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EMOTIONAL RESPONSES TO THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE IN MEMPHIS,
TENNESSEE: VISUAL PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC SPACES IN TRANSITION

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Rebecca Todd Garvin

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

May 2011

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Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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This qualitative ethnographic Linguistic Landscape (LL) study collected and analyzed ten individual ‘walking tour’ interviews with residents of Memphis, Tennessee, exploring the personal thoughts and feelings about linguistic changes in the communities triggered by the LL. The researcher focused the participants’ attention on multilingualism present on public signage and the emotional affects of the LL at the moment of seeing. The interviews were conducted in 2007 and 2008 and a follow-up was done in 2009.

Multilingual and foreign language signs at the sites selected for the ‘walking tour’ interviews were photographed and analyzed prior to the interviews. The interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed for analysis. This interactional sociolinguistic study examined the self-reported statements and discursive processes of the interaction and meaning making during the onsite interviews which were stimulated by focused attention and reference to the LL. Explicit statements were coded and tracked according to source of stimulation and then categorized for emotional or referential content. Responses and discourses were then categorized and examined within the discursive contexts of self-positioning and identity marking, empathy movements, and co-constructions of meanings. Contextualized meanings were discussed for each individual interview.

The results showed Memphis in transition as evidenced by the LL which was never a neutral text but triggered a complex range of individual emotional responses.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1	<p>CONTEXTUALIZING THE STUDY1</p> <p>Introduction.....1</p> <p>Memphis in Transition: Se Habla Espanol?.....3</p> <p>“Say Hello to Our Hispanic Future”4</p> <p>Purpose of the Study5</p> <p>Two Aims of the Study6</p> <p>Framing the Study: A Critical Postmodern LL Approach7</p> <p>Postmodern Context.....8</p> <p>Linguistic Landscape Approach10</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Inscriptions of Voice in the LL12</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A Dynamic-Internal Focus.....14</p> <p>Significance of the Study14</p> <p>Research Questions19</p> <p>Summary and Preview20</p>
2	<p>REVIEW OF LITERATURE21</p> <p>Introduction.....21</p> <p>Part I: Migration in the 21st Century23</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Postmodern Times, Place and Space23</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Place and Space.....24</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Globalization.....26</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Transnationalism.....27</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Migration Experiences28</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Translation30</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Migrant Models of Identity33</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Language and Identity.....34</p> <p>Part II: Role of Public Literacy and Linguistic Landscape Studies34</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Public Literacy34</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Linguistic Landscape Defined36</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Brief History of LL Study36</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Connective Aspects of the LL.....38</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Reflective Nature of the LL38</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Dynamic Forces of the LL39</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Published LL Studies from 1997-200940</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Principles of LL Studies.....46</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">New Directions in LL Studies.....47</p> <p>Summary47</p>
3	<p>THE POSTMODERN ‘WALKING TOUR’49</p>

	Introduction.....	49
	Theoretical Framework for Methodology.....	52
	Qualitative.....	53
	Ethnographic.....	53
	Role of the Researcher.....	54
	Ethical Considerations.....	55
	Sociolinguistic Interviewing.....	56
	Postmodern Interviewing.....	57
	Discursive Psychology and Positioning.....	58
	Subjectivity in Postmodern Interviewing.....	59
	Linguistic Landscape as Text and Tool.....	60
	A Theory of Space in the ‘Walking Tour’ Interview.....	63
	Interactional Interview Methodology.....	65
	Summary.....	67
4	MEMPHIS, THE SITE.....	68
	Introduction.....	68
	History, Geography, Trade and Migration in Memphis.....	69
	Memphis Today.....	72
	The ‘walking tour’ Sites in Memphis.....	75
	A Visual Tour of the ‘walking tour’ Street Sites.....	77
	LL on Lamar Avenue.....	77
	LL on Getwell Road.....	79
	LL on Winchester Road.....	81
	LL on Summer Avenue.....	86
5	METHOD OF THE ‘WALKING TOUR’ INTERVIEW.....	88
	The ‘walking tour’ Interviews in Memphis.....	88
	Selection of Participants.....	89
	Data Collection and Analysis.....	91
	Types of Data.....	91
	Data Collection Instruments.....	91
	Data Collection Procedure.....	91
	Procedure of ‘walking tours’ and Interview Questions.....	92
	Stages of Data Collection and Analysis.....	93
	Steps and Levels of Analysis of Interview Texts.....	97
	Step One.....	97
	Step Two.....	97
	Step Three.....	98
	Step Four.....	99
	Summary: Filling in the Gap.....	100
6	RESULTS OF INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS.....	103

Overview	103
Restatement of Research and Interview Questions	104
Categorization, Coding, Organization, and Representation	104
Results of Individual Interviews	108
Participant 1	108
Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements	108
Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content	111
Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	112
Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings	114
Summary of Results for Participant 1	117
Participant 2	118
Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements	118
Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content	122
Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	124
Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings	126
Summary of Results for Participant 2	128
Participant 3	128
Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements	129
Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content	133
Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	134
Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings	136
Summary of Results for Participant 3	138
Participant 4	138
Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements	138
Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content	142
Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	143
Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings	145
Summary of Results for Participant 4	147
Participant 5	147
Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements	147
Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content	152
Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	153
Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings	155
Summary of Results for Participant 5	158
Participant 6	158
Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements	159
Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content	164
Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	165
Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings	167
Summary of Results for Participant 6	169
Participant 7	170
Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements	170
Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content	176
Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	177
Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings	180
Summary of Results for Participant 7	181

	Participant 8	182
	Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements...182	
	Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content..185	
	Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	186
	Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings.....188	
	Summary of Results for Participant 8.....190	
	Participant 9	190
	Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements...190	
	Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content..195	
	Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	196
	Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings.....197	
	Summary of Results for Participant 9.....199	
	Participant 10	199
	Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements...200	
	Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content..206	
	Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	207
	Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings.....209	
	Summary of Results for Participant 10.....211	
	Summary of Individual Interviews	211
	Summary	214
7	OVERALL RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	216
	Synthesis of Results	216
	Role and Relationship of the LL.....218	
	Discussion of Results in Levels I and II	219
	Cognitive and Emotional Responses to the LL.....219	
	Categories of Noticing	221
	Discussion of Results in Level III.....225	
	Dynamic Interactions in the LL	225
	Self-Positioning and Identity Markers	227
	Co-Constructed Meanings	231
	Contextualizing Meanings from a ‘Walking Tour’ Interview	232
	Principles for Readership of the LL.....233	
	Summary	235
8	CONCLUSIONS.....	237
	Opening Remarks.....	237
	Contributions of the Study	238
	LL Research	238
	Sociolinguistic Interview Methodology.....	239
	The Postmodern ‘Walking Tour’	240
	A Methodology of Third Space	240
	An Intercultural Mediation Space.....	241
	An Educational Tool	241

Limitations of the Study.....	242
Implications for Action and Research.....	242
Final Comments	244
REFERENCES	246
APPENDICES	271
Appendix A – Signs of Memphis Flyer	271
Appendix B – Informed Consent Form 1	272
Appendix C – Informed Consent Form 2	273
Appendix D – Photo of the Cambodian Temple Sign	274

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Published Linguistic Landscape Studies from 1997-2009.....	41
2 Description of Languages on Commercial Place Name Signs on ‘walking tour’ Streets.....	76
3 Participants with Number Indicating Order of the Interview	90
4 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 1	108
5 Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 1	111
6 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 2.....	118
7 Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 2	123
8 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 3.....	129
9 Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 3	133
10 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 4.....	139
11 Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 4	142
12 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 5.....	148
13 Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 5	152
14 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 6.....	159
15 Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 6	164
16 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 7.....	171
17 Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 7	176
18 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 8.....	182
19 Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 8	185
20 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 9.....	191
21 Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 9	195
22 Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 10.....	200

23	Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 10	206
24	Table of Individual Perceptions of the LL in Memphis.....	213
25	Summary and Results of Level I and II Analysis of Responses	219
26	Categories of Noticing	222
27	Table of Results of Level III Analysis of Dynamic Interactions	226
28	Summary of Results of Positioning and Identity Triggered by the LL	228

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
1 Photo of billboard visible from I-240 Interstate by-pass in Memphis	73
2 Photo of billboard advertising <i>La Prensa</i> bilingual newspaper visible from I-240 by-pass.....	73
3 Photo of Billboard with Dalai Lama on Cleveland Ave. in Mid-town Memphis..	74
4 Photo of signs marking Vietnamese shopping area in Mid-town Memphis	74
5 Map of ‘walking tour’ street sites in Memphis	75
6 Sign indicating three different ethnic groups.....	77
7 Sign on Lamar Avenue targeting English and Spanish-speaking customers.....	77
8 Sign advertising Chinese restaurant with large English letters and smaller Chinese characters significantly placed at the top of the sign.	77
9 Photo of sign with AAVE on Lamar Avenue.	78
10 Photo of sign on Lamar Avenue targeting Spanish-speaking customers.....	78
11 Photo of sign communicating local residents’ concerns about crime in the neighborhood.	78
12 Photo of Spanish-only sign on Getwell Road near beginning of the tour	79
13 Photo of advertisement placed in a store window on Getwell Road	79
14 Photo of local family market now also targeting Spanish-speaking customers.....	79
15 Photo of apartment complex on Getwell Road targeting Hispanic renters.....	80
16 Photo of Local franchised Appliance Store with message in Spanish— <i>Washers and dryers for your home</i>	80
17 Photo of red-trimmed houses on Getwell Road with color-coded literacy.....	80
18 Photo of red-trimmed houses on Getwell Road with color-coded literacy.....	80

19	Photo of red-trimmed house on Getwell Road with color-coded literacy.....	80
20	Photo of Spanish-only sign for <i>Church of Christ</i> where <i>all are welcome</i>	81
21	Photo of Mediterranean restaurant with modernized Arabic script.	81
22	Photo of Chinese restaurant on Winchester Road with Chinese characters written as a literal translation of New China (<i>xin zhong guo</i>), re-creating home place.....	81
23	Photo of Spanish-only sign for Esmeralda supermarket and food store	82
24	Photo of migrant cityscaping with Spanish-only language and iconic visual literacies.	82
25	Photo of Vietnamese Buddhist Temple sign photographed in October, 2007	83
26	Photo of Buddhist flag at Vietnamese Temple site.....	83
27	Photo of Buddhist Goddess statue at Vietnamese Temple.	83
28	Photo of mixing of codes and multiliteracies at Temple site.....	84
29	Photo of advertising in Spanish-only, a religious music and bookstore on Winchester	84
30	Photo of Statue of Liberation at the World Overcomers Church on Winchester. .	84
31	Photo of an international market across from World Overcomers Church statue.	85
32	Photo of signs with multiple languages (Left—Korean, Chinese; R—Spanish and Vietnamese) on Farmer’s Market on Winchester	85
33	Photo of signs with multiple languages (Left—Korean, Chinese; R—Spanish and Vietnamese) on Farmer’s Market on Winchester	85
34	Photo of local night club targeting the Spanish-speaking gay community.....	85
35	Photo of Arabic market, bakery, and restaurant on Summer Avenue.	86
36	Photo of mixed codes and literacies on Japanese restaurant sign on Summer Avenue.	86
37	Photo of bakery recreating former place with name of Mexican city.....	86

38	Photo of advertisement for services targeting Central American immigrant residents	87
39	Photo of billboard located on Summer Avenue near I-40 Interstate entrance and exit.....	87
40	Dynamic interactive model of analysis of interview with a stimulus text.....	96
41	Model of interactive relationship of LL and meaning constructions	218

CHAPTER 1: CONTEXTUALIZING THE STUDY

*The horizon leans forward,
Offering you space to place new steps of change.
-Maya Angelou (1993)*

Introduction

Since the early 1990s, transnational flows of humanity to the United States have increased migrant populations to unprecedented proportions. Based on numbers from the United Nations Population Division Report of 2005, Cronin (2006) stated that the number of migrants in the world had doubled during the period of 1975 to 2002. Projections indicated that the United States would be the “net receiver of international migrants” (p. 44). Embedded in the migratory experience, and perhaps, most vividly illuminating the greatest challenges of this phenomenon, are issues of language use, contact, choice, and change. New literacies, a myriad of multiple languages and discourses, are appearing on public signs across the U.S., subtly dotting or, in some instances, boldly marking public spaces that construct the *linguistic landscape*, defined in a seminal study by Landry and Bourhis (1997) as literally all language displayed on public signs. Based on recent demographic census reports, anticipating projected trends in international migration, and given the linguistic diversity of language groups now co-existing in American communities, it is no surprise that many urban areas throughout the U.S. are in transition, experiencing dramatic changes in language use (Cronin, 2006; U.S. Census Report, 2006; United Nations Population Division, 2005).

Responses to and understandings of this phenomenon are varied, sometimes, extreme, and often, deeply emotional. Local linguistic contestations have captured national attention and various sectors of society at local, state and national levels have responded through proposed legislation to control, contain, or enforce language use

through “English only” movements such as English First or US English (Crawford, 2000). Crawford (2002) stated that 23 states have declared English as the official language. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) asserted, "In the United States, in particular, the pressure toward linguistic assimilation is all the greater because the country has few other elements on which to ground a sense of national identity" (p. 114).

While some responses to linguistic changes appear to be motivated by apprehension, on the other hand, there are scholars and legislators strongly pushing an agenda for a more multiple language-proficient society, maintaining a positive view of multilingualism and its potential to expand opportunities for global interaction and the intellectual resources of individuals. Peyton, Carreira, Wang, and Wiley (2008) insisted that proficiency in languages other than English is “critical to U.S. security and economic success” (p. 173). Nationally, language debates are raging. Opposing discourses on immigration, bilingual education, national and individual language needs and rights are hotly contested. In many states, governmental and educational language policies are being drafted and promoted. Decisions made now could have linguistic consequences for many generations to come.

A basic premise of this study affirms that local voices are needed in this debate, voices with local knowledge and understandings with both migrant and long-term resident perspectives, individuals who are experiencing language change and linguistic contestations in their communities on a daily basis. Stuart Hall (1997) maintained, “It is when a discourse forgets that it is placed that it tries to speak for everybody else” (as cited by Canagarajah, 2005, p. 3). How do individuals understand language change in their communities? How do they respond to migrant languages? What new thoughts, both

positive and negative, are being provoked by these changes? How are individuals interacting in new multilingual spaces? With these questions in mind, this sociolinguistic ethnographic study looked closely at literacy on public signs in areas where multilingualism was relatively new and yet frequent. Within the context of an on-site interview, the study implemented a critical, discursive methodology designed to provide a systematic investigation into the thoughts and feelings understood by local residents, constructed through conversation while viewing linguistic changes on public signage in communities in the researcher's hometown of Memphis, Tennessee. By providing a contextually situated study of perceptions and responses to new migrant discourses and minority languages visible in the public sphere, this researcher's aim is to bring local voices into this debate. "Local knowledge is context-bound, community-specific, and nonsystematic because it is generated ground-up through social practice in everyday life" (Canagarajah, 2005, p. 4).

Memphis in Transition: Se Habla Espanol?

My hometown, geographically located in the extreme south-western corner of Tennessee, sits with a stubborn ease on the fourth Chickasaw Bluff which overlooks the Mississippi River. Incorporated in 1819, the city was named *Memphis* by former European colonists who likened it to Egypt's Memphis on the Nile. Historically, the state's name, *Tennessee*, comes from the Native American Cherokee language; however, its original meaning at this moment in time has evaporated from the books, minds and memories of anthropologists, historians, and linguists.

Today, for some, Memphis is primarily perceived as a racially divided southern city with a slavery-tainted past, a battleground in the long struggle for African-American

civil rights and the place where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated. For many others, Memphis is significant as the home of the National Civil Rights Museum. For dedicated rock and roll fans, Memphis is important as the location of Elvis Presley's Graceland. In the business world, Federal Express and Holiday Inn, two global corporations, were founded in and still maintain home offices in Memphis. Significant in the transportation industry, this city is recognized as the largest cargo hub in North America. However, for many local long-time residents, Memphis is defined by Carnival Memphis, barbecue cook-offs, rhythm and blues festivals, and crime. From its beginning, Memphis has a rich multicultural texture felt in its soulful music and in a multilingual history that has for the most part been subdued by the voice of English—until recently.

“Say Hello to Our Hispanic Future”

In the last five to ten years, the population of Memphis has experienced an exponential growth of Hispanic migrants. This trend reflects the current U.S. national migration trends which saw a 20% increase in Hispanic population in the last five years (Pew Hispanic Center in Washington, DC, as cited in Peck, 2007).

