Routledge Studies in Sociolinguistics

ADVOCATING FOR SOCIOLINGUISTIC JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES

EMPOWERING SPANISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

Edited by
Michelle F. Ramos Pellicia,
Patricia MacGregor-Mendoza
and Mercedes Niño-Murcia

ROUTLEDGE

Advocating for Sociolinguistic Justice in the United States

This collection focuses on social awareness and critical language awareness with the goal of enlightening and empowering multilingual and multicultural communities across the U.S.

Each chapter brings to light the trauma, gaps in services and misguided societal perceptions that adversely impact communities whose linguistic and cultural background and/or status as migrants place them in vulnerable situations. In doing so, the authors and editors demonstrate how an increased awareness of diverse communities' linguistic and cultural wealth can be leveraged to build strength and resilience in order to overcome physical, verbal or symbolic violence and provide remedies for inequities in educational, medical and legal contexts.

Showcasing discussions of the intersectionality and contexts in which language, power, migration and the cultural funds of knowledge of minoritized communities interact, this volume will be of interest to students, scholars and educators in sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and language education.

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Advocating for Sociolinguistic Justice in the United States

Empowering Spanish-speaking Communities

Edited by Michelle F. Ramos Pellicia, Patricia MacGregor-Mendoza and Mercedes Niño-Murcia

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

First published 2025
by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

and by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Ramos Pellicia, Michelle F., editor. | MacGregor-Mendoza, Patricia, 1963– editor. | Niño-Murcia, Mercedes, editor.
Title: Advocating for sociolinguistic justice in the United States : empowering Spanish-speaking communities / edited by Michelle F. Ramos Pellicia, Patricia MacGregor-Mendoza and Mercedes Niño-Murcia.
Description: New York, NY : Routledge, 2025. |
Series: Routledge studies in sociolinguistics |
Includes bibliographical references and index. |
Identifiers: LCCN 2024021837 | ISBN 9781032580487 (hardback) | ISBN 9781032580494 (paperback) | ISBN 9781003442288 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Spanish language–Social aspects–United States. | Multilingualism–Social aspects–United States. | Language awareness–United States. | Social justice–United States. | LCGFT: Essays.
Classification: LCC PC4826 .A68 2025 |
DDC 306.442/610973–dc23/eng/20240624
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024021837

ISBN: 9781032580487 (hbk)
ISBN: 9781032580494 (pbk)
ISBN: 9781003442288 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003442288

Typeset in Sabon
by Newgen Publishing UK

This book is dedicated to **Ana Celia Zentella, Mary Bucholtz**, and **Bonnie Urciuoli**, three scholars whose profound insight into the connections among language, culture, education, and justice, and whose commitment to advancing the cause of social justice have lighted our way. Their foundational legacy has elevated scholarship in multilingual communities, and will continue to inspire students, researchers and activists for years to come.

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Solidarity, Belonging, and Strategies for Fostering Linguistic Equity

Jhonni Rochelle Charisse Carr

2.1 Introduction

> What might a world with language justice look like? It would be a world with room for multiple languages to operate at all levels of society: from the kitchen table to the community meeting to the art museum to the City Council or even the legislature. A world where a vast range of languages could coexist … A world where children do not have to choose between the language of their families and the language of the society around them.
>
> (Antena 2014: 10–11)

At times, language can act as a barrier to societal engagement, and individuals without access to the language being used are inhibited from participating in public activities. A socially just linguistic environment that avoided linguistic prejudice and promoted language justice (Antena 2014) would entail all present individuals having equal access to participate in activities in the public space in the language(s) of their choice.

Language is an understudied part of social justice, and this chapter, along with others in this volume, seeks to demonstrate the importance of language in daily life and especially as a matter of social justice. Within the field of linguistics, the dominant modality of study tends to be oral. As emphasized by Henner and Robinson (2023), linguistic studies prioritize spoken language, as opposed to signed or written varieties. This chapter complements others in this volume by highlighting the understudied phenomenon of written language, with a focus on displayed language in the public space, or the *linguistic landscape* (Landry & Bourhis 1997).

In the pages that follow, we will begin with a review of the field of Linguistic Landscape Studies as well as the concepts of social justice, language justice, and (socio)linguistic justice, describing the similarities and differences of the two latter terms. These notions will be applied in an empirical study conducted in Los Angeles, California that examines

DOI: 10.4324/9781003442288-3

the accessibility of public space for Latinx residents using a quantitative corpus of over 4,500 images of urban signage and a qualitative corpus of 32 interviews. Like other studies (Mdukula 2022), this one will consider the linguistic accessibility of the linguistic landscape, but it will go beyond this concept to emphasize the psychosocial accessibility of public space. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of concrete actions individuals, organizations, and government institutions can implement to work towards advancing language justice and increasing the presence and use of minority and minoritized languages in the public space.

2.2 Linguistic Landscape Studies

Linguistic Landscape Studies is an interdisciplinary field that uses conceptual tools and methods from Sociolinguistics, Anthropology, Sociology, and Urban Studies, among other fields. As its object of analysis, it takes "any visible display of written language (a 'sign')," in addition to "people's interactions with these signs" (Van Mensel et al. 2017: 1).[1] In the present chapter, "signs" will refer to billboards, city or traffic signage, commercial and personal advertisements, stickers, and other displayed, written language.

In their seminal article, Landry and Bourhis (1997) identify two main functions of the linguistic landscape (LL): informational and symbolic. That is, signs can serve to convey a literal or a figurative message to their readers. As part of the LL's *informational function*, a language used in signage shows that it is useful for conducting public affairs. Language can also be more object-like when it represents a particular ideology. Thus, according to its *symbolic function*, the LL can be used to convey a language's power and status within a select population. Inclusion in the linguistic landscape is especially important in the case of minority and minoritized languages, as their use can demonstrate that the language is valued and has status in society (Landry & Bourhis 1997).[2]

It is important to consider not only the inclusion of languages in the LL, but also their placement within signage, as this, in most cases, denotes power structures. Multiple languages cannot occupy the exact same space in a sign without overlapping and rendering the message unclear, and therefore the presence of more than one language in a sign naturally produces hierarchical conditions in which one language dominates over the other, literally and figuratively (Backhaus 2006). This situation of *code preference*, or the choice of a particular linguistic variety over another, generates a dominant language, or a *preferred code*, and a subordinate language, or a *marginalized code* (Scollon & Scollon 2003; see also Backhaus 2006; Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996, and Spolsky & Cooper 1991). Code choice is determined by horizontal and vertical placement, as well as degree of

centrality in a sign (Backhaus 2007; Scollon & Scollon 2003). Thus, for a language like English or Spanish that is read from left to right, the code on the left, on top, or in the center (as opposed to on the right, bottom, or in the periphery) will be considered dominant.

2.2.1 Disparate Consequences of the LL

When walking down a street or driving down a highway, many times we don't pay attention to signs, which can become part of the backdrop, blending in until almost invisible. This is especially the case when transiting through an area is part of our daily routine. With such high exposure, it is easy to become desensitized to signs. However, the consequences of our interaction with the LL and displayed legal regulations can vary largely, considering, for example, the policing of non-white bodies in public spaces.

