Philippines, showcasing various methodologies and themes reflecting local contexts and cultural identities, affirming the relevance and dynamism of LL scholarship in the Global South.

Chapter 3 proposes and explains the proposed theoretical frameworks for analyzing linguistic landscapes, focusing on the jeepney's linguistic landscape. Here, I advocate for a combination of critical ethnographic sociolinguistics, assemblage theory, and perspectives from the Global South as essential lenses for understanding LL (Heller et al., 2017; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Pennycook & Makoni, 2020). This chapter emphasizes how these frameworks can reveal the multiple layers of language use in public spaces, especially in multilingual urban environments like Baguio City, where language visibility correlates with socioeconomic disparities (Heller, 2010; Shohamy, 2006). A critical ethnographic approach challenges how language choices reflect and reinforce power structures, raising questions about visibility and authority in LL (Heller et al., 2017). The assemblage theory is also discussed for its ability to transcend traditional binaries in language research, enabling a complex analysis of how various elements combine to create meaning within the jeepney's context. This chapter also discusses the Global South's role in language research, urging scholars to reflect on the implications of their work and its roots in colonial legacies (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020). It argues that understanding LL involves recognizing the interconnectedness of linguistic and semiotic resources and their influence on social interactions and identity formation. The chapter concludes by advocating for a deeper appreciation of assemblage theory as an analytical tool, with scholars encouraged to examine the complexities of language as a social construct shaped by historical and political contexts (Nail, 2017; Pütz & Mundt, 2019). Through the selected LL research publications, I argue in this chapter that assemblages can illuminate the dynamic and evolving nature of language in various contexts, ultimately contributing to a richer understanding of linguistic landscapes (Pennycook, 2017; Gurney & Demuro, 2022).

Chapter 4 examines the historical, cultural, and economic importance of Baguio City and the jeepney. Christened as the "Summer Capital of the Philippines," Baguio City boasts a rich American colonial past, having been envisioned and developed as a hill town for affluent Americans and European immigrants (Tolentino et al., 2009). Its stunning scenery and booming tourism industry led to its transformation into a cultural and educational hub; hence, it is essential for the economy of the northern Philippines (Reed & Alcantara, 1976). In the early 1900s, the Benguet Road construction increased accessibility and improved trade and migration of varied populations, which helped Baguio grow as an urban hub (McKenna, 2019). From leftover military jeeps, imaginatively transformed by Filipino artists, the jeepney evolved post-World War II as a cultural emblem reflecting national identity (Blanton, 2015). Usually informal, the jeepney's operation consists of private ownership and local associations, which gives flexibility but also results in traffic congestion and uneven service quality. Citing its colorful decorations and inscriptions, the chapter highlights the jeepney as a discursive space representing Filipino culture, identity, and community values. Apart from being a means of mobility, the jeepney provides a venue for social criticism and self-expression. This strengthens the sense of community among the passengers (Meñez, 1988; de Sousa-Bastos, 2008). It also describes efforts to increase walkability and boost public transportation that are in progress as Baguio City deals with environmental and social issues while traffic congestion rises during peak tourism seasons (Peckson & Mateo-Babiano, 2024; Rañosa et al., 2017). Emphasizing their importance in modern Filipino society, Chapter 4 stresses, in general, the complicated relationship among historical, cultural, and economic elements in Baguio City and the jeepney.

In Chapter 5, I discuss and describe the ethnographic research methodology employed for studying the linguistic landscape (LL) of jeepneys in Baguio City, drawing on Dornyei's (2007) definition of methodology as a blueprint. The chapter describes the use of multi-sited ethnography, as described by Marcus (1995), with an

emphasis on community involvement, particularly the roles of jeepney drivers, conductors, and passengers. Here, I propose to integrate participatory and critical ethnography (Szabó & Troyer, 2017), recognizing participants as active collaborators rather than mere informants, with the end goal of transforming the research dynamics. The chapter also examines the flexible nature of data collection across multiple sites, including jeepney terminals and production sites, which reflects the interconnectedness of cultural meanings shaped by social, economic, and political factors. It demonstrates the value of mobility, with the jeepney serving as both a physical and metaphorical conduit for community dynamics. This chapter also discusses the discursive frames using Coupland and Garrett's (2010) research for organizing into frames and thematically analyzing my data in order to reveal dominant themes such as colonial heritage, ethnic identity, and masculinity, which reflect broader societal values. The methodology chapter also detailed my adaptation to the COVID-19 pandemic's challenges, employing remote data gathering as a solution to the restrictions on on-site research. I also describe in this chapter how my project's collaboration with student research assistants facilitated a more profound community engagement and enriched data collection. The chapter concludes by reiterating the value of multi-sited ethnography in capturing the complexity of linguistic practices, emphasizing that the linguistic landscapes of jeepneys represent a convergence of local and global cultural influences, ultimately portraying the richness of Filipino identity (Marcus, 1995; Heller, 2007).

In Chapter 6, I outline the jeepney as a communicative space, its material assemblage, and five significant discursive frames in its linguistic landscapes. Here, I outline the jeepney's external ludic spaces (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009), where the most prominent linguistic and semiotic elements can be found. I define these external ludic spaces as the material communicative space. These spaces include the front and back mudguards, the crown, and the side panels, which are identified as the most communicative ludic spaces in the jeepney's linguistic landscape (LL) based on data

collected from its exterior. These spaces are filled with linguistic tokens and images that are closely tied to the jeepney owners' or drivers' personal lives and that make the jeepneys extensions of themselves. Despite being classified as public transportation, jeepneys deeply connect with the personal and familial, blurring the boundaries between public and private spheres. On the other hand, the tightly packed passengers sharing a ride in a jeepney also create what Lefebvre (1991) calls a lived space. The jeepney ride is an experience that creates this lived space, a communicative space. In this chapter, I also describe the jeepney as a material assemblage, its parts coming from surplus materials and others manufactured. Its decor is a hodgepodge of arts and crafts aimed at catching attention. The examination of Baguio City's jeepneys ' linguistic landscape has also uncovered six significant discursive frames, which include the Christian religious frame, the American colonial heritage frame, the ethnic identity frame, the humor frame, the personal identity frame, and the machismo frame. The discursive frames are adapted from Coupland and Garret (2010) as a method of identifying dominant themes in the jeepneys' linguistic landscape. The discursive frames are defined and described more thoroughly in 5.2 and 6.3. These discursive frames identified on the jeepneys also reflect the ambivalent but flexible functionality of the jeepney because, while it serves its purpose as a vehicle for public transportation, it also still serves as a means of personal transportation for many individuals. The unique design and decoration of jeepneys not only showcase the personal identities of their owners or drivers but also serve as a form of self-expression and pride. These vibrant and personalized exteriors often depict religious symbols, cultural icons, or even political statements, further blurring the boundaries between public and private spaces. This fusion of personal and public elements adds to the charm and character of jeepneys, making them not just a mode of transportation but also a cultural symbol in the Philippines. There are six discursive frames, which were apparent from the data collected from the three main research sites covered. These were evident in both the linguistic and semiotic elements of the LL. The data

shows that these frames are not always unique; they often cross-reference or allude to other frames. These overlapping frames indicate the complex and broad appeal of the jeepney as a cultural symbol. The interplay between these frames highlights the diverse influences and meanings associated with this iconic mode of transportation in the Philippines.

I conclude my thesis with a reflection on my work as a linguistic landscape project in the Global South and my role as a scholar and emic ethnographer working in the multilingual and multicultural community of Baguio City. My thesis also grapples with issues of language choice and uses and how these influence identity construction and assertion. Why the use of English? Whose English? The use of English in the jeepney frames raises important questions about the place of English in the Philippines today. It reflects the historical influence of English and its continued presence as a global language. Additionally, it raises concerns about whose English is being prioritized and whose voices may be marginalized in this linguistic landscape. At the same time, the growing use and presence of indigenous, local languages in the LL. In the Philippines, I think it is clear that when I refer to English in the traditional jeepney's LL, it is Philippine English I am referring to. It is a variety of the English language whose markedly creative elements are distinctly Filipino, especially in lexicon and syntax. Philippine English is a Philippine language, and Filipinos use it for everyday purposes across all domains. In my conclusion, I reflect on Tupas' (2024) "unequal Englishes" which argues that even with World Englishes and Philippine English as a widely codified variety, there still exist hierarchies that privilege a variety of the language over others. This highlights socioeconomic divides among speakers of English, even within the Philippines. In the Philippines, linguistic landscape studies are in their early stages, and there is a growing number of Filipino scholars who have written and published. This makes my thesis a significant contribution to the field. As I started teaching again in October 2023, one graduate student had already written her thesis on the linguistic landscapes at a local festival,

and another one is writing about “griefscape,” having lost loved ones and observed and experienced the class divide in the linguistic landscapes of local cemeteries even amidst death and mourning. I was thrilled. Linguistic landscaping is only one of the many ways we can study the authentic uses of language and semiotic elements around us, how they communicate, and how we read (and understand) them.

Chapter 2 Linguistic Landscapes: Issues, Applications, and New Directions

This chapter discusses the evolving definitions and views of linguistic landscapes as a field of study and the various approaches, methodologies, and analytical tools that have been used to investigate them as a subfield of sociolinguistics. Additionally, I attempt to synthesize a definition of linguistic landscapes that hews closely with my project of describing the cultural nuances of Filipinos through the various images and linguistic tokens present on the jeepney. Cenoz and Gorter (2023) note that linguistic landscapes research has significantly contributed to understanding multilingualism and other social issues, particularly in urban contexts. It has enhanced knowledge of language use and the practices of communities of language users. Linguistic landscape researchers interpret signs in cities and beyond, providing new insights that could benefit different social groups and society as a whole. Gorter (2013) and Shohamy (2019) agree with LL scholars that one of the defining characteristics of the LL as a field of study is its heterogeneity and interdisciplinary nature. This diversity allows for a more comprehensive exploration of the complex relationship between language, identity, and society in various contexts.

2.1 Definition and description as a field of study in linguistics

When I began my project on examining the linguistic landscape of jeepneys, my initial inspiration came from my interest in the use of English in the Philippines. My first research on linguistic landscapes began by collecting images of signage displayed in commercial areas. I was particularly interested in signage that used English creatively. Back then, I was looking at these signs as examples of the potential for language innovation and creativity in a multicultural, multilingual society. I collected signage that used English differently from Standard American English (SAE) (words spelled differently, grammar, and syntax variations) as a way to explore the evolving use of English in a community in the Philippines where English is widely used as a second language. At that time, I examined my data using World Englishes as a theoretical lens. It was a lucky break when I stumbled upon similar studies of signage that introduced me to the concept of linguistic landscapes.

My redirection came after reading Landry and Bourhis' definition of linguistic landscape:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration. The linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function. (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25)

Landry and Bourhis are frequently cited by LL researchers as the first to describe the use of linguistic landscape to explore ethnolinguistic vitality in a multilingual community. Thus, this demonstrates that the concept of linguistic landscape initially emerged in the field of language policy and planning (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Although this initial definition now falls short of describing the extent of what scholars doing LL studies are investigating, it has opened an area of study that has been little explored during that time.

When I was introduced to the term “linguistic landscapes”, I began looking at my data in a whole new light, realizing the impact of linguistic landscapes on the overall perception, construction, and identity of a place and space. What started as a collection of examples of the creative use of English in various public spaces quickly turned into a deeper exploration of the cultural significance of language in shaping a community's sense of self and place. It became clear to me that language played a crucial role in defining the identity and character of a particular place. As studies in linguistic landscapes evolved, their definition, description, and scope also followed. Many language scholars doing linguistic landscape studies contributed to developing the field further, especially in defining the scope and methodologies that best apply to this interdisciplinary field; however, it was Landry and Bourhis who first established the use of the term "linguistic landscape" in 1997, and scholars working in the field give them credit for "naming" what many researchers have probably been working on for years. Scholars doing similar research have given them credit for coining the term and have quoted their definition countless times. However, Gorter and Cenoz (2023) noted that Landry and Bourhis themselves attribute the concept of LL to earlier works by Verdoodt (1979) and Corbeil (1980), suggesting that the true origin of the concept may lie elsewhere. From Landry and Bourhis’ 1997 definition, the term LL has indeed expanded to cover areas of study that veer farther away from when it was initially coined. In its initial wave, linguistic landscape studies have focused on

quantitatively documenting linguistic vitality in specific areas where multilingualism was observed. Second wave linguistic landscape studies then took a qualitative approach this time focusing on how elements in the LL create meaning. In the more recent linguistic landscape studies, the focus is more on semiotics, space and language in addition to researchers who use the quantitative and qualitative approaches to document and describe the LL in different areas. I discuss these in more detail in the latter part of this chapter. I use the term in my research to refer to the combined use of language and semiotic devices to communicate a wide range of ideas. This has also been one of the concerns of language scholars attempting to capture a concise definition or, at the very least, a description of the field of LL studies. In the following section, I have put together what language scholars doing LL studies have proposed as definitions for the term. I have selected the ones that most closely hew with how LL is applied in my project. The attempts at defining the term also continue to evolve with the developments in the field. What is certain is that what LL scholars are doing today can no longer be accounted for by the term's original 1997 definition.

In Landry and Bourhis' (1997) work, they offered two versions to define LL, one is referred to as the "short version," and the other one as the "list version." The short one is 'Linguistic landscape refers to the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region.' At the end of the section called 'The Concept of Linguistic Landscape' appears the 'list definition':

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings and combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration'. (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25)

The Landry and Bourhis (1997) definition has inspired and guided language scholars like me in looking at simple and everyday signs as potential texts for linguistic landscape research. In my case, my first linguistic landscape research was a qualitative examination of public signs found in the central business district of Baguio City. By closely examining the mundane and everyday landscape, I get ideas for how authentic uses of language lead to a deeper understanding of the role that language plays in shaping who we are and how we articulate the way we see the world. In attempts to arrive at a suitable definition of LL that would aptly describe what LL scholars are doing, two views of the original definition have emerged; these are summed up by Shohamy et al. (2010). They noted that Landry and Bourhis emphasize

the role that the LL plays in language maintenance by utilizing the framework of ethnolinguistic vitality research in bilingual environments. Shohamy et al. (2010) define the term linguistic landscape as referring to inscriptions, or LL items, which are linguistic objects that mark the public area. This includes any written sign found outside of private homes, such as street names, shop names, and school names. The main goal of studying LL in this perspective is to examine them based on the languages they are written in and how important their syntax or semantic parts are. These investigations about signs and language used in these signs within the field of linguistic landscapes define the public space as products of people's interaction. They provide more significant insights about how language impacts the construction and reproduction of spaces. Because of this, the study of LL highlights the intersection between language and society. By analyzing the LL, linguists can gain insights into the cultural diversity and linguistic dynamics of a particular region or community. Additionally, studying the LL can also provide valuable information about the historical development and evolution of languages in a given area. LL illustrates how language is used in everyday interactions and how it reflects the social norms and values of a society. It can reveal patterns of power dynamics, social hierarchies, and even gender roles within a community. Furthermore, the LL can shed light on the influence of globalization and migration on language use, as well as the impact of technology and media on linguistic practices. Overall, studying the LL helps us understand the multilevel relationship between language and society, offering valuable insights into the complexities of human communication. People use these languages in signs to shape public spaces. Public space includes all areas of a city or town that are open to the public, like streets, parks, shops, stores, and offices. One salient feature of LL studies is the collection of signs displayed in public. This has led to the idea that the displayed signs also contribute to the construction of public space and the shaping of social interactions within it. The analysis of these signs not only reveals the linguistic choices made by individuals and groups but also highlights the power dynamics and cultural values that are embedded in them. By examining the language used in public signs, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of how language reflects and influences societal norms, beliefs, and behaviors. More than simply proving that language(s) are widely used and are vibrantly alive in specific

places, LL demonstrates how the signs people put up in specific areas also mean more than knowing which languages are used by which group of people.

Van Mensel et al. (2016) sum up critiques of LL scholars' simplified definition of LL as a reflection of language use in specific areas. They point out that the different languages that people speak in a place don't always match what is visible in the LL of that place. Instead, the LL is the result of various power struggles over space, ownership and legitimacy, policy, and ideology. It represents the symbolic construction of public space in a specific area and should be understood and studied as such. What is seemingly a chaotic collection of signs in public space is a rich source of data for an LL scholar. Whenever I observe signs in public spaces, I attempt to look for patterns, odd uses of language, and images that communicate more than what a sign's text communicates. I try to figure out how my observations fit in (or not) in the space where they are displayed. What do these signs mean (in isolation or taken together)? Finding out what signs literally mean can also be tricky. Sometimes, signs are not always helpful or informative in purpose. I have often encountered signs that are too confusing to be helpful. Some are deliberately constructed to draw the attention of the readers by presenting them with a puzzling or intriguing message, enticing them to stop and think about exactly what is meant. These signs can serve as a form of art or expression, provoking thought and engaging passersby on a deeper level of thought and interpretation. These signs challenge us to question our assumptions and explore different perspectives. However, it is important to consider the context and intended audience when analyzing these signs, as their meaning may vary depending on the cultural or social background of the viewers. Shohamy et al. (2010) observe that, unlike natural scenery, the LL is something that people have made and is part of social reality. People who casually walk by only see LL items as casual, sometimes random, and incoherent displays in each space. Separately, signs may not seem related to one another. No coherence ties all of them together. However, from a linguistic landscape perspective, this incoherence makes for an LL text. So, the chaos in a space such as this—the different languages, funny comments, words that don't make sense, and a mess of colors and writings—is accepted and seen as a whole. In this way, the LL is a gestalt, even though it looks like a mess. In this case, as in others, the gestalt effect comes from the way the things look *ensemble,* which means "together," and how they are usually seen as "one whole." The various

elements in the LL create a unique collection of signs that is often associated with creativity and diversity. It serves as a visual representation of the diverse members of the community that inhabit the space, showcasing different cultures, backgrounds, and perspectives. How then, should one look at LL? Should signs be taken as individual messages and interpreted independently of other signs and the place where they are displayed? Or is it more productive, research-wise, to take signs in the LL as a whole and take into consideration the space they fill with meaning? Furthermore, the distinction between LL and natural landscape or scenery, with the first one being entirely constructed as opposed to nature, puts at the center the role of human intervention in the construction of LL. What then does the LL reveal about the language choices people make? The way messages are conveyed using language, symbols, and images? By examining the LL as a whole and considering the meaning it conveys, researchers can gain valuable insights into the language choices people make and how messages are effectively communicated through the combination of language, symbols, and images. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of the role of human intervention in constructing LLs and sheds light on the cultural significance and societal values embedded within these linguistic landscapes. Ultimately, studying LLs provides a unique perspective on the intricate relationship between language, communication, and human agency.

2.2. Defining the term *landscape* within *linguistic landscapes*

What is clear from the term linguistic landscape is that it has something to do with "language" and "language use." What, then, does the term "landscape" refer to? Eckert (2018, p. 186) elaborates on the term "landscape" by differentiating it from a map in that it shows a viewpoint. Persona is how people show who they are and how they relate to others in the social landscape. Landscape is a figure of speech that is mostly used in the social sciences. It can be used to talk about skinscapes (Peck & Stroud, 2015; Amos & Tufi, 2024), soundscapes (Scarvaglieri et al., 2013), familyscapes (Gonçalvez & Lanza ,2024), warscapes (Kosatica in Blackwood et al., 2024), X-scapes (Thurlow & Gonçalvez, 2019), and selfscapes (Hollan, 2014). Not only does picturing how people are connected in space help one think more clearly, but every scene shows a point of view. Landscapes are built so that people and communities can create a sense of self (as located in a particular space) that includes connections to places. Appadurai (1996) argues that being “local” is an ongoing

construction that includes both what it is and what it is not. He further asserts that understanding the concept of being local involves recognizing the dynamic process of constructing and defining one's identity, which encompasses both the elements that are part of a community's identity and those that are not. This suggests that landscapes play a crucial role in shaping and reflecting a collective sense of belonging, as they provide a visual representation of the connections between people, places, and various -scapes.

For Barni and Bagna (2015), the various research about linguistic landscapes affirms that it is the place where identities and rights are negotiated, especially when it comes to religious freedom, the right to citizenship, and the freedom to protest the political and economic order. This happens as a result of evolving language choices within a territory. Studying the LL does not imply confining oneself to counting the languages present in it; rather, it entails contextualizing the analysis and widening it to include people who shape or use the landscape, as well as the elements that have contributed to its evolution over time. Using the context of ethnolinguistic vitality research in multilingual settings, Landry and Bourhis (1997) also highlight the significance of the LL in language maintenance. Spolsky and Cooper (1991), who did similar research on language vitality in Jerusalem, stress the impact of political regimes on the LL. One weakness of ethnolinguistic vitality research is that it may overlook the individual agency of language users in shaping the landscape. On the other hand, Gorter (2006) proposes to relate the term to how "landscape" is generally used and understood. He explains that in the dictionary, the word "landscape" can be used as a noun and signify one of two different things (Gorter, 2006, p. 1). On the other hand, there is the more literal sense, which refers to the section or area of landscape that can be observed all at once from a single vantage point. On the other hand, a painting depicting such a view of inland terrain. One could argue that both interpretations apply to the study of the linguistic landscape. On the one hand, there is the study of the languages in their literal form as they are used in the signs, and on the other hand, there is also the representation of languages, which is of particular importance because it relates to identity and cultural globalization, as well as the increasing prevalence of English and the revitalization of minority languages. The study of the linguistic landscape goes beyond the mere observation of languages in their literal form on signs. It delves into the deeper significance of these languages as

they represent identity and cultural globalization. Additionally, it examines the impact of, say for instance, English's growing dominance and the efforts to revive minority languages, highlighting the complex dynamics at play in our increasingly interconnected world. The term "linguistic landscape" is used to refer to a general overview of the languages that are spoken in a certain area. In this general definition of the phrase, linguistic landscape can be synonymous with or at least connected to a number of different notions, including the linguistic market, linguistic mosaic, ecology of languages, diversity of languages, and the linguistic situation. When this occurs, the term "linguistic landscape" is used to describe the social environment in which more than one language is spoken. Multilingualism is a key aspect of the linguistic landscape, as it reflects the coexistence and interaction of different languages within a particular community or geographical area. The linguistic landscape also encompasses various visible language displays, such as signs, advertisements, and public symbols, that reflect the linguistic diversity and dynamics of a given society. These visible representations serve as important indicators of language vitality and cultural identity within a community.

A further perspective of LL proposed by Eckert (2018) clarifies the term *landscape* as a crucial means of observing change in the social environment. Like how nuances in language use also reveal socioeconomic differences. From this point of view, the study of landscapes not only references the physical environment but also sheds light on social and economic dynamics within a community. Analyzing the language and material elements of a landscape helps researchers identify and analyze underlying socioeconomic differences influencing people's experiences and possibilities. Promoting inclusive development and solving social disparities depend on an awareness of these variances. Though collective identity shapes the LL, the audience's or reader's different perceptions of the LL are beyond the control of the collective. Consequently, there will be no right or wrong interpretation; rather, a range of meanings that might vary in proximity to the intended meaning of the actors in the LL. As people "read" the LL, passers-by are likely to bring their past knowledge, experiences, and linguistic-semiotic repertoire, therefore enabling discourse to spontaneously flow from the LL. As people interact with the LL and offer their particular viewpoints, this fluidity in interpretation can result in a vibrant and dynamic interchange of ideas. Moreover, the open-ended character of interpretation lets LL

grow and adapt throughout time, mirroring the always shifting social and cultural setting in which it finds its place.

The historical instability of the landscape is highlighted by defining it as a mode of perception. This idea was proposed by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010). They cite John Berger who makes the following observation while discussing the 'photographic revolution' in the mediation of space. Every drawing or painting that exploited perspective produced for the viewer the feeling that he was the unique center of the world. The camera, and more specifically the movie camera, proved that there was no center. This observation by Berger emphasizes the transformative power of the camera in challenging traditional notions of perspective and centrality. The camera's ability to capture multiple viewpoints and perspectives further reinforces the idea that there is no singular center in the world, highlighting the historical instability of the landscape as a mode of perception. Other technological advancements, particularly those that pertain to mobility, are of comparable importance in this context. Opening space for gazing or looking from a moving train, motor car, or airplane allowed new forms of experiencing enormous panoramas and 'passing' terrains, reaching an apogee in a 1968 photograph of the earth rising over the lunar surface (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 4). The concept of landscape has changed from simply being a commodity to something to contemplate and appreciate. The increased mobility of people, allowing them to travel for tourism purposes and to simply experience and take in the scenery afforded by the landscape, has made this possible. With the sophistication of tools that allow people to capture in photographs scenery and experiences, there seems to have been a disconnect between people and the landscape. At present, this is mediated by the photographs afforded by cameras and mobile phones. To fully appreciate the landscape, one needs to take in everything. This includes the natural environment and those that are man-made. The LL is part of the man-made landscape. Because of this, "linguistic" is just one, but very important, part of how we build and understand place. Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) agree that the linguistic element is just one of the important factors in place-making. The linguistic intersects with images, the built environment, and nature to fully construct what they prefer to call the semiotic landscape. For them, all landscape is semiotic, which means that its meaning is always shaped by sociocultural interpretation (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010, p. 2). In this case, the term

"semiotic landscape" refers to any (public) space that has clear markings that were made by people intentionally interacting with and making meaning in it.

There are a number of ways that linguistic landscapes may be defined, each denoting its scope of study and the elements it analyzes. However, as Gorter and Cenoz (2023) argue, it appears that the primary preoccupation of scholars of linguistic landscapes has remained the analysis of the display of visible language on public signs. However, it encompasses more than just its textual form since it also has multimodal, semiotic, other visual, and occasionally oral components. As is also true for my own project, the visual elements communicate as much as the textual elements do. Settling on a single definition among those already proposed by LL scholars would result in the inclusion of elements in the LL that have become the focus of their study by excluding those they have not deemed as important. The definition, in this perspective, will always be something operational, in that scholars will have to define how the linguistic landscape applies to their own project.

2.3 Linguistic Landscape: Methods, Approaches, and Analytical Tools

Although a significant number of LL studies began long before the term itself was coined, what has always been the dilemma of LL researchers is the method of collecting data and the approach to analyzing data (Gorter, 2018). Gorter argues that to collect data, a number of general and some specific difficulties and choices need to be addressed. These include the problem of sampling, the difficulty of defining the unit of analysis, and the challenge of classifying signs. Early LL studies were primarily quantitative in method because the objective of these studies was usually to prove a correlation between the LL and language vitality. The idea that there is no direct association between the visibility of a language in a region and its vitality was proven to be correct by the data that was collected and examined in a variety of LL studies. This is demonstrated in the studies of Cenoz and Gorter (2006), Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Backhaus (2007), Shohamy and Gorter (2009) and Hult (2014). These LL studies demonstrate the complex relationship between the LL and ethnolinguistic vibrancy. Rather than demonstrating a direct link between a language's visibility in public spaces and its vitality among speakers, these studies indicate that language visibility in the LL is frequently influenced by external factors such as government policies, economic pressures, and symbolic representation. In addition, merely identifying and counting the languages spoken in an area does not provide any

information regarding the connection between the languages that are visible in the LL and how they are utilized in a certain location. To fully understand this, it is crucial to analyze the context and social dynamics surrounding their use. Factors such as language policies, cultural assimilation, and intergenerational transmission play significant roles in determining the vitality of a language within a community. According to Barni and Bagna (2010), it is possible to adopt a variety of viewpoints to explain the presence of the languages in the LL as well as the interaction between them. Ben-Rafael (2009), using ethnographic methods, proposes that the LL can be described in terms of power relations between dominant and subordinate groups, particularly regarding top-down LL items. This is done by adopting a sociological approach to the problem. The "good reasons" perspective, which looks at how actors shape the LL by their perceptions of the public's instrumental and rational interests; the subjective-perception perspective, which looks at the passing "crowd" and the LL actors who want to seduce them; and the collective identity perspective, which looks at the LL as the setting for the display of identity markers (Barni & Bagna, 2015). These different perspectives offer valuable insights into the complex nature of the LL. By adopting a qualitative approach and ethnographic methods for data collection, we can better understand how social structures and interactions shape the LL and influence the behavior of its actors. Additionally, studying the LL from a collective identity perspective allows for the exploration of how individuals use it as a platform to express their cultural, social, or political affiliations.

In LL studies that aim to examine the macro level of signs in the LL, Gorter (2006) also takes issue with the unit of signs and method of data collection. He points to the issue of sampling, which needs to be addressed. He raises important questions like: Where exactly do you take images, and how many do you have? Is it important to have an accurate representation of a certain city, region, or even the entire nation in general? Gorter (2006) further argues that data are not intended to represent the linguistic composition of the city as a whole; rather, they are meant to serve as an instance of linguistic diversity. Although at first glance it may appear to be an uncomplicated issue, the problem of sampling brings to light an additional issue that turns out to be a really complex one. This is the challenge of ensuring that the sampled data accurately reflects the linguistic diversity of the city, region, or nation. It requires careful consideration of factors such as population size, geographical

distribution, and cultural variations within the area. Achieving an accurate representation is crucial for various purposes, including language preservation efforts, policy-making decisions, and understanding societal dynamics. Therefore, researchers and data collectors must employ robust sampling methodologies to capture a comprehensive snapshot of linguistic diversity. One may claim that the term "linguistic landscape" refers to the various language features that are present in the public realm. It is necessary to determine what the components of the linguistic landscapes are. Backhaus (2007) describes the unit of analysis he uses as "any piece of text within a spatially definable frame." This definition encompasses everything from handwritten stickers to enormous commercial billboards. The unit of analysis in the linguistic landscape is not limited to a specific size or medium but rather includes any form of text that can be observed within a defined spatial context. This broad definition allows for the examination of various textual elements present in different urban environments, providing a comprehensive understanding of the linguistic landscape's characteristics and composition. By considering both small-scale handwritten stickers and large-scale commercial billboards, researchers can capture the diverse range of linguistic expressions and their impact on the overall landscape. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) conclude that when it comes to stores, banks, and other types of companies, they should take all the texts as a whole. As a result, the unit of study was each establishment rather than each individual sign. A coding system needs to be devised for each sign, and the researcher has the option of making the system as detailed as they see fit or keeping it simpler. This system takes into account factors such as how a language is presented on the sign, its placement on the sign, the size of the font used, the number of languages presented on the sign, the order in which languages are presented on multilingual signs, the relative importance of languages, and whether or not a text has been translated (in its entirety or in part), among other considerations. Discursive frameworks, as opposed to more definitive categorization, may be utilized to do a more effective analysis of the data. This is a more flexible method for categorizing data into shared themes that exist both in language and semiotic indications. It is possible to anticipate the themes that will emerge from the preliminary data collection, which can also be of assistance during the process of purposefully collecting data. It is also possible to arrange recurrent themes in a

hierarchical structure to demonstrate which discursive frames are presented in a more prominent manner.

In LL research, the problem of determining the appropriate unit of analysis for a sign is primarily the concern of research that takes a quantitative approach. Quantitative research in LL focuses on identifying and measuring specific linguistic features or patterns within signs, such as phonemes or grammatical structures. This approach allows researchers to analyze large amounts of data and draw generalizable conclusions about language use. However, it is important to recognize that signs are not isolated entities but rather are embedded within complex social and cultural contexts. Therefore, a qualitative approach that considers the interpretive and contextual aspects of signs may provide a more comprehensive understanding of their meaning and function. If the research employs the frequency of a sign as an indicator, for example, of language use, this is a basic issue that needs to be addressed. However, in qualitative approaches, the materiality and significance of a sign are the more essential problems, and this is true regardless of how frequently or infrequently the sign appears in the LL. Bakhtin's (1981) concept of intertextuality also brings up the argument of whether or not a sign can be meaningfully interpreted only when associated with other texts. Intertextuality posits three valuable tools for interpretation: first, that the nature of any text is dialogic; this means that in order to understand texts, one must first fully understand the context of said texts. This brings us to Bakhtin's second argument, that texts do not exist in a vacuum; in a sense, all words that we use are already borrowed and, therefore, require context for interpretation. Finally, the concept of "multi-voicedness" is also relevant in interpretation, as it brings up the question of the various perspectives in a text (Bahktin,1981). In qualitative approaches, the focus shifts from simply identifying the frequency of a sign in the language used to understanding its materiality and significance. This means considering how the sign interacts with other signs and texts and whether it can be attributed meaningfully to them. Intertextuality plays a crucial role in exploring these associations and interpreting the sign's origins or influences from other texts. This is also seen in the language used on the jeepney's LL, which regularly makes references to other texts that the reader and audience are expected to be familiar with. Some examples include passages from the Bible, famous phrases, and the lyrics of popular songs. The LL of the jeepney presents what seems to be a

chaotic LL, but it seeks to form a narrative whole within the context of a collective communication space, which is the jeepney. Although they appear to be interconnected and thematically inconsistent in the LL, the jeepney presents what looks to be a chaotic LL. This chaotic appearance of the jeepney's LL is a reflection of the diverse and dynamic nature of Filipino culture. It serves as a visual representation of the vibrant tapestry of ideas, beliefs, and experiences that exist within the community it serves.

The issue of authorship in the LL was also raised by Spolsky (2020). A significant problem for LL researchers is the widespread inability to produce proof of the agents who ordered or created the signs that are the subject of investigation. Like the Reader Response theory (Fish 1980) in literary criticism, the majority of reports of research on public signage are content with the researcher's interpretation of the signs (or the photographs of the signs), and they do not seek any additional information about the sign maker or the language agency that composed it or chose its language. This lack of inquiry into the sign maker limits the understanding of the signs' intended meaning and purpose. By neglecting to investigate these factors, LL researchers miss out on valuable insights that could shed light on the sociopolitical context in which the signs were created. Additionally, exploring the agents behind the signs could help uncover potential biases or hidden agendas that may influence their design and messaging. Although this problem is indeed regarded as a gap in most of the published research on LL, the audience is free to interpret the signs that are exhibited in the LL using their own linguistic and semiotic repertoires (Van Mensel et al., 2016 and Spolsky, 2020). Such is the case with other forms of creative expression, such as literature and art. However, the interpretation of signs in the LL is not limited to the intentions of the agents involved in commissioning and constructing them. Just like in literature and art, the audience's personal experiences and cultural backgrounds play a significant role in how they perceive, understand, and interpret these signs. Therefore, multiple, sometimes contradictory, interpretations can coexist. Meaning-making is a cognitive as well as an interpretive process. In most linguistic elements in the LL, making sense of what a sign literally means and what it contextually means may be different. The resources that the reader of the signs employs go beyond his knowledge of the language used in the sign to also include the context in which the sign appears. One important factor in this meaning-making process is knowing who the author is

(an individual or agency). This contributes to the understanding of the sign's purpose or intention. Spolsky (2020) notes that most of the work being done at present is possibly more significant. Public signs give an inaccurate portrayal of the sociolinguistic context of their surroundings because they ignore the fact that literacy levels influence the languages people choose to use in their daily interactions. There are a great number of instances in which the LL provides evidence of public literacy but inaccurately portrays the sociolinguistic environment. People who overlook the authorship of the sign or the spoken repertoire of the community—data that are much more difficult to gather—may easily be led astray into believing that their work discloses the language policy of the area because it is relatively simple to collect photographic evidence. However, it is important to recognize that relying solely on photographic evidence can be misleading. The language policy of an area cannot be accurately determined without considering the broader sociolinguistic context and the voices of the local community. Even if it is possible that the language used in LL may not accurately reflect the languages that are spoken in the community, the language used in LL does accurately reflect the hierarchy of languages

Ethnography and qualitative data collection offer significant advantages in LL studies, providing deeper insights into the sociocultural, political, and linguistic dynamics that shape public signage and language use in specific contexts. These methods allow researchers to go beyond merely documenting the presence of languages on signs and to explore the meanings, motivations, and implications behind their use. Ethnographic methods help uncover the social, political, and economic factors influencing the LL, such as local policies, historical background, and community language practices. This offers a more holistic perspective on why certain languages are visible and how they reflect or challenge power structures. Ethnography also provides insight into how different community members and stakeholders (e.g., business owners, residents, government officials) perceive and engage with the linguistic landscape, capturing diverse interpretations and uses of signage. This approach enriches understanding of how signs are produced, consumed, and contested. Through methods like interviews, focus groups, and participant observation, qualitative research collects rich, nuanced data about language use, symbolic meanings, and identity. These methods capture the complex sociolinguistic realities that quantitative approaches might overlook. Ethnography also allows for an

adaptive, iterative process of data collection, where researchers can adjust their focus based on emerging insights. This leads to a more in-depth, exploratory understanding of LL phenomena, particularly in diverse, multilingual contexts. LL studies like those of Papen (2012), Blommaert (2013), and Muth (2014) illustrate how ethnography and qualitative data collection offer a more comprehensive understanding of the interplay of the various elements in the linguistic landscapes. In her study of signs in public spaces in Germany, Papen (2012) conducted ethnographic observations and qualitative interviews with local people to explore the meanings attached to different languages on signs, particularly focusing on how locals interpret these signs and what they signify about linguistic identities. Her ethnographic approach allows her to investigate not just what is visible in the landscape but also how different social actors interact with and interpret the language displayed. Blommaert (2013) uses ethnographic methods to investigate how superdiverse urban spaces (like London and Antwerp) reflect complex and layered language practices in the LL. He employs participant observation and interviews to analyze how signs in such settings express diverse linguistic identities and social stratifications. Muth (2014) also uses ethnographic and qualitative methods in his study of linguistic landscapes, especially focusing on post-Soviet spaces and minority languages. Muth's research investigates how languages are displayed in public spaces as a reflection of shifting national identities, power relations, and language policies. Muth (2014) employs participant observation and qualitative interviews to explore how different linguistic communities perceive and engage with the signs around them. For example, his study on the LL of Transnistria looks at how the display of different languages (Russian, Romanian/Moldovan, and Ukrainian) reflects the region's contested political identity. His use of ethnographic methods allows him to gather in-depth insights from locals about their perceptions of language status and visibility. In addition to capturing participant perspectives and offering the flexibility to tailor research to particular contexts, ethnographic methods also result in rich data necessary to examine the deeper sociolinguistic and cultural meanings underlying the LL. Understanding how LL functions as a site of identity negotiation, power dynamics, and social change has been greatly improved by the application of these techniques in LL research.

2.4 Future directions of linguistic landscape studies

To describe the development of linguistic landscape studies, I use Shohamy's (2019) identification of the field's development milestones that also coincides with Bolton et al.'s (2020) "waves" metaphor. Both point to three significant phases in the field based on the common themes and methodology used by LL scholars. Shohamy (2019) proposes to trace this beginning with the field's interest in the community's attitude and perception toward languages in the community. This also corresponds to Bolton's first wave. This interest gave birth to the quantitative approaches used in LL beginning with the landmark work of Landry and Bourhis (1997). This study was replicated in many other places, but the focus remained on accounting for language vitality in specific areas. The objective was to examine patterns of language choice and language use. An additional object of study was binaries between top-down and bottom-up signs, signage that is considered official because it was put up by government offices and that is commercial, unofficial, or personal (signage that is considered unregulated). Bolton et al.'s second wave, which they estimate to have begun around 2010, signifies a break from the first wave of LL studies. Second wave studies apply qualitative methods and focus on semiotics and multimodality (Bolton et al., 2020, p. 834). The works of Jaworski and Thurlow (2010), Blommaert (2013), Blackwood and Tufi (2015) and Pennycook and Ojitsu (2015) exemplify the interest in semiotics in LL of this period. They, in fact, suggested the alternative term "semiotic landscapes" to describe the work done in the field during the second wave. With the development of lightweight, affordable, and high-resolution equipment for taking photographs that later evolved into using smartphones for this purpose, LL researchers became interested in photographs capturing various signs displayed in public spaces. The objective of such LL studies, according to Shohamy (2019) and Bolton et al. (2020), is to critically examine language and identify underlying ideologies behind the absence or presence of language(s) in public spaces. Observations regarding the use or disuse of language(s) in public space are neither random nor arbitrary but rather language choice is a result of politics and ideologies at work in the LL of public space (Shohamy, 2019, p. 26). The third wave of LL studies is characterized by the field's concern with the "dynamics of LL as a site of conflicts, exclusion, and dissent arising from mechanisms of language policies, language

politics, language hierarchies, and ethnolinguistic struggles engendered by them" (Rubdy, 2015, p. 1). For Bolton et al. (2020) the interest among studies belonging to the third wave is to examine perspectives in signs that reveal ideologies that favor certain language groups in specific geographical locations. It is their belief that the LL signifies "belonging," "engagement," or "resistance" (p. 835). LL studies like those of Rubdy and Said (2015) and Blackwood et al. (2016) are examples of the third wave. Not unlike Bolton et al.'s characterization of the third wave, Shohamy also describes LL studies at present as being multidisciplinary. LL studies intersect in the social and political sciences and education. This intersection allows the research field to grow in various directions and demonstrates that linguistic landscape research has not yet reached its peak as a field and more areas for scholars remain to be explored and written about. Finally, LL studies at present focus on multimodality of texts for analysis. Multimodality in LL studies demonstrates the further expansion of the field as it considers as LL texts, aside from images, sounds, smells, movements, graffiti, tattoos, and many others to be added to it with the popularity of artificial intelligence (AI). Multimodality of LL texts demonstrates the many possible ways of communication that are possible in different contexts.