On May 6, 2007, in *The Commercial Appeal*, the largest circulated newspaper in Memphis, Chris Peck published an editorial titled “Say Hello to Our Hispanic Future.” He asserted that in time, Hispanic migration to the Memphis area and the fast growing birth rate among Hispanic mothers will “profoundly change the well-worn dynamic of Memphis being a black-and-white city and all that that entails” (Peck, May 6, 2007, p. V4, par. 6). According to Suro of the Pew Hispanic Center in Washington, D.C., Tennessee has one of the fastest-growing Hispanic populations in the country with Memphis' Hispanic population at more than 100,000 (as cited by Peck, May 6, 2007).

Although the most recent official government census reports, such as the American Community Survey Estimates of the US Census Bureau (2006), estimated the Hispanic population in the city of Memphis to be around 36,000 (4.7% out of the total population of 643,122), the numbers of legal and illegal Hispanic migrants are believed to be much higher, and nowhere is this more evident than in migrant languages now present on public signage, widely spread in communities throughout this urban area.

In 2007, a significant number of signs in Spanish—some simply inscribed by hand for small commercial businesses and others professionally printed billboards strategically located on busy streets and along the Interstate 240 by-pass—advertised a wide variety of goods, services, and even bilingual newspapers. Other minority languages also frequented public signs, creating new multilingual spaces, hinting at the diversity and variety of other language groups present in the area. Memphis remains a city in transition evidenced by a rapidly changing *linguistic landscape* (LL)—the public signs and linguistic artifacts marking public spaces. The story of this transition is clearly observable on public signs.

How are residents of Memphis reading and understanding the linguistic changes in their communities? How do they feel about these changes? What do residents think about multilingualism and the shift from a monolingual public identity to a more multilingual society? How do individuals construct and re-construct their own identities in these multilingual spaces?

Purpose of the Study

The overall purpose of this study was to explore and describe the individual, subjective understandings of the linguistic landscape within dynamic high migrant

mobility areas. In this document, the notion or concept of *linguistic landscape* in general will be spelled out without capitalization. Reference to the specific signage and public literacy in Memphis or the concrete phenomenon of actual signage will be referred to as the LL. This study responds to Gorter's (2006) call for more research that addresses psychological aspects of visual perceptions of the linguistic landscape and the need for more study of individual readership of the linguistic landscape in specific communities articulated by Huebner (2009) and Spolsky (2009).

To investigate perceptions, cognitive, and emotional understandings of multilingualism experienced in public places, the researcher, in the role of participant observer, conducted individual onsite 'walking tour' interviews with migrant and long terms residents living and working in selected communities in Memphis, Tennessee. Using the LL in Memphis as a text which embodied language contact, choice and change within the community, the researcher examined the stimulus affects of multilingual literacy on signage in the public sphere and how this mediated individual understandings. Within the context of an interview conducted while viewing the LL, the researcher and participant negotiated emotional understandings and perceptions of self, personal positioning, place, and space. This study considered how the LL contributed to a sense of belonging or identity construction in this particular place and also explored ways public literacy mediated cognitive understanding of how a particular public space works.

Two Aims of the Study

- A primary goal of this research was to collect and analyze emotional responses to the literacy phenomenon of *migrant cityscaping*, the marking of social ethnic spaces that reflect needs and identities of migrant populations (Garvin &

Hanauer, 2007). In particular, it focused on self-reported visual perceptions and emotional responses of residents constructed and expressed during onsite interviews in selected urban communities which were in transition, experiencing linguistic changes due to recent migration trends.

- Another important goal was to provide sociolinguistic interview methodology that shifts focus from static-external units of linguistic analysis to the internal, the dynamic-discursive processes of meaning-making and the intersubjective co-construction of knowledge based on postmodern interviewing methodology (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003).

Framing the Study: A Critical Postmodern LL Approach

Theoretical assumptions underpinning this study reflected a critical, postmodern, poststructuralist framework utilizing a linguistic landscape approach. To explore and situate the complexities of emotional responses to the LL and meaning-making processes of individuals reading and responding to this text, this study draws from Pennycook's (2001) critical applied linguistic perspective of language and literacy practices. This sociocultural perspective on language activity assumes that, as stated by Gebhard (1999), "the origin and structure of cognition are rooted in daily social and cultural practices in which an individual participates" (as cited in Pennycook, 2001, p. 144). Critical Applied Linguistic (CAL) research focuses on: language learners and users as people, the contexts of language activity, and/or the politics of language learning and use. Embedded in language practices are "social, cultural, and political relations ... tied up with questions of identity, subjectivity, and difference" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 143). The positions of speakers and the role of language as a semiotic system full of variations and struggles

were analyzed and contextualized in the process of interaction and reflecting at the moment of seeing.

Within a critical framework this study:

- Focuses on discursive processes of data collection and interview text production;
- Engages in self-reflexivity that constantly questions researcher's own role, assumptions, and interpretations;
- Looks at local language usage in its historical, political, cultural, and social contexts;
- Employs discourse analysis that questions social inequities;
- And, draws from a wide range of disciplines utilizing a hybrid model of research and praxis.

Postmodern Context

Another dimension of this study's theoretical framework can be characterized as postmodern in that truth is viewed as primarily socially constructed and is verified through scientific, methodological, disciplined inquiry (Anderson, 1996). Concepts of presence, identity, historical progress, epistemic certainty, and universal meanings must be questioned and challenged. A radical group of scholars, emerging out of post-modernism, the poststructuralists, persistently question the objectivity of any "truth" or "real" knowledge and do not confine themselves to one discipline, but assume "a plurality of theoretical positions (e.g. Barthes, 1973; Derrida, 1982; Foucault, 1984; Kristeva, 1984)" (Baxter, 2003, p. 6). According to Baxter (2003), "Post-structuralism sees any act of knowledge generation, such a discourse analysis, as a 'textualising' practice in that no form of knowledge can be separated from the structures, conventions

and conceptuality of language as inscribed within discourses and texts” (p. 6). Therefore, multiple meanings and interpretations are discursively constructed and contested through language. Perhaps not as radical as some poststructuralists’ positions, this researcher accepts that there are discourse gaps in modern grand narratives that need to be exposed and addressed. Drawing from Baudrillard’s ideas on scientific objectivism, Pawlett (2007) stated, “Culture and language, norms and customs are not external truths but power relations acting on subject” (p. 3). However, in this study, I take a more affirmative or inclusivist postmodern stance in that postmodernism may be perceived in some ways a continuation of modern narratives which emphasize the essence of individual will, motives, and agency for self-actualization. To clarify my position, I reject a modernist standard of an “enlightened man” with universal values and beliefs, but understand the individual as both socially constituted by culture, languages, social networks, discourses and natural environment as well as constitutive in a particular social space or “habitus” (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990, 1993). The subject is conditioned by culture and the discourses in society, but has the ability to modify the narrative or discourse, to resist, refuse and defy social pressure and dominant ideology. Ideologically, the critical postmodern position of this researcher reflectively considers a conscious or unconscious level of tension between the individual will and the forces of society.

The position in this study also draws from Fairclough (2006), who asserted “narratives need to resonate with people’s experience of the world as it actually is” (p. 19). He supported this claim by citing Cameron and Palan (2004) who stated two provisos for the plausible narrative. First, “narratives are subject to ‘reality’ checks”; and secondly, “theories and perceptions must be considered important causal factors in the

changes that we witness” (as cited in Fairclough, 2006, p. 19). Narratives and changes in narratives are the effects of a complex relationship between a multiplicity of causes (Fairclough, 2006).

Research employing postmodern sensibilities (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003) view knowledge as collaboratively co-constructed through conversation. Utilizing an interactive approach to knowledge construction, traditional boundaries in the relationship between the researcher and the participants are blurred as narratives are constructed, challenged, shaped, seconded and contested in interaction. Roles are less clear—and sometimes exchanged—to promote opportunities for “understanding the shape and evolution of selves and experience” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003, p. 3).

In addition to a critical and postmodern framework, this study employed a linguistic landscape approach. To understand the phenomenon of situated language use, contact, choice, and change in communities experiencing a high frequency of migration, the LL provided a unique window, an authentic text documenting actual language use in the community as well as a tool in the form of a stimulus text for sociolinguistic interview inquiry.

Linguistic Landscape Approach

A recent trend in sociolinguistic research—focus on the *linguistic landscape* as the study of written language in the public sphere—is gaining momentum as an effective means of research for uncovering and understanding social realities. As mentioned previously, Landry and Bourhis (1997) defined the notion of linguistic landscape as linguistic objects that mark public space in a given territory.

The language of public roads 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)

Accepting this notion of linguistic landscape, Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, and Trumper-Hecht (2006) maintained that the LL is the scene where a society's public life takes place and "serves as the emblem of societies, communities and regions" (p. 8). Landry and Bourhis (1997) also stated the LL is a "sociolinguistic factor distinct from other types of language contacts in multilingual settings" (p. 45). Publicly accessible, concrete linguistic data displayed on public signs create a unique text through which to analyze the political, cultural and sociolinguistic composition of a particular area or community. Two general categories of signage present in the LL have been identified: 1) *official*, or governmental, those produced by the government (local, state or national) to communicate information and messages to the general public; and 2) *unofficial*, or private, most often exemplified by commercial businesses in urban cityscapes, although, pertaining to any type of linguistic artifacts present in the public sphere other than those issued by national and public bureaucracies.

German philosopher Jurgen Habermas conceptualized the "public sphere" as that space where people interact with others and society, a social site or domain that serves as "a network for communicating information and points of view" (Habermas, 1984, p. 32). Meanings in this space are articulated, negotiated and defined through layers of interactions and practices among individuals, social and religious groups, agencies, private industries, and government institutions. Building on the work of Landry and

Bourhis (1997) and Spolsky and Cooper (1991), Ben Rafael et al. (2006) identified two primary functions of linguistic markers in the Public Sphere: 1) as *informational* marker; and 2) as “*symbolic* marker communicating the relative power and status of linguistic communities in a given territory” (p. 8).

Inscriptions of Voice in the LL

Identifying the separate voices present in this negotiation and construction of the public sphere, Matt Siber’s (2005) article, "Visual literacy in the public sphere," offered five sources or categories of voices: corporate/commercial, municipal, propaganda, news/mass media and subversive. Several studies have noted that language diversity or multilingualism is more abundant on commercial signs and place names (Gorter, 2006; Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). In what Siber designated as the subversive voice, he observed that graffiti embodies a form of social communication with wider range of personal expression and a more open, unrestricted dialogue between the individual and public society. In a study of the psychological content of the graffiti at the site of Prime Minister Rabin's assassination, Hanauer (2004) characterized graffiti as “a specific communicative act used by a variety of subcultures to provide personal voice in the public domain” (p. 29). Therefore, study of the LL is gaining in momentum as a means to investigate ways individuals and communities are using language to comprehend and negotiate their environment as well as a means to express individual thoughts and feelings.

Previous LL studies have demonstrated that it is possible to gain insight into the social, political, historical, and cultural composition of a multilingual community by systematic observation and descriptive analysis of literacy in the public sphere. The LL

contains concrete manifestations of language choice, status, contestations, group vitality, mediations of culture and knowledge. This public, visual text paints a truer picture of the everyday linguistic interactions and social realities that define a community, providing physical evidence of language usage and frequency—often a more accurate description than information gathered and reported in official census and demographic documents.

As a reminder, Durk Gorter (2006) wrote that there has been little research in the area of the emotional, psychological perceptions in LL studies. To emphasize this gap, Gorter and Cenoz (2006) called on researchers to these 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? What attitudes do these L2 users have towards the linguistic landscape?" (Gorter, 2006, p. 87). Challenged by these questions, this researcher was motivated to investigate how are changes in the LL perceived by local residents? And, how does the LL mediate within the individual a sense of place, space and identity? And also, what emotional responses does the LL trigger in the local residents?

As Huebner (2009) and Spolsky (2009) claimed, few studies have been conducted to investigate how individuals are reading the LL in their communities. Linguistic landscape study focused in this direction provides a unique opportunity to encourage language awareness and open dialogue between researchers and the community about important issues concerning perceptions and feelings related to language contact, choice, change, and identity.

A Dynamic-internal Focus

The LL is a panoramic visual text surrounding us and engaging our senses without conscious invitation. Making meaning of this text is very much dependent on "what we know and what we believe" (Berger, 1972, p. 8). In interpreting any form of literacy or art, the moment of seeing is integrated with an individual's expectations and previous experiences of meaning which cannot be separated from the context or physical setting in which they are observed. By nature literacy is intimately connected to knowledge of cultural, institutional, and personal linguistic practices. One broad notion of literacy has been explained as "the general semiotic ability of individuals to interpret and act upon the world within cultural and social communities of practice" (Duran, 1996). Consequently, one's linguistic background and embedded cultural knowledge and beliefs contribute to this understanding. Therefore, language symbols and graphic icons may trigger a myriad of cognitive and emotional responses depending on the time and place and perspective of the one who is seeing.

Significance of the Study

In the United States, not too long ago, it was assumed that "to be a good American... one had to learn English" (McGroarty, 1997, p. 72) and also, by implication, abandon pre-existing allegiances and attachments to other languages and cultures. Li Wei (1994), a Chinese-British linguist, commented that there have been many censuses and surveys in Britain conducted to investigate the extent of linguistic and cultural diversity; however, they fail to "explicate, for example, the internal structuring of particular communities and the norms and values that are inherent within them" (p. 1). Wei (1994) asserted that these practices do not "elucidate the salience of language use in and between

communities whose mother tongues are not English” (p. 1). To emphasize this gap in language research, McGroarty (1997) quoted Wiley (1996) who maintained "the possibility that a language or culture other than English could co-exist, even flourish, within the boundaries of the Anglophone democracies has not been entertained by commentators outside of minority language communities until recently " (p. 72). This study was designed to provide an opportunity for dialogue, to encourage honest and open discussion about the usage and position of migrant minority languages of English speaking countries.

To localize the issue, in 2004, a local TV news story from Nashville, Tennessee, commented on the tension that was building in the city between a fast growing Hispanic migrant population and the Anglo-speaking “old” community. Emotions were reportedly triggered by the recent in-flux of non-English speaking migrants to this area. This migration trend was evidenced by an increase of commercial business signs written in Spanish. This particular news story reported concerns about language non-conformity and increasing discomfort among long-term residents in response to the demographic changes in the community. In January, 2009, the city of Nashville voted on an “English First” amendment which proposed to require all government documents to be in English only. This amendment did not pass; however, it garnered national attention and revealed the depth of language contestations in that local community. Growing up in Memphis, Tennessee, historically a racially divided city, I experienced the hostility and tension that often occurred when different cultures and people groups co-exist in close proximity. To sustain a dynamic, progressive, and peaceful community, I maintain that dialogue about these issues must be opened and encouraged.

Responding to the call for linguistic landscape research that explores emotional perceptions, the LL in Memphis provided focus on the phenomenon of language change in form of an external concrete text outside the individual. While the ‘walking tour’ interview provided a conversational space to articulate thoughts and feelings, and sometimes, the fears and apprehensions that individuals experienced when faced with unknown or unfamiliar literacy. For this reason, this study was important because so many communities in the U.S. have been experiencing this same phenomenon. Through the LL, linguists have a unique window of opportunity to encourage dialogue about these issues, to explore thoughts, feelings, and possibly fears concerning transitions from monolingual to multilingual communities in order to plan for the future.

This study is important now because there is urgent need for individuals and communities to understand and redefine space in a globalizing age. In light of the continuous flow of transnational migrants to the U.S., enforcing language policies for the purpose of sustaining a monolingual society or nation is not only impractical, but also inequitable and restrictive in that it limits individuals’ use of internal and external language resources for personal stability, intellectual growth and development, and deeper engagement in a globalized world. Studies need to be conducted to explore emotional barriers and encourage dialogue about issues such as multilingualism, transnationalism and global citizenship. In the article, Canadian-Asian Transnationalism, Philip Kelly (2003) wrote “immigrants do not simply settle. Rather, they maintain important linkages with their places of origin (p. 109). This phenomenon is called *transnationalism* and is based on the concept that “immigrants live a substantial part of their emotional, social, economic and political lives in their place of origin while

working, living and settling in other countries" (p. 209). Kelly maintained that their immigrant stories are not simple tales of setting up a new and better life. They are more complex tales of "networks of family obligations shaping migration and work decisions, tangles of emotional yearnings frustrated by economic necessities, and ongoing dislocations between 'home', citizenship and identity" (Kelly, 2003, p. 210).