Various studies have evidenced the systemic racism of our society and, in particular, the US criminal justice system. For example, there are significant disparities in the United States among People of Color—and especially Black, Indigenous, and Latinx[3] individuals—and white individuals in terms of arrest rates, use of force and police shootings, and the severity of traffic citations (Fellner 2009; Rehavi & Starr 2014; Scott et al. 2017; Warren et al. 2006). Therefore, unequal degrees of law enforcement mean that following posted legal regulations in the LL can have more life-or-death consequences for People of Color. The extent to which individuals in minoritized situations view the linguistic landscape, in comparison to individuals in privileged positions, still needs to be explored. Considering the inextricable nature of race with language, this future line of work should employ a raciolinguistic framework (Alim et al. 2016; Flores & Rosa 2015; Rosa & Flores 2017).

2.2.2 Los Angeles and the Linguistic Landscape

Los Angeles County has many multicultural communities and is known for its high degree of commercialization and presence of advertising signs. It is home to over 10 million people, almost 5 million of whom identify as Hispanic or Latinx. Relatedly, nearly 4 million residents spoke Spanish at the time of data collection (U.S. Census Bureau 2015a, 2015b). While a multitude of languages can be seen in the written language of Los Angeles' public space, English and Spanish dominate this visual environment.

The presence of Spanish in the Los Angeles LL has been documented by two scholars. Using a corpus of 736 multilingual signs, Franco Rodríguez (2005, 2008, 2009, 2011) analyzed the presence and linguistic qualities

of Spanish in the Los Angeles LL of areas with large Latinx populations. Through his analyses, he has argued that Los Angeles Spanish is becoming more similar to English and more different from "standard" Spanish. An important contribution of Franco Rodríguez's (2008, 2009) has been his distinction of the *main* and *informative sections* of signs, which frequently correspond with the symbolic and informative functions of signs (Landry & Bourhis 1997). Whereas the main section of a sign tends to draw more attention at first glance due to the size or color of the font(s) used, the informative section is many times the "small print" and contains less prominent font. Likewise, the main section generally conveys the principal message of the text (e.g., "Help wanted") and can serve to label a building, store, or owner (e.g., "Jilberto's Taco Shop"). The informative section, on the other hand, gives more detailed information regarding, for example, how to obtain the product or service (e.g., "Store hours: Monday–Friday 8am–5pm").[4] Franco Rodríguez (2008, 2009) argues that the preferred code of the main section can be analyzed as "a mark of language presence" (Franco Rodríguez 2009: 6). Similarly, he states that a linguistic variety with a high degree of use in the informative section can be analyzed as a language of high social utility, one that is "effective [for] communication with the reader" (Franco Rodríguez 2009: 6).

Over a decade after data was collected for Franco Rodríguez's studies, I designed a large-scale project that uses mixed methods to analyze—from a quantitative perspective—the amount of Spanish in the Southeast Los Angeles LL and—from a qualitative perspective—the social implications regarding how the language is displayed in public space (Carr 2017). Results for part of this study are shared in Carr (2021), where I challenged the notion that the LL is unable to reflect local linguistic demographics. While recognizing that various factors (such as language-regulating legislation, tourism, and the symbolic power of dominating languages) have an effect on the LL, I reframed the debate regarding the LL's ability to reflect locally spoken languages from a binary question to one that is broader, in order to allow for a more comprehensive investigation of urban signage. I also proposed a model to empirically examine how signs and their sections can correspond with linguistic communities. Using a corpus of over 4,500 signs, I showed that communities with larger proportions of Spanish speakers used more Spanish in signage. The code preference of the informative section, more than the main section or monolingual signs, was found to be the best correlate with Spanish-speaking populations. The present chapter expands on this previous work (Carr 2017, 2021), reconsidering the quantitative results from a holistic perspective and addressing the qualitative results of this larger project from a social justice perspective.

2.3 Social Justice, Language Justice, and (Socio)linguistic Justice

Barker (1995) refers to social justice as the circumstances under which "all members of society have the same basic rights, protections, opportunities, obligations, and social benefits" (354). Whereas Barker (1995) focuses on what all individuals should have access to, Nieto (2006) highlights the actions to dismantle unjust situations and who experiences these biases and disadvantages: "[Social justice] challenges, confronts, and disrupts misconceptions, untruths, and stereotypes that lead to structural inequality based on race, social class, gender, and other social and human differences" (2). The final conjunction in the previous sentence is important: these are not discrete concepts but can rather intersect in various ways within and across individuals and societies. Furthermore, we can expand this last category of "other social and human differences" not only to sexuality, ethnicity, origin, and able-bodiedness, but also to language.

The role of language in social justice becomes clear when we consider how it can be a tool for inclusion or exclusion. We use language to get access to different goods, be they economic, social, or cultural. We use language to order a cup of coffee, to read store hours, but also to ask where the emergency room is and to read important legal regulations. In this sense, if someone doesn't speak the language being used, language can act as a gatekeeper, allowing certain people through the gate, giving them access to goods, services, and opportunities, and closing the gate and barring others from participation or gaining access (Fairclough 2001; Wodak 2012). For this reason, it is important to consider *linguistic accessibility*, or how accessible or approachable text or speech is to individuals depending on their linguistic backgrounds. Linguistic proficiency can draw social boundaries, determining if one is "placed inside, outside or sometimes in between the speech communities" (Bernsand 2001: 39).

As an example of linguistic accessibility and a social justice analysis of language use, consider Figure 2.1, an image of two signs taken at Pappy's Grill & Sports Bar in Berkeley, California. Whereas the sign on the left advertises a position for a dishwasher in Spanish, the one on the right announces positions for cashiers and bartenders in English. Who are the intended audiences of these signs? Monolingual Spanish speakers (and readers) would only have linguistic access to the sign on the left, the sign advertising a position that tends to pay less than the positions advertised in the sign on the right. In addition to socioeconomic disparities, we should also consider the social implications for where Spanish and English (speakers) "belong," according to these signs: in the kitchen, hidden, out of sight—or the face of the company, in the front, with the public. As is demonstrated in this example, a lack of linguistic accessibility can be

Figure 2.1 Job Offerings at Pappy's Grill & Sports Bar in Berkeley, California (Image taken by Bronwyn Harris).

related to disproportionate socioeconomic opportunities, as well as detrimental social ideologies.

The subcategory of social justice that deals with language has been referred to by different names. In academia, preferred terms are "linguistic justice" and "sociolinguistic justice." Whereas Bucholtz and colleagues (2014) define *sociolinguistic justice* as "self-determination for linguistically subordinated individuals and groups in sociopolitical struggles over language" (145), Nee and colleagues (2022) define *linguistic justice* as "the realization of equitable access to social, economic, and political life regardless of linguistic repertoire" (1). A third term, largely preferred by grassroots organizations, is *language justice*, defined by the Community Language Cooperative (2023) as "a key practice used in social justice movements in order to create shared power, practice inclusion and dismantle traditional systems of oppression that have traditionally disenfranchised non-English speakers." In 2022, a directory was published online of more than 40 groups dedicated to advocating for and facilitating social justice as related to language (CIRCULAR n.d.).[5] The majority of these cooperatives, collectives, and non-profits use the term "language justice"; neither "sociolinguistic justice" nor "linguistic justice" appears in the directory.