An alternative way to fully understand linguistic landscape studies is to thematically explore research in the area. In the same chapter, "Linguistic landscape after a decade: An overview of themes, debates and future directions," Shohamy (2019, pp. 28-32) summarizes five prominent themes pursued by LL researchers. These include: (1) LL and Representations— This hews closely with the beginning of LL studies that aim to document the representation of languages in public space by employing quantitative approaches. These studies focus on the distribution and frequency of languages and are less interested in the content of the signs. (2) LL and Multimodality—this gained popularity with the use of photographs or images as the objects of analysis. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) thus proposed to use the term "semiotic landscape." They argue that language alone does not fully communicate meaning. Furthermore, LL researchers agree that the field should be allowed to grow in various exciting directions and during this time, the inclusion of semiotic resources was a step in new and unexplored areas of LL studies. (3) LL in Cities, neighborhoods and Entities—Much like its predecessors, LL studies that focus on specific areas also aim to document multilingualism among communities with diverse populations,

possibly immigrants negotiating both their language(s) and identity. (4) LL and Contestation in Public Spaces—Studies with this theme focus more on the role of people in mediating meaning through their interaction with the LL. This theme also brings out issues regarding ownership of public space and the right to write in these spaces. (5) LL and Education—This theme explores the possibility of LL as a resource for language teaching. Language in LL is an excellent authentic text in which language learners can uncover various layers of meaning of language in different contexts.

At present, linguistic landscape studies are still a developing and evolving field of investigation under the umbrella of sociolinguistics. LL scholars agree that it will be counterproductive to prescribe what LL should be about, its theoretical frames for analysis or its methodological approaches. Shohamy (2019) and, later, Cenoz and Gorter (2023) give their respective thoughts on the future of LL. Shohamy (2019) argues that the use of traditional quantitative methods for LL study is still relevant as long as these are able to address the research questions. She also addresses the issue of LL as lacking in a cohesive, unifying theory. In fact, interdisciplinarity is one of the strengths of LL studies. Shohamy (2019) also raises important issues for future LL researchers to consider. One is the possibility of LL toward "commercialization and commodification" (Shohamy, 2019, p. 34). This comes as a result of easy access to the digital world via social media platforms and now AI. She also encourages LL researchers to reflect on their role vis-à-vis the communities they are examining whether the role is simply documenting and describing or goes as far as acting as agents in transforming language and spaces to become more just and inclusive. On the other hand, Cenoz and Gorter (2023) have a more recent view of the field's direction. Having done LL studies on cities in various countries, they have observed a trend toward homogeneity in public signs. They conclude that this may be a result of globalization, where trademarks and global signs are recognizable and uniform everywhere. However, they also argue that heterogeneity is one of the field's strengths and should be encouraged among LL researchers (Cenoz & Gorter, 2023, p. 371). They also offer insights into the future of LL as a field of study. First, they do not foresee LL as evolving into a subdiscipline of its own. Nor do they foresee the development of a new coherent theory of LL, or a dominant theoretical framework of methodology (Cenoz & Gorter, 2023, p. 372). These predictions offer insights on the

popularity and interdisciplinary character of the field. LL studies encourage eclecticism in the object of study, approach, and analysis, which makes it one of the fastest-growing fields of interest in linguistics.

One significant development in LL studies is its interest in space or spatialization. This interest demonstrates the openness and interdisciplinarity of LL as a field of study. Called the "spatial turn" in linguistic landscape studies, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) argue that this retheorizing of space has a few primary interests, one of which is the concept of the social construction of place and the 'sense of place' that individuals have. In this context, the concept of space is not understood to refer to something that is entirely physical. Instead, it encompasses the social and cultural meanings attributed to specific locations and how these meanings are negotiated and constructed through language and visual representations. This shift in focus from the “language” to the “landscape” in LL corresponds to what studies going in this direction call "space," allowing researchers to explore how linguistic landscapes shape and are shaped by social practices, power dynamics, and identity formations within a given community or society (Ben-Rafael et al., 2010; Hélot & Janssens, 2012; and Tufi, 2025). Additionally, this spatial turn opens new avenues for examining the relationship between language, place, and belonging in an increasingly globalized world. These are places that we come to know and experience both sensually and intellectually, thanks to semiotic framing and various forms of discursive construction. Identities are formed in part through the process of geographical imagining, which involves locating the self in space, claiming ownership of places or being excluded from them, sharing space, and interacting with others, for example, as strangers in a large city. In the same vein, our sense of national or regional identity is inextricably related to the nation's collective gaze on the physical qualities of landscape and the visual, cartographic, and textual representations of the countryside. These representations shape our perception of our surroundings and contribute to a shared understanding of our cultural heritage. The concept of territorial articulation connects with well-known dimensions of space proposed by Lefebvre (1991). These dimensions of space include conceived space, perceived space, and lived space, respectively. In sum, conceived space is equivalent to mental or represented images of space (such as those produced by advertising), perceived space is equivalent to material or physical space that is responsible for

economic production and social reproduction, and lived space is produced through the experiential intersection and/or interaction of both conceived space and perceived space. Linguistic and other semiotic artifacts (texts) are present in each of the three different modes of space, or processes of spatialization. These determine or organize the meaning of the spatial practices themselves, as well as the social activities that are carried out in these respective spaces. These LL artifacts can include signage, architectural design, and even the arrangement of objects within a space. They serve as cues for individuals to navigate and understand the purpose and use of a particular space, shaping their behaviors and interactions within it. Additionally, the meanings attributed to these spatial practices can vary across different cultural contexts, highlighting the importance of considering sociocultural factors in understanding the significance of lived space. The imagery of place is, of course, a vital resource for diasporic populations in sustaining their sense of national or ethnic identity and as a means through which they can express their yearning and regret for the lost sense of home. Not only do immigrant communities transfer images of home into the mediated and mediatized places in which they live, but they also do so as part of the daily actions of identity that they perform. These actions include maintaining cultural traditions, language practices, and social networks that connect them to their homeland. By recreating a sense of "home" in their new environment, diasporic social groups can navigate the challenges of living in a strange and new land while preserving their cultural heritage. This process of bridging the physical and emotional distance between their roots and current location allows for a sense of belonging and continuity, shaping their identities as members of both their new community and their original homeland. They (re)semioticize the typically urban areas in which they are concentrated, thereby creating orders of indexicality that position them in a complex manner vis-à-vis their ancestral and host communities. These orders are created by texts and images in signs that are placed above shops, restaurants, malls, travel agencies, internet and telecommunication centers, cultural institutions, and so on. These signs position them in complex ways vis-à-vis their ancestral and host communities. The signs identify these groups (or the members of these groups identify with the signs) and give them the ability to claim these urban locations as "their own" to bring the unfamiliar and remote into the realm of the present and familiarize them. These signs serve as a visual representation of the diverse cultural

identities within the urban landscape. The reconceptualization and understanding of 'space' as a construct are two of the more major developments in LL studies.

2.5 Linguistic landscape studies in the Philippines

When I started this project in 2018, Google Scholar listed only a handful of available research online that used the term "linguistic landscapes" as an approach or methodology in the Philippines. De Leon (2015) for instance, published her research "Read between the signs: The Jeepney linguistic system," where she also collected signages from three jeepney terminals in Metro Manila and interviewed jeepney drivers to better understand the significance of these signages for the drivers themselves. She describes the theoretical underpinning for her analysis as a semiotic reading of the jeepneys' signage. De Leon claims that her analysis draws from Barthes' theory of signification, with signs having two levels of meaning: denotative and connotative. According to De Leon (2015), while the denotative meaning may be easily decoded, the connotative meanings are more nuanced.

> Denotation can be described as the definitional, literal, obvious, or common-sense meaning of a sign. On the other hand, connotation is used to refer to the sociocultural and "personal" associations (ideological, emotional, etc.) of the sign, which are typically related to the interpreter's class, age, gender, ethnicity, and so on. Connotations are not purely personal meanings--- they are determined by the codes to which the interpreter has access. Cultural codes provide a connotation framework since they are organized around key oppositions and equations, each term being aligned with a cluster of symbolic attributes. (De Leon, 2015, p. 259)

In her work, De Leon shadows and interviews one jeepney driver in particular to obtain an in-depth knowledge of the jeepney driver's character. Like Torres (1979) and Meñez (1988), De Leon also acknowledges the driver's important role in the jeepney's signage. She describes the profusion of signage as an effort to "pimp my ride," but also more than simply being decorative, signage also serves as cultural and identity markers. She noted that in one jeepney, a sign with a religious theme is flanked by the signs, *New kid in town* and *Material Girl* (De Leon, 2013, p. 264). These two signs were explained by the driver to refer to the undesirable characteristics of young people, other than simple referencing song titles. The quality of being *pasaway* or having no regard for rules and *balahura* or being vulgar are street slang in a Filipino context. These inferences would have been difficult to decode without input from the driver, why he chose to put up those signs inside the

jeepney. De Leon's work hews closely to what a linguistic landscape project using a jeepney as a text would be. However, her work focuses only on the signage as a signifier according to a Barthesian perspective. A linguistic landscape approach would expand this further to examine the socio-cultural contexts that may have led to the production of these signages and their interpretations (multiple possible meanings) from different perspectives. De Leon's research is one example of studies that have laid the groundwork for linguistic landscape studies by Filipinos and about the Philippines today. Furthermore, the publication of this research in a social science journal, rather than linguistics, confirms the inter- and transdisciplinary nature of future linguistic landscape studies.

At present, there are now hundreds of linguistic landscape studies written about the Philippines and by Filipinos. These range from a quantitative analysis of local language(s) vis-a-vis the dominance of the use of the English language in signs, qualitative semiotic analysis of the LL, and multimodal analysis. I discuss below some of the more notable LL research in the Philippines that illustrate the extent of themes and methodologies used by local LL scholars at present. A preliminary survey of these local publications shows that modified qualitative studies with the objective of investigating linguistic vitality and dominance in multilingual communities are the most common. The earlier LL published research of De Los Reyes (2014), Astillero (2017), and Jazul and Bernardo (2017) account for this. More recently, Luna's (2023) research on language preference among commercial establishments and government offices in the población of Boac in Marinduque, Philippines, reveals the dominance of English among signs strategically placed in the town's business district. Marinduque Tagalog, a local variety of Filipino (the national and official language), has limited visibility in the LL. Another study by Ambion (2023) investigated the linguistic diversity among signs in the LL in the Southern Tagalog Province of Cavite, considered as the country's center of coffee production. Ambion collected top-down and bottom-up signs and investigated the dominance of language(s) in these signs. The study's findings affirm the predominance of English in both kinds of signs. It further argues that this is influenced by globalization, where English functions as a global lingua franca and is, consequently, the second and also an official language in the Philippines. Local studies that hew closely to the second wave of LL studies include those of Monje (2017), Doroja-Cadiente and Valdez (2019) and Cantina

(2021). Monje's (2017) research focused on protest signs in Manila during the burial of deposed dictator and former President Ferdinand E. Marcos at the *Libingan ng mga Bayani* (Heroes Cemetery), described as mobile and temporary. This study argues that the nature of LL during protests, albeit temporary, demonstrates the variety of signs produced for the purpose. The signs came in the form of placards, banners, posters, and even those posted on various social media platforms. These, Monje argues, are signs demonstrating a strong voice of dissent, which temporarily highlights the site of protest, Manila. On the other hand, the LL work of Doroja-Cadiente and Valdez (2019) focused on the local community's sentiments expressed through signs displayed in the LL after the devastating effect of Typhoon Haiyan in 2013, which claimed thousands of lives. Their investigation focused on the qualitative analysis of the salient differences of signs produced by the community and other stakeholders like the government and commercial establishments. Cantina (2021) used a descriptive, qualitative approach to examine the pragmatic features (linguistic) of signs designed to attract tourists in Dipolog City in Zamboanga del Norte on the island of Mindanao (southernmost part of the Philippines). From the results of the study, Cantina recommends that a guide for composing business signs be produced to help new business owners attract more customers. She also recommends the use of signs in the LL as authentic texts for teaching English in a local context.

Finally, the LL works of Ellaga and Valdez (2020), Esteron (2021), and Tupas (2024) also demonstrate the forward-looking prospect of the field in the Philippines. In the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, Ellaga and Valdez (2020) examined the impact of multimodal LL signs on health literacy in rural communities in the Philippines. Aligning their research with *healthscapes,* their study proved valuable in aligning LL studies with the potential of signs to create greater awareness regarding rural health services and disease prevention, especially during the pandemic in 2020, when the LL was flooded with information about Covid-19 prevention. Esteron (2021) followed through with his study on *churchscapes* in the multilingual province of Pangasinan. His study quantitatively examined the languages used for religious activities. His findings show that despite the use of the local language, Pangasinan, and the national language, Filipino, for most other domains, English was the preferred and predominant language for religious activities and ceremonies. Tupas (2024), although now UK-based, also recently published his study on the LL of Cubao in

Metro Manila. By examining the signs among informal commercial establishments in Cubao, which he describes as an urban cultural and commercial center, Tupas describes the language predominantly used in signs as English of a local variety. His study focused on the ideological aspect of the use of English in the Philippines. These three studies illustrate that Filipino LL scholars are also moving forward Global South scholarship in the field of LL. They examine issues that concern Filipinos like healthcare in rural areas, religious activities as central to the lives of Filipinos and the assertive use of a local variety of English for most domains. There is a future for local LL scholarship.

Manalastas (2025) surveyed the field he refers to as *Philippinescapes*. In this landmark work on Philippine-based linguistic landscape publication, Manalastas summarized published research in the field of LL and synthesized these studies' methods and focus. I concur with Manalastas' observation that *Philippinescapes* is a rapidly developing area in local sociolinguistics. Linguistic landscape research in the Philippines has expanded rapidly over the past decade, producing a diverse body of location-based studies that map languages on public signage across cities, municipalities, neighbourhoods schools, *placescapes.* Many local studies use either distributional approaches—counting and comparing language visibility and sign types—or descriptive approaches—cataloguing sign forms and content—while an emerging set of works applies sociohistorical and critical frameworks to explain language choice and meaning. A clear pattern across studies is the predominance of English in Philippine linguistic landscapes, with Filipino and regional/local languages less visible. Scholars attribute English's dominance to: (1) its role as a global lingua franca and language of commerce, tourism, and wider communication; (2) perceived formality, prestige, and authority (e.g., in government, education, museum and workplace domains); and (3) historical roots in American colonial educational and administrative policies, which produced enduring domain dichotomies (e.g., English for sciences, Filipino for social domains). Several studies note the exclusionary effects this produces for minority-language speakers and socioeconomic groups with limited English proficiency. Methodological critiques highlight limitations of distributional studies—especially the tendency to treat "English" as monolithic—and call for attention to varieties such as Philippine English and to the sign-making processes (actors, regulations, material and institutional mechanisms) that produce

public signs. Emerging research directions include integrating critical and urban geography concepts (e.g., narrativized spaces); tracing the sociolegal mechanisms and sign-making rules that shape signage (regulations, institutional practices); focusing on minority and Indigenous languages in their home localities (language-based rather than strictly location-based studies); and examining varieties of English materially present in signs. Overall, the field is burgeoning and poised to deepen contextualized, critical analyses that link signage patterns to colonial legacies, language policy, identity work, and inequities in multilingual Philippine public spaces. My thesis contributes to this exciting development in *Philippinescapes* by exploring beyond what has been done by Filipino LL scholars. In this project, I use the jeepney as my LL text and examine the assemblages and discursive frames present in the jeepney. My work goes beyond the examination of languages present in the jeepney's LL. While I also problematize the use of Philippine English in the LL, I argue this in a positive light in the context of a Global South perspective. Visual signs are also a significant aspect of my analysis. My thesis also uses linguistic landscapes as a methodological tool of the analysis of the jeepney's linguistic and visual signs.

Chapter 3 Linguistic Landscapes and Social Theory

This chapter discusses critical and theoretical lenses that I used for analyzing linguistic landscapes. My jeepney project proposes the use of a combination of three critical and theoretical lenses from which to approach LL studies: critical ethnographic sociolinguistics (Heller et al., 2017), assemblage theory (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Markus & Saka, 2006; Delanda, 2016; Nail, 2017; Pietikäinen, 2021), and a focus on the Global South (Pennycook & Makoni, 2019; Makoni & Pennycook, 2023 and Heugh et al., 2021). For LL scholars Pennycook and Ojitsu (2017), Pennycook (2019), Sharma (2019), Gurney and Demuro (2019), and Pietikänen (2021), the choice of theoretical lenses is largely determined by the data to be examined; thus, the three I propose in this chapter are specifically chosen to provide theoretical underpinnings for a comprehensive analysis of the jeepney's linguistic landscapes. Assemblage allows for an understanding of language dynamics that moves beyond the traditional dichotomies and binaries often present in LL research. Adopting a critical ethnographic sociolinguistics approach and a Global South perspective guides toward more self-aware and reflexive research practices. In my examination of the Philippine jeepney's LL, including its material composition, its history, and its function, all come together as an assemblage. Adopting assemblage as a theoretical and analytical tool enables the exploration of how various elements come together to create meanings and practices within the jeepney.

3.1 Critical sociolinguistic approach

By placing language in more general sociopolitical and economic settings, the critical ethnographic-sociolinguistic approach challenges established, descriptive approaches. According to this approach, language use allows various social groups to negotiate visibility, legitimacy, and authority, therefore creating spaces of contention (Heller, 2010). In multilingual cities such as Baguio City in the Philippines, the prominence of some languages over others on public signage reflects more general socioeconomic and political inequalities. Official signs are written in the global or national languages. Underrepresented minority languages help to highlight the marginalization of their speakers (Shohamy, 2006). A critical approach to LL research examines how public language choices either support or subvert current power

systems. It begs issues including: Who chooses which languages are visible in the public sphere? What about social hierarchy do language choices expose? Do underprivileged populations claim their presence using linguistic landscapes?

This concept is further explained by Heller et al. (2017), who emphasize the importance of a critical sociolinguistic approach, particularly to understand issues of power and social inequality. In their argument that "language matters," they explain that our knowledge of the world is mediated by language (Heller et al., 2017, p. 4). This implies that our social relationships, as well as inequalities these may produce, are also partly a result of our language(s). This means that studying language is of crucial importance if we want to understand the role that language plays in shaping how we navigate our way into social, cultural, economic, and political undertakings. By contextually defining the terms "critical," "ethnographic," and "sociolinguistic," they aim to clarify their position as researchers. The term *critical* in a critical sociolinguistic approach refers to issues of power and ensuing inequalities resulting from the use of power (Heller et al., 2017, p. 5). It also means an examination of the consequences of social processes. For researchers this implies reflexivity, which means an introspection of how they engage in research and how they make sense of their data (Heller et al., 2017 and Patiño-Santos, 2019). The term *ethnographic*, on the other hand, was defined as an "in-depth, situated explorations of how[…]processes work and why" (Heller et al., 2017, p. 5). In this sense, ethnography entails descriptions and explanations of how things work and the people involved in the processes observed. Finally, *sociolinguistic* is defined as an investigation into how language works. By positing that "language matters," this means uncovering the relationship of language with social, political, and economic processes. Heller et al. (2017) elaborate on their position as language scholars engaging in critical sociolinguistic research. First, they argue that language refers to any meaning-making activities that people engage in. They also clarify that this includes linguistic and non-linguistic resources that human beings use in order to communicate. Therefore, this leads to their second proposition that meaning is a social product. This entails that meanings are products of how people negotiate their complex relationships with each other and with the world around them, including the past. Finally, social transformations are also visible in and marked through linguistic transformations. These three statements emphasize and support their argument that language matters.

Language and investigations about language are at the center of scholarship because they allow an insight into better understanding ourselves and the world we live in. Heller et al. (2017) sum this up by saying that "[…]communicative, discursive, and symbolic practices have moved into the center of what are now the key sites of economic production and, often, concomitantly, of political struggle" (p. 11).

As researchers interested and invested in the investigation of language, Heller et al. (2017) encourage taking a constructivist position. This posits that knowledge is a product of human interaction. It is basically a human creation and this entails that research is an experience (of human interaction). Engaging in ethnography is at the center of this kind of research because its objective is to examine emergent social practices. It hews to qualitative approaches as it pays attention to various aspects of how people engage with the social world. Simply put, a qualitative approach describes how people see and make sense of the world. Therefore, this puts the role of the researcher as crucial in mediating and transmitting knowledge from doing qualitative research. It is imperative, according to Heller et al. (2017), that researchers practice reflexivity. This is an introspective practice that researchers need to do in order to examine their own position in the world they are investigating. Basically, they need to answer the question, "Why they are entitled to produce an authoritative account of the social practice being analyzed?" (Heller et al., 2017, p. 16).

3.2 Assemblage and semiotic assemblage

Following through on describing a kind of research that they describe as "critical sociolinguistic research methods," Heller et al. (2017) propose five key moments in the research process; these are formulating your research questions, drawing up your research plan, generating your data, analyzing your data, and writing your story (p. 6). Although they present these in a logical sequence, they claim that these are by no means fixed. Recursivity in research allows for looping back and making the necessary reformulation and calibration when necessary. They contend that these steps are open to recalibration and reformulation as one proceeds with the research activities. This is a realistic view of what happens in actual research. Sometimes research questions need to be reexamined in the light of available data and sometimes unexpected data comes to light, which changes the direction of analysis. They also use the phrase, *writing up your story* as the final step in a critical

ethnographic sociolinguistic approach. This highlights the critical role that the researcher, or, in this case, the storyteller, plays in research. The authority of the storyteller matters in what story is told and how it is told. Heller et al.'s description of research steps as recursive, leads to an understanding of their approach as essentially following Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomes. They view research and the research process as making room for flexibility. In the course of data collection, the researcher may encounter unforeseen information or situations that calls for a recalibration of the other steps in the research process. For Heller et al. this is something to be expected of a critical ethnographic sociolinguistic research approach. The rhizome is a metaphor for the kind of research that is dynamic and non-linear, reflecting much of what happens in actual ethnographic research.

> The rhizome is a representation of knowledge that can account for resilience, heterogeneity, interconnectivity and multiplicity among the nexus in a network[…]It offers a way to map the complexities and multiplicities encountered in research-the ways in which processes, changes and practices connect to each other in emergent ways. (Heller et al., 2017, p. 24)

The rhizome as a metaphor for research is adopted in this thesis in the use of assemblage as a theoretical lens from which the jeepney's linguistic landscape is examined. The concepts apply to the multiple interconnections that jeepneys lead to. Heller et al. (2017) also use the rhizome metaphor to describe their research process as networked practices. The steps they undertake are preconditioned by previous decisions or actions and these, in turn, impact future actions they will take in the research process. Similar to rhizomes, ethnographic research also has multiple angles and entry points and many surprising connections to other interesting research areas previously unforeseen. "Thus we see rhizome as an epistemological metaphor for a dynamic, non-linear system of knowledge production, located in a multiplicity of connected processes (Heller et al., 2017, p. 24)." Current research on language, including linguistic landscapes, exhibits the qualities of resilience, heterogeneity, interconnectivity, and multiplicity. These are qualities represented by Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome theory. Looking at linguistic landscapes research this way leads to an assemblage way of examining the various linguistic and semiotic resources. This approach provides an opportunity to better understand the complexities, multiplicities, and interconnectedness of these resources in the LL. Assemblage thinking also allows

the researcher to document and understand processes, changes, and practices and how these connect in different ways.

Defining "assemblage"

Pennycook and Ojitsu (2017), Pennycook (2017), Sharma (2019), Gurney and Demuro (2019), and Pietikänen (2021) all demonstrate various ways in which assemblage may be applied as a tool to analyze discourses and language use in different contexts. The focus of the studies cited is to explain, using assemblage as a theoretical or conceptual frame, how these linguistic phenomena have come about and the structure or abstract design that may have allowed them to come together as we experience them. These studies illustrate that most people agree on what *assemblage* means and how it shapes and affects discourse. In this section, I will present the various ways assemblage is understood, its various elements, and how it is applied as an analytical tool in research.

Pennycook (2017) examines the way multilingual repertoires and the presence of semiotic resources in a Bangladeshi-owned shop in Sydney, Australia, allow for the interaction of translinguistic practices among customers and how these practices are brought about more poignantly by the presence of semiotic assemblages in the shop, in particular food items (fish) from different parts of the world. As a study of the linguistic landscape of the Bangladeshi-owned shop, Pennycook (2017) calls attention to the role that semiotic assemblages play in discourse; these include the greetings the shop owner welcomes different customers with, the conversation over fish, and the variety of items for sale from different parts of the world. Pennycook explains that assemblages allow for the presence of these complexities in urban life to explain how discourse drawing on the process of translanguaging manages communication among people coming from very different linguistic and cultural backgrounds but brought together in a foreign land and for a common purpose. In this article, Pennycook describes assemblages as,

> the way things are brought together and function in new ways, and provide a way of thinking about disruptive agency which links usefully to the notions of distributed language and cognition[…] Assemblages can be understood as 'ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts,' as 'living, throbbing, confederations'. (Pennycook, 2017, p. 278)

In his research, Pennycook uses semiotic assemblage to refer to the way the presence of a variety of (random) objects in the shop, like food items from different parts of the world and customers of diverse backgrounds coming together in a communicative event and successfully able to complete a transaction by negotiating language(s) in various ways. The assemblage is, by no means, permanent. It is a transient condition. It is always evolving, 'becoming,' because that is the natural (dis)order of things in the world. People cannot depend on what is constant but on what resources are available at a specific time and place and what communicative resources they can make do with.

Pennycook and Otsuji's (2017) focus on how material objects, in particular fish and phone cards, play important roles as semiotic assemblages that allow for the assembling and disassembling of languages in particular contexts. Studying the interaction and discourse between shopkeepers and customers, Pennycook and Otsuji (2017) analyze how meaning is negotiated over conversations about fish (cleanliness, taste, freshness, recipe) and phone cards (price, haggling, purchasing). The researchers point out that the particular assemblage(s) in the shops are brought about by the material objects they sell and the customers, mostly immigrants and foreigners, who come to their shops regularly and engage in discourse over fish and phone cards. In this study, Pennycook and Otsuji (2017) emphasize the value of material objects and place (as a specific geographical location) as "key ingredients" or linguistic resources (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2017, p. 446). In their analysis, semiotic assemblages form part of the diversity in sociolinguistics, where individuals seen as agents are as important as the objects that prompt them into discourse and the place that contextualizes their discourse. Such an assemblage (of things, people, and places) is temporary but may be analyzed to illustrate how linguistic resources, translingualism and metrolingualism come into play. "Assemblages describe the way things are brought together in new ways and provide a way of thinking about how agency, cognition and language can all be understood as distributed beyond any supposed human centre (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2017, p. 448)."

Gurney and Demuro (2019) explore different ways language is understood by investigating various theoretical perspectives, including translanguaging and metrolingualism, which emphasize language as a dynamic process instead of a product. Language, in this context, may be investigated as an assemblage, breaking

free from traditional language ideology and focusing instead on "the temporality, complexity and materiality of language" (Gurney & Demuro, 2019, p. 1). Like Pennycook (2017) and Pennycook and Otsuji (2017), Gurney and Demuro (2019) recognize the potential of assemblage as a theoretical frame for analyzing language, which they characterize as a "complex, overlapping and heterogenous process" (Gurney & Demuro, 2019, p. 8). The emphasis of assemblage is the understanding of the "conditions, consequences, and activity of desire as a process of production." This is an important turn for sociolinguistics as it reframes the analysis of language into the process that produces language(s), which result from more than simply the interaction of people. In this direction, Gurney and Demuro (2019) propose the following as potential reconfigurations of language studies: "as situated across time and space; as situated at the interface of material and non-material/ideal planes; and as able to be re- and de-territorialized" (p. 8).

Sharma's (2019) work analyzes the interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic resources in a specific place that are able to redefine tourism and the tourism economy in the late global capitalist world. In terms of language, this study highlights the rising value of languages other than English in the linguistic landscape of tourism. Sharma's study further pushes the value of material objects as agents and semiotic resources "serving to reconstruct cultural practices, human relations, and interactional competencies" (Sharma 2019, p. 4). Much like the function of fish and phone cards in Pennycook and Otsuji (2017), the scarf in Sharma (2019) mediates action and discourse in space. Jones (2005) (in Sharma 2019) identifies this as "sites of engagement" which he defines as moments in time and space where things happen (p. 12). These are brought about primarily by semiotic resources like scarves, fish, and phone cards, resulting in interaction and discourse. Semiotic assemblage, in the context of Sharma's study, is used to refer to "embedded and emergent" language alongside material objects (in this case, the popular souvenir item scarf) that allow for the interaction of shopkeepers, consumers, and tourists along various lines of social and economic relationships.

In a similar vein, Pietikäinen (2021) draws from assemblage theory to examine political-economic transformations in the European Arctic and how those relate to language. This study affirms that assemblage offers an alternative perspective to examine the interconnected processes of boom, bust, and buzz in Arctic

transitions. It emphasizes how social action results from these interconnections among elements—such as language, materiality, and human activity. Emphasizing the important part discourse plays in bringing about these changes, Pietikäinen shows how language works with other elements to generate meaning and profit in the context of her research titled, *Cold Rush*. Using assemblage thinking helps highlight the variety inherent in social events rather than flattening intricate historical and economic processes. Furthermore, the study proposes that assemblage can close gaps across several research frameworks, enabling a better knowledge of the relationships between language and society while considering the politics and temporalities engaged in these changes. Despite debate as to whether "assemblage" as an analytical frame in various studies is understood in the same way as originally proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), or if it may indeed be considered as a theoretical frame or just a concept, the studies I have previously discussed illustrate that there is more or less an agreement as to what assemblage refers to and how it frames and influences discourse. In this section, I will present the various ways assemblage is understood, its various elements, and how it may be applied as an analytical tool in sociolinguistics.

For Marcus and Saka (2006), assemblage is a modernist analytical tool that addresses the "heterogenous within the ephemeral" for a better understanding of the inherent structure (p. 102). As seen in the previous studies presented, Marcus and Saka (2006) likewise affirm that assemblage focuses on "process" and "relationship," which may be temporary and shifting.

> In sum, Deleuze and Guattari (1987), in their use of assemblage as well as of other concepts of their theoretical apparatus, mediate the two classic varieties of modernist thought: the playful and critically aesthetic…and the formal and technical. (Marcus & Saka, 2006, pp. 103-104)

Although quite general in their interpretation of an assemblage, Marcus and Saka affirm two important elements of an assemblage that echo how Deleuze and Guattari (1987) describe the rhizome. First is the idea of "process," which in my analysis reflects the principles of multiplicity and cartography/decalcomania of Deleuze and Guattari (1987, pp. 7-21). Second, the element of "relationship," which also matches Deleuze and Guattari's principles of connection and heterogeneity (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 7-21). These two ideas are potentially useful in the analysis of various discourses and language(s) as used in various societies, cultures, and contexts.

However, the succeeding authors who have likewise made attempts at interpreting and analyzing assemblage as a theoretical and analytical tool provide more useful details on how assemblage may be more productively applied.

DeLanda (2016) relates assemblage to the concepts of "emergence" and "exteriority." Following Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomes, DeLanda proposes an understanding of an assemblage as more than the sum of its constituent elements. Instead, he proposes to view assemblages as networks, emphasizing the idea that assemblages are "social wholes" made up of seamlessly fused elements that, like rhizomes, can branch and form other assemblages at any given point. DeLanda further identifies qualities of an assemblage: (1.) assemblages have identity and are, therefore, individual entities; (2.) assemblages are composed of heterogeneous components; (3.) assemblages can form part of larger assemblages; and (4.) assemblages emerge from the interaction of their parts but also as their source of limitation and opportunities (DeLanda, 2016, pp. 19-21). Applying his interpretation of an assemblage and what he identifies as its inherent qualities, DeLanda proposes a community as an example of an assemblage and language and the communicative space that the community "assembles" illustrate how an assemblage functions. He likens a community to a "machinic assemblage of bodies (DeLanda, 2016, p. 53)." As such, transactions such as promises, bets and assertions are made and consequently affect the individuals who are part of that community. Individual members of a community who engage in these transactions inevitably intermingle and become whole, considered as the community in itself. However, in an assemblage, this may be understood as individuals who are collectively affected and also individually acting within a discursive space. Applying the theory of assemblage further, DeLanda proposes to use language as another example. Like a community, in his previous example, language is made up of discrete elements or components that are in themselves meaningful but when used together and in a given context, they become inextricably part of discourse. Furthermore, language may also be viewed as an element of a larger assemblage, as a parameter of an assemblage and in itself an assemblage (DeLanda, 2016, pp. 51-52). DeLanda appears to associate an assemblage with a concrete, real, or visible thing, as in his examples of community and language as an assemblage. His critics claim that this runs contrary to the original concept of an assemblage by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) who described an assemblage as an

overarching design of concept (abstract) that is reflected or visible through a thing (like a community or language). It is not the community or language themselves that are assemblages but the layout or design that orders them into a temporary whole. DeLanda, on the other hand, also echoes principles of the assemblage proposed by Deleuze and Guattari, such as connections and heterogeneity, and its potential to form part of larger or other assemblages (very much like the rhizomes). Buchanan (2017) and Nail (2017), whose works are discussed in the succeeding sections, further explain how DeLanda's interpretation departs from Deleuze and Guattari.

Buchanan (2017) also outlines his critique of DeLanda's understanding of Deleuze and Guattari. Buchanan identifies these flaws as the following: the part-whole relationship constituting an assemblage; understanding the assemblage as an accumulation of individual acts; and seeing incremental change in an assemblage (Buchanan 2017, p. 388). Buchanan argues that DeLanda's interpretation runs contrary to these three crucial ideas in the original thesis on assemblage proposed by Deleuze and Guattari. While DeLanda understands the assemblage as primarily made up of elements, individuals, and constituent parts, thus making it a concrete structure, Deleuze and Guattari describe an assemblage as primarily abstract, an idea. For Buchanan, DeLanda's interpretation clearly contradicts what an assemblage is. For Deleuze and Guattari, an assemblage is first of all an abstract structure that may be made manifest in the actual. Buchanan summarizes his interpretation of an assemblage as, "[…]the productive intersection of a form of content (action, bodies and things) and a form of expression (affects, words and ideas) (Buchanan, 2017, p. 390)". In his analysis of the etymology of assemblage, Buchanan echoes Nail's observation that the French word *agencer* used by Deleuze and Guattari means "to arrange, to lay out, or to piece together," compared with the English word assemblage, which means "to join, to gather, to assemble." He points out that *agencer* emphasizes the process of composition, working with elements that are already present and giving them new order. In understanding assemblage as a methodological-analytical framework, Buchanan refers to Baker and McGuirk (2017), who observed that in studies that claim to apply assemblage, it is understood as an interrogative orientation toward the world. Understanding assemblage as abstract conforms with the views of Deleuze and Guattari. Although the studies analyzed by Baker and McGuirk do not directly refer to Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage and

rhizome, they closely resemble their original ideas. The common themes shared in the use of assemblage as a methodological-analytical frame include "revealing multiplicities, procesuality, labour and uncertainty (in Buchanan, 2017, p. 460)". Sharing Markus and Saka's (2006) interpretation of the assemblage's emphasis on the process (becoming) rather than the product, Buchanan notes that the term *processuality*, as used by Baker and McGuirk, refers to how something comes together rather than how it works. Buchanan identifies four qualities of an assemblage: (1.) it explains the existence of things; (2.) it is structured and, at the same time, the structuring itself; (3.) it has logic that can be mapped; and finally, (4.) it resists change (which explains why deterritorialization is followed by reterritorialization) (Buchanan, 2017, p. 463). Buchanan's interpretation of assemblage focuses too much on its abstract quality; unlike DeLanda, he points out that visible elements are not assemblages themselves, as an assemblage is essentially invisible because it is a structure explaining how things are or have become the way they are. For instance, using as an example Pennycook's (2017) study about semiotic assemblages explaining how the presence of various semiotic resources results in translanguaging, illustrate how immigrants in Sydney, Australia, draw from these resources, their own language repertoire, their immediate environment, and other elements surrounding them, which result in a particular discourse. Following Buchanan's interpretation of an assemblage, it is not the discourse itself that is an assemblage nor is it the translanguaging that the discourse participants resort to but the influences or forces that produce the discourse and translanguaging that may be considered as an assemblage. Using assemblage as an analytical tool entails studying the logic behind the resulting discourse and structure that allows for such discourse to transpire at a particular time and place.

Among the authors whose works analyzed Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage, Nail's (2017) appears to be the most comprehensive in definition and description of the elements of an assemblage. His work provides a comparatively clearer picture of the potential of assemblage as a theoretical frame and analytical tool for scholars of sociolinguistics. Nail (2017) begins his discussion of assemblage by analyzing its etymology. He points out the difference in meaning between the French word *agencement* originally used by Deleuze and Guattari and the English translation *assemblage*. In terms of meaning, Nail identifies two problems in the English

translation. First, the French term is used to mean an arrangement or layout of discrete elements, while the English term refers more to a coming together or unity. Second, there is the existence of a similar term, *assemblage*, in French, which means more or less the same as its English counterpart. For Nail, it is important to dissociate the use of the term assemblage as an analytical frame from its French roots in order to avoid confusion. I understand this to mean that how assemblage is applied by researchers as an analytical tool may have already digressed from its literal meaning in French but the concept that it has come to mean today is already a combination of both its French and English roots. Nail expounds on the consequences that result from the distinctions in the French and English meanings. It is also noteworthy that Nail, in his discussion of assemblage, references Deleuze and Guattari as proponents of the use of assemblage as an analytical frame. First, he uses the metaphor of a machine to describe an assemblage. Like machines made up of different parts, an assemblage, too, is made up of various elements defined by their external relations to one another. Unlike an organic unity or whole, elements or parts of an assemblage may come apart and reassemble to form another assemblage. This exemplifies what Deleuze and Guattari described as "multiplicity": elements of an assemblage (like the rhizome) can break and form another assemblage without compromising the previous one. There is emphasis here on the relations of the elements, which can be "added, subtracted, and recombined with one another ad infinitum without ever creating or destroying an organic unity" (Nail, 2017, p. 22). Another crucial element of an assemblage is that it debunks the idea of essences. "Deleuze and Guattari do not ask, what is…? But rather, How? Where? When? From what viewpoint? And so on" (Nail, 2017, p. 22). This idea departs from the traditional practice of beginning with a definition of what something is and reflects the goal of sociolinguistics as a subfield of applied linguistics: to explain the variation of language and its relationship with various factors and conditions in society. This reconceptualization implies that understanding something begins not with assuming that what is visible is its final form but with more probing questions that explain how it has come about. Applying the theory of assemblage as an analytical tool necessitates an understanding that something is constantly in the process of deterritorialization (change in location and/or form) and reterritorialization (temporary stabilization). Nail also identifies three features of an assemblage: conditions or a set of conditioning relations, concrete assemblage, and

agents. Conditions or conditioning relations, which Deleuze and Guattari call the *abstract machine*, are the external relations holding the elements together (Nail, 2017, p. 24). Going back to the definition of *agencement* (laying out), the conditioning relations explain how the elements under investigation are connected or related. The arrangement (layout) is also by no means fixed; like a rhizome, it can, at any point, branch out, break, and form another assemblage. The concrete assemblage is the visible element of the assemblage. These are the elements that are arranged by the conditioning relations or the *abstract machine* (Nail, 2017, p. 26). The agents, called *personae* by Deleuze and Guattari, are mobile agents that connect the concrete elements. The connections are according to their abstract relations. The agents are subsumed in an assemblage and are intrinsic to it (Nail, 2017, p. 27). Applying Nail's elements of an assemblage to Sharma's (2019) analysis of the scarf as an example of a concrete semiotic assemblage, one can understand the presence and role of the three elements interacting to produce the scarf. In Sharma's (2019) work the abstract machine that lays out the conditions that result in the production of the scarf is clearly the surrounding social, cultural, and economic (and political) conditions. The study was conducted in a tourist area (the making of a new Chinatown) and the scarf was one of the most popular tourist souvenirs. The area was catering to a significant number of tourists coming from the nearby areas and the community's economic activity relied heavily on tourist activities. The scarf, in this research, is used to exemplify how objects themselves are able to create and convey meaning (through their materiality and use of language). Both linguistic and non-linguistic resources act together in producing the concrete assemblages, which are not only the scarf but also the space of the new Chinatown. The agent or personae in this same study may be the people responsible for the production of the scarf, the shopkeepers, and the tourists (consumers) themselves. Their presence working together in the same space allows for the multiple assemblages to exist. Although the works of Markus and Saka (2006), DeLanda (2016), Buchanan (2017), and Nail (2017) have differences in their respective interpretations of Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage, they all share the objective of exploring the potential of assemblage as an analytical tool or theoretical frame. Furthermore, Nail's (2017) work clearly presents the potential for applying the assemblage as an analytical tool for studying language by focusing on the more important questions in sociolinguistics: to analyze and explain a language

phenomenon by searching for answers to how, where, and when, and from what/whose viewpoint?