Another important reason for this study is to closely "observe how [individual] speakers manage, adapt, and challenge identities through a process of negotiation across spaces and time" (Giampapa, 2004, p. 193). The LL provides a window into this process, offering tangible representations of how this negotiation is being played out in actual communities. Migrants face the challenge of re-constructing identities in a new culture while existing community members face the challenge of change as well. An emphasis on interactional sociolinguistics in migrant identity studies was advocated by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), Le Page and Tobouret-Keller (1985), Heller (1982), Gumperz (1982), and Fishman (1965). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) posited that interactional sociolinguistics "views social identities as fluid and constructed in linguistic and social interaction" in which "multilingual speakers move around in multidimensional social spaces and that each act of speaking or silence may constitute for them an 'act of identity'" (p. 8). Strengthening and politicizing the process of migrant identity construction, Giampapa (2004) contended that each act of claiming identity and social space for the multilingual speaker is a political act. In constructing a community identity, the act of moving from the outside (periphery) to the center involves not only the movement to the center, but the reconfiguration of the center which is "typically seen as a group of people who define and reproduce social, political, institutional, and linguistic

norms and have access to symbolic capital and material resources” (Giampapa, 2004, p. 193). The recent changes in the LL in Memphis provided concrete clues to ways individuals negotiated language and claimed identities in multilingual neighborhoods.

At the center of this reconfiguration are language and literacy issues that can perhaps be more clearly illuminated by an investigation of migrant discourses present in the LL, how new discourses act on an individual's emotional understanding of public space and ways social identity is mediated through public literacy. Migrant discourse introduced and sustained in a new place is not just a matter of an individual's or minority ethnic group's transition to a new place and culture, but often a community's metamorphosis. Exploring individuals' perceptions and emotional responses to multilingualism in the LL raised awareness of linguistic differences, provided new language input, uncovered social inequities in linguistic dominance and oppression, as well as illuminated ‘natural’ linguistic resources available to residents in multilingual communities.

In her study of immigrant narratives, Anna De Fina (2000) contended that there are official discourses and narratives that identify the immigrant experience but "aside from mainstream images of who immigrants are, little research has been done on the identity that immigrants themselves build and project, and on the processes that affect the formation of identity" (p. 131). And even less has been done on how these changes are perceived and understood by local community residents. In *Uprootings/Regroundings*, Ahmed et al. (2003) maintained “migration is not just about movement but also about ‘staying put’...the sense of belonging on the part of indigenous communities dispossessed by the migration of others” (as cited in Edmunds, 2006, p. 558). How do

local residents experience and articulate feelings about linguistic changes and multilingualism in their communities? What impact should these perceptions have on local and national language policy?

Research Questions

Utilizing a discursive and interactive, critical postmodern methodology, this research project addressed the psychological aspects of visual perceptions and readership of the linguistic landscape by investigating the responses and perceptions of multilingual signs and changes in the LL in Memphis. Specifically, the main research questions this study sought to answer were:

1. What cognitive and emotional verbal responses are elicited (triggered) by the close physical proximity and explicit reference to the LL from long-standing and migrant populations in urban communities in Memphis, TN?
 - How do residents express visual perceptions and emotional responses to “new” languages (migrant or minority discourses) and change in the LL?
 - How do perceptions of the linguistic landscape work to connect residents to their social and psychological identities?
2. To what extent is the ‘walking tour’ interview of LL sites a viable tool for eliciting psychological responses to multilingualism and linguistic changes in the community and for raising awareness of local language communities, resources, and needs?
 - How are individual understandings of demographic, economic, historical, and linguistic changes in the community constructed or expressed during the ‘walking tour’?

- How does the ‘walking tour’ of LL sites create space for the free flow of conversation and maintain focus on the topic of multilingualism?

Summary and Preview

In the introduction to this research study, I have emphasized the phenomenon of new languages or migrant discourses on public signage in communities throughout the U.S. and the need to understand how local residents are reading and responding to linguistic changes in the LL. In Chapter Two, I present the relevant critical postmodern concepts guiding this study and review important literature on aspects of migration and existing LL studies that informed this project. Chapter Three discusses the theoretical issues behind the LL ‘walking tour’ interview and interactive methodology utilized in the study. Chapter Four presents the sites of the study in Memphis, and Chapter Five explains the procedures for data collection and analysis. A lengthy chapter, Chapter Six presents and discusses at multiple levels the ten individual ‘walking tour’ interview results and contextualized meanings. Chapter Seven synthesizes these results and discusses principles of readership and the viability of the LL ‘walking tour’ interview as linguistic research tool and text. The conclusion with contributions and implications of this study follows in Chapter Eight.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The literature reviewed in this chapter focuses on the phenomenon of modern migration and the role public literacy that has been defined in this study as the linguistic landscape. This chapter is organized into two main discussions of literature: 1) postmodern concepts and themes relevant to migration in the age of globalization; and 2) the role of public literacy, in particular, a review of linguistic landscape study.

This cross-disciplinary study draws primarily from the fields of Sociolinguistics, Semiotics, and Visual Literacy, but also, from Sociology, Psychology, Geography, Communication, and Discourses Studies. Using a critical postmodern LL approach, this sociolinguistic qualitative study describes the visible effects of multilingualism while exploring the cognitive and emotional responses elicited in ‘walking tour’ interviews and triggered by icons, images and linguistic artifacts in the LL in Memphis, Tennessee, a metropolitan area in transition due to recent migration trends. In particular, the study concentrated on individual residents’ perceptions of *migrant cityscaping* (Hanauer & Garvin, 2007) –the act of signing the landscape of an urban space so that it reflects the needs and identities of the migrant population—with focus on public commercial, non-governmental signs in selected communities in Memphis showing frequency of multilingualism in the LL.

Historically, this research project evolved from previous LL studies by Spolsky and Cooper (1991); Landry and Bourhis (1997); Hanauer (1998); Hicks (2002); Ben Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, and Trumper-Hecht (2004, 2006); Gorter and Cenoz (2006); Huebner (2006); and Backhaus (2006, 2007). These studies opened to the researcher the

multifaceted world of public signage and provided an introduction with critical insights into the nuances and complexities of social structures, political and economic forces, and cultural references embedded in this genre of public literacy. These studies illuminated aspects of human agency, identity, and meanings represented in the physical and symbolic presence of languages and icons on signs in public spaces. Also, providing a foundation for understanding the complex relationship of language and social practice were seminal works and theories of Bourdieu (1977, 1990, 1993), Vygotsky (1986), Foucault (1970, 1972), Fairclough (1989), Habermas (1984, 1987), and Goffman (1959, 1963).

From a personal perspective, this chapter documents the researcher's journey through existing literature: 1) to conceptualize a theoretical framework for constructing a dynamic understanding, at best problematic understanding, of the phenomenon of migration while situating it historically in time and place; 2) to explore the role of multilingual, multimodal literacy on public signs in modern urban communities and its impact on social practice and individual meaning construction; 3) to contextualize this study within the field of sociolinguistics and in particular, within the sub-field of Linguistic Landscape Studies; and 4) to explore and expand sociolinguistic interview methodology that enables the researcher to collect, analyze and explain data and that provides a tool effective for researching the complex and dynamic construction of thoughts and feelings about language use, contact, choice, and change.

Part I: Migration in the 21st Century

Postmodern Times, Place and Space

Energized by the economic forces of globalization and the subsequent rippling effects of mass migratory movements, local urban communities in the twenty-first century have become global scenes, expansive in repertoires of transnational actors, spaces of 'glocal' performances of language, culture and identity. Struggling for substance in universal meanings, ideas of modernity, of simply understanding society as historical progression, the continuation of the old in the new in a particular place, collapse in the postmodern age (Boswell, 1997). Chronologically defined as the time after the modern era, the postmodern period is marked by an epistemological shift in intellectual thought characterized by doubts concerning the objective nature of "reality" and "truth." Not discounting the significance of history and its role in the reproduction and embedding of sociocultural practices and values, the postmodern condition is one that exists within a "crisis of representation" (Lyotard, 1984). Social, political and cultural representations cannot be viewed as mirrored reproductions of objective knowledge. Meanings are more complex and must be deconstructed to reveal subjective intentions, motivations and values of the individuals and collective societies which produce and interpret these representations constrained and shaped by the discourses of the past and present.

Baudrillard's (1991a, 1991b) concept of the postmodern condition is one of "hyperreality" in that through technology we are able to exist in distant and disparate places instantaneously. To further explain the development of thought of what is now considered to be postmodern times, Auge (1995) used the concept of "supermodernity"

characterized by the shrinkage of time, space, and excesses of meanings to distinguish movements in early and late postmodernity. As major and minor events are played out in separate geographical locations throughout the world, through advanced technology and communication, the world responds instantly, simultaneously chiming in to comment and make sense of these events, providing multiple interpretations and significations of meanings. The 'everyday' experiences in far off places become personal and relevant. According to Baudrillard, "Reality, or modern time and space, are 'cranked up' to the point where the objects and order normally associated with the real no longer apply" and thus, "[e]xperiential reality becomes a playful field of signs--signs of other signs and other signs of signs" (as cited in Gubrium & Holstein, 2003, p. 7).

Place and Space

In *Postmodern Geographies*, building on previous works of Foucault, Berger, Giddons, Berman, Jameson and Lefebvre, Edward Soja (1989) argued that postmodern geography should not be studied simply as a reflective mirror of human history and materialism in a geographical location, but also as the site of the struggle for control over the social production of space. For Soja (1989), understanding postmodern space and place involved making connections and understanding the intersections that form relationships among sites and stakeholders. Shifts in current social theory and method expand conventional understandings of place and space noting clear distinctions in these concepts.

In *The Production of Space*, French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1974/1991) noted the development of the concept of *space* from that of an empty area to a social space which is the outcome of a process "with many aspects and many contributing

currents” (p. 110), with hidden ideology, and “future possibilities within the framework of the real.” Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) insisted that *place* and *space* are basic components of common real world experiences and require each other in order to be understood. He articulated *place* as something concrete such as home or security and described *space* as freedom, an abstract concept. For Michel de Certeau (1984), *place* implied stability as elements are distributed and in relationship to one another in a location which as result, define the location. He conceived of *space* as “practiced place” when “one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables” (p. 117), the imagined possibilities within a particular place. To exemplify a more current postmodern understanding of the distinction between *place* and *space*, he wrote, “The street [a place] geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into space by walkers” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 117)

To sum it up, the “here and now-nowness” of *place*, physically marked or inscribed with both past and present, is in contrast to *space* defined abstractly as the perspective or vantage point one has on that physical location and its potentialities (Hirsh & O’Hanlon, 1995, p. 9). To further demonstrate the development of the concept of space, Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) divide new theoretical approaches in cultural anthropology into six categories: Embodied Spaces, Gendered Spaces, Inscribed Spaces, Contested Spaces, Transnational Spaces, and Spatial Tactics (p. 1). Of the six spacial categories mentioned, this study explicitly focuses on inscribed, contested, and transnational spaces.

Globalization

Considering the notion of globalization, perhaps, one first thinks of neo-liberal economic transactions, capitalism and free trade, and in part, this would be accurate. In this capacity, globalization is conceptually a major force behind current mass migratory trends and the spread of multilingualism. As evidenced by the recent economic downturn of the US economy and its immediate impact on economies throughout the world, the relevance and scope of globalization in the twenty-first century is undeniable. Socially speaking, Anthony Giddens defined globalization as "the intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (1990, p. 64). Fairclough (2006) identified four distinct positions in the literature on globalization:

- Objectivist position which treats globalization as objective processes in the real world (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The social scientist seeks to describe the transformations in the "spatial organization of social relations and transactions" across national boundaries (p. 16).
- The rhetoricist position is "concerned with how representations of globalization are used to support and legitimize actions and policies within particular arguments" (p. 16). The example given is from Hay and Rosamond (2002).
- The ideologist position is focused on "how discourses contribute to achieving and sustaining the dominance or hegemony of particular strategies and practices, and the social forces who advocate them and whose interests they serve" (p. 17).

Fairclough cited Steger (2005) who warned of the false consciousness sometimes

circulated in discourses on globalization and its impact to produce real effects and changes.

- The social constructivist position “places a more explicit emphasis on the socially constructed character of social realities, and the significance of discourse...in the social construction of globalization” (pp. 18-19). Cameron and Palen (2004) are cited as an example.

Relevant to this proposed study, Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005) maintained that semiotic patterns in late-modern urban neighborhoods, what Appadurai (1996) called “‘vernacular globalization’...a grassroots dimension of multilingualism,” are perhaps the best indicators of “globalization processes ‘on the ground’” (p. 206).

Transnationalism

Referring to Basch, Schiller, and Blanc's (1994) earlier definition of transnationalism, Kelly (2003) described this concept as the "processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders" (Kelly, 2003, p. 209). Thus, in a globalized world, networks of exchange and communication can be characterized as transnational, crossing international borders and involving more than one nation-state. Many individuals today consider themselves to be *transnationals* or more recently defined by Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton (2006) as “transmigrants” in that they are building social fields by combining two societies together. Cronin (2006) expounded their meaning by stating that they [transmigrants] are “attached to or experiencing two places simultaneously” (Cronin, 2006, p. 61). In the article, Canadian-Asian Transnationalism, Kelly (2003) noted the

following important issues related to transnationalism: citizenship, identity, politics, social integration, and understanding of space in a globalizing age. Adding to these issues, Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999) maintained that while the processes of transnationalism include economic, political and sociocultural dimensions, the individual transmigrant is the "appropriate scale of analysis" (p. 210). Refuting the idea that there is a standard, or any standard of a national identity, De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999) stated that national identities are "dynamic, fragile, 'vulnerable' and often incoherent" in that they are constructed individually in different ways "according to context ... the social field, the situational setting of the discursive act and the topic being discussed" (p. 154).

Migration Experiences

In the textually mediated world of the twenty-first century, migratory movements are re-defining geographic space. Inscriptions of migrant discourses and multilingual literacies are marking and changing public spaces, provoking individuals and communities to re-negotiate social relationships and mediate new understandings of identity and belonging in a particular time and place.

Michael Cronin (2006) wrote that in 2002 the United Nations Population Division reported that 175 million people were currently residing in countries other than their countries of birth. "In the period between 1975 and 2002 the number of migrants living in the world had more than doubled. The majority of migrants were living in Europe (56 million), Asia (50 million), and North America (41 million)" (United Nations Population Division Report as cited in Cronin, 2006, p. 44). This report also projected that during the years 2005-50 the U.S. will lead the world in the number of new immigrants and gain a net increase of 1.1 million immigrants per year. As a result of this phenomenon, public

interest in migration and immigration tops many political, social and educational research agendas throughout the world. As explained by Edmunds (2006), recent social concerns involve “the nature of new migrant flows, the implications of these for citizenship and national identity, the rise of ethnic politics and multiculturalism, the role of governance and security policies” (p. 556). Although many politicians focus on issues of control and management of migration, Edmunds (2006) expressed views of theorists who maintained that within a framework of globalism “social scientists should abandon their traditional analytical focus on the nation-state in favour of one centered on global flows and networks” (p. 556). On the other hand, recent books on migration by Ahmed, Castaneda, Fortier, and Sheller (2003), Castles and Miller (2003), and Jordan and Duvell (2003) did not adopt the view of a “borderless world” but maintained emphasis on the importance of borders and boundaries for the nation-state whose policies determines “who can enter the country, who is allowed to stay, what activities they take up, what social reception they are given, and what civic and economic rights they can acquire” (Edmunds, 2006, p. 558). Consequently, the literature on modern migration suggesting a workable framework for understanding the phenomenon is highly political and controversial among scholars.

One thing is certain; today’s migrants have more choices than in the “melting pot” era. With modern technology migrants have multiple means and opportunities to acquire economic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990) in a foreign environment. In addition, the internet provides emotional support by maintaining social networks and transnational links to the homeland and the wider global community, making them less vulnerable than in the past. Past migration studies have mostly examined migration from poor to rich

countries; however the developing world is also experiencing the impact of global migration.