While these three terms are related, they differ in terms of precision, accessibility, centering of practical applications, and origin. Considering the terminology "(socio)linguistic" and "language," the former may be considered the more accurate term, since when we discuss social justice as related to language, we are not simply referring to the inclusion of different languages, but all linguistic varieties (including dialects) and the subtleties that comprise them. This is likely the reason why several authors, including

those of this volume, prefer the term "sociolinguistic justice." However, social justice with a focus on language also involves using accessible terminology, and terms such as "linguistics" and "sociolinguistics" are largely confined to academia and less commonly understood compared to the word "language." Furthermore, the concept of language justice foregrounds concrete strategies to correct injustices. Although much (socio)linguistic justice work includes an applied set of practices or recommendations, these can at times take a backseat to theory. Finally, it is crucial to remember that, as a concept, social justice stems from the community, from grassroots efforts. Bucholtz and colleagues (2014) acknowledge the disconnect between academia and the community, describing the "need for sociocultural linguists to recognize community members as agents of social change in their own right" (144). In an effort to do just this, while also prioritizing accessibility and practical applications, this chapter will follow the direction of community members who employ the term "language justice."

A basic component of language justice entails linguistic accessibility and the right to understand and be understood. As the grassroots organization Antena (2014) explains, "it is important that we are able to express ourselves in the language that most fully conveys the depth and nuance of our hopes and ideas, our frustrations and questions" (2). But access is about more than information. In addition to precise communication, language justice also refers to the right to speak (and in our case, read and write) in the language(s) in which we feel most comfortable (Antena 2014). In the words of Reh (2004), "If citizens become essential to a political and / or economic system as voters or consumers, then these citizens have to be addressed in a language which is not only understood by them but which also guarantees access to their emotions" (37–8). Bi/multilinguals shouldn't be forced to use their non-dominant language. As discussed in Nee and colleagues (2022):

> While many speakers of marginalized languages are also speakers of majority languages, asking minoritized language users to modify their language use by adopting dominant language practices results in an inequitable burden, as minoritized individuals may spend significant time, money, and psychological energy to modify their speech.
>
> (Nee et al. (2022: 2–3)[6]

Therefore, language justice is concerned with the communicative function of language, but also its equally important socio-affective function: the *psychosocial accessibility* of public space.

When considering who should be the one to determine what is "just," it is crucial to acknowledge that one of the goals of social justice is to create an environment that supports agency for social change (Charity

Hudley 2013: 2). As opposed to an out-group member (e.g., a researcher) coming in and proclaiming how something "should" look, it's important to seek out and prioritize the voices of the community, the people that interact with goods and services and signs on a daily basis. Thus, the recommendations for social change given in this article will be based on the desired outcome of local community members.

It is unlikely that we will ever attain a perfectly just society, but by aspiring for one, we can better our communities and ideally move toward the ability to "keep inequalities between individuals, communities, and nations within relatively narrow margins" (Piller 2016: 5–6). Therefore, language justice, like social justice, isn't blindly focused on achieving a utopian situation, but rather aims to chip away at inequalities in order to make society more egalitarian for individuals of all backgrounds.

Grassroots organizations such as Antena, Caracol Language Coop, and Tilde Language Justice Cooperative focus on addressing the importance of—and strategies for—fostering language justice in interpretation and translation for social gatherings (see also Gómez (2020) for a language justice approach to literary translation). This concept can also be applied to everyday circumstances (see Carr & Luján (2020) who present a language justice proposal to protect individuals who speak minoritized languages in US public spaces). In the realm of academia, Sociolinguistics has a long history of social justice activism (Charity 2008), but this is a direction that its subcamp Linguistic Landscape Studies has thus far not emphasized. Many scholars briefly allude to the concept in their conclusions, but have yet to implement a social justice framework from the onset.

In this chapter, I use the lens of language justice to examine the accessibility of written, displayed Spanish in Southeast Los Angeles, revealing the importance of linguistic and psychosocial accessibility, and exploring implications when these aspects of language justice are not accomplished. More specifically, I address the following research questions:

a) How do Latinx community members of Southeast Los Angeles feel about the use of Spanish in the urban signage of their neighborhoods?
b) How frequently does Spanish appear in the Southeast Los Angeles LL?
c) Does the amount of Spanish desired by individuals in the LL align with the current amount of Spanish in signage?

2.4 Methodology

Los Angeles County can be divided into 16 regions (*Mapping L.A.* 2015). Southeast Los Angeles is located just east of South Los Angeles and southwest of the San Gabriel Valley. This region contains 26 neighborhoods

and was selected because many of these communities are predominantly Spanish-speaking and Latinx. To represent the Southeast region, three cities within the Los Angeles County were chosen that shared similar population demographics (total population, Latinx and Spanish-speaking populations), economic characteristics (median household income), and geographic qualities (total land area): Huntington Park, Lynwood, and Paramount. Over 80 percent of these communities' populations identify as Latinx; likewise, the majority (over 73 percent) speak Spanish, and more than 60 percent of businesses are Latinx-owned (U.S. Census Bureau 2012, 2015b). It is also important to note their English-speaking abilities; at least a fifth of the population in each of these areas speaks English not well or not at all (U.S. Census Bureau 2015b).

A three-step process was undertaken to determine the specific locations of quantitative and qualitative fieldwork. 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 confirmed with an online investigation on the cities' websites and other forums regarding city data. Lastly, each of the regions was explored in person by the researcher to visually confirm the previous information. The following streets were established for conducting interviews and photographing the LL: Pacific Boulevard in Huntington Park, Long Beach Boulevard in Lynwood, and Paramount Boulevard in Paramount.

2.4.1 Qualitative Study

In order to engage with the community and investigate individuals' attitudes toward the use of Spanish and English in the public signage, a semi-directed sociolinguistic questionnaire was created. Interviews were conducted either by the principal investigator or a research assistant who approached potential participants on weekend afternoons in busy, public spaces along main streets. All of these areas were lively locations of communal importance where people would come to shop, people-watch, or spend time outdoors either alone or with friends and families. Informants were addressed in both English and Spanish and asked if they would be willing to participate in a brief survey about the city and its signs. The surveys were conducted in English, Spanish, and sometimes both languages, depending on the language(s) in which interviewees responded.

The semi-structured interviews consisted of both biographical and survey questions related to personal experiences with the city and the LL, perceived and desired dominance of Spanish and English, and informants' attitudes regarding the languages. Open-ended questions and close-ended questions along a Likert scale were prepared ahead of time.

The methods used were not meant to target specific demographics, so while all interviewees were Latinx, the 32 participants that made up this study were diverse. Their ages ranged from 20 to 78, with an average age of 38.1. Of the 32 informants, 17 identified as male, 14 as female, and 1 as transgender. They resided in different cities in Southeast Los Angeles including Huntington Park, Lynwood, Paramount, Compton, Boyle Heights, Bell, Bellflower, South Gate, and Cudahy, but were interviewed in the first three cities. Similar to the local area's composition, a high number of interviewees were foreign born, the majority from Mexico (n = 23). Seven individuals were born in the US, one in Honduras, and one in El Salvador. This reflected the general composition of the local population according to Census data.

Interviews were orthographically transcribed verbatim so that slips of the tongue and false starts were retained, in addition to nonverbal utterances such as laughing or coughing. Responses from a close-ended Likert scale were tabulated, and percentages were generated. For lengthier responses, a descriptive, discourse analysis approach known as qualitative content analysis was used (Braun & Clarke 2006; Silverman 2006). Conversations were examined for common discourse themes within and across participant discourse.