Pütz and Mundt (2019) examine assemblage and repertoire and explain that repertoires emerge from the interaction of semiotic resources, objects, and places in social spaces. This concept of spatial repertoires takes language beyond the mind, not only as a social resource but also as a spatial and artefactual one (Pütz & Mundt, 2019, p. 79). The implications for research on linguistic landscapes are obvious because this perspective renders the landscape as part of an interactive whole that includes people, objects, and space by focusing on 'how the composite ecology of human and non-human interactions in public space works on sociality and political orientation' (Pütz & Mundt, 2019, p. 79). By recognizing language as a spatial and artefactual resource, we can better understand how linguistic landscapes shape social interactions and political orientations. This perspective highlights the complex relationships of people, objects, and space. Assemblages define how things are brought together and work in novel ways, and they provide a way of thinking about 'distributive agency' that allows us to imagine how agency, cognition, and language might all be understood. Semiotic assemblages are the connections between linguistic resources, ordinary tasks, and social space. These language resources are important, but what is equally important is how they are entwined with the rest of the action—the relations between semiotic resources, activities, artifacts, and place (Pütz & Mundt, 2019, p. 82). The relationships between artifacts, locations, and people bring all of the items and meanings associated with them together. Understanding semiotic assemblages offers an alternate method of thinking about linguistic landscapes by situating the linguistic within a larger set of semiotic relations and addressing the complexities of objects that come together in the changing exchanges of everyday life. These semiotic assemblages allow us to explore how various elements are connected within the urban landscape, such as street signs, graffiti, and advertisements.

In a more contemporary application of assemblage as a theoretical frame, Pietikäinen (2021), in her work on the political and economic transformations in the European North, defines assemblage as one that encompasses both the act of putting together disparate pieces and the arrangement of these elements for a specific goal. It is important to note that it is the interaction of elements that allows the assemblage to

become more than the sum of its parts. Rather, the elements must be brought together under precise conditions and made to perform in specific ways in order to achieve their shared powers and purposes. She conceptualizes assemblage as both the act of assembling disparate elements and the arrangement of these elements toward a particular objective. Its application to, in particular to research in language, encourages the use of alternatives to binary thinking and a deeper examination of the dynamics between language and society.

> Assemblage challenges language researchers to engage with multiple perspectives, emergent practices and speculative futures […] At the same time, assemblage can be mind-blowing, challenging concept that opens up to so many directions that it becomes difficult to imagine at the grassroots level of a research project. An antidote is to keep assemblage situated. The power of assemblage is intertwined with specific political economies, local social histories, and discursive practices. (Pietikäinen, 2021, p. 238)

3.3 Linguistic Landscapes and the Global South

Assemblage as a theoretical lens draws attention to the fluid, dynamic and social aspects of linguistic landscapes. In a Global South orientation, assemblages are made up of the multiple and overlapping influences of colonization, multilingualism and translanguaging, globalization as well as discourses on identity and agency. In this section, I aim to discuss definitions of the Global South and examine how linguistic and semiotic elements in the linguistic landscapes may be interpreted from this perspective.

Defining the Global South

Pennycook and Makoni (2020) locate research from the Global South beginning with a geographical definition. The Global South refers to the people, places, and ideas that have been excluded from modernity's narrative, including Indigenous populations. It encompasses broader histories of exclusion and disenfranchisement, including the urban poor in northern cities and the conditions of misery and injustice caused by capitalism and colonialism. The South can also be located in the global North to include excluded, silenced, and marginalized populations such as undocumented immigrants, the unemployed, ethnic or religious minorities, and victims of sexism, homophobia, and racism. The concept of the Global South addresses concerns such as indigenous identity, racial and social class, sexuality, economic inequality, gender roles, and colonialism. Taking on this

perspective, the term Global South is not so much a geographical location but “a set of geopolitical inequalities” (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020, p. 2). They describe the Global South as people, locations, and concepts that were excluded from the overarching narrative of modernity. It also refers to regions in South America and Africa that have not been part of the upward march of economic, social, and political advancement in nations with higher standards of living. It also encompasses countries in Asia and the Middle East that face similar challenges of economic and social development. The term Global South acknowledges the legacy of colonialism and the ongoing impact of global power plays that continue to shape their marginalized position. The South is both a position and a politics, challenging universalist tendencies in social theory and blurring the distinctions between producers and objects of knowledge. The contributions made by regions in the Global South are often undervalued.

Makoni and Pennycook (2023) emphasize that the problem that arises is that the term "southern" is being put to use in many different contexts to do the following types of tasks: It is a label of political economy that refers to impoverished regions of the world; it is a term for geopolitical relations; it is a term for political struggle, including diverse clashes against poverty, patriarchy, environmental destruction, and discrimination; and it is a term for geographical location. Global South refers to regions that have yet to reach their full economic potential as an aftermath of colonization and exploitation. The concept highlights the social, economic, and political issues faced by these regions and the need for collective action to address existing inequalities. Academics from the Global South, including those who are in the field of linguistics, face similar challenges such as limited resources and funding opportunities, making it difficult to compete with their counterparts in the Global North.

Heugh et al. (2021) also attempt to define the Global South in the context of sociolinguistics first by drawing a parallel with its use as a counterweight to the term *third world* putting emphasis to its connection to discourses on poverty, power and decolonization. They propose four angles from which to understand the term *South* in Global South. First, they propose to define the term as referring to a geopolitical artifice best understood to refer to the idea of a geopolitical south parallel to what Makoni and Pennycook (2023) propose. Second, they propose an understanding of the

term as a metaphor for "human suffering caused by capitalism and colonialism at the global level," equating the term "South as of margins and despair" (Heugh et al., 2021, p. 29). However, they also propose collocate positive qualities to the term. A third description is the South as potential, "the South is a space where people meet to imagine the possibility of other ways of being in the world, a state of mind" (Heugh et al., 2021, p. 30). Finally, they propose to view the "South as hope, care and love in adversity," drawing from what they refer to as "generative hope, hope with grit, hope that neither avoids the history of colonial dispossession nor has been rendered misanthrope by it" (Heugh et al., 2021, pp. 30-31). My understanding of the Global South hews closely with these descriptions. The Global South is best understood by what it has experienced that is absent in the history of the North and that has resulted in what it is today. The colonial experience and the capitalist exploitation that has brought about much of the suffering and unequal distribution of wealth. The same experience also resulted in resilience amidst adversity.

> These notions provide opportunities to draw closer to an understanding of the creativity and resilience of communities whose ontologies, epistemologies, cosmologies, and recipes for voice and agency have been shaped over time in colonial geopolitics and adversity and within ecologies of the living and non-living. (Heugh et al., 2021, p. 32)

Linguistic Landscapes in the Global South

Writing about research on multilingualism in the Global South, Makoni and Pennycook (2023) emphasize that the concept of multilingualism includes more than simply moving away from monolingual assumptions that language scholars from the North are often caught up in. They also point out to language researchers that the field itself has deep roots in coloniality (Makoni & Pennycook, 2023, p. 17). This brings to bear on how linguistics researchers from the South examine language issues in their contexts. In their research on multilingualism, Makoni and Pennycook explain that students (especially those from the Global South) in the early years of schooling are unaware of the concept of multilingualism. This is something they realize at school when they are introduced to the concept of languages as separate entities and are introduced to subjects like their mother tongue, English, and other foreign languages. According to Makoni and Pennycook (2023), this is a "radical process that alters their self-perception and identity when pedagogy forces them to discover languages as separate entities" (p. 19). Furthermore, this practice of teaching languages cannot be

isolated from its colonial underpinnings. The study of languages, including their descriptions and the way they are taught formally, is a colonial legacy. These practices continue to highlight the division of peoples and languages along colonial lines. In the Philippines, for instance, the way English is taught as a subject in school using American English as standard is an example of how this practice undermines the legitimacy and acceptability of Philippine English. During the Spanish colonial period, language was one of the main tools used to subdue and divide the Filipino people.

In the area of applied linguistics research, the Global South perspective, according to Pennycook and Makoni (2020), entails more than simply accounting for all possible contexts and concerns that may have been overlooked. Echoing the idea of reflexivity in a critical sociolinguistic research approach proposed by Heller et al. (2017), the Global South theory also raises "difficult questions about research itself and who is doing it, with what assumptions, for whom, and for what purpose" (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020, p.3). This is an important attitude among language scholars in the Global South. In the Philippines, for instance, local academics are also trained to think like their Northern counterparts. Academics from well-respected universities like the University of the Philippines and De La Salle University, which are local centers of linguistics teaching and research, continue to perpetuate a North-oriented pedagogy. This is because of the faculty's largely Western training and the curricula, where the syllabi and reading lists are also predominantly Western. Pennycook and Makoni (2020) and Heller et al. (2017) encourage language researchers to be more self-aware and reflect on their projects as well as themselves and their position vis-a-vis their subject. This introspective attitude, as researchers will hopefully find, will result in a more contextually relevant examination of research subjects and arrive at conclusions and recommendations that do not only add to the existing body of knowledge but also critically challenge existing conditions, if not improve them. One example of this in the Philippine context is research on mother tongue-based multilingual education, medium of instruction, the use of English in the World Englishes framework and linguistic landscapes research that focuses on the dominance of English in the LL. Therefore, adopting a Global South perspective moves beyond simply promoting inclusivity. At present, its concern is more about examining how knowledge is produced and valued. Also, how this same knowledge

perpetuates or challenges economic and political inequalities. Pennycook and Makoni (2020) offer a positive outlook toward adopting a Global South perspective in the area of applied linguistics:

> A Southern perspective, we argue, does much more than merely challenge the North to be more inclusive: It brings "radical hope," creates opportunities for a "balanced judgement" and measured insight and creates spaces for imaginative excellence". (Penycook & Makoni, 2020, p. 9)

Redirecting research in applied linguistics towards a Southern perspective not only promotes inclusivity but, more importantly, also ideas of "secularism, tolerance, diversity, equality, and democracy" (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020, p. 9). Global South perspectives are grounded on the basic struggles for economic, social, and political change. Applied linguistics as an area of research is also invested in the same struggles. People use language and people's lives are shaped by these conditions. How people articulate their experiences and how they see and describe their world (including worldviews) are mediated by their use of language in different ways. Linguistic landscapes as an area of study under the umbrella of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics also reflect these challenges in the various ways people manipulate linguistic and semiotic devices to encode meaning and make sense of the LL.

For countries in and people who identify with the Global South, a focal point of linguistic research is the use of English and a description of the features of these Englishes. In the Philippines, in particular, this is a major issue. For one, English is used in schools as one of the main languages for instruction. Key subject areas like mathematics and science are taught in English, except teachers are allowed to use the mother tongues (local languages in different areas) as needed in order to facilitate comprehension. As early as first grade, English is introduced as a separate subject matter with areas such as language and reading sometimes even taught as separate learning areas. In universities, teaching is done mostly in English and also used as gatekeeping tool by using English as a medium for college entrance examinations. This leads to the issue of how much hold native Englishes still have on former colonies like the Philippines and other similarly situated countries in the Global South. Even as there is a recognition of the different varieties of English, native varieties like British and American English have maintained their standard-setting role. Global South advocates like Hamid (2023) suggests that an emancipatory move

in the field of linguistics is the promotion of the a language that is reflective of the Global South. He argues that,

> As the principal linguistic infrastructure for theorizing, English has served as a tool for epistemic violence. Therefore, decolonising the hegemonic language is a prerequisite for decolonizing knowledge and theory-building. Without decolonizing English, no other decolonizing projects related to theory, epistemology, discipline, or pedagogy can be achieved. (Hamid, 2023, p.6)

This results from what Hamid describes as the absence of these varieties in such domains as media and publication, both locally and globally. He argues that this invisibility might lead one to believe that the linguistic world is perfect and homogenous. There is an assumption that those who aim to participate in the global discourse must first conform to a prescriptive standard of English use "regardless of social, economic, or educational circumstances" (Hamid, 2023, p. 2). To address this hegemony of English, Hamid proposes the use of Southern English,

> This conceptualization represents creative and meaningful ways of using English regardless of its formal properties, highlighting the plurality, multiplicity, and localness of English in a gobalised world. I use Southern English to characterize the use of non-native Englishes in order for a more explicit recognition of their parallel existence and identity alongside native Englishes. This focus has affinity with non-native speakers' right to linguistic peculiarities. (Hamid, 2023, p. 3)

Hamid's idea of Global English is an English shaped by one's linguistic environment and own purpose for using the language. As expected, the product will be a different kind of English for different peoples in the Global South. Hamid is writing from the context of English and English use in Bangladesh. Some of his main ideas are also shared by Tupas (2024), who also writes about what he calls "unequal Englishes" from a Global South perspective with the Philippines as his context. He argues that the Global South perspective serves to further highlight the inequalities of Englishes, especially those from the Global South.

> The phenomenon of global English is then used not only as a justification for the continued (re)assertion of the dominance of English in educational and other social contexts but, equally important, for the legitimized character of native-speaker norms and standards. What is ignored in the equation (both consciously and unconsciously) is the fact that culture has mediated the spread of English through globalization. (Tupas, 2024, p. 64)

For Tupas, there is more to the politics of English than Global South varieties versus native English. Inequalities are likewise pronounced among speakers within the same

variety. This is an angle that is largely ignored. There is a small elite of English speakers in the Philippines whose position of privilege has given them access to education, resources and immersion in a community of speakers of English that is "socially marked as desirable, correct and/or marketable (Tupas, 2023, p. 66)." This privileged group of English speakers breaks away from Kachru's configuration of concentric circles where non-native speakers are categorized as belonging to the outer circle and described as second language speakers of English. Tupas notes the disparity among speakers of English within the Philippine context. This inequality is a result of deep-rooted socio-economic inequalities nationwide.

> In other words, an English linguistic hierarchy mediates social and power relations in the country because an 'educated' Philippine English–not simply the ability to speak English–provides both symbolic and material privileges to those who speak it. (Tupas, 2023, p. 68)

Internally, there also exists a north and south dichotomy in the Philippines that runs parallel to global inequalities. The socio-economic advantages afforded to speakers of an educated variety of Philippine English is a product of their relative affluence compared to speakers of non-standard Philippine English. In this linguistic landscape project, one object of investigation is the use of English in the jeepneys' linguistic landscape. The interest in describing the kind of English used by people in the jeepney industry demonstrates the inequality of English in the Philippines and is an example of how the perspective of the Global South is evident not only in the use of English vis-à-vis other local languages but also the creativity and translanguaging observed in the jeepneys' LL.

As examples of research focusing on language issues from the Global South, I present here research that come from contexts of former colonies, in addition to two examples from the Philippines, in order to highlight the shared experiences of my research site. These research also examine the position of English in a Global South context and in the domains of commerce, education, government and the church. These illustrate the perspectives of similarly situated scholars writing about language and language-related issues in their communities. Writing about the use of the different varieties of English in Manila, Philippines, Tupas (2024) examines how unequal Englishes are mobilized in the linguistic landscape of Cubao, a commercial center in the Philippines, and how these unequal Englishes configure class-based social relations and ideologies. His data spans 4 years (2012, 2014, 2017, and 2019)

of collecting photographs of public signs in Cubao, Philippines. Tupas argues that while English has become pluralized and localized in the Philippines, the different varieties of English are not equally valued in society, and they reflect and reproduce class-based inequalities and ideologies. He further argues that the different varieties of English used in the Philippines are not equally valued, and the speakers of these varieties are also unequally positioned in society. His research highlights the prestige afforded to an English variety that hews more closely to Standard American English. This privileging is visible in the LL of Cubao, Philippines, despite the widely accepted use, in spoken discourse, of Philippine English. Tupas' observation reflects the awareness of scholars from the Global South of language hierarchies and the privileging of the language legacy of former colonial masters; in the case of the Philippines, it is the U.S. Esteron's (2021) work investigates language hierarchies and the level of prestige associated with official and national languages, like English and Filipino, over local languages. His field site for collecting data on signages is in Manaoag, Pangasinan which is locally known as the Pilgrim Center of the North. The Minor Basilica of the Our Lady of the Most Holy Rosary of Manaoag is located on this site and devotees and pilgrims flock to visit this 400-year-old church. The church is home to the statue of Our Lady of Manaoag, who is known to be the patroness of the sick, the helpless and the needy, is enshrined in this church[1] Esteron (2021) argues that in the context of a predominantly Catholic country like the Philippines, the church takes on "a pivotal role in a community's language vitality because it has a capacity to maintain language use" (p. 88). He further argues that the church also exercises indirect control over language hierarchy in the community. In his collection of 107 photographs of signs in and around Manaoag Church, his analysis reaffirms the position of English as the primary language used on church signs making up for 77.6% of all signs (Esteron, 2021, p. 89). Although his data also showed the use of Filipino or Tagalog and Pangasinan, these languages were used to facilitate understanding of informational and directional signs. English without translation was used for longer and more permanent signs. In a Global South perspective, the role of the church in the people's lives and the community is crucial. Althusser identifies the church and the role of the church as an ideological state apparatus (ISA). Both the

[1] https://pintakasiph.wordpress.com/2016/09/16/nuestra-senora-del-santisimo-rosario-de-manaoag-the-lady-who-calls/

Catholic religion and the language now used, English, are two of the most significant colonial legacies from Spain and the United States of America. Johnson's (2017) research examines how the linguistic landscape, soundscape, architecture, and building materials of The Base, a large retail and commercial center in New Zealand, support or contest the existing hegemony related to Māori language and identity and indicate the re-appropriation of space. Johnson collected data here by conducting a survey of written signs in The Base shopping center, including who was responsible for the signs, what languages appeared, and the relationship between languages. She also conducted observations of the client base of The Base, Centre Place, and Westfield-Chartwell shopping malls, categorizing customers by ethnicity. Semi-structured interviews were also done with a Waikato-Tainui tribal leader and Māori and non-Māori customers of The Base. Johnson also makes use of ethnographic methods for data collection, which hews closely with my own project. Johnson argues that The Base represents a challenge to the existing hegemony and an assertion of Waikato-Tainui presence and identity. Furthermore, the linguistic landscape, soundscape, architecture, and economic success of The Base challenge stereotypical negative representations of Māori and assert Waikato-Tainui presence and identity. The Base is a place where Māori, especially Waikato-Tainui, feel a strong sense of cultural belonging and identity. Lanza and Woldemariam (2014) also investigated the use of English and international brand names in the linguistic landscape of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, indexing notions of modernity, development, and identity. Using an ethnographic approach spanning 10 years of data collection, Lanza and Woldemariam conducted interviews and took photographs to document various elements in the linguistic landscape. Their analysis shows that English and international brand names in the linguistic landscape of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, serve to index an identity associated with modernity and the globalized new economy. Local businesses in Addis Ababa engage in "clone advertising" by using international brand names and logos, which allows them to place their commercial goods at a higher scale and index a type of business that is perceived as more modern. The use of English and international brand names in the linguistic landscape of Addis Ababa is part of a broader discourse around development, modernity, and national identity in Ethiopia. Issues of identity, indigeneity, multilingualism, and the space for the use of Standard English and a local variety of English are shared issues about language by scholars

from the Global South. Finally, a much earlier work by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) investigates the implications of the use of English and isiXhosa in its various and hybrid forms as used in signage and how these figure in the social recognition of their use. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) collect their data from the town of Khayelista, 28 kilometers from Cape Town Central Business District. The languages widely used in the area are isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English.

> Khayelista originated at the height of apartheid oppression. The distant location of the of the township from the city center, with a lack of public transport impeding mobility, and a city plan organized to constrain freedom of movement and thought, was designed to instill an embodied sense of racial inferiority amongst its inhabitants. (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009, p. 365)

They identified three key sites in Khayelista from which they collected and analyzed signage. Sites of luxury are identified as economically prosperous spaces where signage was predominantly commercially oriented and products and services are at a higher-end scale. They further describe these spaces as authorized spaces in locations such as schools, hospitals, and shopping centers. The language of signage in these sites is English in Pan African varieties. Different and pricier media are used for signage in these sites. Sites of necessities are economically lower in the hierarchy. Signage in these areas are products and services for everyday needs. Languages used in signage are described as hybrid and the variety of English used is isiXhosa. The kind of English used is largely unmonitored and unedited, as evidenced by inconsistency in orthography, spelling, and the use of ungrammatical phrases. Materials used for signage in these sites are locally sourced. A third space they identified is sites of implosion, which Stroud and Mpendukana describe as sites of economic and social transformation. The language used for these sites is "blended isiXhosa and a hybrid mix of representational forms" (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009, p. 376). From a Global South perspective, this research demonstrates how linguistic identity is asserted through creative language use. Even as global products are advertised and English is the primary language, the kind of English used for advertising is characteristically local. The use of English is adapted to local phonology in the isiXhosa language, making a global language sound more familiar in the Khayelista linguistic landscapes.

Chapter 4 Politics, economy, and post-colonial assemblages in the jeepney and Baguio City

This chapter describes Baguio City's political and economic environment, focusing on its transformation from an American colonial hill outpost to a thriving tourist and commercial hub in northern Philippines. Known as the "Summer Capital of the Philippines," Baguio City's geographical location and historical origins contribute significantly to its attraction and cultural diversity. This chapter examines how Baguio's transformation as a tourism and educational center influenced its economic direction and character. Furthermore, this chapter explains the history and evolution of the jeepney, a popular and iconic mode of public transportation made from surplus military vehicles left behind after World War II. The jeepney today represents Filipino innovation, originality, and cultural identity. I will also investigate issues arising from government modernization projects such as the Public Utility Vehicle Modernization Program (PUVMP), which aims to phase out traditional jeepneys and how this will affect the entire jeepney industry.

4.1 Baguio City as an American Colonial Heritage Baguio City is popularly known as the "Summer Capital of the Philippines." This reference to the city appears in a 1904 Minutes of the Philippine Commission headed by Governor Luke E. Wright when it held its first meeting in the city after the construction of Kennon Road (Tolentino et al., 2009, p. 24). It has a rich history rooted in its American colonial heritage. Today, it has evolved into a highly urbanized city that not only serves as a cultural and educational center but also plays a crucial role in the region's economy. With its picturesque landscapes, thriving tourism industry, and growing educational institutions, Baguio City continues to attract both local and international visitors, contributing significantly to the economic development of the northern Philippines. According to Reed and Alcantara (1976), those colonial administrators involved in the early planning, construction, and promotion of Baguio envisioned it as a typical hill station designed primarily to serve wealthy Americans, Hispanized Mestizos, Spaniards, and other Europeans who lived only in the Philippines' hot and humid

lowlands (p. 4). Baguio City's attraction lies in its cool climate, scenic landscapes, and vibrant cultural scene. Today, it has evolved into a thriving tourist destination that caters to a diverse range of travelers seeking relaxation, adventure, and cultural immersion. With its rich history and unique offerings, Baguio City continues to captivate visitors from all walks of life, ensuring a steady flow of tourism revenue for the region.

Reed and Alcantara (1976) further recount that it was widely held among the Western proconsuls during the American colonial period that the well-being of white sojourners and settlers in the tropics could be best preserved by occasional excursions to the cooler climates of high-altitude rest and resort centers. As a result, in the Philippine Cordillera, as in other Southeast Asian uplands, the hill stations were established and, even in their infancy, became a site of agricultural innovation, a consumer of mid-latitude vegetables, and a collection point for limited quantities of produce destined for re-export to lowland urban centers (Reed & Alcantara, 1976, p. 52). These hill stations not only provided a retreat for the European settlers but also served as experimental grounds for testing new farming techniques suitable for the high-altitude regions. Additionally, the establishment of these hill stations created a demand for mid-latitude vegetables, leading to the development of trade networks between the uplands and lowland urban centers. The Philippine Sanitorium established in Baguio City by the Americans aims to provide respite and cure for patients who leave the country for recuperative climates in the Peninsula or Japan and the Chinese coast (Reed & Alcantara, 1976). The facility aimed to supplement medical hospital services, serve as an asylum for diseased soldiers, and offer specialized care for respiratory conditions like tuberculosis. The facility also offered therapeutic activities and rehabilitation programs to support patients' recovery and overall well-being (Reed & Alcanatra, 1976, p. 57). The practice of "going to the hills" has become a significant part of the colonial experience for many Western sojourners in South and Southeast Asia (Reed & Alcantara, 1976, p. 81). The Worcester-Wright committee members agreed that Baguio was the ideal site for a future city and urged the government to build an American hill station there. The first item of business in building a hill station in Baguio should be providing suitable transportation connecting the Benguet highlands and Dagupan, the largest city in Pangasinan and the northernmost railhead in Luzon at the time. A reliable and

efficient transportation system would attract more settlers and promote economic growth in the region.

Delos Reyes (2014), a Baguio-based scholar and professor of history at the University of the Philippines Baguio, describes Baguio City in the past as "hill stations" were to the British in India, whereas "mountain resort" or "summer resort" were to the Americans in Baguio, Philippines (p. 67). By creating, urbanizing, and developing Baguio as a mountain resort for "wellness, sport, and heritage" at the turn of the twentieth century, Americans established an image of themselves. A truism that gained currency in the 1860s was that "the empire of climate is the most powerful of all empires," especially when ethnomedical perspectives revealed that more satisfactory states of health lay high in the cooler climate of higher altitudes, which provide respite from the physical toll of harsh climes during the summer months and "a location remote enough to provide isolation from the indigenous multitudes" (Delos Reyes, 2014, p. 67). This belief in the healing powers of cooler climates led to the establishment of numerous sanatoriums and health resorts in mountainous regions. These places offered relief from the oppressive heat and catered to the desire for solitude and escape from crowded urban areas. Carved out of the Gran Cordilleras mountains, pre-1900 'Baguio' spread over multiple mountains and was neither a village, town, nor city. Baguio was scarcely a cloud-enshrouded refuge with pine-clad and beautiful green turf, undisturbed by human exploitation in its early days. Baguio, nicknamed "the resort of pine trees and pine log fires," is located at 120° 35' east longitude and 16° 28' north latitude, at an elevation of 4,783 feet (1,458 meters) above sea level. It covers twenty square miles (13,557 acres), although the Revised Administrative Code's RA 3092 series of 1969 increases Baguio City's land area to 57.49 square kilometers from 49.7 square kilometers (5,749 hectares, or 22.2 square miles) (Delos Reyes, 2014, p. 75). On July 20, 1924, Frank G. Carpenter, an American author who was initially skeptical about the Baguio project, painted a portrait of Baguio in his article for the Los Angeles Times, entitled "A Switzerland in the Heart of the Tropics": In Baguio Summer Capital of the Philippines on the Roof of the World - How Uncle Sam has Created a Switzerland. Carpenter's description of Baguio as "A Switzerland in the Heart of the Tropics" showcased the city's landscape in geographical metaphors to indirectly compare Baguio with likeable places such as "Switzerland of the Philippines," "Little Switzerland," and "(Asia's) Little America,"

"American City," and "American City," among others (Delos Reyes, 2014, p. 102). Not only was the city given several names to publicize its existence, but the "scent of gold" was significantly more appealing at the start of colonization. When the "gold rush" period began, Baguio became a famous prospector's rendezvous for the adjacent mining regions in Benguet (Delos Reyes, 2014, p. 106). Baguio saw a mining boom in the 1930s.

Delos Reyes (2014) describes Baguio City as having a subtropical highland climate that borders a tropical monsoon climate. From October to May, northeasterly winds or the northeast monsoon brings cold air into the city, while southeasterly winds or the southwest monsoon bring torrential rainfall. The climatological factors, wind direction and force, and storms might all be used to predict a suitable climate in the city. The unique climate of Baguio City, characterized by cool temperatures and abundant rainfall, has made it a popular destination for tourists seeking respite from the heat in other parts of the country. The city's elevation of over 1,500 meters above sea level also contributes to its cooler climate compared to surrounding lowland areas. Additionally, the combination of its mining history and favorable climate has led to the development of a thriving agricultural industry in Baguio City and its surrounding regions.

All roads lead to Baguio

Reed and Alcantara (1976) describe the construction of a cart and wagon route to Baguio as authorized by the American proconsuls on December 21, 1900, by Act 101. The work was done as a preliminary step to the final construction of a rail line, and the proconsuls appropriated the required sums as requested by Captain Mead to finance the undertaking (Reed & Alcantara 1976, p. 102). An immediate start was made on the planning for the project, which was expected to be finished in a period of less than a year. The construction of the cart and wagon route to Baguio not only served as a precursor to the rail line but also had important implications for the economic development of the region. With improved road access, the transportation of goods and people became more efficient, fostering trade and tourism in Baguio. Additionally, road access played a crucial role in facilitating the establishment of infrastructure, such as schools, hospitals, and government offices, further enhancing the overall value and accessibility of the area.

On the other hand, for McKenna (2019), the construction of the twenty-six-mile road to Baguio, which began in the year 1900 and was declared finished in the year 1905, brought the fresh, pine-scented air of Benguet closer to Manila. It cut down on a journey that had previously taken twenty-four hours by sea followed by several days on horseback; with the new Benguet Road, travelers could take a train to Dagupan in the province of Pangasinan, which is located to the northwest of Manila. To travel the remaining fifty miles to Baguio, one had to mount a carromata, which is a horse-drawn carriage, to reach one of the two towns located farther inland before ascending to Baguio along the Benguet Road. In a short timeframe, this route rose to prominence as one of the most well-known in the Philippines during the time of US colonial rule. The zigzag section of the highway that winds along the Cordillera was the subject of numerous photographs taken by tourists, who were amazed by the road's location. The vistas of the Cordillera Mountain range and the beautiful foliage around the zig-zag segment made it a popular destination for both locals and international visitors. The leisurely maneuvering of horse-drawn carriages down the winding route contributed to the journey's beauty and nostalgia (McKenna, 2019, p. 49).

Figure 4.1.1 Carromata (carabao-drawn carriages) traversing Kennon Road to Baguio (from the University of Michigan Library Digital Collections)

JAPANESE LABORERS BETWEEN CAMPS 3½ AND SUB. 4.

Figure 4.1.2 Japanese laborers along with locals and Chinese were hired to work on the construction of Kennon Road[2]

Road access has made Baguio more accessible, enhancing the archipelago's viability as an unrivaled seasonal "health resort." The access roads opened up Benguet's main and most promising mining area. These were catalytic conduits in the movement of a cosmopolitan population of many nationalities, genders, races, occupations, cultures, ideologies, and religious zeal. With the completion of the route, it is envisaged that the benefits of this mild climate would be made available to government officials and civil servants living in Manila on low wages who cannot afford the time and expense of traveling to Japan, China, or the United States. The roads (then rail lines) began cutting into virgin hillsides, exacerbating erosion and landslides and opening up the hills to crowds (Delos Reyes, 2014, p. 131). Its diverse population and cultures contributed to its potential as an educational hub in Northern Luzon after WWII. Act No. 1963 established Baguio as a chartered city on September 1, 1909. After Manila, Baguio was the first city to be chartered. Baguio was established to provide the comforts of city life and to grow more quickly. Until 1910,

[2] http://www.jenniferhallock.com/tag/kennon/

Baguio served as a government headquarters and a weekend gathering place for miners. The strategic location of Baguio, nestled in the mountains, also contributed to its development as a popular tourist destination. Its cool climate and scenic landscapes attracted both local and foreign visitors, further boosting its growth as a city. Today, Baguio continues to thrive as a vibrant urban center, known for its universities, cultural festivals, and natural attractions such as Burnham Park and Mines View Park.

Because Benguet Province was crucial to American officials, it's not a surprise that this road was one of the first big public works projects in the colonies. Because of how big and expensive it was, the Philippine Commission was in direct charge of it. The Benguet Road, also known as Kennon Road, was a remarkable engineering feat for its time. It cut through rugged mountain terrain, requiring the construction of numerous bridges and tunnels. The road played a crucial role in facilitating trade and communication between Manila and the northern provinces, further solidifying American control over the region. It also became a focal point in American and Filipino disagreements over US authority. To Americans, the Benguet Road represented the colonial regime's modernity. It symbolized Americans' engineering prowess—their capacity to overcome the boundaries of unforgiving topography—as well as the managerial abilities of American road chiefs, who recruited 4,000 personnel of 46 nationalities for the job (McKenna, 2019, p. 50). The construction of the Benguet Road showcased American technological advancements and served to extend their influence and economic interests in the region. This ambitious project opened up new opportunities for trade and resource exploitation, further fueling tensions between the American colonial administration and Filipino nationalists, who sought greater autonomy. Today, some Baguio residents thank the road for laying the framework for the city's status as a "multiethnic city." The construction of Benguet Road not only facilitated trade and resource exploitation but also played a significant role in the urbanization of Baguio (McKenna, 2019, p. 51). The transformation of Benguet pasture into Baguio imperial pastoral highlights the complex dynamics between colonial administration, Filipino nationalists, and the diverse communities that shaped the city's development. American officials considered highways critical to solving two primary and linked colonial issues. The first was pacification. According to the Philippine Commission's 1900 report, "the most serious impediment to rapid and effective movements by our troops has been the inaccessibility of the country in

which the insurgents have hidden themselves" (McKenna, 2019, p. 52). Highways were seen to improve accessibility and facilitate the movement of troops, making it easier for American officials to locate and combat insurgent forces. Additionally, the construction of highways was viewed as a way to assert control over the newly acquired territories and establish a visible presence of American authority in the Philippines. The challenge has not been to overcome them but to reach them. "Roads were critical in subduing the colony and the "brigands" and robbers, or ladrones, who avoided US forces" (McKenna, 2019, p. 52). Roads and pacification were also required if effective market construction was to follow. In other words, roads were used as weapons of conquest and commercial expansion, for the transportation of troops and then goods, and for the establishment of a nation and a market in the Philippines. The construction of roads in the Philippines served multiple purposes beyond military conquest and market expansion. It also played a crucial role in connecting remote regions, facilitating communication, and fostering cultural exchange among different communities within the archipelago. Moreover, the development of a comprehensive road network allowed for the efficient transportation of resources, leading to economic growth and development in various parts of the country. The US colonialists emphasized spatial links and tried to connect one Philippine region constructively, its people, and its resources to another. They did so while establishing English as the primary language of instruction throughout the archipelago. Road construction, like language training, was an important tool for the United States to establish a nation and market in the Philippines (McKenna, 2019, p. 53).

4.2 The Philippine jeepney's history, transformation and key role in the country's political economy

The birth of the name

There is no clear etymological history for the word "jeepney." The Philippine Motor Review (1972), Torres (1979), Pascua (2009), and Blanton (2015) propose that the term "jeepney" originates from a creative adaptation of surplus military jeeps left in the Philippines after World War II. The name itself is often cited as deriving from the military abbreviation "GP," which stands for "general purpose" vehicle, or according to Blanton (2015, p. 20) from the cartoon character "Eugene the Jeep" from

the Popeye comic strip, who showcased remarkable abilities that mirrored the jeepney's adeptness at navigating crowded streets.

Torres (1979) described the American surplus jeeps,

> It was too square, too boxy, too matter-of-fact. It lacked feeling. Something had to be done about it. What had to be done was to overhaul and transform it by (1) reshaping its austere body into a Pop Baroque shape with flowing swells and curves and (2) painting it into a colorful gamecock of contemporary folk culture that it is today. (p. 15)

The American jeep's makeover into the Philippine jeepney people know today warranted a new name. "A new word had to be finally coined for it (from the words jitney and jeep) and it appears in the Third Edition of the Webster's International Dictionary" (E. Torres, 1979, p. 15).

A brief history of the Philippine jeepney

Like its name, the history of the jeepney is also largely under documented. Torres (1979), who wrote extensively about the jeepney, recounts how the Philippine jeepney was shipped to the U.S. and was on display at the New York World's Fair 1964-1965. At its Pop Baroque style, he noted that it was then hardly recognized by the Americans whose war surplus jeeps it originally came from. This new look suggests that the jeepney has evolved significantly into something distinct and innovative. However, there is no reliable record of who initiated this transformation or where it took place. What is clear, though, is that the transformation of the jeep into the jeepney was born out of necessity. The vehicle remained "war surplus" after the US servicemen had left. Willy's units in brownish green were lined up in dusty depots, waiting to be disposed of to a postwar population hoping for rehabilitation. The resourcefulness of the Filipino people led to the repurposing of these surplus vehicles into the iconic jeepneys we see today. Local artisans and craftsmen transformed them into colorful and eye-catching masterpieces, showcasing their creativity and ingenuity. This unique fusion of American military history and Filipino artistry has become a symbol of national identity and a beloved cultural icon in the Philippines. Gustafson (2012) described an American service jeep that may seat four people. Even when employed for recreation, its brutal angularity is essentially militaristic. It is an individualist emblem, with a machine gun installed at each corner for combat and the socius protected or provided by four combatants guarding each

other's backs, always facing away from each other. In the Philippines, however, a service vehicle is a family vehicle. In Philippine culture, when anything is borrowed, it is inevitably domesticated. This is an example of Global South agency, where a tool that was no longer useful to Western military forces was reclaimed and reimagined to meet local needs. Instead of following Northern standards for specialized manufacturing, Filipino innovators used bricolage to make the chassis longer so that communal, "face-to-face" transport was more important than individual use. This change took the U.S. military's utilitarian "drab olive" look and replaced it with a bright folk-art style that shows a cultural resistance to foreign influence. This "exorcised" the machine's wartime roots. The jeepney is an example of a bottom-up, grassroots response to a lack of formal infrastructure. It has created an informal economy that is run by the working class and is self-sustaining. Today, the conflict between traditional jeepneys and the government's push for "modernization" shows a classic struggle in the Global South: the fight to protect indigenous, repairable technology from expensive, imported solutions that often put foreign capital ahead of local jobs. The jeep (now the jeepney) had a big effect on Filipinos, who had just experienced acute war shortages and had developed a keen admiration for anything designed to travel a long distance. Its tough design promised near-indestructibility in rough conditions. Its economic advantages (affordable spare parts, simple maintenance) make it a perfect workhorse in a developing country. Its bantam size was ideal for the five-foot-plus Pinoy. Torres (1979) recounts that his research into the jeepney's origin has brought him to the "greasy dirt yards and garages of scores of small welding works and auto repair shops in post-Liberation Manila and nearby towns in the mid-1940s" (p. 32). Somehow the jeepney's post-Liberation features became almost uniform: the opening of the rear served as a passenger entrance, the attachment of long benches facing each other, the addition of round bars running through the roof of the jeepney and behind the benches for passengers to hold on to, the putting up of sideboards on either side to enclose the passenger section, and finally, the moving of the spare tire to the driver's side just to look cool (Torres, 1979, p. 33). Blanton (2015) describes the jeepney as a miniature bus designed with two elongated seats running parallel to its length, accommodating around 20 people who face each other. Urban transportation literature has categorized the jeepney as a sort of paratransit. Filipinos started to enjoy the upgraded American military jeeps, which

were adapted to accommodate more passengers, as a preferred form of mobility in the Philippines. Early in the 1970s, this term was originally used to describe certain forms of transportation that deviated from the conventional fixed-route paradigm, unlike city buses and commuter trains. Paratransit, at its most basic, is a creative means of transportation that arises when large bureaucracies and related transportation systems fall short of the needs of the commuting population. Rising inefficiencies in state-sponsored bus and light rail systems have helped the jeepney flourish and be somewhat common. For Blanton (2015), the jeepney is a creative reassemblage of American war machine components. Specifically, thousands of all-terrain vehicles known as "jeeps" were left as surplus throughout the Philippines after WWII. These surplus cars were converted, including an expanded bed and a new roof, to provide much-needed public transportation vehicles for a country whose infrastructure had been ravaged by the war. What was intended to be a temporary solution to the Philippines' infrastructural woes not only persisted throughout the second half of the twentieth century, but the general form of these early jeepneys is still the most popular form of public transportation throughout the Philippines.