In the book, *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration* (Ahmed et al., 2003), the authors maintained that migration is an experience of dislocation and displacement, experienced in different ways by individual migrants with consequent social, political, cultural, economic, and linguistic effects on local society and individuals in host communities. In her research on the new broadening direction of migration studies, Edmunds (2006) found an absence of “fresh solutions to the divide between global pressures towards increased migration and the socio-political aspects of individual motives and experiences” (p. 557). Other literature reviewed also maintained that there are different types of migration experiences determined by the professional (elite) status of the migrant or the low-wage, limited resources migrant worker experience.

Translation

An important concept relevant to understanding the experience of postmodern migration is *translation*. As with globalization and transnationalism, this concept has been expanded to reflect current modes of critical postmodern thought. Richard Kearney (2006) explained Paul Ricoeur's concept of *translation* as articulated within two paradigms: a linguistic paradigm, "how words relate to meanings within language or between languages"; and an ontological paradigm, "how translation occurs between one human self and another" (p. xii). In other words, linguistically, translation is performed by representation of meanings in one language translated into another. While in an ontological sense, translation is understood as the "everyday act of speaking as a way not

only of translating oneself to oneself (inner to outer, private to public, unconscious to conscious, etc.) but also and more explicitly of translating oneself to others" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. xii-xiv). Within an experientially shifting framework of migrant language, culture and identity negotiation, translation constitutes an active ongoing process.

In *Translation and Identity*, Cronin (2006) stated that the "condition of the migrant is the condition of the translated being" (p. 45). He also insisted that the ability to translate or be translated may become, within the context of the migratory experience, a life and death situation. Drawing from Malena (2003), Cronin (2006) wrote:

Migrants are translated beings in countless ways. They remove themselves from their familiar source environment and move towards a target culture which can be totally unknown or more or less familiar, depending on factors such as class and education as well as reasons for migrating; they most likely will have to learn or perfect their skills in another language in order to function in their new environment; their individual and collective identities will experience a series of transformations as they adjust to the loss of their place of birth and attempt to turn it into a gain. (p. 45).

Henitiuk (2008) asserted that translation is transformational, a metamorphosis which is negotiated at various levels and cannot ever reproduce the "same" text.

Following this line of thought, the processes of negotiation in the linguistic, cultural, and historical transfer of "texts" or representations of self will inherently shape and re-shape personal identity. Therefore, within the context of the migrant experience, one must assume that some things, some aspects of the former self/identity, will be "lost in translation" while hoping that other things may be added. The same is true in the

collective sense. The transplanted, migrant community will not ever be able to reproduce an exact representation of the old culture, community.

For example, in *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity*, Anne-Marie Fortier (2000) described the role of the ‘ethnic church’ as a space in which migrants often (re)construct communities in which the old environment is recreated in a new place. Religious beliefs are shared and expressed in a habitual, familiar way in the ethnic church which becomes a shelter, bridge, a place of belonging which aids in the transition to a new culture. However, reconstructed familiar space never fully resembles or functions as the old in the new environment or place. In Fortier’s (2000) study of an Italian migrant church in London, the role of the church in the lives of migrants shifted from a wider public community experience in the former, home country to private individual family practices and rituals of religious, ethnic, and cultural identity in the migrant experience. The migrant experiences social and physical displacement and is constantly negotiating the process of assimilation and adaptation to new cultural environments (Baynham & De Fina, 2005; Kim, 2001) while the host community responds, receptively or with resistance to changes accompanying migration. Increased globalization places individuals, migrants and non-migrants, at “cultural intersections” (Said, 1993). Baynham and De Fina’s (2005) book focused on narratives of the displaced, often silenced migrant and maintained that an insider approach that acknowledged researcher subjectivity opened “up the space for a more pluralistic understanding of migration and displacement” (as cited in Farrell, 2007, p. 116). De Fina (2003) cited Oboler (1995, p. 88) who asserted that new immigrants face the challenge of constructing a “transnational socio-cultural

system” with modes of migration characterized by continuous border crossings resulting in hybrid cultural identities with “cultural indeterminacy and spaces in between” (Shome, 1996, p. 44). Oboler (1995) and Shome (1996) called for more research to examine cultural hybridity, diasporic identity and the effects of transnationalism in the modern migrant experience (as cited in Farrell, 2007). In a study of linguistic minorities in French Canada, Heller (2006) emphasized “the story of linguistic minorities is important because it sheds light on the ways in which hyper-modernity is transforming relations of power and the bases of identity in the Western world” (p. 3). All of the literature reviewed on the subject of migration suggested a need for research that examined the individual migrant experiences.

Migrant Models of Identity

In *Non-Place Identity: Britain's Response to Migration in the Age of Supermodernity*, Hanauer (2008) recognized three existing models of migrant national identity: the diaspora model (Rex, 1996) which creates a home country cultural space in a "foreign" location enabling the migrant to maintain heritage national identity and culture; the assimilation (monocultural) model, in which the migrant adopts new identity consistent with the characteristics, beliefs, values and culture of the host country; and the bi-national/bi-cultural model, which places the question of identity within a postmodern framework of competing discourses and therefore, identity becomes a discursal position (Hanauer, 2008). He provided, as a fourth option, the non-place identity model. Prioritizing the pragmatic, functional aspects of identity, Hanauer's (2008) non-place identity option transcends the confines of the meta-narrative of national identity and legal

definitions of citizenship (or dual citizenship), to an "autonomous identity that rises above the national context" (p. 14), providing individuals in globalized societies space for a sense of self or personal identity which may or may not be aligned with national identity or citizenship.

Hanauer's (2008) non-place identity can be compared to Cronin's (2006) description of the "cosmopolitan" socio-cultural condition, a condition where "human subjects have a plurality of different loyalties, a multiplicity of different ways in which they can be described or defined" (p. 9).

Language and Identity

Anna De Fina (2000) maintained "language has a central role in the formation, establishment and negotiation of personal and group identity" (p. 133). Drawing from the work of Foucault (1975), De Fina wrote, "Language is articulated into discourse practices that create, reproduce and continuously shape the social relationships and the sociocultural constructs that individuals use to make sense of their reality" (De Fina, 2000, p. 133). These comments highlight the role and function of language, implying that meaning making in the process of personal and group identity formation is language-based, socially constructed, dynamic, and continuously in negotiation.

Part II: Role of Public Literacy and Linguistic Landscape Studies

Public Literacy

Written language in public spaces mediates our understanding and orientation to public places within our cities and communities. Scollon and Scollon (2003) wrote, "Everywhere about us in our day-to-day world we see the discourses which shape, manage, entice, and control our actions" (p. x). We live in a textually mediated world

elucidated and framed by literacy events (Barton & Hamilton, 2005) which are situated, enacted, and understood in specific contexts. Not just information, but social, cultural and political knowledge are embodied and promulgated in the discourses of public literacy. In this study, the term *public literacy* will be used interchangeably with the notion of *linguistic landscape*. Public literacy will be understood as all literacy artifacts (languages, symbols, and icons) present and visible in public spaces. Not only informational, the language (s) on public signs carry symbolic meanings as well. "Because language is [also] a symbol expressing social attachments, aspirations, and values rather than just a method of communicating referential content, it provides clues to the social forces underlying contact among the groups. Language is not just the medium for the message; it is regularly, part of the message itself" (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991, p. viii).

In *Discourses in Place*, Scollon and Scollon (2003) wrote that "all instances of language in the world occur in semiotic aggregates" (p. xii). They applied this concept by providing a system for analyzing signage that takes into account code preferences (languages used), the material substance of inscriptions, and the placement of the sign and its ecological relationship to the environment. Scollon and Scollon insisted that the property of *indexicality*, in other words, the situatedness of a sign—where it is located in the world—is as important to meaning as its iconic and symbolic properties. All signs are situated and these "[v]isual representations exist within culturally and historically formed systems of representations, which, like that of language, are available for the socially motivated use by individuals with their specific interests" (Kress, Leite-Garcia, & Van Leeuwen, 1997, p. 264). Situated within a particular community of practice (Lave, 1991; Wenger, 1998), signs reify experiences and as literacy events "create points of focus

around which the negotiation of meaning becomes organized” (as cited in Barton & Hamilton, 2005, p. 26).

Written language on public signs mediates within the individual an understanding and orientation to a particular place as well as provides historical reference and prompts cultural/ linguistic association or disassociation with people groups residing in these geographic spaces. Visual perceptions of this public text also mediate cognitive and emotional understandings of personal identity in time and place. Changes in the LL are often understood as changes in the community provoking identity re-negotiation for both new migrant and “old established” residents as well. All forms of public literacy, familiar and new, affect the self in a narrative of changing time and makes identity a shifting form moderated through interaction with the familiar and different.

Linguistic Landscape Defined

In their seminal study on ethnolinguistic vitality, Landry and Bourhis (1997) defined the notion of linguistic landscape as linguistic objects that mark public space in a given territory; however, recent publications (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009; Shohamy & Waksman, 2009) questioned the limitations of this definition and expanded the notion of linguistic landscape to include a wider variety of literacy objects such as icons, images, and logos in addition to languages inscribed in public spaces. The definition of linguistic landscape in this study includes all literacy objects and artifacts marking public spaces.

Brief History of LL Study

Linguistic landscape study, as defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997), is a relatively new approach to the study of multilingualism and is rooted in the historically contentious field of language planning and policy. In 1972, Masai conducted a survey

study of the language on the shop signs in Tokyo. In 1977, Rosenbaum observed the signs of commercial, public and private offices in Jerusalem, noting the gap in official language policy and actual linguistic realities (Backhaus, 2006). In an overview of previous linguistic landscape research, Landry and Bourhis (1997) and Backhaus (2006) identified some studies done in regions of linguistic conflict, Belgium and Quebec, where official language planners and policy makers recognized the importance of public signage to identify and mark the boundaries of linguistic territories. Mentioned are studies in Belgium conducted by Tulp (1978), Verdoot (1979), Wenzel (1996) and in Quebec by Corbiel (1980), Leclerc (1989), Monnier (1989), Landry and Bourhis (1997), and the Conseil de la langue française (2000). In 1994, Leclerc researched recent language laws throughout the world and concluded that although 30 countries and regional states have laws regulating different aspects of the linguistic landscape, in most countries, language planners have not given adequate attention to this notion of linguistic landscape.

However, new publications on language planning and policy (Spolsky, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Blackwood, 2008) emphasized the importance of LL as it constitutes authentic, situated language use and provides evidence of language groups present and linguistic hierarchies and power structures at work in particular geographic spaces, regions, or countries. The LL contains significantly current information about actual language practice in a community. In the domain of language policy, how relevant is this information and how much should this information inform and influence actual language policy?

In the last decade, the scope of LL study and research has expanded to encompass a variety of social issues such as: power relations among language groups; economic

motivations; self and group representation; ethnic group vitality; language choice, contact and change; effects of immigration, tourism, and globalization; identity construction; and mediations of knowledge and culture. In addition to its informational and symbolic functions, the linguistic landscape can be understood as connective, reflective and dynamic.

Connective Aspects of LL

The Linguistic Landscape is connected to history. Signage and semiotic practices are influenced by previous historical practices (Bourdieu, 1993). History is ever present in the LL; however it is not perceived in a linear developmental way. It serves as a point of reference in a network of references and relationships. Also evident in the LL are networks of connections between discourse communities and cultures. Huebner (2006) studied Bangkok's LL to explore the effects of language contact, codemixing, and the influence of English as a global language. How people "use the variety of semiotic resources to make signs in concrete social contexts" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 8) is a complex, connective process. The researcher may trace connections but cannot reduce them to a simple form. In addition, "[w]hich discourses interpreters or users may bring to bear on a semiotic product or event has everything to do in turn with their place in the social and cultural world, and also with the content" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 8).

Reflective Nature of the LL

Furthermore, visible language in the public sphere also reflects demographic developments and changes. Ethnic diversification within a particular area or community is externally manifested by the variety of languages observable on commercial signs and

public information markers. Changes in migration trends and patterns often initiate changes in the linguistic landscape. The power and status of languages in a particular area may well be noted by the predominance and frequency of specific languages used on public signs and markers. The presence or absence of minority languages of people groups known to exist in a particular area carries symbolic meaning about social status and relationships between the people and places they inhabit. In this way, the LL serves a symbolic function, marking territories of language communities, constructing symbolic boundaries of language use and expectations while providing information of the power and status of language communities existing within a geographically defined territory or space (Landry & Bourhis ,1997; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006).

Dynamic Forces of the LL

To conceptualize the LL as text, one must accept that the LL is an open text, not fixed or static. To the contrary, it is dynamic and constantly evolving text, in flux, linguistically manifesting the processes of defining, redefining and controlling public space. In the meaning making processes of the LL there is no semiotic closure; it is an open dialogue of construction. Design, production, distribution, and interpretation are shaped and re-shaped by dominant discourses, economic forces, shifts in ideologies, and changes in technology. Language embodies power (Fairclough, 1989; Foucault, 1975; Hall, 1997). Power struggles are enacted in the LL. In a study of Reverse Language Shift (RLS) in Scotland, Hicks (2002) writes of the LL as "a literal expression of the symbolic struggle for space for a language" (as cited in Gorter, 2006, p. 2). "Language is not something that sits on the sidelines during the struggle over competing social interests

and access to material resources. Language is used to put people in their place; people use language to change where they have been placed" (Morgan, p. 12).

Published Linguistic Landscape Studies from 1997-2009

Since the Landry and Bourhis study in 1997, three publications by Gorter (2006), Backhaus (2007), and Shohamy & Gorter (2009) have been devoted entirely to the study of linguistic landscape. In *Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism*, Gorter (2006) reported on linguistic landscape studies around the world which focused on the languages on signs in public space. Backhaus (2007) provided a review of earlier works while investigating the critical methodological issues of LL study in *Linguistic Landscapes: A Comparative Study of Urban Multilingualism in Tokyo*. Most recently, in *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, edited by Shohamy and Gorter and (2009) the framework for linguistic landscape study was substantially expanded to include a wider variety of artifacts that mark public space.

The following chart (see Table 1) is a comprehensive, but not exhaustive, list of published works on linguistic landscape research from 1997 until 2009, including the individual studies in the publications mentioned in the previous paragraph. They are listed chronologically and then alphabetically by year, source (name of researcher/author), title of publication, and site of study. Table 1 presents the authors, dates, titles and foci of LL study, and sites of the studies. Beginning with the seminal work of Landry and Bourhis (1997), this list represents studies which adapted, explored, and expanded the notion of linguistic landscape as the literacy and languages on signs in public spaces. Most of the studies listed on the chart (see Table 1) collected and analyzed digital

photographs for an understanding of the role of linguistic signs in public places and knowledge generated by these signs.