2.4.2 Quantitative Study

An exhaustive approach was used for quantitative data collection: Images were captured of each instance of displayed, written language in the public space.[7] This approach yielded a total of 4,664 images of individual signs (tokens). The entire corpus of signage was divided into two subcorpuses: signs containing one language and signs containing more than one language. Monolingual signs were each classified according to the language used to elaborate the signs' content. When LL items contained more than one language, the main section was analyzed for the dominant language or preferred code. At times, the main section only had a single code, so this language was the obvious preferred code. When the main section was multilingual, the preferred code was determined using the criteria previously mentioned in the discussion on code preferences above with one additional variable: language function. As noted in Carr (2021):

> the main section typically serves to reveal the sign's author(s) or present a main idea, and the informative section gives additional, more precise information. With this in mind, if a particular language was used to convey the main idea of a section as opposed to a supplementary idea, it was more likely to be considered the dominant language.
>
> (Carr 2021: 248)

In this chapter, we will review the aggregate results of the main section of multilingual signs (see Carr 2021 for a more detailed analysis of the different sign configurations).

2.5 Results

This section will present results generated by the methodologies discussed above. First, we will review those of the qualitative approach (of 32 interviews) to understand the importance of the Spanish language for the local community of Southeast Los Angeles and how much residents wish to see of the language in local signage, and then we will see findings from the quantitative approach to observe how much Spanish appeared in the 4,664 LL tokens collected. This comparison—how much Spanish the residents wish appeared in the LL versus how much Spanish actually appears—will allow us to understand the situation of language justice.

2.5.1 Qualitative Results

2.5.1.1 The Importance of Spanish for Communication

As we saw above, according to census demographics, Southeast Los Angeles is a Spanish-speaking community; however, in addition to analyzing percentages and considering widespread patterns, it's important to talk to individuals on the ground to see how they understand the utility of the language in general and in the LL. The majority (n = 27) of the interviews were conducted mostly in Spanish; only five of 32 participants responded to questions mostly in English. This linguistic preference in itself demonstrates a high degree of utility for the Spanish language in Southeast Los Angeles.

When informants were asked about the most useful language for communication in signs in the local vicinity, the most common choice by far was Spanish (81.25 percent, n = 26). Out of the 32 individuals interviewed, only two (6.25 percent) stated that English was the most useful and four (12.5 percent) answered both English and Spanish. Taken together, these results reveal the communicative utility of Spanish in the linguistic landscape. Participant $LW6M_{MX}24$[8] shared that he would be more attracted to signs in Spanish over those in English, displaying a value of the informational message in signage over the symbolic one. He answered, "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" ($LW6M_{MX}24$).[9] 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.

Another informant, a 43-year-old saleswoman, emphasized the importance of using Spanish, sharing her experience with miscommunications due to the lack of Spanish in signs:

> Hay un letrero que dice "no necesita crédito." (Uh huh.) … Lo lee, pero no entiende. Dice que "aquí no te dan crédito." ¿Ve? Lo opuesto de lo que estamos poniendo. Y no está bien … Dicen "ay, no quieren dar crédito aquí dicen que no." Y es lo opuesto. Tenemos un sign que dice venta de clearance y entran y dicen que van a cerrar la tienda.
>
> ($HPJ7F3_{MX}43$)[10]

For participant $HPJ7F3_{MX}43$, in addition to communicative issues, there were economic consequences for not using the language of the community—Spanish—in signage. Later in the interview she further emphasized the utility of Spanish and English in the local context: "tiene que haber los dos. No puede haber sólo uno" ($HPJ7F3_{MX}43$). For her, the local diversity means that using one language in signage is simply not an option. Participant $LW5M_{US}20$ also believed that signs should be accessible and able to communicate messages to as many people as possible. In describing the local population, he 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*?" ($LW5M_{US}20$).[11] For this informant, bilingual signs would reach the largest audience. Overall, these qualitative results prioritize linguistic accessibility and the idea that a linguistically just situation is one in which individuals can understand the pragmatic messages displayed in the public space. However, comments regarding the symbolic role of Spanish were also brought up, as we will see in the sections that follow.

2.5.1.2 The Role of Spanish in Affect and Latinx Identity

In addition to showing that it is imperative to use Spanish for the sake of communication in Southeast Los Angeles, results revealed the symbolic use of language and how it plays a key role in affect and identity for local community members. These findings, along with others in this volume, underscore the value of incorporating the Spanish language in public spaces as a means of empowering community members to participate in civic engagement activities and feel a sense of belonging.

2.5.1.2.1 ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE WITH ETHNICITY

Both across participants and within participant responses, there were references to using Spanish as a marker of a Latinx identity. In answering

the question regarding the most useful language in the cities, many 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" ("this is a Latino neighborhood"). It's important to point out that not all individuals who identify as Latinx speak Spanish and that there are differing degrees of proficiency among Spanish speakers. Nonetheless, according to interviewees, in this community being Latinx is synonymous with speaking Spanish.

Interestingly, participant $LW1M_{MX}44$ makes a comparison in his answer, "la comunidad aquí es, este, más latina que americana" ("the community here is more Latina than it is American"). Here, he distinguishes a dichotomy between Latinxs and US Americans, suggesting differing linguistic abilities or preferences. This comment could refer to one or more beliefs, for example, the idea that all Latinxs speak Spanish and don't necessarily use or speak English, and/or the idea that US Americans do not speak Spanish or at least speak English in addition to Spanish and prefer English. Another possible layer to this comment is that of immigration status and whether community members are mostly citizens (americanxs) or residents born in Spanish-speaking countries (latinxs).

These comments and other similar ones show that Spanish is more useful than English in Southeast LA because it's a local majority language and using it is simply more practical. However, participants go beyond this idea to reveal an ethnolinguistic group identity: part of being Latinx in this region means using Spanish. For this reason, there is a need for Spanish not just at the individual level, but also at the community level. In order to advance linguistic justice, it is important for Spanish to have a significant presence in Southeast Los Angeles signage.

2.5.1.2.2 SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

Aside from themes regarding the importance of Spanish for the local ethnolinguistic population both at the individual and community level, other themes arose within and across interviews, such as the use of Spanish as representative of social solidarity, which further associated the language with ethnicity and identity. For example, when asked about the language of a sign that would attract him the most, a participant originally from Nayarit, Mexico answered, "No, pues, yo no chaqueteo … yo, español" ($LW4M_{MX}78$). This could be translated as, "No, well, I don't mess around [I am firm in my conviction] … For me, Spanish." The verb "chaquetear" can mean to "chicken out" or change sides. Here, the man is saying that he doesn't go back on his word; he isn't a coward and does not fear choosing

Spanish as his preferred language. The participant 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. His passionate ideas label Latinx individuals as lukewarm or undefined in their linguistic identities if they prefer English. It seems that this is one of the requirements or codes for being Latinx and a part of this local community—speaking Spanish is a sign of social solidarity.