Like Torres (1979), Meñez (1988) also claims that during the post-Liberation era, the first conversion of a surplus American military jeep from WWII into a public utility jeepney resulted in the rise of a flourishing industry focused upon custom-built vehicles. From bodybuilding to specialty painting, most of the labor is done by skilled craftsmen and artists in family-run companies that value offering unique service. Once the jeepney leaves the shop, the owner and the hired driver buy or create the ornaments and hand-paint the inscriptions anytime they become inspired. Either the owners and drivers keep adding decorations until there is no more space or they change or replace them over time. The final output is a somewhat customized assemblage. Every jeepney turns into a different piece of art representing the owner's tastes and character. However, a nagging question remains: who invented the first jeepney? Scholars doing research on the jeepney agree that it is impossible to answer. The concept of the jeepney simultaneously inspired custom-builders, mechanics, and artists and gave birth to the Philippine jeepney industry. Pioneers of the Philippine jeepney industry are not engineers or industrial designers; according to Torres (1979), they are people from the grassroots, of low-income backgrounds with little to no formal education. These pioneers include Magsikap Legaspi (Legaspi Motors),

Leonardo Sarao (Sarao Motors), and Atanacio Francisco (Francisco Motors) who built their jeepney empires out of humble backyard garages in the 1940s to the early 1950s (Torres, 1979, p. 39). They built their assembly garages south of Manila, in Las Piñas which became the capital of jeepney production. No less than a dozen jeepney assembly garages thrived in the area. At the peak of their production, each company employed hundreds of workers and supplied all the jeepney units plying the roads of Metro Manila. Not much has changed about the assembling, painting, and operation of the jeepney. During my initial data collection activities in 2019, one of my informants owned a jeepney assembly garage 4 kilometers outside Baguio City. He is a vegetable farmer who owned a jeepney assembled in Pangasinan (a province in Northern Luzon about 100 kilometers from Baguio City). He was constantly troubled by the jeepney's under chassis that was unable to bear the weight of his produce and the rugged upland terrain of the farm to the market. This problem led him to invest in his jeepney assembly garage and design jeepneys that meet the demands of ferrying people and produce to and from an upland terrain. People who work for him are also farmers like himself; they come and work for him during the off-season (while waiting for planting or harvest season). When asked whether he will be out of business once diesel-run jeepneys are banned, he intimated that he was, in fact, one of the invited resource individuals in the government consultations held in the area. He shared that hybrid or e-jeepneys will not be able to efficiently navigate the Cordilleran terrain, which is mostly upland and rugged. Although modifications are possible for traditional jeepneys, he is confident that they will remain in use, at least in his area. This is a challenge to the political will of the national government in fully implementing the Public Utility Vehicle Modernization Program (PUVMP).

Figure 4.2.1 A Baguio jeepney hauling produce

Traditional jeepney operation and modernization

When describing the system of operation of the jeepney, Otsuka et al. (1986) observe that, unlike the "formal," incorporated sector, jeepney activities are typical of the "informal sector" in developing countries. Private individuals, mostly members of the neighborhood petite bourgeoisie such as store owners, wealthy peasants, retired teachers, and government officials, operate jeepneys. These private citizens run the jeepneys either as a kind of investment or to augment their income. Often serving particular areas or communities, jeepney drivers are in charge of maintaining their vehicles and determining their routes (by obtaining government franchises). Although this distributed approach allows for flexibility and adaptability, it also implies that centralized control or supervision is absent, which results in problems such as congestion and uneven service quality. Usually, most people only own one or two jeepneys. Drivers who rent out jeepneys, as well as owners and family members, drive them daily. Jeepney operations are quite flexible. Usually following a fixed route from one depot to another, they pick up and drop off individuals for a certain fee per kilometer (a fixed fare matrix is prescribed by the government). Owners of jeepneys for public transport must obtain a PUV (public utility vehicle) license plate from the government before they may be able to operate as a public utility jeepney (PUJ). In the past, many jeepneys, especially in rural areas, operated without these plates; this was partly due to the high cost of obtaining the licenses and partly because jeepneys with these plates were restricted to designated routes, while those without them could travel freely. Although running jeepneys without appropriate plates comes with difficulties and hazards, it is vital to recognize that these vehicles are absolutely essential for giving rural communities easily available mobility. Usually, drivers of jeepneys on the same route establish an association alongside owners. The drivers pay daily dues; the owners contribute an initial endowment and fees per vehicle. To run operations at depots, the associations assign dispatchers. Dispatchers are in charge of queuing the jeepneys and passengers. They are also sometimes in charge of collecting fares from the passengers before the jeepney leaves the depot. While non-members are not allowed to stop at terminals, the groups do not expressly try to disrupt jeepney operations on their routes. These associations do not have the authority to regulate jeepney operations, such as profit sharing between the jeepney owner and driver, maintenance of the jeepney, and other related concerns. The contract between the

jeepney owner and driver is mostly arbitrary and based on common practices in their area. This results in a fixed amount being remitted by the driver to the owner on a daily basis after driving the jeepney for a specific number of hours, usually 8 to 10 hours.

Riding the jeepney during its peak hours of operation is a challenging feat in itself. It is a race against hundreds of people to board a jeepney, together with the endurance needed to suffer a densely packed seat or cling to the jeepney's entry until reaching one's destination. It is not unusual to see more than 20 passengers, with some individuals kneeling and hanging on to the jeepney's door (locals call it *estribo*, a round metal bar). Barcero and Vergel (2009) estimate the height of the jeepney's floor to ceiling as shorter than the average Filipino driver or passenger at somewhere between five feet to five and a half feet tall. The service door located at the jeepney's rear end is also the same height as the jeepney's ceiling, requiring passengers to crouch in order to enter. They also describe the seating configuration of the jeepney, with the front seats resembling that of a car. These sit the driver and two passengers. The back seats are bench-type and can seat nine to 12 passengers on each side. There are no seat belts for passengers. Although the driver is required by law to wear a seatbelt at all times, this is mostly done for compliance and not safety reasons. Passenger discomfort and safety issues resulting from this congestion can cause problems. Additionally, the insufficient enforcement and management of passenger restrictions exacerbate the problem because jeepney drivers prioritize profit over the comfort and safety of passengers. This practice is a result of the fixed-rate contract between the jeepney owner and driver. The driver needs to maximize his profit during peak hours to ensure his daily payment to the jeepney owner and still earn a decent profit to provide for his family's needs. The jeepney's features and its operation have not changed all that much over time. Talks of overhauling the jeepney started in the early 2000s, but the riding public and the jeepney business fiercely opposed them. They called this move "anti-poor".[3] Nationwide jeepney strikes greeted every step taken to carry out reform, meant to immobilize the riding public. The aim was to remind the government and public of the vital importance jeepney operators and drivers play in the business by displaying force. Usually, jeepney strikes result in

[3] https://www.rappler.com/business/numbers-why-government-phaseout-jeepneys-anti-poor-do-little-environment/

stranded commuters and suspension of classes and work. Under such circumstances, concerned government offices and local government agencies intervene to provide free rides to affected commuters. Thus, the long-drawn implementation of the Public Utility Vehicle Modernizing Program (PUVMP).

Figure 4.2.2 Bench-type seating and handlebars on both sides for passengers

Figure 4.2.3 Passengers hanging on to an *estribo* on the jeepney's rear entrance

Gatarin (2024) examines the Philippine government's Public Utility Vehicle Modernization Program (PUVMP) and its implications for jeepney drivers and operators. Initiated in 2017, the PUVMP aims to replace outdated jeepneys with modern, environmentally friendly vehicles. The program mandates that all public utility vehicles (PUVs) over 15 years old be phased out and replaced with units meeting Euro 4 engine standards or electric engines. The article presented two key ideas. The first is the financial challenges that the modern e-jeepneys entail. The cost of modern jeepneys is significantly higher than traditional models, with prices ranging from ₱2.4 million to ₱2.6 million per unit (roughly $43,000.00). This financial burden poses challenges for jeepney drivers and operators, many of whom are concerned about their ability to afford the new vehicles. The second is the need for a just transition framework. Gatarin (2024) calls for a "just transition" approach, which includes financial assistance, training programs, and support for affected workers to ensure that the modernization process does not disproportionately impact marginalized communities. Gatarin (2024) suggests that the government should provide subsidies, low-interest loans, and other financial mechanisms to assist jeepney drivers and operators in transitioning to modern vehicles. Additionally, implementing comprehensive training programs can help workers adapt to new technologies and business models. Engaging with jeepney drivers, operators, and

communities is key to creating policies that are equitable and effective. This participatory approach can help address concerns and ensure that the benefits of modernization are widely distributed. Gatarin (2024) advocates for a balanced approach to jeepney modernization that considers environmental goals while safeguarding the livelihoods of those dependent on the traditional jeepney industry. One of the key reasons for modernizing the traditional jeepney is the government's effort to work toward better air quality by significantly reducing air pollution emitted by jeepneys running on diesel fuel. Like Gatarin (2024), Aruta et al. (2024) argue that, despite its environmental objectives, the PUVMP disproportionately impacts marginalized communities, particularly jeepney drivers and operators. While the PUVMP seeks to reduce air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions by introducing cleaner vehicles, it fails to adequately consider the socioeconomic consequences for those dependent on jeepney operations. Aruta et al. (2024) conclude that the PUVMP exemplifies climate injustice by prioritizing environmental objectives without adequately addressing the social and economic needs of vulnerable populations. They advocate for a more inclusive approach that balances environmental goals with the protection of livelihoods, ensuring that marginalized communities are not disproportionately burdened by climate policies.

The jeepney has undergone major changes, particularly in line with the Public Utility Vehicle Modernizing Program (PUVMP) started in 2017. Especially in Metro Manila, where the present jeepney fleet significantly contributes to urban pollution and greenhouse gas emissions, this project aims to replace traditional, fuel-dependent jeepneys with electric counterparts (e-jeepneys) to help with climate change. The adjustment is important but challenging because approximately 240,000 jeepneys are running all around and enabling almost 40 million daily person-trips. The PUVMP is attacked for burdening drivers—who have small incomes averaging between PHP400 and PHP1,300 daily—with the financial load of modernization, even if it consists of aspects like route rationalization and regulatory reform. Since e-jeepneys cost PHP1,400,000 to PHP1,800,000, many drivers find it financially impossible to switch without major assistance. Although the government has proposed some financial incentives, these still cannot help to reduce drivers' burden. Moreover, the initiative has declared hundreds of traditional jeepneys unlawful, thereby depriving many drivers of their income. Legal challenges have emerged whereby drivers argue the

PUVMP infringes their rights to organize and operate. Although many support programs for displaced drivers lack durability, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change points out that there must be a fair transition safeguarding workers' rights. Recommendations for development include extending the transition period and investing in comprehensive public transportation infrastructure, including rail systems, even while inclusive livelihood plans for affected workers are being offered. The PUVMP best shows in transportation reform the challenge in balancing social justice with environmental goals (Benzon et al., 2024).

Ultimately, the impact of the jeepney's modernization will bear heavily on jeepney drivers and operators whose families' income relies heavily on the jeepney. A phenomenological study conducted by Baltazar et al. (2024) examines the personal experiences and challenges faced by jeepney drivers in Santa Cruz, Davao del Sur. They argue that jeepney driving is an essential source of livelihood, with many drivers expressing a sense of fulfillment from their work despite the financial struggles they face. The drivers' work is not just a job but a means of sustaining their families and contributing to their community. However, they also highlight significant challenges, including financial difficulties, unfavorable passenger attitudes, and the government's modernization program, which threatens their traditional way of earning a living. To cope with these challenges, drivers employ various strategies such as managing their earnings effectively, seeking alternative sources of income, and prioritizing safety measures during their daily operations. The study's conclusions emphasize that despite the difficulties, jeepney drivers remain committed to their profession and are willing to continue as long as government policies allow. It also illustrates the value of considering the lived experiences of these drivers when crafting transportation policies to ensure that their voices are heard and their challenges addressed. Overall, the research offers informative perspectives on the resilience and determination of jeepney drivers, urging policymakers to create more inclusive and supportive regulations for the transport sector.

Jeepneys and Baguio City

Holidays cause significant traffic congestion on the roads of Baguio City and lead to flooding of streets due to an influx of guests from across the country. Attracting as many as 300,000 visitors, holidays include the Catholic Holy Week in late March or April, the Panagbenga or Flower Festival (a month-long celebration in February), and the Christmas season in December. Then the rather little city of Baguio finds its streets congested with people and vehicles. Still, the streets of Baguio City are ideal for walking in mild weather on a normal day. Peckson and Mateo-Babiano (2024) view walkability in Baguio City, Philippines, through the lens of urban designer Jane Jacobs's four conditions for "exuberant diversity." The writers argue that the success of downtown areas depends more on busy and varied street life than on any measurable aspect of the created environment. This perspective is especially crucial for cities in the Global South, where streets may be vibrant but do not satisfy the walkability criteria usual for the Global North. The study underlines the need for architectural forms that permit commercial operations on all levels, and the part micro-entrepreneurship plays in boosting street-level vibrancy. These elements assist in explaining the emergent quality of walkability—that it can develop naturally from the ground up, especially in places like downtown Baguio. This notion goes against popular opinion, which maintains that, critically, walkability is defined by top-down architecture and planning. They offer a more complete picture of walkability that blends the dynamic, emergent elements of metropolitan settings with the objective metrics. Peckson and Mateo-Babiano (2024) emphasize the significance of designing surroundings that support different and vibrant street life, which can lead to successful and walkable downtown districts. To promote pedestrianization, Session Road, the main artery of Baguio City, has been blocked to vehicles on Sundays; yet traffic congestion still affects the rest of the city on weekends and during weekdays. On this, the local government is working. Therefore, enhancing the walkability of the city will encourage better air quality and lower car traffic. In 2017, Rañosa et al. examine the operational characteristics and passenger demand of public utility jeepneys (PUJs) in Baguio City. Conducted through field surveys, the research assesses factors such as load factors, trip frequencies, seating capacities, and average speeds of jeepneys. The findings indicate that the average load factor is 84%, with each jeepney making approximately 7.48 trips per day. The average seating capacity

is 20.98, and the utilization ratio stands at 95%. Additionally, the average speed of jeepneys is 9 kilometers per hour, covering an average distance of 4.14 kilometers per trip. These results provide an initial analysis of the demand and supply dynamics of jeepneys on specific routes in Baguio City. The results indicate that taking the jeepney to school or work is an efficient and popular mode of transportation in the city, with high utilization rates and frequent trips to accommodate passengers. Rañosa et al. (2017) also highlight several challenges affecting jeepney operations, including congestion, inadequate parking management, and the lack of a centralized public transport terminal. The increasing number of private vehicles and tourists exacerbates traffic issues, leading to longer travel times and reduced service efficiency. The authors suggest that rationalizing jeepney routes and implementing effective traffic management strategies could enhance service quality and address the growing demand for public transportation in the city. They point out the need for comprehensive planning and policy interventions to improve the efficiency and sustainability of jeepney services in Baguio City. Addressing the identified challenges is crucial for meeting the transportation needs of residents and visitors alike. Thus, the gradual phase-out of 20-seater traditional jeepneys in the city may help address issues raised by this study conducted prior to the implementation of PUVMP. The modern e-jeepneys run on Euro 4 fuel and accommodate more passengers.

At present, about 30% of public transport in Baguio City has transitioned to modernized jeepneys. These modernized jeepneys resemble small buses, equipped with air-conditioning, comfortable seating (still resembling that of the jeepney but longer and more comfortable, with adequate space in the middle for standing passengers), CCTV, and provision for the use of contactless payment. At present, these modernized jeepneys have a generic appearance. When lined up with the traditional jeepney, they are like shiny new toys beckoning passengers to choose to ride them. I have taken rides on modernized jeepneys over the last two years and have been able to observe their gradual but consistent transformation from a generic look to personalization. There are modernized jeepneys with crocheted curtains above the windshield, multi-colored lights on the driver's dashboard, and colorful stickers with witty phrases and images.

Figure 4.2.4 A traditional jeepney side by side with a modern jeepney in Baguio City

4.3 The jeepney as a discursive space

According to Pante (2016), most Filipinos—including those in scholarly circles—see mobility studies as little more than a way to address the present problems with traffic congestion and insufficient infrastructure. Research on the historical development of transportation systems and other aspects of physical mobility is rare. It is important to understand, nevertheless, that the political economy of the nation has been greatly shaped by transportation networks such as the jeepney. Beyond its immediate practical consequences, the jeepney's history and metamorphosis reflect not just changes in transportation technology but also more general sociopolitical processes, therefore making it an interesting topic of research. During the past twenty years, researchers have achieved major progress in an understudied area. The most significant of these looks at the transformation in land transportation, following the history of several forms of mobility from the arrival of railroads to the emergence of jeepneys. This shows how the different areas' economic development and urbanization patterns have been affected in different ways by the changes in land mobility. It also explores how these developments affect the environment and

underprivileged populations; therefore, it addresses their social ramifications. Conversely, a major drawback of the literature on local transportation history is a Luzon-centric inclination. A trend with major effects on historical research was the corporatization of transportation companies in the twentieth century. Recently, academics have begun to define mobility as encompassing more than just the movement of goods and passengers, contributing to the development of a conceptual framework for the history of transportation. Scholars have investigated how mobility shapes society and our knowledge of history by looking at the visual depiction of transportation in art and literature and investigating the influence of geographical elements on transport networks. Cities are built around accessibility and crucial to their development is the availability of efficient and reliable transportation. This phenomenon is exemplified by the history of Baguio City. McKenna (2019) has written extensively about how the costly construction of roads from the lowlands to Baguio City in the 1900s was critical to the city's development.

For de Sousa Bastos (2008), many Filipinos' daily lives depend much on jeepneys, which are quite popular and essential. For mobility, Filipinos ride jeepneys; they actually print their souls and other symbols they value on them. By customizing their jeepneys, Filipinos can present their uniqueness and convey their ideas, values, and passions. It also provides a means of self-expression and identity, encouraging pride and community membership. Apart from being a means of mobility, the jeepneys' vivid and distinctive designs transform them into a living art form. One could contend that the jeepneys have evolved into icons, bearing as tattoos the marks of a collective experience undergoing a process of social change. The jeepneys' vivid hues and complex patterns mirror the rich cultural legacy and inventiveness of the Filipino people. The jeepneys provide a platform for local artists to highlight their skills and convey their uniqueness, therefore augmenting the cultural value of jeepneys in the Philippines. Jeepneys, according to de Sousa Bastos (2008), could be viewed as a textual representation of street life. Jeepneys are representations of the lived world, or remnants of it. Such world representations are far from neutral; they are vehicles for social suggestions that support human actions and aspirations. Jeepneys are an example of Valisner's concept of a field-like, pleromatic iconic sign, loaded with information and values, as much as they are a carrier of emotive irradiation—not of set notions that can be reduced to schemes (de Sousa Bastos 2008,

p. 240). Jeepneys, with their vibrant and colorful designs, capture the essence of the local culture and community. They serve as a canvas for self-expression and creativity, reflecting the dynamic and diverse nature of street life. De Sousa Bastos (2008) compares the jeepney to an imprint, similar to tattoos. She argues that as people continue to patronize the jeepney as everyday public transport, they inevitably leave an imprint on it. This imprint closely hews with their way of life as a community; hence the visible differences among jeepneys from different areas, more specifically from north (Manila) and south (Davao) (de Sousa Bastos, 2008, p. 238) This is the imprint of their collective experience that is made visible and readable from the jeepney's LL and practices of commuters surrounding the jeepney as public transport.

Gustafson (2012) observes that Filipinos don't consider the jeepney to be merely more practical than the American jeep. Domestication of the jeep changes the direction of public space from an individual gazing out into a quadrant of the horizon to a shared (albeit smaller) space of individuals facing one another (Gustafson 2012, p. 92). This is a reference to the view afforded to passengers of a jeepney. Passengers sit, tightly packed, facing each other, for the duration of the trip. Their focus is solely on their fellow passengers, the interior of the jeepney, and a narrow window view of the passing *roadscape*. This lived space of the jeepney experience creates a community among passengers, strangers sharing a ride to their destinations. This communal, collective, temporary home is fundamental to the transformation of the jeep into the jeepney. A jeepney is thus more than just a cheap method of public transit; it represents a mode of public space that embraces rather than excludes difference. The jeepney is, thus, a resource for peaceful coexistence. People do not need to agree or even talk, and visuals are not required to be thematically consistent. They can simply coexist as valuable eccentricities. The jeepney serves as a visual reminder of the principle of embracing diversity and inclusivity. By allowing people to express themselves through the decoration of their vehicles, the jeepney becomes a symbol of acceptance and appreciation for our differences. This encourages peaceful coexistence by creating an environment, at least on the jeepney, where everyone's eccentricities are valued and respected.

The persona of a typical Filipino driver was extensively discussed by Meñez (1988). The emphasis on the jeepney as a visual emblem of Filipino culture has

traditionally concealed the importance of the lower-class, urban male occupational subculture of jeepney drivers in the comprehension of its folk art and inscriptions. From a small village or small town, the typical jeepney driver is a migrant, most likely working as a market vendor, farmer, or fisherman. Seeking better economic possibilities, many of these drivers travel to cities; their choice to become jeepney drivers exposes them to a different occupational landscape. With its vivid and complex designs, the jeepney provides a blank canvas for the expression of their identities and goals, therefore offering insights on the socioeconomic dynamics of Filipino subculture. Meñez (1988) proceeds to describe a stereotype of a jeepney driver who either owns or drives a jeepney (on a contract-based arrangement). A jeepney driver knows the rules of the jeepney routes. He has memorized them by heart. He knows that "grease money" is the way out of traffic violations. He can efficiently navigate the busy roads while collecting fares and handing out loose change simultaneously. Not to mention wiping sweat from his forehead with a towel wrapped loosely around his neck (Meñez 1988, p. 44). The jeepney driver is central to the jeepney's LL. He is, in himself, part of the LL and as such as iconic as the jeepney. The jeepney driver symbolizes the economic and political discourse of the lower class struggling to survive and triumph over the challenges of city living. This is also the case for jeepney drivers in Baguio City who are migrants coming as far south as Mindanao (the southernmost part of the Philippines). Their reason for migrating to Baguio is usually to escape the decades-long armed conflict in Mindanao in search of more peaceful and lucrative opportunities in Baguio City.

As the demand for transportation grew, jeepneys grew in length, from six- and eight-seaters to twelve- and fourteen-seaters to eventually twenty-seaters (in the cab part) (Torres 1979, Meñez 1988, Gustafson 2012). Longer bodies necessitated more space for decoration. This development led to the rise of vibrant and intricate designs on the jeepneys, showcasing various themes such as religious icons, political figures, and pop culture references. The profusion of decorative components in the 1960s, when PUJs were being mass-produced in earnest, exemplifies *horror vacui* a term coined by Torres (1979), which he defined as "a fear of empty space." He traces this trait to the Filipino's "fear of being found wanting" (Torres, 1979, p. 60). He relates this phenomenon to lavish celebrations of *town fiestas* (celebrations of a patron saint's feast day in towns) despite the economic hardships of the community. He further

extends this idea to the jeepneys, however shabby or decrepit, which are still elaborately decorated to mask their sorry state. The driver's persona also plays a part in this need to fill every inch of space with something, anything. Meñez (1988) explains that the driver sees the jeepney as an extension of himself. The prosperity visible in his jeepney's decoration extends to a show of his prosperity (Meñez, 1988, p. 44). Furthermore, the jeepney on the street is constantly in competition. The decorations serve as a competitive edge. Inside, the decorations entertain passengers during their uncomfortable rides to their destinations. Outside, the decorations serve to visually compete with other jeepneys for prospective passengers. The seemingly compulsive filling of every square inch of surface in popular visual arts exemplifies this trait. In linguistic landscape studies, this space is referred to as "ludic spaces" by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009). Torres (1979) attempts to list down all possible decorations that appeared on the jeepney's linguistic landscape in the 1970s—most of these features are still visible among jeepneys in Baguio City today. The body of the jeepney is made of stainless-steel glistening in the sun. This design has been very popular since the 1960s. Iconic ornaments that remain popular and visible among jeepneys in Baguio today include the gamecock (and various reimaginings of his wings), the iron horse, and colorful strips of long tassels perched on protruding rods on the jeepney's hood. The jeepneys today are more toned down in terms of decorations, but the LL still relays the same vibe. The side panels also display an eclectic array of motifs ranging from scenic views, family portraits, religious icons, cartoons to cowboys, among many others. As I was doing this research, I could clearly see the jeepney's depreciation from its former glory described and cataloged by Torres in 1979. The stainless steel does not glisten as it used to; the colorful tassels have faded; the iron horse looks dull; and the gamecock, made of colored fiberglass, has broken wings. The sorry state of jeepneys today seems to foretell their inevitable demise as the PUVMP is fully implemented.

The dominance of religious themes on the jeepney's LL was widely documented by Gass and Tuason (2008), Gustafson (2012), Sim and Nada (2014), and Blanton (2015). Sim and Nada (2014) document in 180 pages photographs of various religious images on the jeepney. The photographs are of Christian religious icons. This collection reflects the predominance of Catholicism in the country, accounting for 78.8% of Filipinos according to the 2020 census of households

undertaken by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA). Beliefs in religion(s) play a significant part in everyday life in the Philippines; for many, religion serves as a tether to the past and a message of optimism regarding the future. Filipinos have a deeply religious culture. This influences not only daily practices but also values and beliefs. Catholicism provides a sense of identity and unity among the people, which encourages a great deal of community and solidarity. Putting up religious decorations as part of the jeepney's linguistic landscape is a way to pray for blessings and protection from harm and for direction especially when driving through busy areas. The importance of religion is shown by the many objects related to it and people's actions. One can commonly see drivers (who are Catholics) make the sign of the cross and murmur a little prayer at the beginning of their workday, when starting a route, or when passing a church, a cemetery, or an accident. The passengers are also able to get a feel of the driver's religious beliefs from the decorations on the jeepney. These decorations often include religious icons, such as crucifixes, rosaries, or images of saints, prominently displayed on the dashboard or hanging from the rearview mirror. Today, even the religious icons inside the jeepney are in a sorry state. It used to be a common practice to have a small altar with a crucifix, a Sto. Niño (Image of the baby Jesus), and the Blessed Virgin Mary on the jeepney's dashboard alongside the driver's cashbox. The altar will always have a fresh garland of sampaguita flowers replenished daily whenever a sampaguita street vendor sees his regular patron, the jeepney driver, on the road. The photograph below shows a Baguio jeepney with a crocheted "God bless our trip" hanging over his dashboard, a wooden crucifix, and a garland of wilted sampaguita. The photograph also captures the decrepit state of his jeepney, which is what most jeepneys look like today.

Figure 4.3.1 Inside an old traditional jeepney with religious artifacts on the windshield

The jeepney's discursive space is also made up of what Meñez (1988) describes as rhetorical tactics used to acquire social and material advantages. They are addressed not only to other drivers but also to everyone else on the road, particularly potential passengers. These inscriptions serve as a form of self-expression and advertisement for the driver, showcasing their personality, beliefs, and interests. By displaying catchy phrases or humorous slogans, drivers aim to attract passengers and

stand out among the competition. This highlights the competitive nature of their job and life on the road. Additionally, these elements in the LL create a sense of community among jeepney drivers, as they often relay messages that reflect common experiences or social issues that resonate among themselves. These messages are intended to entice potential passengers and provide amusement for the duration of the ride. These are intended to alleviate some of the tensions caused by the frenetic pace of city life: the driver's competition for passengers, the commuter's competition for a ride, and for all who work and live on city streets, environmental pressures such as extreme tropical heat and noxious fumes from vehicles, and the hazards. By adding humor and entertainment into the ride, the LL aims to create a more relaxed and enjoyable atmosphere for passengers. The humor in the LL can help build relationships (albeit temporary) among passengers by providing a shared experience that brings them together. Meñez (1988) documented some of the key concerns of jeepney drivers through a thematic analysis of jeepney's LL. She was able to note the following major motifs that emerged from an examination of the vehicle's ornaments: love and sex, driving speed, economic achievement, religion, and family (Meñez, 1988, p. 40). The jeepney folk art and inscriptions serve as a visual representation of these concerns, allowing drivers to express themselves creatively while also communicating with passengers and fellow drivers on a deeper level. These visual effects are meant to attract commuters and show that the driver is financially successful and up to date. Linguistic play is a key component in jeepney inscriptions, which are complemented by the community's linguistic resources, which the drivers utilize with astonishing ease. Jeepney inscriptions in the nation's capital use three primary languages: Tagalog, English, and Taglish. Typically, "mix-mix," as in Taglish, also denotes the driver's extensive multilingual abilities (Meñez, 1988, p. 42). The transposition of syllables is a popular form of word manipulation. This technique involves superimposing both native and foreign words on top of each other. The graphic portrayal of the pun reinforces it. Jeepney signs, depending on their visual portrayal, are perfect for double or triple entendres. The substance and manner of these linguistic and artistic developments reflect their founders' flamboyance, earthy humor, satiric wit, and daredevil driving style. These linguistic and artistic developments not only showcase the founders' flamboyance, earthy humor, satiric wit, and daredevil driving style but also serve as a testament to their creativity and

cultural adaptability. Like the photograph below from Buzzfeed.com used to be common in the jeepney's LL. The colorful stickers or paintings above the jeepney's dashboard embodied this message. The phrase "God knows Judas (read as "Hudas" a play on the phrase "who does") not pay" is a warning to passengers to pay their fare before getting off the jeepney.

Figure 4.3.2 Popular signs that says "God knows Hudas not pay"

"The jeepney is an assemblage of signs and symbols, decorative motifs, and fetishes" (Torres, 1979, p. 15). Torres' concept of assemblage hews closely with Deleuze and Guattari's concept. Torres uses the term to describe not only the jeepney's prolific décor but also the material components of the jeepney. I understand Torres' use of "assemblage" as a description of the way owners and drivers imprint upon the jeepney their eclectic personalities and tastes. Therefore, his use of the term is a reference to the material composition of the jeepney. However, Buchanan (2017) interprets Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage not as the material kind; "assemblages [...] explain the existence of things in the world…" (p.463). In this view, the material composition of the jeepney is a product of an assemblage. At least it clearly was in the heyday of jeepneys in 1970s when Emmanuel Torres wrote and published his landmark coffee table book titled, *Jeepney*. The jeepney has grown old, worn out, and decrepit over the decades. Its loud, booming music has gone silent. Its shining, stainless steel body, now dull. Its colorfully painted body has faded. The iron horse and proud gamecock ornaments are broken. For more than seventy years after WWII, the jeepney has faithfully served the Filipino people as the most reliable public transport. It has served as a space that brings together strangers from all walks of life to share a ride to their respective destinations. The jeepney has long symbolized the resilience of the Filipino people, as it originated from US war surplus that was transformed into the brightly

decorated jeepney. The jeepney's LL has also served as a lived space, communicating the shared values and beliefs of the Filipino for the decades that it has been plying the streets of the country. Like all good things, the jeepney's journey must also come to an end. Although uncertainty remains, a sense of foreboding arises from the visible erasures in the jeepney's LL today. The once carefully thought-out phrases or witty quotes that are etched on rubber mudguards have vanished. Could these events also be a foreshadowing of the jeepney's demise?

Figure 4.3.3 Mudguard with erasure

Chapter 5 Methodology

This section describes the methodology of my research. By methodology, I refer to what Dornyei (2007) describes as the overarching strategy or plan that guides the research. He compares methodology to a blueprint that encompasses the philosophical approach, the research design, and the rationale behind the choices of specific techniques. In the subsequent sections, I also discussed the methods of data collection I implemented for this research. According to Tagliamonte (2006), methods of data collection refer to the specific techniques or tools employed to gather data. These are the practical steps, including participant observation and key informant interviews, that were undertaken to collect data integral to this research. In this chapter, I describe multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) and discursive frames (Coupland & Garret, 2010) and how I implemented these in my research.

5.1 Marcus' Multi-sited Ethnography

In my project, the role of the community is crucial in contributing to the reading of the jeepney's linguistic landscape. As I pointed out in the earlier chapter, my project combines my reading and analysis of the LL with those of the stakeholders in the community of Baguio City. The jeepney drivers (who are sometimes the owners), the conductor (who collects fares and queues passengers), and the passengers are all included. As a result, I pursued my project under the direction of an inclusive, participant-oriented, and critical ethnography discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, focusing data collection on Baguio City aims to achieve a deeper level of analysis. The nature of my study, on the LL of jeepneys in Baguio City, requires the mobility and flexibility afforded by multi-sited ethnography. Mobility is a key feature of the jeepney as a text and my methodology. In Baguio City, as in all major cities in the Philippines, the terminals for jeepneys are strategically located near areas where people congregate, making the jeepney a vital public transportation alternative. These are the public market, key tourist attractions, and the central business district. The jeepney garages where production and painting mainly take place are located outside the city. Each key data collection site offers different insights into the jeepney's linguistic landscape. Multi-sited ethnography focuses on the movement of both the researcher and the multiple sites investigated. The focus on the multi-sited nature of this research highlights the connectedness of the data collection sites as well

as reflects how the jeepney serves as a metaphorical artery from which the mobility of the community can be traced. In this section, I begin by defining ethnography as I understand it and as I apply it as the methodology to my project.

Participatory, critical ethnography and Multi-sited ethnography

According to Szabó and Troyer (2017), inclusive ethnography encompasses a range of approaches, including participatory, emancipatory, user-led, and partnership research. These approaches entail the active involvement of people who are not connected with the academe in the different stages of the research process, such as design, implementation, and analysis. These endeavors aim to emancipate and democratize the research process by redefining the participants' roles. Rather than being relegated to the status of mere "informants" who exist merely to fulfill the information requirements of researchers, participants are instead regarded as active collaborators who contribute to generating novel insights. The implementation of inclusive agendas leads to a transformation in the mechanics of knowledge production. The multidimensional, multilayered character of interaction plays a significant role at different stages of the research process. This cycle begins at the earliest discussions of collaboration, continues through data collection, and extends to analysis and dissemination. Engaging in inclusive ethnography accurately shows people's experiences as they interact with, navigate, and create their linguistic landscape. This comprehensive approach to data collection and processing ensures that researchers have a holistic understanding of the context in which the data was collected, allowing for more accurate analysis and interpretation.

To further describe how inclusive ethnography may be implemented, Szabó and Troyer (2017) use their research as an example. Their research centers on the use of mobile methodologies for collaborative data collection. Their participants actively engage in activities such as photography and videography, strolling, and communication. They posit that these collaborative exploratory endeavors engender a reconfiguration and reshaping of the research sites and data collection activities. For LL researchers like me, the accessibility and availability of digital tools make it possible to easily acquire, store, and analyze data in a timely manner. The use of lightweight equipment, such as smartphones, enables me to gather data whenever I come across something that could be useful for my research. The ethnographic data collection practices analyzed in Szabó and Troyer's (2017) study challenge the

traditional distinctions between those who observe and what is being observed. This collaborative data collection practice involves the active participation and cooperation of both participants and researchers. Through inclusive ethnographies and collaborative exploration, participants and researchers engage in a reciprocal process of knowledge production, where the boundaries between researcher and participant intersect. This approach acknowledges that the lived experiences and perspectives of participants are essential in shaping understanding of space, place, and sense-making. By actively involving participants in the research process, a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the LL can be achieved. One criticism of LL studies in which the researcher(s) is the only reader and interpreter of signs is that sign producers and the audience for the LL are not involved. Several scholars engaged in LL studies have tried to respond to this criticism; one of these efforts was Papen's (2012) LL study, which demonstrated the significant contributions of sign makers in the formulation, reading, and understanding of the LL.

In the development of a more nuanced ethnography for applied linguistics, Thomas (1993) introduces critical ethnography as a form of introspection that scrutinizes the interplay between culture, knowledge, and action. The interaction between these factors is reflected in the jeepney's LL, which is a result of the community's collective knowledge. Critical ethnographers engage in the description, analysis, and examination of concealed agendas, centers of power, and underlying assumptions that impede, suppress, and restrict. To elaborate on the distinction between critical and conventional ethnography, Thomas (1993) notes that critical ethnography is an analysis and discourse style integrated into traditional ethnography. In the development of a more nuanced ethnography for applied linguistics, critical ethnography is particularly useful for Linguistic Landscape (LL) studies because it treats the visual environment, such as a jeepney's LL, as a direct reflection of a community's collective knowledge. While traditional ethnography might focus on describing these signs, the critical ethnographer engages in a deeper examination of concealed agendas, centers of power, and underlying assumptions that may serve to impede, suppress, and restrict within a social space. By treating this critical analysis as a discourse style integrated into traditional ethnography, researchers can use standard ethnographic traits to uncover how the linguistic environment reinforces or challenges existing social structures. As a result, critical and traditional ethnographers

share several key traits. Among these are a desire to develop grounded theory (Glasser and Strauss, 1967, as cited in Thomas 1993), reliance on qualitative data interpretation, key rules of ethnographic methodology and analysis, adherence to a symbolic interactionist paradigm, and a bias for developing grounded theory (Glasser and Strauss, 1967, as cited in Thomas 1993). Critical ethnography is the reflective process of selecting conceptual alternatives and making value-laden judgments about meaning and method to analyze research, policy, and other forms of human activity. Traditional ethnography explains what is, but critical ethnography speculates on what may be. Traditional ethnography with a political objective is known as critical ethnography. Conventional ethnographers typically speak on behalf of their subjects, usually to a group of fellow researchers. Critical ethnographers, on the other hand, accept the additional research task of raising their voices to speak to an audience on behalf of their research participants as a form of empowerment by giving their voices more authority. The duty of critical ethnographers to represent the underrepresented and marginalized members of society also serves as a guide for my strategy. People in the Philippines whose daily wages are lower than the minimum wage continue to favor taking the jeepney as their mode of mass transportation of choice because of its affordability. Because of this, they are considered to be of the lowest possible income level. Jeepney drivers and owners earn just enough to survive, so they are in the same income bracket as their customers.

To further describe critical ethnography, Thomas (1993) describes it as the process of cultural liberation, also known as ethnographic emancipation. It serves as a reminder that things are not always as they appear to be. Merely describing that cultural context is not sufficient for comprehending the subject matter. This shortcoming undermines the capacity of researchers to serve as human instruments of knowledge. Critical ethnographers examine cultural life from a critical perspective, focusing on the dynamic tension between control and resistance. They identify and show the processes of cultural repression, analyzing historical, social, economic, and cultural contexts. Successful critical ethnography involves identifying the idea that organizes data, allowing for scholarly investigation of oppressive meanings. Critical ethnographers may propose solutions challenging oppressive systems, promoting awareness, fostering dialogue, or advocating for policy changes to address underlying issues. This makes a participatory and critical ethnography a fitting methodology for

my project. The LL of the jeepney is a picture of the culture, history, and lives of the Filipino people. The jeepneys' LL shows the simple joy and dreams of Filipinos. This way, the world sees what they love, want, believe, pray for, value, and hold dear. The jeepney is more than just a vehicle for physical transportation; it's also a vehicle for communicating things that may be difficult or unpleasant for the "macho" (patriarchal) drivers and operators of the jeepney to articulate. The jeepney is an emblematic representation of the Filipino people in all their incarnations: as individuals, as members of communities, and as a nation.

Several LL researchers have applied ethnography as a methodology and have proven the richness of data collected through its methods. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) use ethnographic fieldwork to explore how multilingual signs in a South African township are linked to material realities, such as mobility and social positioning. Through observation and community engagement, they examine how public signage both reflects and actively constructs social hierarchies and power relations. Their work helps explain the LL as a social practice rather than just a visual phenomenon. Pavlenko (2010) utilizes a diachronic and ethnographic approach to examine how sociopolitical changes have influenced the linguistic landscape of Kyiv. This research employs participant observation and interviews to investigate language choice in public signage before and after Ukraine's independence. Pavlenko's (2010) work reveals how the visibility of Ukrainian and Russian reflects broader sociopolitical struggles and identity negotiation within the city. Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2011) apply ethnographic techniques to examine the linguistic landscape of Sámi tourism in Northern Finland. Their study focuses on how the use of Sámi language in public spaces connects to issues of authenticity, commodification, and cultural identity. Through participant observation and interviews, the authors were able to uncover the tensions between the LL and the economic motivations driving the representation of minority languages. The studies cited above demonstrate the importance of ethnography in linguistic landscape studies. Participatory and critical ethnography makes room for a comprehensive examination of the social, political, and cultural circumstances that influence language use in public settings. Ethnography contextualizes static images of linguistic signs by focusing on the people, activities, and histories that give them meaning.