Table 1			
<i>Published Linguistic Landscape Studies from 1997-2009</i>			
Year	Source*	Title/Topic	Research Site
1997	Landry, R. & Bourhis, R.*	Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study	(Montreal)
	CLF		(Montreal)
2000	Inoue	The Price of Japanese	(Tokyo)
	McArthur	Interanto: The Global Language of Signs	(Sweden)
	Toshikyo	Report about a Survey of Braille signs...	(Tokyo)
2002	Hicks, D.*	Scotland's Linguistic Landscape: The lack of policy and planning with Scotland's place names and signage	(Scotland)
	Itagi, & Singn	Introduction: <i>Linguistic landscaping in India with particular reference to the new states</i>	(India)
	Someya	Writing on signs	(Tokyo)
2002/ 2003	Kim	Japan's growing ethnic heterogeneity seen from the linguistic landscape	(Japan)
2003	Schlick, M.	The English of shop signs in Europe	(Klagenfurt, Austria; Udine, Italy; Ljubljana, Slovenia)
	MacGregor, L.	The Language of Shop Signs in Tokyo	(Tokyo)

	Scollon & Scollon	<i>Discourses in Place</i>	(Hong Kong, Beijing, Vienna, Paris, Washington, DC)
2004	Berry, K.	<i>Dissertation: English in the Linguistic Landscape of Mongolia: Indices of Language Spread and Language Competition</i>	(Mongolia)
	Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht	Linguistic landscape and multiculturalism: A Jewish-Arab comparative study	(Israel)
	Griffin, J.L	The presence of written English on the streets of Rome	(Rome)
	Martinez, G. *	Globalization, urban space and the LL along the US-Mexican border	(US/Mexican borders)
	Reh, M.	Multilingual writing: A reader-oriented typology with examples from Lira Municipality	(Uganda)
	Stewart & Fawcett	Shop signs in small towns in modern Portugal	(Portugal)
2005	Backhaus, P. *	Signs of Multilingualism in Tokyo: A linguistic landscape approach	(Tokyo)
	Dailey, Giles, & Jansma*	Language attitudes in an Anglo-Hispanic context: The role of linguistic landscape	
	Rubenstein-Avila, E. *	Brazilian Portuguese in Massachusetts's LL: A prevalent yet understudied phenomenon	(Boston, MA)

2005/ 2006	Bagna, C. & Barni C.	From statistical to geolinguistic data: Mapping and measuring linguistic diversity	(Rome)
2006	Backhaus, P.*	Multilingualism in Tokyo: A look into the linguistic landscape	(Tokyo)
	Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht	Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of public space: The case of Israel	(East Jerusalem)
	Cenoz, J. & Gorter, D.	Linguistic Landscape and minority languages	(Netherlands and Spain)
	Huebner, T.	Bangkok's linguistic landscapes: Environmental print, codemixing and language change	(Bangkok)
2007	Collins, J.& Slembrouck, S.*	Reading shop windows in globalized neighborhoods: Multilingual literacy practices and indexicality	(Belgium)
	Huang, C.*	Language planning for naming and its socio-cultural connotations: A case study in Taiwan	(Taiwan)
2008	Cenoz, J. & Gorter, D.	The linguistic landscape as an additional source of input in second language acquisition	(Basque Country)
	Hornsby, M.	The incongruence of the Breton linguistic landscape for young speakers of Breton	(Brittany)

2009	Backhaus, P.	Rules and regulations in linguistic landscaping: A comparative perspective	(Quebec and Tokyo)
	Barni, M. & Bagna, C.	A mapping technique for the linguistic landscape	(Italy)
	Ben-Rafael, E.	A sociological approach to the study of Linguistic Landscapes	
	Cenoz, J. & Gorter, D.	Language Economy and Linguistic Landscape	
	Coulmas, F.	Linguistic Landscaping and the seed of the public sphere	
	Curtain, M.	Languages on display: Indexical signs, identities and the linguistic landscape of Taipei	(Taiwan)
	Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre, & Armand	Linguistic landscape and language awareness	(Montreal and Vancouver, Canada)
	Dal Negro, S.	Local policy modeling the linguistic landscape	(South Tyrol, Italy)
	Edelman, L.	What's in a name? Classification of proper names by language	(Amsterdam)
	Hanauer, D.	Science and the LL: A genre analysis of representational wall space in a microbiology laboratory	(Pittsburgh, PA)
	Huebner, T.	A framework for the linguistic analysis of linguistics landscapes	(Hong Kong)

2009

Hult, F. *	Language ecology and linguistic landscape analysis	(Sweden)
Kallen, J. *	Tourism and representation in the Irish linguistic landscape	(Galway and Ballinasloe, Republic of Ireland; Bangor and Newry, Northern Ireland)
Lanza, E. & Woldemariam, H.	Language ideology and linguistic landscape; Language policy and globalization in a regional capital of Ethiopia	(Ethiopia)
Malinowski, D.	Authorship in the linguistic landscape: A multimodal-performative view	(Oakland, CA)
Pennycook, A.	Linguistic Landscapes and transgressive semiotics of graffiti	(Malaysia)
Shohamy, E. & Waksman, S.	LL as ecological arena: Modalities, meanings, negotiations, education	(Tel-Aviv)
Slobada, M.	State ideology and linguistic landscape: A comparative analysis of (post) communist Belarus, Czech Republic, and Slovakia	(Belarus, Czech Republic, Slovakia)
Spolsky, B.	Prolegomena to a sociolinguistic theory of public signage	
Trumper-Hecht, N.	Construction of national identity in mixed cities of Israel: Arabic signs in the public space of Upper Nazareth	(Nazareth, Israel)

From a review of the LL studies in the previous list, several principles about the nature and relevancy of research employing a linguistic landscape approach emerged.

Principles of LL Studies

1. The Linguistic Landscape reflects the social, political, historical presence of language in a community or region.
2. Literacy artifacts present in the Linguistic Landscape construct and represent symbolic public spaces in a community.
3. The Linguistic Landscape is a text in which one reads the power and status of competing language groups.
4. The Linguistic Landscape often serves as a boundary, a marker for geographical territory and/or language communities.
5. Code choices and graphic inscriptions on commercial signage can indicate personal values, local or global values, expressions of individual identity, social/cultural/ethnic group identity, economic motivations, inclusion or exclusion of specific customers, as well as provide information concerning goods and services.
6. Frequency of representations of minority languages in public spaces contributes to vitality of migrant/ethnic groups and may potentially act as input for learning and maintenance of language.
7. Changes in the Linguistic Landscape are understood as reflection of changes in the community.

New Directions in LL Studies

Michel de Certeau (1984) asserted, “The presence and circulation of a representation ... tells us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyze its manipulation by users who are not its makers. Only then can we gauge the difference or similarity between the production of the image and the secondary production hidden in the process of its utilization” (p. xiii). Up to this point the literature has shown only a few LL studies (Collins & Slembrouck, 2007; Dagenais et al., 2009; Hornsby, 2008; Malinowski, 2009; Pennycook, 2009; Slobada, 2009; Trumpter-Hecht, 2009) which have focused on interviewing individuals who are responsible for the production of the signs in the landscape and/or how individuals are interpreting and reading the signs. Dagenais et al. (2009) supported this claim by reporting that relatively few studies have been conducted to examine ways individuals interact with the LL text and then went on to conduct a study to promote language awareness in children. Dagenais et al. argued that the “LL serves as a research tool to stimulate children’s observations of texts, multilingualism and language diversity” (p. 256-257). This is a direction that needs to be explored.

Summary

The literature presented in this chapter focused on the phenomenon of migration in the age of globalization and a corpus of LL studies. In modern urban spaces, the impact of migration on a community is clearly manifested in the LL. As the LL studies mentioned in this chapter suggested, there is a gap or need for more studies that address the readership of the LL by local residents. For a postmodern understanding of the effects of migration and its linguistic impact on the community and individual residents, close

observation and study of the LL provides a concrete snapshot of complex social networks and linguistic behaviors in multilingual communities in a particular time and place.

CHAPTER 3: THE POSTMODERN ‘WALKING TOUR’

Introduction

This qualitative ethnographic study was designed to systematically investigate through individual interviews the cognitive and emotional understandings of local residents, their perceptions of and responses to changes in the LL due to the presence of multilingualism on public signs and billboards in selected urban communities of Memphis, TN. The interview methodology was conceptualized to enable the researcher to focus on the discursive meaning-making processes through which knowledge is co-constructed onsite by researcher and participant while viewing the LL. This study explored the following questions:

1. What cognitive and emotional verbal responses are elicited (triggered) by the close physical proximity and explicit reference to the LL from long-standing and migrant populations in urban communities in Memphis, TN?
 - How do residents express visual perceptions and emotional responses to “new” languages (migrant or minority discourses) and change in the LL?
 - How do perceptions of the linguistic landscape work to connect residents to their social and psychological identities?
2. To what extent is the ‘walking tour’ interview of LL sites a viable tool for eliciting psychological responses to multilingualism and linguistic changes in the community and for raising awareness of local language communities, resources, and needs?

- How are individual understandings of demographic, economic, historical, and linguistic changes in the community constructed or expressed during the ‘walking tour’?
- How does the ‘walking tour’ of LL sites create space for the free flow of conversation and maintain focus on the topic of multilingualism?

To answer these questions, a postmodern ‘walking tour’ interview methodology was utilized to collect the data for individual interviews. In a pilot interview testing the data collection interview methodology, steps of processes for analyzing the interview data emerged and were actively integrated at all levels of data collection and analysis. The methodology of data collection and analysis maintained sensitivity to “postmodern sensibilities” as described by Gubrium and Holstein (2003) and adheres to the notion articulated by Gubrium and Holstein (2003b) that all interviewing is a “product of talk between interview participants” (p. 4). This hybrid discursive methodology was influenced by narrative, discourse, and conversation analysis for the purpose of exploring the complexities of individual stories and self-reported feelings of language use and change in their community. The primary data collected and analyzed for this study included individual transcripts of individual ‘walking tour’ interviews and post-tour feedback from participants, digital photographs of the LL in selected sites, and the researcher's fieldnotes and journal. Secondary data included other relevant documents such as demographic census reports, historical documents, newspaper articles, community flyers, transcriber’s initial assessment of interviews, and notes of informants' knowledge about the community.

As previously stated, the methodology proposed in this chapter highlighted postmodern interview inquiry in conjunction with a LL approach to the study of the responses to multilingualism, or in this particular study, readership and perceptions of multiple languages and migrant discourses in public spaces. Postmodern interviewing (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003) blurs the traditional roles of researcher and interviewee, embracing the co-construction of knowledge and meaning making while at the same time creating a space for the free flow of conversation. The LL serves multiple purposes in that it constitutes a methodological research approach, materializes the phenomena under investigation, and functions as a stimulus text (Törrönen, 2002). Discussions of the methodology used in this study explain the dynamic interactions and discursive meaning-making processes of postmodern interviewing. Highlighting the relationship between the interviewer and the participants and the interactional role of the LL, this methodology is designed to provide rich detailed descriptions of the interactions between the researcher and participant, and between the researcher, participants and the LL text. In addition to the self-reported emotions stimulated by the text and conversation, the positionings of identity, empathy movements, convergence or divergence of ideas, and the co-construction of knowledge during the interview conversations combine to form the basis of the contextualized meanings of responses to the LL.

This chapter includes discussions on the theoretical framework and characteristics of the qualitative ethnographic research design of this study, the role of the researcher and ethical considerations, sociolinguistic interviewing challenges, postmodern interviewing methodology or “sensibilities”, the LL approach used in this study and its function as stimulus text and educational tool.

Theoretical Framework for Methodology

Sociological ethnographer, John Van Maanen (1988), wrote, "Today scholars in all disciplines are realizing that how their research is presented is at least as important as what is presented" (as cited in Gubrium & Holstein, 2003, p. 11). Along this line, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) encouraged hybrid research practices and representation:

Rather than privileging a single method or approach to the practice of inquiry, researchers are encouraged to use whatever techniques, strategies, and frameworks are required to conduct the best research possible and to produce research accounts that embody verisimilitude and that are poetic, transgressive, unfinalizable, and transformative. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000)

In this research proposal, I argue for a critical, postmodern interview approach to investigate the cognitive and emotional understandings and responses to the LL. This approach works within a "crisis of representation" (Hall, 1997; Burke, 1986; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Marcus & Fischer, 1986; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Gubrium & Holstein, 2003) framework. A frame that no longer views representations as mirrors of reality, but "as constructions of experiences and events" filtered through Burke's (1986) concept of *terministic screens*... "screens [that] not only reflect but also select and deflect what we see, experience, and render into texts" (Kamberelis, 2003, p. 674). Consequently, the analysis and evaluation of the data employed a pragmatic, hybrid approach reflect the researcher's verisimilitude and are linked to her ideologies of change, equality, and social justice.

Qualitative

“Qualitative methods of research are based on the premise that, when it comes to understanding human experience, the separation between researcher and researched, between subject and object, is a fiction” (Hunter, 2004, para. 2). This study implemented a primarily qualitative research design based on the assumption that subjective individual experience and the meanings ascribed to this experience are too complex and not fully understood within a positivist, quantitative research design which often operates with true/false assumptions, attempts to objectify subject or phenomenon, and then, generalizes outcomes based on numbers and percentages. Qualitative research methodology employed in this study resisted, although not entirely, the reduction of experiential knowledge to numeric data for generalizing theoretical positions. Primary focus is on the generation of nonnumeric data to provide detailed descriptions of the phenomenon of interest for the purpose of exploring and describing complexities of individual perceptions of sociolinguistic realities; however, some of the results shown are represented numerically to emphasize the viability of the methodology and integrity of results represented. The individual was the unit of analysis; however the processes of social, cognitive, and linguistic interactions the between the researcher and participant and between the researcher, participants and the LL text, were investigated.

Ethnographic

This research can also be described as ethnographic in that it relied on close field study, onsite observations to construct meanings, and used multiple data sources to provide detailed descriptions of cultural phenomenon under investigation. “Ethnography unites both process and product, fieldwork and written text... There is general agreement

that culture is not visible or tangible but is constructed by the act of ethnographic writing” (Schwandt, 2001, p. 80). Norman Denzin (1997) characterized ethnography as “a form of inquiry and writing that produces descriptions and accounts about the ways of life of the writer and those written about” (p. xi). Denzin was influenced by the works of Derrida (1981) and Clough (1994) who insisted that theory, writing and ethnography are intrinsically linked in that as a unit “they create the conditions that locate the social inside the text” (as cited in Denzin, 1997, p. xii). With this in mind, this methodological design is intended to focus on the discursive meaning making processes during the interview, how meaning is made from social interaction of the researcher, participants and LL text, and the interview text that is co-constructed and systematically analyzed.

This study focused on a specific geographic community, a culture or collection of individuals who experienced the phenomenon of a particular LL in similar ways within the natural routine of everyday living and working at this time and place. Characteristic of this approach, the researcher was positioned as an insider participant observer although she no longer lives in Memphis. Having grown up in this community, where her birth family still resides, the researcher has intimate knowledge of the life and culture of the research sites and has maintained close contact with the residents of these communities throughout her life. The specific areas and sites in Memphis chosen for the onsite “walking tour” interviews were familiar and historically significant to the researcher.

Role of the Researcher

Johnstone (2000) maintained that participant observation is an important method of ethnography in qualitative sociolinguistic research. Stocking (1983), described participant observation as research methodology in which “the investigator becomes for a

time and in a way part of its [the alien community's] system of face-to-face relationships, so that the data collected in some sense reflects the native's own point of view" (as cited in Johnstone, 2000, p. 81). As participant observer, my primary role was as facilitator and change agent to help activate participants' own observation skills and agency. My relationship with each participant was as co-researcher and collaborator (Schwandt, 2001). The role of the researcher in any interview will always be problematic due to the condition that the researcher has a form, has an appearance subject to interpretation by the interviewee. And at the same time, the researcher's questions, responses, and interpretations are subject to her or his own history, background and previous experiences. As the researcher, I continually reflected on my influence on the responses from the participants. In Chapter 6, I discuss my positioning in each 'walking tour' interview under the heading of 'contextualized meanings.' The researcher in this study acknowledges a feminist orientation to life and work—not only through social conditioning—but also, by choice. It is this researcher's opinion that circular feminist practices of equalizing power, nurturing, and inclusion do not force or contaminate data, on the contrary, these postmodern sensibilities were effective for creating a third space of critical engagement.

Ethical Considerations

In *The Ethnography of Communication*, Saville-Troike (1989) maintained that "it is the ethnographers' responsibility not to exploit the communities in which they work" (p. 111). Informed consent procedures were strictly followed and participants were instructed from the initial contact meeting that their involvement was completely voluntary and they could withdraw consent at any time. They were informed that this

study was seeking to understand their individual responses to public signage (the LL) in Memphis and that there were no wrong answers. Potential risks to the participants were explored and discussed. The names, addresses, and places of work of the participants were not revealed and the participants were given the opportunity to peruse and clarify the transcriptions of their interviews and delete any information they felt was too personal.

It is this researcher's belief that the benefits of participating in this study resulted in an increased awareness of the language opportunities, language needs, and linguistic diversity in their communities. This study provided an opportunity for participants to become involved and articulate their thoughts and feelings about these changes in their communities and city. And finally, the researcher debriefed the participants when the research was over and informed them of the results in a follow-up questionnaire. Johnstone (2000) stated, "Knowing that the people you are studying are going to find out what you have said about them helps keep you scrupulous and sensitive to local understandings of the world" (p. 48).

Sociolinguistic Interviewing

Louis-Jean Calvet (1998) described sociolinguistics as "the study of the effects of social issues on language" (p. 109). In his discussion of the debate over the semantics and definitions of *linguistics* and/or *sociolinguistics* he maintained the importance of formal description of languages, often recognized as the work of "hard" or "scientific" linguistics, while insisting the work of sociolinguistics overlapped with descriptive theory because "social facts are present at every level" (p. 110). William Labov's contribution to the field of sociolinguistics is monumental. When asked in a recent interview how his

methodological ideas for the sociolinguistic interview came about, he responded by saying that “the central theme of the interview as it developed was the effort to get people involved in important topics that influence their lives and are of great emotional concern to them” (interviewed and transcribed by Gordon, 2006, p. 336). Frequently cited, Labov and Waletzky’s (1967) work on narrative as a way to approach the vernacular in the interview continues to be a major influence in this area of sociolinguistics. Using primarily quantitative descriptive methods, Labov’s work in this area has focused on fieldwork and everyday life aimed toward developing interview methodology that created a flow of speech that was “as close as possible to the way people talk when they weren’t being observed” (Gordon, p. 335). Labov also articulated that other important aims of the sociolinguistic interview were to encourage the free flow of conversation and maintain focus on the topic or linguistic variables of interest.

