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Signs of Our Times: Language Contact and Attitudes
in the Linguistic Landscape of Southeast Los Angeles

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Hispanic Languages and Literature

by

Jhonni Rochelle Charisse Carr

2017

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2017

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Signs of Our Times: Language Contact and Attitudes
in the Linguistic Landscape of Southeast Los Angeles

by

Jhonni Rochelle Charisse Carr

Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic Languages and Literature

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Antonio C. Quicoli, Chair

There are nearly 5 million Latinos and 3.7 million Spanish speakers in Los Angeles County (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a, 2015b). As such, Spanish is commonly seen in the city's signage, or its *linguistic landscape* (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). This dissertation exposes the power relations that lie in the coexistence of Spanish and English inscriptions in the urban space of three Southeast L.A. cities. This is done by comparing the material presence of languages in the linguistic landscape with Latina and Latino community members' perceptions of language use and their resulting attitudes. A corpus containing images of 4,664 signs is examined, along with responses from 24 semi-directed, sociolinguistic interviews. In the quantitative analyses of signs, I investigate languages' appearance and dominance, degree of prestige, and communicative

usefulness. This is compared with informants' comments regarding their perceived amount of English and Spanish in the city, as well as language prestige and utility.

Results show that, while there is some overlap, we can gain insight from both the production and perception of languages in L.A. signage. In the quantitative analyses of signs, I demonstrate that English holds a great deal of prestige in the area. The qualitative studies confirm English's overt prestige but also reveal a covert prestige for Spanish as a language of solidarity among Latinas and Latinos. Similarly, while the majority of interviewees agree that Spanish is more useful for communication in these geographical areas, quantitative examinations show that both languages in fact have a high degree of utility. Furthermore, I use regression analyses to demonstrate how we can predict the arrangement of languages in signs.

This investigation illuminates the dynamic situation of language contact in the signage of Southeast Los Angeles and the manner in which language is directly intertwined with the public space and power relations. In addition to expanding sociolinguistic and linguistic landscape scholarship, this research has implications for language policy and planning, as well as for social and language justice organizations devoted to the needs of residents who have been linguistically excluded from public services.

The dissertation of Jhonni Rochelle Charisse Carr is approved.

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2017

To my family

To Román Luján,
for your ideas, understanding, and sense of humor.
You are the smartest person I know.

To my mom,
for always listening to me and having my back. I have learned so much from you.
Thank you for making me laugh and constantly encouraging me to fulfill my highest ambitions.

To my dad,
who can always find a way to make me laugh and feel happy, no matter the situation.
Your curiosity, spontaneity, and tenacity are an inspiration.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"Although we are bombarded daily with the messages on these signs, they also become so much a part of the scenery that we hardly notice them on a conscious level" (Sayer, 2010, p. 144).

1.1 Introduction to the Field of Linguistic Landscape Studies

Linguistic Landscape Studies is the investigation of written language in the community, generally through the analysis of store signs, advertisements, and billboards. It is a fairly new area of study, having just had its first conference in 2008. An especially interdisciplinary field, it incorporates work from camps such as anthropology, linguistics, political science, education, geography, and urban planning. As Eckert (2010) says, the "physical space is imbued with social meaning" (p. 167), and Linguistic Landscape Studies provides a way of investigating these implications. We will begin with the notion of "linguistic landscape" and then discuss the concept of a "sign," the unit of analysis. Next, we will look at some of the trends in the field. This chapter will give examples of some of the general studies that have been conducted, while the literature review will discuss more specific, relevant work to the dissertation's research questions. Finally, we will conclude with the landscape of the rest of the dissertation.

1.2 Evolution of the Term "Linguistic Landscape"

As of May 2017, the most cited linguistic landscape study was "Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study," by Landry and Bourhis (1997). They coined the term "**linguistic landscape**," and say the following:

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 (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25).

Their definition lists several examples of where one can find written language in the public space. This term has since been redefined in several ways. Martínez (2003), for example, brings in the concept of space and refers to the linguistic landscape as "spatial manifestations of language use on public signs including billboards, street signs, and commercial signs" (p. 58). While the main focus was originally on language in the *public* space, Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, and Trumper-Hecht (2006) widened their definition of the linguistic landscape (LL) to allow for "any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location" (p. 14). This description takes into account signs that are in public as well as private locations. Later, Shohamy and Waksman (2009) expanded the scope of linguistic landscapes even more to incorporate everything —and everyone— in the public space. Essentially eliminating the "linguistic" portion of "linguistic landscape", they "go beyond 'written' texts of signs and include verbal texts, images, objects, placement in time and space as well as human beings" (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009, p. 314). This is in line with Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualization of the public space as one that is constantly changing, vibrant, collaborative, and that contains an array of texts types which contribute to its essence. There is a constant tacit dialogue of space, which is always being challenged (Lefebvre, 1991; Lefebvre, Kofman, & Lebas, 1996). While new, interesting studies following these various definitions are emerging, the majority of scholars continue to work with the *linguistic* aspect of the LL.

There are some scholars, however, that have taken issue with the term "linguistic

landscape." Spolsky, for instance, argued that the LL was best studied in the *urban* space, and thus "cityscape" was a more precise term (Backhaus, 2007). Many have disagreed with this idea, as much LL research has been conducted in non-city locations.¹ Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) describe "semiotic landscapes" as "any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making" (p. 2), effectively expressing the role of people and authorship. In a book about reading theory principles, Goodman (1986) refers to the LL as "environmental print" (p. 23).

For the purposes of this dissertation, the definition given by Landry and Bourhis (1997), coupled with extensions from Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) will be used to include non-public areas as well; in other words, the definition of the linguistic landscape followed in this dissertation is "written, displayed language in a given area." This keeps the idea of geographical location open, while still emphasizing the importance of place; it must be included so as to not decontextualize the sign.

1.3 Sign or Linguistic Landscape Text: The Unit of Analysis

While Linguistic Landscape Studies has also commonly been referred to as the study of signs that contain language, the issue of what constitutes a sign hasn't arisen as frequently. Franco-Rodríguez (2011) operationalized **LL texts** as "any piece of writing displayed by the same entity or joined entities (businesses, institutions or people) with content related to that entity or joined entities and displayed in a circumscribed public space (visible on and around the main support)" (p. 75). This definition considers the fact that new authors can frequently elaborate upon current signage, either in a collaborative or a transgressive manner, but it seems to focus on the sign

¹ For example, there have been projects conducted in a microbiology laboratory (Hanauer, 2009, 2010) and in smaller towns (Ariffin & Husin, 2013; Guilat, 2010; Lai, 2013; Moriarty, 2012, 2014; Stewart & Fawcett, 2004).

authors and content more than the makeup of the sign itself. On the other hand, Backhaus (2007) defines a "public sign" as "a notice on public display that gives information or instruction in a written or symbolic form" (p. 4). This definition takes into account the informational and symbolic functions of the linguistic landscape (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), which will be discussed further on. Going back to Shohamy and Waksman's (2009) definition of the LL, the two describe LL signs as those incorporating "what is seen, what is heard, what is spoken, what is thought" (p. 313), giving examples such as texts sustained on computer-generated interfaces, virtual graffiti, and screen projected advertisements (p. 315). The field of LL Studies has evolved to incorporate more items of study such as language on the internet and even people in the LL (Shohamy, 2012).

This dissertation abides by a more material idea of what constitutes a sign. That is, a sign is taken as any object with delimited boundaries containing displayed language. For the purposes of this study, only photos with language were considered. Photos consisting of solely numbers were discarded, as were street names. Signs with only proper names were marked as such, but were not classified as belonging to any language and not included in the analyzed corpus.

1.4 Approaches in the Field

In the last fifteen or so years, there has been a great deal of scholarship surging in regard to the linguistic landscape. Now, with the institution of its own conference, journal, and scholars, it is arguably its own field. However, since it is by nature interdisciplinary, the camp incorporates theories and methodologies from outside disciplines. Its very name, "linguistic landscape," references two other domains: linguistics and geography. Indeed, the field has strong roots (conceivably its deepest roots) in linguistics. It is also deep-seated in anthropology, political

science, education, and the intersection or overlap of several of these disciplines. In the coming section, we will see how the field of Linguistic Landscape Studies has incorporated theories and methodologies from linguistics, anthropology, political science, and education.

1.4.1 Linguistics

The study of signs in the public space has customarily focused on the language used in those signs. It was multilingual signs that sparked these studies. Consequently, the field began as a subdiscipline of linguistics, and more specifically of sociolinguistics, since multilingualism and language contact have predominantly been studied. The spread of the English language and the social reasons behind this spread have also been a main point of focus.

Several investigations have been published that look at linguistic and cultural diversity through the lens of Linguistic Landscape Studies. For example, many researchers document **code preferences**, or the choice of a particular linguistic medium or use of a certain language(s).² One example of this can be seen in Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), where they analyzed the linguistic landscape of Israel, finding predominantly Hebrew, Arabic, and English in the signage. They made a distinction between the functions of the different languages in Jewish, Palestinian Israeli and non-Israeli Palestinian settings in Israel, saying that languages can have different uses in different societies. Huebner (2006) showed that Chinese, Roman, and Thai scripts, in addition to Japanese and Arabic, are used in the linguistic landscape of Bangkok. Backhaus (2006), on the other hand, reported on the linguistic landscape of Tokyo. His work showed that 20% of the signs contained more than one language, mostly English and Japanese, but also Chinese and Korean, among other languages. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) looked at multilingualism in Donostia-

² Code choice has been studied in the field by scholars such as Backhaus (2006, 2007), Cenoz and Gorter (2006), Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), Scollon and Scollon (2003), and Spolsky and Cooper (1991).

San Sebastian in northern Spain and Ljouwert-Leeuwarden in Friesland in the northwest of the Netherlands. They found that the majority (55%) of signs in Donostia-San Sebastian were multilingual, and 44% of the LL texts in Ljouwert-Leeuwarden were multilingual.

A more recent trend for studies that look into the multilingualism of an area via its signage is the use of statistical analyses. Nunes, Onofri, Cenoz, and Gorter (2008, 2010) have used linear regression models to demonstrate statistically significant data, while Lyons and Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2015) have performed binary logistic regression models to do so. Barker and Giles (2004), on the other hand, employed a chi-square (χ^2) test, and Magnini, Miller, and Kim (2011) used *t* tests to look for statistically significant findings. While this trend did not catch on until more recently, Landry and Bourhis (1997) did use statistical procedures (i.e. factor analyses and regression analyses) to analyze their data.

Several of the previously mentioned studies also investigated the use of English in the LL, finding it to be a rather common phenomenon. In Israel, for example, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) found English in between 25% and 75% of the items they analyzed, depending on the area. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) find that Donostia-San Sebastian signage was 28% in English and that of Ljouwert-Leeuwarden was 37%. Backhaus (2006) also reports high levels of English in Tokyo, and Huebner (2006) does the same for Bangkok. Baumgardner (2006) showed how English use is increasing in Mexican commerce (i.e. newspaper advertisements, magazines ads, and Mexican shop and product names), which we will see in more detail below.

Due to phenomena such as globalization, Westernization, and Englishization, it is not surprising to find that the English language is frequently one of the languages in the linguistic landscape of a given area. What then, are its uses or functions? In places in which English is not one of the primary languages of communication, it could be assumed that its presence was

directed at foreigners, or tourists, and was used to convey information to them. However, it serves an additional purpose, as its presence does not always increase with more (Anglophone) tourism. Rather than an informational function, it can serve as more of a symbolic function for local non-English-speaking residents (Gorter & Cenoz 2008: 347). As discussed by Piller (2001, 2003), these characteristics range from sophisticated to fun, from international to futuristic.

In addition to English use in Mexican commerce, Baumgardner (2006) mentions how Spanish has an increasing influence on English in the United States due to an influx in immigration. With migrating individuals come migrating cultures and cuisines and many times migrating languages. Due to language contact, several Spanish borrowings have made their way into English, especially in terms of food (e.g. *carne asada*, *queso*, *dulce de leche*, etc.). He says that "[w]hile the motivation for Spanish borrowings in English is different from that for English borrowings in Spanish (i.e. demographic changes versus international marketing), both languages are nonetheless changing the nature of their word stocks" (Baumgardner, 2006, pp. 261–262). He situates this within the historical, economic and political context of NAFTA and the election of "business-oriented and US-friendly" Vicente Fox, stating that Spanish-English bilingualism is on the rise, as evidenced in the linguistic landscape (Baumgardner, 2006, p. 251).

While the above values may seem positive, they many times trample the values of other languages in a multilingual setting. That is, English can come to replace a local language, thereby devaluing it. The English language raises issues of personal and group identity, as well as linguistic, individual, and group power (see Fishman, Conrad, & Rubal-Lopez, 1996; Pennycook 1994; Phillipson 2003).

1.4.2 Anthropology

Linguistic landscapes have also been studied from an anthropological perspective to a small degree, both using ethnography as a methodology and also in looking at language attitudes and ideologies, or "ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understanding onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 35).

Using an ethnographic approach, as well as Fairclough's (2001) critical language study (CLS) and a communication framework (Hymes, 1972), Phillips (2012) analyzed language attitudes and the linguistic landscape of Carman, Manitoba. She contends that the language of the LL "is used for communication, capitalism, values and lifestyles, and inclusion and exclusion of the population" (Phillips, 2012, p. 9). Because of this, it has a large effect on a community and cannot be disregarded.³

Like Phillips (2012), other studies have also employed ethnographic methods. Another example can be found in Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscapes, published by Jan Blommaert in 2013. He conducted both synchronic and diachronic studies over the course of several years in the neighborhood in which he had lived for around 20 years in Antwerp, Belgium. In his book, he discusses the advantages and limitations of synchronic, or "snap-shot" studies, and diachronic studies, or "longitudinal ethnographic observations" (Blommaert, 2013, p. 15). Two of his chapters, heavily influenced by the works of Gunther Kress as well as Ronald and Suzanne Scollon, are dedicated to describing the ethnographic theory of LLs. Blommaert demonstrates how linguistic landscapes are chaotic, and claims that we researchers must take into account their complexities. He asserts that we can read the different layers of history both

³ For other language attitude studies, see Akindele (2011) for the LL of Gaborone, Botswana, and Akzhigitova and Zharkynbekova (2014) for the LL of Astana, Kazakhstan.

through individual signs as well as through the conglomeration of signs of a particular street, neighborhood, or city. Other ethnographic studies of the LL include David Malinowski's (2009, 2010) studies of Korean in Oakland, California and in South Korea; Susan Dray's (2010) work on English and Jamaican Creole (Patois) in Jamaica; Kasper Juffermans' (2012) research on English in Gambia; and Sari Pietikäinen's (2014) study on multiple languages in an indigenous Sámi village in northern Scandinavia. This approach has a lot of merit and is recently increasing in popularity.

Dailey, Giles, and Jansma looked at language attitudes in the linguistic landscape in their 2005 study. For their experiment, they had 190 Anglo and Latino⁴ informants listen to a radio announcement and assess speakers with Anglo and Hispanic accents. They found that Hispanic-accented individuals were rated inferior to Anglo-accented individuals in all tests. They then tested to see how the LL affected the evaluators. Hispanics were found to be considerably influenced by their LL: the more Spanish appeared in the signage of their area, the poorer Anglo-accented individuals were rated. Conversely, the more English was present in the LL, the higher Anglo-accented individuals were rated by those identifying as Hispanic. Anglo raters' judgments were not affected by the presence of a given language in the linguistic landscape.

Baumgardner (2006) also investigated language attitudes in the linguistic landscape, this time of the Mexican business community toward the use of English in advertising. He referred to interviews he had conducted in previous works (Baumgardner & Montemayor, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2003). Two businessmen from La Moderna cigarette company were interviewed in

⁴ In earlier drafts of this dissertation, the term "Latinx" was used in order to recognize both Latinas and Latinos, as well as the fact that gender is not simply binary. Indeed, one of the informants interviewed for this project identified as transgender. However, at the advice of committee members and for the sake of smooth reading, the term "Latino" will be used when referring to the population and both "Latina" and "Latino" will be used when referring to the individual.

Monterrey, Mexico. They were asked why English was used in their cigarette ads and product names and also if their advertising strategies had worked, in terms of sales. Results showed that the two managers conveyed that a common sentiment in Mexico was that international products were superior to national ones. By using English, they expressed this foreignness and therefore superiority. The English-speaking population was also taken into consideration. Since English is one of the most widely spoken global languages, it became strategic to use in that it would reach a larger potential customer base. Both interviewees reported a high success rate in terms of sales, and owed this success to their use of the English language in advertising. To be clear, the author comments that many times consumers do not understand the English used (i.e. the informational message), but they do understand the symbolic message, that English, being more prestigious and having a higher status than Spanish, will guarantee better products. The English language is a rather persuasive tool and can manipulate customers into buying particular products.

Attitudes regarding the use of certain languages have been widely researched in the fields of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Regarding spoken Spanish in particular, a good deal of research has been carried out on attitudes (c.f. Amastae & Elías-Olivares, 1978; Gynan, 1985; Mejías & Anderson, 1988; A. G. Ramírez, 1991; K. G. Ramírez, 1973). We have seen that it is important to study attitudes and ideologies of language or "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Kroskrity, 2005, p. 497) because "a wealth of public problems that hinge on [them]" (Woolard, 1992, p. 244), since many times these attitudes are not just about language. Rather, they entail beliefs related to "personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, pp. 55–56). In other words, language ideologies and attitudes are strongly tied

to beliefs about groups of people or individuals themselves.

1.4.3 Political Science

Some claim that Linguistic Landscape Studies originated under the umbrella of political science with studies regarding language policies. As Shohamy and Gorter (2009) state, the LL "contextualizes the public space within issues of language policy of nations, political and social conflicts" (p. 4). The fields of Linguistic Landscape Studies and language policy and planning are directly related in that language policies are frequently aimed, not only at spoken language, but also towards written and posted language. Linguistic landscape researchers have studied the different language policies toward written, public language to see if and how they are obeyed, and in what areas. These language policies can come from different levels, either from a local power or one that is more comprehensive such as a national decree. Language attitudes can also be revealed through studying language policies. As Shohamy (2012) says, "[p]olicy makers (that is, politicians and economic czars) mark public space with specific languages in order to exercise influence and disseminate propaganda, so the study of LLs allows us to throw light on these social and ideological processes" (p. 548).

Language, as it is very tied to identity, plays an important role at the individual level and also at higher levels. Like Landry and Bourhis (1997), Gorter and Cenoz (2008) state that the languages used in signs "in bilingual or multilingual countries or regions can be of great symbolic importance" (p. 349). While successful at the state level, English-only policies in the US have been ruled as more symbolic than literal. That is, they play the same role as the state bird or state flower as opposed to state legislature that is enforced by law. This is not necessarily the case on the individual level, as t-shirts or bumper stickers demanding people to "Speak

English!" can be seen on a daily basis in many areas of the country as well as on the Internet. The English-only policy, for many individuals, is very literal and they frequently express this aloud when they hear others speaking a language other than English in public.

Attitudes regarding language policies can also be expressed in and on signage. Illegal or transgressive postings demonstrate alternate ideologies. These can take place in the form of graffiti or stickers or other markings over words or ideas with which the author disagrees (cf. Barni & Bagna, 2010). As pointed out in Gorter and Cenoz (2008), it is common practice in European minority regions for language activist groups to even team up to do away with what they find as wrong spellings, names, or ideas. Gorter (1997) and Hicks (2002) find that this happens with place names. Debates over legally naming a place in a minority language or in the "dominant state language" (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008) have frequently arisen.

Furthermore, in multilingual signs, prominence and position of a given language can be legally regulated. This is the case in Italy where Italian must appear first and must be larger than any other language on a sign; a similar issue occurs in Catalonia where Catalan by law must appear on all signage (Hicks, 2002). The visual prominence of a language can reflect its prominence in a society; it can demonstrate a language's power and degree of prestige. Therefore, the languages used in the linguistic landscape do not necessarily guarantee their use or number of speakers in the community, but rather their value and status within that area. In the Basque Country, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) discovered that language policies that make both Basque and Spanish official languages of the region contributed to the Basque language appearing more frequently in the LL (i.e. in 50% of signage). This was interesting when compared to Frisian, which occurred less frequently in the LL (i.e. in 5% of signage) even though there are more fluent Frisian speakers than there are Basque speakers.

In a study regarding language conflict in Kyiv, Ukraine, Pavlenko (2012) discusses how a new policy making Ukrainian the official state language generated a situation of diglossia. The official monolingual language policy is obeyed more generally in formal contexts such as government-funded signage; here, we see mostly Ukrainian. However, in informal circumstances, individual choice is reflected more in unofficial signage like shop signs and graffiti, where both Ukrainian and Russian are used. Pavlenko's contribution shined light on a language that is not usually a minority language, but is such in this context: Russian.

1.4.4 Education

As we have seen, linguistic landscape studies have several implications as well as applications. Multiple scholar-instructors have implemented LL investigations as part of their curriculums for teaching a particular language, culture or even political-themed course. Gorter (2013) states that LL Studies is consistently receiving more attention in the field of language education; this has especially been the case in recent times. For instance, Dagenais, Walsh, Armand, and Maraillet (2008) argue that incorporating language awareness in the classroom, in addition to adding new or reinforcing present knowledge regarding the language, helps promote the learning of other issues such as "the evolution of languages, relationships between languages, as well as a critical stance on the relative status of language" (p. 141). One way they proposed to do this was to include linguistic landscape projects in classes.

Similar to Landry and Bourhis (1997), Gorter and Cenoz (2004) studied the perception of the linguistic landscape, but more from a second language acquisition (SLA) standpoint than from a social psychological framework. They asked the following questions: How is the linguistic landscape perceived by L2 users? What is the role of the linguistic landscape as an

additional source of language input in SLA? What attitudes do these L2 users have towards the linguistic landscape? They presented their conclusions in a conference paper, stating that the LL is a significant part of the sociolinguistic context and that it affects how its observers view the status of the languages contained in the public signage.

The linguistic landscape can even have an effect on its observers' usage of particular languages (Gorter & Cenoz, 2004). Cenoz and Gorter again analyze the role of the LL in SLA in 2008, focusing on the acquisition of pragmatic competence⁵, multimodal literacy skills, and multicompetence. They determine that the LL provides an excellent source of input and learning context for second language learners, and that it can also help open students' eyes to the linguistic diversity in particular areas, promoting language awareness, which Dagenais et. al (2008) expressed was pedagogically critical to the language classroom. In "Linguistic Landscape as an Ecological Arena: Modalities, Meanings, Negotiations, Education," Shohamy and Waksman (2009) discuss how, in addition to functioning as input for the SLL, the linguistic landscape can operate as an educational tool for linguistic and political activism.

Beyond theory, some scholars have shared pedagogical practices for using the linguistic landscape in language classrooms. One of the panels at the 2015 Georgetown University Round Table (GURT) was dedicated to answering the question, "How can language learners develop communicative and symbolic competencies through greater awareness of the contextual, cultural, multimodal, and political usage of language in place?" (Malinowski, 2015). Organized by Lee Abraham, participants on the panel included María Eugenia Lozano and Juan Pablo Jiménez-Caicedo, all from Columbia's Department of Spanish & Iberian Languages. Their answer to the

⁵ According to Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrell (1995), pragmatic or actional competence is "the competence in conveying and understanding communicative intent, that is, matching actional intent with linguistic form based on the knowledge of an inventory of verbal schemata that carry illocutionary force (speech acts and speech act sets)" (p. 17).

question was three-part. During the beginning level language course, their SLL students took photographs of the LL, debated and presented on their meanings. Then, in intermediate courses, they carried out interviews in the community as well as projects using social media. Finally, advanced level students partook in "ethnographically-oriented projects focused on dance and art in the city" (Malinowski 2015). This combined approach led to meaningful linguistic experiences for students.

Hakyoon Lee and Bumyoong Choi also presented at GURT 2015.⁶ Their presentation, "'Seoul Korea, Mexico City, and Takorea.' Geolocate Linguistic Landscape Project in University Korean Language Classes," demonstrated how the LL could be used as a pedagogical tool for teaching the Korean language. They mentioned their place-based project designed around geolocate language learning where students explored their environment, taking control over their own input. Utilizing local resources helped to contextualize the students' learning of both the language and culture. In a classroom activity, students identified geolocate points such as Korean stores and markets, created a video, and shared it on a collaborate Google Maps site where they could reflect on each other's videos. Asako Hayashi-Takakura (2015) has also used the LL to teach Chinese characters.

A final example of utilizing the linguistic landscape for pedagogical purposes can be found in Sayer (2010). He showed how he used the LL for teaching English as a foreign language to local ESL learners in Oaxaca, Mexico. Sayer describes a small-scale research project that he carried out to look into the English language's social functions in the LL. His research questions were, "Why do people in Oaxaca use English in public places?" and "Why do Oaxacans use English on signs?" (Sayer, 2010, p. 145). To answer these questions, he looked at

⁶ As well as at the Linguistic Landscapes Workshop 7.

innovative uses (i.e. those containing novel forms or new uses) of English in the LL. While his methodology was more pedagogically-focused and not meant to reveal dependable patterns in the LL, Sayer found six different uses of English according to social identities and contexts (social meanings): English as (1) advanced and sophisticated (e.g. in technology-oriented stores); (2) fashionable (e.g. in clothing boutiques); (3) cool (e.g. in stores selling clothing or accessories for adolescents); (4) sexy (e.g. in gentleman's clubs and sex shops); (5) loving (e.g. in gift shops); and (6) for expressing subversive identities (as a form of social protest, to represent non-mainstream, social identities, and make counterculture references to drugs or music). Sayer proposes that students can take on the role of "language investigator" and conduct projects similar to this one. As evidenced, the linguistic landscape serves as a versatile tool in the language classroom.

1.5 Chapter Overview

In this first chapter, I have presented a brief introduction to the field of Linguistic Landscape Studies. We saw where its name came from and different alternatives that have been used. We then operationalized the term "sign," describing the unit of analysis. Next, I discussed some of the studies that have been carried out that are related to the LL and other fields. Of course, this is just a sample of the possible directions, and there are several other disciplines in which LL research projects have been conducted. This dissertation will primarily utilize theories and methodologies from linguistics and anthropology.

Now we will turn our attention to the second chapter to review relevant LL scholarship both in terms of theory and methodology. We will begin with seeing how the field originated and some of the foundational studies. This will be followed by pertinent quantitative LL work, which

takes a broader point of view and utilizes large corpora in order to find significant patterns. Following this, we will see qualitative case studies that narrow down the point of analysis to a smaller number of signs. Then, I will give an overview of all work that has been done in the area of study: Los Angeles. The chapter will conclude with the contributions that the dissertation will make to the field of Linguistic Landscape Studies.

Once we have seen how the field began and some of the directions it has taken, chapter three will introduce the dissertation's research questions and describe the two-pronged methodological approach that was taken to answer them. Specifically, for the quantitative investigation, we will review data collection, materials, and the different analyses employed. For the qualitative study, we will see the sociolinguistic interview that was created to get at participant attitudes regarding the linguistic landscape and then the logistics of the interviews. Finally, the qualitative content analysis will be discussed.

In the ensuing two chapters, results will be explored. First, in chapter four, quantitative results from the corpus of over 4,500 signs are presented. We begin with those of the exploratory data analysis to look at the current appearance of languages in the linguistic landscape. From there, we turn to results from the inferential data analysis. While the former reflects the reality of the situation in three cities in Los Angeles, the latter shows how we can use the linguistic layout of signs to make predictions concerning language appearance.

The dissertation will continue on with the fifth chapter in which we will see the qualitative results. Using data extracted from eight semi-structured interviews in each of the three cities (for a total of twenty-four interviews), I will present participant comments as related to their perception and desired existence of languages in signage, as well as languages' prestige

and utility in the three communities. We will see certain reoccurring themes in the conversations, as examined using qualitative content analysis.

The sixth and final chapter will summarize and contextualize the results of the dissertation's multi-methods approach and demonstrate what we can ascertain from each analysis. We will compare the actual and perceived appearance of languages and the quantitative and qualitative methods' findings in regard to language prestige and language utility or productivity in the three cities. The dissertation will conclude with implications for the work carried out and future directions.

Chapter 2: Contextualizing the Study Within the Field: Some Methods and Theories

2.1 Introduction

Linguistic Landscape Studies is a burgeoning subfield of sociolinguistics. As such, little scholarship has been produced in comparison to well-established fields such as syntax and language acquisition. Nonetheless, in the past twenty years, the field has boomed, and much interdisciplinary work has been conducted. This chapter will review the linguistic landscape literature relevant to the dissertation. First, we will examine the importance of the field and its origins, also looking at contributions from both quantitative and qualitative work. Next, we will look at an account of all LL studies carried out in Los Angeles. This will then be followed by a word on the importance of multi-method studies and how the dissertation will use such methods. Finally, we will review the dissertation's contributions and how it fits into the field of Linguistic Landscape Studies.

2.1.1 Origins of the Field

It could be said that the birth of LL Studies was in Israel, since two of the three first reported linguistic landscape studies took place in this country: Rosenbaum et al. (1977) and Spolsky and Cooper (1991). It then makes sense that the first international conference also took place in Tel Aviv. However, the field really took off with the most cited LL study, which was conducted in Canada: Landry and Bourhis (1997). This section will examine these three foundational studies that were to situate the field to come.

2.1.1.1 Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper, and Fishman (1977)

In 1977, Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper, and Fishman published, "English on Keren Kayemet Street," the first documented study to analyze the language of signs. Using a corpus containing 50 signs from shops, restaurants, and private and government offices, the authors analyzed the spread of English on one street. They did this by determining whether signs (1) contained no Roman script, (2) contained some Roman script, but mostly Hebrew script, or if signs (3) contained equal amounts of Roman and Hebrew script.⁷ Results showed that the LL texts of Jerusalem were equally distributed in these three categories. Apart from script, they also examined the language written in that script. The authors discovered that, in the majority of cases, the Roman script corresponded to English language use, as opposed to other languages such as Spanish or French.

Rosenbaum et al. (1977) then analyzed these results through the lens of authorship, determining whether signs were private (i.e. coming from private offices, shops and restaurants) or public (i.e. coming from government offices and institutions).⁸ They discovered that Roman script occurred more in private signs than in public signs. This disparity revealed a gap between the official language policy (i.e. Hebrew-only) and the degree of public, linguistic tolerance in signage of languages other than Hebrew, especially of English. That is, the residents were in fact more tolerant than government officials and the laws themselves. From a qualitative standpoint, Rosenbaum et al. also conducted interviews and looked at planted encounters in which brief

⁷ The authors did not encounter signs that appeared in only Roman script (Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper, & Fishman, 1977, p. 183).

⁸ This distinction was later termed "bottom-up" and "top-down" (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2004, p. 17, 2006, p. 14). Top-down signs are those that are coming from a higher, governmental power. These can include signage that is toponymic or related to traffic. Bottom-up signs, on the other hand, refer to those authored by non-governmental agencies or individuals, companies, and other private enterprises such as shop signage or advertisements, "want" ads, and graffiti (Backhaus, 2007, pp. 27, 32).

interactions with strangers took place, as well as business transactions to interact with shopkeepers à la Labov. They spoke with sign creators and determined that one of the main incentives for using English in the Israeli signage was to take advantage of its "snob appeal," the fact that it indexes modernity, internationalism, and technology (Rosenbaum et al., 1977, p. 187). This study contributed to the formation of the field of Linguistic Landscape Studies, especially in terms of their distinction between the different types of authorship and scripts.

2.1.1.2 Spolsky and Cooper (1991)

Another early study was conducted by language policy scholars Spolsky and Cooper in 1991. Analyzing the multilingualism of Jerusalem using 100 signs, they established three new types of criteria for which to classify signs: functional, material, and linguistic. First, they examined the uses of the signs. For instance, they looked at whether the sign's purpose was to serve as a warning (e.g. Beware of dog), advertise (e.g. Tamales for sale), label a street or a building (e.g. Sunset Boulevard, Doris Stein Building), commemorate an event or a person (e.g. Michael Jackson's star on the Walk of Fame), convey more information (e.g. For fries, add \$3), label objects (e.g. fire extinguisher), or if it was a transgressive sign (e.g. graffiti). The second criterion Spolsky and Cooper established had to do with the type of materials that were used to fashion signs. These could range from wood to metal, paper to tile, and even glass to stone. Finally, from a linguistic standpoint, they looked at the number of languages in signs, as well as the specific language or languages present. These three taxonomies proved useful because one can find tendencies for signs of a particular material to serve certain functions. For example, the temporality of a message painted on a store window, as opposed to the permanence of a metal plaque, convey different meanings.