> Marcus argued that multi-sited ethnography defines as its objective the study of social phenomena that cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site[…]in terms of method, multi-sited ethnography involves a spatially dispersed field through which the ethnographer moves – actually, via sojourns in two or more places, or conceptually, by means of techniques of juxtaposition of data. (Falzon, 2016, pp. 1-2)

Marcus argues that multi-sited ethnography challenges the conventional approach to studying cultural phenomena by emphasizing the interconnectedness of various sites. This perspective opens up new possibilities for exploring complex social dynamics in diverse contexts. Multi-sited ethnography is a research method involving the ethnographer traveling through a field spread out in space. This can be done literally by staying in two or more places or conceptually by putting together different sets of data. This approach allows researchers to capture the interconnectedness and complexity of social processes that go beyond geographical boundaries. By studying multiple sites, researchers can uncover the various factors and interactions that shape social phenomena, providing a more comprehensive understanding of their dynamics. Falzon (2016) considers the context of contemporary researchers and cites reasons for advocating multi-sited ethnography for data collection. He cites Massey (2005), who summarizes the notion of space as socially produced. This approach recontextualizes, if not challenges, the notion that space always refers to a specific geographical area that ethnographers need to be physically present in for extended periods to be able to collect reliable data. Massey (2005) conceptualizes space in cities as being shaped by social interactions, politics, and the coexistence of diverse trajectories. Massey (2005) further argues that cities are made up of intersecting networks of relationships and that urban space is inherently complex, representing a convergence of different social, cultural, and economic processes. This view opposes the traditional perspective of cities as static, uniform places. Instead, urban space is portrayed as a site of negotiation, diversity, and flux, where different social forces, histories, and movements come together and influence each other. Falzon (2016) also explains that ethnography needs to adapt to the concept that modern societies are located within larger wholes, and elements within these (like people and commodities) are constantly displaced. He emphasizes the obvious pragmatic consideration: logistics. He clarifies that researchers affiliated with universities today can only conduct shorter fieldwork. Furthermore, the traditional concept of a village has likewise evolved, making it imperative upon researchers to re-evaluate the kind of ethnography that data

collection requires. Multi-sited ethnography is an ideal methodology for research in language. Language use in societies is complex. Several interconnected elements, starting with people, are mobile. Therefore, this entails that researchers should follow the movement of data within an identified research site. Such an approach also demands that short, frequent but in-depth immersion of the researcher in key sites is more productive than an extended observation in a single research site. These studies highlight the value of multi-sited ethnography in linguistic landscape research because it provides a thorough picture of how language practices vary across geographical and social situations. Using multi-sited ethnography exposes the interconnectivity of language use in public areas, as well as the effect of both global and local factors. These works collectively demonstrate how linguistic landscapes are sites of negotiation, where languages, identities, and ideologies are formed and contested across multiple sites. Blommaert and Maly (2014) also conducted an ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis to understand social change in a specific locality. They emphasize the importance of considering the historical and socio-political context in interpreting linguistic landscapes. Blommaert and Maly (2014) examined various public spaces to observe how language use reflects and influences social dynamics. Their critical sociolinguistic analysis sheds light on the complexities of language, power, and identity in the public sphere. Blackwood (2015) employs a multi-sited ethnographic approach to investigate the linguistic landscape of pilgrimage sites across different countries, including France, Italy, and Spain. By comparing these religious spaces, the study examines how language and religious symbols intersect in contexts of tourism and local identity. The multi-sited ethnography allows for a comparative understanding of how language is used to accommodate international tourists while also promoting local languages and identities. Hasan (2020) examines the language choices observed and language ideologies embedded in Bangladesh's cultural heritage sites and tourist spots. He explores how these choices reflect broader societal attitudes toward language and identity. Through multi-sited ethnographic research across various cultural and tourist locations, Hasan (2020) analyzes the presence and prominence of different languages in public signage. The critical sociolinguistic approach highlights how language use in these landscapes relates to national identity, globalization, and cultural preservation.

Multi-sited ethnography and assemblage

As discussed in the previous section, the methodology applied for this research hews from Marcus's multi-sited ethnography, which he describes as "[…], now often associated with the wave of intellectual capital labeled postmodern, moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research designs to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space" (Marcus, 1995, p. 96). His description of this methodology emphasizes the non-linear nature of research focusing on culture. Just as objects of investigation like linguistic landscapes do not reveal a holistic extent of meanings embedded in the visual and linguistic artifacts, applying multi-sited ethnography allows the researcher to uncover other valuable elements that contribute to a more nuanced understanding. Multi-sited ethnography aims to find connections or explain phenomena by tracing how they came about and how they may be related to other equally important cultural elements. The jeepney's LL, for instance, already provides very interesting data for analysis, but a closer investigation of the jeepney's material production, its role as cheap public transport, the effect of the rising cost of diesel fuel on the jeepney, and the consequent air pollution that results from it all shape the processes by which one finds the jeepney central to the ensuing discourse. By observing the multiple sites where the jeepney becomes a focal point of interest, I am better able to describe what the jeepney's LL means and how it has come to represent meaning the way it does.

Furthermore, multi-sited ethnography also examines the interconnectedness of cultural phenomena on a global scale. "Multi-sited ethnography is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography (Marcus, 1995, p.105)". It acknowledges that interactions across different regions and times shape cultural meanings and identities, which are constantly evolving. Therefore, adopting a global perspective allows researchers to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities of culture in today's interconnected world. Multi-sited ethnography reveals the intricate web of relationships and influences that shape a society by focusing on the

interconnectedness of various cultural elements, similar to an assemblage. It goes beyond merely documenting surface-level observations and delves into the underlying dynamics and complexities that contribute to the formation and evolution of a culture. What I aim for in this research is to show how the jeepney's LL is more than just a decorative, creative, or expressive outlet for the community; it is a confluence of a complex relationship between the jeepney and national and global factors. Furthermore, for Marcus (1995), this mode of ethnography acknowledges that cultures are not static entities but rather dynamic and interconnected systems that are shaped by global forces. It emphasizes the importance of examining how local cultures are influenced by and contribute to larger global processes, highlighting the subtle connection between the local and the global. Marcus concentrates on the many mapping tactics seen in this style of ethnography, as well as the problems they bring to the assumptions and expectations implicit in the ethnographic method itself. Strategies for literally following linkages, associations, and potential relationships are thus crucial to multi-sited ethnographic research. By examining these linkages and associations, researchers can learn more about how they intersect and influence one another within a broader social fabric. This approach allows for a more comprehensive analysis of the complex dynamics at play within the various sites of the system, shedding light on the complex interactions among different social actors and institutions. Ethnography recognizes that cultural formations are not isolated entities but are interconnected within the larger world system. Therefore, it emphasizes the need to study these formations in relation to the broader social, economic, and political contexts that shape them.

To operationalize what he calls multi-sited ethnography, Marcus (1995) proposes six steps for researchers to implement for data collection. The first step is *Follow the people*. This initial step entails a researcher's work to explore the system of individuals and communities through ethnographic portraits and their connections. This approach allows for a comprehensive understanding of social dynamics, geography, history, and power structures and explores the connections between different locations and societal outcomes. The second step is *Follow the thing*. This process traces the circulation of a material object through various contexts, revealing its interconnectedness across social, cultural, and economic boundaries. This method offers explanations for the object's materiality and power dynamics, revealing the

impact on individuals within society and the interconnectedness of actors and institutions. The third step is *Follow the metaphor*. Ethnography uses signs, symbols, and metaphors to trace social correlates in language use and media representations. This approach uncovers inequalities, allowing a more profound understanding of how associations shape societal perceptions and impact individuals, highlighting the complex relationship between discourse, power, and social structures. The fourth step is *Follow the plot, story, or allegory*. Through observation, researchers can construct narratives and plots and test the accuracy of these against reality as observed in other sites. This approach allows for a more sophisticated appreciation for complex social phenomena and their interconnectedness across different locations. The fifth step is, *Follow the life or biography*. Researchers often overlook individual narratives, preferring to concentrate on more obvious phenomena. However, individual experiences can also reveal valuable data. The concluding step is "Follow the conflict." Finally, following the ensuing conflicts leads the researcher to data that may be able to explain observed contradictions or ironies.

According to Marcus (1995), the primary focus of the multi-sited ethnographer lies in the local knowledge that aligns with the ethnographer's personal interest in the practice of mapping or tracing connections within an assemblage. The researcher aims to uncover how external forces shape and influence local knowledge by engaging in multi-sited ethnography. Recognizing how assemblage works is central to the task of multi-sited ethnography. The steps previously outlined align with this purpose. It enables the ethnographer to identify any gaps or discrepancies between local knowledge and its representation within the global system, shedding light on potential power imbalances or cultural biases that may exist. Within the emerging field of multi-sited research, reflexivity plays a crucial role in establishing a connection between the researcher and the diverse subjects of his or her research. In practical terms, the implementation of multi-sited fieldwork necessitates a heightened consciousness of the researcher's presence within the several locations.

In similar vein, Heller (2007) describes multi-sited ethnography as an approach that is particularly suited to better understand issues surrounding multilingualism in a globalized context. Heller (2007) too emphasizes that multi-sited ethnography involves following people, practices, and discourses across different locations, which allows researchers to capture the dynamic flows and interconnections

between various sites. This approach, she emphasized, is crucial for studying phenomena like transnational migration, economic restructuring, and shifting identities, where social practices and language use span multiple boundaries and cannot be fully understood within a single, isolated community. Multi-sited ethnography thus reflects the realities of globalization, where cultural, economic, and social processes are dispersed and interconnected across different geographical and social contexts. It is instrumental in revealing how power, inequality, and identity are constructed and negotiated across diverse settings, particularly as people adapt their language practices in response to changing social and economic conditions.

Assemblage and multi-sited ethnography together provide a rich framework for examining sociolinguistic phenomena as interconnected and contextually embedded processes. Assemblage, rooted in the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), emphasizes the contingent and emergent relationships among diverse elements that constitute social phenomena. This perspective enables the analysis of how languages, symbols, spaces, and practices work together to form complex systems of meaning-making. Multi-sited ethnography complements assemblage as a theoretical orientation by moving beyond the traditional focus on a single site. Instead, it traces connections across multiple sites, capturing the various dimensions of sociolinguistic assemblages. This methodology is particularly suited to studying how linguistic practices and ideologies circulate across local, national, and global contexts, revealing how macro-level structures and micro-level practices intersect. Together, assemblage and multi-sited ethnography emphasize the fluidity and heterogeneity of linguistic landscapes.

Assemblage theory provides the conceptual lens to understand how languages and signs are embedded in material, historical, and social networks. Multi-sited ethnography, on the other hand, operationalizes this understanding by following the movement of these assemblages across diverse contexts and spaces. For instance, a study of multilingual signage might examine how economic policies, cultural practices, and local power dynamics converge to produce specific linguistic patterns across multiple urban locations. By combining assemblage theory and multi-sited ethnography, linguistic landscape studies gain a holistic approach that accounts for the complex connections of observable phenomena. This integration allows for movement beyond static descriptions of language use, instead foregrounding the dynamic processes through which linguistic practices are shaped and reshaped within

broader sociocultural and material assemblages. While I have not come across published articles that claim to have applied assemblage as a theoretical lens for analysis together with multi-sited ethnography for data collection, I was able to cull examples of works on sociolinguistics that hew most closely with what my jeepney project aims to achieve. These works have been presented and discussed in more detail under section 3.2. Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) present the idea of metrolingualism in their paper, therefore extending the notion of metroethnicity to show how people from many backgrounds participate in creative language practices that cut beyond political and cultural divides. The authors contend that metrolingualism enables a sophisticated awareness of language use by emphasizing the emergent character of languages in particular settings rather than fixed systems. By use of anthropological case studies from a multilingual Sydney workplace, they show how speakers dynamically negotiate between languages, frequently without conscious knowledge, as they create their identities. This mobility highlights the complexity of identity negotiation in modern metropolitan settings by coexisting with times of linguistic and cultural fixity. The paper questions conventional ideas of multilingualism and multiculturalism, contending that they sometimes ignore the interaction between rigid identities and flexible behavior. Metrolingualism ultimately provides a framework for examining how language, culture, and identity are dynamically rebuilt in social interactions, therefore confirming the value of local knowledge and practices in comprehending modern linguistic environments. Using data from Sydney and Tokyo, Pennycook and Otsuji (2014) investigate the dynamic interaction between language, space, and social practices in urban contexts via the notion of metrolingual multitasking. The authors present the concept of spatial repertoires—that is, the language resources accessible in a given place—and stress their use in different activities. Through examining interactions in the restaurants, they show how staff members such as Nabil at Petit Paris manage their obligations while navigating many languages—French, Japanese, and English. This multitasking captures a more general sociolinguistic scene in which social interactions and physical environments are intimately entwined with language use. The results imply that knowing multilingualism calls for analyzing the local setting and the interplay among linguistic resources, social contacts, and geographical arrangement. The research generally supports shifting the emphasis from individual language competencies to

the group activities that emerge in urban language settings. Emphasizing their function in social semiotics and ethnography, Pennycook and Otsuji (2017) investigate the relevance of assembling artefacts including fish and phone cards at Bangladeshi-run stores in Sydney and Tokyo. The writers contend that these objects mediate several cultural exchanges, therefore highlighting local cooking techniques and the complexity of globalization from below. They provide the idea of "semiotic assemblages," in which material and semiotic resources interact dynamically at certain times to produce relationships among consumers, objects, and languages. These stores' language environment represents metrolingualism, in which several languages and cultural codes are used to expose the complex interaction between local and worldwide cultural exchanges. Proposing a more diffused knowledge of language practices and their socio-material settings, the authors urge a critical sociolinguistics of diversity that respects the agency of objects alongside human interactions. This strategy emphasizes the need to realize how common items help build community and identity in cosmopolitan cities. Pietikäinen (2021) investigates the idea of assemblage as a substitute paradigm for comprehending complicated interactions in a society sometimes split by binaries, such as language/society and material/discursive. Assemblage is the heterogeneous arrangement of several elements—discourses, materialities, bodies, and affects—shaped by wants and capitalist influences. Taking the example of ongoing economic and cultural transformations in the European Arctic, Pietikäinen emphasizes how entwined mechanisms allow natural resources to be sold. Important considerations include the need for discourse in producing coherent Arctic tourism products and the crucial part of re- and de-territorialization in these changes. Assemblage thinking challenges conventional dualism by pushing academics beyond static depictions to investigate dynamic interactions. With an emphasis on interactions and relationships, assemblage presents a complex view of language and society, enabling the investigation of new practices and speculative futures. Gurney and Demuro (2023) examine how language studies interact with new materialist theories—more especially, Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage thinking and Barad's agential realism. Emphasizing its dynamic and relational character, Gurney and Demuro contend that these models offer a mechanism to reconceptualize language outside of conventional definitions. They emphasize the need to appreciate the variety of language practices, which are molded

by different socio-material settings, by putting language as both an assemblage and a phenomenon. They further argue that many times, present language research ignore the ontological consequences of language's conception and interpretation. They acknowledge that language is a process shaped by many aspects and interactions; hence, they propose more investigation of it via new materialist points of view. They end with a recommendation that their work might inspire academics to rethink current models and approaches and result in a wider knowledge of language practices.

5.2 Coupland and Garret's discursive frames and framing

The use of discursive frames in analyzing linguistic landscapes offers a powerful tool for understanding how language operates within social and cultural contexts. By framing the analysis around these interpretive structures, the authors show how linguistic landscapes can be more than just a collection of signs—they become a dynamic space where identities, histories, and power relations are negotiated and expressed. In organizing the data collected, this research will adopt Coupland and Garret's (2010) discursive frames. Coupland and Garret (2010) define discursive frames as resources for sense-making that are structured by cultural or subcultural contexts.

> Frame is a metaphor derived from photographic representation, where a border placed around an image sets limits to what can be viewed. Since a representation is inevitably partial and selective, captured from a particular standpoint and perspective, the act of framing facilitates or naturalizes particular meanings and precludes others. (Coupland and Garret, 2010, p.15)

By this definition, framing is a researcher's decision to focus on and exclude data that, according to his or her judgment, best illustrates and supports the objectives of the research. The frames will be the various dominant themes that emerge from the multi-sited fieldwork, providing a structure for analysis and interpretation. By utilizing these frames, the researcher can effectively navigate the complexities of the data and identify key patterns and connections across different sites. Coupland and Garrett (2010) explore the concept of discursive frames within the context of linguistic landscapes, focusing on Welsh Patagonia as a case study. Linguistic landscapes refer to the visible language displayed in public spaces, such as signs, billboards, and other written forms in the environment. The authors argue that these landscapes are not merely passive reflections of language use but active participants in the construction of social identities, cultural narratives, and power dynamics. The

objective of their research is to investigate how an old and minority language like Welsh is recontextualized and reframed in the linguistic landscape. Coupland and Garret use the discursive frames to thematically organize the data. By collecting linguistic data as well as symbols and images that are characteristically Welsh, they came up with three distinct (but also interconnected) frames: the colonial history frame, the reflexive cultural Welshness frame, and the Welsh heritage frame. Discursive framing operates by organizing visual and linguistic cues to guide the interpretation of linguistic and semiotic cues in the linguistic landscape. Rather than viewing a sign as a neutral carrier of information, Coupland and Garrett (2010) argue that signs in the LL can be "framed" by selecting and highlighting certain aspects while ignoring others. This begins with selection, where specific languages, font styles, colors, and placements are interpreted and chosen to mean a particular "vibe" or ideology. For instance, the use of a traditional, calligraphic Welsh font on a pub sign doesn't just name the establishment; it activates a Heritage Frame, positioning the space as a site of historical authenticity and cultural continuity. These frames function through indexicality, meaning they point toward larger social structures or identities. When one encounters an LL frame, they rely on "pre-packaged" cultural knowledge to make sense of it—a process known as intertextuality. By thematically organizing the landscape in this way, discursive framing subtly tells the observer how to behave, what to value, and who the intended "audience" of a space is, effectively turning a physical location into a staged social performance. Discursive framing operates by organizing visual and linguistic cues to guide the interpretation of linguistic and semiotic cues in the linguistic landscape. Rather than viewing a sign as a neutral carrier of information, Coupland and Garrett (2010) argue that signs in the LL can be "framed" by selecting and highlighting certain aspects while ignoring others. This begins with selection, where specific languages, font styles, colors, and placements are interpreted and chosen to mean a particular "vibe" or ideology. For instance, the use of a traditional, calligraphic Welsh font on a pub sign doesn't just name the establishment; it activates a Heritage Frame, positioning the space as a site of historical authenticity and cultural continuity. These frames function through indexicality, meaning they point toward larger social structures or identities. When one encounters an LL frame, they rely on "pre-packaged" cultural knowledge to make sense of it—a process known as intertextuality. By thematically organizing the

landscape in this way, discursive framing subtly tells the observer how to behave, what to value, and who the intended "audience" of a space is, effectively turning a physical location into a staged social performance. The authors emphasize that these frames are not static; they are subject to negotiation, resistance, and change over time. In the case of Welsh Patagonia, the authors analyze how the linguistic landscape reflects the unique cultural and historical identity of the Welsh-speaking community in Argentina. They highlight how different discursive frames—such as colonialism, migration, and heritage—intersect and influence the interpretation of the linguistic signs. These frames help construct a metacultural performance, where the community's cultural identity is continuously enacted and re-enacted through language use in public spaces. The authors also explore how these linguistic signs serve as a form of resistance against dominant cultural narratives, reinforcing the community's sense of belonging and solidarity. By examining the evolution of the linguistic landscape in Welsh Patagonia, they demonstrate how language can be a powerful tool for preserving cultural heritage and asserting identity in a globalized world. Coupland and Garret's (2010) research on an endangered Welsh language in Patagonia shows that revitalizing a minority language is possible when it maintains a persistent presence in the linguistic landscape. However mundane its presence may seem, even to locals with Welsh heritage, the language's survival amidst the presence of Spanish in Argentina and English globally indicates that Welsh was able to reinvent itself in creative ways. The research also notes that Welsh culture in Patagonia has evolved differently from Welsh culture in Wales due to its geographical distance and the integration of Welsh culture with Argentinian culture. In Welsh Patagonia, the linguistic landscape serves as a site of cultural performance, where the Welsh language plays a crucial role in maintaining and expressing the community's identity. The authors' approach demonstrates how linguistic landscapes can be analyzed not just in terms of the languages used but also in how these languages are framed within broader cultural and historical narratives. By examining the ways in which languages are displayed and interact with other cultural symbols, the authors reveal the complicated connection between language, identity, and power dynamics in a given community. This nuanced perspective demonstrates the value of thinking about linguistic landscapes as dynamic and multifaceted spaces that reflect and shape social realities. This approach is particularly useful in contexts where language plays

a central role in identity formation and cultural continuity. It allows for a nuanced analysis that considers not only the linguistic elements but also the social, cultural, and historical dimensions that shape how these elements are perceived and understood. Discursive frames are used in this research to thematically categorize and analyze the linguistic landscape of Philippine jeepneys. The jeepneys serve as a microcosm of Philippine society, reflecting a range of social, cultural, and political themes. By applying discursive frames to the analysis of jeepney decorations, I uncover the underlying narratives that these vehicles convey. The frames presented in Chapter 6 are a product of the dominant themes from Baguio City jeepneys LL; some of these are shared by jeepneys in Manila and other Philippine cities, while others are unique to Baguio City. For instance, frames related to the Catholic faith and colonial mentality are discursive frames commonly observed in jeepneys everywhere in the Philippines. The ethnic identity frame may be considered unique to Baguio City jeepneys. The frames discussed in the data chapter are derived from ethnographic data collection, which includes information gathered from three key sites: interviews, immersion, and observation. Understanding the complex meanings of jeepney LL can reveal the diverse perspectives and values shaping Filipino society. This analysis contributes to the ongoing discourse on cultural identity and representation, highlighting the linguistic landscape as a site of cultural expression and negotiation.

5.3 Implementation of multi-sited ethnography

Initial data for this research was collected in February and December 2019 with a pilot interview and collection of photographs as part of my Qualitative Methods course. The site for the February 2019 interviews and photographs was the Baguio City public market jeepney terminal that was also later included as key site for my data collection activities. During this visit, I interviewed the conductor in charge of the jeepneys and one driver in one of jeepney depots located in the Baguio City public market. My jeepney of interest was parked alongside a row of other jeepneys waiting to be filled with passengers. It was about 10:00 a.m. and the rush hour passengers have already come and gone. I took a mental note that this was the best time to interview since most of my prospective informants would not be busy and would be more willing to answer my questions. Armed with my guide questions in mind and my verbal consent protocol, summarized for the benefit of my target

informants, I set out on my pilot data collection. Below are the first photos I took of the jeepney's linguistic landscape.

Figure 5.3.1 Pilot data collection photos

This jeepney caught my attention because it featured the kind of data I had in mind. Although it did not have any linguistic elements, its semiotic elements spoke volumes about the American colonial influence. The right and left side panels of the jeepney were both painted with what appears to be an American flag, a flaming sun, and a portrait of a man and a woman sporting cowboy hats. I asked the conductor about the jeepney, and he said that it was regular in their depot and that the owner was a couple and it was their images painted on the jeepney's side panels. He directed me to the driver, who added more information about the images. The driver informed me that the couple was one of the first entrepreneurs who engaged in the secondhand clothing business (*ukay-ukay*) aside from their small grocery store. When they earned enough money, they invested in jeepneys; this is one of the two that they own and operate. The owners' names are also displayed on the bumper of this jeepney, and I discuss this further as part of the Personal identity frame in Chapter 6. The American theme on their jeepney's linguistic landscape also holds personal significance because the goods they sold are from the U.S.A. The cowboy image is a popular symbol for the U.S.A. in the Cordillera, and this is also discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. This was my initiation to ethnographic data collection methods.

Two realizations came from this activity, first is that my set of informants do not speak English or Filipino well so the interviews were mostly conducted with me code-switching between Filipino and the little Ilocano that I could muster. When one of the interviewees could not express himself in Filipino, he would ask a fellow

present to translate as best he could. This would usually result in light banter and teasing. This made the interviews lighthearted and easy. Second, my participants are wary of papers and documents, so I made use of verbal consent protocols during my interviews. They were also usually hesitant of audio recording. They were more comfortable carrying on casual and informal conversations. They were more willing and open to share in this setup. So instead of audio recording, I kept field notes of my interviews.

The key steps in my data collection activities include, first, the identification of research sites. Although there are more jeepney terminals in the city, the three identified for this research are the closest to the central business district. The second step was the identification of key informants. These include jeepney owner-drivers, conductors (the queuing guys) and passengers. The third step was the initiation and conduct of full-scale data collection. These steps are described in more detail in the succeeding sections.

1. **Identification of research sites**

   There are several jeepney stations or staging grounds (depots) in Baguio City. One of the first issues that came up when I was conceptualizing my methodology is where to collect data. According to Rañosa et al. (2017) there are 116 jeepney routes in Baguio City and these are grouped according to the areas they service. Two criteria were considered for selecting the three key sites where data for this research were collected; first, is their proximity to Baguio City's central business district, and second, because of their location their high foot traffic. These three key sites include jeepney terminals in the Baguio City public market, the Igorot Garden and Claudio Carantes.

   The jeepney terminal adjacent to Baguio Public Market was identified as Site 1 because it is in the center of the central business district (CBD) and serves as a loading point for three jeepney routes that travel throughout the CBD and to locations outside the CBD.

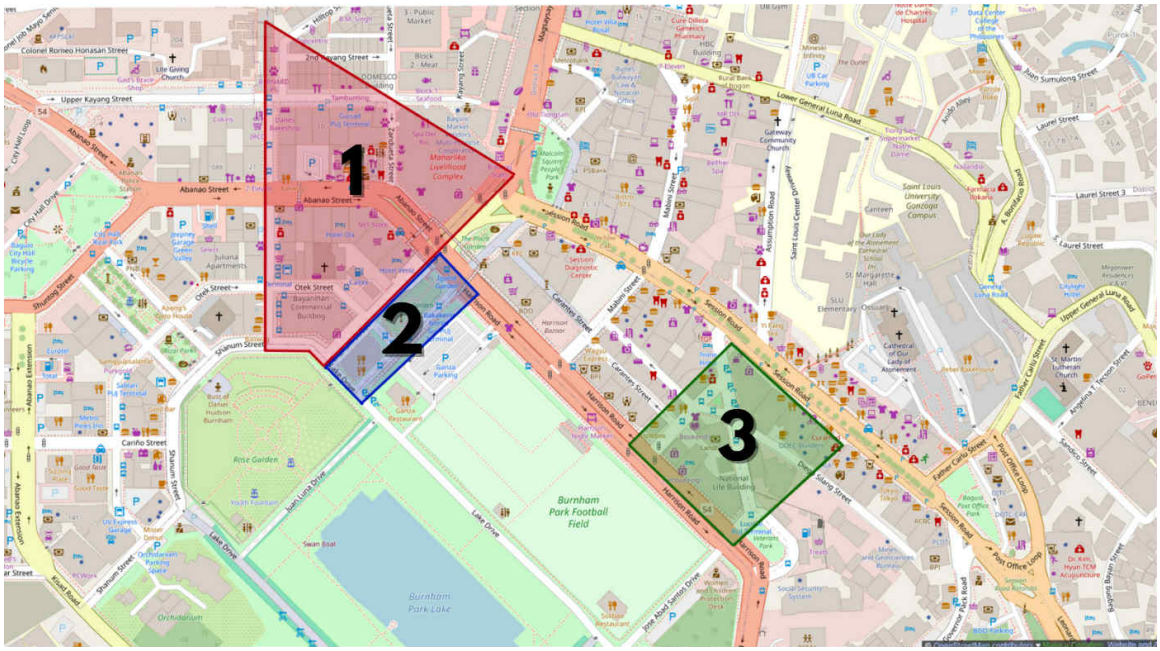

Figure 5.3.2. Baguio City's Central Business District (CBD) from OpenStreetView

The image above locates the three research sites I identified for data collection. Site 1 covers jeepney terminals adjacent to Baguio City Public Market. The major jeepney routes in this area include Guisad, Dominican Hill, Irisan, San Carlos, Asin-San Luis, Tam-awan, Quezon Hill, San Roque, Pinsao Pilot, San Roque, and Fairview. The Baguio City Public Market is a central and bustling landmark that plays a vital role not only as a hub for local commerce but also as a key transportation node in the city. Located at the base of Session Road, it serves as a major terminal point for jeepneys, making it highly accessible and essential for daily commuters and marketgoers. Surrounding the market are various jeepney terminals that connect Baguio to nearby barangays and municipalities. The Baguio Stone Market originally built by German prisoners of war in 1917 became the center of trade in the Cordilleras. It was burned to the ground in 1970 and was subsequently rebuilt and renamed *Maharlika* in 1979 during the administration of President Ferdinand E. Marcos, Sr. (See figure 5.3.4). Today, the city market's strategic location allows it to function as a crucial transit hub, where the movement of goods and people converges. Since its establishment during the American colonial period, the market has served as a hub for the diverse cultures of the Cordillera region, bringing together indigenous communities, lowland traders, and city residents to exchange goods, traditions, and stories. Market stalls offer everything from fresh produce and handicrafts to regional delicacies. In Figure

5.3.5 are Igorot women carrying their fresh harvest of potatoes to sell to vegetable stalls in the market. It is common to see elderly people, including women, actively participating in the city's economic activities. The Baguio City Public Market is frequented by both tourists and locals also because of the number of secondhand shops selling a wide array of goods like clothing, shoes, and bags among many others. Locally, these shops are called *ukay-ukay* which literally means "to dig" which is a reference to the secondhand industry which has also become another tourist attraction. The *ukay-ukay* can be compared to a Salvation Army shop except they are private businesses whose goods are imported from countries like Hong Kong, Korea, Japan and the U.S.A. and sold cheap. In Figure 5.3.6 women heap secondhand clothing for sale on the sidewalk of the public market. Customers dig through the heap to find cheap apparel of all kinds. The *ukay-ukay* is one of the most lucrative informal economic activities in the city which tourists from Metro Manila come for. Branded apparels are sold for a fraction of the item's retail price. Today, the Baguio City Public Market remains a symbol of the city's entrepreneurial spirit—an intersection of commerce, culture, and community.

Figure 5.3.3 Baguio Public Market Jeepney Terminal (Site 1)

Figure 5.3.4 Baguio City public market commemorative plaque

Figure 5.3.5 Igorot women carrying sacks of potatoes

Figure 5.3.6 The *ukay-ukay* stalls in the Baguio Public Market

Site 2 is located adjacent to the Igorot Garden, a key landmark in Baguio City's central business district. Jeepneys go to Campo Sioco, Bakakeng Norte and Sur, Country Club and Baguio General Hospital. These are routes that cater to both students and workers. The Igorot Garden is a small but significant urban landmark situated at a key intersection where several main roads converge—Harrison Road, Lower Session Road, and Magsaysay Avenue. Strategically located near the foot of Session Road and adjacent to the Baguio City Public Market, this park serves as a navigational point in the heart of the city. Named for and featuring large statues representing the native Igorot peoples of the Cordillera region, the park pays homage to Baguio's indigenous heritage. The statues stand on a raised platform, often used as a venue for cultural performances and public gatherings. In the figures below, the Igorot Garden is shown as a multifunctional site: as a commercial site, recreational

site and as a key jeepney terminal in the central business district. Figures 5.3.7, 5.3.8 and 5.3.9 show locals playing chess and enjoying the city's bustling landscape as the sun begins to set. The Igorot Garden functions as a transitional space between the bustling commercial areas of downtown Baguio and major transport terminals. Jeepney and taxi routes from various parts of the city pass through or near the park, making it a recognizable reference point for commuters, tourists, and locals alike. Its visibility and central location make it a useful landmark when giving directions or orienting oneself in the city's urban layout.

Figure 5.3.7 The Igorot Garden (Site 2)

Figure 5.3.8 Statues of Igorot Warriors in Igorot Garden

Figure 5.3.9 Chess players (1) at Igorot Garden

Figure 5.3.10 Chess players between flower shops at Igorot Garden

Site 3 jeepneys service the areas of Mines View Park, Pacdal-Liteng, Maria Basa, Hillside, Camp 7, Camp 8, and Loakan. This is adjacent to Session Road which is Baguio City's CBD artery. The Claudio-Carantes Jeepney Terminal in Baguio City stands as a significant landmark, symbolizing the city's rich cultural heritage and its evolving urban landscape. Situated along Carantes Street, this terminal is more than just a transportation hub; it is a testament to the longstanding accomplishments of the Ibaloy people, the indigenous inhabitants of Baguio. The street's name honors the Carantes family, one of the founding families of Baguio City. Today, the terminal remains a bustling nexus for commuters, connecting various parts of the city and neighboring towns. Its strategic location near Session Road and Harrison Road makes it a convenient point for travelers. Moreover, the area has undergone urban revitalization, transforming Carantes Street into Baguio's first "living street" as shown

in Figure 5.3.11. This initiative has introduced pedestrian-friendly spaces adorned with murals and greenery, reflecting the city's commitment to sustainable and inclusive urban development.

Figure 5.3.11 Claudio Carantes Street (Site 3)

Figure 5.3.12 Site 2 leads to a creative walkway

2. **Identification of key informants**

After identifying the site, I also identified potential key informants through snowball sampling. These include individuals who play a significant role in the activities of the jeepney. These key informants include jeepney drivers, conductors, and operators who have valuable insights into the operations and challenges faced in the industry. My pilot interview at Site 1 has introduced me to six jeepney owner-drivers and the conductor from the same site were my key informants. From the jeepney production site, I was able to interview the owner and the artist. I was also able to casually interview passengers and other jeepney drivers but these were more casual questions and answers only. The interviews were primarily carried out in Filipino but there was code-switching between Filipino and Ilocano. I also used some common English terms that were familiar to my participants, like the parts of the jeepney and other terms specific to the industry. I used the verbal consent protocol for interviews and kept fieldnotes to collect insights and ideas from my informants.

3. **Initiation of data collection**

The next step involves establishing rapport with the key informants and conducting interviews to gather valuable information about the jeepney industry. This step also involved taking photographs in the three sites identified for this project. The data collection began in 2019 but was cut short due to the harsh Covid-19 restrictions in Baguio City. I resumed data collection in 2021 until March 2025. Photos involving people were taken with permission and in photos where there were recognizable persons, they were blocked to ensure anonymity.

Data Collection Stage 1: Jeepney Production Site

The initial data collection was followed by the identification of a nearby production site. Production sites are where jeepneys are locally assembled, painted, and decorated to the owner's specifications and customization. My initial data was from a site visit to CHARSM Motors located in Pico, La Trinidad Benguet about 6 kilometers outside of Baguio City. From information provided by initial informal interviews with *jeepney* drivers in Baguio City, I was able to identify the site where local *jeepneys* are manufactured, painted and decorated. CHARSM Motors is one among several small scale *jeepney* manufacturing companies in the area. While my

research discussed the jeepney manufacturing industry as a part of the formal economy in Chapter 3, Charsm Motors can be described more as a *backyard industry*, a semi-formal and small-scale production site literally located in one's backyard or property. On 6 December 2019 at around 10 in the morning on board a taxi to the site from the University of the Philippines Baguio, I visited the site with two faculty-research assistants who are tasked to document and assist with data gathering for the project. Travel time took about 30 minutes. I was fortunate to have found willing to be interviewed Mang Samuel, the owner of CHARSM Motors, and Gerald, the head artist. It was fairly easy to locate the site because Pico area is known to drivers as the area to visit for any kind of body repair work for their vehicles. The cab driver was familiar with the area. Upon arrival, we were greeted by Gerald, who was then working on one jeepney unit. The actual site resembled a junkyard with raw materials such as steel bars, stainless steel sheets, paint, and others strewn all over the place (See Figures 5.3.13 and 5.3.14). The work area itself was an open area with a roof to shield the workers from sun and rain. Behind the work area is an open field where various vegetables are planted during the summer. La Trinidad is also an agricultural area where highland vegetables like cabbage, carrots, potatoes, broccoli, lettuce, and cucumbers are harvested and sold in bulk in Manila. The main livelihood of residents in the area is agriculture. Jeepney manufacturing in the area is usually a small-scale, family enterprise. Mang Samuel proudly showed me around his spacious property of about 3,000 square meters, which housed his residence and workspace. He shared that we were not the first to visit his place and ask to interview him about his jeepney manufacturing business. He also revealed that some foreigners also came to make a documentary about his jeepney production. His commercial production of jeepneys began in 1994. Mang Samuel used to be a farmer, and he owned a jeepney that hauled his agricultural produce from his farm to the market. However, because of the mountainous terrain and the heavy load he explained that the jeepney he owned often broke down and this has cost him a lot of money for repairs but eventually it broke down repeatedly. He explained that his jeepney was manufactured in Pangasinan (this is lowland Province also north of Manila about 2 hours from Baguio City) thus it was not designed for the mountainous trail and for loading farm produce. It was a repurposed passenger jeepney. As a result of his frustration, he realized that the under chassis and body of his jeepney needed to be able to withstand the load of his

products and the steep mountain trail. With this in mind, he designed his own jeepney and had it custom-built by a friend in that line of business. The finished product served its purpose and caught the attention of his fellow farmers who also ordered the kind of jeepney he was using. Thus, began his commercial production of custom built jeepneys which had bigger bodies and reinforced under chassis made to withstand the mountain terrain and the heavy load of agricultural products and passengers at the same time.

Figure 5.3.13 Charsm Motors, La Trinidad Benguet (Jeepney production site)

Figure 5.3.14 The jeepney production site as an informal industry

The designing, production, and painting are all done in the same space partitioned to the different stages of manufacturing. Workers also specialize in different tasks. Gerald, my informant, is the head artist. His main task is to execute the requested design for a particular jeepney unit. The day of our visit, he was working on one almost ready to be released to the owner. Gerald has been working for CHARSM since 2003, when he started out as an apprentice to his uncle, who was then the head painter. Gerald is from Manila, an undergraduate architecture student from the University of the East who migrated to La Trinidad because his family was financially challenged and was unable to sustain his education. He has since worked part-time for several jeepney manufacturing companies in the area. Unlike the other workers, Gerald is a full-time artist/painter. His co-workers, whose jobs entail steelworks, are seasonal. They are farmers from the lowlands who work for CHARSM in between planting and harvest season, which is about two months, just enough time to be able to make and assemble the body parts of the jeepney.

The body of a jeepney unit is built from stainless steel sheets and bars, which the farmer-laborers fashion after patterns that have already been prefabricated. The engines of jeepneys come from surplus and reconditioned engines from Japan, Korea, and other Asian countries. There is a whole industry of surplus vehicle parts and engines imported from other Asian countries and reconditioned before they are sold in

the Philippines. The workers and the parts as well as the décor that make the finishing touches of the jeepney, are assemblages that make possible the production of jeepney units. The product may be the same jeepney but hardly any two jeepneys look exactly alike. In terms of utility, the jeepney is also an assemblage of several multipurpose vehicles: it serves as a private, family transport to service extended families' out-of-town travels; it serves as a public utility vehicle conveying passengers along a fixed route; and it serves as transport for farm produce, hauling fruits, vegetables, and even construction materials from farm to market.

My data collection activities were cut short by the restriction of movement and travel during the height of Covid-19. The City of Baguio was one of the areas in the Philippines that had implemented strict measures to control the spread of the virus, making it difficult to visit multiple sites for data collection. This limitation forced me to adapt my research methods and rely more on remote sources of information. During this period, I adapted my activities to primarily focus on data accessible remotely. This shift in methodology allowed me to continue my research despite the challenges posed by the restrictions. While I may have missed out on firsthand observations, I was still able to gather valuable data to analyze and draw conclusions from. This period also highlighted the role of the jeepney in the restricted mobility of the population. Jeepney terminal locations shifted, and queueing was no longer allowed. In addition, the local government also regulated the movement of residents from various districts of the city, allowing travel outside the home for essentials only on certain days of the week. The restrictions also affected the livelihood of jeepney drivers, as they were unable to operate at full capacity and had to navigate through the changing regulations to continue providing transportation services to the community. Despite these challenges, the adaptability and resilience of both the researchers and the jeepney drivers were evident during this period of restricted mobility. In 2020, no site visits and on-site data collection were undertaken.

Data Collection Stage 2: Identification of multiple key sites of jeepney terminals (Post-Covid-19 Restriction of the City of Baguio)

In the second half of 2021, restrictions allowed for safe mobility in Baguio City. I was able to recruit students who were enrolled in an apprenticeship class to help by August 2021. Two students were assigned to me for mentoring on fieldwork. With their help, I was able to identify three key research sites within Baguio City's central business district (CBD). Key sites are jeepney terminals, which house the most jeepney routes and have the largest number of foot traffic during peak hours of 6:00–8:00 am and 4:00–6:00 pm. The student assistants proved to be invaluable assets, assisting in data collection and establishing connections with the jeepney drivers. Their involvement expedited the data collection process and encouraged a collaborative attitude within the community. These students were familiar with the jeepney terminals in the city. Although they are not residents of Baguio City, they have been living in the city for at least 3 years and are frequent jeepney passengers. This collaboration yielded the identification of 3 key sites (jeepney terminals): First is the Baguio City Public Market, which houses at least 6 jeepney routes and is a major terminal because of its strategic location. The second is Igorot Garden, near Burnham Park. This, too, is a key area housing no less than 5 jeepney routes catering to residents, students, and tourists. Finally, the third key area is located on Claudio Carantes Street, adjacent to Session Road. This area serves as a hub for at least 4 jeepney routes, making it a convenient location for passengers traveling to different parts of the city. Overall, these 3 key sites were identified based on their high foot traffic and accessibility from the CBD. These also had the greatest number of jeepney routes servicing locals. The key sites are jeepney terminals, which use the CBD as a starting point; this is where passengers board the jeepneys to travel to various destinations within the city, moving away from the CBD toward residential areas. Because of Covid-19, jeepney terminals within Baguio City were relocated several times. In 2020, for instance, most terminals were relocated to the terminals used by buses. I initially included the area as a data collection site because of its ideal location. It was adjacent to the city's biggest shopping mall because of the historical significance of its location. Since travel was restricted, no buses were allowed to enter the city. However, in 2021, as mobility increased and work largely returned to onsite locations, I found that jeepney terminals were once again reconfigured to meet the

public's demand for transportation. Additionally, buses resumed their services to Baguio City, leading to the relocation of the jeepney terminals.