2.5.1.2.3 SENSE OF BELONGING

Relatedly, Spanish's presence in the LL evoked in many interviewees a sense of belonging to their local community. In response to the question, "What do you think about the use of Spanish in the signs of Los Angeles?", informant HPJ8F_{MX}50 stated, "To me it seems very, very beautiful, I understand it, I feel at home" ("Me parece a mí muy hermosísimo, yo lo entiendo, me siento como en casa"). For her, Spanish's presence is beautiful. In fact, she modifies this term in two ways to express just how attractive it is, first with the intensifier "very" ("muy"), and then with the superlative suffix "-ísimo." This participant, a Mexican native, had lived in Southeast Los Angeles for 25 years and shared that the language had an effect on her of feeling "at home" ("en casa"), evoking ideas of safety, comfort, and belonging to the community. She was not desensitized to language in the LL; on the contrary, it had an especially affective function for her.

2.5.1.2.4 SPANISH AS PROVIDING A SENSE OF COMFORT

Some individuals expressed a sense of comfort when Spanish is used in advertising. As participant HP5F_{MX}45 stated that she prefers for Spanish to be used because "así podemos preguntar y tener más confianza … para preguntar precios."[12] There is a feeling of trust and ease of mind when her native language is used in signage. She feels safe in making inquiries to store employees and understanding their responses. Participant HP5F_{MX}45 prefers 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, 1st pl.] preguntar" ("we [1st pl] can ask"), expressing that the use of Spanish in signage is helpful not only for her, but also for other individuals in the community.

Like participant HP5F_{MX}45, participant LW5M_{US}20 mentioned that the use of Spanish would attract him more than that of other languages. 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).[13] Participant LW5M_{US}20 also feels more at ease ("sentirse a

gusto") when Spanish is used. Even though he speaks English, he prefers for Spanish to be in the signage because it makes him feel more comfortable or relaxed.

Participant HP-J8F$_{MX}$50 shared similar sentiments and how, given the choice between a sign in English and one in Spanish, she would approach a store using Spanish so she would feel more comfortable since she doesn't speak much English:

> Yo no hablo mucho inglés… entonces si yo veo un letrero en inglés, y veo uno … yo … en español … pues voy a irme a donde esté en español para sentirme más cómoda … porque digo "¿y si me meto y no sé preguntarle al señor?" ¿Verdad? que qué quiero o si me da el precio y no le entiendo … .[14]

She gives an example of an uncomfortable situation in which she is not able to speak or understand English upon entering a store with English advertising. Later in the interview, she also shared feelings of discomfort in describing her reactions to signage in languages she doesn't speak: "Imagínate, mija, si no hablo inglés, imagínate si veo algo en chino, por ejemplo, ¿verdad? o en otra lengua. Me quiero desmayar porque no sé ni qué me está diciendo. Mhm, no entiendo."[15] A lack of linguistic access provokes a strong physical reaction in this participant who states that she feels like fainting when she sees signage in which Spanish is not used. While this speaker is likely not being literal, she is describing her strong emotional reaction to languages other than Spanish.

These qualitative data points show that using Spanish in the public space provides a sense of security and fosters the emotional well-being—and sometimes even physical well-being—of individuals who are many times already in minoritized positions. Because language justice entails the use of the language in which one feels most comfortable, in order to move toward a linguistically and socially just situation for Southeast Los Angeles residents, it is essential for Spanish to be used in the linguistic landscape.

2.5.1.3 How Much Spanish Are People Hoping to See in the Linguistic Landscape?

To get an idea of individuals' desires in relation to the prominence of English and Spanish in the LL, informants were read 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

Table 2.1 Interview Question Regarding Language Dominance

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.
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.

with." Participants selected from the subsequent responses along a five-point Likert scale as seen in Table 2.1.[16]

The general response was overwhelmingly the third option: "Spanish and English should be equally prominent in the signs"; 26 of the 32 (81.25 percent) participants selected this response. One informant (3.1%) did not provide an answer. Of the remaining informants, 3 (9.4 percent) preferred for English to always dominate over Spanish and 2 (6.25 percent) for English to generally be more prominent than Spanish in the LL. Not one person expressed a desire for Spanish to dominate over English, despite the fact that most recognized the importance of Spanish in their community.

When participants who selected the third option (equal prominence of Spanish and English) were asked to elaborate on their response, many reiterated the fact that Southeast Los Angeles is a Latinx area and that the use of Spanish was necessary for comprehension, a common theme discussed above. Other interviewees referred to the national context and the English language's societal power in their response. Even when informants contrasted between the large presence of "Latinxs" (versus "americanxs") and discussed the vast presence of spoken Spanish versus English, not a single person believed this was reason enough to say that Spanish should be a majority language in the area's linguistic landscape.

While more than 80 percent of interviewees desired for Spanish to be just as prominent as English in the LL, some individuals did not share the same opinion. Three preferred for English to always be more prominent than Spanish in signage, and two preferred for English to generally be more prominent. These informants were of a variety of ages (in their 20s, 30s, and 40s), from different countries (Mexico, Honduras, and the US), and were interviewed in different cities. Only one of these

five interviewees identified as female and the other four as males. The reasoning in their responses largely referred to the national context, the United States, prioritizing ideas related to the country over the local area. Some of the responses suggested confusion on the part of the participants. For instance, as a response to another question, informant $LW8M_H21$ said that in signs he would allocate 70 percent to Spanish and 30 percent to English, but later he stated the opposite idea, that English should generally dominate over Spanish.

2.5.2 Quantitative Results

In this section, we will answer the following question: How much Spanish appears in the linguistic landscape of Southeast Los Angeles? We will first review quantitative results for monolingual signs, then for multilingual signs, and finally at the corpus level as a whole. As discussed above, data collection yielded a total of 4,664 images. A great majority of signs were written using a single language (80.9 percent, n = 3,772), and only around a fifth of the total corpus contained more than one language (19.1 percent, n = 892).

2.5.2.1 Monolingual Subcorpus

Regarding preferred code of the monolingual Southeast Los Angeles LL, signs elaborated in English (71.5 percent, n = 2,697) greatly outnumbered those in Spanish. Monolingual Spanish signage formed a mere quarter of this corpus, approximately (28.2 percent, n = 1,064). As expected, other languages were rarely found to be the sole language of signage (0.3 percent, n = 11); these included Italian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and French. Results can be seen under the second column, "Monolingual," of Table 2.2, which shares percentages of the preferred code (English, Spanish, or another language) by corpus (the monolingual corpus, the multilingual corpus, or the entire corpus). Figure 2.2 provides a visual comparison of these descriptive statistics in which monolingual English signs outnumber Spanish signs at nearly a 4:1 rate.

Table 2.2 Preferred Code of Signs by Corpus

Language	*Corpus*		
	Monolingual	*Multilingual*	*All/Total*
English	71.5% (2,697)	52.9% (472)	68.0% (3,169)
Spanish	28.2% (1,064)	45.5% (406)	31.5% (1,470)
Other	0.3% (11)	1.6% (14)	0.5% (25)

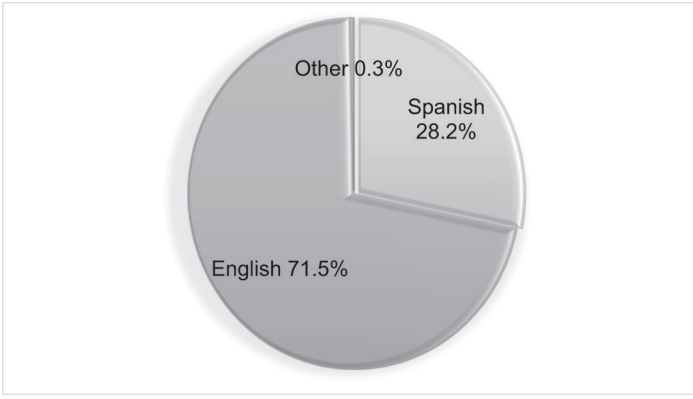

Figure 2.2 Preferred Code of Monolingual Signs.