Along with the above criteria, Spolsky and Cooper (1991) created three rules for sign writers, distinguishing between rules that are typical and rules that are necessary. Their rules were considered along a gradient (e.g. the degree to which you are literate in a language), and are not simply binomial in nature (e.g. whether or not you know a language). The three rules are displayed below in Table 1.1.

Name	Rule	Necessary or Typical
"Sign-writer's skill" condition	Signs are written in a language you know.	Necessary
"Presumed reader" condition	There is a preference for signs to be written in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read.	Typical
"Symbolic value" condition	There is a preference for signs to be written in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified.	Typical

Table 1.1: Spolsky & Cooper's (1991) Three Sign Rules

Perhaps a better name for these "rules" would be "tendencies," as they are not always obeyed by the sign author and can easily contradict each other. For instance, knowledge of a language, or linguistic proficiency, is a rather difficult item to gauge. Furthermore, rule number one is especially general in that sign-writers must know the language in which they write, but it is not clear as to whether they need to be fluent (what does fluent even mean?) or merely have a working knowledge of the language. Similarly, many individuals can speak a language in which they are not literate (i.e. heritage language speakers). Other times, a given language is used solely for written purposes, but not for speech. This first rule does not allude to the type of knowledge the sign-writer must have of the language. Rule 2 has an economic motivation, whereas rule 3 is symbolic and has more of a political and sociocultural motivation and is related to language loyalty. Spolsky and Cooper state that the second and third rules can contradict each

other, but the first rule is a necessary circumstance. As Gorter and Cenoz (2008) say, "[i]t would be interesting to analyze if these rules apply to different contexts because it seems that in some cases the symbolic value condition can be so important that even rule 1 may not apply." One example I saw of this was in my research on the LL of Mexico City (Carr, 2015a, 2015b), in which there were many cases of salons in Mexico labeling themselves as "saloons;" this demonstrates that the symbolic value of using English in Mexico was so important that knowledge of the language took a seat on the back burner. It was more valuable to use a certain language incorrectly rather than to not use it at all.

2.1.1.3 Landry and Bourhis (1997)

Twenty years after Rosenbaum et. al published their study and six years after Spolsky and Cooper's, two scholars in Canada actually gave a name to the budding field. While some say that the birthplace of Linguistic Landscape Studies was in Israel, others argue that it was in Canada, with the canonical study by Landry and Bourhis from 1997. In their heavily cited article, the authors identify two main functions of the linguistic landscape: an informative function and a symbolic function. First of all, signs are used to convey information to their readers. People read signs to figure out issues such as how to arrive at their destination (e.g. "For Hollywood, use the 101"), how to obey the law (e.g. "right lane must turn right"), and the ways in which they can pay (e.g. "all major credit cards accepted"). Landry and Bourhis describe this as the **informational function** of a sign.

In addition to sharing content, language can also serve a **symbolic function**. This refers to language being used as a symbol, conveying its power and status within a community. In this case, rather than communicating a literal, linguistic message, language use is more object-like in

that it represents a particular ideology (e.g. the idea that French is sophisticated or that British accent sounds intelligent). Many times, a particular language is used instead of another when it conveys more prestige or more power. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) also discussed the uses of signs, but focused on their specific, informative functions, whereas Landry and Bourhis concentrated more on the social psychological perspective.

This concept is related to "language display" (Bhatia, 1992, pp. 196–197; Piller, 2003, p. 172), and it occurs when a language is "used to attract attention to a product and/or to make a statement about the high quality or elegance of a foreign product" (Baumgardner, 2008, p. 38). Since the language is simply used for show, it does not serve a communicative purpose; it does not convey information, but rather a notion of superiority or sophistication. As Baumgardner (2008) says, in the case of language display, "[w]e have transformed language from a communicative medium into an 'object' devoid of its original communicative function; languages now represent idealized stereotypes of otherness" (p. 24). Furthermore, we can draw a connection between the symbolic function of a sign (Ben-Rafael, 2009; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006), language display (Bhatia, 1992, pp. 196–197; Piller, 2003, p. 172), and the concept of snob appeal (Rosenbaum et al., 1977, p. 187), as previously reviewed.

Whenever there is more than one language in a given space, there is likely a competition for power, prestige, and use. This can be due in part to a language's number of speakers or association with a certain culture, among other things. For example, in the United States, English tends to be the language in a position of power, whereas other languages are dubbed "minority languages." This can even be true with Spanish when it is in fact the majority language in a given area, as is the case in certain parts of Los Angeles.

We can refer to a particular ethnic group that shares a common language as an

ethnolinguistic community. For instance, many Cubans speak Spanish and most Brazilians tend to speak Portuguese. Individually, these communities could be considered to share a common ethnicity as well as a language. However, it is important to note that this is not always the case. One example of this is the large number of Latinos born in the US that grew up speaking English and do not speak Spanish. They cannot necessarily be considered part of the Spanish-speaking Latino ethnolinguistic group. Non-dominant ethnolinguistic groups are often stigmatized and considered less powerful; they frequently struggle to remain a collective entity. Without a conscious effort, speakers of an immigrant language can lose their linguistic abilities in that language. In the US, by the third generation, children of immigrants have commonly lost their heritage language and, in its place, have adopted English; this is known as the process of Anglicization (Fishman, 1972, 1980). A group's "ability to behave and survive as a distinct and active collective entity within multi-lingual settings," despite the trend of Anglicization, is referred to as its **ethnolinguistic vitality** (Giles et al., 1977).

Landry and Bourhis (1997) studied members of the French-speaking Québécois ethnolinguistic group and found that the linguistic landscape contributed to their perception of the value and status of their language within a multilingual society. In the case of ethnolinguistic groups, the LL is the most "observable and immediate index of the relative *power* and *status* of the linguistic communities inhabiting a given territory" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 29, emphasis my own). This means that we can use the linguistic landscape as a sign of ethnolinguistic vitality, as one of the ways we can evaluate a minority language's chance of survival. Thus, the more a minority language is displayed in the informative section, the higher its public utility is. This use of a language has been used as a measurement of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Landry and Bourhis' (1997) study consisted of three experiments with 2,010 Canadian Francophone students in which they examined "the relationship between linguistic landscape and specific aspects of vitality beliefs, ethnolinguistic identity and language behavior in multilingual settings" (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008, p. 346). The authors discuss the individual network of language contacts, which includes people such as family, friends, and colleagues, but also non-human sources like the media with which people have linguistic contact either through speech or reading. Their findings show that the LL is an independent factor of the individual network of language contacts and that it is greatly associated with subjective vitality scores, or the perception of where a group is situated socially (i.e. its status) relative to other groups. That is, the more a language appears in the LL, the more prestigious the ethnolinguistic group is perceived to be. One of Landry and Bourhis' conclusions is that the LL can be used as a form of language maintenance, or as a way of promoting the use of a particular language in order to avoid language shift.

Thus, with a steady base, the field of Linguistic Landscape Studies continued on. The conversation regarding sign rules, taxonomies, the functions of signage, the documentation of languages and their contact, and the LL's role in language maintenance and measuring ethnolinguistic vitality had been initiated and the field was set for rather interesting twists and turns, some of which we will see in the next sections.

2.1.2 Quantitative Studies

Linguistic landscape studies can be roughly divided into two categories: those that are more quantitative in nature and those that are qualitative. While some scholars argue that the field originated with qualitative studies, others argue that it began with more quantitative work.

Nonetheless, the two traditions have proved quite fruitful in contributing to the methodological and theoretical development of the field of Linguistic Landscape Studies. Here, we will review work that has sought to gather large corpuses of data to reveal trends in the public signage.

2.1.2.1 Soukup (2016)

In a methodological proposal for a linguistic landscape project in Vienna, Barbara Soukup (2016) sought to "investigate meaning-making in the LL from the sign-readers' perspective" (p. 8). She did this by implicating three modules. This first module addressed the use of English in the Viennese linguistic landscape. She discussed how she used a count-all procedure in her quantitative study, where she invokes a Variationist design, following Labov's (1969) "Principle of Accountability," that says that "any variable form... should be reported with the proportion of cases in which the form did occur in the relevant environment, compared to the total number of cases in which it might have occurred" (p. 738). She proposed to analyze language choice in each sign in her corpus composed of 17,214 signs. In the second module, Soukup will look at how the Viennese public perceive the variation of English and German by using a lexical decision task and measuring the participants' reactions times. Finally, she describes how she will work towards understanding the social meanings associated with the appearance of English in the signage in the third module. Soukup plans to do this in two ways. First, she will use a paper-based questionnaire to inquire as to participants' reactions to manipulated signage along semantic-differential scales (Charles, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). Second, she will set up focus groups and examine conversations using content analyses. The large-scale project is set to be completed in 2018.

While Soukup is still collecting data and conducting analyses for her proposed project, one would logically think that the languages spoken by the population of an area would be reflected in the languages that appear in the signage, and some scholars have sought to evince this. For example, Franco-Rodríguez (2009) stated that the LL reflects the vernaculars of a given region, and Maurais and Monnier (1996) said that the predominant language of the linguistic landscape is often the one spoken by the majority of the population. Other scholars, however, have shared a different opinion. Shohamy (2012) said that, "[t]he language forms displayed in local public spaces do not always reflect the actual spoken uses of languages by local people" (p. 539); Gorter (2013) found this to be the case in Israel. Landry and Bourhis (1997) have expressed one potential reason for the languages spoken in an area to not be mirrored in the LL: "a dominant minority... can impose its own language on another language group even if this latter group forms a majority of the population" (p. 26). This can also happen when English is used in the linguistic landscape to target international travelers and tourists. As mentioned in Sayer (2010), this instance of English in a country like Mexico would not reflect the linguistic population of the area, but rather express an area's desire to attract visitors who speak that language.

In some contexts, there are specific language policies that affect how languages are used in the signage of an area, and the public is not at will to display the languages of their choice in the linguistic landscape. This is the case in Quebec where there is a specific language policy that forbids the predominance of English and other languages in signs. The law dictates that French must always be markedly predominant. However, the population is not solely composed of French speakers. While Francophones are the majority, there are also speakers of English and other languages. Here, the linguistic landscape does not reflect the linguistic ability of its

population. Patricia Lamarre (2014) even showed strategies which people use to circumvent this language policy. "Bilingual winks" engage in wordplay to "transgress the norms and boundaries of languages understood as separate entities, as well as challenge legislation that fundamentally rests on the 'separateness' of the languages being 'managed,'" (Lamarre, 2014, p. 137). Other studies have also shown that the local linguistic population is not necessarily represented in the linguistic landscape. We now turn to some of these.

2.1.2.2 Ben-Rafael et al. (2006)

In a foundational study to the field, Eliezer Ben-Rafael, Elana Shohamy, Muhammad Hasan Amara, and Nira Trumper-Hecht (2006) together took a language inventory in different areas of Israel, looking at the use and predominance of Hebrew, Arabic, and English in local signage. The authors showed that Israel's LL was contested between groups that spoke those languages, and that it was not a reflection of the different local, ethnolinguistic communities, but rather an outcome of a negotiation process between them, in which Hebrew was clearly the dominant language in particular areas. They mentioned that English also had a significant presence, in addition to certain immigrant languages such as Russian. The authors posit that the configuration of the LL is symbolic construction of the public space and that it is affected by three factors. First, signage must have the ability to attract onlookers, so "rational considerations focusing on the signs' expected attractiveness" are considered to be quite an influential element (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006, p. 7). Second, the desired perception of the identities of individuals who are responsible for displaying the signs play a large role in determining code preference. Finally, the authors claimed that issues of sociopolitical influences and relations of power can bear a good deal on linguistic choice. The language attitudes present at individual levels and societal levels

can contribute to decision-making processes. This study demonstrated that prestige, power, and other factors can play a larger role than demographic influence in determining the language of public signage.

2.1.2.3 Carr (2015a, 2015c)

I came to similar conclusions in a project I carried out in Koreatown, Los Angeles (Carr, 2015a, 2015c). Located in Central LA, Koreatown has one of the densest populations in the city (Sanchez, Auer, Terriquez, & Kim, 2012). However, Koreans are the ethnic minority, comprising 22% of the population, while, at 58%, Latinos constitute the majority. Using a corpus of over 900 signs coming from the community, this study showed that Spanish rarely appeared in the public space, even though it was the language of the ethnolinguistic majority. Instead, Korean predominated in the majority of cases. It was the most salient language in monolingual signs and also in both monolingual and multilingual main sections of signs.⁹ In the case of multilingual signs' informative sections, Korean dominated when this section was multilingual, but English dominated when only a single language occurred in this section. Following Franco-Rodríguez (2009), these findings can be interpreted as Korean having a high degree of prestige and ethnolinguistic pressure in this neighborhood. Korean and English also seemed to be very productive in terms of communication here.

However, does this mean Spanish is not a useful language in the Koreatown, Los Angeles community? Looking at the U.S. Census Bureau (2015) reports of language spoken at home, I was able to conclude that this was not the case. Instead, an alternative interpretation is that, similar to findings by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006, p. 7), the public space was symbolically

⁹ See the section "Linguistic Landscape Work in Los Angeles" below for an explanation of this analysis.

constructed; the languages documented by the study revealed the symbolic economies and the commodification of ethnicity (see Leeman & Modan, 2009, p. 333), as opposed to the city serving as a Korean ethnic enclave. Many local business owners are Korean and are in charge of deciding the language of the signage displayed for their clientele. Furthermore, visitors go to Koreatown for the experience. Many expect to see Korean linguistic and cultural items in the area, which results in the commodification of Korean language and culture. This study and others have problematized the LL's ability to reveal the linguistic population of an area.

2.1.3 Qualitative Studies

Qualitative studies have sought to look at the linguistic landscape more in depth, using a smaller number of signs. While there have been different types of explorations, some researchers have incorporated into their methodology interviews outdoors to study language attitudes from the perspective of sign-onlookers and passersby. Rebecca Garvin and William Kelleher are two such scholars. In the sections that follow, we will review their methodological and theoretical contributions to the field.

2.1.3.1 Garvin (2010)

First, in "Responses to the linguistic landscape in Memphis, Tennessee: An urban space in transition," Garvin (2010) used what she calls "postmodern walking tour interviews" to capture locals' reactions to migrant and minority language discourses in the Memphis linguistic landscape. This area had been undergoing much change due to a recent, heavy flow of transnational migration. After selecting streets in areas that had a large amount of multilingual signage, the LL of these areas was documented and participants were selected. For participant

selection, Garvin (2010) first put up fliers in "public offices, non-academic institutional settings" (p. 260). She then conducted initial interviews and scheduled walking tours with each person. During the walk, she utilized a set of interview questions to have informants report their understandings and visual perceptions of public signage, which contained multiple languages, images, and icons. Using the results of this attitudinal study, Garvin argues that the LL triggers emotional responses, and that reactions to signage are never neutral. Instead, the LL elicits emotional and psychological statements of belonging and identity in time and place. She concludes with mentioning the importance of studying attitudes within the linguistic landscape, since "local attitudes can either create obstacles or establish bridges for a global society" (Garvin, 2010, p. 269).

2.1.3.2 Kelleher (2014)

In his 2014 thesis, Kelleher also looked at place and space and the linguistic landscape, but this time comparing two locations: Marseille, France and Pretoria, South Africa. For this longitudinal study, he collected data over the span of 2 years. Part of his corpus was composed of interviews with participants, which he conducted outside. To find participants, he walked around and spoke with people on the street, both pedestrians and shoppers, as well as salespeople and shop owners. Using a geosemiotic approach, he analyzed the expression of power in the public space and the four cycles of discourse that can be found in linguistic landscape signs: the interaction order, habitus, place semiotics, and visual semiotics. Kelleher (2014) argues that global discourses interact with local discourses in the studied spaces, stating that "[a] neighbourhood, through LL, articulates its relation to the world" (p. 169). He also posited that linguistic landscapes have various social functions and "are seen to be constitutive of a sense of place, allowing insights

into memory, aspiration, and familial and cultural networks" (Kelleher, 2014, p. 2). In his conclusion, he underscores the importance of Linguistic Landscape Studies, claiming that the streets, the signs located in them, and their design and dispersal realize a politics of space, revealing relations of power.

2.2 Linguistic Landscape Work in Los Angeles

While Landry and Bourhis and their study in Canada (1997) are frequently cited as the institutionalization of Linguistic Landscape Studies, its boom really took place in the Middle East, as previously mentioned. However, research has been slower in coming to the Western hemisphere. Los Angeles is known for its high degree of commercialization and presence of advertising signs. Similarly, nearly 40% of the county's population five years and over speaks Spanish at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015c). This linguistic diversity creates for an interesting area of linguistic landscape study. Studies on the LL of Los Angeles have only been carried out by four individuals: Franco-Rodríguez (2002, 2005, 2008, 2011), O'Brien Anderson (2003), Lee (2014), and Chun (2014). The first author has conducted the most research of the four and has taken a quantitative approach, while the other three have taken qualitative approaches. O'Brien Anderson sociolinguistically situated Spanish speakers within their political, historical, and socioeconomic contexts, while Franco-Rodríguez included an in-depth linguistic analysis of LL texts. Lee and Chun, on the other hand, have carried out studies in specific areas of Los Angeles.

2.2.1 Quantitative Work

José Manuel Franco-Rodríguez has been the only scholar to examine the linguistic landscape of Los Angeles from a quantitative perspective. In 2005, Franco-Rodríguez published an article

based on his thesis (2002). Then, in 2008, he wrote a comparative linguistic landscape study, contrasting his data from Los Angeles County (2005) with data he had collected from Miami-Dade County (2007). The following year, he published a methodological paper in Spanish and an English version came out in 2009. Finally, in 2011, another analysis piece was published comparing the two counties of LA and Miami-Dade. We will now examine these contributions.

2.2.1.1 Franco-Rodríguez (2002, 2005, 2008, 2011)

Franco-Rodríguez's first published linguistic landscape study looked at deviations from "Standard Spanish" in the morphology, syntax, orthography, and lexical items of the Spanish of Los Angeles. In his corpus of 736 LL texts coming from 45 different neighborhoods, he found a large amount of lexical borrowings from English, pointing to a tendency for "grammatical neutralization" or linguistic convergence (2005). He states that this provides evidence for a high degree of code switching in speech. Franco-Rodríguez also gives examples of several orthographical errors, and attributes them to a lack of formal education in the Spanish language for many Spanish-speakers in the area. This makes sense since, after all, the language of instruction in the majority of schools in the US is English (Altbach, 2007) and many students do not receive extended instruction in Spanish.¹⁰ In terms of the morphosyntax used in the signage, Franco-Rodríguez mentions a lack of gender and number agreement and inaccurate use of prepositions, among other types of errors. He concludes with saying that the Spanish of Los Angeles, as seen in the LL, is becoming more similar to English and more different from

¹⁰ In California, Proposition 227 is mostly responsible for this. Following the adoption of Proposition 63 in 1986, which made English the official language of California, Proposition 227 was passed in 1998. This proposition, also strongly in favor of the English language (and weary of other languages), changed the default educational services for Limited English Proficient students. While these students were generally enrolled in bilingual programs for a few years, Proposition 227 essentially eliminated bilingual classes, mandating that students be taught English in special classes using mostly English for a maximum of one year.

"Standard Spanish."

When identifying errors and deviations from the norm, it's important to consider positionality and what we believe to be the norm, since this can change from location to location, from social class to social class, and even from individual to individual. That is, we must situate ourselves within our own work, as our different backgrounds and perspectives can have a great effect on our analyses. An alternate point of view expressed in Claudia Parodi's work is that Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish (LAVS) is a unique dialect (2003, 2004, 2009a, 2009b). Her findings show that, while English does have an influence on the Spanish of LA due to their high degree of contact, this is not the only factor affecting the changes seen in the vernacular. In addition to externally motivated changes, languages and dialects have internally motivated changes. That is, outside languages or dialects could invoke a linguistic change, *or* natural evolution might take place from within the language or dialect itself. However, more research would have to be done to reveal whether the changes are internally-motivated or externally-motivated.

In 2008 and 2009, Franco-Rodríguez published comparative pieces regarding his results from Los Angeles (2005) and findings he gathered from Miami (2007). In these articles, he proposed an innovative methodological framework. A version of this methodology will be employed in the present dissertation. Franco-Rodríguez introduced what he called the **main** and **informative sections** of an **LL text**. These ideas adapted the **symbolic** and the **informative functions** of the linguistic landscape from Landry and Borhis' canonical study (1997), as previously discussed. It is important to analyze these sections and the makeup of the signs, since, as Kress (2010) says, "the processes of design, interpretation and re-design are a function of power and the position in the world of the producer and receiver of a sign or a text" (as stated in

Kelleher, 2014, p. 44).

The **main section** tends to be the most salient part of the sign, usually due to its size or aesthetic qualities such as color of font or whether a word is bolded. This section realizes at least one of the following functions: "identify the entity that displays the text," "deliver the focal message," or "anticipate the content of other sections of text" (Franco-Rodríguez, 2009, p. 5).

The main section generally reflects a language's situation of prestige relative to other languages in the area, its degree of globalization, and its level of ethnolinguistic pressure or its presence and persuasive strength (Franco-Rodríguez 2009).

Additional material can sometimes be found in the **informative section**. As its name implies, the informative section provides important, pragmatic information to the reader. It complements the main section in that it many times relays the necessary content for the reader to take advantage of the service offered in the main section. This extra information tends to be more specific and the text here is usually more conservative in its size, font, or color than the text in the main section. Franco-Rodríguez (2009) explains how a minority language's public utility can be reflected in its degree of use in the informative section, meaning that a minority language that is used frequently in this smaller part is relaying the necessary content and is therefore considered a useful means of communication within a particular community. This, in turn, relates to its status of ethnolinguistic vitality, or "a group's ability to behave and survive as a distinct and active collective entity within multilingual settings" (Giles et al 1977). For this reason, as previously mentioned, the linguistic landscape can contribute to an evaluation of a minority language's chance of survival, especially in terms of speakers' perception of the status of their language in society (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

In his 2008 and 2009 studies, Franco-Rodríguez looked at the dominant language, or the

code preference, of each section. Possible options included monolingual Spanish or English, both Spanish and English with the same content, and both Spanish and English with differing content, among others. When a section was bilingual, he did not specify a linguistic code preference per se. According to Backhaus (2007) and Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 120), the language that appears on the top or on the left of another should be considered the dominant one. Regarding the main section of the LL texts in Los Angeles, Franco-Rodríguez found that English was the preference for private texts written by individuals. However, Spanish was the preference for businesses; and a combined use of both English and Spanish was the preference for government signs. Next, for the informative sections, the bilingual option was the preference for private texts, English for business texts, and a tie between monolingual English and both English and Spanish for government signs. Following his framework, this information signals that English was considered more prestigious for individuals, whereas Spanish was either considered more valuable for businesses or they wished to portray a value of the language. Both languages were equally used in government signage in Los Angeles, which is quite telling for Spanish, a language without an official status. Even though individuals seemed to value English more, both English and Spanish had a high degree of public utility for them in Los Angeles. English was the language of communication for businesses, and both monolingual English and bilingual English-Spanish proved useful for communication in government signs.

The results from Franco-Rodríguez's investigation indicated an inclination toward bilingual communication in both regions and a higher level of Spanish literacy in Miami-Dade Spanish than in Los Angeles Spanish. He also argued for the ability of the linguistic landscape to echo the vernacular spoken in a given community, especially in the case of private texts, which he defines as those texts authored by individuals or local businesses (Franco-Rodríguez, 2009, p.

3).¹¹

In 2011, Franco-Rodríguez again compared LA Spanish to Miami-Dade Spanish. The abundance of Spanish in the linguistic landscape of both Los Angeles and Miami-Dade evidenced a persistent linguistic presence in the regions; however, English-only tendencies in governmental policies and education had a very negative impact on the populations' Spanish literacy. Franco-Rodríguez notes that, "in spite of the rapid Hispanic population increase, the use and the quality of Spanish seem to decrease gradually, leaving Spanish largely reduced to the family sphere and 'contaminated' by interference of English." In this sense, English is viewed as contaminating Spanish, "distorting the language itself and creating what some investigators consider a transitory hybrid (Spanglish) socially doomed to marginalization" (Franco-Rodríguez, 2011, p. 88). This statement echoes the definition of "Spanglish" as used in the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy: "modalidad del habla de algunos grupos hispanos de los Estados Unidos, en la que se mezclan, deformándolos, elementos léxicos y gramaticales del español y del inglés" (Real Academia Española, 2012).¹² Both ideas refer to English influence as an act of deforming or distorting Spanish. This outlook labels Spanglish as a demented, broken creature; however, scholars such as Zentella (1997) argue that it in fact can have a systematic grammar and very specific rules or restraints it must abide by. In his study, Franco-Rodríguez also discusses how the sheer profusion of bilingual Spanish-English or monolingual Spanish signs, along with the existence of calques and loanwords (both partly and fully assimilated), confirms language maintenance and thus the Spanish language's vitality. However, he warns that this is

¹¹ These were previously referred to as bottom-up signage (Ben-Rafael et al., 2004, p. 17).

¹² Thanks to scholars such as Ana Celia Zentella and their campaigns to change the definition of Spanglish, it was updated to "Modalidad del habla de algunos grupos hispanos de los Estados Unidos en la que se mezclan elementos léxicos y gramaticales del español y del inglés" (Real Academia Española, 2017).

being challenged in Los Angeles by the aforementioned English-only policies. Franco-Rodríguez's studies, along with O'Brien Anderson's work which is discussed below, pioneered the camp, serving as an initial base to LL scholarship in Los Angeles.

2.2.2 Qualitative Work

The other three scholars that have investigated the linguistic landscape of Los Angeles have done so from a qualitative perspective, albeit using differing approaches. In the coming sections, we will review the work carried out by Erin Catherine O'Brien-Anderson, Jerry Won Lee, and Christian W. Chun in Los Angeles.

2.2.2.1 O'Brien-Anderson (2002)

O'Brien Anderson's (2002) thesis "El español escrito de la calle en el condado de Los Ángeles: lengua y sociedad" shared the same title as José Manuel Franco-Rodríguez's, but with a different subtitle, since they were presented as part of a single volume. Together, they described the context of Spanish in Los Angeles, as well as the application. O'Brien Anderson focused on the several realms of Spanish and its status in the United States. She examined the socioeconomic, political, and historical conditions of Spanish speakers in the US and specifically in Los Angeles. She then studied how each of these conditions is demonstrated in the LL, claiming that the LL corresponds with the sociolinguistic characteristics of the community, in line with Franco-Rodríguez's work, and these implications affect how Spanish is used and perceived in the linguistic landscape. While her thesis has not been published and she did not continue to work within the field of linguistic landscape studies, her study does provide a general context with which to grasp the socio-political, linguistic background of Spanish and Spanish speakers in Los

Angeles County and how they fit into the over-arching domain of the country.

2.2.2.2 Lee (2014)

In "Transnational Linguistic Landscapes and the Transgression of Metadiscursive Regimes of Language," Lee (2014) discussed methodological gaps in the field of LL Studies and proposed solutions. He reinforced his ideas with examples from linguistic landscapes in South Korea and the Koreatowns of Los Angeles and New York. In his qualitative study, Lee focuses on English use, discussing global Englishes as new ways of utilizing English. That is, global Englishes should not be considered imprecise L2 speech, but rather new types of usage that employ different strategies than L1 speakers. As an example, Lee cites a lounge in Los Angeles called "Wine Bbar." At first glance, this may seem like a typo, but the repeated use of the letter *b* resembles the aspiration of consonant sounds that often occurs in informal Korean speech. This instance of linguistic creativity could be misinterpreted as a grammatical mistake rather than a deliberate intention (Lee, 2014, p. 63).

A common trend is to view the use of English as being due to a desire to associate a product, service or business with the concept of modernity (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2014; Taylor-Leech, 2012, p. 28). However, Lee cautions against the automatic association of English with modernity in Korean signs, urging readers to consider other interpretations of perceived incorrect English usage in non-English-speaking countries. As he states, alleged grammatical errors do not necessarily signal linguistic deficiency, since English is many times "disinvented and reconstituted through language practice in... polylingual settings" (Lee, 2014, p. 71). English is simply being used in a different way. In his challenging of "not only traditional boundaries of language, but also the prevailing ideologies of native speaker idealization," Lee

reminds researchers that sometimes it is not so easy to distinguish between the informative and symbolic functions of signs, as well as native and nonnative uses of language (Lee, 2014, p. 71). He argues that must be aware of our own biases in judging which information serves a communicative linguistic purpose and which serves a symbolic purpose. Lee states that we can combat this potential problem by gaining insight from native speakers born in the area. Studies of Spanish in Los Angeles could benefit from Lee's stance on positionality and his idea that there are other possibilities for classifying deviations from the norm aside from a lack of proficiency in the language. Instead of differences between LAVS and "Standard Spanish" being seen as errors due to English influence, they could be considered innovations in the dialect, similar to how Parodi (2003, 2004, 2009) argues that these suspected mistakes belong to an established Spanish dialect.

2.2.2.3 Chun (2014)

Chun published an interesting study regarding an event in which he participated, collecting ethnographic data. He attended a camp-in at the Los Angeles City Hall during one of the Occupy Movements in the fall of 2011. In his qualitative study, Chun suggests amplification to the category of transgressive signage, which are typically known as "any sign that is in the 'wrong' place" or "in some way unauthorized" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, p. 146). Graffiti, the canonical example of a transgressive sign, is so because it is generally illegal to spray paint on a public wall without prior authorization. Another example includes the various stickers and street art decorating or destroying the city, depending on one's view. Chun proposes the addition of protest signs to this category which, unlike graffiti and illegal postings, are more transgressive in content rather than in their material form. To hold a sign is not generally illegal, but when the messages

are used as a means of challenging authority and condemning specific individuals and corporations, the sign tends to be socially unacceptable, out of place.

Chun follows the multimodal framework by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) and Kress (2010), by using materials from a variety of sources. He analyzes the journey, both physical and digital, of three signs and their paths to YouTube, a blog, and a political cartoon from Creators Syndicate, an independent distributor of columns and comic strips. This "mobile trajectory" (Chun, 2014, p. 670) or "itineraries" of discourse allow the signs to create new meanings, continuing beyond their origins at the protest site and on to social media. In order for these types of demonstrations to successfully convey their messages, the author stresses that the signs "return to material sites such as the workplace, the factory, the classroom, and public spaces" (Chun, 2014, p. 672) so that they do not get buried under all of the online reposts, and their viewers desensitized. Chun also comments on how the LL instigated a transformation of space for the LA City Hall, in which it went from a space with little public participation to one with bustling with action and protestors. Finally, he analyzes the content of the signs, following the mediated discourse analysis framework by Norris and Jones (2005), Scollon (2008), and Scollon and Scollon (2003, 2004), showing that sign authors draw on references to Monopoly (i.e. "the Monopoly Man" or "Pennybags"), as well as issues such as corporate welfare and trickle-down economics in order to connect with non-protestors.

The work of the four LL researchers that have studied Los Angeles serves as a useful point of departure for future investigation. To summarize, Franco-Rodríguez's (2005, 2008, 2011) research has emphasized Spanish literacy and English's influence on the language; O'Brien Anderson presented the socioeconomic, political, and historical conditions of Spanish speakers in the United States and how these affect the LL; and Lee and Chun's studies have provided us

with insight into how English is used in the Korean context and the inherent nature of transgressive signage in an Occupy Movement, respectively. The present dissertation, in turn, will fill an important gap in the scholarship, incorporating both quantitative and qualitative approaches based on previous advances in the county. Furthermore, instead of examining the entire county of Los Angeles, this dissertation will narrow in on three particular areas.