After identifying the key sites, the research team, composed of myself, the two student apprentices, and a research assistant, collected photographs of the exterior jeepneys parked at these three sites. While there are also visual and linguistic elements in the interior of the jeepney, I have decided to exclude them from my data. While I initially planned to include all LL elements on the jeepney (including those in the interior), my observation proved that LL inside the jeepney was mostly standard and informative in function. These are mostly informative or instructional stickers and are not permanently part of the jeepney's LL. These stickers primarily consisted of advertisements for local businesses or reminders, such as "No Smoking," "20% Discount for Seniors and Students," or "Seat for Disabled." The study focused on the jeepney's exterior design, as it is the most visible aspect to passengers and bystanders. By excluding interior elements, I was able to streamline the data collection process and maintain a clear focus on the research objectives.

Data Collection Stage 3: Key Informant Interviews

From June 2022 to December 2023, I was able to resume the full implementation of my data collection strategies. This phase was also the period when restrictions on movement in response to Covid-19 were fully lifted and people also felt it was safe to resume normal activities and interactions. In the previous attempts to interview key informants, most were hesitant to carry on prolonged conversations due to the uncertainty and fear surrounding the pandemic. However, with the easing of restrictions, I was able to conduct in-depth interviews that gave me valuable data for my research. The verbal consent protocol was used due to the profile of my participants. This process allowed me to put together rich and detailed information that contributed significantly to the depth of my analysis. I also regularly collected jeepney LL photographs. I was always on the lookout for jeepneys that displayed intriguing additions to my data. The photographs captured the essence of local transportation culture and added visual depth to my data. Additionally, engaging with jeepney drivers and passengers during this period and whenever the opportunity presented itself provided me with firsthand perspectives on their experiences and opinions. For this research, I was able to interview a total of 6 jeepney drivers who were most cooperative in sharing information about the jeepneys they were driving. I

did not include in that number casual Q&A with more driver-informants. The six jeepney owner-driver were interviewed two to four times because they were regularly available and most willing to be interviewed in the jeepney terminals identified as key sites. These interviews were not audio recorded but I kept field notes of my interviews. The data from interviews are used in Chapter 6 to interpret the data from the jeepneys' linguistic landscapes. Two drivers from each key site are classified as key informants. Passengers who were interviewed briefly (two to five minutes) while in the queue for a ride on the jeepney totaled 16. They were mostly asked about their awareness of the elements of the jeepney's LL. They were also asked about what the different elements (linguistic and semiotic) meant and how they interpreted these. The jeepney conductors (in charge of queuing) were also interviewed but only 1 was classified as key informant because the other three were only amenable to answering one or two questions. One challenge to engaging in a productive and in-depth discussion with my key informants is language. All of my key informants spoke Ilocano or Cordilleran languages as their first language. In Baguio City, a variety of Ilocano is largely spoken as a community language. Although I could understand the language, I am not a proficient speaker. During interviews, I explained this to my informants the ones who were most cooperative could understand and speak Filipino more fluently than the others. Filipino became the medium of our conversations, although, there was frequent translanguaging reverting to Ilocano, Kankanaey, Ibaloy or other Cordilleran languages, during which I would politely ask for a Filipino translation. The verbal consent protocol was used for all interviews.

Data Analysis Stage 4: Discursive Frames on the jeepneys' LL

Overall, the data collected from photographs and personal interactions allowed me to construct a comprehensive understanding of the discursive frames surrounding jeepneys' LL. The discursive frames are adapted from Coupland and Garret's (2010) work that I discussed in the earlier section of this chapter. My data yielded the six discursive frames: Christian religious frame, American colonial heritage frame, humor frame, ethnic identity frame, personal identity frame, and machismo frame, which I discuss extensively in Chapter 6. These frames were identified by their consistent and frequent appearance on the linguistic landscapes of jeepneys. Frames were identified as significant based on their prevalence and the various ways they were linguistically and semiotically represented, such as through religious icons,

language choice, and symbols of culture. These offer explanations for how cultural values and beliefs are communicated and reinforced within the context of the jeepney. Other LL items on the jeepney were considered insignificant in comparison to these dominant frames, as they did not appear as frequently or prominently. This finding suggests that the cultural values and beliefs represented by these dominant frames play a key role in shaping the identity and messaging of jeepneys. These discursive frames intersected and overlapped, highlighting the complex and layered meanings attached to jeepneys in Baguio City. The identification of these dominant frames on jeepneys demonstrates the value of visual communication in conveying cultural identity and values.

Chapter 6 The Assemblage of the Jeepney as a Post-Colonial Communicative Space

In this chapter I first describe the jeepney as a communicative space by drawing on the works of authors who have written extensively about the traditional Philippine jeepney including Torres (1979), Meñez (1988), Güss & Tuason (2008), Pascua (2009), Gustafson (2012), and Blanton (2015). I begin, too, by describing the external ludic space of the jeepney as laid out by Florendo and Muth (2022). The material assemblage of the jeepney is also examined by describing the jeepney manufacturing industry past and present. Finally, the chapter presents and analyzes the five discursive frames that reflect the character and culture of the Filipino people.

6.1 The *jeepney* as a communicative space

The jeepney itself is a concrete assemblage, a product of colonial history indexing Filipino resilience, resourcefulness, and ingenuity (Torres, 1979; Meñez, 1988; Güss & Tuason, 2008; Pascua, 2009; Gustafson, 2012; and Blanton, 2015). How it has managed to continue its role as a major mover in the transportation industry since the end of WWII is a result of the abstract machine of the assemblage, as illustrated in Figure 6.1.1 below.

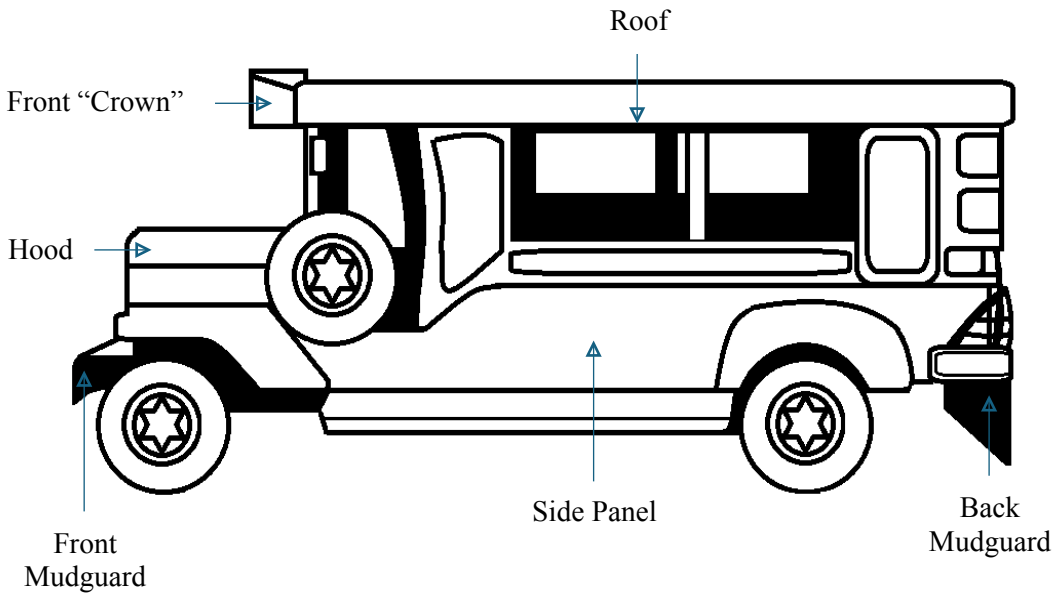

Figure 6.1.1. The jeepney's communicative spaces (Florendo & Muth, 2022, p. 534)

More than simply a mode of transportation, the jeepney is an example of a moving linguistic landscape with its elaborate display of profane, playful, and prayerful words and images displayed on its body to entertain passengers and passersby alike. As a communicative space, the jeepney makes room for an assemblage of material objects, people, and context. The spaces on the jeepney that are typically used as ludic spaces (spaces that are most used to display elements of the LL) are its crown, hood, front and back mudguards and side panels (see Figure 6.1.1). Gustafson (2012) described the jeepney as a communicative space by showing how the jeepney's materiality provides a canvas for what I now examine as the jeepney's LL. Moreover, he describes the jeepney as a communicative space opening discourse among passengers or between passengers and the jeepney's LL.

> We cannot imagine the jeepney as simply more practical than the American jeep. The domestication of the jeep does more than just fit more people into it; it transforms the orientation of public space from an individual looking out onto a quadrant of the horizon into a shared (if smaller) space of people facing one another. This communitarian, collective, domestic orientation is as basic to the modification of the jeep into the jeepney as is the expansion of passenger capacity. The jeepney's sides are extended (and enclosed) for the aesthetic purpose of creating more canvas space, more surface for the convergence of disparate symbolisms. In this way, a jeepney is more than just an inexpensive mode of public transportation; it represents a mode of public space that incorporates rather than excludes difference. The jeepney, then, is a resource for peaceful being-together. People do not have to agree or even converse any more than images need to be thematically coherent. They can simply cohabitate as precious idiosyncrasies. It is partly our individual uniqueness that makes each person valuable to others (Gustafson, 2012, p. 92).

Examples of LL elements that constitute these spaces are discussed later in this chapter. In addition to these spaces, the totality of the jeepney experience demonstrates how it functions as a communicative space for passengers. In Baguio City, as well as in other cities where the jeepney serves as a major means of public transportation, the peak hours for the jeepney are between 6:30 a.m. and 8:00 a.m., catering mostly to students and workers on their way to town from their homes. In the afternoon, the peak hours are from 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. to service the same passengers, this time on their way home from work or school. Riding the jeepney in Baguio City regularly allows one to be familiar with the conventions of this practice. Riding the jeepney from one's home to the city center, one needs to locate what is referred to as the "jeepney terminal" or "staging area," otherwise known as the depot.

This is the designated area where jeepneys ply a specific route (from outside the CBD) to the city center. This depot is where one gets in a queue to board a jeepney. This is generally practiced in Baguio City. It is one convention that regular jeepney riders know. This is, however, not a practice everywhere. In some cities, passengers can hail a jeepney anywhere along its route. During peak hours, this becomes like a mad dash for people hurrying to get to school or work on time. The average time for a passenger to get on a jeepney during peak hours varies. In my experience and observation, it can range from 10 minutes to 1 hour. Unlike public transportation in other countries, where buses and trains have fixed times when passengers can expect them at designated stops, the jeepneys in Baguio City do not operate that way. The number of jeepneys at terminals varies; during peak hours, the turnaround time takes a lot longer. This results in longer queues for passengers waiting to get a ride.

Figure 6.1.2 Early morning queue for jeepneys from Bakakeng to Baguio City

Figure 6.1.2 is an example of a morning rush queue extending for about 200 meters. This photo was taken around 7:30 a.m. on a Monday. I spent about 50 minutes waiting for my turn, and I was about 50 meters from the first person in the line. When one finally manages to get on a jeepney, a designated person (locally referred to as “konduktor”) oversees collecting the fare from passengers as they board the jeepney.

The *konduktor* is also responsible for managing passenger seating. They know how many passengers should fit inside each jeepney (as this varies from one jeepney to another). Sometimes they are also referred to as a "barker," as such, an additional role is to call on passengers to board jeepneys waiting to leave the depot or a jeepney stop along the route. The *konduktor,* once all passengers have boarded the jeepney and paid their fares, gives the fare collection to the jeepney driver. The jeepney driver, in turn, gives the *konduktor* twenty pesos (P20.00 or about 35 cents in USD) commission from manning the queue and collecting fares. This is another convention; fare collection is not automated. There are no tokens or cashless payment features for the jeepney; everything is old school. The jeepney fare is set to a fixed rate based on distance by the Land Transportation Franchising and Regulatory Board (LTFRB). At present in Baguio City the minimum fare is P13.00 (0.23 USD) for a distance of four kilometers. There is also a 20% discounted rate for students, senior citizens, and persons with disabilities (PWD), so they pay P11.00 (0.20 USD) for the same distance. When a passenger hails a jeepney along the route, they pay the fare directly to the driver. This also leads to another convention, other passengers pass the fare until it reaches the driver.

A fully loaded jeepney accommodates an average of twenty-two passengers, ten on each side and two more in front beside the driver. Below is an image of how tightly packed people are inside a typical jeepney in Baguio City. The practice of passing on a fellow passenger's fare until it reaches the driver (and the change for the said fare) is a convention that is familiar to and practiced by everyone who regularly rides the jeepney. Regular jeepney passengers are also used to the loss of personal space when riding the jeepney. In some instances, this becomes uncomfortable, especially for women passengers. Passengers use the word "para" to signal the jeepney driver to stop. There are designated stops around the CBD but jeepneys only stop when a passenger calls out *para* to the driver to indicate that he or she would like to get off at the nearest stop. The word *para* can be traced back to the Spanish word *parar,* which translates to "stop," and its imperative form, *para* literally means "stop." The collective experience of riding the jeepney creates a series of conventions that one is expected to know and follow. The jeepney is the space that creates and reproduces these conventions.

Figure 6.1.3 Tightly packed jeepney during peak hours

Passengers on each side are tightly packed, facing each other. The image above is an example of a jeepney with mostly students as passengers, mostly preoccupied with their phones until they get to their designated stop in the city center. This experience was described by Torres (1979):

> To do so is to put up with what millions know: the jostle of elbows and knees in the sweaty anguish of grabbing a seat, the hustle of making most of a given space always too cramped for comfort, a crush of steaming bodies packed like sardines. (p.24)
>
> When filled to capacity, the PUJ allows one very little elbow room, or none, for movement, unless he sits up front. On the way, one learns to look straight out at passengers huddled on the opposite bench without really staring or appearing rude, or glance at the passing view outside, or what there is to see-fragments of scenery, or rather the less exalted, lower parts of it, a jumble to reality seen at ground level in a blur of speed, dust and exhaust fumes. Above all, one learns to sit tight on a piece of upholstery just wide enough to accommodate your behind, wedged in on both sides by the press of flesh, and to hang on to the handrails for balance until cramped position leads to cramped leg and neck muscles. (p.26)

Little has changed since Torres (1979) described the jeepney experience. Because of a lack of personal space, passengers sitting beside each other can see each other's phone screen, and one can also easily eavesdrop on passengers who carry on conversations with fellow passengers or on the phone. This is perhaps the only significant change: that passengers can focus or deflect their gaze from staring at fellow passengers to their phone screens. In other countries, it is considered rude to carry on a loud conversation when inside a bus or any public transportation. In Hawaii, where there is a large Filipino community, there are signs on buses reminding passengers to keep their voices down while on the bus. I observed this when I travelled for conferences there in 2013 and 2017. It turns out that striking up and getting caught up in a lively conversation while enroute to one's destination is something characteristic of Filipinos. Local behavior and communicative conventions arise from the community's familiarity with the jeepney and the practices surrounding the regular use of the jeepney as a mode of transportation. In this case, an honor system applies since the jeepney driver himself becomes responsible for collecting the fares too. I am not sure how he can keep track of collecting fares and driving at the same time. This is the case for all jeepney drivers in the Philippines. Hence, a popular sign inside a jeepney's linguistic landscape is *God knows Hudas* (a pun on "who does" to the Biblical character of Judas the traitor) *not pay*.

All spaces inside and outside the jeepney are potentially communicative spaces. True to Torres' (1979) observation, there appears to be a fear of leaving any space blank or empty. *Horror vacui* concept reflects the desire to fill all available space with images and linguistic tokens to communicate through various means. This phenomenon can be seen in the vibrant and colorful decorations that adorn the exterior of jeepneys, as well as the personal belongings and trinkets that fill the interior. These visual and material elements not only serve as a form of self-expression for jeepney owners and passengers but also contribute to the creation of a collective cultural identity within the community. The constant presence of these semiotic resources reinforces the importance of communication and interaction in Filipino society, where even empty spaces are utilized to convey meaning. Like Torres, I also argue that the jeepney is more than a mode of public transportation; it offers a total and unique experience to its passengers. To quote from Torres (1979),

"Like all good things indigenous or aboriginal, the jeepney must be experienced *in situ*; it makes little sense when taken out of its cultural context" (p.11).

6.2 The jeepney as a material assemblage

The jeepney can be described as a product of the Global South. It is a product of both a colonial experience and capitalist enterprise. Drawing from Heugh et al.'s (2021) characterization of the Global South as hope, care, love in adversity; the jeepney can be considered as a product of the experiences of the Filipinos as part of the Global South,

> Indeed, ingenuity, equivocation, and creativity are the essences for many people of the South, where survival may be precarious, yet risk is generative of creative and colorful citizenry[…] irrepressible creativity and resourcefulness escape through the cracks in the architectures of coloniality. (Huegh et al., 2021, p. 34)

Filipino and foreign scholars have written about the Philippine jeepney, its colorful history, and the equally gaily decked features parading along the streets of Philippine cities. These include Torres (1979), Meñez (1988), Güss and Tuason (2008), Pascua (2009), Gustafson (2012), and Blanton (2015). Torres (1979) wrote most extensively about the jeepney. Torres' (1979) book is a colorful collection of the jeepney's history, decorative features, and functions. He also extensively described the typical background and daily life of a jeepney driver in Manila. Although this may be stereotyping the character of the jeepney driver, Torres' description does hew close to accuracy. His colorful collection of photographs is accompanied by an equally colorful description of life around the jeepney in its heyday in Manila in the 1970s. Meñez's (1988) article draws from Torres' earlier work but focuses on the artwork on the jeepney. Taking Torres' idea of horror *vacui*, she anchors the jeepney's cornucopia of images and linguistic landscapes to the jeepney driver's persona. She argues that the jeepney driver's life is anchored on competition, which he extends to the over-adornment of his jeepney (Meñez 1988, p. 44). For Meñez, the jeepney is an extension of the jeepney driver's identity. She also wrote about the jeepney driver as a stereotypical character whose life and routine revolve around the jeepney and the streets. Her work also draws from jeepneys in Manila. Güss and Tuason's (2008) work describes how the jeepney's linguistic landscape and its communicative space reflect the Filipinos' collective beliefs and values.

> The jeepney is a substantial and concrete artifact of Filipinos' beliefs and values, as evidenced by how it was created, the needs of the people it serves, and how it has become a means of transportation for everyday commuters. Conscious or unconscious, and intentional or not, the jeepney carries with it the meaning constructs of life in the Philippines. As a cultural article, it manifests, through its accessories and decorations, the values and sentiments of its passengers, owners, and especially drivers. (Güss & Tuason, 2008, pp. 216-217)

> Through the years the folk imagination worked on the transformation until it reached its present state of the art, mobile assemblage of signs and symbols, decorative motifs and fetishes, rattling along the streets of Manila and other towns with a "whoopee" that would astonish designers of the Willy's original. (Torres, 1979, p.14)

Torres (1979) was the first to describe the jeepney's linguistic landscape as an "assemblage." I am certain that he meant it in a way related to how I use assemblage as a theoretical frame in my examination of the same. His description refers to the hodgepodge of themes present inside the jeepney as well as its exterior, but all these are somehow meaningful either to the jeepney owner or the driver. Then and now, there is no coherent theme that governs the jeepney's linguistic landscape. The theme is either the owner or the driver, who gets to decide what goes on the jeepney's LL. Over time, linguistic and semiotic elements in the LL are added, erased, or painted (even pasted) over. All these are done for various reasons. Some to address the informative function of the LL, like information regarding fare increases or the wearing of masks and observing physical distancing during Covid-19. Others are an update to the jeepney's LL to whatever is considered cool or popular now, like memes, brands, or characters. Torres' reference in his use of "assemblage" as a noun is the jeepney itself.

Pascua (2009), like Torres (1979) and Blanton (2015), wrote about the jeepney's history. Moreover, Pascua described the characteristics of the jeepney that have helped it earn the moniker "King of the Road." Pascua noted that, on top of the very elaborate LL of the jeepney, what raises the bar is its blasting music and horns, which play a tune as well. Competition among jeepney drivers for passengers is tough; Pascua (2009) notes that the jeepney in the late 1970s to the early 1990s heightened the competition by not only settling for a gaily decked jeepney inside and outside but also installing stereo music to entice and entertain passengers on their way to their destinations.

Blanton (2015) explained that the jeepney in the Philippines operates outside the fixed-route system adopted by buses and trains. He considered the jeepney as a form of *paratransit*, which he described as a "creative form of mobility that emerges when the large bureaucracies and their concomitant infrastructures of transportation fail to meet the demands of the commuting public" (Blanton, 2015, p. 7). This is exactly the history of the Philippine jeepney, which evolved from what remained after WWII. Gustafson described the original American Willy's jeep and its transformation into a paratransit vehicle;

> An American service jeep is made for four people. And its rugged angularity is basically militaristic, even when it is used for leisure. It is an icon of individualism, with a machine gun mounted at each corner for combat and the socius protected/provided by four combatants watching one another's back – always facing away from each other. But a service vehicle in the Philippines is a family vehicle. When something is borrowed in Philippine culture it will inevitably be domesticated. So, when the Americans left surplus jeeps here, they were extended – the back seats were turned sideways so that passengers could scarcely see out but rather sit facing one another so that they could hold more people. (Gustafson, 2012, p. 91)

Torres (1979) noted how the Willy's jeep was an ideal form of transport for Filipinos after WWII because of its durability, its size (exactly right for the small to medium height of the average Filipino) and "economic virtues" (readily available parts and cheap maintenance). The transformation of the American surplus jeep into a public utility vehicle during the post-liberation period in the Philippines ushered in a thriving industry specializing in the customization, decoration, maintenance, and provision of spare parts for the booming industry of public transport. Prominent names in the jeepney industry before 1908 were Anastacio Francisco of Francisco Motors Corporation (located in Las Piñas) and Leonardo Sarao, founder of Sarao Group of Companies (also located in Las Piñas). Both companies pioneered the production, painting, and maintenance work of Philippine jeepneys. According to Barcero and Vergel (2009), the jeepney manufacturing industry is largely unregulated and does not follow standards. Largely to accommodate customization, manufacturers can vary specifications as to capacity, weight and dimensions. Thus, jeepneys can be made to order according to a buyer's preference and purpose. In Barcero and Vergel's (2009) research, jeepney manufacturing sites in and around Metro Manila are in Rizal, Las Piñas City, Valenzuela City, Imus, Cavite, and San Pablo City, Laguna. Each manufacturing site produces 1-2 jeepneys per month priced between P400,000.00

(roughly 7,000.00 USD) and P1,500,000.00 (26,000 USD), depending on the kind of customization requested by the buyer. The industry has, thus, provided jobs for drivers, craftsmen, artists, and entrepreneurs who had enough capital to purchase one or several units of jeepneys and lease them for a fixed daily rate to drivers. Materials for jeepney manufacturing are between 50% and 80% new. These include stainless steel, galvanized iron, or aluminum raw materials used to form the jeepney's body. The engine is usually sourced from reconditioned surplus from Japan (Isuzu brand is preferred). The system has not changed much since the post-liberation period, except that we now have Grab and Uber aside from buses, trains, taxis, and jeepneys. Until the late 1990s, jeepneys served as the cheapest and most convenient way to get around the city (especially in Manila, Philippines). A common jeepney can seat eighteen passengers (eight on each side) and two passengers plus the driver in the front cab. However, this can go for twenty-two (with ten passengers on each side and two more beside the driver) during peak hours (before 8:00 A.M. and after 5:00 P.M.) with people hanging on to a thin metal bar at the entrance of the jeepney and extra passengers squeezed in on the seats. Torres (1979, p. 9) praises the jeepney as a tribute to Filipino "ingenuity" as a "tacit tribute to the masses who developed its basic design as well as the masses who drive it daily for a livelihood and display a *modus vivendi* of improvisation and making do and sheer spunk."

Among local scholars, Torres (1979) and Meñez (1988) were the first to write about the decorative art on the Philippine jeepney. It was Torres in his book *The Jeepney* who coined the term *horror vacui,* 'fear of empty space', to refer to the jeepney's obsessive decorative elements and style. The goal, he noted, is to leave no space empty or vacant in or on the jeepney, whether with passengers or works of art. He proposes that this profusion of visual arts can be related to the gregariousness of the Filipino.

> […] it is his way of coping perhaps with his usual material shortcomings, transcending and sublimating these with exuberant images meant to edify through delight not ponderous sobriety. In this matter, *horror vacui*, is really a fear of being found wanting. (Torres, 1979, p. 60)

Torres described a typical jeepney driver in Manila in the 1970s as a male breadwinner who usually hailed from a province and whose former livelihood was farming or fishing. Economically, he can be classified as poor, making barely enough to sustain his family. The concept of *horror vacui* describes the jeepney driver's

public persona personified by his jeepney. His goal is to leave no space of his jeepney undecorated, which Torres correlates with the jeepney driver's perceived fear of being found lacking. In the latter part of this chapter, this identification with the jeepney of the driver will form the personal identity frame.

Meñez' (1988) work, like Torres' (1979), focused on the important role of the jeepney driver in the creation of the jeepney's linguistic landscape. Meñez argued that the jeepney drivers are a class of their own, "lower class, urban male, occupational subculture" (Meñez, 1988, p. 39). Meñez attributed the jeepney décor to the drivers, claiming that the popular motifs she observed—love and sex, driving speed, economic success, religion, and family—directly reflect their major concerns (Meñez, 1988, p. 40). The profusion of jeepney décor is attributed to the idea that the jeepney is an extension of the driver's personality, according to Meñez; in her observation, Torres' concept of *horror vacui* is still in place a decade after Torres' work came out. In Meñez' article, she concluded that the jeepney drivers saw the jeepney as a status symbol and directly correlated their prosperity to the elaborateness and profusion of both linguistic and visual décor.

6.3 The discursive frames on the Philippine jeepney

As an analytical tool, I employed Coupland and Garret's (2010) discursive frames, which they applied in their research, *Linguistic landscapes, discursive frames and metacultural performance: the case of Welsh Patagonia.* By collecting data from the LL of Welsh Patagonia and classifying these into three distinctive frames: the colonial history frame, the reflexive cultural Welshness frame and Welsh heritage frame, Coupland and Garret were able to critically analyze the role of Welsh as one of the languages used in the LL of Patagonia. Their concept of "frames" is abstract, following Goffman's (1974) frame analysis. They move away from language distribution as their main concern instead, their bases for determining frames are cultural, symbolizing values activated by elements in the LL. Coupland and Garret (2010) describe discursive frames as,

> Discursive frames can be thought of as culturally or sub-culturally structured and structuring sense-making resources. Frame is a metaphor derived from photographic representation, where a border placed around an image sets limits to what can be viewed. Since a representation (e.g., of a natural landscape) is inevitably partial and selective, captured from a particular standpoint and (literal) point of view, the act of framing facilitates or

> naturalizes particular meanings and precludes others. The concept of frame is strikingly apposite to the analysis of landscape texts, where it can refer either to very abstract structures—generalized ways of seeing or not seeing — or very material structures —visible text elements that reflexively mark how other text elements should be read (in the way that captions on printed figures or photographs do). (p. 15)

Admittedly, readers of signs can choose to focus on them and read signs differently from others. This is because each reader may read and make meaning based on their own repertoire. However, framing addresses such an issue by selectively identifying and limiting what a reader can see. Likened to a photograph, a frame selects, focuses, and encloses within a fixed border the object of analysis. This method served as a useful tool for presenting my data. The data, primarily consisting of photographs of the jeepneys' ludic spaces showcasing semiotic and linguistic assemblages of the LL, are presented as frames. These photographs have been collected and collated from 2021 to 2025, except for the photographs from the jeepney production site that were taken in 2019. Jeepneys ply the routes within the three key sites identified as having the most foot traffic. All three sites are within Baguio City's Central Business District (CBD).

Discursive Frames	**Description**	**Examples**	**Intersections**
Christian religious frames	This frame illustrates the dominance and pervading influence of the Christian / Catholic faith in the Philippines.	Biblical quotes and passages Images of Jesus and the Blessed Virgin Mary	This frame intersects with the American colonial heritage frame and personal identity frame.
American colonial heritage frame	This frame demonstrates the lasting influence of the American colonization of the Philippines. Both Baguio City and jeepney are legacies of the Americans.	Use of the English language Images of the Native Americans and Cowboys Images of the American flag and the eagle	This frame intersects with the machismo frame.

Humor frame	This frame reflects the Filipino wit and humor also demonstrating their resilience and way of coping with challenges.	Witty quotes and phrases Wordplay Use of both English and local languages	This frame intersects with the American colonial heritage frame, machismo frame, personal identity frame and ethnic identity frame.
Ethnic identity frame	This frame highlights pride from being part of a collective or community.	Use of local languages like Baguio Ilocano, Ibaloy and Kankanaey which are Cordilleran languages Local expressions and phrases Images of Igorots and iconic scenery and landmarks in Baguio City and the Cordilleras	This frame intersects with the humor frame, machismo frame and personal identity frame.
Personal identity frame	This frame exemplifies the jeepneys' linguistic landscape as an extension of the individual or the person who owns it.	Portraits of family members and the owner or driver himself Names of family members	This frame intersects with the Christian religious frame.
Machismo frame	The jeepney industry is male dominated, hence the jeepneys' linguistic landscape	Sexist/sexual innuendos, male-dominant imagery or jokes	This frame intersects with the ethnic identity frame and personal identity frame.

	displays elements that reflect machismo.		

Table 6.3.1 Summary of discursive frames

Based on the data collected for this project from 2022 to February 2025 of jeepneys located in depots or terminals in the three Key Sites (Key Site 1 Baguio City public market, Key Site 2 Igorot Garden, and Key Site 3 Carantes Street), which includes photographs of linguistic tokens, symbolic artifacts, and visual images prominently displayed on the exterior of the jeepneys in Baguio City, there are six main discursive frames that I present in this section. These include the following: the Christian religious frame, which is the most prominently displayed on the jeepneys in Baguio City; the American colonial heritage frame, which includes the obvious dominance of the use of the English language for linguistic elements in the LL; humor in the witty use of language; ethnic identity (including multilingualism or use of other languages); the machismo (sexual undertones) frame; and finally, the personal identity frame, which highlights the use of personal tokens in the jeepney's LL to show that it is an extension of the owner's or driver's personal life. The Christian or Catholic religious frame is evident through the display of religious icons, such as crosses, images of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, and biblical quotes on the exterior of the jeepneys. This reflects the strong, pervading influence of Catholicism in Baguio City. Additionally, the American colonial heritage frame is most visible in the use of the English language, such as slogans and quotes from American pop culture, which serve as a reminder of the city's history under American rule. Humor is also one of the dominant frames in the jeepney's LL. This hews closely to the identity of the Filipino people, who are happy people who find humor and the opportunity to laugh even amid tragedy or misfortune. The use of humor in the jeepney's interior design can be seen through witty and humorous quotes painted on the walls, as well as funny stickers and decorations. This not only adds a lively and entertaining atmosphere to the jeepney ride but also showcases the Filipinos' resilience. The ethnic identity frame highlights elements in the jeepney’s LL that make use of languages other than Filipino or English with the assumption that language choice underpins a directed audience who can understand the message. The use of a local language also underscores regional or ethnic pride. This will be further discussed in the examples where the use of a local language or a local reference to a specific ethnolinguistic

group also intersects with the personal identity frame. However, I decided to dedicate a separate frame and discussion to this because it asserts identifying with a community rather than asserting individual identity. The patriarchy or machismo frame, like the religious frame, has already been widely used by Torres (1979), Meñez (1988), Blanton (2015), and Sim and Nada (2014). This is also one of the most prominent frames because the jeepney industry is male-dominated. This frame is characterized by an expression of male dominance, sexism, and sexual undertones. Lastly, the personal identity frame is expressed through the inclusion of personal tokens, such as personal portraits of family members or images of places to which they have attached significant personal meanings or memories. These personal tokens not only add a touch of individuality to the jeepneys but also showcase the importance of family and personal connections in the lives of the drivers. In the following section, the discursive frames are discussed separately according to my analysis of what is the more dominant theme in the LL tokens. However, one can later observe that there are many instances where LL tokens intersect and overlap with the other frames. For instance, the American colonial heritage frame also alludes to the personal identity or the Christian religious frames. The overlapping of these frames highlights the complexity and interconnectedness of the drivers' experiences, showcasing how their personal tokens can simultaneously represent multiple aspects of their lives. The frames are also based on dominant themes from the data collected. In the case of the personal identity frame, there are examples that also intersect with machismo or patriarchal themes. These intersections demonstrate how drivers' personal tokens can reflect societal expectations and cultural norms surrounding masculinity. This adds another layer of complexity to their sense of identity as they navigate between their personal connections and societal pressures. Additionally, these intersections highlight the need for a nuanced understanding of drivers' experiences, recognizing that their personal tokens can carry multiple meanings and influences. The humor frame may often intersect with the machismo frame because the humor usually has sexual undertones. This intersection is most visible in the use of innuendos or double entendres in humorous tokens, which may reinforce traditional gender roles and expectations. For example, a humorous token featuring a provocative image or suggestive message can perpetuate stereotypes about male sexuality and reinforce the idea that masculinity is synonymous with sexual prowess. This further reinforces the

patriarchal notion that men should be dominant and sexually aggressive. Additionally, it is important to note that the intersection between frames highlights the complexity and interconnectedness of language and culture. These overlaps suggest that these themes are not mutually exclusive but rather intricately intertwined in the LL tokens. Below is a table summarizing the six discursive frames presented in this chapter. It also provides a brief description of each frame, examples of data from the frames, as well as intersections among these six frames.

Jeepney of faith: The Christian religious frame

According to the 2023 statistics released by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA), 78.8% of Filipinos nationwide are Catholics [4]. The same source shows that 61.7% of the total population of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) where Baguio City belongs are Roman Catholics. It is no surprise, therefore, to find Catholic or Christian references or allusions on the jeepney's LL. These religious references on the jeepney's LL not only reflect the dominant religious beliefs in the Philippines but also serve as a form of cultural expression and identity for many Filipinos. They can be seen as a way for individuals to connect with their faith and showcase their religious affiliations in the public sphere. Additionally, these references may also contribute to a sense of community and solidarity among fellow believers who share similar values and beliefs. Sim and Nada (2014) and Blanton (2015) extensively documented the religious themes in the Philippine jeepneys' linguistic landscape. Sim and Nada's (2014) 78-page glossy publication features a collection of photographs of religious images, mostly of Jesus Christ (Sacred Heart of Jesus and Sto. Niño, an image of the Child Jesus most revered in the Philippines and brought to the country by the Spanish colonizers in 1521 as a conversion present to the rulers of Cebu, Philippines) and those of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Blanton (2015), on the other hand, has published his research describing the various religious symbols that are present and the customs that he saw people practicing while riding in jeepneys in Manila. Blanton observed that the religious symbols displayed in jeepneys, such as crucifixes and images of saints, create a visible reminder of the importance of religion in everyday life for Filipinos. These symbols also serve as a way for individuals to seek protection and blessings while traveling, adding a spiritual dimension to their daily

[4] https://rssocar.psa.gov.ph/system/files/attachment-dir/CAR-SSR-2023-33_Religious-Affiliations-CAR.pdf

commutes. Religious artifacts commonly come in the form of statuettes of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Sto. Niño (a symbolic representation of the child Jesus), and the crucifix as staples in the jeepney. These artifacts are often placed in a prominent location within the jeepney, such as on the dashboard or in a special compartment. They are believed to bring good luck and protection to the driver and passengers. According to Blanton (2015), the driver's personal makeshift cash register and the jeepney's dashboard appeared to be altars. The driver's personal makeshift cash register is often adorned with religious symbols and statues, further emphasizing the importance of faith in the jeepney culture. This unique combination of practicality and spirituality reflects the deep-rooted religious beliefs of the Filipino people. These make the Christian or Catholic religious frame perhaps the most significant and most visible of all LL frames documented in this study. The strong Catholic influence in the jeepney's linguistic landscape (LL) exemplifies a Global South perspective by positioning religious faith as a tool for resilience and a means of transcending material hardship. Unlike public transport in the Global North, which often separates the secular from the spiritual, the Philippine jeepney functions as a "moving shrine". This integration of the sacred into the mundane world of public transportation demonstrates a Global South orientation. The data collected reveal that this frame is most visible on the side panels as images or portraits of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, on the crown as lexical items referencing religious terms, and on the mudguards, where longer phrases or quotes are lifted directly from Biblical passages.

Figure 6.3.1 *Hosanna-II* on a jeepney's crown

Figure 6.3.2 ***God's amazing love*** **on a jeepney's crown**

Figure 6.3.3 ***Armor of God*** **on a jeepney's crown**

Figure 6.3.4 ***God has willed it*** **on a jeepney's crown and** ***Gift of God*** **on its front mudguard**

Figure 6.3.5 ***Jesus fountain of life*** **on a jeepney's crown**

Figure 6.3.6 ***Blessed one*** **on a jeepney's crown**

Figure 6.3.7 ***Grace of God*** **on a jeepney's crown**

Figure 6.3.8 ***You're the light unto my path*** **on a jeepney's crown (Psalm 119:105)**

In this first set of eight images above, the highlight of the Christian or Catholic religious frame is on the use of words or phrases that directly reference Catholicism. These appear on the jeepneys' crowns, as described by Torres (1979), to serve as the jeepneys' identification markers, sort of like their "christened name." The following data from the images above prominently display these texts on the jeepney's crown: *Hosanna-II, God's amazing love*, *Armor of God*, *God has willed it*, *Jesus fountain of life*, *Blessed one*, *Grace of God*, and a much longer quote, *Lord, you're the light unto my path.* The jeepney's crown is one of the most visibly displayed ludic spaces on the jeepney. From the passengers' point of view, it is one of the most eye-catching as well. As it serves the purpose of "naming" the jeepney, the crown can be compared to an I.D. card that can be used to distinguish one jeepney from many others. Being a permanent fixture of the jeepney, the crown and the inscription on it are decided upon and chosen by the owner of the jeepney. This information was disclosed during interviews with the jeepney drivers. The crown being an integral part of the jeepney's LL, the inscriptions on it are the most memorable to regular passengers. The choice of putting in a Christian or religious text is an homage to God, who is the source of everything. It can be likened to a christening or baptism, the Catholic practice of dedicating an individual, usually a newborn child, to God by naming him or her. The jeepney as a source of livelihood and a means (for passengers that it serves) to get to one's livelihood is one of the things to be grateful for. This is also one of the qualities Filipinos are known for.

The succeeding set of images has been collected from various jeepneys' mudguards from the three key sites. My examination of the data revealed that these were either directly taken from Biblical passages or are syntheses derived from or inspired by Biblical passages. Though not as prominent as the jeepney's crown, the back mudguard's space allows for longer passages to be inscribed on it. Its material is rubber, like the kind used for interior matting of cars. These are handcrafted by local artists and are custom-made according to the specifications of the jeepney owner or driver. The shops that make these are in La Trinidad, Benguet, which is about five kilometers outside Baguio City. They are in the same area where jeepney production sites are located.

Unlike the crown, the mudguard is easily replaceable once worn out. The LL token on the mudguard is most visible to passengers while getting on the jeepney. Therefore, I assume that this part of the jeepney's LL is directly addressed to the passengers and, since it is also most visible to other jeepney drivers while on the road, they are also part of the target audience. In the discussion of the other frames, some examples of linguistic tokens on the mudguard may be interpreted as being addressed more to fellow jeepney drivers than to passengers.