Postmodern Interviewing

A current movement in qualitative research, postmodern interviewing, conceptualizes the interview as discursive practice (Potter and Wetherell 1987; Edwards and Potter 1992). Interviews are viewed as conversation (Collins 1998; Gubrium and Holstein 1995). Meanings are constructed, negotiated and shaped by the interaction between the interviewer and participant (Gubrium and Holstein 2002; Atkinson and Silverman 1997; Miller & Glassner 2004; Cooper and Burnett 2006). The interaction is situated and examined in the context with where it occurred as well as the history, culture, and discourses available at that time and place. This discursive approach understands that narrative data evolves or is generated from the dialogic interaction in the interview while framed by wider discourses beyond the context of the conversation.

Linguistic accounts of experience are constructed, not just re-constructed in reflection, and understood as “versions of events, things, people...studied, primarily in terms of how those versions are constructed in occasioned manner to accomplish social actions” (Edwards & Potter 1992, p. 8).

According to Gubrium and Holstein (2003) in postmodern interviewing, traditional relationships are challenged and new voices articulated as boundaries and roles between the interviewer and participant are blurred.

Interview roles are less clear than they once were; in some cases they are even exchanged to promote new opportunities for understanding the shape and evolution of selves and experience. Standardized representation has given way to representational invention, where the dividing line between fact and fiction is blurred to encourage richer understanding. *Reflexivity*, *poetics*, and *power* are the watchwords as the interview process is refracted through the lenses of language, knowledge, culture, and difference. (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003, p. 3)

Discursive Psychology and Positioning

A current movement in qualitative research views the interview as discursive practice. Discursive practices consider the ways meanings and identities are constructed and negotiated within the context of social interactions. Interviews are conceptualized as conversation (Collins, 1998; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) and meanings are constructed, negotiated and shaped by the interaction between the interviewer and participant (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Atkinson & Silverman, 1997; Miller & Glassner, 2004; Cooper & Burnett, 2006). The interaction is situated and examined in context, analyzing the speakers' positions, knowledge, backgrounds and experiences as well the history,

culture, and discourses available to them at this time and place. In *Discursive Psychology* by Edwards and Potter (1992), the discursive approach described understands linguistic accounts of experience to be “versions of events, things, people...studied, primarily in terms of how those versions are constructed in occasioned manner to accomplish social actions” (Edwards & Potter, 1992, p. 8). This approach fits very well into the postmodern, poststructuralist design of this research project. Other theories that support a discursive approach in narrative interview methodology are positioning theory (Davies and Harré, 1990; Harré & Langenhove, 1991) and theories of language and emotions (Pavlenko, 2006; Edwards, 1998; Downes, 2000).

Subjectivity in Postmodern Interviewing

Consequently, framed within a process of negotiation of identities and meanings, narratives are collaborative and knowledge is co-constructed in a creative space or environment. Douglas (1985) explained that in creative interviewing, the interviewer “must establish a climate for mutual disclosure” to explore the deeper thoughts and feelings of the participant (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003, p. 72). This implies a subjectivity on the part of the interviewer that may be perceived as manipulation. To clarify the researcher’s position advocated in this study, Arendt (1958) offered this distinction in *subjectivity* and *personality* in the work of the researcher or scholar. In contrast to subjectivity, the researcher’s personality—the deeper spirit or essence of one’s humanness—is not the force driving the process. The ‘subjectivity’ of the researcher is perceived as the individual creative processes and insights from her own life that she brings to the interview which will contribute to the overall ‘objectivity’ of the work (Arendt, 1958). In this postmodern, poststructuralist paradigm, the researcher becomes a

living tool, refracting the participants experiences and responses through her own thus stimulating conversation and multiple ways of seeing and interpreting place and space. Ideally, the postmodern interviewer works to create an open, actively constructive, and safe space.

With this in mind, the postmodern interview plays out Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus* in that the focus is on discursive ways the individual is both constituted and constitutive in a specific linguistic interaction. The participants enter this "third space" (Bhabha, 1994) of "critical engagement" (Routledge, 1996) with histories, capital (Bourdieu, 1977) and non-negotiable traits such as age, race and gender. However, through collaborative meaning making, dialogue in this space opens up possibilities to increase understanding of difference, raise awareness and effect change in the individual and society. Critical research methodology requires a mode of reflexivity in this space that subjects all meanings to questions that examine hidden ideology, intentions, desires, purposes, as well as its own practices. All issues of representations (Hall 1997, 2003), the material ways humans represent thoughts (Bruner 1966)—whether enacted in speech or gestures, through visual images, or language and literacy artifacts—are examined in this constructivist paradigm as are the "researcher's methodological practices as these relate to the production of social reality" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003, p. 9).

Linguistic Landscape as Text and Tool

Written language in public spaces mediates our understanding and orientation to public places within our cities and communities. Scollon and Scollon (2003: x) wrote, "Everywhere about us in our day-to-day world we see the discourses which shape, manage, entice, and control our actions." We live in a textually mediated world

elucidated and framed by literacy events (Barton & Hamilton, 2005) which are situated, enacted, and understood in specific contexts (Gee 1999; Scollon & Scollon, 2003). In the past decade, new studies employing a LL approach have demonstrated that it is possible to gain insight into the social, political, historical, ideological, cultural, and demographic composition of a community by systematic observation and descriptive analysis of literacy in the public sphere (Backhaus 2006, 2007; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Huebner, 2006; Gorter, 2006). In *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, edited by Shohamy and Gorter (2009), the linguistic landscape (LL) is presented as a multifaceted interactive medium with manifestations of language choice, status, contestations, group vitality, ideology, and mediations of culture and knowledge. Not just informational and functional, but socio-cultural and political knowledge are embodied and promulgated in the discourses on public signs. The language (s) on public signs carry symbolic meanings as well. "Because language is [also] a symbol expressing social attachments, aspirations, and values rather than just a method of communicating referential content, it provides clues to the social forces underlying contact among the groups. Language is not just the medium for the message; it is regularly, part of the message itself" (Spolsky & Cooper 1991: viii). What are the messages in the linguistic landscape? How do individuals read this panoramic, multilayered text?

Like a snapshot of one moment in time, the linguistic landscape presents a concrete text of actual language use in a particular time and place. What makes the linguistic landscape a text? It is a document to be read—a public genre of communicative literacies, inscribing place, created and bounded by geography and human habitation in a particular location. Hanauer (2009) stated, "The beauty of the linguistic landscape is that

it is a living entity that evolves and reflects the here and now of discursive positioning and the power relations within a social arena.” As such, the urban linguistic landscape text is not fixed. It is dynamic and multi-layered, constantly changing to represent the values, needs, resources, institutions, restrictions, contestations, cultures, languages, and dreams of its multiple authors who are positioned and actively positioning themselves within a geographical space.

In addition to providing an authentic text of actual situated language use (Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Gee, 1999, 2005), the linguistic landscape (LL) has potential as a powerful research tool in its function as a *stimulus text*. In qualitative interviewing, researchers have often employed techniques to encourage participants to talk which include use of stimulus texts. Pavlenko (2003) conducted a study to examine second language influence on Russian first language speakers using films as stimuli to elicit narratives. In *Emotions and Multilingualism*, Pavlenko (2005) presented a list of cross-linguistic decoding studies that used recordings as stimuli. In other instances, interviewees have been asked to interpret pictures, to draw, to write stories, to complete sentences, to respond with one word “free” associations, and to watch movies. This is not new. However, Törrönen (2002) stated that research needs to explore and include more discussion on how these texts are internalized and the ways they are used during the interview. Functioning as externalized reference points, in a study on alcohol use in Finland, Törrönen (2002) maintained that stimulus texts can be used as clues, as microcosms, or as provokers in the production and analysis of interview text.

When stimulus texts are used as clues in an interview, they are meant to indexically refer to the subject matter under examination. When used as

microcosms in an interview, again, the researcher prepares the stimulus texts to represent the research topic as iconic (mimetic) images, maps or metaphorical worlds (see Veivo and Huttunen, 1999: 45). In the case where stimulus texts are used as provokers, cultural products are chosen that call into question the established meanings, conversations and practices of the subject matter under study. (Törrönen, 2002, p. 345)

In this study, the linguistic landscape text focused and stimulated the conversation during the interview and activated all three modes of stimulation—operating intermittently as cues, as microcosms, and provokers (Törrönen, 2002). Thus far, we have talked about the theory, text and tools of the methodology. Next, consider the importance of the discursive space created in the context of a ‘walking tour’ that utilizes postmodern interviewing methodology and focuses on responses at the ‘moment of seeing’ while attention to stimuli is heightened and emotions are less suppressed.

A Theory of Space in the ‘Walking Tour’ Interview

The linguistic landscape reflects the communicative life of public spaces. By conducting ‘walking tour’s in urban neighborhoods, the researcher brings this communicative life to the conscious attention of the participants. Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005) maintained that “the neighborhood can flag its own existence by means of a variety of activities” and local practices. They summarized that “neighborhoods are often the kind of real material and symbolic space in which people anchor a dense complex of symbolic and material practices and to which they refer in performing these practices” (p. 206). The meanings and interpretations of these complex practices are multi-layered and individualized in the cultures and consciousness of the

community. It was the researcher's aim to draw out these local understandings, examine and situate them in academic discourses on public literacy and readership of the LL in Memphis.

The 'walking tour' interview methodology focused on feeling and experiencing the concrete, physical space and place of multilingual practices while also creating yet another kind of theoretical space—that of negotiation and meaning making in a hybrid 'contact zone' of multicultural interactions. Bhabha's (1994) concept of "third space" is theorized as a transitional space characterized by the negotiation of cultural identities through interaction. In the "third space" narratives of nations and cultures are constructed. The structure of meaning and reference in this space is a dialectical process. In *Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994) emphasized the importance of difference in this space:

It is in the emergence of the interstices—the overlap and displacement of domains of difference—that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated... Terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively. The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation. (Bhabha, p. 2).

To add another dimension to this concept of a “third” way or space, Soja (1989) theorized that in the “spatio-temporal dialectic” fusion of being the “thinking subject” is confronted with the “grounded object” or the world as lived (pp. 135-136). He contended that from this ontological perspective there is possibility of a balanced interpretation. The ‘walking tour’ interview provided a space of contact with the lifeworld.

Theoretically, the methodology of the postmodern ‘walking tour’ was designed to create a transitional, dialectic space for the negotiation of cultural identity, values, and feelings about the LL, and respectfully, represent the meanings and differences negotiated in interaction. The next section of this chapter considers some possible theoretical contributions and implications this methodology has for linguistic landscape study and interview research methodology.

Interactional Interview Methodology

In multicultural urban communities, the linguistic landscape (LL) embodies linguistic practices, in particular, the phenomenon of language contact, choice and change. Embracing postmodern interviewing sensibilities, this ‘walking tour’ methodology was designed to investigate the dynamic processes of interaction and the co-construction of knowledge mediated and stimulated by the LL, to explore ways that meanings and understandings are constructed through dialogue enacted within the discursive aesthetic experience of moving in the landscape (Tuan, 1993). Pennycook (2009) elaborated on de Certeau’s (1990) thoughts as he commented, “The act of walking in the city is what brings to life, a spatial realization of place” (p. 309). The ‘walking tour’ proposed in this study provides an opportunity to explore and experience the city through the linguistic landscape. Not enough is known about how individuals interact

with the linguistic landscape or its role in the negotiation of thoughts, feelings and identities. The ways individuals are reading and responding to this text are complicated and not easily understood. Berger (1997) stated that making meaning of visual text, or any form of art or literacy, is very much dependent on “what we know and what we believe” (p. 8). Berger maintained that the moment of seeing is integrated with our expectations and previous experiences of meaning which cannot be separated from the context or physical setting in which they are observed. Being in the body, reflecting in action (Farrell, 2006; Schön , 1983, 1990), at the moment of seeing, sharpens the senses and brings to the surface thoughts and emotions that are often socially constrained or suppressed by time.

While focusing on the participants’ thoughts and feelings on the LL at the moment of seeing, this study analyzes a meta-awareness or consciousness of self in relation to public literacy defining local space and place. Abelson (1963) coined the term “hot cognition” as a motivated reasoning phenomenon where emotional responses are heightened by stimuli. In the field of composition, Alice Brand (1987) explored this concept to understand emotions and writing behavior. While in a state of cognitive arousal or heightened awareness, individuals become more attentive and interactive with information in the environment, thus, responses are more spontaneous and less filtered.

Contributing to studies focused on understanding motivated reasoning based on emotional responses to stimuli, this interview methodology provided a systematic way to understand the phenomenon of “hot cognition” as played out in the context of the ‘walking tour’ interview of LL sites in Memphis. In addition, the interview methodology in this critical ethnographic study demonstrated how utilizing the LL as a stimulus text

during the postmodern ‘walking tour’ interview enhanced the robustness and spontaneity of the conversation while providing a space to explore and negotiate thoughts and feelings about the phenomenon of multilingualism and linguistic change.

Summary

The theoretical framework of the ‘walking tour’ interview methodology as described in this chapter was designed to address the need for LL studies that examine the emotional and psychological perceptions of the linguistic landscape in Memphis, Tennessee. It does so by utilizing the linguistic landscape as both text and tool. The linguistic landscape is theorized as an authentic text of situated language use and a tool for stimulating thoughts and feelings about multilingualism as well as an important educational tool for raising awareness of linguistic changes, needs and resources in the community.

CHAPTER 4- MEMPHIS, THE SITE

Introduction

Located in the mid-south region, Memphis is the 18th largest city in the US, a musical landmark of rock, rhythm and blues, home to the National Civil Rights Museum, Federal Express and Holiday Inn Corporations, as well as known for being the largest cargo hub in North America. Memphis is a busy intersection of major highways, railroads, river barge traffic, and commercial airways. The city has often been painted in black and white as a racially contested space. In *Memphis in Black and White*, Bond and Sherman (2003) commented:

Memphis is a city in black and white, a vibrant city with a divided heart. It is a city of contrasts and contradictions where southern charm and elegance meet southern tension and violence. For much of its history, Memphis has been inhabited by and divided by two peoples who share a common place and history but are separated by the social and political differences ascribed to race” (Bond & Sherman 2003, p. 7).

In 2007, the total population of Memphis was recorded at 649,443 (US Census Report, American Community Survey, 2007). Of that number, 32.8 % were white and 63.1% were African-American, accounting for almost 96% of the total population. With 91.8% speaking English only, the public sphere in Memphis has been for the most part monolingual. In the past five years, substantial transnational flows of migrants “have complicated this simple binary of black and white” (Bond & Sherman, 2003, p. 7), diffusing this dyadic stronghold of racial segregation and destabilizing the practice of public monolingualism. Bond and Sherman (2003, p. 7) stated, “The newest migrants to

Memphis include an estimated half-million Latinos, Asians, Africans, and people from the Middle East.” Peck (2007), editor for *The Commercial Appeal*, reported the Hispanic population is estimated at well over 100,000—three times the number published in the latest census reports (US Census Report, American Community Survey 2007). Mendoza, Ciscel, and Smith (2001) stated the “new Latino immigrants are younger, more skilled, and more highly educated than those who arrived in previous decades” (p. 5), resulting in large minority migrant populations that express needs and identities in multiple languages. Consequently, the changing patterns of language use and behavior in the communities across Memphis dramatize a linguistically contested public space.

History, Geography, Trade, and Migration in Memphis

Historical events such as rise of the cotton industry and slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, yellow fever epidemics, natural disasters such as the floods of 1912 and 1937, the evolution of blues and rock and roll music, development of transportation and industry, the Civil Rights Movement and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King have shaped the lived experiences in this city. However, the significance of Memphis’ geographical location, the development of trade and commerce, and the diversity of people groups, past and present, who inhabited and still inhabit this space, emerge as dominant influences in the sociolinguistic and economic development of Memphis. An understanding of the connection of this city’s important geographical location and the development of trade and commerce in the area is vital to understanding the heartbeat of this modern urban space. Underlying present day linguistic practices and interactions in Memphis are layers of cultures and multiple stages of national and international migration to this area. Although English has been the dominant language present in the

public sphere in Memphis for many years, perhaps since the Civil War in the 1860s, the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the people who inhabited Memphis are rich in variety and multilingualism.