2.3 Summary and Dissertation Contributions

Studies by Chun (2014), Franco-Rodríguez (2002, 2005, 2008, 2011), Lee (2014), and O'Brien Anderson (2002) provide a base upon which we can conduct further research in different lines of inquiry and strengthen those that have been initiated. As we have seen in this chapter, the work in Los Angeles has been either qualitative or quantitative in nature. While qualitative projects have yielded thought-provoking results, they have not incorporated quantitative analyses in order to show repeated occurrences, thereby corroborating their claims. Similarly, quantitative work has not gone beyond numbers and demonstrated implications for individuals in the field. While the aforementioned studies will serve as a stepping-stone for future investigation, the field is in need of a study that effectively takes into account both qualitative and quantitative aspects of the LL of Los Angeles.

A balance of quantitative and qualitative work tends to yield the most reliable results. When conducting qualitative research, it is important to incorporate the people of an area's voices, ideas, and opinions. Ben Said (2011) has also called for such an emphasis, stating that "future LL research ought to include voices from the people as an essential part of the interpretation of the linguistic landscape" (p. 68). Likewise, Elana Shohamy (2012) stressed the role of people in the linguistic landscape when she specified that "work on LL not only focuses

on signs per se, but on how people interact with them" (p. 538). Relatedly, while qualitative examinations can be productive in gaining initial ground, we must keep in mind that these are the interpretations of a single person or a small group of individuals, and not the mass. These ideas could have been taken into consideration in the three qualitative studies that have been carried out in Los Angeles. It is important to consider language attitudes and to investigate how others feel about the LL.

This dissertation serves several important functions. Incorporating both quantitative and qualitative approaches, it investigates the linguistic preferences of the LL in order to demonstrate which languages hold a prestigious position in the community and which are necessary for public communication in a given region (Franco-Rodríguez, 2009). By employing semi-directed sociolinguistic interviews, it also looks into language attitudes regarding the linguistic landscapes of Los Angeles. This dual approach integrates methods and theories from Franco-Rodríguez's and Soukup's quantitative work, as well as Garvin and Kelleher's qualitative work. In fact, as we will see in the methodology chapter, some of the questions from the semi-directed interviews came from the questionnaires present in the two aforementioned qualitative studies.

As we have seen, the field of Linguistic Landscape Studies is bursting with new directions, applications, and implications. While several exciting studies have laid the groundwork for future research, much remains to be studied. The present dissertation builds upon past studies, expanding the scholarship to include multiple aspects of the urban signage in the gigantic, vibrant metropolis that is Los Angeles.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Los Angeles County provides a rich research environment for the linguistic landscaper. With a total population of 10,038,383, there are over 4.8 million Hispanic or Latino residents (48.2%), the majority of whom are of Mexican descent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015b). Relatedly, 39.4% of the population five years and over speaks Spanish at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015c). For this reason, Spanish, along with other minority languages, commonly appears in the linguistic landscape. Los Angeles is one of the most commercially dense areas of the country and, consequently, showcases an ever-changing mosaic of advertisements.

As mentioned in the literature review of the previous chapter, little LL scholarship has been carried out in Los Angeles. No studies have employed mixed methods and none have incorporated the voices of individuals and their attitudes toward the languages used in public signage. The present chapter will discuss the methodology, first of the quantitative studies and then of the qualitative studies. More specifically, we will review the research questions, data collection, informants and materials, and the analyses of each approach.

3.2 Quantitative Studies

The purpose of the quantitative analysis is to map the linguistic diversity and multilingual and multicultural settings of Southeast Los Angeles. This was achieved by documenting the languages of the linguistic landscape to see which appeared more and had a higher presence in relation to others. By analyzing the main and informative sections of signs (Franco-Rodríguez 2009), we will look at language prestige and utility in the multilingual context. We will also see

how one particular population –Latinos– has an effect on the linguistic landscape of an area.

Finally, we will see how a statistical analysis of the languages used in the particular sections of the signs can predict when Spanish will be used.

3.2.1 Research Questions

While the overarching goal is to see if and how Spanish is used differently in the linguistic landscape when there is a higher Latino population, the four research questions for the quantitative analyses can be summarized in the following way:

1. What languages appear in the linguistic landscape of the three cities in Southeast Los Angeles? Which language or languages dominate?
2. What do these findings imply in terms of language prestige and public utility?
3. Does the main section or the informative section of signs better reflect the linguistic population of a given area?
4. Can we predict the likelihood of Spanish occurring in the informative section given a language in the main section of a sign?

As has been previously mentioned, Los Angeles is a highly multicultural and multilingual county. Nonetheless, since the principal focus of this study is to compare the use of English and Spanish in the linguistic landscape, I took great care to isolate linguistic variables in the selection of cities, choosing cities with high Latino, Anglo, and Black populations as opposed to neighboring cities in Southeast Los Angeles such as Cerritos, which is home to several speakers of Asian languages; thus, languages such as Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino are frequently seen (Carr, 2014). So, regarding research questions 1 and 2, it is hypothesized that we will see few languages other than Spanish and English in the visual environment of the selected

areas' public space. These include languages such as Italian and French, since they enjoy a high degree of prestige in the United States. I predict that there will be more Spanish present in the linguistic landscape of the cities with a higher Latino population. Again, not all Latinos and Latinas speak Spanish, but many residents of Southeast Los Angeles speak Spanish. This leads me to infer that cities with a higher amount of Latinos would have more Spanish-speaking sign authors and also sign readers; thus, it would be logical and economically advantageous for Spanish to be more present in areas with higher numbers of Spanish speakers.

Regarding the third research question, I predict that the informative section will better reflect the linguistic population of a given area than its counterpart. As discussed in chapter two, this part of the sign is more important for communication with sign readers, and therefore sign authors are more likely to use the language or languages of the community here than they are in the main section, which is more likely to have a more symbolic message.

For the final research question, I hypothesize that we can use the language in the main section to predict the likelihood of Spanish occurring in the informative section of a linguistic landscape text. I hypothesize a positive correlation between the language of the main section and the language of the informative section: when Spanish dominates in the main section, Spanish will also dominate in the informative section. Likewise, when Spanish is in the non-dominant position of the main section, I predict it will also appear in the non-dominant position of the informative section. Similarly, when English dominates in the main section, English will also dominate in the informative section, and English will appear in the non-dominant position of the informative section when in the same position in the main section.

3.2.2 Data Collection and Materials

In order to investigate the linguistic landscape of Southeast Los Angeles, I compared all twenty-six cities in Southeast Los Angeles to find those with the most similar demographics in terms of total population (i.e. between 55,000 and 72,000 residents), land area (i.e. between 3 and 5 square miles), and also median household income (i.e. between \$34,000 and \$46,000 per year), as can be seen below in Table 3.1. I also aimed to find three cities in which the difference between the Latino population of the first and second two cities was the same as the difference between that of the second and third cities as far as percentages. Using these criteria, I selected the following three cities, which all have a Latino population of over 80% and over 60% of all businesses are Hispanic-owned: Huntington Park, Lynwood, and Paramount (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012, 2015b). Huntington Park has the highest Hispanic population of the three (97.3%) and Lynwood the second highest (88.4%). Finally, Paramount has the third highest Hispanic population at 80.4% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015b). This means that the difference between the Latino population of Huntington Park and Lynwood is 8.9% and that between Lynwood and Paramount is 8%, and these cities' Hispanic populations are proportionally different. Nonetheless, at least for these three neighborhoods, Latino population seems to be negatively correlated with median household income. That is, the higher the Latino population, the lower the medium household income for these three cities.

City Total Population	Latino Population	Total Population	Land Area (in Square Miles)	Median Household Income¹³
Huntington Park	97.3%	59,003	3	\$34,887
Lynwood	88.4%	71,191	4.8	\$43,109
Paramount	80.4%	55,023	4.7	\$45,792

Table 3.1: City Demographics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a, 2015b)

In order to establish the precise areas of fieldwork in each of the three cities, a three-step process was undergone. First, native residents of the area were interviewed so as to seek out the most culturally relevant and commercially dense areas in the city. This was then confirmed with an online search on the cities' websites and other forums regarding city data. Finally, on the days of fieldwork, I personally scouted out each of the regions in order to find the areas with the most signage. In Huntington Park, photos were taken on Pacific Boulevard. In Lynwood and Paramount, photos were taken on Long Beach Boulevard and Paramount Boulevard, respectively.

On the days of data collection, I parked in the most central area and traveled by foot down the designated streets, photographing signs. I used an exhaustive approach, taking a picture of each sign along the road in order to, as Kelleher says, "gain a clear understanding of all the different kinds of texts that compose the street's textual environment" (Kelleher, 2014, p. 195). As seen in chapter two, Soukup (2015) also uses this methodology and refers to it as a count-all procedure. For the purposes of this study, only photos with language were considered. Photos consisting of only numbers and images were labeled as such and not included in the present corpus. Street names were also excluded from the analyzed corpus.

Once photos were captured, they were carefully reviewed to assure that only a single sign appeared in each image, since many times a photograph contained several physical signs in one shot. Images were edited in a way that reflected only one sign per file. I also made sure to delete all duplicate pictures, keeping the image with the best resolution or angle. This allowed the signs to be more easily analyzed. Finally, cropped photos were labeled alphanumerically.

¹³ From 2011-2015, in 2015 dollars

As seen in Table 3.2 below, the corpus is made up of 4,664 photos, more or less evenly distributed. To put the data in perspective, we can look at the number of signs in the corpus per the total population. For example, the corpus for Huntington Park contains 1,406 images. With 59,003 residents, the rate per population is 0.02 (1,406/59,003). This means that there are 2 signs in the corpus for every 100 individuals. Similarly, for Lynwood, with a population of 71,191 and 1,725 LL texts, the rate is also 0.02, or 2 signs in the corpus for every 100 residents. Finally, for Paramount, there were 0.03 LL images per 100 residents, since the population is 55,023 and there were 1,533 images of signs captured. Since the ratio of signs to population is similar, we are able to draw comparisons amongst the three cities.

City	Number of Signs	Percentage of Quantitative Corpus
Huntington Park	1,406	30%
Lynwood	1,725	37%
Paramount	1,533	33%
Total	4,664	100%

Table 3.2: Number of Signs for Each City in Corpus

We shall now move on to how each of the signs was analyzed.

3.2.3 Analysis

The categorization of signs was the most challenging part of the quantitative analysis. To generate a more objective process, I created a team of four Spanish-speaking research assistants (RAs) that were in charge of classifying images. Each photo was analyzed individually by two RAs. Once the photos had been categorized, we compared the results, reviewing them for discrepancies. In the event the two RAs' results were not in accordance, I, the principal

researcher, made the ultimate decision. At first, I set up guidelines with the idea that a clear methodology would help us remain consistent; however, we were frequently confronted with novel issues, so guidelines were adjusted along the way. These issues were debated amongst my research assistants and I and, in most cases, we came to a decision unanimously; other times we went by the majority's decision. Being that we all see and interpret things differently, some of the signs were a lot more difficult to categorize, in terms of distinguishing between sections and the dominating language of each section. We will now turn to the precise taxonomy of sign sections and code preferences, in addition to ambiguity and brand names or trademarks in linguistic landscape texts.

3.2.3.1 Main and Informative Sections

One way linguistic landscape texts can be analyzed is by their different components. Franco-Rodríguez (2007, 2008, 2009) considers the majority of LL texts as having two sections. As seen in the second chapter, the main and informative sections each index certain concepts (Franco-Rodríguez, 2009), tying into Landry and Bourhis' (1997) symbolic and informational functions of signs. The main section is generally the most salient part of the sign and reflects a language's situation of prestige relative to other languages in the area. The informative section makes up the rest of the sign's linguistic content and its less salient features and provides information as to a minority language's public utility. We can see an example of these concepts in Figure 1.1 below. The main section of the sign is, "FRESH MEAT," as it contains the largest font, as well as the most salient color of font (e.g. red). The informative section, on the other hand, contains smaller, darker font: "CARNICERIA, SALCHICHONERIA... BEEF, POULTRY & SEAFOOD," which relays more specific information regarding the types of fresh meat the establishments sells.



Figure 1.1: Main section (FRESH MEAT) vs. informative section (CARNICERIA, SALCHICHONERIA... BEEF, POULTRY & SEAFOOD)

For some signs, the main section was boldly apparent. However, at times determining whether the content belonged to the main or informative section proved perplexing. Whatever words were striking at first glance typically belonged to the main section of a sign. But it soon became apparent that size and style could not always be the dominant factor in determining the main section of a sign. For this reason, we elaborated on our specific guidelines in order to increase classification consistency. The function of a sign was determined to be the most important factor in discerning the main and informative sections, so we applied the functions of each section to our analysis. Thus, we considered the semantic content of the sign and whether it contributed a main idea or an elaboration of another concept previously mentioned. We also looked at if the sign contained the name of a business or entity responsible for displaying the sign. However, this last criterion was applied within reason. The name of a business was generally considered part of the main section, except for in the case of small logos (e.g. a tiny logo of the business name would be part of the informative section). In the same vein, semantically similar words or phrases, for example direct translations (i.e. equal translations of everything), were not separated and were counted as part of the same section, since they were accomplishing the same goal, albeit to a different linguistic audience. However, if the translation was not direct and included additional information, it was not necessarily considered as part of

the same section.

Another area of concern in determining the main and informative sections was when the sign had a uniform appearance. For cases in which the text was all the same color and size with no visually differing sections, we concluded that the sign lacked an informative section. Since the entire sign shared the same purpose, we classified all linguistic material as part of the main section. We determined that all signs have a main section, but not all signs have an informative section. We shall now see more detail regarding how the code preference of each section was determined.

3.2.3.2 Code Preference

Once the photos' main and informative sections were determined, each section was analyzed for its dominant language, or **code preference**. This information would tell us about the status and utility of the language(s) in the LL text. Drawing on concepts related to code choice from studies seen in chapter two, I created a hierarchy of importance for identifying the dominant language in a particular section. We now turn to these specific, hierarchical criteria.

Code choice for each section was determined by three main criteria: function, size or style of the font, and order of the languages. The first aspect we looked at was language function, an adaption from work done by Franco-Rodríguez (2008, 2009), taking Landry and Bourhis (1997) into account. We considered two categories of functions: those of the main section and those of the informative section. As discussed earlier, the main section typically serves to reveal the sign's author(s) or present a main idea, and the informative section gives extra, more precise information. As discussed above, a business' name was generally considered part of the main section due to the fact that it served to identify the entity responsible for the LL text. With this in

mind, if a particular language was used to convey the main idea of a section, it was more likely to be considered the dominant language.

When the first criterion could not determine the dominant language, we moved on to the second criterion. This one dealt with the visible salience of languages. Scollon and Scollon refer to the aesthetics of the language on a sign, mentioning the importance of color selection and also stating that "fonts... produce a range of different meanings in the 'same' linguistic message" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). To analyze the physical prominence of a particular language, we took into account the size of the language's font, as well as its style, relative to those of other languages. The larger the font or the more salient the style –generally in terms of boldness–, the more the language was likely to be considered to be dominating over the other language(s).

Thirdly, we reviewed the visual hierarchy, or the order of languages. Regarding languages' spatial position, Scollon and Scollon (2003) state that "[t]he preferred code is on top, on the left, or in the center and the marginalized code is on the bottom, on the right, or on the margins" (p. 120). This type of visual analysis is ideal for languages read from left to right and top to bottom (such as English and Spanish), since the first language we would see would be the one on the top or on the left; however, this parameter would not work for those languages that are read from right to left (such as Hebrew) or bottom to top (such Tagbanwa), as discussed in (Backhaus, 2007). Following this method, a particular language occurring at a higher place than another language on a sign would be considered as dominating, since both English and Spanish are read from top to bottom. Similarly, a language occurring to the left of another would be considered the dominant preference, since both languages are read from left to right.

An example can be seen in Figure 3.1. The main section is identified based on the fact that it contains the principal notion of the text: to give the public a notification. The remainder of

the sign gives the notice itself and makes up the informative section. This single sign contains two languages and was thus considered to belong to the multilingual corpus. In fact, each individual section contains both Spanish and English and is therefore multilingual. Within the main section, we have "NOTICE" and "AVISO." Functionally speaking, the two words serve the same purpose, albeit to different linguistic audiences. Thus, the first criterion does not identify the dominant language. The second criterion also fails us, since the size and style of font for "NOTICE" and "AVISO" is the same. It is not until we get to the third criterion that we are able to discern English's dominance over Spanish due to the placement of languages: English occurs to the left of Spanish in both cases. The same is true of the informative section.



Figure 3.1: Multilingual sign with English dominant, Spanish non-dominant main and informative sections

Images of linguistic landscape texts were first sorted into digital folders based on the number of languages they contained (i.e. one or more). Signs with at least one word in a language different from the rest of the sign were classified as multilingual. Monolingual signs were then sorted into folders for their appropriate languages. For multilingual signs, the number of languages in the main section (i.e. one or more) was first analyzed. For monolingual main

sections, the signs were sorted into folders with the code preference for that part. Signs with multilingual main sections were then sorted into folders with the two or more specified languages (e.g. Spanish and English). Finally, the main sections of these signs were sorted for the dominating language (e.g. Spanish), as well as the non-dominating language (e.g. English).

Once the main sections of all LL texts were analyzed, we turned to the informative sections. The categorization process for this section was more nuanced. Folders were made inside of each of the previously mentioned folders and the categorization of photos continued in the same way: first, photos were placed in different folders depending on whether they had one or more languages in the informative section. Signs with informative sections containing one language were then sorted into folders for the code preference of the monolingual informative section. For signs with multilingual informative sections, the dominant languages had to be determined. Thus, signs were put into folders with names like "Spanish and English" or "Spanish and Other." Likewise, the dominant and non-dominant languages were analyzed so that we had single language responses such as "Spanish" or "Other" for each of these categories. I decided to group languages that weren't English or Spanish into a category "Other" as opposed to individual categories (e.g. "Portuguese," "French") because there were so few occurrences of them. This was expected due to the selection of neighborhoods described above: those with high Latino populations with secondary populations as most likely English speakers (e.g. African Americans and Caucasians). This intricate taxonomy can be depicted below in Figure 3.2 with three possible language categories: Spanish, English, and Other.

Monolingual Signs

- Spanish
- English
- Other

Multilingual Signs

- Monolingual Main Section
 - Spanish
 - Monolingual Informative Section
 - English
 - Other
 - Multilingual Informative Section
 - English and Spanish
 - Spanish dominant
 - English dominant
 - English and Other
 - Other dominant
 - English dominant
 - Spanish and Other
 - Spanish dominant
 - Other dominant
 - Other combination
 - English
 - Monolingual Informative Section
 - Spanish
 - Other
 - Multilingual Informative Section
 - English and Spanish
 - Spanish dominant
 - English dominant
 - English and Other
 - Other dominant
 - English dominant
 - Spanish and Other
 - Spanish dominant
 - Other dominant
 - Other combination
 - Other
 - Monolingual Informative Section
 - English
 - Spanish, etc.
 - Multilingual Informative Section
 - English and Spanish
 - Spanish dominant
 - English dominant
 - English and Other
 - Other dominant
 - English dominant
 - Spanish and Other
 - Spanish dominant
 - Other dominant
 - Other combination

Figure 3.2: Sign Sorting

- Multilingual Main Section
 - English and Spanish
 - Spanish dominant
 - Monolingual Informative Section
 - English
 - Spanish
 - Other
 - Multilingual Informative Section
 - English and Spanish
 - English dominant
 - Spanish dominant
 - English and Other
 - English dominant
 - Other dominant
 - Spanish and Other
 - Spanish dominant
 - Other dominant
 - English dominant
 - Monolingual Informative Section
 - English
 - Spanish
 - Other
 - Multilingual Informative Section
 - English and Spanish
 - English dominant
 - Spanish dominant
 - English and Other
 - English dominant
 - Other dominant
 - Spanish and Other
 - Spanish dominant
 - Other dominant
 - English and Other
 - English dominant
 - Monolingual Informative section
 - English
 - Spanish
 - Other
 - Multilingual Informative Section
 - English and Spanish
 - English dominant
 - Spanish dominant
 - English and Other
 - English dominant
 - Other dominant
 - Spanish and Other
 - Spanish dominant
 - Other dominant

Figure 3.2: Sign Sorting, Continued

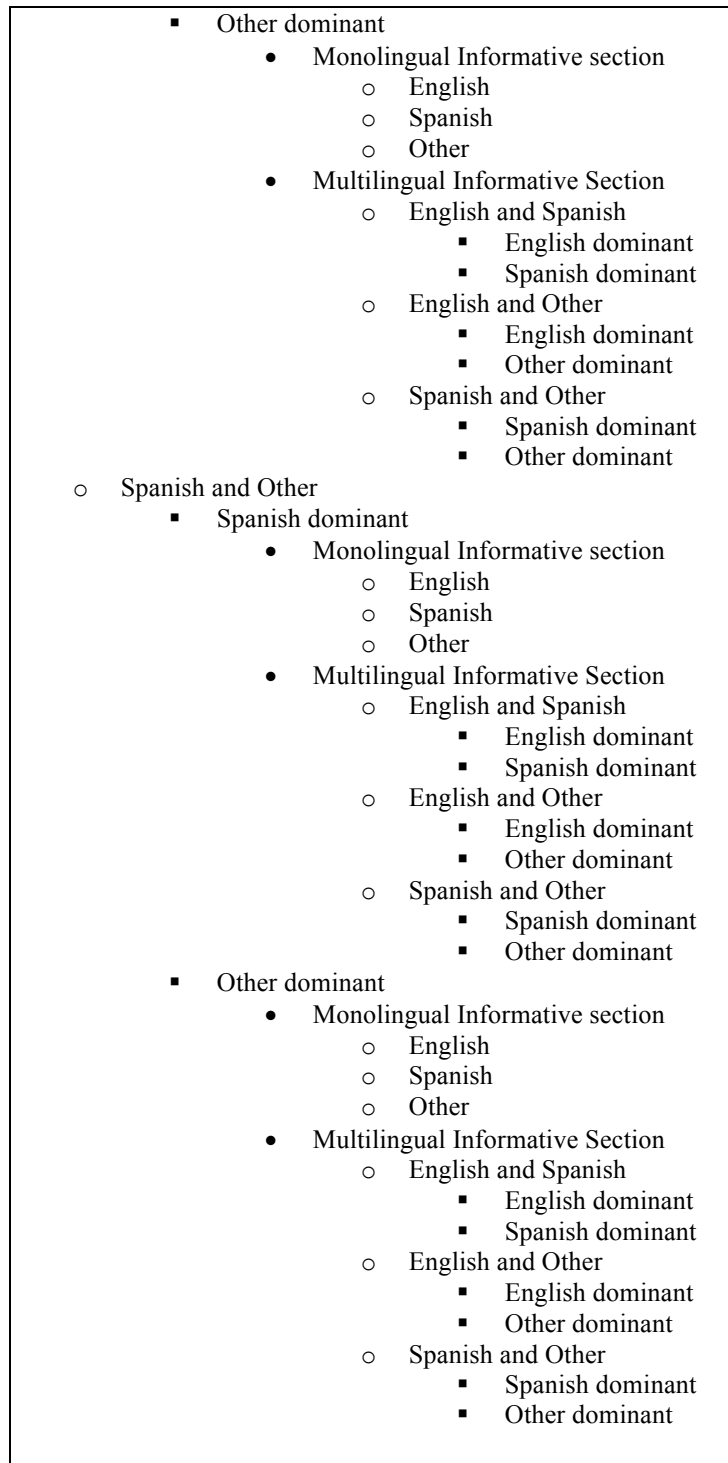


Figure 3.2: Sign Sorting, Continued

3.2.3.2.1 Ambiguity in Linguistic Landscape Texts

Throughout the classification process, we encountered several lexical items that were linguistically ambiguous for a variety of reasons. In some cases, the word was orthographically identical in English and Spanish and, in other cases, the word had become a permanent borrowing, as is commonly the case with technology, food, and other novel items (e.g. taco, burrito, quesadilla, smartphone, internet, and chip). The dominant language of the main or informative section was considered ambiguous when no additional text was present, since an English speaker might see the word "taco" and understand it as English while a Spanish speaker may understand it as Spanish. An example of a sign with an ambiguous code preference can be seen below in Figure 3.3, in which perfumes are being sold. The advertisement contains a single word, "perfumes." While to the monolingual English speaker this word could be perceived as English, the same could be said for the monolingual Spanish speaker for Spanish. Thus, this LL text lacks a code preference.



Figure 3.3: Ambiguous code preference

At times the syntax helped us. One traditional morphological strategy for business names is Noun-Noun compounding (Martínez, 2005). In Spanish, the word order follows Spanish syntax in which the modifier comes after the modified word (i.e. "head-first"), as opposed to English in which the modifier comes before the modified word (i.e. "head-last") (Martínez, 2005). In the Noun-Noun compound, "Tacos Mexico," "Tacos" is the head noun, and, in the

words of Selkirk (1982), "Mexico" "further defines the head," acting as its modifier (p. 22). This shows us that, "Tacos" is in Spanish, despite the fact that an accent mark is not present in the word "Mexico." Correct accent use according to prescriptive rules is a sign of high literacy for speakers of all types (e.g. native, heritage, and second language learners). Since many speakers struggle with accent use, we can't simply consider ambiguous words without accents as English.

In order to prevent the skewing of results, we came to the conclusion that it would be best to only include clear cases and to ignore ambiguous words that were found in isolation with no other contextualizing language to help us determine if such words were being used in English or in Spanish. Thus, these images were placed into a folder of their own, left for future analysis, and not included in the dissertation's corpus.

3.2.3.2.2 Brand Names and Trademarks in Linguistic Landscape Texts

Another challenge that arose in addition to ambiguous cases was that of company names, logos, and brands such as Levi's, Vans, or Tommy Hilfiger and other lesser-known brands. Tufi and Blackwood (2010) outline how this is a problem in their example of the brand name "Diesel" in which it could be considered Italian, English, German, French or even a form of international language (p. 199). This thoroughly complicated the process of determining the code preference.

Proper names and brands can contribute to the language on a sign and what the sign onlooker sees and is able to read while in the public space. Nonetheless, this information may serve a symbolic as opposed to an informational function. While there is no consensus in the field regarding how to approach these elements of the linguistic landscape, some scholars have decided to leave brand names and the like out of their analyses (see Edelman, 2009), and others have generated unique methodologies for how to deal with these certain types of cases (see

Edelman, 2009; El-Yasin & Mahadin, 1996; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2014; Tufi & Blackwood, 2010).

Considering the fact that the present study is analyzing the linguistic landscape from a "bird's eye view" and has a wide scope of materials, we did not want to exclude all trademarks from our exhaustive analysis, as the linguistic landscape is composed of several restaurant, coffee shop, and store names, in addition to brands they may sell at such locations. For this reason, we only included the names of companies and brands and logos that did not belong to national or international chains. Trademarks such as Starbucks, McDonald's, and Verizon were ignored if they appeared in signs. Names of local companies like El Gallo Giro, Restaurant Tacos Mexico, and Nutrition and More, on the other hand, were categorized as per the above concrete guidelines since they were not known on a national or international level. This decision is supported by Spolsky who condones the separation of local and global signs, since "the *existence* rather than the *language* of the latter is what is most likely to be relevant" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 71, emphasis my own).

3.2.3.3 Statistical Analyses

Once all photos were categorized and the languages were classified, descriptive statistics were generated to help us see overall patterns in the corpus. Total number of photos in each folder was counted and percentages were created based on the code preferences of each section. In addition to descriptive statistics, inferential statistical analyses were conducted in order to more reliably tell us if results were statistically significant and also to reveal the relationship between the two sections. Thus, binomial logistic regression analyses were performed to see if we could predict the use of Spanish in the informative section based on the languages of the main section. This

type of analysis helped to answer the following question: Can we predict whether Spanish (i.e. monolingual or dominating Spanish in a multilingual section) will be present in the informative section, depending on the language or languages of the main section?

To answer this question, a series of binomial logistic regressions were performed using the statistical software package *R* (Stodden, Leisch, & Peng, 2014). This package was selected primarily due to the facts that it is both widely used and free of cost. Coding schema for images ensued the following pattern: LA-city-number. That is, they were all initially coded with the abbreviation "LA" for Los Angeles County, since there are other communities in which I conducted prior research.¹⁴ Next, I abbreviated the city in which the research was conducted: Huntington Park was abbreviated as HP; Lynwood was abbreviated as LW, and Paramount was abbreviated as PM. Finally, I assigned an image number. Thus, the eighth picture I took in Huntington Park would be labeled in the following manner: LA-HP-8. The coding schema for languages was three-fold: each occurrence of English (as the monolingual or dominating or non-dominating language of a particular section) was coded as 1, Spanish was coded as 2, and all other languages were coded as 3. This last category originally used individual numbers per language, but was later changed to a single number due to their low appearance (which makes sense since predominantly Latino, White, and Black communities were selected) and also to the fact that the primary languages of analysis are Spanish and English, so signs with other languages were excluded for the binomial analyses. Later on, 0 and 1 were used, where 1 signified Spanish presence and 0 Spanish absence, since the analyses were binomial.

¹⁴ These cities (i.e. Salvador da Bahia, Brazil; Mexico City, Querétaro, San Miguel de Allende, and Guanajuato, Mexico) are part of other projects and are not part of the present dissertation. Coding them in this way facilitates future comparative studies.

3.3 Qualitative Studies

Due to the ease of which advances in technology have made documenting LL texts, Pennycook, Morgan, and Kubota in their preface to Blommaert's (2013) book say that "[l]inguistic landscape research...has perhaps at times been too easy" (p. x). After all, it is the people that make the signs, and the people for whom the signs are made. I would be more inclined, however, to agree with Shohamy and Gorter (2009) in that, in *addition* to quantitative, we *also* need qualitative types of work: the LL "is a broader concept than documentation of signs, it incorporates multimodal theories to include sounds, images and graffiti" (p. 4). Considering the field and its interdisciplinary nature, it is important to use a variety of theoretical frameworks, including quantitative and qualitative approaches, in order to achieve the most productive results.

The qualitative portion of this dissertation analyzes language attitudes through the lens of linguistic landscapes. Similar to Dailey, Giles, and Jansma's (2005) project, we will look at the perspective of the sign onlooker as opposed to the sign author, as done in Baumgardner (2006). This section will be divided up into the following segments: research questions, sociolinguistic interview methods, location, methods, informants, the interviewer, survey questions, and finally a brief conclusion.

3.3.1 Research Questions

In order to investigate the LL from a qualitative perspective, I conducted sociolinguistic interviews with passersby, prompting people to talk about signs and languages used in a semi-directed manner. The main point of inquiry lies in language attitudes:

1. What are sign onlookers' perceived uses of the Spanish and English languages in the linguistic landscape? Which do they feel dominates? Do they wish for a different situation?
2. What are their underlying attitudes toward Spanish and English and their speakers? How does the usage of a given language in the LL affect them?

3.3.2 Sociolinguistic Interview Methods

Following Labov's (1972) suggestion, this project investigates attitudes toward the use of Spanish and English in the signage of public city space and uses semi-structured, audio-recorded sociolinguistic interviews: "No matter what methods may be used to obtain samples of speech (group sessions, anonymous observation), the only way to obtain sufficient good data on the speech of any person is through an individual, tape-recorded interview" (p. 209). The broad definition of the sociolinguistic interview is "any face-to-face interaction that is recorded for use as sociolinguistic data" (Becker 2013, p. 91). The format of the sociolinguistic interview can vary, but generally begins with questions regarding demographic information because the participant is likely nervous and very aware of the recording equipment. The sociolinguistic interview usually continues with an aim to "set the tone of the speech event as a casual conversation about the interviewee's life, experiences, and opinions" (Becker, 2013, p. 97). It is important for the researcher to monitor the presentation of self not as an expert, but rather feigning naiveté in order to "promote conversation and to disrupt if possible any power asymmetries between interviewer and interviewee" (Becker, 2013, p. 97). This last point is especially important because, as discussed below, the interviewer comes from an upper-middle class background and is receiving a college education, which is different from many of the residents and interviewees of the area.