Figure 6.3.9 ***Into your hand I command my spirit o Lord*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard (Luke 23:46)**

Figure 6.3.10 ***Man does not live by bread alone*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.11 ***He gives grace to the humble*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.12 ***When life gets too hand to stand kneel*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.13 ***All the way my Savior leads me*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.14 *Great is Thy faithfulness* on a jeepney's back mudguard

The six images above are examples of mudguards inscribed with the following Biblical quotes: Figure 6.3.9 *Into your hand I command (commend) my spirit, O Lord* is most memorable as Jesus' final words on the cross and can be found in Luke 23:46. The variation on using the word "command" instead of the word "commend" may be attributed to the phonological interpretation of the word. The word "command" is more familiar in the context of Philippine English than "commend," which is less common. I asked the driver what the quote meant for him and why he chose the quote; unfortunately, he said that the LL token was there when he took over driving the jeepney and it was the owner who had it designed and placed there. He did not know the significance of the quote or why it was placed on the jeepney. Asking the other drivers waiting in the same terminal about what they think the sign means only led to more confusion and uncertainty. Some of them thought it was a line from a prayer and expressed a deep faith in God, which was partly true. I thought it was also humorous to place a quote from a dying Jesus for passengers to read as they boarded the jeepney. It toys with the idea that the passengers should entrust their lives to God, trusting that they will arrive safely at their destination. The quote may also be interpreted to allude to the dangers of riding the jeepney. The ambiguity of the sign also sparked conversations among the passengers while waiting for the jeepney to depart from the terminal, with some debating whether it was meant to be a reminder of their mortality or a reminder to have faith in God during their journey. Others saw

it as a clever way to provoke thought and reflection during their daily commute. Regardless of its intended meaning, the sign served as a conversation starter and a source of contemplation for those riding the jeepney

Figure 6.3.10 *Man does not live by bread alone* is also a familiar Biblical quote. It is clipped from the longer passage from Matthew 4:4 “It is written: 'Man shall not live on bread alone, but on every word that comes from the mouth of God.” This biblical passage emphasizes the importance of spiritual nourishment and suggests that material possessions alone are not enough for a fulfilling life. The addition of this quote to the jeepney mudguard deepens the sign's overall message by enticing people to look for meaning outside of their immediate needs. In the context of the jeepneys’ LL, the quote may have been meant to look past the financial challenges and focus on other aspects of abundance, like one’s family life or spiritual life. Mudguards are a prominent ludic space on the jeepney's body for phrases, quotes, and song lyrics that are etched on black rubber, often recycled from old tire interiors or cheap rubber. The space is often used for longer linguistic tokens typically addressed to passengers boarding the jeepney and sometimes to fellow drivers on the road. These linguistic tokens on the mudguards serve as a form of cultural expression and communication, allowing the jeepney to convey messages and ideas to its passengers. By utilizing this space for meaningful quotes like the biblical passage, the jeepney encourages individuals to reflect on their spiritual well-being and seek fulfillment beyond material possessions. I asked the drivers what these were for, and they said that maybe the phrases or passages are meant to entertain passengers and give them something to think about during the short (or long) time they are about to spend on the ride. The drivers also mentioned that these linguistic tokens add a touch of uniqueness and personality to each jeepney, creating a sense of identity and pride among the drivers and passengers alike. Additionally, some passengers find comfort and solace in reading these quotes, as they provide a momentary escape from the hustle and bustle of daily life. Passengers interviewed, though, do not always read what the mudguards say. Few of them notice it; mostly passengers queuing to get a ride are the ones who have time to look at the jeepneys closely enough and observe the LL on the jeepney's body. However, even if passengers do not actively read the quotes on the mudguards, they still contribute to the overall aesthetic appeal of the jeepney, making them stand out among other vehicles on the road. The presence of

these linguistic tokens also serves as a form of cultural expression, showcasing the creativity and artistry of Filipino jeepney drivers.

Figure 6.3.11 *He gives grace to the humble* is derived from the Biblical passage James 4:6. This quote emphasizes the value of humility. Humility, though, runs opposite to the pompous *horror vacui* vibe of the traditional jeepney. However, I believe that this also addressed to fellow jeepney drivers and is a reference to the jeepney drivers' *yabang* or *angas* (arrogance or boastfulness), especially while driving which often leads to road mishaps and altercations. The biblical quote is a reminder to keep their cool on the road. Figure 6.3.12 is lifted from *When life gets too hard to stand, kneel*, which is not a direct Biblical quote but is a reflection on the following passages also from the Bible: Philippians 4:6-7, Matthew 11:28-30, and Thessalonians 5:16-18. On the mudguard, however, the word "hand" appears instead of "hard". This may have resulted from mistakenly reading the text (most probably handwritten) to be inscribed on the mudguard. This also reflects the artist's English competence, who made the inscription because he was unable to detect that the phrase did not make sense with the word "hand". Figure 6.3.13 *All the way my savior leads me* is the title and opening line of a famous hymn written by Fanny J. Crosby in 1875. It's not a direct Bible quote but is inspired by several biblical passages about God's guidance and care. It is an interpretation of Psalm 23:1-3 *The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He makes me lie down in green pastures. He leads me beside still waters. He restores my soul. He leads me in paths of righteousness for his name's sake.* Figure 6.3.14 *Great is thy faithfulness,* is clipped from a longer Biblical passage, Lamentations 3:22-23 *Because of the Lord's great love we are not consumed, for his compassions never fail. They are new every morning; great is your faithfulness.* The choice of writing Biblical passages or phrases inspired by Biblical passages reflects the strong religious influence on Filipinos as a collective. It also demonstrates the jeepney owners' knowledge of Christian scripture. This affinity to Catholicism or Christianity is shared by most Filipinos regardless of social class. It is even more poignant, in my observation, among the lower class because their faith is what tides them over difficulties or challenges that their lack of material resources brings about. This echoes Heugh et al.'s (2021) characterization of the Global South as "Hope, care, love in adversity" (p. 30). Religion plays a more significant role for people who experience adversity, as it gives them hope amidst life's challenges.

Finally, for this first frame, the two images below affirm what Sim and Nada (2014) and Blanton (2015) have already documented. These are images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary painted on the side panels of the jeepney. These two appear on the biggest ludic space on the jeepney that is usually reserved for images. Unlike the mudguard, side panels are reserved for the more elaborate illustrations and require much thought on the part of the one who decides what to put on them. This is usually the jeepney owner. Unlike the mudguard, the illustrations on the side panels are more permanent and would cost more to replace. Being the largest space on the jeepney, a portion of the side panels is reserved for the route information of the jeepney. Every jeepney unit should display on the dedicated space of the side panels (usually the middle portion) the areas that the jeepney services. However, this still leaves a lot of empty space, which Torres (1979) believes the jeepney drivers and owners do not want to leave unutilized. His concept of *horror vacui* or fear of leaving space empty, urges whoever is responsible to fill these spaces with something meaningful. Therefore, for the religious, what makes more sense than using this space to display religious symbols or images? I have observed (and verified with my informants) that side panel paintings remain the same until the particular jeepney unit is out of service or retired. In the succeeding frames, some examples also show images of Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary in combination with portraits of family members. Noteworthy are images where Jesus Christ is depicted as a “white male” instead of being reimagined as more Filipino-looking. The depiction of Jesus as a white male in the Philippines is a direct result of more than 300 years of Spanish rule. During this time, Catholic friars brought European Renaissance and Baroque styles to the country to connect the divine with the ruling colonial class. The Catholic Church during the Spanish Colonial period created a racial hierarchy by bringing in or commissioning icons resembling Spanish nobility, with light skin and Caucasian features. This meant that the "ideal" sacred form of the divine matched the physical features of the colonizers, their skin color in particular. The statues, like the *Santo Niño de Cebu*, were believed to have miraculous powers, which made devotees unwilling to change their appearance. This imagery is deeply ingrained in Filipino culture. Although modern movements now advocate for a *Kristong Pilipino* (Filipino Christ) with brown features that are native to the Philippines, the traditional Europeanized image still persists because of historical momentum, the global

influence of Western religious media, and a long-standing psychological link between the Spanish aesthetic and the origins of the faith. In Figure 6.3.16, for instance, the door on the driver's side displays the image of Jesus Christ depicted as a shepherd carrying a sheep. On the same side also appears the portrait of a Native American and a scantily clad woman. The combination of these images first demonstrates an intersection among three frames (religious, American colonial, heritage and machismo). This also highlights the assemblage in the jeepney's LL. The predominance of religious texts and icons allows the jeepney to serve not only as a mode of transportation but also as a moving shrine, providing a sense of spiritual connection and protection for both the driver and passengers. Additionally, it serves as a form of expression and identity for the driver, showcasing their religious beliefs and affiliations with the community. When asked whether he is Catholic and is a devotee of the Blessed Virgin Mary because her portrait appears on the side panels. The driver confirmed he was Catholic and even showed the Holy Rosary hanging on his rearview mirror. The Holy Rosary is also a common artifact that is part of the jeepney's "altar." The presence of religious symbols and artifacts in the jeepney not only represents the driver's personal devotion but also creates a sacred atmosphere for passengers. This unique blend of religious expression and cultural identity is one of the reasons why jeepneys hold such significance in Filipino society. The image of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Rosary's popular presence on the jeepney's LL confirm the strong presence of the Catholic religious (often bordering on fanaticism) frame in the jeepney's LL. The frequent use of religious phrases and quotes displayed on the vehicle further supports the Catholic religious influence on the jeepney's LL. These expressions serve as a reminder of faith and provide comfort to both the driver and passengers during their journey. This hews closely to a collective belief in the divine and the strong influence of Catholicism in the Cordillera region where Baguio City is located. Prior to the American occupation, Augustinians and Dominicans attempted to convert the Igorots to Catholicism but the mountainous terrain and the resistance of the natives of the Cordillera led to unsuccessful campaigns. It was only with the arrival of Belgian priests in the early 1900s belonging to the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM) that Catholicism was firmly planted in the Cordillera, specifically in Baguio City. The Baguio Cathedral of Our Lady of Atonement and Saint Louis University are two of their lasting legacies in the city. The

religious symbolism and Biblical quotes displayed through the portraits, names on the jeepney's crown, and passages inscribed on mudguards create a spiritual connection between the owner, their passengers, and their journey. These religious symbols and allusions not only serve as decorative elements but also act as a form of protection for the jeepney and its passengers, as they believe that their faith can ward off any potential harm or accidents. The presence of these religious elements on the jeepney is a testament to the strong influence of Christianity in Filipino culture and how it permeates every aspect of their lives, even their modes of transportation.

Figure 6.3.15 *God's gift* with a Marian image on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.16 Image of Jesus with carrying a lamb with American Indian head and woman's image on a jeepney's side panel

Güss and Tuason (2008) emphasize the important role played by religion in Filipino life: "[…]religion acts as an anchor and a source of hope to survive destitution" (p. 221). Jeepneys not only reflect this on the LL but also on the acts observed from jeepney drivers. Güss and Tuason (2008) wrote about how jeepney drivers instinctively make the sign of the cross when passing by a church, an accident site, a funeral procession, or upon beginning the day's work. This may be critiqued as not necessarily being religious but as a matter of habit. Nevertheless, it shows how deeply the Catholic faith has influenced the Filipinos, as this is most visible even to this day on the jeepney.

Stars, stripes, and jeepney vibes: The American colonial heritage frame

The data reveal that there is a marked preference for the use of English when composing linguistic tokens in the jeepney's LL. This is a significant attribution to the American colonial heritage of Baguio City. In the previous section discussing the history of Baguio City, the American influences on the city's urban planning, architecture, the roads from the lowlands leading up to the city, and the language spoken by the locals were highlighted. The American colonial heritage of Baguio City has left a lasting impact on the language used in the jeepney's LL. This preference for English in linguistic tokens not only reflects the historical influence of the Americans but also caters to the needs of both locals and tourists who are more comfortable with English as a means of communication. The creative resistance to Standard English

language norms as demonstrated by the data in this section is characteristically Global South. The use of Philippine English with its distinct features like creative spelling (Examples: The use of “kool” for “cool”; “D’ Brothers” instead of “The Brothers”; “ginwin” instead of “genuine”) asserts linguistic identity distinct from American English and characteristically Filipino.

In the data collected from the three key sites, the spaces on the jeepney that were most utilized for LL purposes remain the same. The spaces most used for images are the side panels because they are the most visible at street level and therefore ideal for more elaborate painting of images. The crown and mudguards are choice spaces for linguistic tokens because they are the most visible for prospective passengers. These findings suggest that the placement of linguistic and visual elements on jeepneys is strategic, taking into consideration both practicality and visibility. The use of the English language and vibrant imagery not only pays homage to American influence but also serves the purpose of effective communication for both locals and tourists.

A recurring image on the jeepney's LL is the American flag, portions of it or its colors incorporated into the side panel designs. The three images below illustrate this. Jeepney drivers shared that the owners of the jeepneys like the American flag because they believe in and hold on to the "American Dream." This is a popular notion among the Filipino people that emphasizes the aspirations for success and prosperity associated with the United States. The inclusion of the American flag on the jeepney not only showcases this belief but also symbolizes the strong bond between the Philippines and America, highlighting the historical and cultural ties between the two nations. It is common among extended Filipino families to have relatives working abroad, especially in the U.S. (usually as nurses or teachers), who send money back to the Philippines to support other family members. Some of these relatives invest in the jeepney to have a sustainable income and not be fully reliant on the money sent from abroad. This practice has contributed to the popularity and proliferation of jeepneys in the Philippines. Additionally, the American influence on the design and style of jeepneys reflects the lasting impact of American colonization in the country. This practice is further reflected in the popularity of the American eagle as an image on the jeepney's LL. The American eagle also appears on the U.S. dollar, which, for the Filipino, is the ideal of financial success. The presence of the

American eagle on the jeepney's LL symbolizes the aspiration for financial success and prosperity among Filipinos. It serves as a reminder of the American dream and the belief that hard work and determination can lead to a better life. Moreover, the use of the American eagle on the jeepney's LL showcases the cultural fusion between Filipino and American influences, highlighting the country's history and ongoing connection with the United States.

Figure 6.3.17a Eagle with American flag colors on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.17b *Eagle of the North* on the jeepney's roof with the image of an eagle with the colors of the American flag on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.17c American flag colors and an eagle with the American flag on a jeepney's side panel

As in the previous section, the English language is the preferred code for the linguistic tokens on the jeepney's LL. In fact, English is the preferred language for the LL in Baguio City, not just on the jeepney. However, it should be made clear that the English referred to here is Philippine English, with its distinct lexical, syntactic, and semantic features absent in standard-setting varieties like American English or British English. This preference for English reflects the city's history as a former American military base and its continued status as a popular tourist destination for international visitors. Additionally, the use of English on the jeepney's LL helps to facilitate communication and understanding among locals and foreigners alike, further promoting inclusivity and cultural exchange in Baguio City. The jeepney's mudguard is a space on the jeepney reserved for longer phrases or quotes in English. These can be biblical passages, as demonstrated in the previous section, or titles and lines from popular songs in English that may be meaningful or memorable for the jeepney driver or jeepney owner. The use of English on the jeepney's mudguard not only serves as a form of self-expression for the driver or owner but also adds a touch of creativity and uniqueness to the overall aesthetic of the vehicle. It allows for a glimpse into the personal tastes and preferences of those involved in the jeepney's design, further enhancing its appeal to both locals and tourists alike. In the images below, catchphrases like *In God we trust* may clearly be attributed to the Filipino jeepney owner's fondness for anything American, as this phrase is the official motto of the United States of America and appears on U.S. currency. The image below also displays the colors of the American flag on its bumper and on the front mudguard the phrase *American rock shot* which appears to be another misprint reflects the artist's

competence in English. My hunch is that it should be “star” instead of “shot”. The misspelled word may have resulted from the misreading of the instructions for the artist, possible again handwritten. However, the phrase may also be a playful combination of the phrase, *American rock star*, and the word *hotshot*. Creative combinations such as the one above are common in Philippine English. The resulting phrase or word deviates from standard English but takes on a related but new meaning in the context of Philippine English. Figure 6.3.20 is another example of Philippine English on the jeepney’s LL. Displaying the phrase *D’Brothers*, the shortening of the article “the” to “D” also reflects the phonological feature of the variety of English that lacks the voiced dental fricative to make the “th” sound and approximates it with the “d” sound. This is another characteristic of language use in the Global South perspective that Tupas (2024) discussed extensively in his book chapter, *Unequal Englishes in the Global South*.

Figure 6.3.18 *In God we trust* on a jeepney’s crown and *American rock shot* on a jeepney’s front mudguard

Image 6.3.19 *American Pride* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Another example from the data collected is a mudguard with the phrase *American Pride*. As if using English were not enough to emphasize one's connection and love for anything and everything American, this jeepney proudly displays *American Pride*. When asked about what this phrase means for him, the jeepney driver said that it represents his deep admiration and appreciation for the values and ideals that America stands for. For him, the U.S. symbolizes prosperity and financial success, which he aspires to but accepts may not be easily attainable in his current circumstances. From my perspective, I would have interpreted it to mean something related to the history of the jeepney as a relic of WWII—that the jeepney we have today is a symbol of something that Filipinos were able to create from the humble surplus that the American army left behind after WWII. What is worth noting in either interpretation is that there was no hesitation in openly sharing the significant influence of American culture on Filipino society. This comes more than 75 years after the end of WWII, highlighting the lasting impact and enduring presence of American culture in the Philippines. Close ties with the U.S. remain, as many Filipinos have come to see the U.S. as a land of opportunity. Today, Filipinos have been influenced by American culture in many more ways. These influences come

from Filipinos' use of English, immersion in American media and entertainment, and the adoption of American fashion and consumer products.

Figure 6.3.20 *D'Brothers* on a jeepney's crown and *Made in U.S.A.* on a jeepney's front mudguard

The side panels mostly display elaborate images with themes alluding to Baguio City's American colonial experience. The favorites include the American cowboy, the Native American Indian, the American flag or parts of it, and the American eagle. These images serve as a nostalgic reminder of Baguio City's history and its connection to American culture. Additionally, the use of these iconic American symbols may also be considered as a way for jeepney owners to attract tourists and showcase the city's unique blend of cultures. The popularity of using the images of the American cowboy and Native American in jeepney designs reflects the

collective (re)imagining of Baguio City and the Cordilleras as the Wild West of the Philippines. This (re)imagining is fueled by the city's rich history as a former American military base and its proximity to the Cordillera Mountains, which have often been romanticized as a rugged and untamed frontier. The use of these symbols not only pays homage to Baguio City's past but also creates a sense of adventure and excitement for both locals and tourists alike. When interviewed, jeepney drivers agree that illustrations of American cowboys and Native Americans with their stereotypical headgear with feathers are cool. They, in fact, also see themselves as cowboys of sorts. When asked what cowboys meant for them. Jeepney drivers shared that being a cowboy (which they pronounced as "co-boy") meant they could live with the bare minimum. They lived simply, which meant they ate only to sustain the strength they needed for the day's work, which they could do without the usual comforts. For instance, it is common to see jeepney drivers sleeping right on the driver's seat or stretched out on the passenger seats when their jeepneys are in the queue waiting for their turn to load passengers or during off-peak times of the day. Some jeepney drivers even mentioned that being a cowboy meant being resourceful and making the most of what they had. They would often repair their own vehicles and find creative solutions to keep them running smoothly, even with limited resources. This resilience and ability to adapt to any situation is what they believed made them true cowboys of the road.

This nostalgic love for cowboys can also be generally observed among Baguio City locals and old-timers. For instance, there is a market for local booteries that sell custom-made and handmade boots made from genuine leather. Old-timers love these boots, which are also elaborately designed to look like cowboy boots, although horses in the city are only found in Wright Park, where they can be rented by the hour, usually for children to ride around the park. Old-timers in the city gather in parks playing chess or Filipino checkers called "dama" in full cowboy attire: boots, cowboy hats, leather jackets, and plaid shirts. These old-timers take pride in their cowboy fashion and enjoy showcasing it while engaging in their favorite pastimes. They add a unique charm to the city's atmosphere, embodying a blend of traditional Filipino culture and the influence of Western cowboy aesthetics. Thus, some personal portraits on the jeepney also reflect images of the jeepney owners or their loved ones wearing cowboy hats. This further reinforces the connection between the cowboy fashion

trend and the city's culture. The presence of these personal portraits on the jeepney serves as a reminder of the deep-rooted appreciation for both Filipino traditions and Western influences on the city's identity. The prevalence of cowboy imagery on Baguio City jeepneys is a unique fusion of historical legacy and local identity. Because Baguio was developed as an American hill station in the early 1900s, the region retained a deep-seated affinity for Western culture that was further cemented by the popularity of mid-century Hollywood Westerns. This aesthetic resonated deeply with the Cordilleran people because the rugged, mountainous terrain and cool climate made "cowboy" gear—like denim, boots, and hats—practical rather than just performative. Over time, this evolved into the "Igorot Cowboy" subculture, where the figure of the cowboy became a localized symbol of independence, hard work, and a connection to the highlands. For jeepney drivers, painting these icons on their vehicles is a way to project a sense of toughness and "pogi" (cool) style while navigating the demanding mountain roads.

Figure 6.3.21a Native American man and woman with an owl on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.21b *Redskin* Native American with desert background on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.21c Cowboy on black horse on a jeepney's side door

Figure 6.3.21d Cowboy with horse and moon on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.21e Child cowboy on horse and Cowboy on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.21f *Hard ridden cowboy* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Figure 6.3.21g Cowboy and cowgirl with two horses on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.21h Cowboy with lasso on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.21i *Kabalyero* (cowboy) on a jeepney's back mudguard

Figure 6.3.21i is an interesting example of the intrusion of the influence of Spanish in the local language. The Filipinized term "kabalyero" derives from the Spanish

“caballero” which translates to “knight” or “horseman”. Locally, the term bears historical and social weight. In the context of the Spanish colonial period, the term referes more to “gentlemanly conduct” embodying “delicadeza” or refinement, and good manners. In the jeepney’s LL, the term’s polysemy as intertextuality meaningful as referring to American cowboys and Spanish “caballero”.

Roadside wit: The humor frame

Torres (1979) and Meñez (1988) have documented the witty language and humor used on the jeepney's LL. Humor comes from the playful choice of words and phrases displayed on the ludic spaces of the jeepney. These ludic spaces often feature puns, wordplay, and clever expressions that add a lighthearted and entertaining element to the jeepney experience. In addition to the influences mentioned, the use of humor on jeepneys also reflects the Filipino people's natural inclination toward wit and wordplay. Humor is second nature to Filipinos. In the jeepney's LL, this is achieved by using both English and local languages. Thus, to understand the humor behind the linguistic play in jeepney signs, one must be familiar with both English and the local languages used. In the jeepney's linguistic landscape, humor is not just "puns on wheels." It is a Global South strategy for survival. By laughing at their own circumstances—whether through puns about poverty, wordplay on colonial languages, or ironies about religious life—Filipino drivers demonstrate a form of cultural resilience that refuses to be defined by hardship. Humor assembles the driver’s identity, the passengers’ experience, and the material vehicle into a singular, defiant expression of life.

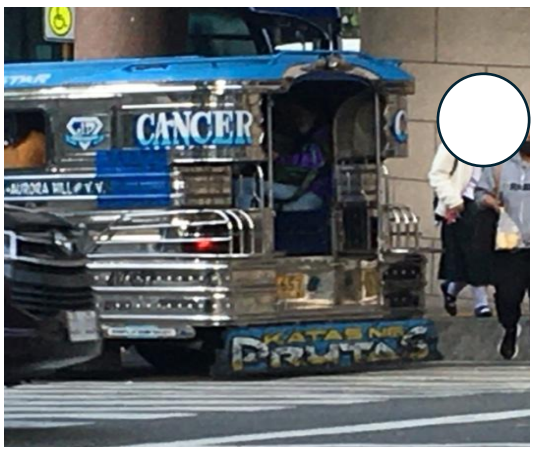

Figure 6.3.22 *Katas ng prutas* on a jeepney’s back mudguard

Figure 6.3.22 displays humor on mudguards using the Filipino language. The phrase *Katas ng Prutas* which roughly translates to “Juice of fruits/Fruit juice" in English is a play on the more popular and common phrase *Katas ng pawis at dugo* (Fruit or product of sweat and blood) or the variation *Katas ng Saudi* (Fruit or product of working in Saudi Arabia) alluding to the experience of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) in the 1970s and 1980s, when the Middle East was a popular destination for men working in construction as laborers or drivers. These phrases were popular among earlier traditional jeepneys and have been documented by De Leon (2013). The phrase *Katas ng Saudi* frequently served as a metaphor for the large influx of Filipino men working as laborers or drivers during this time. One of their investments would be a jeepney that they could drive themselves as an alternative source of income when they retire. Therefore, *Katas ng Prutas* evokes humor by cleverly playing with the more traditional phrases but, at the same time, maintaining the idea of the jeepney as a product of hard work and sacrifice in different ways. When asked about what the phrase meant, the driver gamely shared that the jeepney owners are farmers and the jeepney is a product of their hard work on their fruit farm, thus literally making it *Katas ng Prutas*. As is common among jeepney owners in Baguio City, owning a jeepney is an additional source of income aside from their main occupation as farmers or traders. Jeepney owners in Baguio City often rely on their jeepneys as a means of supplemental income, in addition to their primary occupations as farmers or traders. In this context, the phrase *Katas ng Prutas* cleverly highlights the hard work and dedication of these owners, who attribute the success of their jeepneys to their efforts on their fruit farms. Owning a jeepney or several jeepney units is a symbol of financial success. It shows that they have saved enough money to invest in another lucrative business and now have multiple sources of income for the family.

Figure 6.3.23 *Batas pawis* on a jeepney's front mudguard

The phrase *Batas Pawis* which directly translates to "Law of sweat" in English, alludes to the hard work that goes into the daily life on the street of a jeepney driver. There is no such expression in Filipino but there is, instead, the phrase *anak pawis* which figuratively refers to "the poor". Both expressions are easily correlated to the jeepney's linguistic landscape. When asked about what the phrase meant to him, the driver's interview confirmed this. "Sweat" is associated with hard work, and driving on busy streets is indeed hard work. Sweat is also associated with hard-earned money. There is no income to be expected without sweating, as the jeepney driver confirmed. Driving an old, traditional jeepney is indeed hard work, but it is something he must do to earn a living for his family. Therefore, sweating it out is the rule or law to live by.

Figure 6.3.24 *Basta kalbo gwapo* on a jeepney's back mudguard

The phrase *Basta kalbo gwapo* translates to "Bald is handsome," but the addition of the Spanish-derived word "basta" which roughly translates to "as long as" or "just because" when used in the Filipino context, adds a layer of humor to the phrase. It also intersects with the machismo frame as it asserts male dominance in the jeepney industry. The phrase is also a reference to the psychology of the male Filipino jeepney driver documented by Güss and Tuason (2008), Meñez (1988), and Torres (1979). While the phrase evokes humor, it also highlights the harsh realities that a typical jeepney driver faces. Torres (1979) points this out: "It does not take a Carl Jung to figure out what the *pautots*, deep down, are all about: they are ego-boosters, a means of coping with the reality of daily hustle" (p. 82).

Figure 6.3.25 *Designated drinker* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Appearing on the back mudguard, visible to other jeepney drivers and passengers, the phrase *Designated drinker* does not inspire confidence nor comfort in one driving this jeepney. This evokes humor by also alluding to the stereotype of jeepney drivers with drinking alcohol as a shared vice. As such, it intersects with the machismo frame. Drinking is also one of the cultural practices of the Cordillerans. Aside from social drinking, they also drink as part of rituals and ceremonies. Drinking is also a way for them to keep warm in the cold climate of the mountains of the Cordilleras or even in Baguio City. Also, the phrase teases passengers getting on the jeepney and entrusting their safety to a *designated drinker*.

Figure 6.3.26 ***Kool ka lang; stay back*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.27 ***Kool lang*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

The images with *Kool ka lang* (translated to *(You) keep your cool*) and *Kool lang* (Be cool) are two variations of the same phrase. The word "cool" spelled with a "k" shows the creative feature of Philippine English in spelling. There is no "c" in the Filipino alphabet so the word *kool* is a lexical variation of Philippine English. This further asserts the Global South perspective in the jeepney's LL with the creative feature like the alternative spelling of the word "cool". As a linguistic token, it appears on the jeepney's back mudguard and the target audience may well be a fellow jeepney drivers on the road impatiently waiting for traffic to move along or a passenger waiting his or her turn to get on the jeepney.

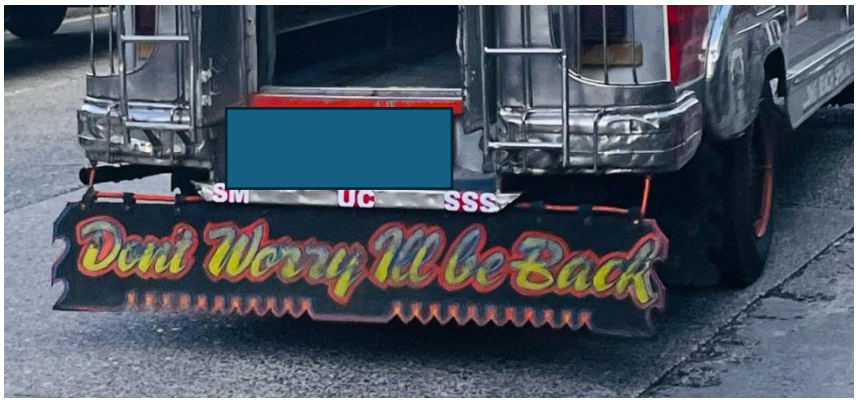

Figure 6.3.28 *Don't worry I'll be back* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Like the previous images, the phrase *Don't worry I'll be back* on this jeepney's mudguard seems to be a straightforward message to passengers who may have missed their ride. It is a reassurance of the jeepney's return. This phrase could also be interpreted to poke fun at passengers who were left behind by this particular jeepney. This choice of phrase also highlights the humor in the jeepney's LL.

Figure 6.3.29 *Volvo-lod; Mainit born* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Figure 6.3.29 *Volvo-lod; Mainit born* (Volvo is a Swedish-made luxury car brand). *Volvo-lod* is a pun on the Ilocano word *bulod* which means "borrow"; in this context it translates roughly to "borrowed." The phrase *mainit born,* a combination of the Filipino word *mainit* which means "hot" or "warm," and the English word *born,* as a phrase it means "born somewhere warm or hot," which is not in Baguio, where the climate is cooler than the rest of the tropical country. The reference may be to the owner not being a local but a migrant from the lowlands. The humor here is in the wordplay *Volvo-lod* using a luxury brand reference on a jeepney and adding *-lod* making it sound like the Ilocano word meaning "borrowed." By jokingly acknowledging that the vehicle is "borrowed" or "low-budget" through a high-status brand name, the driver uses humor to reclaim dignity and display psychological resilience against economic inequality.

Figure 6.3.30 ***Everybody wants to go to heaven but nobody wants to die*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

The phrase *Everybody wants to go to heaven, but nobody wants to die* evokes humor using irony. While the phrase alludes to the strong influence of the Christian religious frame, it also evokes humor out of one's fear of death or dying. It highlights the paradoxical desire for an outcome without the willingness to endure the necessary means to achieve it. Furthermore, the phrase is displayed on the mudguard, which makes it clearly visible for people getting on the jeepney to see and further adds to its impact by alluding to the perils of the road.

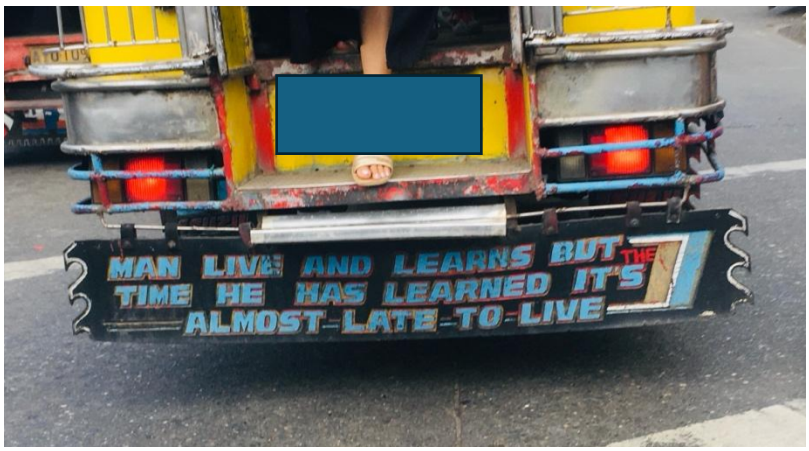

Figure 6.3.31 ***Man live(s) and learns but he has learned it's almost late to live*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.32 ***Don't stop when you are tired; stop when you are done*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

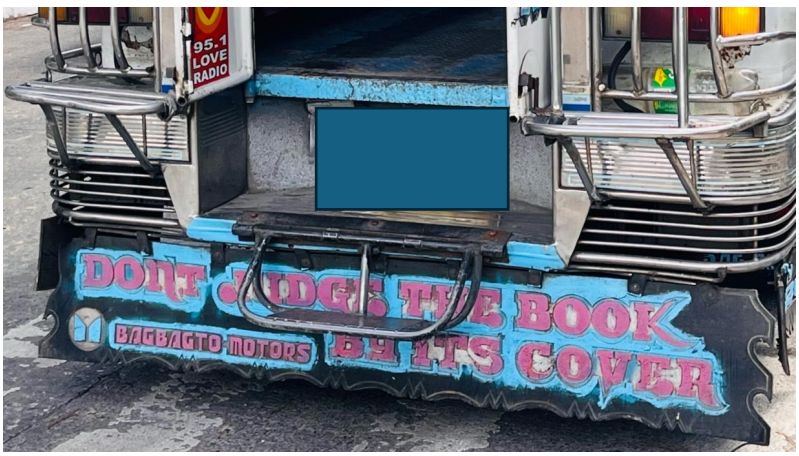

Figure 6.3.33 ***Don't judge a book by its cover*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.34 *God bless d' jobless* on a jeepney's front mudguard

The last four images display quotes or wise words that jeepney owners value. The examples above say the following: *Man live(s) and learns but he has learned it's almost late to live*; *Don't stop when you are tired; stop when you are done*; *Don't judge a book by its cover*; and *God bless d'jobless.* These four phrases appear unrelated but reflect each jeepney owner's personal sentiment or values that he chose to display on the jeepney. The jeepney is an extension of its owner or driver's ego; therefore, whatever he decides to adorn it with is a representation of himself. The jeepney's LL is like a scrapbook where one's motto can be displayed to inspire others, to serve as a warning, to impart wisdom, or simply to share one's thoughts. These quotes are also notably in English once again, showing the intersection with the American colonial heritage frame yet positioning the language in the Global South. Güss and Tuason (2008) also affirm this:

> Conscious or unconscious, and intentional or not, he jeepney carries with it the meaning constructs of life in the Philippines. As a cultural article, it manifests, through its accessories and decorations, the values and sentiments of its passengers, owners and especially drivers. By asking the drivers about their problems, goals and wishes, we can examine what they value as significant

> and meaningful. Thus, the jeepney and their drivers mutually reflect the culture that conceived them and that they continue to create. (p. 217)

Local languages in the jeepneys of the Cordilleras: The ethnic identity frame

Although English dominates the jeepney's LL in Baguio City, it is also common to see linguistic tokens using local languages. This signifies ethnic pride and serves as an identity marker. In a city where it is easy to lose one's own cultural roots and assimilate into the dominant English-speaking society, the use of local languages on jeepneys serves as a reminder and celebration of the people in the jeepney industry's unique culture and maintains their connection with their roots. As mentioned in the previous section, Baguio City is home to an ethnolinguistically diverse population, which adds to the city's attraction as a welcoming second home to people from all over the Philippine archipelago. The linguistic tokens found on jeepneys in Baguio City not only serve as a reminder of cultural roots but also create a sense of belonging for individuals who may feel marginalized. Additionally, the city's ethnolinguistic diversity fosters an environment of cultural exchange and appreciation, making it a lively and inclusive destination for people from all walks of life. In the data collected from the three key sites, the mudguard again appears to be the most utilized ludic space on the jeepney. The use of local languages on the jeepney's LL serves several purposes. One purpose is as an identity marker. While most linguistic tokens in the jeepney's LL use English to be inclusive in their message, some prefer to use local languages to assert their cultural identity and heritage. Using local languages on the jeepney's LL not only serves as an identity marker but also promotes linguistic diversity and preserves indigenous languages within the community. This practice allows individuals to express their pride in their cultural heritage and fosters a sense of belonging among the different ethnic groups in the city.

Figure 6.3.35 ***Apay man sa? Ay way problemam?*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

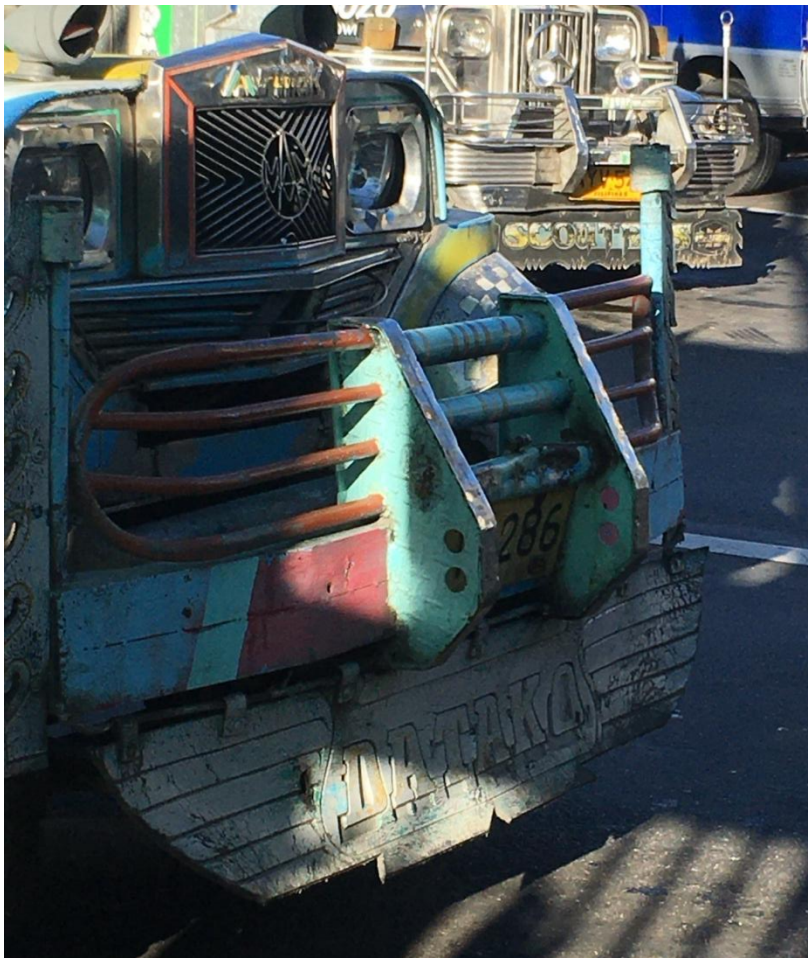

Figure 6.3.36 ***Datako*** **on a jeepney's front mudguard**

Figure 6.3.37 *Umunod ka kayong* on a jeepney's back mudguard

The three images above use a variant of Ilocano in the Cordilleran region. Ilocano is one of the major Philippine languages. According to Ethnologue, there are 6.5 million speakers of Ilocano worldwide. An estimated 6,370,000 reside in the Philippines, while 71,000 live in Hawaii and another 61,700 are in Canada. It is largely spoken in the northern part of the country and associated with the Ilocano people. It is also a lingua franca in Baguio City, which is also a multilingual community. The variety of Ilocano used in Baguio City also features lexical, phonetic, and morphological features of other Cordilleran languages, *Kankanaey* and *Ibaloy* in particular. Using local languages on the jeepney's LL signifies belonging to a collective and ethnic pride. Jeepney owners know that fellow speakers of the language will understand the message and identify with the community that speaks that language.

Figure 6.3.38a *Anusan ta isu panganan* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Figure 6.3.38b *Anus lang kadwa* a jeepney's back mudguard

Figure 6.3.38c *Kool ka lang Padli; Anus lang kadwa* on a jeepney's front mudguard

Figure 6.3.38c *Kool ka lang padli; anus lang kadwa* (*kool* is Philippine English for "cool", the phrase codeswitches from Filipino and Ilocano of the Cordilleran variety). It roughly translates to "Stay calm or cool. Be a patient companion/brother or sister / friend. This example intersects in the American colonial heritage frame and humor frame.

Figure 6.3.38d *Guapoy; An-anusak, Ivadoi* on a jeepney's front mudguard

Figure 6.3.38d *Guapoy; an-anusak; Ivadoi* Uses a combination of Cordilleran languages, the word An-*anusak* means, "I am being patient." And *Ivadoi* is a self-referent, which means, "We are Ibaloi." The Ibaloy ethnic groups are the native inhabitants of Baguio City prior to the American occupation.