2.5.2.2 Multilingual Sub-corpus

The preference for monolingualism was repeated in the main sections of the multilingual corpus: when an entire sign had more than one language, the main section tended to be expressed using a single language at a rate of 61.2 percent (n = 546), whereas the main section contained more than one language 38.8 percent of the time (n = 346). Here we will consider the preferred code of the main sections of the total multilingual corpus (n = 892), regardless of their status as monolingual or multilingual.

Unlike the first analyzed corpus, the difference between Spanish and English wasn't as striking in signs containing more than one language. English was the preferred code at a frequency of 52.9 percent (n = 472), whereas Spanish dominated 45.5 percent of the time (n = 406). Languages other than Spanish and English were slightly more common in multilingual signage than in monolingual signage but were still found at quite a low rate (1.6 percent, n = 14). These included French, Italian, Indonesian, Korean, and Chinese. Results coincided with those of Franco Rodríguez's (2008) analysis of multilingual signs, in which "the most prominent part of the text was primarily in English or bilingual" (Franco Rodríguez 2018: 72).[17] Results are provided under the third column, "Multilingual," of Table 2.2, and can be seen in the pie chart of Figure 2.3.

2.5.2.3 Entire Corpus

In considering the corpus as a whole (n = 4,664), without distinguishing between mono- and multilingual signs, we see that English was the

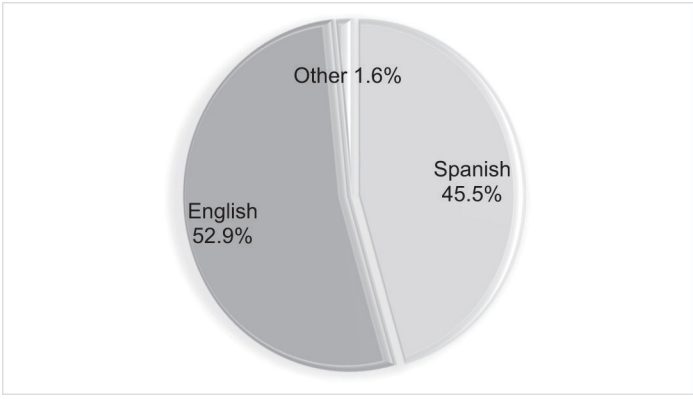

Figure 2.3 Preferred Code of Multilingual Signs.

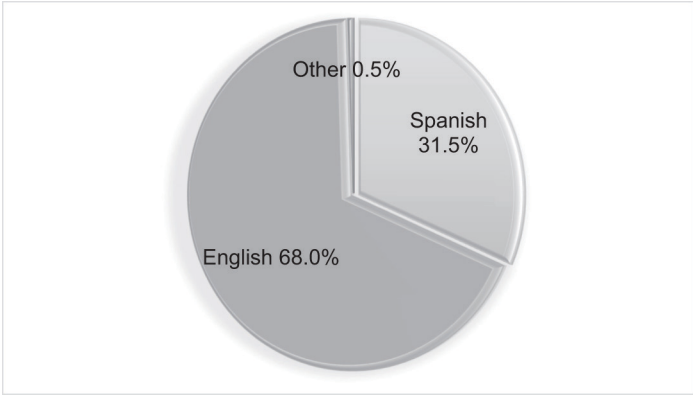

Figure 2.4 Preferred Code of All Signs.

preferred code of more than two-thirds of signage (68.0 percent, n = 3,169), as depicted in Figure 2.4 and listed under the fourth column, "All/Total," of Table 2.2. Spanish, on the other hand, occurred in a dominant position less than a third of the time (31.5 percent, n = 1,470), despite the fact that it was the most commonly spoken language of the community by a considerable margin. Other languages besides Spanish and English formed less than 1 percent of the corpus (0.5 percent, n = 25), which was unsurprising due to the local population demographics.

2.6 Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter provided an overview of the importance of Spanish for Latinx community members in Southeast Los Angeles, examining whether their desired appearance of the language in the LL aligned with the actual presence of Spanish in signage. The qualitative corpus consisting of 32 semi-directed interviews with Latinx individuals showed that Spanish is considered the most useful language for communication in the area and that not using the language poses a risk for confusion. Beyond pragmatic purposes, we also examined the important link between affect and language for individuals, showing that Spanish is a marker of Latinx identity in Southeast Los Angeles: its use—or lack of use—in signage can affect individuals' sense of belonging and solidarity with their community. In one case, we saw that not using Spanish was considered a cowardly or even traitorous act. On the other hand, using Spanish evoked a sense of comfort and security for many. Although Southeast Los Angeles is largely a Spanish-speaking area with a significant number of individuals that do not speak English, not a single informant expressed a desire for Spanish to dominate in the LL. Instead, most participants agreed that English and Spanish should be equally prominent in signage.

To understand the amount of Spanish that appeared and predominated in the LL, code preferences of a quantitative corpus consisting of 4,664 linguistic landscape texts were reviewed. There was a clear domination of English in the monolingual corpus (71.5 percent). In the multilingual corpus, English was the preferred code of 52.9 percent of signs. Overall, at the corpus level, English was the majority language in 68 percent of signs.

2.6.1 Signs of Language Justice in the Southeast Los Angeles Linguistic Landscape? Challenges and Applications

As previously discussed, language justice entails the right to understand and be understood, as well as to use the language in which one feels most comfortable (Antena 2014). Regarding the right to communicate, we saw that over a fifth of residents do not speak English well or at all (U.S. Census Bureau 2015b). In considering the situation of language justice in the Southeast Los Angeles LL, we also saw that participants' desired language appearance, as touched upon in the qualitative corpus, does not align with the actual language appearance reviewed in the quantitative corpus. Therefore, there is a lack of linguistic and psychosocial accessibility in Southeast Los Angeles' LL due to the predominance of English over Spanish. This disparity can have severe consequences. As Landry and Bourhis (1997) state:

> Absence of the in-group language from the linguistic landscape can lead group members to devalue the strength of their own language community, weaken their resolve to transmit the in-group language to the next generations, and sap their collective will to survive as a positively distinctive ethnolinguistics group.
>
> (Landry & Bourhis 1997: 28)

Considering that Spanish and other minority and minoritized languages are commonly lost by the third generation in the US (Fishman 1972, 1980), this means that the dearth of Spanish in the LL has serious implications, not only for current community members, but also for future generations to come. And if this is the case in a place like Los Angeles, in a state like California and for a language with a high number of speakers like Spanish, imagine what the situation could be like for other languages in other places.[18]

In addressing the question of what language justice does (or doesn't) look like in the linguistic landscape, this chapter has focused on sharing results from a study regarding the *presence* and *placement* of Spanish in the LL. However, there are several other, equally important factors that are necessary to make the public space more just or egalitarian in terms of its displayed language. In this section, I will discuss sociolinguistic applications toward language justice and strategies in which linguists, educators, and governmental institutions can engage, in order to achieve higher rates of linguistic and psychosocial accessibility in our communities as related to signage.[19]

Who is responsible for enacting change in the LL? The short answer is that everyone can contribute to making the public space a more accessible, just environment. Modification to the LL could happen at a grassroots level, at the local administrative level, or from a larger state level, but ideally both top-down and bottom-up methods need to be utilized to adequately effect social change. Regardless of methods, the local community should be involved in this decision, as one of the most important goals of social justice is to foster agency for social change (Charity Hudley 2013: 2). Ultimately, the responsibility lies on the dominant group.