As previously mentioned, the interviews were semi-directed in that open- and close-ended questions were prepared ahead of time, yet there was much room for discussion and the conversation frequently deviated from questions on the prepared survey. While there are downsides to using surveys, there are several advantages. Quantity is the primary upside. As Boberg (2013) states, surveys "are capable of collecting a large amount of data in a relatively short space of time, using limited resources" (p. 131). An additional advantage is inter-participant comparability: "the use of a written questionnaire ensure that each participant responds to identical stimuli" (Boberg, 2013, p. 133). Still another benefit to surveys is ease of analysis: "responses to a written survey are generally easy to classify and enter into a spreadsheet for quantitative analysis, especially if the questions involve selection from a list of possible answers" (Boberg, 2013, p. 133). As Boberg (2013) recommends, this method is complemented by direct observation of language in the public space (p. 140) so as to engage in data triangulation and generate more reliable results. While the interview questions were written in the form of a survey in order for the interviewer to be consistent, the questions were presented in a colloquial manner.

3.3.3 Location

The interviews were conducted in busy places of importance to the local community. In Huntington Park, interviews were carried out along Pacific Boulevard, between Clarendon Avenue and Florence Avenue. This area is very lively and people come here, not only to shop, but also to people watch and spend time outdoors. On the multiple days I was there, I recognized several individuals from previous days. There was less foot traffic along the cities' streets in Lynwood and Paramount than there was in Huntington Park. In Lynwood, interviews took place

in Plaza México, an outdoor area near Long Beach Boulevard, the city's main street. Plaza México is filled with shops, a stage for music, and a lot of outdoor seating. Similar to Pacific Boulevard, people come to this place to hang out, pass time, and people watch. Informants were interviewed at two locations in Paramount. The first two informants were interviewed in front of the city's busy swap meet, one of the city's main attractions. Several individuals were seated on benches outside. After conducting two interviews, a security guard came outside of the swap meet and told us that we could not conduct interviews inside of the swap meet, so we decided not to continue with the interviews at this location even though we had not planned on entering. From here we went to Paramount Park to conduct the rest of the interviews. While the several interview locations are of a distinct nature, they were all of communal importance and were areas that attracted crowds where people could come for free to pass time either alone or with friends and families.

3.3.4 Methods

Individuals were approached and asked to participate in a brief survey about the city and its signs. The interviewer went with her instinct and addressed people in the language that she normally would had she not been interviewing people. She gave interviewees the option of conducting the survey in English or Spanish. In the case of some bilingual participants, the interview was carried out in both Spanish and English. All interviews were recorded using an iPhone 6s to an MPEG-4 file.

The survey contained two main sections. Results from pilot studies indicated that informants were more comfortable answering personal questions at the end as opposed to at the beginning, so first general survey questions were asked. This was followed by a section

regarding sociolinguistic biographical data. At the end of the interview, informants were given the opportunity to ask the interviewer any questions they had. Finally, field notes regarding participant observation were also gathered. As encouraged by Levon, details were collected regarding the setting, people, and their clothing and behavior (Levon, 2013, p. 75).

3.3.5 Informants

The participants consisted of 8 self-identified Latinos in each of the cities for a total of 24 participants. All were adults between the ages of 20 and 78. The average informant age was similar in all three cities. In Huntington Park it was 35.6 years old, whereas in Lynwood it was 35.8. In Paramount, the average age was 39. While all informants were residents of Los Angeles, some were born in the United States, while others were born in Mexico, and still another in Honduras. Each participant was given a reference code indicating the city in which they were interviewed, the order in which they were interviewed (i.e. one through eight), their gender, place of origin, and age. Similar to the quantitative coding, Huntington Park was abbreviated as HP; Lynwood was abbreviated as LW, and Paramount was abbreviated as PM. For example, participant PM1M_{MX}43 was the first person interviewed in Paramount, was a male born in Mexico and was 43 years old. These numbers, as seen below in Table 3.3, will be used to refer to participants throughout the dissertation.

Participant Reference Code	City in Which Interviewed	Interview Number	Gender	Place of Origin	Age
HP1F _{MX} 30	Huntington Park	1	Female	Mexico	30
HP2F _{US} 25	Huntington Park	2	Female	Los Angeles, USA	25
HP3F _{MX} 50	Huntington Park	3	Female	Mexico	50
HP4M _{US} 20	Huntington Park	4	Male	Los Angeles, USA	20
HP5F _{MX} 45	Huntington Park	5	Female	Oaxaca, Mexico	45
HP6M _{MX} 43	Huntington Park	6	Male	Sur de Mexico	43
HP7F _{MX} 32	Huntington Park	7	Female	Distrito Federal, Mexico	32
HP8T _{MX} 40	Huntington Park	8	Transgender	Jalisco, Mexico	40
LW1M _{MX} 44	Lynwood	1	Male	Mexico City, Mexico	44
LW2M _{US} 23	Lynwood	2	Male	Los Angeles, USA	23
LW3F _{MX} 45	Lynwood	3	Female	Sinaloa, Mexico	45
LW4M _{MX} 78	Lynwood	4	Male	Nayarit, Mexico	78
LW5M _{US} 20	Lynwood	5	Male	Florida, USA	20
LW6M _{MX} 24	Lynwood	6	Male	Guadalajara, Mexico	24
LW7M _{MX} 31	Lynwood	7	Male	Sinaloa, Mexico	31
LW8M _H 21	Lynwood	8	Male	Honduras	21
PM1M _{MX} 43	Paramount	1	Male	Mexico	43
PM2M _{US} 23	Paramount	2	Male	Los Angeles, USA	23
PM3M _{US} 38	Paramount	3	Male	Compton, USA	38
PM4F _{MX} 60	Paramount	4	Female	Mexico	60
PM5M _{MX} 36	Paramount	5	Male	Guadalajara, Mexico	36
PM6F _{US} 30	Paramount	6	Female	Orange County, USA	30
PM7F _{MX} 44	Paramount	7	Female	Jalisco, Mexico	44
PM8M _{US} 38	Paramount	8	Male	New York, USA	38

Table 3.3: Participant Information and Coding

3.3.6 The Interviewer

Whenever an interview is being conducted and therefore one individual is observing another, the Observer's Paradox is present (Labov, 1972). This is one of the most serious problems the sociolinguist encounters, considering the mere presence of the interviewer affects the informant's register, dialect, or even language, especially in the case of bidialectal or bilingual individuals. While this issue is unavoidable in sociolinguistic interviews, we must still recognize its potential effect on responses. On a related note, Levon (2013) encourages researchers to remember that we

have conspicuous "intellectual and institutional power," which may have an effect on participants and their responses (p. 77).

Due to the fact that my outgroup member status and my appearance as a light-skinned white person would have had too great of an effect on these Latino communities and their community members, I followed the recommendation of my mentors and had one of my research assistants conduct the interviews used in this study. While this did not eliminate the unescapable Observer's Paradox (Labov, 1972), my physical presence would most likely have been an even greater influence on the interviewees' responses. In addition to participant comfort, having another individual carry out the interviews included the further benefit of removing myself as researcher from the context of the interviews, thus being able to know with certainty that I did not inflict any direct influence on participants and their ideas.

The name of the research assistant that conducted the interviews was Nancy. I first met Nancy when she took a Spanish composition course that I taught. As a Spanish major in her second year at UCLA, Nancy worked as one my research assistants for two consecutive quarters. At the time of the study, she was 19 years old and said that she considers herself a Hispanic woman. She mentioned that she doesn't feel entirely American or entirely Mexican, but rather something in between. She had long, black, curly hair and brown eyes, with a light-skinned complexion, which she said is common in her family, as they have Spanish ancestry both from her maternal and paternal side. Nancy had a good personality for conducting the interviews; she was outgoing and had a good deal of experience working with people. She even shared an anecdote with me about being the student to sell the most chocolate for a high school fundraiser.

Nancy was born in Moreno Valley, California and, at three months old, went with her family to live in the city where both of her parents were born: Cotija, Michoacán. Her family

could be considered upper-middle class, as they own properties in Mexico, and her father works for a company that does work on the West Coast in Canada, Washington, Oregon, and California. When Nancy turned three, her family returned to Moreno Valley where Nancy began preschool. Here, she learned English. While Spanish was her first language, she speaks both Spanish and English fluently. In fact, her parents and, in particular her mother, have a strict familial policy of speaking only Spanish at home. While Nancy says that she usually speaks to one of her sisters who is in high school in English, their mother only allows her to speak to her baby sister in Spanish, since she is under the age of five. Nancy's mother emphasizes that the entire family must only speak to relatives under the age of five in Spanish so that they acquire the language well. After that point, she allows for English to be spoken to them. This policy almost certainly contributes greatly to maintaining her children's fluency in Spanish while living in the United States.

At the time the study was carried out, Nancy considered herself English dominant, most likely due to the fact that she lived in the United States and the majority of her interactions at school and work were in English. Nancy worked around twenty hours per week on campus at the dining hall for students living in the UCLA dormitories, like herself. On weekends, Nancy would go home to visit her family in Moreno Valley. She generally returned to Michoacán once a year for around one to two months.

Prior to conducting interviews, Nancy received about an hour of training regarding how to approach potential interviewees, the specifics of conducting the interviews, and the non-linguistic information that she should gather regarding participant observation. I explained that all interviewees had to be eighteen years or older and must live in Los Angeles. Regarding the language of conversation, they could be conducted in English, Spanish, or a combination of the

two. I instructed Nancy to simply use her phone to record the conversations since they were not going to be phonetically transcribed. I did advise her to point the phone's microphone in the interviewee's direction and to try to get as close as possible to the person for recording purposes, without making them uncomfortable. I warned her to do her best to beware of other noises, ideally avoiding areas with loud conversations, music or a high amount of wind. Formality was also important. Nancy used *usted* with interviewees unless the person was her age. In these last cases, she addressed them using *tú*. I emphasized the importance of relying on her instincts and told her to feel out the situation, addressing the person as she normally would, in the language that she normally would.

We also discussed her role as interviewer as a neutral one and how she should stick to the questionnaire as much as possible. When trying to get the interviewees to elaborate, I directed her to use their words. So, if a person said, "It's funny," she would ask "Funny?" to get him or her to elaborate. We reviewed all of the interview questions, and I explained what I was trying to really get at with each one. Finally, Nancy also listened to and transcribed two of the pilot interviews conducted for this study. These served as examples for the interviews that she would carry out.

In addition to conducting the interviews, Nancy took note of her impressions of the people. We had debriefing sessions after interviews in which she described interviewees' clothing, jewelry, and anything noticeable about them. I explained how we were trying to get a sense of their socioeconomic status or social class, and that we would use this information along with their occupation. Of course, interviewees were allowed to leave unanswered any question they wished. While this didn't happen too often, when they decided not to answer something (e.g. their age), I told Nancy to write down her best guess. We also discussed the interviewees'

linguistic and non-linguistic (e.g. facial expressions, body language) reactions to interview questions, the recording device, and Nancy as the interviewer. I told her to take note if she perceived participants reacting to her clothing, note-taking, manner of speaking or anything else. Along with participant observation, I asked Nancy to describe to me how she herself felt conducting each interview, if she felt comfortable or awkward, for example. Finally, we also talked about the setting and how she approached the individuals— if they were sitting on a bench or working in a store and who they were with, if anyone. As Walker and Hoffman mention, it's important to be professional without presenting yourself in too formal of a way since this could emphasize the imbalance of power and have an effect on responses (Walker & Hoffman, 2013, p. 82).

3.3.7 Interview Questions

The semi-structured interviews consisted of a total of 37 questions. Of these, 8 were biographical questions that inquired into participants' city of residence, time in LA and in the US, place of birth and family's place of origin, occupation, languages spoken, race or ethnicity, age, and gender. The other 29 were survey questions related to personal experiences with the city and the LL, perceived and desired dominance, utility, and prestige of Spanish and English, and finally informants' attitudes toward the languages.¹⁵ Each question that contained categorical responses had follow-up open-ended questions. The interview opened with simple questions to get participants talking and feeling more comfortable with the interviewer, whereas questions of

¹⁵ Some of the interview questions were inspired by Garvin's "Responses to the linguistic landscape in Memphis, Tennessee: An urban space in transition" (2010) and Kelleher's thesis (2014). The following two questions came from Garvin (2010): How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English? What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area? The following questions came from Kelleher (2014): What makes this neighborhood special in your opinion? If you wrote a sign what language would you use, what would it look like and where would you put it?

interest to this study were interspersed throughout the questionnaire. We will now review the survey questions related to the topics of the appearance of languages in the linguistic landscape, languages of prestige, and the communicative utility of language. Because the goal was to focus on the aforementioned subjects and responses to other survey questions were beyond the scope of this dissertation, they were saved and will be analyzed at a later time. For the full questionnaire, please refer to Appendices 1, 2, and 3.

Questions 10 and 11 were related to the quantitative investigations of this dissertation and pertained to language use and, more specifically, language dominance. Informants were asked if they thought if there were more monolingual Spanish or English signs in the city and then, in the case of multilingual Spanish-English signs, which language tended to stand out the most. By asking this, I was able to make comparisons about *actual*, documented use from the quantitative portion with *perceived* use from this qualitative portion.

The next open-ended question dealt with the communicative utility of certain languages in signs. Question 12 inquired as to the language the interviewee believed to be most useful for communication in signs in the city and neighborhood. It followed up by asking informants to elaborate on why he or she thought this. By asking this question, I could compare my quantitative results that signaled linguistic utility with individuals' reported conceptions of the most useful languages in terms of effectively conveying an idea.

The subsequent four questions were also open-ended and hinted at an economic approach, tapping into what Bourdieu calls the "linguistic marketplace" (Bourdieu, 1977, 1982). In this group of inquiries, two questions dealt with languages that would attract individuals, and the other two considered the language of store signage. In question 13, I asked which language in a sign would attract the most customers and then, in question 14, I asked about the language that

would attract the interviewee himself or herself the most. When a reason was not provided, I followed up by asking him or her to elaborate on the response given.

In a similar vein, question 15 inquired as to the language of signs belonging to stores that would likely have expensive products. The second half of the question followed up by asking about the language that would be used in stores with inexpensive products. Similar to question 15, question 16 solicited responses regarding the more likely language to be used in store signs first that sold high quality products, and then that sold low quality products. Both of these questions were included even though they were similar because they were asking different things, since stores can sell high quality products at low prices and vice versa. The inclusion of both questions assured a balanced approach of getting at the language of advertising and how this was related to linguistic prestige.

Question 21 was related specifically to the Spanish language and gave informants the opportunity to think about their desired language use. It asked, "If you had to allocate percentages to the amount languages should appear in Los Angeles signs, how much would you allocate to Spanish? To English? Any other languages?" Reasoning was also solicited. Results from this question and the next question, as described below, were considered desired language appearance and responses were compared with informants' perceived language appearance.

Question 22 dealt with the visibility of Spanish and English in signs, either by order of languages, size of font or color of font. It asked if Spanish and English should be equally visible in signs or if one of the languages should be more salient than the other. A five-point Likert scale was used in which participants were asked to select from a list of statements that best described their opinion. This inquiry was complemented with a follow-up, open-ended question requesting an explanation for their previous answer.

3.3.8 Analysis

As recommended by D'Arcy (2013), research assistants orthographically transcribed interviews verbatim so that mistakes and false starts were retained, in addition to non-standard forms (p. 187). Similarly, nonverbal utterances such as laughing, coughing, or clearing of the throat were also recorded (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). This was done by RAs using Google Drive. Responses from a close-ended Likert scale were tabulated, and percentages were generated. For lengthier responses, I used a descriptive, discourse analysis approach known as qualitative content analysis (Silverman, 2006). This is also referred to as "thematic analysis," and, as stated by Braun and Clarke (2006), it "should be seen as a foundational method for qualitative analysis" (p. 78). Using a qualitative content analysis allowed for me to describe the participants' responses and identify connections. I examined the conversations for common discourse themes within and across participant discourse. A theme was considered an idea that "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Within this type of analysis, I used both an essentialist or realist method and a constructionist method; that is, I described both what people said and how they said it (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81). Data was analyzed based on the respondents' self-identified gender, age, country of origin, and city in which they were interviewed.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has served to review the methodologies used in both the quantitative and qualitative research performed in the three cities. As seen in chapter two, such a mixed methods approach is necessary, and we will gain different discoveries from each type of method. We have also seen

the overall experimental design: the research questions, data collection and methods, the location, informants and interviewer, survey questions, as well as the analyses that will take place. What follows in chapter four are the quantitative results regarding the issue of language contact in the linguistic landscape. We will review the languages of the main and informative sections in mono- and multilingual signs, in addition to the statistical analyses conducted.

Chapter 4: Results from Quantitative Studies

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter gives an overview of the quantitative results of the dissertation. The findings are presented by each city. We will first review the languages documented in the linguistic landscape of Huntington Park, Lynwood, and Paramount in the explanatory data analysis. Then, we will see results from the inferential data analysis in which we use the languages of the main section to predict when Spanish will occur in the informative section of a sign. Finally, we will wrap up with a summary of the quantitative results, which will later be compared with the qualitative results from chapter five in the sixth and final chapter.

4.2 Explanatory Data Analysis

This section will review the results of the quantitative corpus gathered in the three cities. We will begin with reviewing the variables studied and then move on to the corpus itself. We will see results from monolingual signs and then those of multilingual signs. The latter will be broken down by sections; first, we will review the languages of the main section and then those of the informative section. In reviewing the individual sections, we will start with results for those that are monolingual and then follow these with those from the multilingual sections.

4.2.1 Variable of Study

As mentioned in chapter three, information regarding each image from the quantitative corpus was added to a spreadsheet. For every linguistic landscape text studied, there were a total of seven variables entered into the spreadsheet. All of these occurred along an ordinal scale of 1 to

3, where 1 represented English, 2 Spanish, and 3 any other language. As we will see below, the use of languages other than English and Spanish was so rare that it was advantageous to group these occurrences together into a single category: Other. The first of the seven variables deals with monolingual signs and the rest are in regard to multilingual signs. When a text was comprised of a single language, regardless of the number of sections it contained, it was considered a monolingual text. Multilingual texts contained more than one language in the entire sign, and sometimes in an individual section. The second variable, "main monolingual," addressed the single language of the main section of the sign. When the main section contained more than one language, the dominant language and the non-dominant language were documented in the third and fourth variables: "Main Multilingual Dominant" and "Main Multilingual Non-Dominant." The fifth variable, "Informative Monolingual," focused on the single language of the informative section, whereas the sixth and seventh variables revealed the dominant and non-dominant language of multilingual informative sections: "Informative Multilingual Dominant" and "Informative Multilingual Non-Dominant." Table 4.1 below summarizes the variables and their meanings.

Variable Name	Variable Description
Monolingual	The main section of the sign contains a single language. If there is an informative section, it contains the same language as the main section.
Main Monolingual	The main section of the sign has only one language.
Main Multilingual Dominant	The main section of the sign has two languages: dominant language of the sign.
Main Multilingual Non-Dominant	The main section of the sign has two languages: non-dominant language of the sign.
Informative Monolingual	The informative section of the sign has only one language.
Informative Multilingual Dominant	The informative section of the sign has two languages: dominant language of the sign.
Informative Multilingual Non-Dominant	The informative section of the sign has two languages: non-dominant language of the sign.

Table 4.1: Description of Variables

We now turn to the descriptive analysis of signs, first reviewing the quantitative corpus and then describing the significance of the languages that appeared in monolingual and multilingual signs of the three Southeast Los Angeles cities.

4.2.2 Corpus

As mentioned in chapter three, the quantitative corpus contains 4,664 signs, more or less evenly distributed between the three cities: 30% in Huntington Park, 37% in Lynwood, and 33% in Paramount. This table is repeated below for reference.

City	Number of Signs	Percentage of Quantitative Corpus
Huntington Park	1,406	30%
Lynwood	1,725	37%
Paramount	1,533	33%
Total	4,664	100%

Table 4.2: Number of Signs for Each City in Corpus

4.2.3 Monolingual Signs

Out of the total corpus of 4,664 linguistic landscape texts, the majority, or 3,772 images, were monolingual (80.9%). English encompassed the bulk of the signs for each city, although to differing degrees. English comprised 56.7% of the monolingual Huntington Park texts, 67.4% of the Lynwood signs, and 87.5% of the Paramount signs. Overall, English signs took up almost three quarters of the monolingual corpus: 71.5%. While, overall, Paramount had the most monolingual English signs: (n= 1,145 or 87.5%), Huntington Park had the highest percentage of monolingual Spanish signs (n= 438 or 42.9%). Spanish signs seemed correlated with Latino population in that Lynwood had the second highest percentage (32.5%) and Paramount the third (12.1%). Monolingual signs of other languages seldom appeared (n= 11 signs, or 0.3% of all monolingual signs). In Huntington Park, there were three signs in Italian and one in Chinese, whereas in Lynwood there was only one monolingual sign in a language other than Spanish or English, and this language was Korean. In Paramount, there were six of these cases: two in Korean, one in Japanese, one in Italian, one in French, and one in Braille. Table 4.3 exemplifies these results.

Language	City			Total
	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount	
English	56.7% (580)	67.4% (972)	87.5% (1,145)	2,697
Spanish	42.9% (438)	32.5% (468)	12.1% (158)	1,064
Other	0.4% (4)	0.1% (1)	0.4% (6)	11
Total	72.7% (1,022)	83.5% (1,441)	85.4% (1,309)	80.9% (3,772)

Table 4.3: Language of Monolingual Signs per City

4.2.4 Multilingual Signs

Out of the total corpus of 4,664 linguistic landscape texts, there were 892 multilingual signs, as can be seen below in Table 4.4. A significantly larger percentage of multilingual signs were found in the Huntington Park corpus (i.e. 27.3%) than in the Lynwood corpus (i.e. 16.5%) or the Paramount one (i.e. 14.6%). However, not all of the signs contained informative sections. While the majority of images had both main and informative sections (722 or 80.9% of the total quantitative corpus), some did not have informative sections (170 or 19.1%).

City			Total
Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount	
27.3% (384)	16.5% (284)	14.6% (224)	19.1% (892)

Table 4.4: All Multilingual Signs by City

We now turn to the explanatory analysis of signs with more than one language present. First, we will look at the monolingual main section and then we will address the multilingual main section and which languages appear in a dominant position and which do not. Lastly, we will examine the informative section and, in a similar fashion, the languages that occur when it is monolingual and multilingual and the corresponding dominant and non-dominant languages.

4.2.4.1 Main Section

4.2.4.1.1 Monolingual Main Section

A total of 546 multilingual signs contained main sections with a single language. This means that, of the 892 multilingual signs' main sections, 61.2% was monolingual and 38.8% were multilingual. Huntington Park contained the most signs with a monolingual main section (n= 269). Interestingly enough, Paramount seemed to pattern Huntington Park in that the majority of

the signs' main sections in each of the cities were in English. This occurred at a rate of 55% in Huntington Park and 53.8% in Paramount, whereas for Spanish the rate was 44.2% in Huntington Park and 44.3% in Paramount. In Lynwood, on the other hand, Spanish appeared in this position a small majority of the time (53.2%), as opposed to English (46.8%). Signs with a third language in the main section rarely occurred in the corpus; this happened only four times out of the 546 opportunities, or 0.73%. In Huntington Park, one of these languages was French and the other was Indonesian. In Paramount, one monolingual main section was in Korean and the other was in Chinese. Table 4.5 below exemplifies these results.

Language	City			Total
	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount	
English	55.0% (148)	46.8% (80)	53.8% (57)	285
Spanish	44.2% (119)	53.2% (91)	44.3 % (47)	257
Other	0.8% (2)	0% (0)	1.9% (2)	4
Total	269	171	106	546

Table 4.5: Language of Monolingual Main Section of Multilingual Signs per City

4.2.4.1.2 Multilingual Main Section

When signs contained more than one language in their main section, they were classified as having a multilingual main section. As mentioned in the previous section, 346 or 38.8% of the multilingual signs contained main sections that were also multilingual. Here we will examine the languages that occurred in this part of the sign, beginning with those that appeared in the dominant position and then following with those that were in the non-dominant position. As reviewed in the methodological chapter, a language was considered dominant if it occurred before another language, either on top or on the left-hand side of the body of text. If the language

occurred below the other language or on the right-hand side, it was considered to be the non-dominant language.

4.2.4.1.2.1 Dominant Language of Multilingual Main Section

When signs' main sections contained more than a single language, the code preference tended to be Spanish in Huntington Park (58.3%) and English in Lynwood and Paramount (51.3% and 69.5%, respectively). The predominance of Spanish was positive correlated with Latino population, while the predominance of English was negatively correlated with Latino population. Other languages occurred more frequently in Lynwood (5.3%) than they did in Huntington Park (0.8%) and Paramount (2.5%). In Lynwood, French was the language of the six signs containing a language other than English or Spanish. There was one sign with Italian in Huntington Park, and in Paramount there was one sign with Korean, one with Chinese, and another with French. All results for the dominant language of multilingual main sections are given below in Table 4.6.

Language	City			Total
	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount	
English	40.9% (47)	51.3% (58)	69.5% (82)	187
Spanish	58.3% (67)	43.4% (49)	28.0% (33)	149
Other	0.8% (1)	5.3% (6)	2.5% (3)	10
Total	115	113	118	346

Table 4.6: Dominant Language of Multilingual Main Section of Multilingual Signs per City

4.2.4.1.2.2 Non-Dominant Language of Multilingual Main Section

This segment will focus on the languages in a non-predominant position of the main section of a linguistic landscape text. These figures were more or less reversed from the previous segment we

saw, which documented the dominant language of the main section. That is, English tended to be the non-dominant language in Huntington Park (59.1%) and Spanish in Lynwood (50.4%) and Paramount (68.6%). This was followed up by Spanish in Huntington Park (40.9%) and English in Lynwood (48.7%) and Paramount (30.5%). There were only two observations of other languages in the non-dominant position of main sections: one in Lynwood (0.9%) with Chinese and one in Paramount with French (0.8%). Table 4.7 below displays results.

Language	City			Total
	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount	
English	59.1% (68)	48.7% (55)	30.5% (36)	159
Spanish	40.9% (47)	50.4% (57)	68.6% (81)	185
Other	0% (0)	0.9% (1)	0.8% (1)	2
Total	115	113	118	346

Table 4.7: Non-Dominant Language of Multilingual Main Section of Multilingual Signs per City

We now move to the informative section of multilingual linguistic landscape texts.

4.2.4.2 Informative Section

Of the 892 multilingual signs, 722 contained informative sections. We will review these at this time. As before, this segment will begin with monolingual informative sections and then move on to those that are multilingual, reviewing first the dominant language and then the non-dominant language.

4.2.4.2.1 Monolingual Informative Section

Of the 722 signs in my corpus that contained informative sections, 259 or 35.9% used a single language. In Huntington Park, if a sign contained a single language in its informative section,

that language tended to be Spanish. This happened 68.7% of the time. In the other two cities, this language tended to be English. For Lynwood, the informative section contained monolingual English 50.6% of the time and in Paramount this rate was 52.4%. Behind Spanish in Huntington Park was English at 31.3% of the time. In Lynwood and Paramount, the sole language of the informative section was Spanish 48.2% and 46% of the time, respectively. There was only one sign with another language in the monolingual informative section for each of these last two cities (1.2% and 1.6%, respectively) In Lynwood, one of the signs contained Yoruba and in Paramount one contained French. Table 4.8 consolidates the results.

Language	City			Total
	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount	
English	31.3% (36)	50.6% (43)	52.4% (31)	110
Spanish	68.7% (79)	48.2% (41)	46.0% (27)	147
Other	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	1.6% (1)	2
Total	115	85	59	259

Table 4.8: Language of Monolingual Informative Section of Multilingual Signs per City

4.2.4.2.2 Multilingual Informative Section

Of the 722 signs in our corpus that contained informative sections, 463 or 64.1% had multiple languages present. Here we will review first the languages that appeared in the dominant position of the multilingual informative section and then those that occurred in the non-dominant position.

4.2.4.2.2.1 Dominant Language of Multilingual Informative Section

When multiple languages appeared in the informative section, Spanish dominated in Huntington Park (63%) and also in Lynwood (57.9%). In Paramount, English dominated the section more

often, at 55.3%. The language that followed Spanish in Huntington Park and Lynwood was of course English (37% and 42.1%, respectively), and in Paramount it was Spanish (44.7%). There were no occurrences of other languages. Table 4.9 contains all observations and the percentage at which they occurred.

Language	City			Total
	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount	
English	37.0% (80)	42.1% (56)	55.3% (63)	199
Spanish	63.0% (136)	57.9% (77)	44.7% (51)	264
Other	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0
Total	216	133	114	463

Table 4.9: Dominant Language of Multilingual Informative Section of Multilingual Signs per City

4.2.4.2.2.2 Non-Dominant Language of Multilingual Informative Section

Finally, we shall review the language that occurred in the non-dominant position of multilingual informative signs in the three cities. English was the non-dominant language of the multilingual informative section in Huntington Park and Lynwood (62.5% and 56.4%, respectively). This makes sense since the two languages that occur the most in the corpus are Spanish and English, and Spanish dominated the multilingual informative section, as discussed above. For Paramount, the non-dominant language was Spanish 51.7% of the time. This also reflects the fact that English was the dominant language of the section 55.3% of the time, as reviewed in the previous section. There were 8 occurrences of other languages in the non-dominant position of multilingual informative sections, which made up 0.5% of the Huntington Park corpus (i.e. one sign with French), 2.2% of the Lynwood corpus (i.e. three signs with French), and 3.6% of the

Paramount corpus (i.e. two signs with Chinese, one with Korean, and one with French). See Table 4.10 for the complete breakdown of data.

Language	City			Total
	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount	
English	62.5% (135)	56.4% (75)	44.7% (51)	261
Spanish	37.0% (80)	41.4% (55)	51.7% (59)	194
Other	0.5% (1)	2.2% (3)	3.6% (4)	8
Total	216	133	114	463

Table 4.10: Non-Dominant Language of Multilingual Informative Section of Multilingual Signs per City

4.3 Inferential Data Analysis

Now that we have described the data observed in the three cities, we will move on to the inferential statistics, which describe the relationship between the main and informative sections. That is, using binary logistic regression analyses, I predict the presence of Spanish in the informative section, based on the predominance of the language or languages of the main section of multilingual signs. I do so by examining the log odd ratio of the appearance of certain types of informative sections and if that ratio relationship is significant or not. Here, I define significant as a p -value of less than .05. However, instead of discarding results that are approaching significance, I will also be taking into consideration p -values between .05 and .1, which I will consider marginally significant. This means that the models in these cases were close to being considered significant and, with an even larger corpus, they could prove to be significant.

While earlier parts of this chapter focused on describing the linguistic landscape texts holistically, this segment instead focuses only on signs containing English and Spanish. Texts containing any other languages were removed from the analysis for two reasons. First, the

overarching purpose of this study is to examine language contact between Spanish and English in the linguistic landscape. These are the predominant languages of the region and therefore we narrow our focus to just these two linguistic codes. Relatedly, due to their minimal appearance in the data, the inclusion of other languages would have skewed the results. Similarly, for obvious reasons, monolingual signs are excluded, since we would not be able to describe the relationship between the main and informative section of a sign because informative sections of monolingual signs were not considered.

There are four possible configurations of signs: those with both a monolingual main and informative section (Figure 4.1), those with a monolingual main section and a multilingual informative section (Figure 4.2), those with a multilingual main section and a monolingual informative section (Figure 4.3), and those with both multilingual main and informative sections (Figure 4.4).