Figure 6.3.38e *Ananusak* on a jeepney's mudguard

Figure 6.3.38f *No pangep ni layad, anusan di rigat* on a jeepney's mudguard

In the six images above, Figures 6.3.38a to 38f show variations of the expression using the words *anusan* and *anusak*. The root word is *anus* is Ilocano and means "perseverance," "patience," or "endurance." This is a reference to the difficult life surrounding the jeepney: the owner, driver, and passengers. Perseverance is the key to success in this kind of everyday grind. The choice of this linguistic token for the jeepney's mudguard can be interpreted as being addressed to passengers and other jeepney drivers on the road. Jeepney passengers need to be patient as they endure a fully packed jeepney ride to their destination. Fellow jeepney drivers on the road also need to be reminded to be patient, especially during rush hours when the traffic jam is to be expected and delays on the road try everyone's patience. "Anusan" is a kindly reminder that everyone, driver and passengers alike, on the road is in the same boat (or jeepney) and will eventually get to where they are going. This trait can also be related to resilience, a quality often used to describe Filipinos. Furthermore, perseverance and patience are key characteristics of the people of the Cordilleras. They have, after all, carved the 2,000-year-old Banaue Rice Terraces, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, by hand. Jeepney drivers and passengers who were interviewed agree that driving and riding the jeepney every day requires patience, if not

endurance. For the passengers, the ride itself during peak hours tests one's endurance in several ways: first, by squeezing oneself into a very tight seating space, second, by enduring the long queues while waiting under the hot midday sun or the pelting rain; finally, by enduring the rush hour traffic.

Figure 6.3.39 *Inayan sa* on a jeepney's front mudguard

One such phrase is *Inayan sa*, a Kankanaey phrase (one of the Cordilleran languages) that roughly translates to "Be careful, that's forbidden or taboo," or a cautionary expression to prevent a person from doing anything bad to others or the environment. More than being a warning, the term *inayan* is a cultural code among the Igorots that emphasizes upholding honesty, respect, and honoring commitment. It generally reflects the Igorot people's values of respect, harmony, and responsibility toward others and the environment (Delima, 2006). By incorporating this phrase on

the jeepney's LL, it not only showcases the rich cultural diversity of the city but also promotes positive social interactions and encourages individuals to uphold these values in their daily lives. When interviewed, the jeepney driver confirmed he is Igorot, as is the jeepney owner. Choosing a positive phrase for the display on the jeepney's mudguard reinforces the generally positive view of life of people for whom the jeepney is part of their everyday reality. The inclusion of this phrase on the jeepney's LL serves as a reminder to passengers and passersby alike of the importance of these values in fostering a harmonious and responsible community. It also highlights the pride and identity of the Igorot people, further strengthening their cultural heritage within the city.

Figure 6.3.40 Old Igorot with Burnham Park Lake in the background on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.41 Ifugao rice terraces with native hut and Igorots in native attire on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.42 *Pure highlander* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Figure 6.3.43 ***Taraki nation 14*** **on a jeepney's crown**

Figure 6.3.44 ***Kabagiw*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.45a *Igorota* on a jeepney's crown

Figure 6.3.45b *Igorota* on a jeepney's crown

Figure 6.3.45c *Igorot* on a jeepney's front mudguard

Figure 6.3. 45d *Ginwin Igorot on board* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Figure 6.3.45e *Proud to be Igoy* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Figure 6.3.45f *Igorot born & bred* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Other examples of identity markers in the jeepney's LL are the phrases, *Pure Highlander*,*Taraki Nation, Ginwin* (Genuine) *Igorot on Board*, *Proud to be Igoy* (slang for Igorot) and *Igorot born and bred* all of which connote pride for one's local identity. The examples above capture images of linguistic tokens on the jeepney's crown and mudguard. Those that are displayed on the crown are more eye-catching and given more prominence in LL, as the crown, as previously discussed, is reserved for a jeepney's name. The abovementioned linguistic tokens collected from the jeepneys' LL again show the liberal use of English. It also shows a creative use of language; for instance, using the word *ginwin* (a phonetic spelling*)* is a creative and clever play on the English term "genuine" but also refers to the locals' love for drinking gin. The use of the slang *Igoy* which is sometimes considered a derogatory term much like the use of *nigger* to refer to people of color, is another demonstration of creative use of language. In the context of its use, *Igoy* as a self-reference is meant to humor and not to deprecate one's identity. These examples intersect with the American colonial heritage frame. Choosing to identify the jeepney as *Pure*

Highlander, Igorot, *Igorota*, or *Taraki Nation* is a strong assertion of ethnic identity. The phrase *Pure Highlander* is a reference to the distinction well-known among the locals of Baguio City between people from the Cordilleras (from the highlands) and non-Cordillerans (from the lowlands, or *taga baba* in Filipino). This distinction is deeply rooted in the history and culture of the region, as the Cordilleras have a unique heritage and way of life that sets them apart from other groups in the Philippines. By using the phrase *Pure Highlander,* locals are not only asserting their identity as Cordillerans but also emphasizing their pride in their rich cultural traditions and connection to the highlands. Similarly, the terms *Igorota* (feminine) and *Igorot* (masculine) are generic, collective terms that refer to people from the Cordillera region who have their own distinct language and customs. The expression *Taraki Nation* demonstrates an intersection both with the American colonial heritage frame and the machismo frame. *Taraki* in *Ilocano* and *Kankanaey* means handsome, good-looking and cool. Used in the jeepneys' it can collectively refer to jeepney drivers in general, hence its intersection with the machismo frame. By also using some English words to express these identities, Baguio City residents are highlighting their ability to navigate between different cultural spheres while still maintaining a strong sense of local pride. The purpose of displaying such words and phrases on the jeepney's LL may be twofold: one is to assert identity, appealing to locals or fellow migrants in Baguio City or tourists coming from these areas, and another is to display authenticity for tourists who look for local color in Baguio City.

Noteworthy too are the elaborately painted side panels of the jeepney as part of the semiotic elements of the jeepney's LL. In one photo collected, an iconic painting of the Ifugao Rice Terraces (declared as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1995) with Igorot people in their traditional costumes and an Ifugao hut are all displayed on the side panel. As earlier described, the jeepney's side panels are the largest ludic spaces that are used for the jeepney's LL and are reserved for more semiotic devices in the LL. By displaying these images of iconic tourist spots in the Cordillera region, the jeepney becomes a canvas for promoting local tourist destinations (although the actual site is outside of Baguio City) and, at the same time, serves as a reflection of the cultural heritage and identity of the Ifugao people. The inclusion of the Ifugao hut and Igorot people in their traditional costumes further

emphasizes the connection between the jeepney and the indigenous communities of the region.

Journey to self: The personal identity frame

Torres (1979) and Meñez (1988) have already described the jeepney as an extension of the driver's persona. Thus, the driver closely associates his masculinity and his life with the jeepney that he drives. Often, the jeepney driver also owns the jeepney. He thinks of himself and his family when he looks at his jeepney; therefore, an integral part of his jeepney's LL is his private life. The jeepney not only represents the jeepney owner's personal identity but also serves as a symbol of his family and personal life. This connection between the jeepney owner himself and his jeepney is so strong that it becomes an inseparable part of his overall identity. For this frame, the ludic spaces commonly used are the jeepney's crown (displaying the names of family members), the front mudguard (also for names of family members), and the side panels for portraits of family members. These ludic spaces not only showcase the driver's pride in his family but also serve as a constant reminder of his role and obligations as a provider. The names and portraits displayed on the jeepney act as a visual representation of the jeepney owner's love and commitment to his loved ones, creating a sense of unity and purpose in the jeepney's LL. Additionally, these personal touches also allow passengers to catch a glimpse into the jeepney owner's private life, fostering a sense of familiarity and connection between strangers who ride in the jeepney. By doing so, the jeepney becomes an extension of the jeepney owner's home and family life. This practice makes sense, as a typical jeepney owner-driver spends half his day, sometimes even more, on the road with his jeepney. On the other hand, jeepney owners also use the jeepney's LL to pay homage or tribute to family members who may have contributed financially to being able to buy a jeepney unit, or, in some cases, the jeepney is a symbol of their family members' hard work and perseverance.

Among the data collected, it was common to see nicknames of family members prominently displayed on the crown, front mudguard, or even on the jeepney's side panels. The crown of the jeepney is a reserved space, usually for the jeepney's name. It is not surprising, then, that jeepney owners would want to name their jeepney after family members: children, wives, or parents. This adds to the personal dimension of the jeepney's LL. It reflects the close family ties characteristic

of Filipinos. Filipino families are also extended families. It is common to see family members, including grandparents and unmarried aunts and uncles, living in the same household. Figure 6.3.47 was part of the pilot data collected in February 2019 for my Qualitative Analysis class. This was from the Baguio City public market jeepney depot that I identified as Key Site 1. My informants on this site were the jeepney conductor and a jeepney driver. "Dhy * Lan" are the names of the couple who own the jeepney. The informants shared that the owners are small business owners of *ukay-ukay*, or secondhand clothing. This is one of the most lucrative and popular businesses in the city. I discuss it in more detail in Chapter 5. When the couple saved enough money, they invested in jeepneys, one of which is featured in Figure 6.3.47 which shows their names on the jeepney's LL. Their jeepney, aside from being a public utility vehicle, also hauls *balikbayan* boxes (cargo boxes) bearing their *ukay-ukay* goods to be distributed to their customers in the market. The jeepney, while primarily public transport, is also family property. The jeepney's (back) door, when closed displays the phrase, "Private / Family Property" to denote that at that moment it serves as a family transport and is not accepting passengers. Prominently displaying names and portraits of family members on the jeepney can be compared to tattooing the same on one's body to immortalize or express one's deep value and love for family.

Figure 6.3.46 “Rex Rox Bill” on a jeepney’s front mudguard

Figure 6.3.47 “Dhy Lan” on a jeepney’s bumper

Figure 6.3.48 “Pet & Don” with man’s portrait on a jeepney’s driver’s side door

Figure 6.3.49 “May, Marie, Anne & Junie” on a jeepney’s crown

Figure 6.3.50 “Annie” on a jeepney’s crown

Figure 6.3.51 Family portrait with image of Jesus Christ on a jeepney’s side panel

Figure 6.3.51 illustrates the intersection of the Christian and personal identity frames. These two are closely related values in Filipino culture. The deep value jeepney owners have for both their faith and families manifests on the jeepney's LL. Jeepneys carry a similar intersection of frames, sometimes complementary but also sometimes contradictory frames, as in Figure 6.3.16, which further demonstrates the assemblage in the jeepneys' LL.

Figure 6.3.52 Baby boy's portrait on a jeepney's passenger-side door

Figure 6.3.53 “Reignzelle” on a jeepney’s crown with portrait of baby girl on the jeepney’s driver’s side door

Figure 6.3.54 Portrait of a little boy on a jeepney driver's side door

Figure 6.3.55 Boy's portrait with cowboy hat on a jeepney's side panel *Igorot of the road* on the jeepney's roof

Figure 6.3.56 Young man's portrait on a jeepney's side panel

Figure 6.3.55 and Figure 6.3.56 also demonstrate the intersection of frames. Here the personal identity and American colonial frames intersect. In figure 6.3.55 the boy's image is re-imagined as a cowboy on the portrait on the driver's door panel, while the same boy is a cowboy on a horse with a lasso on the side panel. In figure 6.3.56 a portrait of a young man, whom the driver said is his son, an Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW) is displayed on the upper side of the jeepney's side panel. However, another eye-catching detail is how the entire side panel is painted in the colors of a pack of Marlboro cigarettes. The term *blue seal* gained currency in the 1970s. It is a slang phrase literally referring to imported cigarettes smuggled from abroad and sold in the local black market or brought home as *pasalubong,* or presents, by relatives and friends from abroad, in the 1970s usually from the Middle East. Up until the 1990s, when smoking while inside the jeepney was unregulated, jeepney drivers smoked while driving. The *blue seal* literally referred to the cigarette pack's seal color, indicating that it is not manufactured in the Philippines and taxes have been paid in the country of origin. In a larger context, the term may connote anything imported

from abroad, not exclusively referring to cigarettes. The love for anything foreign, particularly American, runs deep in Filipino culture.

Figure 6.3.57 The jeepney as a private vehicle

The jeepney commonly functions as a public utility vehicle. However, as has been previously discussed, jeepney ownership is private. This also extends to the additional function of the jeepney as a family vehicle. Therefore, though not visible to passengers, the jeepney's door, when closed, will display the sign, *Private*. A variation of this sign is *Family Use Only*, to delineate its functions. In the rural areas it is commonplace to see the jeepney used in family travels; sometimes people sit on the jeepney's roof or load the roof with produce, luggage, or picnic paraphernalia.

Figure 6.3.58 Portrait of old man (Turns out to be driver and owner of the jeepney) on a jeepney's driver's side door

Finally, this is a photograph of a jeepney with a portrait of an old man on the driver's side door. Incidentally, I was able to capture this with the same man driving the jeepney. I use this photo here with the driver's permission after I confirmed that it was indeed his portrait painted on the jeepney. This photo is a testament to the jeepney as an identity marker and an extension of a jeepney owner-driver's personal life. The jeepney is decorated according to the personal tastes of the owner, who most of the time is also the driver. This highlights the private and public characters and functions of the jeepneys in Baguio City.

King of the Road: The machismo frame

The jeepney industry is most definitively male-dominated. The jeepney owner-driver is central to this industry. A stereotype of the jeepney driver has been well-documented by Torres (1979), Meñez (1988), and de Sousa Bastos (2008). This is also discussed in Chapter 4. De Sousa Bastos (2008) uses tattoo as a metaphor to

describe the jeepney's LL. She describes the jeepney's LL as a narrative of a collective experience.

> One could say that the jeepney's become icons and carry as tattoos, works of a collective experience which in going through a relatively tense process of social change, still more visible when intra-cultural variations---observed when the study compares values and Filipinos' ways of life from northern (Manila) and southern (Davao) parts of the Philippines taken into account[…]The focus on jeepneys as cultural artifacts renders Filipinos' cultural realities more universally readable, transcending specificities of verbal language schemes. (de Sousa Bastos 2008, p. 238)

Figure 6.3.59 ***Ruggedly handsome*** **on a jeepney's front mudguard**

Figure 6.3.60 ***Basta kalbo gwapo*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.61 ***Light barako*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Figure 6.3.62 ***Pangit ngem taraki cowboy pay*** **on a jeepney's back mudguard**

Within this frame, one gets a closer look at how the jeepney owner-driver projects himself to the public. This representation of himself plays up his physical attractiveness and alludes to his virility, which is an essential part of his masculinity. In the male-dominated world of the jeepney industry, the jeepney owner-driver and his jeepney are one and the same. Meñez (1988) explained that inscriptions on the jeepney's LL are primarily addressed to fellow drivers and passengers and are meant to entertain:

> Jeepney inscriptions are rhetorical devices for attaining social and materials gains. They are addressed not only to fellow motorists but also to everyone else on the street, especially prospective passengers. Just as the rich ornamentation is intended to attract the more discerning commuters, these messages are meant to entice the potential rider[…]and to provide entertainment for the duration of the ride. (Meñez 1988, p. 46)

The jeepney drivers often paint humorous claims about being a "chick magnet" or a "sweet lover." In assemblage thinking, these are not just random LL elements; they are parts of a moving linguistic landscape that projects a persona of vitality and joy. This transforms the grueling, hot, and repetitive labor of driving into a space of social performance and entertainment. The *macho* image of the Filipino jeepney driver is further emphasized by the linguistic elements on the jeepney's LL. One is a reference to the jeepney owner-driver's supposed good looks as exemplified in Figures 6.3.59, 6.3.60, and 6.3.61. The jeepney owner-driver may be bald but still handsome and

ruggedly so. The jeepney driver is *barako* (*Tagalog*) and *taraki* (*Ilocano*) which both mean very manly (macho). In Figure 6.3.62 there is an attempt at false humility; on the mudguard, reads, *Pangit ngem taraki cowboy pay***.** The phrase demonstrates translanguaging by using Filipino, Ilocano and English. The word *pangit* is Filipino, meaning "ugly". The words *ngem taraki* (but goodlooking) and *pay* (too) are Ilocano. *Cowboy* is English. Like his jeepney, the owner-driver projects his best self on his jeepney. There is a Filipino expression that goes, *magbuhat ng sariling bangko* which means "to praise oneself". This frame highlights the inseparable connection between the jeepney and the jeepney owner-driver. Both are made out to be attractive and irresistible and the jeepney's linguistic landscape serves this purpose.

Figure 6.3.63 *Kapit lang mahal; isasagad ko na* on a jeepney's mudguard

Figure 6.3.64 *Madulas kung basa* on a jeepney's back mudguard

Profanity often characterizes the kind of humor in the jeepney's LL. For instance, Figures 6.3.63 and 6.3.64 are examples of these. Sexual undertones in phrases on the back mudguards provide entertainment to passengers but are also literally informative messages. Figure 6.3.63 for instance, warns passengers to hold on tight as the driver will now go full speed by displaying the phrase *Kapit lang mahal; isasagad ko na.* This Filipino phrase translates to "Hold on tight, love, I will push it to the limit or give it my all". The sexual undertone of the phrase is given away using the endearment term *mahal* (love). Another thing is that it is visible on the mudguard and passengers can view it before boarding the jeepney, instead of while traveling which supports the alternative meaning instead. The intention, according to the interviews with the drivers and conductor, is to lighten the mood of passengers and not to offend passengers, especially women. while Figure 6.3.64 warns of the jeepney's slippery floor during rainy season. Both, though, are intentionally crafted to carry double meanings. The driver and the jeepney are one. This is how Torres (1979) and Meñez (1988) describe the jeepney and the jeepney driver. The jeepney is the driver's alter ego. In the 1970s and all through the 1980s, the jeepney driver was stereotyped as a "playboy" and a "chick magnet" because they were generally perceived as very manly.

6.4 The Philippine jeepney's linguistic landscape as a Global South Assemblage

One can hypothesize the persona of a stereotype of a male, jeepney owner-driver from the assemblage of linguistic and semiotic elements on the jeepney's linguistic landscape. They are Christian to the extent that they dedicate the largest ludic spaces on the jeepney to display images of Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary. They also quote scriptures on the mudguard to remind them of meaningful passages they value. Their jeepney is an extension of their home. They proudly christen their jeepneys after their family members and have their portraits painted on the jeepney. They take pride in their ethnic roots. This shows through their use of the mother tongue in self-reference and their culture and values. Yet, they do not shy away from proudly displaying their American colonial heritage. They love everything about cowboys and Native Americans, even referring to themselves as "co-boys" (cowboys). They confidently and creatively use English alongside the other languages in their repertoire. Their humor is an integral part of their persona. This is what defines the jeepney driver's Filipino-ness. Their humor is earthy and grounded on years of driving the jeepney. Their humor also borders on the obscene, but they obscure this through metaphors and double meanings. A typical male jeepney driver shows off his masculinity with some humility. They point out flaws, like baldness and ugliness but, at the same time, insist they are *taraki* (good-looking and manly). They also engage in the use of sexually charged banter, not to offend but to inject adult humor in the jeepneys' linguistic landscapes. The intersection of the discursive frames presented in the preceding section highlight the assemblage present in the Philippine traditional jeepney's LL. The jeepney owner-driver, like their jeepney, is a Global South assemblage. In sum, I agree with how de Sousa Bastos (2008) describes the jeepney as "a narrative text of street life" (p. 239).

The Philippine traditional jeepney is as much an icon for everything Filipino as it is of the Global South. In the preceding discussion, the jeepney and its linguistic landscape are described as quintessential products of the Global South. The jeepney represents ingenuity, equivocation, and creativity born out of adversity, necessity, and colonial history. In particular, the jeepney is a product of resilience and survival. The history and evolution of the Philippine jeepney demonstrates how war scraps were picked up by Filipinos, repurposed as a public utility vehicle, and pimped up to showcase their creativity. Improvisation or the practice of "making do" in the face of

limited resources and challenging circumstances is evident in the jeepneys. The LL of the jeepney demonstrates decolonial creativity. The transformation of the military design of the original Willy's jeep into a Pop Baroque style vehicle showcases the Filipino people's ability to adapt and innovate in order to create something uniquely their own. Torres' concept of *horror vacui* describes the profusion of thematically unrelated design elements in the LL reflect the assemblage thinking where the LL is a product of the owner and the driver's collective imagination and resourcefulness. The jeepney serves as a symbol of Filipino ingenuity and resourcefulness, embodying resilience that has allowed the Filipino people to thrive despite adversity and challenges. While the jeepney itself has clearly evolved out of the American jeep, some of the elements present in the material assemblage of the jeepney also demonstrate other colonial influences. For instance, the surplus engines are from Japan, and the iconic iron horse symbols still seen today on the jeepney's hood are reminiscent of the Spanish colonial era's horse-drawn *carromatas* (carriages). The linguistic elements on the jeepney's LL also highlight the use of Philippine English. This demonstrates how a colonial language, such as English, is creatively used and owned by Filipinos by incorporating local features innovatively. The data shows lexical and semantic innovations that characterize the local variety of English. In some of the data, influences of the Spanish language seep into the LL, like the terms *Kabalyero*, *para*, and *kundoktor*.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.1 Reflections of a PhD student from the Global South doing LL studies

When I embarked on my PhD journey, I did not anticipate the challenges I was going to face. In October 2018, I was ecstatic to be offered a place in the Applied Linguistics program. I took two classes in my first term; one was Second Language Acquisition, and the other was Classroom Language Assessment (which I later opted to audit). I was confident since I had already taken both for my M.A., and I had also, at that time, been teaching Second Language Acquisition in the graduate and undergraduate programs of our university. I enjoyed my virtual classes; I had no idea that my experience would prepare me for how the Covid-19 pandemic would totally shut down classrooms and teaching and learning would eventually shift to 100% virtual. I suppose, in my case, the shift did not negatively impact my education as it did others who were unprepared. I was also looking forward to my first residential on campus, held in January 2019. When I finally met my cohort, supervisor, and other teachers, I was surprised that I had been poorly prepared to communicate in English. The situation also surprised me, as I have been an English teacher for twenty years in the Philippines and have written and published research in English. I had to listen extra carefully when people spoke, for fear I might mishear something or not be able to interpret it correctly. My cohort was a mix of native speakers and non-native speakers like myself, which added to the challenge to my knowledge of and skills in English. I learned that to fully understand what I have been teaching my students in my Varieties of English class, I had to be around different English speakers. Immersion in various English-speaking situations tested one's skills. My lack of competence also reflected on my writing. I initially failed my final assignment in the Second Language Acquisition course because I could not effectively articulate my ideas. Thankfully, I was given the chance to improve my first submission and was able to pass and proceed with the program. That initial failure served as a timely reminder. A valuable insight came from these experiences, a reflection of how I see myself as a speaker of English from the Philippines. One theoretical lens I used in my thesis is my positioning as a researcher from the Global South doing emic ethnography in my community. The experience has prompted me to reflect on two important questions: How do I understand what writing from the Global South

means? How does this experience define what I do? At the core of these questions is a reflection on my position vis-à-vis English as a global lingua franca. Tupas (2024), in his book chapter Unequal Englishes in the Global South, points out that despite the recognition that English is no longer a language monopolized by the West, gatekeeping and legitimization are neoliberal tools used to relegate users of varieties to a powerless position. This process deprives them of the cultural capital that their proficiency in the English language would have otherwise provided (p. 64). An example of a gatekeeping tool is the requirement to provide proof of English proficiency as part of the PhD application process. I had to take the IELTS and get a score of at least a Band 7 to qualify for the program. Since I did qualify, my English was passable at the very least. Looking back, I agree with Tupas that not all Englishes are equal; even within Philippine English, there are clear disparities.

> The first among these configurations are inequalities of access to privileged Englishes within communities of speakers, such that while everyone may have access to the language in the linguistic landscape, only a small elite among them deploy a variety of English which is socially marked as desirable, correct and/or marketable. (Tupas, 2024, p. 66)

Tupas proceeds to explain that this disparity is brought about by a difference in access among speakers of English who, by virtue of class, come from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. This encompasses their ability to enroll in reputable schools that utilize English as their primary language of instruction.

> In other words, an English linguistic hierarchy mediates social and power relations in the country because an 'educated' Philippine English—not simply the ability to speak English—provides both symbolic and material privileges to those who speak it. (Tupas, 2024, p. 68)

This brings me back to my situation: a Filipino graduate student in the U.K., feeling my English comprehension is poor, my speaking passable, and my writing a disaster. This negative perception regarding my competence in the language led to my constantly second-guessing my research and my writing. Although I appreciated the writing assignments for the courses I took, feedback on my writing led to more anxiety about my use of English. Eventually, I realized that feedback can be put to good use by paying attention to how I can best articulate my ideas. This feedback made me aware of the vagueness and lack of clarity in my writing that stemmed from my use of Philippine English. Although my writing may be grammatically correct, there are lexical (word choices) and syntactic features that were unintelligible to my

peers and mentors. This issue became my greatest challenge during my PhD studies. And also, one of the reasons for the long-drawn writing of my thesis, long after I had been able to collect all the data I needed.

I agree with Tupas' argument that English is an economic and social capital for Filipinos who can afford access to resources that immerse them in Standard American English, there is still a gap between this group and native speakers of English. Aside from call center agents, this experience is more pronounced for academics who take further studies, publish, and present papers in international conferences held in countries where English is the first language. I argue that while a privileged group may indeed have access to a more acceptable variety of (Philippine) English, there remains a discernible gap that sets apart that group of speakers who learned English from a local context when in direct contact with monolingual L1 English speakers. So, while I can confidently claim that English is my L1 too, I have realized and experienced firsthand how this distinction has positioned me as a scholar from the Global South. The challenge of mutual understanding was also noted by Heugh et al. (2021):

> The challenge becomes then to what extent we can accept equivocation—that our words in one place are not recognizable or have no relevance or are read/heard alternatively in another. Learning to think South means accepting the possibility of asking questions for which there may be no single or easy answer or finding that answers require postponement, suspension and time. (p. 39)

7.2 Reflections on critical and multi-sited ethnography

I started my data collection as part of my Qualitative Methods class. At first, I was apprehensive about talking to jeepney drivers and conductors. The jeepney industry is, after all, male-dominated. I am not sure whether I will even be able to draw out the information I need because they might see me as an outsider and suspect my inquiries. At that time, 2019, the talk about the implementation of a nationwide jeepney phaseout was growing, and someone like me from the academe asking about jeepneys might be viewed as part of the government's surveillance on the state of jeepneys in Baguio City. Unexpectedly, I encountered a great deal of curiosity and interest. They were curious about what exactly it was I was researching about jeepneys. They initially assumed it was about the impending nationwide phaseout of

traditional jeepneys. To put them at ease and move forward with my interviews, I simply explained that I was interested in the artwork on the jeepneys and that I needed to take pictures of these and find out as much about them as I could. Throughout my data collection period, I saw myself as an emic-etic ethnographer. I am an emic ethnographer because I have lived in Baguio City for two decades. I am familiar with the area, the people, and the culture. I have also learned to understand the Ilocano variety spoken as a community language and speak it enough to haggle for a fair price in the market. I have also been riding the jeepney as a commuter since my undergraduate years, so I am very familiar with the jeepney culture as well as its linguistic landscapes. My knowledge of the city and jeepneys led me to write my PhD thesis on them. I believed that my emic relationship with my topic would be an advantage to me as a researcher. Well, it was for the most part. However, as I write this conclusion, I realize that my proximity to the subject matter of my thesis has made me overly sentimental about my project. When I was collecting photographs as part of the data, I did not notice how the aging fleet of jeepneys in Baguio City was dilapidated, characterized by its structural degradation and visible wear. The jeepney is old. Its glory days are long gone. It has seen the Filipino people through the ruins brought about by WWII, martial law, three EDSA revolutions, economic depressions, and natural calamities. It has served its purpose, and it is time for the traditional jeepney to retire, to evolve, and to reinvent itself. It is the primary contributor to the poor air quality in the city because it still runs on diesel fuel. I realized all of this while reviewing the photos I had collected over the past three years. I distinctly remember the smell of fumes when I hung out in the key sites (jeepney terminals), talking to the drivers and passengers. The smell stuck to my hair and clothes. I wonder how the jeepney drivers washed the scent off at the end of the day, or if they even noticed it anymore. An emic perspective was helpful in the analysis of my data. When I collected a significant number of photos showing people in cowboy hats riding horses and Native American Indians, too, I understood this as part of the city's American colonial heritage. This legacy is, in fact, still visible today; locals dressing up as cowboys and horses are part of the city's tourist attraction. Baguio City does have its *co-boys* (cowboys); although they don't herd cows, they do take care of horses and assist tourists who want to ride at Wright Park. When I saw a lot of religious texts on the jeepneys' mudguards and images of Jesus and the Virgin Mary

on the jeepneys' side panels, I was not surprised. The jeepney is an extension of one's home and person. Therefore, it is not surprising to see what people value and believe in prominently displayed on the jeepney. However, I would also consider myself a partially etic ethnographer. I knew much about the jeepney and the jeepney culture before I even started my PhD, but I also found out many things I didn't know when I was doing this research. During my initial data collection at Charsm Motors, I did not realize that the cost of jeepneys was comparable to that of a sports utility vehicle (SUV). Jeepneys in the Cordilleras had to be sturdier because they haul produce through the mountains. There were also language barriers along the way. For instance, my data showed that the expression *anusan* appeared in different forms on several jeepneys. As I discuss in Chapter 6, the expression roughly translates in English to mean "perseverance" or "be patient," but culturally and contextually the term may be taken to also connote "resilience" and to quietly accept and bear the challenges and struggles of daily life. Appearing on the jeepney's linguistic landscape, I initially interpreted the term to mean that passengers needed patience when commuting. I interpreted it as referring to the need for patience during busy rush hour traffic and while queuing to get a ride on the jeepney. That was only a surface level interpretation. However, interviews and observations deepened my analysis to correlate the term with the Cordilleran culture of *anusan,* the same Igorot people who carved the Banaue Rice Terraces out of the mountains. This aspect of Cordilleran culture has shaped the way people live as a community in Baguio City. People often misinterpret patience as meekness, yet they view it as a positive trait or value. In 2020, when the Covid-19 pandemic badly hit the Philippines, Baguio City became one of the model cities in implementing local policies to protect its residents. What was viewed as commendable by the rest of the country was largely the way residents and the community as a whole followed restrictions and *anusan* the strict isolation policies to protect the whole city .[5] The term takes on layers of meaning and its relevance to the jeepney's linguistic landscape still rings true at present as the whole industry transitions to the gradual phase-out of traditional jeepneys. Heller et al. (2017) contend that social construction shapes research and the knowledge it produces. A holistic understanding of and appreciation for how expressions like *anusan* are only possible through the implementation of critical ethnographic

[5] https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1255982/national-task-force-baguio-city-a-model-in-fight-vs-covid-19

methods. They further argue that qualitative research, such as mine, “[...]is primarily attentive to any aspect of the social world as it is engaged with, perceived or explained by the people we study” (Heller et al., 2017, p. 15).

Although I view the jeepney with much sentimentality, my research has led to an understanding of how the jeepney industry’s transitioning to safer and more environmentally friendly public utility vehicles is long overdue. I echo and reflect on critical ethnographic sociolinguistic approaches I discuss in Chapter 3, where reflexivity and recursivity are key characteristics. I embarked on my project with the intent of immortalizing the traditional jeepney and further strengthening it (if this was at all possible and necessary) as an icon synonymous with everything Filipino. I ended with the realization that the traditional jeepney has served its purpose. It's time for it to evolve, not retire or replace itself. I will mourn the loss of the rich and complex linguistic landscape of the traditional jeepney, but I remind myself that it is the Filipino people who have constructed that linguistic landscape and the traditional jeepney served as the space. The linguistic landscape will find and create a new space. The traditional jeepney is a product of the Global South, its colonial oppression, capitalist exploitation, and its resilience and creative spirit. The jeepney would not have existed otherwise. This is further supported by Makoni et al. (2022) when they note that the “contribution of the Global South to the rest of the world in terms of at least three analytical heuristics: inventions, accommodations and hybrids” (p. 34). These qualities refer both to the jeepney and to the varieties of the English language, like Philippine English, that have developed because of the interactions of the Global South with the English-speaking North.

7.3 Defining linguistic landscapes from this project

When Landry and Bourhis (1997) first coined the phrase "linguistic landscape," they were referring to the descriptive-quantitative methods they employed to describe language existence and prevalence in multilingual environments. Since then, the phrase has expanded to include not just physical signs but also other visible expressions of language in public areas. The Philippine jeepneys linguistic landscapes project seeks to investigate how language is used and portrayed within this distinct cultural setting. In this sense, the words "linguistic" and "landscape" have been defined. The approach for determining ethnolinguistic vitality was then referred to as linguistic landscapes, since it sought to characterize the languages spoken in a certain

geographic region. According to Shohamy and Gorter (2009), linguistic landscapes may also serve as a framework for investigating language ideologies, power dynamics, and identity struggles. In this view, linguistic landscaping is made possible. Researchers may acquire insight into a community's social processes by examining the languages used in public settings. This method leads to a better understanding of how language forms and reflects social systems. For example, the prevalence of certain languages on signs or ads might disclose the prevalent language(s) in a given region. Furthermore, linguistic landscape(ing) may illuminate issues of inclusion and exclusion within a community based on language usage. As a field of investigation under the broader field of sociolinguistics, linguistic landscapes may refer to the development and evolution of the field in terms of its interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary nature (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010), its expanding methodological scope (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009), theoretical innovation (Blommaert, 2013), spatial turn (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006 and Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010) and superdiversity and mobility (Blommaert, 2013 and Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015). A recurring question is, how do I define linguistic landscape in the context of investigating the linguistic landscapes of the Philippine traditional jeepney. First, it means an investigation of both linguistic and semiotic elements. I define linguistic investigation as closely scrutinizing the languages used and analyzing the hierarchy of these languages. It also involves the understanding and interpretation of these linguistic elements made up of proper nouns (people's names, brand names, place names, etc.), phrases (expressions, quotations, and passages), and longer examples of language use. The semiotic or non-linguistic elements include images, colors, and other visual artifacts that are purposefully attached to the jeepney as part of its decor. These are all considered part of the linguistic landscape. The second element involves a holistic understanding and interpretation of these elements by placing them in the context of the "landscape" where they are found; specifically, in my research, this landscape includes the traditional jeepney and Baguio City. This project hews closely to the understanding of linguistic landscapes as a method of analysis that puts emphasis on the inseparable role of space (or the landscape) in the examination and meaning-making process of language use. I have applied this in my choice of a historically and culturally unique landscape, the traditional Philippine jeepney. I aim to contribute significantly to the documentation of the jeepney’s linguistic landscape and how elements in the

jeepney's LL mirror social, political, economic and cultural realities in Baguio City. The jeepney's history, development, evolution, and impending demise run parallel to national and global movements and the jeepneys' linguistic landscapes reflect these as well.

7.4 What I set out to do and what I was able to do

In this project, I aimed to answer two main questions about the traditional Philippine jeepney. First, what are the characteristics of the jeepney as a communicative space? Second, what are the various discursive frames on the jeepneys' linguistic landscape within Baguio City and how do these demonstrate Global South qualities and assemblages? The jeepney serves as the space from which the various linguistic and semiotic elements are collected and analyzed, a communicative space both in its materiality, its physical composition, and its function as a space where people converge and interact, sharing a common goal of reaching their respective destinations. As a material space, ludic spaces on the jeepney have been used to prominently display linguistic and semiotic elements in its linguistic landscape. These include the crown, front and back mudguards and side panels (see Figure 6.1.1). The manufacturing of the jeepney highlights its assemblage quality in terms of its origin, design, material parts, and manpower used to assemble it. The linguistic landscapes of jeepneys also make up an assemblage, hewing closely to Torres' (1979) description of it as *horror vacui*, with the owner-driver filling every possible ludic space on the jeepney's surface with décor. Within this space, the jeepney serves as an equalizing factor where social hierarchies are temporarily suspended, allowing for a unique form of communication and interaction among passengers from different backgrounds. While inside the jeepney, all passengers experience a temporary sense of equality. They all queued to get a ride. They all need to pay the same required fare. They all need to squeeze into the limited seating. This shared experience builds up a bond among passengers, breaking down barriers and creating a sense of community within the confines of the jeepney. This sense of unity is further reinforced by the collective experience of navigating through the chaotic traffic and unpredictable road conditions, creating a bond that transcends social differences.

Physically, the jeepney functions as the space or landscape from which the linguistic and semiotic elements are publicly displayed; hence, the linguistic

landscape of the jeepney. For this research, I came up with six significant discursive frames. These frames include the Christian religious frame, the American colonial heritage frame, the humor frame, the ethnic identity frame, the personal identity frame and the machismo frame. Each frame was carefully selected to represent the most visible elements of the traditional jeepney's linguistic landscape. By no means are these six the only discursive frames visible among the jeepneys in Baguio City. The Christian religious frame illustrates the popularity of using biblical quotes and images of Jesus and the Blessed Virgin Mary on the jeepney's LL. This preference reflects the influence of Catholicism in the City, where the population is predominantly Catholic, as is the rest of the Philippines. The biblical quotes are in English, but the language use also demonstrates the use of a local variety of English with features characteristic of Cordilleran languages and Ilocano. The American colonial heritage frame highlights the data showing the preference for the use of English in the jeepney's LL, the recurring images of cowboys and Native Americans, the American flag and eagle, all of which are symbols that allude to the frame's theme. Data presented under the humor frame demonstrates how the clever use of the linguistic repertoire in the jeepney's LL evokes humor. The translanguaging observed in the LL adds to the objective of using humor to attract attention and entertain. The ethnic identity frame data shows the use of local languages like *Ilocano*, *Kankanaey*, and *Ibaloy*, in the jeepney's LL despite the dominant preference for using English. More specifically, Cordilleran cultural concepts like *inayan* (care for community and environment by observing the rule of reciprocity) and *anusan* (perseverance) were documented several times, showing that these values are still practiced at present among migrant communities of Cordillerans in Baguio City. The personal identity frame is evident in the use of names and portraits of family members on the ludic spaces of the jeepneys' LL. This frame echoes the concept of the jeepney as an extension of the jeepney owner-driver's personal life (Torres, 1979; Meñez, 1988; and De Leon, 2013). The Filipino value for family and family life also extends to the community by sharing these on the jeepney's LL. Finally, the machismo frame is made visible by expressions that have double meanings and sexual innuendos. Meant to entertain and humor passengers, expressions that describe the jeepney owner-driver as good-looking and attractive are also abundant in the data for this frame. These six frames also often intersect and are by no means the only frames in the LL of jeepneys

in Baguio City. There is also an abundance of cartoon characters, logos of international brands, flags of different countries, scenic views, and landscapes. However, the discursive frames I came up with were most relevant to the history of Baguio City and the culture of the people. There are also elements in the jeepneys' linguistic landscape that are too random or unique. My data collection also generally excluded the linguistic and semiotic elements from inside the jeepneys. While these may have been equally fascinating to examine, they're not readily visible to everyone. These signs are generally informational in function. My data also excluded jeepney decor that has been previously described in detail by Torres (1979) and that I have considered as standard elements in the jeepneys' linguistic landscape. These have been described in detail in Chapter 4.

The use of English in the LL of traditional jeepneys in Baguio City clearly reflects what Tupas (2024) refers to as "unequal Englishes". In Chapter 6, where I discuss data from the Christian religious frame, American colonial frame, and personal identity frame, I presented what appear to be lexical innovations that are features of Philippine English and result from the knowledge of and skills in English of people involved in the jeepney industry. This is an example of how Tupas describes the social, political, and economic divide that English continues to perpetuate even (and especially) among countries, like the Philippines, where English is an official and second language. Although locally, the use of English may not present comprehensibility issues, examining the same from a Global South perspective positions the kind of English visible in the traditional jeepney's linguistic landscape at a disadvantage. When I was writing my analysis, I had to remind myself not to describe the features as errors in the use of English. That is why I explain what some creative uses of the language mean in my data because I am writing this thesis for an audience that may not be able to interpret what they mean. The traditional jeepney itself, an innovation from the surplus US Army jeeps from WWI, is a product demonstrating the characteristics of the Global South. Rising from the devastation and economic depression of the war and colonial oppression, from Spain, Japan, and the United States of America, the Philippines, then and now, has pressed for creativity and ingenuity in order to survive and overcome the harshness of colonial experience. Heugh et al. (2021) note that "[…] irrepressible creativity and resourcefulness escape through the cracks in the architectures of coloniality (p. 34)." They propose this

definition of the Global South as “Hope, care, love in adversity” (Heugh et al., 2021, p. 30). Within this definition, the post-colonial experience of the Global South is described as one of grit and resilience, not of forgetting or avoiding the bitterness of oppression but of rising above it. The traditional jeepney embodies this definition and its linguistic landscape perpetuates the creativity both in its semiotic elements and in its use of English and local languages.

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