In 1819, Memphis was established as a trade center by the later US President Andrew Jackson, by James Overton, and John Winchester—at that time three Middle Tennessee land speculators who recognized its strategic location on the Fourth Chickasaw Bluff. “The main channel of the Mississippi River undercut the bluff, producing a favorable site for a boat landing...a flood-free contact point with the river for planters of the inland counties” (Fenneman as cited by Matthews, 1957, p. 112). Prior to this time, this area was inhabited and controlled by Chickasaw Native Americans and explored for colonization by Hernando DeSoto of Spain in 1542, by Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet of France in 1673, and by La Salle of France in 1682. From 1688 until 1763, European nations fought over this area with England claiming victory in the French and Indian War. The British Proclamation of 1763 to prohibit migration west of the Appalachian Mountains proved ineffective as colonists continued to move to West Tennessee and the territories west of the proclamation line (Bond & Sherman, 2003, p. 14). For several years after the Revolutionary War, the Americans, the Spanish, and the Chickasaw remained in a three-way struggle for control the Fourth Chickasaw Bluff. After 1818, as lands between the Mississippi and Tennessee rivers, north of the 35th parallel, were ceded to the Americans by the Chickasaw Indians, the accessible hinterland of this trade center grew rapidly along with the population in the Memphis area (Matthews, 1957).

The economic growth and rapid increase in population in this area was tied to transportation lines and the cotton trade which flourished in the fertile silt loam soils of the hinterland, often tended by African-American slaves who constituted in 1860 “more than 60 percent of the population of several [surrounding] counties” (Matthews, 1957, p. 121). Although, in 1860, the population of African-Americans in the city of Memphis was only 17 percent, with less than 100 as free citizens. Consequently, after the Civil War, with the return and migration of thousands of African-Americans to the city, the population of African-Americans rose to almost 60 percent of the total population of Memphis. Other foreign-born immigrants who settled here during this time were predominantly Irish, German, British, and French (Matthews, 1957, pp. 113-115). Important literacy achievements, from 1854-1876, three local German newspapers were circulated in the city. Coinciding with the opening of African-American schools, four newspapers were circulated between 1870s and 1890s for the African-American readership (Bond & Sherman, 2003, p. 45). Italian immigrants also came during this time and by the early 1900s were leading suppliers of food products and owners of grocery stores in the area. Throughout the 1900s, the immigrant populations in Memphis have steadily grown. In the last quarter of the 20th century Memphis experienced a noticeable influx of immigrants from non-European countries (e.g., China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Korea, the Middle East, and Africa). However, beginning in the 1990s up until the present time, the largest group of migrant or immigrants arriving in Memphis are Hispanic. Nonetheless, the present population in the city Memphis maintains its African-American majority, followed by white, Hispanic and then, other smaller ethnic groups.

Memphis Today

Although, throughout its history, a very diverse cosmopolitan area, multilingualism evidenced by languages other than English on public signage in Memphis is a relatively new phenomenon. Clearly, recent changes in the linguistic landscape reflect a shift in demographics as a result of migration to the area. In a report, based on data from IRS records, on migration in the Memphis area from 1992 to 1997, Redding and Schenk (2000) noted a change in Memphis Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) that reflected the national trend of African-Americans returning to the South from larger cities and the migration of Latinos to the area. In a study of the economic impact of Latino immigrants in Memphis, Mendoza, Ciscel, and Smith (2001) stated that while ninety percent of Hispanics/Latinos in Tennessee in 1990 were citizens, many today have undocumented immigrant status and are likely underestimated by the US Census Bureau. Within the past five to ten years, the LL in Memphis has changed dramatically reflecting decidedly transnational, multilingual demographics. Multilingual signs are now wide-spread throughout the LL of this urban area thus, reinforcing Barni and Bagna's (2009, p. 126) assertion of the importance of the linguistic landscape in the mapping of "linguistic diversity in multilingual contexts."

Circling the city of Memphis, Tennessee, via the Interstate 240 by-pass, it's almost impossible to miss several large, prominently placed billboards; these multilingual advertisements for goods and services appear to target the Spanish speaking consumer.



Figure 1. Photo of billboard visible from I-240 by-pass around Memphis.

Figure 1 is an advertisement for the most popular phone card service in Mexico. This billboard is visible from one of the most frequently traveled expressways by-passing the city. It references connection to home culture of a transplanted migrant community.

In figure 2, *La Prensa Latina* is one of at least three Spanish-English bi-lingual newspapers that target the Spanish speaking residents of Memphis.



Figure 2. Photo of billboard advertising bilingual newspaper visible from I-240 by-pass.

Driving through mid-town Memphis on Cleveland Avenue, look up and you will see the enormous image of the Dalai Lama on a billboard (see Figure 3). Today, Memphis has at least four Buddhist Temples, each affiliated with different Asian congregations.



Figure 3. Photo of billboard with Dalai Lama on Cleveland Ave. in Mid-town Memphis.

Also in mid-town on Cleveland, is a “Vietnamese” area marked with a kaleidoscope of multilingualism inscribed on signs of local ethnic shops and restaurants.



Figure 4. Photo of signs marking Vietnamese enclave in Mid-town Memphis.

Walking or driving in Memphis today, it is obvious that English is not the only language spoken or valued here. Wide-spread throughout the city, multiples of languages, national identities, and migrant discourses are visually represented in multimodal literacies (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001) marking houses, shops, commercial signs and billboards . If you ask the residents of Memphis about this change in the LL, many will report that it has happened within the last five to ten years.

The ‘Walking Tour’ Sites in Memphis

The first street sites selected for the ‘walking tour’ interviews were Lamar Avenue, Getwell Road, and Winchester Road. In Southeast Memphis, these streets were suggested by long time resident informants in the community who had noticed changes in the language on signage in these areas and also known as commercial areas with high populations of minority and migrant residents. These streets were very familiar to the researcher who had grown up in this area. Summer Avenue, another important commercial street site, was later selected in response to a recommendation from one of the participants during the initial contact meetings. Located in an area of Memphis north of the other sites, near the Jackson Corridor, Summer Avenue showed the highest frequency and widest variety of multiple languages on public commercial signs. (See Figure 5 for a map of the Memphis area.)

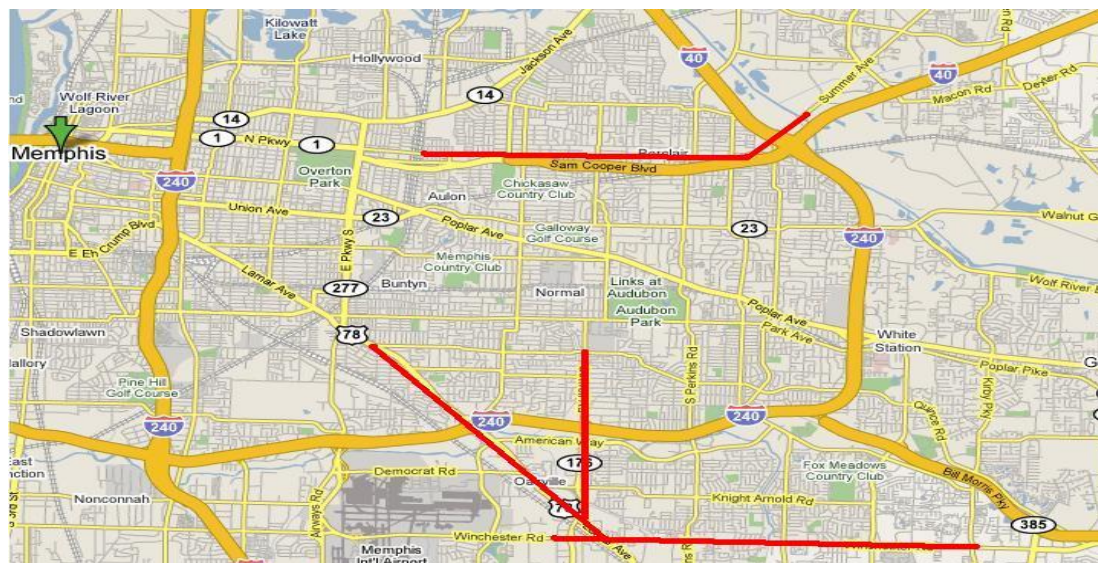


Figure 5. Map of ‘walking tour’ street sites in Memphis (google.earth.com).

Lamar Avenue, the street marked in red on the lower left in Figure 5, was the first site of the ‘walking tour’ interviews. Starting the tour at its intersection with Winchester

Road, this street runs southeast to northwest. The ‘walking tours’ began at a pre-determined starting point and returned to the same point at each site. Not far from the beginning of the Lamar Avenue ‘walking tour’, Getwell Road, which runs north and south, was the second site of the tour. Winchester Road was traveled from the west to the east, again starting and returning to the same location near the Lamar and Getwell sites. Summer Avenue was toured, as indicated by the red line, from east to the west and then, back.

Prior to the ‘walking tour’ interviews, digital data was collected at these sites and analyzed for frequency of multilingual signs present on businesses, shops and churches (see Table 2).

Table 2 <i>Description of Languages on Commercial Place Name Signs on ‘Walking Tour’ Streets</i>				
<i>Streets</i>	<i>Number of Businesses</i>	<i>English only</i>	<i>Multilingual or other languages</i>	<i>% multilingual or other language signs</i>
Lamar Ave	140	128	12	8.5%
Getwell Rd	139	120	19	13.6%
Winchester Rd	249	213	36	14.5%
Summer Ave	280	231	49	17.5%
Total	808	692	116	14.3%

As shown in Table 2, Summer Avenue had the highest percentage of multilingual signs with 17.5% of the total 280 displaying languages other than English. Out of a total of 249 business place signs on Winchester, there were 14.5% with other languages. Getwell Road had 13.6% and Lamar Avenue had the least amount with 8.5% in other languages.

A Visual Tour of the ‘Walking Tour’ Street Sites

LL on Lamar Avenue



Figure 6. Sign indicating three different ethnic groups.



Figure 7. Sign on Lamar Avenue targeting English and Spanish-speaking customers.



Figure 8. Sign advertising Chinese restaurant with large English letters and smaller Chinese characters significantly placed at the top of the sign.



Figure 9. Photo of sign with AAVE on Lamar Avenue.



Figure 10. Photo of sign on Lamar Avenue targeting Spanish-speaking customers.



Figure 11. Photo of sign communicating local residents' concern about crime in the neighborhood.

LL on Getwell Road



Figure 12. Photo of Spanish-only sign on Getwell Road near beginning of the tour.



Figure 13. Photo of advertisement placed in a store window on Getwell Road.



Figure 14. Photo of local family market now also targeting Spanish-speaking customers.



Figure 15. Photo of sign on apartment complex on Getwell Road targeting Hispanic renters.



Figure 16. Photo of sign on local franchised Appliance Store with message in Spanish—*Washers and dryers for your home.*



Figures 17, 18 & 19: Photos of red-trimmed houses on Getwell with color-coded literacy.



Figure 20. Photo of Spanish-only sign for a Church of Christ where all are welcome.

LL on Winchester Road



Figure 21. Photo of Mediterranean restaurant with modernized Arabic script.



Figure 22. Photo of Chinese restaurant on Winchester Road with Chinese characters written as a literal translation of New China (*xin zhong guo*), re-creating home place.



Figure 23. Photo of Spanish-only sign for Esmeralda supermarket and food store.



Figure 24. Photo of Migrant cityscaping with Spanish-only language and iconic visual literacies.



Figure 25. Photo of Vietnamese Buddhist Temple sign photographed in October, 2007.

The sign shown in Figure 25 had been removed when the researcher returned to the site in November, 2008. The Temple is located on the street behind Esmeralda supermarket.



Figure 26. Photo of Buddhist flag at Vietnamese Temple site.



Figure 27. Photo of Buddhist Goddess statue at Vietnamese Temple.



Figure 28. Photo of mixing of codes and multiliteracies at Temple site.



Figure 29. Photo of advertising in Spanish-only, a religious music and bookstore on Winchester.



Figure 30. Photo of the Statue of Liberation at the World Overcomers Church on Winchester.



Figure 31. Photo of an international market across from the World Overcomers Church statue.



Figures 32 & 33. Photo of signs with multiple languages (Left—Korean, Chinese; R—Spanish and Vietnamese) on Farmer's Market on Winchester.



Figure 34. Photo of local night club targeting the Spanish-speaking gay community.



Figure 35. Photo of Arabic market, bakery, and restaurant on Summer Avenue.



Figure 36. Photo of mixed codes and literacies on Japanese restaurant sign on Summer Avenue.



Figure 37. Photo of bakery recreating former place with name of Mexican city.



Figure 38. Photo of advertisement for services targeting Central American immigrant residents.



Figure 39. Photo of billboard located on Summer Avenue near the I-40 interstate entrance and exit.

CHAPTER 5: METHOD OF THE ‘WALKING TOUR’ INTERVIEW

The ‘Walking Tour’ Interviews in Memphis

In 2007 and 2008, ten individual onsite ‘walking tour’ interviews were conducted with residents of Memphis to collect their self-reported, emotional understandings of the LL. Commercial areas with a high frequency of multilingualism on public signs were selected for the study and photographed. The interviews were conducted onsite during ‘walking tours’ of commercial shopping areas on Lamar Avenue, Getwell Road, Winchester Road, and Summer Avenue streets located within the city limits of Memphis, Tennessee. These sites were major traffic arteries of the city and had been selected due to high frequency of multiple languages present on public signage in these areas. The areas were also familiar sites to the researcher although she has not lived in Memphis for several years.

Taking a bottom up approach described by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) the study focused on unofficial public commercial signage and billboards within the city limits. While official government signs, such as street names and highway markers, were written in English, the codes enforcement policy in Memphis had no restrictions on language choices used on commercial signs. The ‘walking tour’ interviews in this study were conducted in four different commercial areas, presently identified on Lamar, Winchester, Getwell and Summer, streets located within the city limits of Memphis, Tennessee. These streets are major traffic arteries of the city and were selected due to high frequency of multiple languages present on public signage. A map of Memphis is in the previous chapter (see Figure 5). Also in the previous chapter, there is a table showing frequency of multilingual signs on Lamar, Winchester, Getwell and Summer (see Table 2).

Selection of Participants

Prior to selection of the participants, flyers (see Appendix A) with information about the study were distributed in public offices, non-academic institutional settings among city government workers and given to others in the community in direct contact with the public. For those who expressed interest in participating in the study and granted permission to be contacted, an initial meeting was held to determine suitability, interest, and willingness to articulate thoughts and feelings about signage and language changes in their communities. The researcher met with those who responded and purposefully selected the ones who expressed interest and who were willing to participate in a study which would include visiting local communities with the researcher to discuss their thoughts and feelings about public signage. I employed *purposeful sampling* or *criterion-based selection* (Maxwell, 1996, p. 70). I selected participants, representing both migrant and long established residents, who demographically reflected the current population characteristics of the Memphis area based on government census reports (<http://www.city-data.com/us-cities/The-South/Memphis-Population-Profile.html>) and from language groups known to be residing in the community, or linguistically represented on public signs and billboards. After an initial meeting, dates and times were scheduled for individual ‘walking tours’ and consent forms were distributed, explained and signed (see Appendices B and C).

The following chart (Table 3) shows the group of participants selected for the study. The researcher chose to refer to them as Participant with the number of the order in which the interviews were conducted. This was an effort to protect personal identities and show the order in which each interview was conducted. The participants represented both migrant and long-time residents; nearly half had lived in Memphis all their lives while the others had migrated to

the area from 10 to 30 years prior to the study. The selection of the participants reflected the researcher's attempt to demographically reflect the diversity of the current population in Memphis.