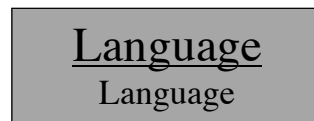


Figure 4.1: Monolingual Main Section, Monolingual Informative Section

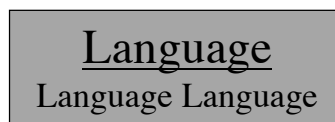


Figure 4.2: Monolingual Main Section, Multilingual Informative Section

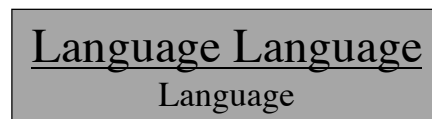
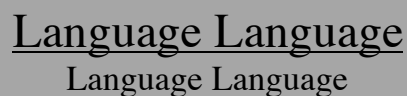


Figure 4.3: Multilingual Main Section, Monolingual Informative Section



Language Language
Language Language

Figure 4.4: Multilingual Main Section, Multilingual Informative Section

However, we will not include signs with both a monolingual main and informative section as in Figure 4.1 for this analysis. Because we are only looking at two languages for the reasons mentioned above, if the language of a given position is not Spanish, it will be English, and vice versa. Due to this fact, multilingual signs with both main and informative sections as monolingual will always contain different languages, as they are multilingual and if the two languages were the same, they would be monolingual signs. It is obvious that 100% of the time the language of the informative section will be the opposite of the language of the main section in this data set. Thus, we will only predict the language of the informative section using the language of the main section for the three possible configurations above in Figures 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4.

For each of the three combinations tested, I ran models in order to address both the dominating and the non-dominating language of a section. The position of focus (i.e. the dominating or non-dominating position) is made evident in the figures below by the language written in black, whereas the position that is not being focused on is represented in a white font. For each of the regressions, the positions of focus are used as predictors in the main section, while the languages of the informative section are maintained consistent to see which predictors have a stronger likelihood of generating Spanish in a given position in the informative section.

The results were entirely categorical. Using the language of the main section, all cities predicted Spanish in the informative section in the same manner. As we will see below, the majority of the results proved significant. First, we will review the predictions of Spanish in the

monolingual informative section. Then we will see when Spanish is more likely to appear in the multilingual informative section. We will see how a monolingual main section predicts Spanish in the multilingual section and then how a multilingual main section does so.

4.3.1 Multilingual Main Section Versus Monolingual Informative Section

In this segment, we will review results from the models that predict the occurrence of Spanish in the monolingual informative section, using first the dominant language of the multilingual main section, and then the non-dominant language.

In order to predict when Spanish would most likely occur in the informative section by itself in a sign with a multilingual main section, we tested the two possibilities of the dominant language of the multilingual main section: Spanish and English (Figures 4.5 and 4.6 below, respectively). Examples from the corpus with multilingual main sections and monolingual informative sections are given in Figures 4.7 and 4.8. Spanish is the dominant language of the main section in Figure 4.7, while English is the dominant language of the main section in Figure 4.8. Both contain monolingual informative sections in Spanish.



Figure 4.5: Predicting Spanish Monolingual Informative Section with Spanish as Dominant Language of Multilingual Main Section



Figure 4.6: Predicting Spanish Monolingual Informative Section with English as Dominant Language of Multilingual Main Section



Figure 4.8: English-Dominant Multilingual Main Section,
Monolingual Spanish Informative Section

Figure 4.5 (as in Figure 4.7) was found to be the more likely configuration in all cities tested. That is, Spanish as the dominant language of the multilingual main section is more likely to predict Spanish in the monolingual informative section than is English as the dominant language. Nonetheless, regarding statistical significance, this result was only found to be significant in the city of Paramount. It did not achieve significance in Huntington Park and achieved marginal significance in Lynwood. However, overall this combination was found to be significant for the three cities. Below p -values are included in Table 4.11.

Corpus	<i>p</i> -value
Huntington Park	.926
Lynwood	.097
Paramount	.024
Overall	.009

Table 4.11: Models 2 and 3

In order to verify the previous results, I also examined the non-dominant language possibilities of the multilingual main section: Spanish and English. These images are visualized below in Figures 4.9 and 4.10. Examples from the corpus would also be those seen in Figures 4.7 and 4.8 above, but for statistical purposes, the predictor would be the language in the non-dominant position, as opposed to the language of the dominant position.



Figure 4.9: Predicting Spanish Monolingual Informative Section with English as Non-Dominant Language of Multilingual Main Section



Figure 4.10: Predicting Spanish Monolingual Informative Section with Spanish as Non-Dominant Language of Multilingual Main Section

Because this model was the exact opposite of the former model, these results corroborated what was previously found in this section: Spanish is more likely to appear as the language of the monolingual informative section when English is the non-dominant language of the multilingual main section (Figure 4.9), as opposed to Spanish (Figure 4.10).

The statistical results of Table 4.11 (that is, the *p*-values) were the exact same. Thus, for the city of Paramount and overall, the corpus was statistically significant. The results for the

cities of Huntington Park and Lynwood were not statistically significant, as the p -value was greater than .05.

4.3.2 Monolingual Main Section Versus Multilingual Informative Section

We now turn to results from the models that predict the existence of Spanish in the multilingual informative section, using the language of the monolingual main section. First, we will see which predictor has a higher likelihood of Spanish as the dominant language of the informative section and then we will review the language that predicts Spanish as the non-dominant language of the informative section.

In order to test the most likely configuration for Spanish occurring in the dominant position of the informative section, we compared the two possible configurations: the case of signs with a monolingual main section whose language is Spanish (Figure 4.11) and that of signs with an English main section (Figure 4.12). Examples from the corpus are included below in Figure 4.13, with a Spanish main section, and Figure 4.14, with an English main section. Both contain a Spanish-dominant informative section.



Figure 4.11: Predicting Spanish-Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with Spanish Monolingual Main Section



Figure 4.12: Predicting Spanish-Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with English Monolingual Main Section



Figure 4.13: Monolingual Spanish Main Section, Multilingual Spanish-Dominant Informative Section



Figure 4.14: Monolingual English Main Section, Multilingual Spanish-Dominant Informative Section

Our models for all three cities predicted that Spanish will dominate the multilingual informative section when the language of the monolingual main section is also Spanish (Figure 4.11, as is exemplified in Figure 4.13). This contrasts with the less likely case of a monolingual main English section with Spanish dominating the multilingual informative section (Figure 4.12, as exemplified in Figure 4.14).

All results were significant, as can be seen in Table 4.12, except for those from the city of Paramount. Nonetheless, when compiled together, the overall result was statistically significant and thus we were able to confidently say that a Spanish main section would be more likely to predict a multilingual informative section with Spanish as the dominant language.

Corpus	<i>p</i> -value
Huntington Park	.004
Lynwood	<.001
Paramount	.162
Overall	<.001

Table 4.12: Models 4 and 7

After predicting when Spanish would appear in the dominant position of the informative section using the language of the monolingual main section, I then used the models to predict when Spanish would appear as the non-dominant language of the informative section, also using the language of the monolingual main section, first as English (Figure 4.15) and then as Spanish (Figure 4.16). Examples from the corpus are given in Figure 4.17, with an English main section, and Figure 4.18, with a Spanish main section.



Figure 4.15: Predicting Spanish Non-Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with English Monolingual Main Section



Figure 4.16: Predicting Spanish Non-Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with Spanish Monolingual Main Section



Figure 4.17: Monolingual English Main Section,
Multilingual English Dominant, Spanish Non-Dominant Informative Section



Figure 4.18: Monolingual Spanish Main Section,
Multilingual English Dominant, Spanish Non-Dominant Informative Section

Because this is the exact reverse of the previous model described, we found the results to be the exact opposite for this sister model. That is, we predicted that Spanish will be the non-dominant language of the informative section when English is the language of the main section (Figure 4.15, as seen in Figure 4.17), as opposed to Spanish (Figure 4.16, as seen in Figure 4.18).

For the cities of Huntington Park and Lynwood and overall, the corpus was statistically significant, but the results for the city of Paramount were not statistically significant, as the p -value was greater than .05. Table 4.12 above gives precise p -values.

4.3.3 Multilingual Main Section Versus Multilingual Informative Section

In this final section of the inferential statistical analysis, we will look at the case of signs with both the main section and the informative section as multilingual. First, we will predict Spanish as the dominant language of the multilingual informative section using both the dominant and non-dominant languages of the multilingual main section, and then we will use those same two predictors to do so to calculate Spanish as the non-dominant language of the multilingual informative section.

4.3.3.1 Predicting Spanish as the Dominant Language of the Multilingual Informative Section

First, we will see the results for predicting Spanish as the predominant language of the multilingual informative section using the predominant language of the multilingual main section. There are two possible configurations for the multilingual main section: Spanish as the dominant language (Figure 4.19) or English (Figure 4.20). I include examples from the corpus below, in Figures 4.21 and 4.22.



Figure 4.19: Predicting Spanish Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with Spanish-Dominant Multilingual Main Section



Figure 4.20: Predicting Spanish Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with English-Dominant Multilingual Main Section



Figure 4.21: Multilingual Spanish-Dominant, English Non-Dominant Main Section, Multilingual Spanish-Dominant, English Non-Dominant Informative Section



Figure 4.22: Multilingual English-Dominant, Spanish Non-Dominant Main Section, Multilingual Spanish-Dominant, English Non-Dominant Informative Section

Dominant Spanish in the main section (Figure 4.19, as exemplified in Figure 4.21) proved to be the more likely predictor of dominant Spanish in the informative section for all

cities evaluated, making dominant English in the main section (Figure 4.20, as exemplified in Figure 4.22) the less likely configuration.

These results were statistically significant for the cities of Lynwood and Paramount and overall, but they were not significant for Huntington Park. Overall, the results were significant. In Table 4.13 below, the *p*-values for all cases are depicted.

Corpus	<i>p</i>-value
Huntington Park	.662
Lynwood	.005
Paramount	<.001
Overall	<.001

Table 4.13: Models 5 and 6

Next, in order to verify these findings, I looked at the non-dominant language possibilities of the main section and their ability to predict Spanish as the dominant language of the multilingual informative section. As always, these two languages were English (Figure 4.23) and Spanish (Figure 4.24). Because this is simply the reverse of the situation, the examples above in Figures 4.21 and 4.22 would be the same, but with a focus on the non-dominant language.



Figure 4.23: Predicting Spanish Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with English Non-Dominant Multilingual Main Section



Figure 4.24: Predicting Spanish Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with Spanish Non-Dominant Multilingual Main Section

Results confirmed previous findings. Non-dominant English in the main section (Figure 4.23) was more likely to predict dominant Spanish in the informative section, as opposed to Non-dominant Spanish (Figure 4.24).

As expected, the *p*-values matched those above in Table 4.13, and thus all findings were significant, except those from the city of Huntington Park. For this reason, we are adequately able to predict that Spanish will be the dominant language of the informative section if Spanish is the dominant language of the main section and English is the non-dominant language.

4.3.3.2 Predicting Spanish as the Non-Dominant Language of the Multilingual Informative Section

Moving on to our predictions of Spanish as the non-dominant language of the multilingual informative section, we again begin by using the dominant language of the main section to predict such a case and then review the non-dominant language's efficacy as a predictor. Figures 4.25 and 4.26 show the two possible configurations for the multilingual main section: English and Spanish as the dominant language, respectively. I include examples from the corpus below, in Figures 4.27 and 4.28.



Figure 4.25: Predicting Spanish Non-Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with English Dominant Multilingual Main Section



Figure 4.26: Predicting Spanish Non-Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with Spanish Dominant Multilingual Main Section



Figure 4.27: Multilingual English-Dominant, Spanish Non-Dominant Main Section,
Multilingual English-Dominant, Spanish Non-Dominant Informative Section



Figure 4.28: Multilingual Spanish-Dominant, English Non-Dominant Main Section,
Multilingual English-Dominant, Spanish Non-Dominant Informative Section

Figure 4.25, that is English as the dominant language of the main section, was found to be the more likely predictor of Spanish as the non-dominant language of the informative section in all cases. A configuration of Spanish as the dominant language of the main section (as in Figure 4.26) was less likely to yield Spanish in the non-dominant position of the multilingual informative section.

As presented in in Table 4.14 below, results were significant from all cities except Huntington Park. When combining the results from all three cities, the p -value was also significant. Accordingly, we were able to conclude that English in the dominant position of the

main section was more likely to produce a situation in which Spanish occurred as the non-dominant language of the informative section.

Corpus	<i>p</i>-value
Huntington Park	.662
Lynwood	.005
Paramount	<.001
Overall	<.001

Table 4.14: Models 8 and 9

Finally, we tested the reverse situation: the non-dominant language of the main section and its ability to produce Spanish in the non-dominant position of the informative section. Figures 4.29 and 4.30 show the two possibilities of Spanish and English as the non-dominant languages, respectively. Examples from the corpus would be the same as those in Figures 4.27 and 4.28 above, with a focus on the non-dominant language of the main section as opposed to the dominant language.



Figure 4.29: Predicting Spanish Non-Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with Spanish Non-Dominant Multilingual Main Section



Figure 4.30: Predicting Spanish Non-Dominant Multilingual Informative Section with English Non-Dominant Multilingual Main Section

Results corroborated previous findings, yielding the same configuration. Spanish in the non-dominant position of the main section (Figure 4.29) more accurately predicted the

occurrence of Spanish in the non-dominant position of the informative section, as opposed to the predictor of non-dominant English in the main section (Figure 4.30).

The results were again statistically significant for Lynwood, Paramount, and the corpus overall, but they were not significant for the city of Huntington Park. The *p*-values in Table 4.14 reflect these same findings.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has served to examine the quantitative results of the dissertation. In the first half, we reviewed the corpus itself and the descriptive or explanatory statistics, including percentages of occurrences of particular code preferences in the 4,664 linguistic landscape texts. In monolingual signs, we saw a clear domination of the English language both on an individual city level, and at the corpus level. This could be for many reasons. First of all, English is the language that carries the most prestige in general in the United States of America, since it is the most widely spoken language (Ryan, 2013). This confirms its prestige in Southeast Los Angeles, as well.

Additionally, predesigned monolingual English signs are more readily available in the US than those in any other language. Perhaps many of these signs are not designed by local sign makers, but rather are mass-produced elsewhere, shipped to nearby stores, and then purchased locally.

Overall, Huntington Park, the city with the highest Latino population, had a greater preference for multilingual signs (i.e. 27.3%) than Lynwood (i.e. 16.5%) or Paramount (i.e. 14.6%). This number seemed to be negatively correlated with Hispanic population, as Paramount, the city with the lowest percentage of Latino residents had the highest number of monolingual English signs, and Huntington Park the lowest. That is, the lower the percentage of Latino residents, the higher the amount of monolingual signs. On the other hand, the higher the Hispanic population, the

more multilingual signs one would see in these areas. Because English greatly predominated in the multilingual signage, this could mean that when Spanish does occur, it does so with English, making for multilingual signage.

The case of the multilingual signs was much more complex. The majority of the time English was more likely to appear in the main section. However, there were two cases in which this did not occur. In Lynwood, unlike the other two cities, Spanish occurred more frequently by itself in the monolingual main section of a multilingual linguistic landscape text. We will examine Lynwood, the Spanish language, and group identity, in greater depth in chapter six. Nonetheless, the data for this aspect were close, within 1.8% of each other. For the multilingual main section, Spanish was the dominant code preference for Huntington Park. This is remarkable because it shows how much Spanish is valued in this last city.

The monolingual informative section had results similar to the multilingual main section: English was more common in Lynwood and Paramount, but Spanish was the more dominant language of this section in Huntington Park. The informative section of the LL text provides information regarding utility. The Spanish language was more productive in terms of conveying messages in Huntington Park, while English proved more constructive in the other two cities. Finally, regarding the multilingual informative section, we saw that Spanish was more often the dominant language in Huntington Park and Lynwood, whereas this language was English in Paramount. This reinforces the utility of the Spanish language in Huntington Park and the English language in Paramount, but demonstrates bilingualism in the city of Lynwood that had a smaller Latino population than Huntington Park, but larger than Paramount.

Overall, Lynwood tended to pair more often with the results of Huntington Park, except for the multilingual informative section where it paired more with Huntington Park. It is

interesting to note that Lynwood is closer to Paramount in terms of its Latino population (i.e. 8% difference) than it is to Huntington Park (i.e. 10.5% difference). This means that the general correlation of Latino population with the appearance of Spanish in linguistic landscape texts seems plausible.

After seeing descriptive statistics, the second half of the chapter dealt with the results of the inferential statistics, which have previously been an unemployed method in studying the signage of Los Angeles. In contrast to work that has made use of small corpuses, this analysis demonstrated reliable trends through the use of a large corpus and these inferential statistics. Using several models, we predicted the presence and predominance of the Spanish language in the informative section. We saw that all of the findings pointed in the same direction. The models displayed identical patterns in that when Spanish dominated or was the only language of the main section, it also dominated or was the only language of the informative section. Relatedly, if English dominated or was the only language of the main section, it also tended to dominate in the informative section. This occurred for all three cities and also for the overall corpus.

Regarding significance, the majority of findings were statistically significant; that is, the p -value was less than 0.5. There were more non-significant findings in the Huntington Park sample, as compared to the other cities and overall findings. This could be due to the size of the sample. Huntington Park had the least amount of signs ($n=1,406$), whereas Lynwood had the most ($n=1,725$) and Paramount the second most ($n=1,533$). Thus, with more observations or data points, our results might reach significance in Huntington Park.

The relationship between the main and informative sections and the ability to predict when the Spanish language will appear in Southeast Los Angeles is fascinating and has potential

implications. Marketing or advertising groups, for example, may wish to know the language likelier to prove more productive for communication, as well as the one more prestigious language that could potentially attract more customers or clients. Furthermore, social justice groups could be interested in these results, along with those in charge of making decisions pertaining to local language and signage policies, as they reveal the importance of the Spanish language in these Southeast Los Angeles communities.

In the coming chapter, we will see the results from the qualitative analyses of sociolinguistic interviews conducted with local residents in the three cities. Then, in the sixth and final chapter, we will see how the quantitative findings of this chapter are related to the qualitative findings of the fifth chapter and review the implications for the discoveries of the dissertation.

Chapter 5: Results from Qualitative Studies

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we reviewed the quantitative results, focusing on the different patterns in which English and Spanish occurred in the signage of Southeast Los Angeles. Now that we have examined and even predicted the appearance of languages in the LL, we turn to individuals' perceptions of languages in public signage. In the coming qualitative results, we will examine attitudes of individuals in the cities of Huntington Park, Lynwood, and Paramount.

The majority of the interviews¹⁶ were conducted in Spanish; only four were done in English. This linguistic preference in itself demonstrates a high degree of utility for the Spanish language in the three communities in Southeast Los Angeles. As mentioned in chapter three, a research assistant conducted all of the interviews. A few issues did come up. At times, particular questions were left out and the interviewer accidentally suggested answers. These operational errors can of course happen from time to time and, when they did, they were left out of the analysis for obvious reasons. Nonetheless, the benefits of having an ingroup member conduct the interviews outweighed the disadvantages of having an outgroup member do them, and these same mistakes could have been made regardless.

In order to review results from each participant, this chapter will look at how all respondents answered particular questions. Then, we will explore certain responses in depth in the qualitative content analysis (Silverman, 2006). In the case utterances were made in Spanish, English translations are provided following the original comments. The chapter will begin with

¹⁶ As reported by Nancy, people were the most willing to be interviewed in Paramount. Out of the ten individuals asked, only two said no. In Huntington Park, four people said no, and the rest said yes. More people in Lynwood declined to be interviewed, around twelve.

reviewing responses to questions related to participants' perception of languages in the linguistic landscape and their desired appearance. Then we will move on to evaluations of linguistic prestige in the LL, seeing what languages informants considered would attract the most people, the language associated with product prices, and then the language associated with product qualities. Next, we will look at the informants' idea of the utility of English and Spanish in signs in the areas. Finally, we will discuss different themes that came up in and across participant responses. This will be followed by concluding remarks to the chapter.

5.2 Perception of Languages in the Linguistic Landscape

In order to compare real occurrences of languages with their perceptions in each of the three cities, two pertinent questions were included the survey. The first question referred to the languages on monolingual signage and the second to languages on multilingual signage. We will review their respective responses in the next two sections.

5.2.1 Monolingual Signage

The tenth interview question referred to the appearance of languages in monolingual signage in the communities and asked, "Would you say there are more signs all in English or all in Spanish in this city?" Responses varied per city. In Huntington Park, the majority of participants selected English (i.e. five), and the other three chose Spanish. However, informants were split in other cities. In Lynwood, half of the participants selected Spanish as more likely to be the language of monolingual signage (i.e. four), and other half said that the signs were about half in English and half in Spanish. Interestingly, no informants guessed English to be the dominant language of monolingual signage in Lynwood. Lastly, in Paramount, half of the participants selected English

(i.e. four) and the other half (i.e. four) selected "50-50," that the signs were half in English and half in Spanish. These results are depicted below in Figure 5.1.

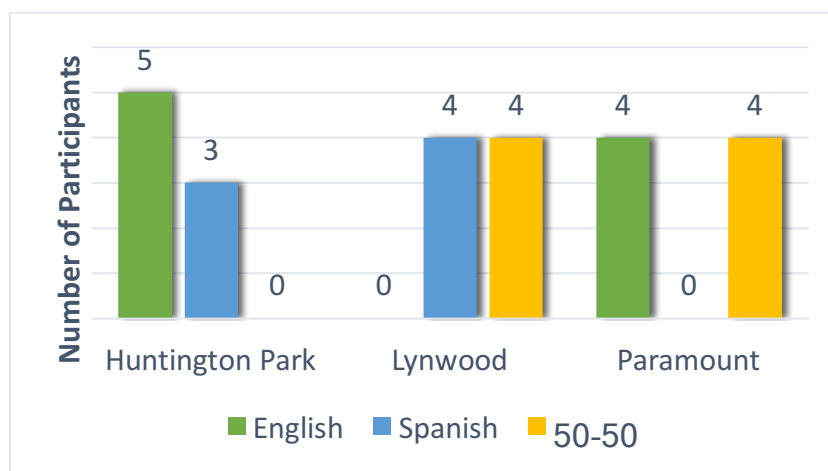


Figure 5.1: Perceived Language of the Majority of Monolingual Signs per City

Some informants elaborated on their responses. In answering question 10 regarding the language of the majority of monolingual signs, participant LW2M_{US}23¹⁷ selected Spanish because, "somos casi puros hispanos." Born in Los Angeles with family from Venezuela, LW2M_{US}23 invokes the demographics of the region in his response. In describing the ethnic population (and inferring to the linguistic population), he justifies and strengthens his response. Instead of just describing the city as composed of "almost purely Hispanic individuals," he positions himself as Hispanic by including himself in his description of the city: "we are almost purely Hispanic." Participant LW8M_H21 made similar comments:

¹⁷ As a reminder, participant coding can be seen in the third chapter, in Table 3.3: Participant Information and Coding.

Uh hay de dos ahh... están los dos lenguajes... español e inglés, y pues como hay muchos latinos también se requiere el español aquí para mantenerse en contacto con otros latinos. (LW8M_H21)

Uh there's some of both ahh... both languages are present... Spanish, and English, and well because there's a lot of Latinos, Spanish is also required in order to stay in contact with other Latinos. (LW8M_H21)

This 21-year-old male from Honduras also referred to the linguistic population of Lynwood, saying that there are many Latinos. As participant LW2M_{US}23, for him, being Latino indexes the ability to speak Spanish. Participant LW8M_H21 again references this idea when he says that Spanish is required for maintaining contact with other Latinos.

5.2.2 Multilingual Signage

The proceeding question (i.e. question 11) asked, "When a sign contains both English AND Spanish, which language would you say tends to be the largest or stands out the most in this city?" Responses were again quite varied. Most participants in Huntington Park and Lynwood selected English (i.e. five and four individuals, respectively). Spanish was the second common choice in the two cities; two individuals in Huntington Park and three in Lynwood selected Spanish as the more common dominant language in multilingual signage. One participant in each of those cities did not provide an answer; we will see these responses below. In Paramount, the most common choice was Spanish, made by five participants. English was the second most common choice, selected by three individuals in the city. Results are shown below in Figure 5.2.

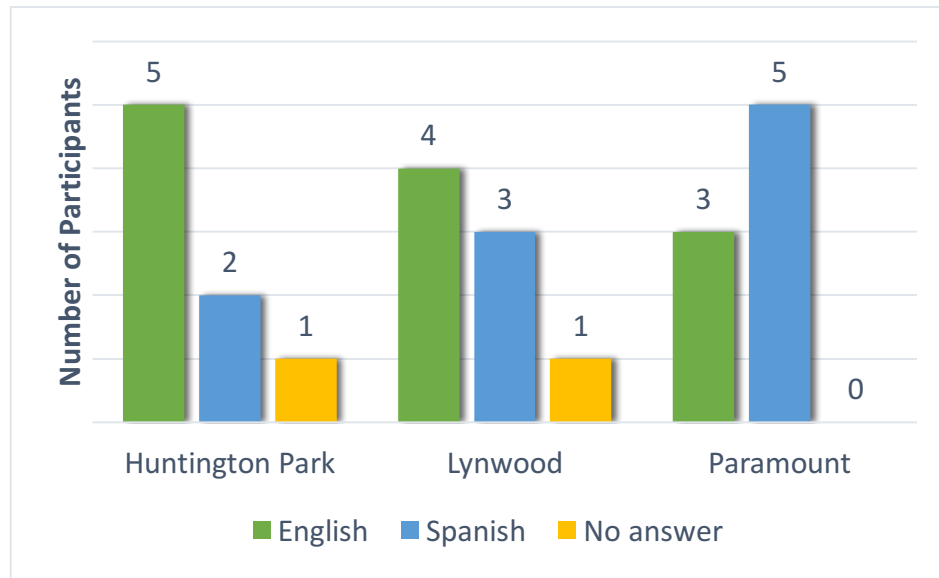


Figure 5.2: Perceived Language of the Majority of Multilingual Signs per City

Participants HP1F_{MX}30 and LW8M_H21 did not give classifiable answers. First, the 30-year-old Mexican female interviewed in Huntington Park simply said that she was not sure: "Mmmmm... Paso porque no sé" ("Mmmmm... I'll pass because I don't know.") The 21-year-old Honduran male interviewed in Lynwood, however, answered the question with how he conceived of the signage's audience rather than the predominance of language in multilingual signs.

Yo pienso que el español se debería de...deletrear más para los latinos y para los americanos el inglés. (LW8M_H21)

I think that Spanish should be.. sp.. spelled out more for Latinos and English (should be spelled out more) for Americans. (LW8M_H21)

This was quite an interesting response because it presumes that Latinos and Latinas speak Spanish and "Americans" speak English. This ideology was also seen above in participant LW8M_H21's response to question 10.

Participant LW2M_{US}23 gave English as his response to question 11; however, he added more to his answer:

Creo que, pues inglés pero también creo que el español, pues ya es *like really important, you know?* ...Es muy importante. (LW2M_{US}23)

I think, well English but also I think Spanish, well yeah it's *like really important you, know?* ...It's very important. (LW2M_{US}23)

He found English to be the more salient language, but he wanted to defend Spanish and say that, even though this is the case, Spanish is still very significant in the community. To demonstrate his emphasis, he modified the word "important" with the adverb "very" and then even checked for the understanding of his interlocutor: "ya know?" As an additional form of emphasis, he translated the sentence he had uttered in English into Spanish. While this interview was predominantly conducted in Spanish, the informant code-switched a good deal. Considering he was twenty-three and the interviewer was nineteen, this made sense. However, it was interesting to note that when he wished to express how important Spanish was, he switched into English to state this, and then went back into Spanish to repeat it. Perhaps using the English language underscored his point of view and, since he recognized his interlocutor was bilingual, he used both languages to express the same idea.

Participant HP8T_{MX}40, a 40-year-old transgender Mexican, selected Spanish as the language that is more prominent in multilingual signage, but for a different reason:

En español definitivamente es porque es lo que más le, le va a beneficiar a un negocio. (HP8T_{MX}40)

Definitely in Spanish because it's what will most, it will benefit a business the most. (HP8T_{MX}40)

Here, as an employee in a small clothing store, she takes the point of view of the business, saying that Spanish is going to appear more in the signs because it is what is going to benefit the store

more. From her point of view, Spanish is economically advantageous in the area. This comment relates to question 15 and the language associated with more expensive products which we will review later on.

5.3 Desired Language Appearance

After answering questions regarding their perception of the actual appearance of languages in the linguistic landscape of the three cities, participants were asked about their *desired* appearance of languages in the public space in two survey questions. We will review responses to questions 21 and 22 below, and then we will see how these responses compared with informant perception of the current situation.

5.3.1 Percentages

First, in question 21, participants were asked the follow: "If you had to allocate percentages to the amount or quantity you think languages *should* appear in Los Angeles signs, how much would you allocate to Spanish? To English? Any other languages?" This time we will review the results by city. In Huntington Park, there was a great range of opinions. Participants answered that Spanish should be in signage between 0% and 90% of the time, whereas, for English, this number was between 10% and 100%. However, the average participant response for Spanish and English were very similar: 49.4% and 50.6%, respectively. Two informants felt that English should be more dominant, and another two felt that Spanish should be more dominant.

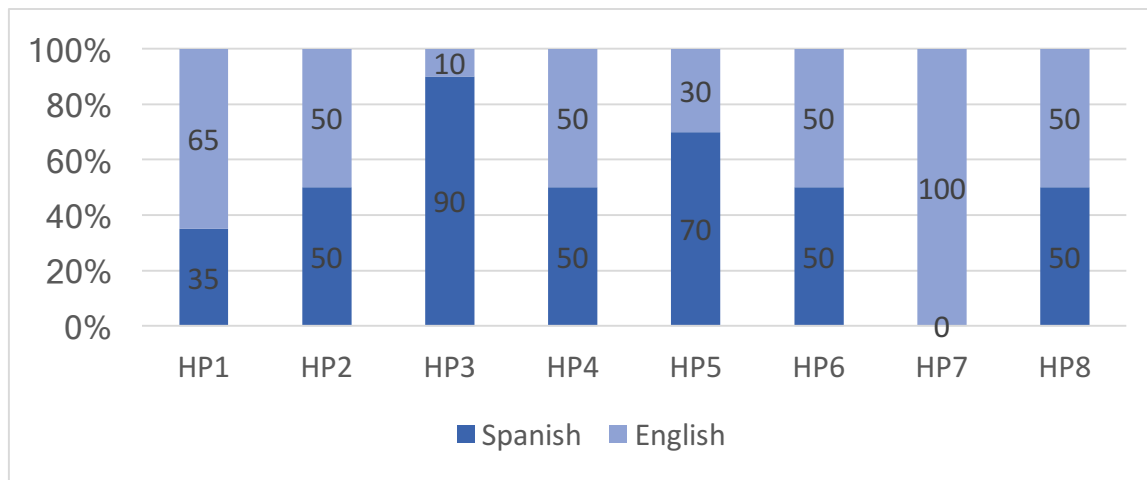


Figure 5.3: Percentages of Desired Language Appearance in Signage for Participants in Huntington Park

In Lynwood, the ranges of responses were smaller. Informants selected Spanish to compose between 40 and 80% of the signage, whereas this number was between 20 and 60% for English. The average participant response for the amount of Spanish to appear in signage was 55.7%. For English, this number was 46.7%. One individual's answer, that of LW4M_{MX}78, was not classifiable because the interviewer suggested a response to him:

Pos, es lo que decimos... es lo que decimos yo lo que digo es que que que... el hispano, el español, el español, el español. (¿Como un 50/50?) Pos... si le doy al 50/50 entonces sí, no nos van a ganar los americanos. (LW4M_{MX}78)

Well, that's what we say... It's what we say, what I say is is is...the Hispanic, the Spanish, the Spanish, the Spanish. (Like a 50/50?) Well.. yeah I'll give it a 50/50 then yes, the Americans aren't going to beat us. (LW4M_{MX}78)

However, it is interesting to note that participant LW4M_{MX}78, who was from Nayarit, Mexico, did mention the answer that he *wouldn't* select (i.e. the one offered to him, 50% English and 50% in Spanish), stating that, if he did choose this one, then the Americans would win. It was not clear who would "lose." The implication is that he feels that there should be more Spanish than

50%, but it is not clear how much more Spanish than English he believes should appear in the signage. Results are shown below in Figure 5.4.