Wolfram (1993) describes giving back as a linguist's responsibility, coining the *principle of linguistic gratuity*: "[i]nvestigators who have obtained linguistic data from members of a speech community should actively pursue positive ways in which they can return linguistic favors to the community" (227).[20] Likewise, Charity (2008) maintains that linguists are uniquely positioned to engage in social change efforts, and that sociolinguists in particular "have an intimate knowledge of speakers and of variations within and across languages, and they examine closely the nuances and social correlates of languages and dialects" (Charity 2008: 930).[21]

One strategy to increase the presence of minoritized languages in the LL is for educators to work with their students to generate and/or translate signage. Early in the COVID-19 pandemic, we saw how language barriers disproportionately affected certain linguistic communities' access to medical knowledge and resources. Collaborating with local nonprofit organizations in the Bay Area, I provided my students with the option to volunteer their time and linguistic skills to aid disadvantaged communities. Students created Spanish translations of COVID-related signage regarding safety techniques, food security, financial relief, and domestic abuse resources that were both physically and virtually posted.

Beyond the quantity of Spanish in the LL, it is also necessary to reflect on the presence of multilingual signs and translations in the LL. *How much* is translated and *what* gets translated can connote ideas of societal inclusion and exclusion of local minority and minoritized groups. There were several examples in the study's corpus of partial translations or fragmentary multilingualism (Reh 2004). For example, in Figure 2.5, we see that the content of the displayed language of a movie theater is not the same in Spanish as it is in English. Whereas in both English and Spanish, the sign

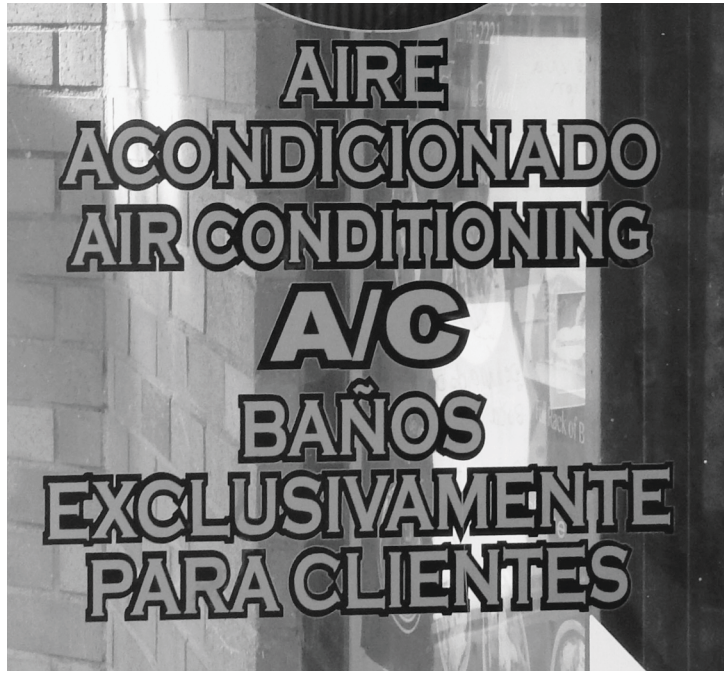

Figure 2.5 Sign with Incomplete Translation (Author photo).

welcomes individuals to come inside to enjoy an air-conditioned environment, its prohibitory measures are only provided in Spanish (bathrooms exclusively for clientele).

Furthermore, we need to consider the domains or physical locations of signage in Spanish. If there is a significant amount of Spanish signs, but all of those signs appear in restaurants, this sends a message to the community about where Spanish does or does not "belong." Therefore, it is crucial for Spanish, or any other language in which there is a critical mass of population within a community, to be present in different types and levels of businesses and establishments: personal, commercial, and governmental. As this study's results demonstrated, multilingual signage can be used as a strategy for linguistic solidarity and belonging, and a tool for linguistic equity and inclusion.

Some might think that using more than one language in the LL could distract drivers and potentially be dangerous. However, a large-scale study on bilingual Gaelic-English road signs and road safety in Scotland revealed "no evidence that, overall, accidents increased or decreased as a result of bilingual sign installation" (Kinnear et al. 2012: x).

In addition to the presence or quantity of minority and minoritized languages in signage, it is important to consider their quality. Signs should be comprehensible and not simply machine generated through sites such as Google Translate. In Figure 2.6, a sign included in the 2016 Antena performance *Taco Two Time / El taco doble cara*, we see a literal translation of English into Spanish. The words "turn" and "off" were translated independently, losing their quality as an English phrasal verb. Relatedly, the translation of "showers" refers to rain showers rather than bathing. This translation, likely word for word or machine generated, renders the Spanish entirely unintelligible, the English equivalent being something similar to "Please (a) return far away downpours when you are made."

For this reason, it is imperative to think about who creates signage. Trained translators and native speakers should be included as sign authors, whenever possible, to ensure translation precision. This is not to say that the language used in the LL must reflect "standard" Spanish (or globally mainstream varieties of Spanish), as representation of the local community's way(s) of speaking in signage is also important. In Los Angeles, for example, the vernacular tends to approximate rural varieties of Mexican Spanish and is referred to as "Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish" or LAVS (Parodi 2003, 2009, 2011; Raymond 2012a, 2012b). Signage using this variety would be the most useful and accessible for community members.

In addition to translations on the word and sentence level, it is essential that conventions for accent marks, diacritics (e.g., those on <ü> and <ñ>), and capitalization are followed in government signage for reasons

Figure 2.6 Sign from Antena's Performance, "Taco Two Time / El taco doble cara" (Antena 2016).

of identity, but also because they are necessary for accurate communication.[22] In Spanish, an accent mark can change the meaning of the word.[23] Government signs in Spanish and other minoritized and minority languages deserve the same rigorous proofreading processes that English signs undergo.

Furthermore, inclusion in the LL needs to go beyond its linguistic form to also involve local minority or minoritized cultures. As Antena notes, we should strive to incorporate "cultural references and customs from each cultural group" (Antena 2014: 6). One way of facilitating this is to involve (and of course compensate) native speakers in the sign-authoring process. Another way to ensure cultural inclusion is to create original materials in Spanish, rather than simply translating content from English into Spanish. After all, "translating only materials from a dominant to a non-dominant language risks sending a message that only things written in dominant languages might be of value" (Antena 2014: 4).

In order to share the necessity of including minoritized languages in the public space and to increase and maintain public engagement, it's important academics publish and discuss research in non-academic venues,

in addition to academic ones. Kathryn Remlinger, for instance, shared her Michigan LL research with the public through a meeting with her local Historical Society (Holland Sentinel 2019). There are also various forms of media we can take advantage of to share research, including blogs, podcasts, YouTube videos, and radio or television interviews (see Carter 2018).