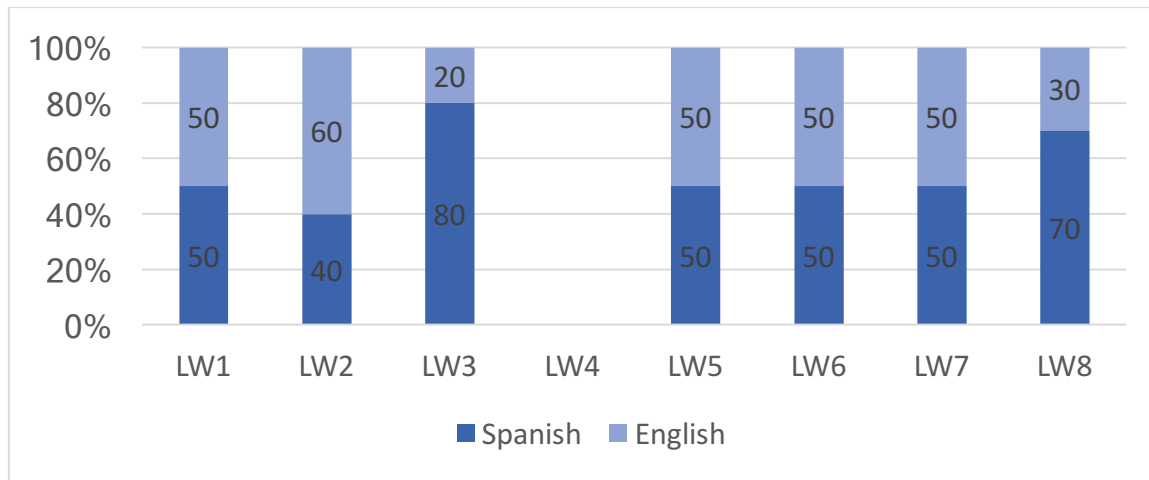


Figure 5.4: Percentages of Desired Language Appearance in Signage for Participants in Lynwood

In Paramount, the results were very uniform. Every participant that provided an answer said that he or she wished for half of the signs to be in English and half in Spanish. The answer provided by participant PM2M_{US}23 could have been influenced by the interviewer, who directly asked if he would say "50-50," so we will not include it here. Figure 5.5 below shows results for informants in the city of Paramount.

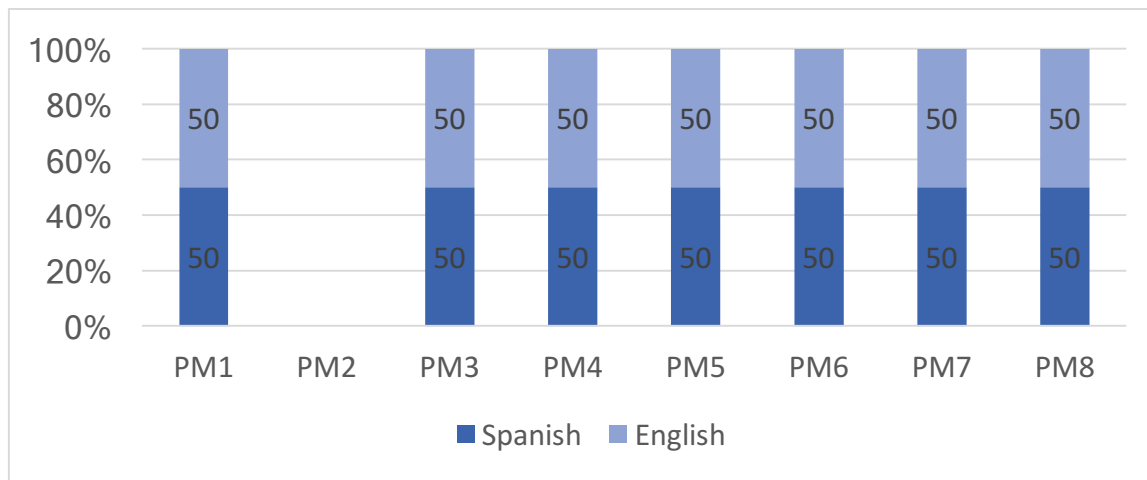


Figure 5.5: Percentages of Desired Language Appearance in Signage for Participants in Paramount

Many participants did not decide to allocate a percentage to languages other than English and Spanish. Participant LW1M_{MX}44, however, was one of the interviewees that did, and he said that these other languages should be given 30% if it is a language of a particular community. It was noteworthy to see that this amount was less than what English and Spanish were allocated (i.e. 50%). When asked about other languages, he said the following:

Pues dependiendo qué tanto, qué comunidad, este, viva en esa área también. Si es china yo creo un 30%. (LW1M_{MX}44)

Well it depends how much, what community is um living in the area too. If it's Chinese, I'd say 30%. (LW1M_{MX}44)

Participant PM8M_{US}38 also attributed 50% of his allocation to English and the other 50% to Spanish. In his reasoning, he referenced the community as others in responses to previous questions; however, the community he mentioned was a lot larger than just the city.

Again, this is uhh uh California. It, it's just a big Latin community, so I would say 50/50 it would have to be 50/50. (PM8M_{US}38)

Instead, participant PM8M_{US}38 discussed California as a state with a large number of "Latins," (inferring Spanish-speakers), referencing the community on the state-level, as opposed to the city-level.

5.3.2 Relation of English and Spanish

Question 22 used a five-point Likert scale, and said the following: "In signs with more than one language, certain languages can stand out or be more prominent in signs either by order of languages, size of font or color. Listen to the following statements regarding the saliency or prominence of English and Spanish in signs and say which statement you agree most with." The subsequent statements were then read:

English should always be more prominent than Spanish in the signs.	English should generally be more prominent than Spanish in the signs.	Spanish and English should be equally prominent in the signs.	Spanish should generally be more prominent than English in the signs.	Spanish should always be more prominent than English in the signs.
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In all three cities, the response was overwhelmingly the third option: "Spanish and English should be equally prominent in the signs" (i.e. twenty of the twenty-four participants). In fact, of the participants that gave an answer, all but one in each city selected this option. One informant in Lynwood answered that "English should generally be more prominent than Spanish in the signs" and two others, one in Huntington Park and the other in Paramount, selected the first option: "English should always be more prominent than Spanish in the signs." One participant in Huntington Park did not provide a response. Results are given below in Figure 5.6.

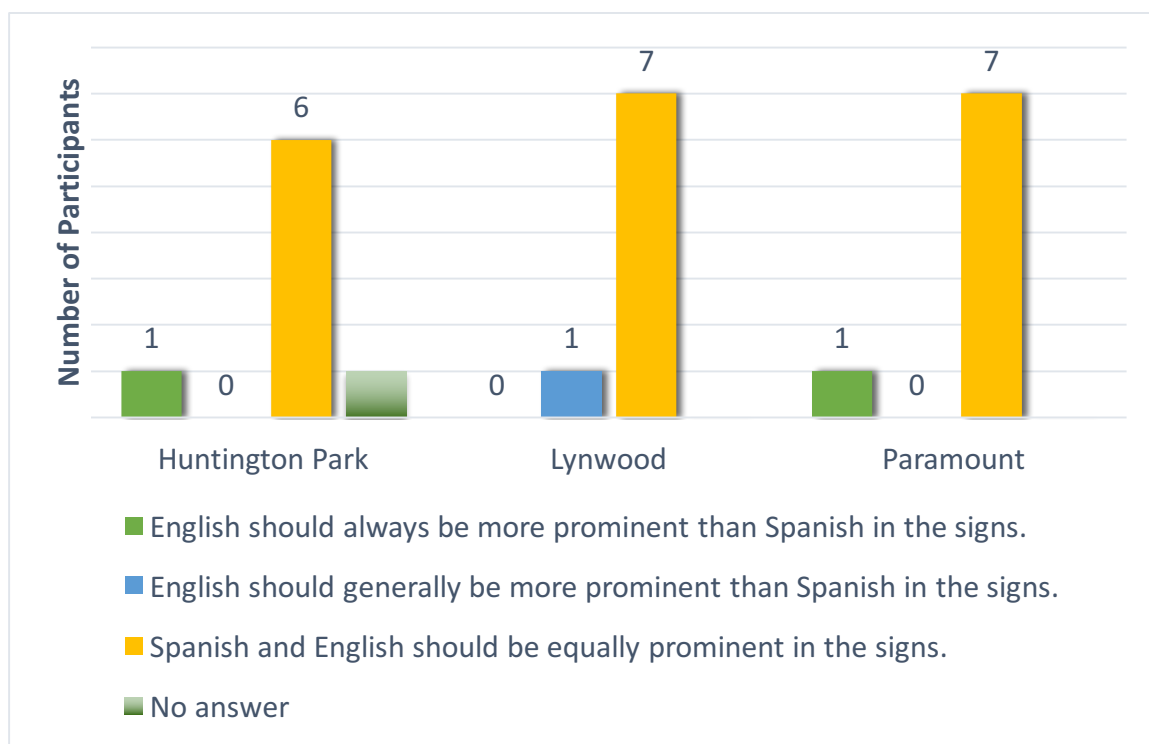


Figure 5.6: Prominence of English and Spanish in Signage

While we saw that the majority of interviewees desired for English and Spanish to be equally prominent, there was one individual in each city that did not agree. Two preferred for English to always be more prominent than Spanish in signage (HP7F_{MX}32 and PM3M_{US}38), and one preferred for English to generally be more prominent (LW8M_H21). In looking at their backgrounds, these three interviewees did not have much in common. One was a female and the other two were males. They were born in three different countries: Mexico, Honduras, and the US. Their ages were twenty-one, thirty-two, and thirty-eight. Instead, we turning to their backgrounds and other survey responses to see what we can glean from their response to question 22.

Participant HP7F_{MX}32 was interviewed in her store. As the owner of the shop that sold dresses of a range of prices,¹⁸ she was born in Mexico City, but had lived in the US for 19 years. Looking at the entire conversation, several of her responses seemed to suggest her belief of a stronger linguistic prestige for English than for Spanish. For example, she said that she thought that English would be more present in signs in a store with expensive products, and that Spanish would be in signs in a store with less expensive products (question 15). In judging the accuracy of both spoken (question 27) and written (question 26) Los Angeles Spanish, participant HP7F_{MX}32 said that the majority of the time it was not used correctly. She also stated that the Spanish spoken in Los Angeles was Spanglish and not like the type of Spanish she speaks at all. Nancy mentioned that she was dressed very well and most likely belonged to a higher socioeconomic class than many others in Huntington Park. This could have played a role in her language ideologies regarding the Spanish and English languages.

Participant PM3M_{US}38, who also selected the option for English to always be more prominent than Spanish in the linguistic landscape, provided the following reasoning: "Estamos en un país que se habla inglés y pues..." ("We are in a country where English is spoken and well..."). The association of English with the US is a reoccurring theme throughout these interviews, and we will see it discussed in other responses. He agreed that the spoken Spanish (question 28) and written Spanish (question 29) of Los Angeles were exactly the same as the way he spoke Spanish. However, he judged both spoken (question 27) and written (question 26) Spanish in Los Angeles as incorrect, signally a degree of linguistic insecurity. While he was born in Mexico, he had lived in the US for a long time: 22 years. This means that he came from Mexico when he was around 16 years old. Participant PM3M_{US}38's responses to both questions

¹⁸ Nancy the interviewer mentioned that she saw one dress that cost \$190 and another being sold for \$490 in the store.

regarding desired language appearance slightly contradicted each other. This suggests that he did not understand one or both of the questions. For question 21, he said that he would allocate 50% to English and 50% to Spanish, whereas for question 22, as stated above, he said that English should always predominate over Spanish.

Participant LW8M_H21, who said that English should generally dominate over Spanish, appeared somewhat nervous, according to the interviewer, Nancy. She said that at one point he said, "Oh my god; these questions are so hard," and even asked her to stop recording. This could explain why his answers to the two questions pertaining to desired language appearance seemed to contradict each other, suggesting a lack of understanding of the questions. When asked the percentage he would allocate to certain languages in Los Angeles, he answered 70% Spanish and 30% English (question 21). However, in discussing the relationship of Spanish to English (question 22), he stated the opposite idea, that English should generally dominate over Spanish. In assessing the Spanish of Los Angeles, this informant said that it was the same type of Spanish he spoke (question 28), but that it was spoken correctly only sometimes (question 27). In elaborating, he mentioned that many people lose their Spanish due to contact with English. It was also curious for him to state that the Spanish spoken in Los Angeles was the same as his own, considering he was from Honduras and had only been in the US for four years, and in Los Angeles for three months.

Participant HP6M_{MX}43 answered that both languages should dominate equally in public signage. In his comments, the 43-year-old male from the south of Mexico provided reasoning for each language. His justification for Spanish was that it was the essential local language, whereas he contextualized the local area within the entire country, associating English with the US and

saying that it should be the most predominant language. As a sort of compromise, he selected the option for both languages to dominate equally.

Bueno, yo creo que, como estamos en un área... estamos en los Estados Unidos, ah se puede decir que el inglés debe de predominar pero también el español es muy esencial. (HP6M_{MX}43)

Well, I think that, since we are in an area... we are in the United States, uh it could be said that English should predominate but Spanish is also very essential. (HP6M_{MX}43)

Two other informants believed that signs should have the goal to be accessible and communicate with as many people as possible. For this reason, they also selected the option for signs to dominate both in English and Spanish. In describing the diverse, local population, participant LW5M_{US}20 stated the following:

Ah porque... pues, hay diferentes personas de que a lo mejor no hablan inglés o no hablan español... y pues, eh sería bueno que... *you know?* (LW5M_{US}20)

Uh because... well, there's different people that maybe don't speak English or don't speak Spanish... and well, uh it would be great that... *you know?* (LW5M_{US}20)

Participant LW6M_{MX}24, a 24-year-old male from Guadalajara, Mexico was a little more specific in his response justifying the predominance of both languages, saying that:

Porque, ahh nn, nuevamente reitero nn uno, hay unos que saben inglés, y unos no saben español y hay otros que saben español y no saben inglés. (LW6M_{MX}24)

Because, uhh mmm, once again I reiterate mmm some, there's some that know English and others that don't know Spanish and there's others that know Spanish and don't know English. (LW6M_{MX}24)

In comparing the results of Section A, the percentages allocated to each language, and Section B, the predominance of English and Spanish in the signage of the area, we see that the results coincided with each other: informants prefer for signs to be around 50% in English and 50% in Spanish. This is especially true if we consider the average of all answers per city. In Huntington Park, Spanish would be allocated just a slightly higher percentage than English: 50.6% versus 49.4%. In Lynwood, on the other hand, there is a minor tendency for informants to allocate more to English than to Spanish: 55.7% versus 44.3%. Similar to Huntington Park, in Paramount, the percentages assigned to each language would be the same: 50%. Overall, these numbers point to a sentiment that signs should appear about half in Spanish and half in English.

5.3.3 Perceived Language Appearance and Desired Language Appearance

We shall now compare participants' perceived language appearance, reviewed in section two, with their desired language appearance, as seen in the current section. We will begin by comparing perceptions and desired realities in regard to monolingual signage and then see those for multilingual signage.

In this section, we saw that, overall, participants preferred for the amount of English and Spanish in LA signage to be about equal. In section two, regarding the perceived language appearance in monolingual signs, the majority of participants in all three cities did not perceive a balance. This would mean that participants are not satisfied with the appearance of languages in the linguistic landscape and would prefer to there to be a shift in order for their expectations to be met.

The majority of the participants in Huntington Park perceived English as the dominant language (i.e. five individuals), whereas the others (i.e. three individuals) perceived this language

as English. Since they perceived more English than Spanish, this would mean that they had a desire for more Spanish to appear in monolingual signage.

In Lynwood, we saw that half of the informants (i.e. four) perceived Spanish as the dominant language of signs that contained a sole language. The other half perceived a balance of English and Spanish in such signs. If we were to take this balance and split it evenly, we would have the equivalent of 25% English and 25% Spanish responses. So, in combining the perceived Spanish from the balanced responses (i.e. 25%) with the other 50% that perceived Spanish, overall, we would have a response rate of 75% of individuals in Lynwood that perceived Spanish as dominating in the monolingual signs. So, in order to achieve the desired 50-50 balance, as mentioned in this section, perhaps interviewees would be okay with a higher amount of monolingual English signage.

Lastly, in Paramount, if we distributed the four responses for both English and Spanish as equally dominant in monolingual signs in the area, we would add 25% to those that answered English (i.e. four, or 50% of total responses) and 25% for the answer of Spanish (which would give us the equivalent of two individuals that answered Spanish. This would yield a ratio of 25% Spanish and 75% English in Paramount. Since, in a sense, English is being perceived as dominating monolingual signage by a significant amount, we could say that participants desire more signs that are only in the Spanish language.

In looking at multilingual signage, however, most participants perceived English as the most prominent language of signs with more than one linguistic code in Huntington Park and Lynwood. These individuals would prefer for there to be more signage in which Spanish dominated in these signs. Then, in Paramount, Spanish was the more perceived salient language. In order to have the two languages equally dominating in the signs, this would mean that

participants desired for more examples of English dominating in the multilingual signs of the area.

5.4 Prestige

There are different ways of getting at linguistic prestige in conversations with individuals, and the qualitative portion of this dissertation employed three ways of doing so. First, I asked about the "attraction" of language. Then, I inquired as to the relation between language and price and the language that individuals would relate to stores that sold products of differing prices. In the same line, I then asked about the language that individuals would expect to see in stores that had products of distinct quality. Together, these questions help us get a glimpse into the concept of prestige that the participants interviewed associate with the English and Spanish languages.

5.4.1 Covert Prestige and the Language that Attracts People

For questions related to the language that would attract people, informants were first asked which language would attract the most customers and then a more personal question regarding the language that would attract them the most. Below we review their responses.

5.4.1.1 The Language That Attracts Customers

In the question 13, informants were asked, "A sign in which language would attract the most customers?" Spanish was the most common response in all three cities; three individuals in Huntington Park answered in this way, while four selected Spanish in both Lynwood and Paramount. In Huntington Park, two participants selected English and another two chose both English and Spanish. Similarly, in Lynwood, two participants selected English. Another response

supposed that English and Spanish would equally attract customers. In all three cities, one individual did not give a classifiable response: Participant HP2F_{US}25 said that she did not know; whereas the question was accidentally skipped in participant PM7F_{MX}44's case; Participant LW8M_H21 did not feel that the question was really answerable and instead said that the deals and prices were more important. In Paramount, the remaining three participants also selected a combination of English and Spanish. Together, these results represent a consistent valuation of Spanish in the three cities in Southeast Los Angeles. Spanish is the language that participants believe will attract the most clientele. Results are shown below in Figure 5.7.

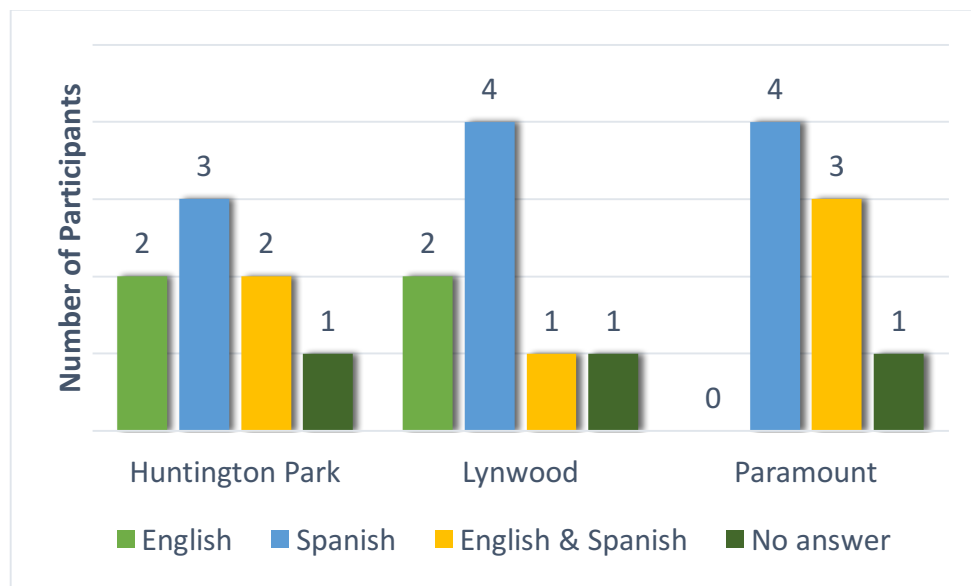


Figure 5.7: Linguistic Prestige in Terms of Language Attraction for Others

In the follow-up, open-ended question asking why they answered how they did, some participants again referenced the linguistic population of the area. Participant HP7F_{MX}32 selected both English and Spanish, saying the following:

Ahh pues, tiene que ser bilingüe porque ambas, este, hay tanta raza ah ah americana como latina, ambos predominan aquí *so* es, digamos que es un 50/50. (HP7F_{MX}32)

Uhh.. well, it has to be bilingual because both, uh, there just as many people that are uh uh American as there are Latino, both dominate here *so* it's, let's say that it's 50/50. (HP7F_{MX}32)

This 32-year-old female from Mexico City, makes allusions of Latinos as speaking Spanish and Americans as speaking English. She thinks that the most clientele possible would be attracted if both languages were used. Similarly, after answering Spanish, participant LW1M_{MX}44 said that everyone in Lynwood and those that were at that particular place were Latino:

Porque pues, como te digo, toda la comu.. todos los que están aquí, que vienen a esta plaza son latinos, son hispanos. (LW1M_{MX}44)

Because well, like I said, all the commu.. everyone that is here, that come to this plaza are Latinos, are Hispanic. (LW1M_{MX}44)

In elaborating on her answer, participant HP8T_{MX}40 highlighted both the role stores play and also the ones clients play in determining the language that would attract people. She mentioned that the language depends on stores, but that sometimes they wish to attract a certain type of clientele and therefore "dedicate" themselves or cater to Spanish-speakers:

Depende el negocio pero, en su mayoría creo que el bilingüe puede ser para un negocio como para el que es algo común como un JCPenney pero la mayoría de los negocios que son totalmente hispanos, los teléfonos y todo yo veo que la compañía de teléfonos o ropa están dedicadas a español arriba y abajo en inglés. (HP8T_{MX}40)

Depends on the business but, mostly I believe that bilingual signs can be for a business like for the ones that have something in common with a JCPenny but most of the businesses that are completely Hispanic, the phones and everything I see that the phone company or clothes are dedicated to Spanish on top, and English down below. (HP8T_{MX}40)

Participant LW4M_{MX}78 selected Spanish as his answer because he said that everyone speaks Spanish, but not English. He was concerned about monolingual Spanish speakers, like himself. Towards the end of his response he asks, "So what do I do here?" or "So what do we do about this?" For him, using English on signage when there are people that do not speak English would simply not make sense.

Pues, ahí se está... porque, toda la gente habla español pero no inglés. ¿Entonces cómo le hago ahí? (¿So, en español?) Pues en español. En español sí, uh, sí. (LW4M_{MX}78)

Well, there it is... because, all people speak Spanish but not English. So what do I do there? (So in Spanish?) Well, in Spanish. In Spanish yes, uh, yes. (LW4M_{MX}78)

5.4.1.2 The Language That Attracts Individuals

Next, in question 14, participants were asked "A sign in which language would attract you the most?" These answers were different from those of question 13. First, in Huntington Park, most of the responses were split between Spanish and both English and Spanish. Similar to question 13, two individuals selected English as the language that would attract them more. Overall, we can see that Spanish was very important as the language that would attract people the most in Lynwood, since most individuals selected Spanish (i.e. seven of the eight informants). The eighth informant chose English. In Paramount, a small majority said Spanish, (i.e. four individuals), while three said English and one said both languages. Results are depicted in Figure 5.8.

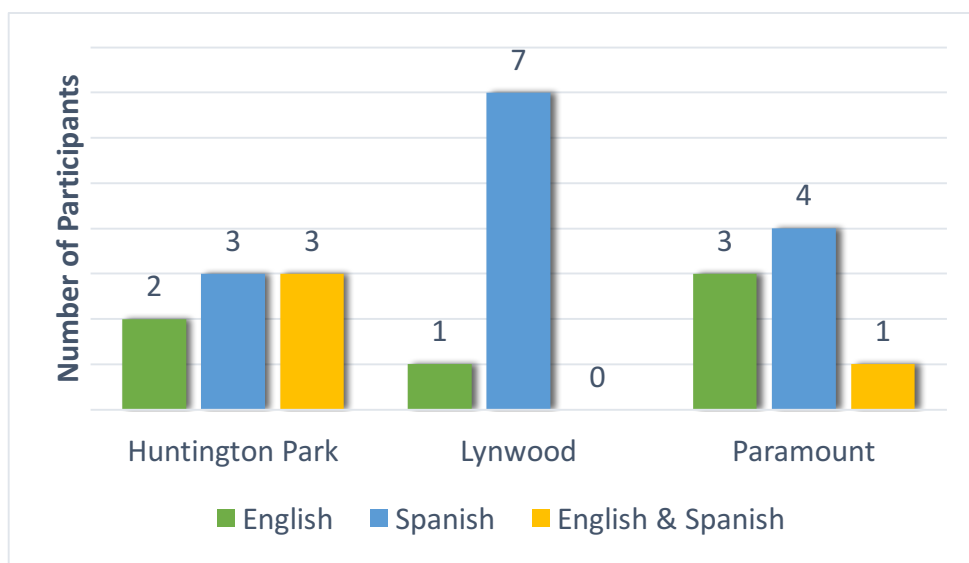


Figure 5.8: Linguistic Prestige in Terms of Language Attraction for Self

As we saw above, participant responses for the cities of Huntington Park and Paramount were rather scattered in comparison to those of Lynwood. In this last city, all but one informant selected Spanish. Participant LW3F_{MX}45 selected English as the language that would attract her the most. In the open-ended question regarding the informant's choice, this 45-year-old female from Sinaloa, Mexico commented the following:

Bueno a mí, inglés porque yo sí hablo inglés y español y este porque, mira lo que yo estoy notando es que la gente con tanta tecnología ya está aprendiendo inglés, ¿me entiendes? Pero hay gente que no, entonces este, el inglés para mí. (LW3F_{MX}45)

Well to me, English because I do speak English and Spanish and um because, look, what I'm noticing is that the people with a lot of technology are now learning English, you know what I mean? But there's people that aren't, so um, English for me. (LW3F_{MX}45)

Even though she speaks Spanish and it was her first language, she selected English due to a tendency that she has noted in which the English language is associated with technology. She says that "the people with a lot of technology are now learning English." Access to "a lot of"

technology would imply upward mobility in this lower-income city, and so coupling it with the knowledge of English reveals the prestige that participant LW3F_{MX}45 associates with the English language.

Some individuals mentioned others in their responses even though question 14 was about personal preferences. For example, participants HP8T_{MX}40 and PM7F_{MX}44 said the following:

Ehh en mi caso en español porque nuestro tipo de negocios está dedicado al 99% ehh las mujeres latinas. (HP8T_{MX}40)

Uhh in my case in Spanish because our type of business is dedicated to 99% uhh of the Latina women. (HP8T_{MX}40)

Ummm, yo digo que en español porque yo hablo español más, pero me gustaría que como mis padres que no hablan espa- inglés y no para que ellos entiendan más los letreros. (PM7F_{MX}44)

Ummm, I say that in Spanish because I speak Spanish more, but I would like for like my parents that do not speak Span- English to be able to better understand the signs. (PM7F_{MX}44)

Participant HP8T_{MX}40, a transgender female from Jalisco, Mexico, was still thinking about her clients. Because her "type of business is dedicated to 99% Latina women," the use of Spanish in signs would attract her and them more than English would. The others that participant PM7F_{MX}44 mentioned were closer to her. For this 44-year-old, also from Jalisco, Mexico, it was important to her that her family also fit in. She said that a sign in Spanish would attract her the most because her parents don't speak English, and if signs are in English, that doesn't fully allow them to be a part of the community. The inclusion of her family had a great effect on her decision.

5.4.2 Language and Product Price

The second question type associated with linguistic prestige inquired as to the association of certain languages with different-priced items. Question 15 was a two-part question: "If you were at a store selling expensive products, in which language would you expect to find the sign? And at a store with inexpensive products?" We will begin by seeing the results for the "sign language" associated with more expensive products, and then we will see responses to the second half of the question regarding less expensive products.

5.4.2.1 Language Associated with Expensive Products

The results were very consistent in regard to the language that participants believed would be found on signs of a store with pricey items. In all three cities, English was the most common answer for participants. In Paramount, this number was the highest, with five participants selecting English. In Huntington Park, this number was four and in Lynwood it was three. This clearly shows that the most prestigious language in all three cities is English for these participants. Nonetheless, two of the eight informants from each area answered that they would expect a store with expensive products to advertise in Spanish. Two individuals in Lynwood and one in Paramount were unsure of how to answer. Finally, one informant from Lynwood and two from both Huntington Park and Paramount selected English *and* Spanish to be used as the language of advertising in pricier stores. So, Spanish is not completely without prestige in the three cities. A small amount of individuals value Spanish over English and others value bilingualism or both languages equally. Figure 5.9 shows these results.

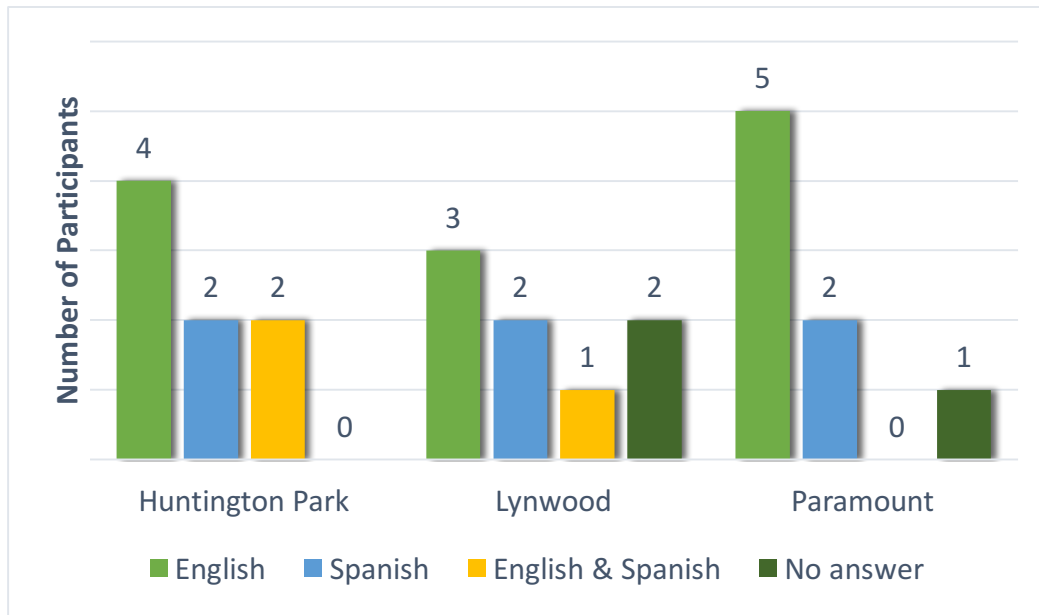


Figure 5.9: Linguistic Prestige in Terms of Expensive Products by City

5.4.2.2 Language Associated with Inexpensive Products

As was reviewed above, the second half of question 15 asked about the language of advertising used in stores that sold inexpensive products. This time, there were more informants that were unsure of how to respond; two in Lynwood and three in Paramount did not provide an answer to the question. For the participants that did answer the question, the most common response in all three cities was for Spanish to be located in the signage of a store that sold inexpensive products, although to different extents (four answered this way in Huntington Park, whereas this number was five and three in Lynwood and Paramount, respectively). Two participants in Huntington Park and one in Lynwood selected both languages as found in stores with inexpensive products, but no one in Paramount chose this option. In Huntington Park and in Paramount, two individuals selected English as this language. Interestingly, no one interviewed in Lynwood selected English as their response. These results, in turn, signal a high valuation of English and a

low valuation of Spanish; that is, Spanish is attributed a lower level of prestige than English for these informants. Results can be seen in Figure 5.10.