In addition to publications in different forms of media, scholars need to communicate with their local administrative units. For example, Robert Troyer and Devin Grammon gave in-person presentations about Spanish in the LL to the Monmouth-Independence Chamber of Commerce and city council, respectively (Gabriel 2020; R. A. Troyer, personal communication, July 13, 2020). Some scholars have helped shape the LL of their own university communities. In 2018, Robert Troyer invited the Dean of the College of Education to one of the meetings for his course on language in place at Western Oregon University. They discussed the importance of multilingual signage, and the following year they were able to get more multilingual signs installed on campus.

Another endeavor in Oregon aimed to address linguistic injustices on campus using a bottom-up approach, as opposed to a top-down approach such as working with administration. A group composed of graduate and undergraduate students as well as non-degree seeking individuals analyzed different forms of implicit and explicit linguistic discrimination on campus, including language used in the LL. The group published an illustrated "zine" that highlighted cases of discrimination on campus in classrooms and places of work as well as resources for addressing such instances; the zine was distributed across campus (Sarkozi-Forfinski 2019). Administrators later contacted the group to work with them in addressing these issues. This grassroots approach shows that LL activism can also take place on a small scale in the form of conversations with friends, family, and colleagues about the locally spoken languages and whether or not they appear in signage (and why).

Finally, educators are also able to promote language justice in the LL by highlighting local linguistic diversity and incorporating LL projects in their K–12 and higher education classrooms. Such projects are easily included in various courses—from language and linguistics classrooms to anthropology and geography classrooms.[24] These are just some of the ways we can rethink academic and non-academic dissemination of research, as related to the LL or otherwise.[25]

It is important to note that there isn't a "one size fits all" method for addressing power inequities and advancing language justice. As Antena cautions, "no one technique in and of itself will create a functional multilingual space where a variety of languages is able to coexist on equal footing"

(Antena 2014: 4). It is crucial to be flexible and creative in working with community members to understand the techniques that are most useful in particular areas during particular moments. As is the case with other forms of social justice, correcting linguistic injustices isn't something that will happen overnight, but through consistent work we can make significant improvements.

At the time of writing this chapter, we are in the midst of a civil rights movement and global pandemic and, as Hopkyns and van den Hoven (2021) note, "In times of crisis, the importance of linguistic inclusion multiplies as lives are at risk if communication barriers exist" (3). Small, concrete actions, when applied consistently, help to advance social equity. These, coupled with large-scale actions such as the strategies discussed in this chapter, need to be applied to enhance the quantity and quality of minority and minoritized language use in the public space in order to advance language justice and social equity.

Notes

1 See Carr (2019) for a general overview of Linguistic Landscape Studies, which is organized both by contribution type (books, articles, conferences, conference presentations, and dissertations) and topic (e.g., origins, methodologies, and theoretical approaches).
2 A minority language has less speakers in a given community than the dominant variety, and a minoritized language is one with less social status or power. For example, Spanish-speakers are commonly a minoritized population in parts of Los Angeles, but not necessarily a minority.
3 In my work, I use the term "Latinx" as opposed to "Latina and Latino" as a way of honoring all genders, following others who see the term as a means to "escape the implicit gender binary … and include all possible gender and sexual identities" (Logue 2015). While the term's exact origin is unknown, some claim it was first used in the 1990s or early 2000s in online forums of the queer community (Milian 2017; Rivas 2017; Scharrón-del Río & Aja 2020; Vidal-Ortiz & Martínez 2018). Nonetheless, in translations I will use a direct translation, leaving terms as-is.
4 For a detailed analysis of the differentiation of the main and informative sections, as well as code preference, see Carr (2021).
5 CIRCULAR, a collaboration between language advocates and oral historians Fernanda Espinosa and Allison Corbett, compiled and published the Language Justice Groups Directory for Hudson Valley Farm Hub's Language Justice Program as part of their Collectivizing Language Justice Project (CIRCULAR n.d.).
6 See also Hughes and Mamiseishvili (2018).
7 See Amos and Soukup (2020), Carr (2021), and Soukup (2016) for the importance of using an exhaustive approach.

8 Each participant was given a reference code indicating the city in which they were interviewed, the order in which they were interviewed, their gender, place of origin, and age.
9 "In Spanish because if they put them in … myself for example, if I see something in English, even if it looks interesting, I am not going to go towards that sign because I won't know what it says."
10 "There's a sign that says "no credit necessary." (Uh huh.) … (People) read it, but they don't understand. They say "here it says that they don't give credit." You see? The opposite of what we're saying. And that's not okay … They say "ay, they don't want to give credit here, they say no." And it's the opposite. We have a sign that says clearance sale and they come in and say that we're going to close the store."
11 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*?
12 "Because that way we can ask and feel more comfortable … in asking about the prices."
13 "Uhhh, well, Spanish is my first language, Spanish, and my second language is English so well, I feel more comfortable."
14 "I don't speak much English … so if I see a sign in English, and I see one … I … in Spanish … well, I'm going to go wherever Spanish is used to feel more comfortable … because I think, 'what if I go inside and I don't know how to ask the man … about what I want or if he tells me the price and I don't understand him?' "
15 "Imagine, *mija*, if I don't even speak English, just imagine if I see something in Chinese, for example, right? Or in another language. I'm going to pass out because I don't even know what he's saying to me. Mhm, I don't understand."
16 It is possible that the order of options had an effect on participant selections; however, in a pilot study, there were several negative reactions to reversing the scale, so this less marked order was used.
17 The dominant language or preferred code of bilingual sections was not identified in Franco Rodríguez (2008).
18 See studies in Abu Dhabi (Hopkyns & van den Hoven 2021), Israel (Schuster 2012; 2013; Schuster et al. 2017), Japan (Tan & Ben Said 2015), Lira Town, Uganda (Reh 2004), London (Zhu 2020), Sydney (Grey 2020), and Taiwan (Chen 2020).
19 Community organizations have already been doing "the work"—translating, interpretating, developing guides, workshops, and trainings—and academia has learned a great deal from them. Therefore, in this section, I prioritize strategies for other individuals and institutions.
20 See also Cameron and colleagues' (1993, 2018) studies and Rickford's (1997) concept of *service in return* which encourages scholars to work with communities they study, either by utilizing their training (mentoring and hiring Linguists of Color and investigating better ways to teach and learn), or in other ways (tutoring, feeding, volunteering manual labor or to help write grants) (Rickford's 1997: 182).

21 Relatedly, Zentella (1996) calls for an "anthropolitical linguistics," which she describes as the urgent need "to understand and facilitate a stigmatized group's attempts to construct a positive self within an economic and political context that relegates its members to static and disparaged ethnic, racial, and class identities, and that identifies them with static and disparaged linguistic codes" (13).
22 See the #PonleAcento campaign, created in 2015 by LatinWorks, which inspired baseball players and eventually those of other professional sports and even Hollywood actors to demand correct use of accent marks in their names (Blitzer 2016).
23 For example, <inglés> means "English," but <ingles> means groin.
24 See Malinowski (2015) for an example of incorporating the LL into a university course on the East Asian languages Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. Also see Burwell and Lenters (2015) for a student-led LL project at the high school level. Finally, Dagenais and colleagues (2008), in their study of language classroom activities in elementary school, argue that the LL is a useful tool for promoting language awareness.
25 My thanks to Rob Troyer for our conversation about this topic, which influenced this section.

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