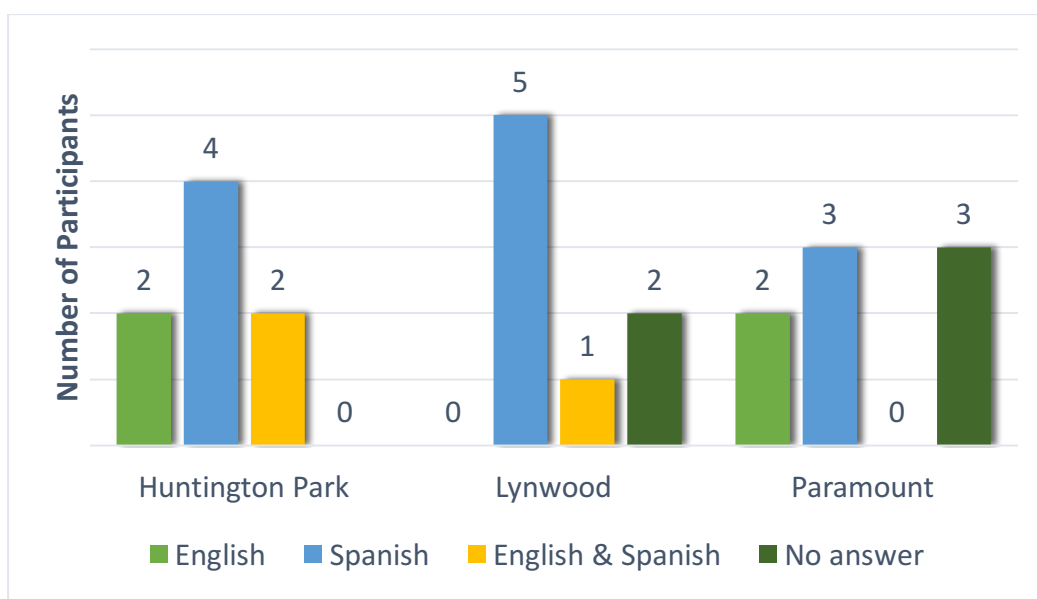


Figure 5.10: Linguistic Prestige in Terms of Inexpensive Products by City

As we saw in participant HP8T_{MX}40's response to question 11, participant HP1F_{MX}30 also spoke about the store owners' perspectives, saying that people that speak English charge a little more than people that speak Spanish:

Yo creo que en inglés porque la gente que habla inglés cobra poquito más caro que la gente que habla español. (HP1F_{MX}30)

I think that in English because the people that speak in English charge a bit more than the people that speak Spanish. (HP1F_{MX}30)

When asked why she would expect a store with less expensive products to advertise in Spanish, participant PM6F_{US}30 alluded to a tendency for Latinos to have lower incomes than

other populations in the area, "Umm, porque usualmente son del menos ingreso en esta área especialmente" ("Umm, because usually they have the lowest income in this area especially.").

When asked question 15, participant LW1M_{MX}44 mentioned that it is easier for him to understand prices and other things when Spanish is used: "Pues en español, porque se me haría más fácil entender los precios y todas esas cosas" ("Well, in Spanish, because it'd be easier for me to understand the prices and all those things."). In his answer, he mentions that the use of this language facilitates linguistic comprehension for him, and so it is a personal preference. He did not refer to the rest of Spanish-speakers or other members of the community, as others have done.

In his book of fiction, Camacho, a native Angelino, says:

If you are an undocumented Mexican, not an Amexican (that is a US born or raised Mexican), word of mouth is to go to Huntington Park, Mac Arthur Park, any park where Mexicans congregate. All open spaces are open for sale: elotes, champurrado, cobijas, almudadas, cd de musica o peliculas, micas, licencias, mota, coca de lo todo. Affordable, cheaper than the real documents (2006, p. 75).

Camacho uses one of his characters to insinuate that places like Huntington Park carry counterfeit or "knock off" items and not "the real documents" (2006, p. 75). In a sense, the community, in addition to be associated with the Spanish language, is also associated with low quality products, as well as people of Mexican descent, specifically Mexican immigrants and undocumented individuals. Perhaps these ideas influence people's opinion of the neighborhood. Furthermore, all of these concepts of illegal actions, low-income, coming together with a particular linguistic and ethnic background, represent strong labels or stereotypes of Huntington Park.

5.4.3 Language and Product Quality

After looking at the language that would attract the most people and the one associated with certain prices, the last inquiry that was related to linguistic prestige investigated the language associated with product quality. Question 16 asked, "If you were at a store selling high quality products, in which language would you expect to find the signs? And at a store with lower quality products?" Both question 15 and 16 were included because it's important to give participants the opportunity to differentiate between price and quality of products, since they could be interpreted as two different qualities. In the subsequent sections, we go into detail regarding participant responses for stores with both high and low quality products.

5.4.3.1 Language Associated with Products of High Quality

In Huntington Park and Paramount, the "sign language" more often associated with high quality products was English; five respondents in each city chose this option. This demonstrates a prestigious association of English in the two cities. In Lynwood, three individuals selected English. In Huntington Park one person selected both English and Spanish as prestigious languages, whereas two selected Spanish. The same amount of people that chose English in Lynwood chose Spanish (i.e. three), showing that the languages seemed to have equal amounts of prestige for these participants. Of the other two informants, one selected both languages and the other did not understand the question. Finally, in Paramount, both languages was the choice of two people, and Spanish the option of one. Figure 5.11 displays these results.

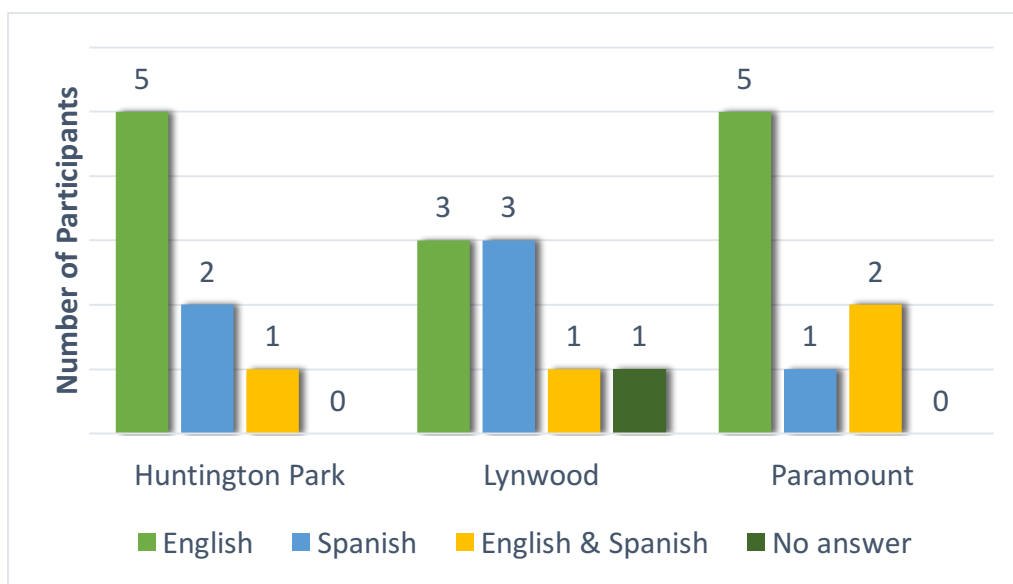


Figure 5.11: Linguistic Prestige in Terms of High Quality Products by City

In answering question 16, some informants commented on language being associated with race in addition to socioeconomic status. For instance, participant PM6F_{US}30 said that she would expect to find English used for advertising in stores with high quality products because, "our community can't spend as much." Here, she is equating quality with price, and also associating her community with a lower socioeconomic status.

En inglés porque usualmente nuestra comunidad no puede gastar tanto. (PM6F_{US}30)

In English because usually our community can't spend that much. (PM6F_{US}30)

Participants PM1M_{MX}43 and PM4F_{MX}60 made similar comments in their answers of Spanish as the written language expected to be used in stores with lower quality products:

Sí, somos los que compramos un poco más barato. (PM1M_{MX}43)

Yes, we are the ones that buy a bit cheaper. (PM1M_{MX}43)

Porque los hispanos nos vamos por las ofertas, jaja. (PM4F_{MX}60)

Because the Hispanics, we go for the deals, haha. (PM4F_{MX}60)

Participants PM1M_{MX}43 and PM4F_{MX}60 insinuate that Hispanic individuals look for ways to spend less money. Participant PM4F_{MX}60 laughed at the end of her utterance, perhaps signaling some discomfort with this idea.

Participant LW2M_{US}23 mentioned an association of product quality with country of origin. For more higher-quality products, he said that English wouldn't necessarily be used, that the products could be imported from somewhere else, like France:

Ah... en inglés, o no neces... en inglés, no necesariamente en inglés, tal vez en... que sean exportados de Francia, otro lado, pero creo que... si son de Latinoamérica, creo que serían más baratos. (Okay.) Porque tal vez el dinero latino es más barato. (¿Y en una tienda con productos de baja calidad? ¿Por qué?) Ahhhh ¿tal vez de China? Jaja. (LW2M_{US}23)

Uh... In English, or not necessa... in English, not necessarily in English, maybe in... they could be exported from France, another place, but I think that... if they are from Latin America, I think they'd be cheaper. (Okay.) Because maybe Latino money is cheaper. (And in a store with inexpensive products? Why?) Ahh maybe from China? Haha. (LW2M_{US}23)

For lower quality products, participant LW2M_{US}23 said that they could be imported from China. Curiously, he also mentioned in the response for higher quality products that "perhaps Latino money is cheaper." Of course, money is money, but he could be referring to Latino economic contribution not being valued as highly as economic contributed from others. Another interpretation would be for him to be discussing non-US currency, the Mexican peso, for example. At the end of his utterance, he laughed, potentially indicating a discomfort with his ideas.

Others did not make an association between language and socioeconomic status or race. Participant LW3F_{MX}45, from Sinaloa, Mexico, when asked the language she would associate with lower quality items, simply said that both languages could be used because some people have money and some people don't:

Pues igual a los dos, o sea, yo estoy con los dos porque, como te digo, va a haber gente con dinero y gente que no. (LW3F_{MX}45)

Well same, both, I mean, I'm with both because, like I told you, there will be people with money and people without it. (LW3F_{MX}45)

Nonetheless, some individuals did not like the question and commented on it (i.e. participants HP7F_{MX}32, PM2M_{US}23, and PM8M_{US}38). For example, the following comments were made in being asked the second part of the question:

Los dos, creo que allí en en inglés igual porque eso no tiene nada que ver la calidad. (HP7F_{MX}32)

Both, I think that in this case, in English as well because it has nothing to do with the quality. (HP7F_{MX}32)

Uh I'd say neutral, both English and Spanish, it depends on location, location, location. Depending where you're located at, you're going to have to attract different clientele. (PM2M_{US}23)

Wow umm... I would hope both languages because I mean I don't think uh... language discriminates against money so I mean I would say, I would say both languages. (PM8M_{US}38)

Participant HP7F_{MX}32 believed that no associations could be made regarding language and product quality. Participant PM2M_{US}23 agreed, saying that the location and population of the

clientele was a bigger factor. It was particularly interesting that participant PM8M_{US}38 answered in this fashion, because, for the second part of question 16, he did provide a classifiable answer:

Of course, they're, they're targeted to uh lower class income families which would be minorities so if you would say Spanish. (PM8M_{US}38)

5.4.3.2 Language Associated with Products of Low Quality

As seen above, the second part of question 16 inquired into the language of signs at stores that sold low quality products. In Lynwood and Paramount, Spanish was the language associated with items of lower quality. This signals their association of Spanish with a lower degree of prestige. In Huntington Park, three respondents selected Spanish and three selected both English and Spanish. The distinction of the language associated with less prestige is less clear in this city. Two participants also chose English. In Lynwood, one person selected English and two chose both English and Spanish. The final two did not provide a classifiable answer, since one did not understand the question and the other simply stated that he would not go to a store with low quality products. Of the remaining two informants in Paramount, one chose English and the other both English and Spanish. The graph in Figure 5.12 displays these results.

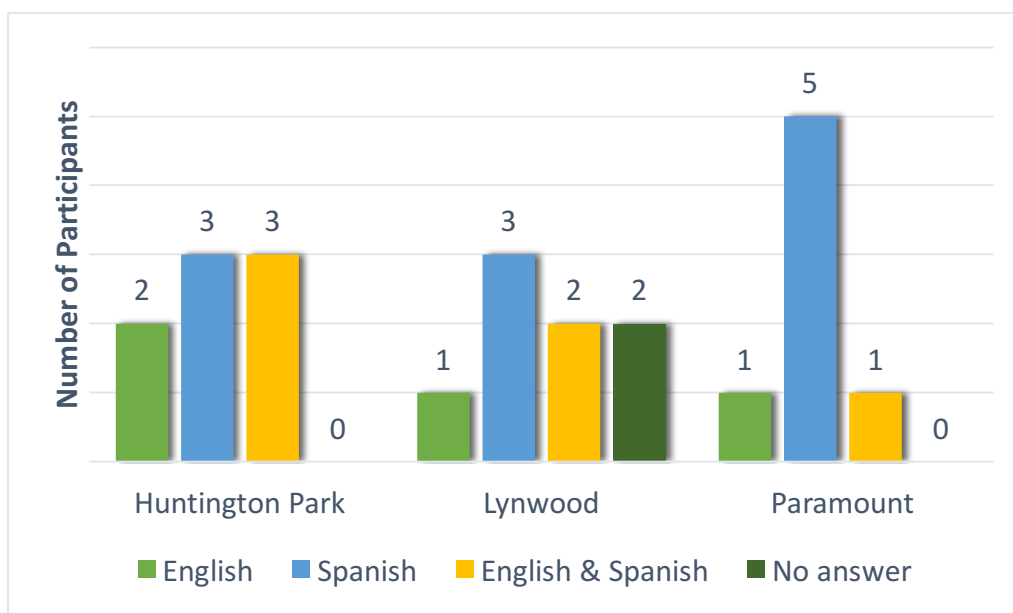


Figure 5.12: Linguistic Prestige in Terms of Low Quality Products by City

5.4.4 Comparison of Three Ways of Judging Prestige

In this section, we saw three different types of looking at prestige. Within each type, there were two different questions. For the question regarding the language that would attract people, the first part looked at this idea in terms of customers and the other in terms of the informant. For the other two questions, the first part inquired as to the language of high prestige and the second asked about the language of low prestige. Here, we will compare the results from the three methods.

Regarding the language that would attract people the most, the answer was Spanish in all six cases (i.e. each of the two questions in each of the three cities), except for in Huntington Park for the language that would attract the individual. In this city, respondents answered both Spanish and a combination of Spanish and English. Perhaps with more interview participants, the answer would be Spanish in all six categories. These results reveal a great deal of solidarity with the Spanish language and signal Spanish's covert prestige among the Latino population.

While Spanish was the more commonly valued language according to the question regarding the language that would attract people, the opposite was true for the other two questions, which had to do with product price and quality. Overall, English was considered to have more prestige and Spanish less. English was the language associated with expensive products in all three cities, and the language associated with inexpensive products was Spanish in all three cities. The case was very similar for language related to product quality, but, like the first question type related to prestige, one of the cases for each question seemed to follow the trend, but not exclusively. First, for high quality products, the majority of participants in all cities answered English except for those in Lynwood; there, most informants answered English and Spanish equally. Then, for the second half of the question (i.e. the language associated with products of low quality), most participants answered Spanish, except for those in Huntington Park that answered Spanish and a combination of English and Spanish. Again, it is possible that with more participants we would see stronger trends.

It was interesting to see how, when the wording of the question changed, the answers changed. The three questions were expected to generate equivalent responses, but the first had the opposite results of the other two. The responses related to product price and quality seem to be more revealing in terms of overt prestige than those to the first question, especially since the responses to the second two questions coincided. Perhaps the first question was more direct and participants wished to project a strong alliance with the Spanish language when "put on the spot." This suggests a covert prestige (Trudgill, 1972) of Spanish and reveals its importance in terms of group and individual identity, uncovering ideological stances related to language. While English gives social status at the nation level, Spanish gives social status in the local community.

5.5 Linguistic Utility

One question (i.e. number 12) directly inquired as to the communicative utility or productivity of languages in the linguistic landscape. It asked, "Which language is most useful for communication in signs in this city and in this neighborhood?" Spanish was the most common answer in all three cities, but to differing degrees. In Huntington Park, six respondents selected this answer, whereas in Lynwood all but one (i.e. seven) chose Spanish, and in Paramount five individuals answered Spanish. We see that Spanish is considered the language to use if you want to communicate or really get your point across in the three cities. In Huntington Park, the next most common response was a combination of English and Spanish; this was given by two of the eight people interviewed. In Lynwood, the only individual that did not select Spanish answered that the language that is most useful depends; this particular response will be reviewed below. Only two individuals of all twenty-four participants answered English, and both of them were interviewed in Paramount. One other informant in Paramount commented that both English and Spanish were useful for communication in the city. Figure 5.13 displays all participant answers.

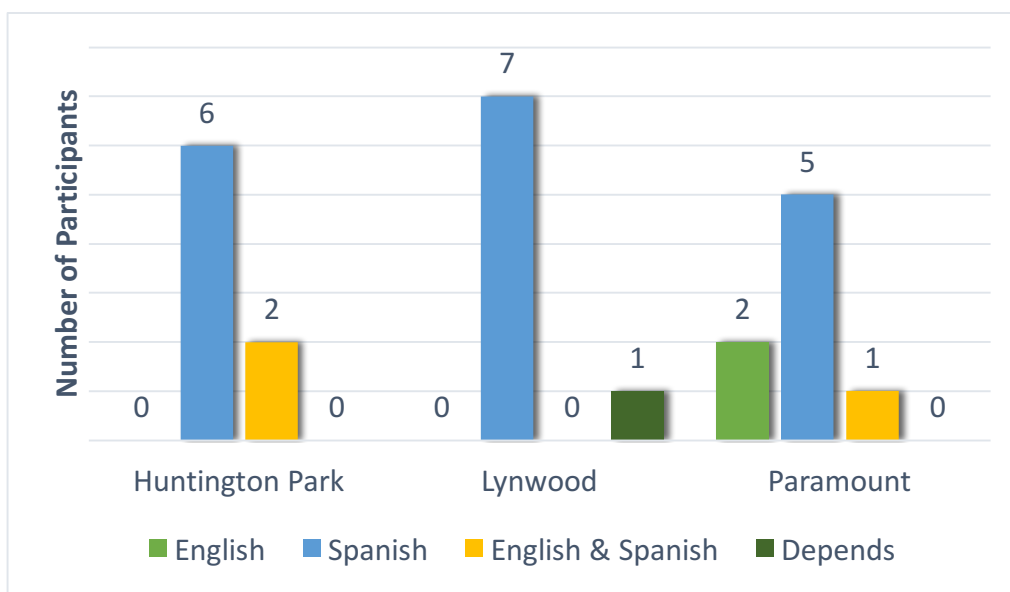


Figure 5.13: The Communicative Utility of Languages According to Participants per City

In his response, Participant LW2M_{US23}, who was born in Los Angeles, but whose family is from Venezuela, remarked the following,

Well, creo que, dependiendo el ámbito donde estamos. Si estamos en una escuela, creo que el inglés es... tiene que ser eficiente, pero si estamos tal vez en una... si estamos por ejemplo aquí en la sociedad y aquí, aquí por ejemplo en este lugar, en Plaza México miramos puros latinos, o sea ocupa el español para podernos comunicar y pues, yo en mi caso pues, yo también estudié español, so para mí, creo que el español es muy importante en mi profesión. (LW2M_{US23})

Well, I think that, depending on the environment where we are. If we are in a school, I think that English is... it has to be efficient, but if we are perhaps in a... if we are for example here in society and here, here for example in this place, in Plaza México we see purely Latinos, so Spanish is needed to be able to communicate and well, in my case well, I also studied Spanish, so for me, I think that Spanish is very important in my profession. (LW2M_{US23})

This participant commented that English should be used in schools, and can be thought of as the language of education; but, he did mention that he studied Spanish, presumably in school.

Nonetheless, he inferred that Spanish was the language of the community, especially in that

particular location in the popular community space of Plaza México in Lynwood. He discussed how it was necessary to speak Spanish if one wished to communicate in that area (i.e. "ocupa el español para podernos comunicar"). Participant LW2M_{US}23 also commented that the language was quite important for his job as a salesman of gym memberships in Spanish-speaking communities.

Both across participants and within participant responses, references to the Spanish language as being spoken by the majority of the community was very common.

For answering question 12 in regard to the most useful language in the cities, many other individuals invoked a majority idea, discussing the need for the language at the community level, and not just at the individual level. For example, HP5F_{MX}45 says that "hay mucha gente latina" ("there are a lot of Latino people") in the area, and HP7F_{MX}32 says that Huntington Park "es un barrio latino" ("is a Latino neighborhood"). Interestingly, LW1M_{MX}44 makes a comparison in his answer, "la comunidad aquí es este más latina que americana" ("the community here is more Latino than it is American"). Here, he distinguishes a dichotomy between Latinos and Americans, perhaps invoking the supposition that Latinos speak Spanish and are generally immigrants, and Americans do not speak Spanish (or at least speak English in addition to Spanish) and are citizens who prefer English.

5.6 Additional Themes Seen in Participant Responses

In addition to seeing themes of the importance of ethnic and linguistic population and linguistic comprehension both at the individual and community level, there were other themes seen within and across interviews. Here, we will examine the symbolic use of language and sometimes

erroneous ideas supporting its status, along with affect and emotions tied to language use and nonuse.

5.6.1 The Symbolic Use of Language

In another answer to question 10 regarding languages in monolingual signs, informant HP1F_{MX}30 commented the following:

Más bien serían de los dos... que hubiera de los dos, pero entendemos que aquí como es un país... del lenguaje de inglés, pues hay más en es, ese sentido. (HP1F_{MX}30)

Rather it would be both... there should be both, but we understand that since this is a country... of the English language, well there's more in th, that sense. (HP1F_{MX}30)

Here, this 30-year-old female informant describes the US as a country whose language is English. By using the deictic expression "aquí" or "here," she indirectly contrasts this place with others, most likely the country in which she was born (i.e. Mexico) whose majority language is Spanish. Furthermore, the participant does not only speak for herself. She uses the first person plural ("nosotros" ("we")) as opposed to the first person singular ("yo" ("I")), saying that, "we understand that this country's language is English." It is not clear who else she is including in her statement: Spanish-speakers, speakers of languages other than English, or immigrant. By incorporating more than just herself in her opinion, she strengthens the statement, alluding to the symbolic strength of the English language in the US.

Another reference to English's symbolic power was made by participant HP6M_{MX}43 in answering question 11 regarding the more salient language in multilingual signage:

Ahh yo pienso que resalta más el inglés. (¿En inglés?) Sí, a pesar de que somos una comunidad latina, hay anuncios en español, pero no tantos como el inglés. (HP6M_{MX}43)

Uhh I think that English stands out more. (In English?) Yes, even though we are a Latino community, there are advertisements in Spanish but not as many as in English. (HP6M_{MX}43)

This 43-year-old male born in Mexico mentions the ethnic population of Huntington Park, alluding to the Spanish-speaking linguistic population. He says that despite the fact that the community is Latino, there are more advertisements in English than there are in Spanish. So even though the ethnolinguistic population is the largest in that area, English still overpowers Spanish. This means that there is some other factor at work here besides ethnolinguistic pressure. Indeed, it is the symbolic strength of English as seen in some of the comments above that provides for an environment in which the language is more salient than others.

In a different city, a participant also made reference to the symbolic power a language can hold, except this time the language was Spanish. In his response to question 11, participant PM8M_{US}38 said that:

I would, I would say Spanish, I mean everybody, majority I would say speaks English, but there is a large Latin comm... ah ah this is this is mainly a Latin community so ah ah I would say Spanish. (PM8M_{US}38)

According to this 38-year-old born in New York with family from Puerto Rico, the majority of the city of Paramount speaks English; however, he labels it as a "Latin community." Even though English could be understood by most, the use of Spanish has a symbolic meaning, so individuals opt for using Spanish, not only for its informational purposes, but also for its symbolic ones. In the next section, we will see more ideas tying language to affect.

5.6.2 Affect

As strongly tied to cultural values, language, its use, and lack of use can evoke strong emotions in individuals. Studies have shown that this is particularly the case with your first language or languages. For participant HP7F_{MX}32, a female born in Mexico City, stores with less expensive products (question 15) tend to advertise using the Spanish language: "Mmm lamento decir que en español siempre (laughs)" ("I'm sorry to say that it's always in Spanish") (HP7F_{MX}32). Here she is stating that she regrets saying this ("lamento decir que..."), which could be interpreted as a degree of shame for her native language to be associated with products that are not necessarily expensive. She accompanies this idea with a laugh, showing her further discomfort.

In expressing his idea of the English language being tied to the US, one informant, PM3M_{US}38, used the construction "I think," giving him ownership of this idea. He said that:

Yo pienso que el español, pero estamos en Estados Unidos y yo pienso que pues... pues, tiene que estar en inglés. (PM3M_{US}38)

I think Spanish, but we're in the U.S. and I think that well... well, it'll have to be in English. (PM3M_{US}38)

In this response to question 12, the most useful language for communication, he said that Spanish is more useful in the area, "but we're in the US and I think that well, well, it (the signage) has to be in English" (PM3M_{US}38). Although English is not the official language of this country, in using the construction "*tiene que* estar en inglés," he is stating that it "*has* to be in English," referencing perhaps an unofficial law or societal expectation for a code preference of English in the linguistic landscape and perhaps in other public spheres.

Relatedly, participant HP4M_{US}20 describes English as more universal than Spanish in his response to question 14, the language that would attract the most clients. When asked the

reasoning behind his answers, he says that, "Porque... dicen que... umm lo toman como más universal el inglés que el español" ("Because... they say umm they take English as more universal than Spanish") (HP4M_{US}20). Here, he is using the third person plural "they," and not including himself in the answer. This positioning could be placing himself in disagreement with "them," or at least stating that he isn't a firm believer in this idea.

In a response to question 14, the language that would attract the individual the most, participant LW4M_{MX}78 responded in the following way: "No, pues, yo no chaqueto...yo español." One translation of this sentence would be "No, well, I don't mess around... For me, Spanish." The verb "chaquetear" could mean to change sides or be a traitor. Here, he is saying that he doesn't go back on his word; he isn't a traitor. This 78-year-old man from Nayarit, Mexico has extremely strong feelings toward the use of Spanish, and these feelings even extend to others who do not feel the same as he does. These passionate ideas label anyone that speaks Spanish as a traitor if he or she selects English as this option.

5.6.2.1 Appreciation of Use

Some individuals expressed a sort of appreciation of Spanish being used in advertising. As participant HP5F_{MX}45 stated in her response to question 15, she prefers for Spanish to be used because "así podemos preguntar y tener más confianza... para preguntar precios" ("Because that way we can ask and feel more comfortable... in asking about the prices.") There is a feeling of trust when her native language is used. She can have faith that the prices she is being given are genuine, or perhaps her trust lies in her own interpretation of the prices that are being told to her. Regardless, participant HP5F_{MX}45 likes for Spanish to be used so that she knows that she is understanding the information. She includes others in her comment by using the first person

plural: "podemos (nosotros) preguntar" ("we can ask"), expressing that the use of Spanish in signage is helpful not only for her, but also for others.

Like participant HP5F_{MX}45, participant LW5M_{US}20, in his response to question 14, answered that Spanish is the language that would attract him more. He continued on to say:

Ahhh, pues es mi primer lenguaje el español y mi segundo lenguaje es inglés *so* pues, me siento más a gusto yo. (LW5M_{US}20)

Uhhh, well, Spanish is my first language, Spanish, and my second language is English *so* well, I feel more comfortable. (LW5M_{US}20)

Participant LW5M_{US}20 also feels more comfortable when Spanish is used. Even though he speaks English, he prefers for Spanish to be in the signage because it makes him feel better.

Similarly, participant LW6M_{MX}24 values the informational message in signage over the symbolic one. In his response to question 13, the language that would attract the most customers, he states:

En español por si, porque si ponen en... yo por ejemplo si, si veo algo en inglés aunque se mire interesante no voy a ir hacia ese letrero porque no voy a saber lo que va a decir. (LW6M_{MX}24)

In Spanish because if they put them in... myself for example, if I see something in English even though it looks interesting I am not going to go towards that sign because I won't know what it says. (LW6M_{MX}24)

After answering Spanish, participant LW6M_{MX}24 adds that, even if a sign looks interesting, he's not going to continue reading it or "go toward that sign" because he won't know what it says. For him, the practical need for linguistic comprehension outweighs the attraction of a sign.

5.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has served to review pertinent results from the qualitative work of the dissertation; that is, conversations in the semi-directed interviews. We saw responses from all interviews in questions related to the perception and desired appearance of languages in the linguistic landscape, types of prestige associated with certain languages, and the linguistic utility of Spanish and English. We examined responses from particular individuals more in depth toward the end of each section. Finally, we saw other common themes related to the symbolic use of language and how affect can be a strong motivation for desired language use. The next and final chapter will contextualize the qualitative results within the quantitative results and the rest of the dissertation. We will look at the implications of the findings, future directions, and final conclusions.

Chapter 6: Discussion & Conclusion

"I saw the sign and it opened up my eyes; I saw the sign" Berggren (1993).

6.1 Introduction

This final chapter concludes the dissertation. In "Signs of Our Times: Language Contact and Attitudes in the Linguistic Landscape of Southeast Los Angeles," we saw the situation of the linguistic landscape in three cities of differing Latino populations: Huntington Park, Lynwood, and Paramount. Spanish came into contact with English in signage and, in some instances, other languages. This produced hierarchical conditions in which one language dominated over the other. Informants gave their opinions about this phenomenon, and we analyzed their ideas. In what remains of the dissertation, we will summarize the quantitative and qualitative results and make comparisons regarding actual and perceived appearance of languages in signs. Then we will see quantitative and qualitative results for language prestige and language utility. Finally, we will review some of the implications for this study, as well as future directions.

6.2 Summary of Quantitative Results

In the fourth chapter, we saw results from the quantitative analyses. Using the corpus of photos taken of 4,664 signs, we saw the specifics of how Spanish was used in the signage of Huntington Park, Lynwood, and Paramount. Since we will be comparing participant perceptions with these results in sections below, we will not review the explanatory data analysis in detail at this time.

In the second part of the chapter, we predicted when Spanish or English would appear in the informative section based off of the language or languages of the main section. Results from

the inferential data analysis showed us that the dominant language of the informative section would model the dominant language of the main section, whether it was Spanish or English. This was the tendency in all three cities. The patterns were statistically significant overall (i.e. when combining the corpora for each city) for the majority of the configurations, but not all. With an even larger corpus, it is possible that all of the configurations would prove statistically significant. Regardless of the significance, it was noteworthy to see that all results followed the same pattern.

6.3 Summary of Qualitative Results

In the fifth chapter, we saw responses to semi-structured interviews given by informants in each of the three cities. Regarding their desired language appearance, participants in all three cities thought that Spanish and English should be equally prominent in the signs. The chapter also reviewed informants' perception of the dominant language in monolingual and multilingual signage, the types of prestige that participants held for Spanish and English, and also the languages' degrees of utility. Since we will be reviewing these in detail below in the comparative sections, these results will not be summarized here.

At the end of the fifth chapter, additional themes present in participant responses were discussed. Some informants associated the US with English. Regardless if the language spoken by the majority of a region was English or not, some felt that English should nonetheless dominate in the signage. After analyzing the symbolic strength of the English language, we saw how affect was used to frame participant responses. Sentiments of shame, appreciation, pleasure and comfort were referenced.

6.4 Comparing Actual and Perceived Language Appearance

In this section, we will compare the perceived appearance of languages in the LL, as discussed in chapter five, with their actual appearance, as seen in chapter four. Sign "realities" and perceptions are divided into two categories: signs with one language and signs with multiple languages. We begin with the first.

6.4.1 Monolingual Signage

For the quantitative analysis of monolingual signs, English was negatively correlated with Latino population in all three cities: 56.7% in Huntington Park, 67.5% in Lynwood, and 87.5% in Paramount. That is, the higher the Latino population in the city, the lower the amount of English we saw in monolingual signs. English was the code preference in the majority of signage containing a single language.

The majority of informants in the study were able to perceive English's dominance in monolingual signs. This was the case in Huntington Park and, in a sense, in Paramount. If we were to conceive of the four participants' responses that perceived a balance of Spanish and English monolingual signs as 50% in English and 50% in Spanish (i.e. the equivalent of two responses each), then overall, we could say that the equivalent of six individuals selected English in Paramount, making it the most common response to question 10. For Paramount, this situation was most likely the easiest to notice of the three places, considering it did have the highest percentage of English signs (i.e. 87.5%). However, in Huntington Park, the fact that most participants could perceive the subtle difference of English and Spanish was surprising, since only a small majority of signs were in English (i.e. 56.7%); This is in fact a keen observation on the part of the participants.

There was an equal number of individuals in Lynwood (i.e. four) that perceived a balance of Spanish and English monolingual signs and those that perceived the majority of monolingual signs as occurring in Spanish. However, if we performed the same task as above with Paramount and considered half of the Lynwood responses for both languages as contributing to the amount of responses for English and the other half as contributing to Spanish, we could say that those interviewed in Lynwood felt that they saw more Spanish than English (i.e. six responses). This is an interesting occurrence, considering only 32.5% of the monolingual signs were in Spanish, while 67.5% were in English. One possible explanation could be wishful thinking. Perhaps participants were projecting a language that they wanted to see more. We will discuss the case of Lynwood more below. These results are depicted in Table 6.1.

Variable of Study	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount
Reality	English (56.7%)	English (67.5%)	English (87.5%)
Perception	English	Spanish	English

Table 6.1: Comparison of Actual and Perceived Language Appearance in Monolingual Signage

6.4.2 Multilingual Signage

In the methodological chapter, we saw that signs could have two sections. The main section generally contained the focal idea of the sign and this was usually conveyed with the largest or most contrastive font in terms of coloration. So, the general code preference of a sign could be found in the main section. This part of the sign could contain one or more languages. Here, we will review the dominant language of signs with a monolingual main section and that of signs with a multilingual main section and compare these results with responses from the corresponding question asked in the semi-directed interviews: "When a sign contains both

English AND Spanish, which language would you say tends to be the largest or stands out the most in this city?" (question 11).

The "realities" documented in Huntington Park were mixed. English dominated the monolingual main section 55% of the time, and Spanish dominated the main section when it was multilingual (i.e. 58.3% of the time). Participant responses indicated that, in general, individuals perceived more English in multilingual signage. It is possible that when signs in the corpus contain a single language in the main section, that this language is proportionately larger than when this section contains more than one language, but this idea would require further investigation in order to be confirmed.

In Lynwood, the "realities" were also mixed, but this time in the opposite fashion. Spanish occurred most of the time in the monolingual main section (53.2%), and English was more often the dominant language of the multilingual main section (51.3%). Again, these results were very close. Like informants in Huntington Park, those of Lynwood also perceived English as the more common dominating language, overall.

Finally, in Paramount, English was the code preference when the main section was both monolingual (i.e. 53.8%) and multilingual (i.e. 69.5%). In fact, when this section contained more than one language, English was the dominant language nearly 70% of the time. However, unlike informants in the two other cities, most of the participants interviewed in Paramount said that they perceived Spanish as the dominant language of multilingual signage. This is a curious finding, since here English clearly dominates, at least in the case of the multilingual main section. These results, displayed below in Table 6.2, demonstrate that perception is not a reliable interpretation of the reality of language appearance in signage. Similar to how the lay person is

not aware of how he or she speaks, these results show that many are not entirely cognizant of the intricacies of the language of public space.

Variable of Study	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount
Reality: Monolingual Main	English (55%)	Spanish (53.2%)	English (53.8%)
Reality: Multilingual Main	Spanish (58.3%)	English (51.3%)	English (69.5%)
Perception	English	English	Spanish

Table 6.2: Comparison of Actual and Perceived Language Appearance in Multilingual Signage

6.5 Comparing the Qualitative and Quantitative Analyses' Findings Regarding Language Prestige

In the second chapter, we saw that the dominant language of the main section denotes its prestige, as discussed in Franco-Rodríguez (2009). Results from these quantitative analyses are combined with participant responses regarding prestige from the qualitative portion of the dissertation below in Table 6.3.¹⁹

Regarding the quantitative results, we saw that, in four of the six cases, the language that dominated was English, making it the more prestigious language according to this analysis. Spanish was found to be more common in the multilingual main section of signs in Huntington Park. It was also more common in the monolingual section for signs in Lynwood. Nonetheless, the percentages of English and Spanish were quite close in these two contexts (i.e. 58.3% Spanish and 41.7% English for the multilingual main section in Huntington Park and 53.2%

¹⁹ Note that, for clarity, all entries in Table 6.3 are regarding the language associated with more prestige and not the one associated with less prestige. For entries regarding the language of signs in stores with inexpensive products and those of low quality, the alternate language was given. For example, most informants answered that they would assume for there to be more Spanish in signs in stores with inexpensive products. Thus, Spanish is associated with less prestige and English would be the language of more prestige. For this reason, English is the entry for all three cities regarding this question.

Spanish and 46.8% English for the monolingual main section in Lynwood). Overall, the quantitative results point to English as the language of prestige in the three areas.

For the qualitative analyses, there were three questions related to prestige, each with two parts. If we combine responses to these questions, we see that, overall, the more prestigious language for all three cities was English. However, it again wasn't "clear-cut," in that Spanish and sometimes a combination of languages was the choice of most informants for some questions in some cities.

One division that arose was in regard to the language that would attract people more. For both the language that would attract the most clients and the one that would attract the informants themselves the most, Spanish was selected in all three cities. Again, results from one city (i.e. Huntington Park) for one question (i.e. the language that would attract the participant the most) generated mixed answers: Spanish and a combination of English and Spanish were equally common responses. This finding suggests that there is a difference for participants in terms of a language that attracts clients and one associated with certain types of products. If we consider product price and quality, which is most likely tied to overt prestige, we see that most informants selected English. However, in terms of attraction, affect, and sentiments, informants chose Spanish. Thus, a proximity to the language does not necessarily make it overtly prestigious. Instead, participants conveyed their covert prestige of Spanish as the language of the community, and the one to not abandon at risk of being considered, as informant LW4M_{MX}78 said, someone who engages in *chaquetear*, meaning someone who waivers or is a traitor.

In general, the tendency for the language of prestige both in the quantitative and the qualitative results was English. This result is not entirely unexpected, given English's status in

the country and in the world. However, Spanish, as the mother tongue of many of the cities' residents, was more "popular" than English in the social realm, thus enjoying covert prestige.

Type of Analyses	Variable of Study	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount
Quantitative	Monolingual Main Section	English (55%)	Spanish (53.2%)	English (53.8%)
	Multilingual Main Section	Spanish (58.3%)	English (51.3%)	English (69.5%)
Qualitative	Attract Others	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
	Attract Self	Spanish + Both (75% Spanish)	Spanish	Spanish
	High Price	English	English	English
	Low Price	English	English	English
	High Quality	English	English + Spanish	English
	Low Quality	English + Both (75% English)	English	English

Table 6.3: Comparison of Qualitative and Quantitative Results Regarding Language Prestige

6.6 Comparing the Qualitative and Quantitative Analyses' Findings Regarding Language Utility

The communicative utility of language was analyzed in both the quantitative and qualitative analyses. In the latter, a single question was asked in the semi-directed interviews: "Which language is most useful for communication in signs in this city and in this neighborhood?" (question 12). For the quantitative analyses, the utility of languages was analyzed using the informative section, since Franco-Rodríguez (2009) says that languages used in this section have a pragmatic need for effective communication with sign readers. As we have seen, the informative section can contain a single language or multiple languages. Now we turn to the comparison of results for both analyses.

The majority of respondents in all three cities answered that Spanish was the most productive language for communication in the LL. In Huntington Park, results from both

quantitative analyses were in accordance with these responses. Spanish was, by far, the dominant language in both sections (i.e. 68.7% in the monolingual informative section and 63.0% in the multilingual informative section). In Lynwood, when the informative section contained one language, it was usually English (50.6% of the time). However, when this section contained more than one language, Spanish was usually the dominant language (57.9% of the time). In comparing the percentages of language dominance in the two sections, Spanish dominated slightly more frequently than English dominated, overall (i.e. 57.9% versus 50.6%, respectively). Perhaps this contributed to informants determining Spanish as the more useful language for communication in Lynwood. In Paramount, quantitative and qualitative results did not match up. Both configurations of the informative section yielded English as the dominant language (i.e. 52.4% for the monolingual informative section and 55.3% for the multilingual informative section). However, most participants labeled Spanish as the more useful language.

If we consider previously-mentioned Census data and the language in which the interviews were conducted, the qualitative findings are justified. First of all, more than 80% of the population in all three cities was Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015b). Relatedly, over 70% of the population five years and older in these cities spoke Spanish at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015c). This last fact, in particular, makes Spanish extremely useful in the city. Another important item to take into consideration was the language in which the interviews were conducted. In Lynwood, one interview took place in English, whereas in Paramount three participants preferred to speak in English. In Huntington Park, all interviews were conducted in Spanish. This means that, overall, the more useful language for conducting the interviews was Spanish, data which would tend to agree with participant opinions.

This may lead us to consider the idea that analyzing the informative section of signs is not a fail-safe way to measure linguistic utility in communities. While results from quantitative analyses do point to a general tendency, they do not perfectly align. Again, we would need further investigation to validate this idea. All findings regarding linguistic utility are depicted below in Table 6.4.

Variable of Study	Huntington Park	Lynwood	Paramount
Monolingual Informative Section	Spanish (68.7%)	English (50.6%)	English (52.4%)
Multilingual Informative Section	Spanish (63.0%)	Spanish (57.9%)	English (55.3%)
Participants	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish

Table 6.4: Comparison of Qualitative and Quantitative Results Regarding Language Utility

6.7 The Case of Lynwood

In the quantitative results, Spanish language appearance was correlated with Latino population. That is, the city with the highest Latino population (i.e. Huntington Park) tended to have the most Spanish in the linguistic landscape, and the city with the lowest Latino population of the three (i.e. Paramount) tended to have the least Spanish in its linguistic landscape. This was precisely the case for all three cities for the multilingual main section and also for the informative section, both when it was monolingual and multilingual. However, this was not entirely the case for the monolingual main section of one city. While the two other cities behaved as expected in this situation, Lynwood did not; it contained the most Spanish and the least English in this position.

The city of Lynwood is an interesting case. When we take into consideration the monolingual main section, results show that Spanish has a higher degree of prestige than English

in Lynwood, despite its lower utility and vitality. In order to investigate causes of this situation, I looked into demographic data. First, I took into consideration the average individual age of the area. The average age was 23 years old in Lynwood and 24 years old in both Huntington Park and Paramount ("Mapping L.A.," 2015). However, this difference was not significant enough for there to be any possible effects. I also contemplated the amount of foreign born residents, but these were correlated with Latino population and nothing out of the ordinary was seen. In looking at place of origin, again nothing that could explain this situation arose. Between 80 and 85% of Latinos and Latinas in each of the three city are of Mexican descent ("Mapping L.A.," 2015).

Because, demographically, Lynwood was not very different from Huntington Park and Paramount, I turned to my own observations and impressions of the city to understand the heightened amount of prestige for Spanish. In my time spent gathering data in Lynwood, I noticed a great deal of visible Mexican pride and, in particular, Sinaloan pride. I saw restaurants incorporating "Sinaloa" in their names, such as "Sushinaloa" (see Figure 6.1). I observed the same phenomenon in some convenience store names.



Figure 6.1: Sushinaloa

In driving to conduct fieldwork in the city, I observed many stickers on the backs of cars referencing Sinaloa. I also saw the color red, a prominent color in the Sinaloan state seal, a good deal. It is possible that there is a cluster of people from Sinaloa in Lynwood, and the fact that these individuals share a similar background helps strengthen their group identity, pride, and the prestige of the Spanish language.

Another related idea that could contribute to an explanation lies in the geography of the area. It is important to note that one of the cities that borders Lynwood is Compton. This city is well-known for its African American population as referenced in countless rap songs and other forms of media. However, a demographic change has occurred over the years. According to the city's website (City of Compton, 2017), the shift happened in the 1990s. The Black population in 1990 was 53.7%, whereas in 2000 it was 44.6%. As Medina (2012) says:

Today, immigrants from Mexico and Central America live on blocks that generations ago were the only places African-Americans could live. In the former center of black culture in Los Angeles, Spanish is often the only language heard on the streets. (p. 1)

Due to the historical tension specifically between these two racial minorities, perhaps the cities' proximity plays a role in Lynwood's exceptional degree of appreciation for or solidarity with the Spanish language and cultural pride—in particular, Mexican pride, as discussed above. It is likely that language is a clear marker of group identity and race in these two areas: English for African Americans and Spanish for Latinas and Latinos, thus explaining the cultural and linguistic solidarity observed in Lynwood.

In the future, I would like to further investigate group and residents' identities in this city by carrying out extended, semi-directed interviews with locals. In this way, I hope to learn more about the value of Mexico, the state of Sinaloa, and the Spanish language for the city of

Lynwood. Below we will discuss other future directions for this project, but first we turn to some of its implications.

6.8 Implications for Work

This dissertation takes a critical look at the production and perception of the signs of our times: the use of written language around us. It unites different methodologies and theoretical frameworks to explore relationships of power regarding languages and cultures. By using qualitative and quantitative methods, my research makes empirical and theoretical contributions to a growing body of scholarship in Linguistic Landscape Studies and Sociolinguistics. My findings could have important implications for language policy and planning, as well as for how the linguistic landscape is related to issues of identity and perceptions of vitality.

Another important implication lies in the field of language justice. Some of the signs found in Los Angeles County contained inaccurate Spanish translations. While some of these yield comical results, such as the sign below in Figure 6.2 that reads "Perforamos Los Oidos (ear piercing)" (literally, "We pierce ear drums"), these erroneous translations can actually be extremely dangerous when in the context of emergency situations such as traffic signs or in a hospital.

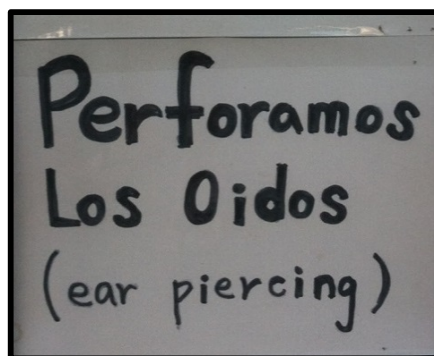


Figure 6.2: Perforamos Los Oidos (ear piercing)

Language justice, as one of the key components of both racial and social justice, is a phenomenon that is both intimate and exterior, familial and cultural, and is on display in all manner of public contexts. Language impacts us on a multiplicity of levels and it is important that all citizens are equally able to participate in activities in the public space. My study provides sociolinguistic evidence that could be considered by those in charge of making decisions regarding local, tacit language policies.

6.9 Future Directions

This project paves the way for several other investigations. In the second chapter, Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish was mentioned (Parodi, 2003, 2004, 2009a, 2009b). In the future, I will delve into the finer details of my corpus of over 4,500 signs that were beyond the scope of the dissertation. I will produce an additional chapter on the use of Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish (Parodi, 2004, 2009, 2011) and Spanglish as seen in public space, investigating such morphological innovations as store names "Wateria" and "Pretzeria," as seen in Figures 6.3 and 6.4.



Figure 6.3: Pretzeria



Figure 6.4: Wateria

I also plan to continue work I have begun in central Mexico. I will continue the theme of studying linguistic landscapes in my next project, which will focus on the urban signage of Mexico City. However, this time I will explore how English is innovatively used in this multilingual metropolis. I have presented papers on initial research at the *Modern Language Association (MLA) Annual Convention*, the *Georgetown University Round Table*, and the *International Linguistic Landscapes Workshop*. This next project will also include a comparative analysis of English and Spanish present in the linguistic landscape texts in Los Angeles and Mexico City.

Appendix 1: Interview Script in English

Hello, I'm a student at UCLA and we're doing a project on public signs and advertisements and their effectiveness. Could you answer a few questions about your opinions of the signage of this neighborhood?

It will only take a few minutes and your answers will be entirely anonymous.

(In case of positive response) Great, thank you so much. I am going to record the conversation so that I don't have to write everything down, but the recordings will be made anonymous after linking them with demographic information.

Begin recording.

A. Interview Questions

1. What makes this neighborhood special in your opinion?

Now I'm going to ask you a few questions about signs. When I say signs, I mean traffic signs, advertisements, billboards, business signs, all signs. All written language in public.

2. What signs have you noticed around this area? What do you think about them?
3. What do you think the languages on the signs say about the groups of people in this area? (If they don't understand the question: Could you assume something about the people in this area based on the area's signs?)

Now I am going to show you different signs and I would like for you to tell me if you think they are effective (in their advertising). (Note: informants were shown photos from one of four photo groups to avoid using the same image more than once. Photo groups are included below.)

4. For example, what do you think about this sign (show picture A, monolingual English sign)? Do you think it is effective (advertising)?
5. What about this sign (show picture B, monolingual Spanish sign)? Do you think it's effective (advertising)?
6. And this sign (show picture C, bilingual sign with English dominating)? Do you think it's effective (advertising)?
7. And this sign (show picture D, bilingual sign with Spanish dominating)? Do you think it's effective (advertising)?

If they don't mention the languages of the signs, ask: Do you notice anything about the use of languages in the signs?

8. Which sign is your favorite? Why?
9. How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English in Los Angeles?
10. Would you say there are more signs all in English or all in Spanish in this city?
11. When a sign contains both English AND Spanish, which language would you say tends to be the largest or stands out the most in this city?
12. Which language is most useful for communication in signs in this city and in this neighborhood? Why?
13. A sign in which language would attract the most customers? Why?
14. A sign in which language would attract you the most? Why?
15. If you were at a store selling expensive products, in which language would you expect to find the signs? Why? And at a store with inexpensive products? Why?
16. If you were at a store selling high quality products, in which language would you expect to find the signs? Why? And at a store with lower quality products? Why?
17. Does your reaction to a sign change depending on the language used? Would you react the same to a sign written in English as you would to a sign written in Spanish?
18. If you had a shop and wrote a sign, what language would you use and what would the sign look like?
19. How do you feel about Spanish being used in the signage of Los Angeles?
20. Do you think that the use of Spanish in signs contributes to maintaining the amount of Spanish spoken in the community? In what way?
21. If you had to allocate percentages to the amount or quantity you think languages *should* appear in Los Angeles signs, how much would you allocate to Spanish? To English? Any other languages?
 - *Can you tell me why?*
22. In signs with more than one language, certain languages can stand out or be more prominent in signs either by order of languages, size of font or color. Listen to the following statements regarding the saliency or prominence of English and Spanish in signs and say which statement you agree most with.

English should always be more prominent than Spanish in the signs.	English should generally be more prominent than Spanish in the signs.	Spanish and English should be equally prominent in the signs.	Spanish should generally be more prominent than English in the signs.	Spanish should always be more prominent than English in the signs.
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- *Can you tell me why?*

Now I am going to show you three more signs and I would like for you to tell me if you think they are effective (in their advertising).

23. What do you think about this one? (show photo 1 of Starbucks sign)



24. And this one? (show photo 2, "vuelta lejos")



25. And this one? (show photo 3, "To the public")



26. The following are statements regarding Spanish's correctness, accuracy or quality in signs in Los Angeles. Which statement do you agree most with?

Spanish is used accurately in the signs in Los Angeles.	Spanish is mostly used accurately in the signs in Los Angeles.	Spanish is sometimes used accurately in the signs in Los Angeles.	Spanish is mostly not used accurately in the signs in Los Angeles.	Spanish is not used accurately in the signs in Los Angeles.
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- *Why?*
- *What examples have you seen of Spanish on signs in LA?*

27. Now, thinking about how Spanish is *spoken* in Los Angeles, which statement do you agree most with?

Spanish is spoken accurately in Los Angeles.	Spanish is mostly spoken accurately in Los Angeles.	Spanish is sometimes spoken accurately in Los Angeles.	Spanish is mostly not spoken accurately in Los Angeles.	Spanish is not spoken accurately in Los Angeles.
--	---	--	---	--

- *Why?*
- *What examples have you heard of Spanish spoken in LA?*

28. Also regarding how Spanish is *spoken* in Los Angeles, say which statement you agree most with.

The Spanish spoken in LA is exactly the type of Spanish I speak.	The Spanish spoken in LA is very similar to the type of Spanish I speak.	I don't know or I'm not sure.	The Spanish spoken in LA is somewhat similar to the type of Spanish I speak.	The Spanish spoken in LA is not the type of Spanish I speak.
--	--	-------------------------------	--	--

- *What is similar?*
- *What is different?*

29. Now thinking about how Spanish is used *in the signage* of Los Angeles, say which statement you agree most with.

The Spanish in the signage of LA is the same type of Spanish I use.	The Spanish in the signage of LA is very similar to the type of Spanish I use.	I don't know or I'm not sure.	The Spanish in the signage of LA is somewhat similar to the type of Spanish I use.	The Spanish in the signage of LA is not the type of Spanish I use.
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- *What is similar?*
- *What is different?*

B. Biographical Questions

Lastly, I have some biographical questions for you.

1. What city do you live in?
2. How long have you lived in LA? And in the U.S.?
3. Were you born in LA? (If not, where were you born?) Is your family also from here/there?
4. What is your occupation?
5. What languages do you speak?
6. What race or ethnicity do you consider yourself?
7. How old are you?
8. Are you male or female or other?

Do you have any questions for me?

Well, that's all of the questions. Thank you so much for your participation. Here is the researcher's business card so if you have a question you can contact her. Have a great day.

--

If they want to know more:

If you have any more questions, contact Jhonni Carr at jhonni@ucla.edu. For questions about participants' rights, contact the UCLA Office of the Human Research Protection Program (OHRPP) at (310) 825-7122.

Appendix 2: Interview Script in Spanish

Hola, soy estudiante de UCLA, y estamos haciendo un proyecto sobre los anuncios y letreros públicos y su efectividad. ¿Me podría hacer el favor de contestar algunas preguntas sobre los letreros de este barrio?

Sólo toma algunos minutos y sus respuestas serán totalmente anónimas.

(Si contesta afirmativamente) Muy bien, muchas gracias. Voy a grabar la conversación para no tener que apuntar todo, pero se harán anónimas las grabaciones después de correlacionar esta cifra con información demográfica.

Empezar a grabar.

A. Preguntas de la entrevista

1. ¿Qué hace a este barrio especial, según usted?

Ahora le voy a hacer unas preguntas sobre los letreros. Cuando digo letreros me refiero a las señales, los anuncios, los carteles, todos los letreros. Toda la lengua escrita en lugares públicos.

2. ¿Cuáles letreros ha notado en esta área? ¿Qué le parecen?
3. ¿Qué piensa usted que revelan las lenguas de los letreros sobre los grupos de personas que hay en esta área? (Si no entienden la pregunta: hacer ésta ¿Se puede asumir algo sobre las personas en esta área por los letreros?)

Ahora le voy a mostrar letreros diferentes y me gustaría que me dijera si piensa que son efectivos (en cuanto a la publicidad). (Note: informants were shown photos from one of four photo groups to avoid using the same image more than once. Photo groups are included below.)

4. Por ejemplo, ¿qué piensa usted sobre este letrero (muestra foto A, letrero monolingüe de inglés)? ¿Cree usted que es efectivo (la publicidad)?
5. ¿Qué tal este letrero (muestra foto B, letrero monolingüe de español)? ¿Cree usted que es efectivo (la publicidad)?
6. ¿Y este letrero (muestra foto C, letrero bilingüe en el que resalta el texto en inglés)? ¿Cree usted que es efectivo (la publicidad)?
7. ¿Y este letrero (muestra foto D, letrero bilingüe en el que resalta el texto en español)? ¿Cree usted que es efectivo (la publicidad)?

Si no mencionan las lenguas de los letreros, preguntar: ¿Nota algo sobre el uso de lenguas en los letreros?

8. ¿Cuál letrero es su letrero favorito? ¿Por qué?

9. ¿Qué le parecen los letreros en lenguas diferentes al inglés en Los Ángeles?
10. ¿Diría usted que hay más letreros completamente en inglés o más letreros completamente en español en esta ciudad?
11. Cuando un letrero tiene tanto inglés como español, ¿cuál lengua diría usted que suele ser escrita en letras más grandes o que suele resaltar más en esta ciudad?
12. ¿Cuál lengua en los letreros es más útil para comunicarse en esta ciudad y en este barrio?
¿Por qué?
13. ¿Un letrero en qué lengua atraería a la mayor cantidad de clientes? ¿Por qué?
14. ¿Un letrero en qué lengua le atraería más a usted? ¿Por qué?
15. Si estuviera en una tienda que vendiera productos caros, ¿en cuál lengua esperaría encontrar los letreros? ¿Por qué? ¿Y en una tienda con productos baratos? ¿Por qué?
16. Si estuviera en una tienda que vendiera productos de alta calidad, ¿en cuál lengua esperaría encontrar los letreros? ¿Por qué? ¿Y en una tienda con productos de baja calidad? ¿Por qué?
17. ¿Cambia su reacción ante un letrero dependiendo de la lengua que utiliza? ¿Reacciona igual ante un letrero escrito en inglés que ante uno escrito en español?
18. Si tuviera usted una tienda y tuviera que escribir un letrero, ¿cuál lengua usaría y cómo se vería el letrero?
19. ¿Qué le parece el uso del español en los letreros de Los Ángeles?
20. ¿Piensa que usar español en los letreros ayuda a mantener la cantidad de español que se habla en esta comunidad? ¿De qué manera?
21. En su opinión, de 0 a 100%, ¿qué porcentaje de *español* debe haber en los letreros de Los Ángeles? ¿Y qué porcentaje de *inglés* debe haber en los letreros de Los Ángeles? ¿Y qué porcentaje de *otras lenguas* debe haber en letreros de Los Ángeles?
 - ¿Me podría decir por qué?
22. En los letreros con más de una lengua, ciertas lenguas pueden resaltar o predominar, ya sea por el orden en que aparecen, el tamaño de la letra o el color de la letra. Escuche las siguientes afirmaciones sobre el predominio del inglés y el español en los letreros y seleccione la afirmación con la que está más de acuerdo.

El inglés siempre debe predominar sobre el español en los letreros.	El inglés generalmente debe predominar sobre el español en los letreros.	El español y el inglés deben predominar igualmente en los letreros.	El español generalmente debe predominar sobre el inglés en los letreros.	El español siempre debe predominar sobre el inglés en los letreros.
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- ¿Me podría decir por qué?

Ahora le voy a mostrar tres letreros más y me gustaría que me dijera si piensa que son efectivos (en cuanto a la publicidad).

23. ¿Qué le parece éste? (muestra foto 1 de Starbucks)



24. ¿Y éste? (muestra foto 2, "vuelta lejos")



25. ¿Y éste? (muestra foto 3, "To the public")



26. Las siguientes afirmaciones tienen que ver con la calidad, precisión o exactitud del español en los letreros en Los Ángeles. ¿Con cuál afirmación coincide más usted?

Se usa el español de manera correcta en los letreros en Los Ángeles.	La mayoría del tiempo se usa el español de manera correcta en los letreros en Los Ángeles.	De vez en cuando se usa el español de manera correcta en los letreros en Los Ángeles.	La mayoría del tiempo no se usa el español de manera correcta en los letreros en Los Ángeles.	No se usa el español de manera correcta en los letreros en Los Ángeles.
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- ¿Por qué contestó así?
- ¿Qué ejemplos de español en los letreros de Los Ángeles ha visto?

27. Ahora, pensando en cómo se *habla* español en Los Ángeles, ¿con cuál afirmación coincide más usted?

Se habla correctamente español en Los Ángeles.	La mayoría del tiempo se habla correctamente español en Los Ángeles.	De vez en cuando se habla correctamente español en Los Ángeles.	La mayoría del tiempo no se habla correctamente español en Los Ángeles.	No se habla correctamente español en Los Ángeles.
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- ¿Por qué?
- ¿Qué ejemplos de español hablado en Los Ángeles ha escuchado?

28. También sobre cómo se *habla* español en Los Ángeles, seleccione la afirmación con la que coincide más.

El español hablado en LA es el mismo tipo de español que hablo yo.	El español hablado en LA es muy parecido al tipo de español que hablo yo.	No sé o no estoy segur@.	El español hablado en LA se parece un poco al tipo de español que hablo yo.	El español hablado en LA no es el tipo de español que hablo yo.
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- ¿En qué es parecido?
- ¿En qué es diferente?

29. Ahora, pensando en cómo se usa el español *en los letreros* de Los Ángeles, indique con cuál afirmación está usted más de acuerdo.

El español en los letreros de LA es el mismo tipo de español que uso yo.	El español en los letreros de LA es muy parecido al tipo de español que uso yo.	No sé o no estoy segur@.	El español en los letreros de LA se parece un poco al tipo de español que uso yo.	El español en los letreros de LA no es el tipo de español que uso yo.
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- ¿En qué es parecido?
- ¿En qué es diferente?

B. Preguntas biográficas

Finalmente le tengo algunas preguntas biográficas.

1. ¿En qué ciudad vive usted?
2. ¿Por cuánto tiempo ha vivido en Los Ángeles? ¿y en Estados Unidos?
3. ¿Nació usted en Los Ángeles? (Si no, ¿en dónde?) ¿Su familia también es de aquí/allá?
4. ¿A qué se dedica?
5. ¿Qué idiomas habla?
6. ¿De qué raza o grupo étnico se considera parte?
7. ¿Cuántos años tiene?
8. ¿Se considera hombre o mujer u otro?

¿Tiene alguna pregunta para mí?

Pues, esas son todas las preguntas. Muchas gracias por su participación. Aquí está una tarjeta de la investigadora así que tiene una pregunta, puede hablar con ella. Que tenga buen día.

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Si quiere saber más:

Si tiene más preguntas contacte a Jhonni Carr en jhonni@ucla.edu. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos mientras se realiza el estudio, favor de llamar a la oficina de la protección de los seres humanos para la investigación, UCLA (OHRPP): (310) 825-7122.

Appendix 3: Photo Groups

Photo Group 1



Photo 1A



Photo 1B



Photo 1C



Photo 1D

Photo Group 2

Treat yourself.
Get a Swedish massage.



\$59⁹⁹ from

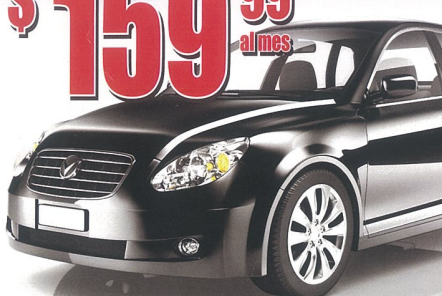
434-291-5590

Photo 2A

Oferta por tiempo limitado

2017 Tata Indigo

\$159⁹⁹ al mes



**Llama al:
434-291-5590**

Photo 2B

Pollo frito
Fried Chicken



\$3⁹⁹ 3-piece
3 piezas

Drink included
Bebida incluida

Photo 2C



CLUB DE VINO
WINE CLUB
\$35
AL MES
PER MONTH

RECIBA CUATRO BOTELLAS DE NUESTRA RESERVA ESPECIAL.
GET FOUR BOTTLES OF OUR SPECIAL RESERVE.

434-291-5590

Photo 2D

Photo Group 3



Photo 3A



Photo 3B



Photo 3C



Photo 3D

Photo Group 4



Photo 4A



Photo 4B



Photo 4C



Photo 4D

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