Table 3							
<i>Participants with Number Indicating Order of the Interview</i>							
Participant Number	Gender	Age	Ethnicity/ Race	1 st Language	Place of Birth	Length of Residency	Level of Education
P1	Male	50s	white	English	Memphis	All of life	College degree
P2	Male	30s	African/AA	Amharic	Ethiopia	10 years	Graduate degrees
P3	Female	50s	White	English	Memphis	All of life	Graduate degree
P4	Female	40s	Black/AA	English	Drew, MS	19 years	College degree
P5	Male	40s	white	English	Memphis	All of life	College degree
P6	Female	20s	Hispanic	Spanish	Mexico	12 years	HS/Voc. Training
P7	Male	30s	Black/AA	English	Memphis	All of life	Technology College
P8	Female	70s	white	English	Memphis	All of life	HS/Voc. Training
P9	Female	40s	Asian	Khmer/ K'mai	Cambodia	32 years	HS/Voc. training
P10	Male	20s	white	English	Memphis	All of life	College degree

There were five males and five females between the ages of 25 and 80. Of the group, seven reported that English was their first language while the other three, one born in Ethiopia, one born in Mexico, and one in Cambodia, reported Amharic, Spanish and Khmer (K'mai) as their first languages. Five were self-described as white/Caucasian, two as African-American/Black, one as Ethiopian, one as Hispanic, and one as Asian. All the participants held jobs in areas of public service or education in the city of Memphis.

Data Collection and Analysis

Types of Data

The primary data collected and analyzed for this study included audio tape-recorded and transcribed interviews with participants. The data from the interviews represented the co-constructed meanings, responses and understandings elicited by focused attention on the LL. Secondary data included digital photographs of the LL at selected sites, and the researcher's fieldnotes and journal. Additional information that informed the study were relevant documents such as demographic census reports, historical documents, newspaper articles, community flyers, transcriber's comments, and additional notes of informants' knowledge about the community.

Data Collection Instruments

Data collection instruments included a digital camera, audio tape-recorder, and notebooks for recording fieldnotes, information from transcriber, and information from informants.

Data Collection Procedure

The data collection for this research project was conducted as follows: 1) the selection, photographing, and description of 'walking tour' sites; 2) initial contact and selection of participants; 3) the postmodern 'walking tour' interview ; 4) recording fieldnotes and transcription of the interviews; and 5) a post-'walking tour' interview meeting to ensure "member checking" by giving the participants copies of his/her interview transcripts and an opportunity to continue the dialogue and add, clarify or discuss any other thoughts and feelings about their responses or the topic and 6) a final follow-up with participants one to two years after the tours.

Procedure of 'Walking Tours' and Interview Questions

The 'walking tour' interview was done in one meeting and took approximately two hours with each individual participant. Prior to the meeting, the researcher informed the participants that she planned to record the conversations and that at any time they could request that something they said not be included in the transcription. If a participant was not fluent in English or was more comfortable speaking in his/her first language, the researcher was willing to employ a translator to be present for the 'walking tour' and interview, and for translation and transcription of the recorded interview. This was not necessary. The participant held the small audio tape recorder that was used to record all comments during the 'walking tour' interview. At a designated meeting place, the researcher met the participants and on the drive to the first site, she asked them to talk about themselves, their history in this area, thoughts and feelings about Memphis, or anything they wanted her to know about them. At the beginning of the 'walking tour,' they were told that the researcher was interested in their personal responses to the languages present and linguistic changes in the areas visited; she assured them that there were no right nor wrong answers. The 'walking tour' interview was relatively unstructured with conversational responses from the researcher who also had memories, personal history and family still residing in the areas and was also actively constructing a new understanding of the changes and demographic realities present in once familiar places. The participants were asked to look around and talk about their feelings and understandings of the places, as they were during the 'tours,' and for long-established residents how they remembered the areas to be. They were also asked to respond based on their initial visual perceptions and

orientations to the places mediated by the languages present on signs and billboards.

During the interview, the researcher wove the following questions into the conversation as naturally as possible:

1. How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?
2. When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?
3. What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?
4. Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area? If yes, why? Or, if no, why not?
5. Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?
6. Does or did this place have a special meaning or memory for you?
7. What does it mean to you now?
8. What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?
9. Which language do you think is the most important in this area?
10. Do you feel a connection with this place?
11. How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging to a place?

The primary data collected and analyzed for this study included audio tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed interviews, digital photographs of the LL in selected sites, and the researcher's fieldnotes and journal. Secondary data included other relevant documents such as demographic census reports, historical documents, newspaper articles, community flyers, transcriber's comments, and additional notes from informants about the community.

Stages of Data Collection and Analysis

The 'walking tour' interviewing methodology described in this study to collect cognitive and emotional perceptions of the linguistic landscape is a new approach in sociolinguistic interviewing. While the researcher drew from multiple disciplinary studies, there was no existing model to comprehensively represent the dynamics of the interactions during the 'walking tour' interviews used in conjunction with the LL as a stimulus text.

In the following section, the stages of data collection, the categories and levels of systematic analysis conceptualized and implemented in this study are described.

Processes of data collection and analysis were conceptualized in three stages:

- **Activation Stage** ('walking tour' interviews and data collection)
- **Text Production Stage** (interview transcriptions, feedback, and fieldnotes)
- **Data Analysis Stage** (five interactive categories for data analysis emerged from the initial readings of the interview transcripts)

1. Activation Stage. This stage activates or generates the discourse about the LL, the cognitive and emotional responses reported by participants as attention is focused on the LL. The activity in this stage is described as *data collection*. This is the stage when the 'walking tour' interviews were conducted and the data was generated. The researcher and participant were onsite, in one sense, embedded in, or surrounded by the LL. This stage also included the activities of driving to and from the different locations, walking around certain sites when convenient, and chatting in a restaurant or coffee shop after the 'walking tour'. The activation stage was characterized by continuous interaction between researcher and participant while verbal or non-verbal responses are elicited by questions from the researcher, from focused attention on the LL, or were triggered visually by the LL or generated during the conversation. As mentioned earlier, the conversations during this stage were recorded and later transcribed in the next stage.

2. Text Production Stage. The activity in this stage was *transcription* of the interviews. After the 'walking tour's were completed, the interviews were transcribed by a communications instructor. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and notations of non-verbal expressions, the overall tone of the speakers, and the transcriber's perceptions

of tone and empathy between the researcher and participant during the interview were noted for later reference during analysis. This is a form of member checking in order to maintain the validity and integrity of the transcripts and to make the interviewer aware of instances and ways she may have unknowingly influenced or manipulated the participant's responses. A copy of the transcript was given to each participant for clarification or additional comments, thus maintaining another layer of interaction that kept dialogue open for as long as possible. The first transcripts were maintained as first transcribed and any additions or changes were noted on another copy of the transcript and viewed as another layer of interaction or data.

3. Data Analysis Stage. This stage consisted of a multiple-level analysis of each transcribed interview. This model of analysis consisted of five discursive interactive categories. The transcribed interviews were analyzed based on these categories:

- Explicit Statements
- Topics/Themes (Referential Information/Discourse)
- Emotional/Evaluative Statements
- Dynamic Interactions (Positioning and Identity, Empathy, Co-construction of Meanings)
- Contextualized Meanings

The following chart (see Figure 40) presents a dynamic interactive model of conversation analysis with the LL as stimulus text. It illustrates the steps in analysis of the interview text and the interactions between levels of analyses.

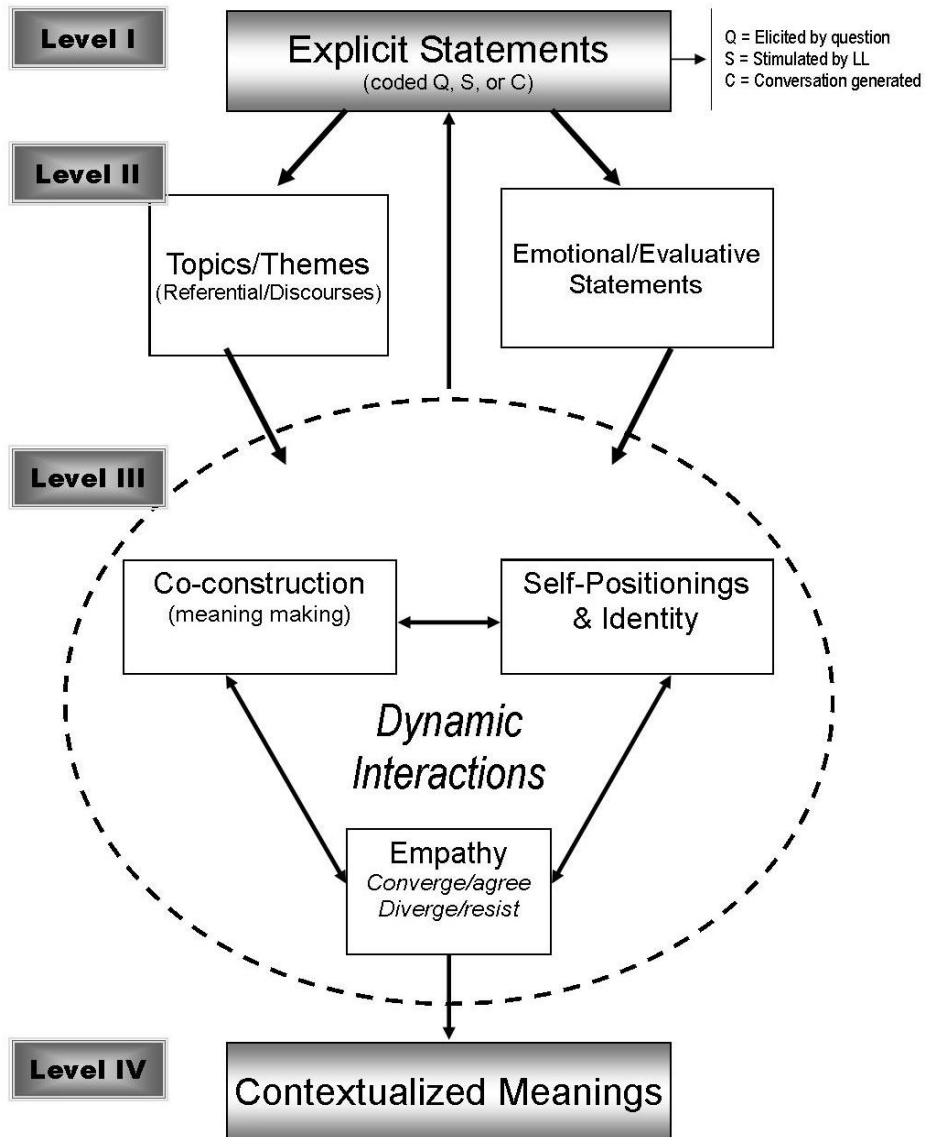


Figure 40. Dynamic interactive model of analysis of interview with stimulus text.

A variety of methods of narrative, conversation and discourse analysis are synthesized in this model. Previous works by Fairclough, Foucault, Van Dijk, and Wodak in critical discourse analysis (CDA) informed both micro and macro analyses. Goffman (1959, 1963) contributed greatly to my understanding of how roles are taken up or

resisted in the presentation of self and how conversations are framed within the context of wider social discourses. The referential and evaluative components of Labov and Waletzsky's (1967, 2003) model of narrative analysis are evident in this design. Also, reflected in this model are the three functions in discourse traditionally recognized by applied linguists. Those functions, as summarized by Pavlenko (2005), are referential (propositions or logical content), social (interaction roles and positioning), and affective (signals of moods or feelings). Scollon's (2001) nexus of practice illustrated his model of dynamic processes of interaction which considered the discourses available to the speakers, the interaction order, and the historical bodies present in the interaction (also in Hult, 2009). These studies contributed to the discursive model for analysis used in the study.

Steps and Levels of Analysis of Interview Texts

Step One

The first step (see Level I) in analysis of the interviews involved locating *explicit statements*. What was said? "All discourse networks grow from a Base space, which represents the discourse starting point of a meaning construction" (Hougaard & Oakley 2008,3). These statements or propositions were coded as (Q) elicited responses to specific questions from the researcher, (S) visually stimulated responses to the LL, or (C) statements generated by the conversation.

Step Two

The next step (see Level II) involved the classifying of coded statements as one of two categories: *topic/ theme* (referential /discourses) or *emotional/evaluative statements* (non-verbal will be noted). Themes and topics that emerged during the interview

represented issues and information relevant to the speakers and also the discourses to which they have access. This category is important in that it provides insights into the thoughts that are stimulated by the LL and messages it embodies. Also, in this interactive discursive model discourses are analyzed next to and embedded in other discourses. Gee (2008) stated, “Discourses define themselves with and against other Discourses” (interview with Gee by St. Clair & Phipps, 2008: 95). In the affective category, explicit statements of emotions and evaluative statements are coded and analyzed (non-verbal expressions are noted). Studies by Downes (2000), Edwards (1999), Edwards and Potter (1992), Labov (2003), Pavlenko and Blackledge (2005) and Wooffitt (2005) were instrumental in analyses in this category and the next ones.

Step Three

In Level III, the types of *dynamic interactions* analyzed were:

- Self-positioning and Identity
- Empathy in interaction
- Co-construction of Meanings

Here, I would like to add that although I am discussing these types of dynamic interactions individually, they should be understood as occurring simultaneously within the context of the interview, not linear but overlapping across and between Levels I, II and III. The first type of interaction listed focused on self-positioning statements and the negotiation of identities during the interview. I also examined ways the discourse in the conversation, the interviewer’s or participant’s questions, and/or the LL stimulated movement or shifts in positions within the speakers between two kinds of identity—social and personal (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Langenhove, 1998). The

discursive process of co-construction of meanings drew from the model by Hanauer (2006) to study of the processes of interaction in co-constructing knowledge in a science classroom. A model in which the categories analyzed were: noticing, questioning, argumentation, counter statements, restatements, elaboration, and integration of knowledge. Empathy interactions are analyzed based on Pelias and Shaffer's (1999, 2007: 99) synthesis of work in performance studies; "empathy is a qualitative process in which individuals understand and share the feelings of other." The empathy interactions are noted by recognition of other's feelings (coding expressions or gestures), convergence (statements of identification or agreement with speaker), divergence (moving away from topic or resistance), and adoption.

Step Four

In Level IV, the last stage of analysis, the analysis of *contextualized meanings* integrated and synthesized the preceding four categories. For effective analysis of narrative, conversation, or discourse, it is necessary to situate that discourse in time and place as well as within the historical bodies of the speakers (Gee 1999; Scollon 2001). Contextualized meanings take into account the individual (history, ethnicity, experiences, expectations, emotional states, active senses, and wider discourses individual speakers have been exposed to), the physical environment (present inscriptions and signs or artifacts of the past), as well as the dynamics of social interactions within the context of the 'walking tour' interview. In the results, individual discussions of contextualized meanings found in Chapter 6 adapted Goodwin and Duranti's (1992) strategies of analysis of context (as cited in Nguyen & Kasper, 2009). For the analytical discussion at this level, the researcher drew from Goodwin and Duranti's (1992) proposed analytical

strategy of analysis of context as cited in *Talk-in-Interaction: Multilingual Perspectives*, edited by Hanh thi Nguyen and Gabriele Kasper (2009). Adapted for this study, the strategy included: 1) approaching the interview responses from the perspective of the participant as “actor operating on the world”; 2) considering the “indigenous activities that participants use to constitute the culturally and historically organized social worlds they inhabit” and how this colors perceptions; and 3) understanding that participants are “situated within multiple contexts which are capable of rapid and dynamic change as events they are involved in unfold” (Nguyen & Kasper, 2009, p. 11).

Finally, as with any qualitative work in narrative analysis, this level of analysis represented the researcher’s interpretation of the participants’ overall responses to the LL text and thus, subjective evaluation of the effectiveness of the methodology designed and implemented in this study. Interestingly, results presented in Chapter 6 were supported by the post-interview follow-up questions with participants done from one to two years after the ‘walking tour’ interview.

Summary: Filling in the Gap

The interview methodology designed for this study provides a new multi-disciplinary approach which focuses on the discursive processes (Edwards & Potter, 1992) of how discourse in the interview is “shaped and organized by asking and answering questions” (Mishler, 1986, p. vii). Referred to as interactional sociolinguistic interviewing, this trend began its movement in the earlier works of Goffman (1963), Labov and Waletzky (1967), Halliday (1970), Hymes, (1972), Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), Gilbert and Mulkay, (1984), Mishler (1986), Denzin (1997), Gubrium and Holstein, (2003) and Woffitt (2005). The research methodology of the postmodern

‘walking tour’ interview mixes methods of oft described as incompatible approaches in research interviewing—that of a traditional question and response narrative inquiry approach, conversation analysis or ‘talk-in-interaction’ approach and discourse analysis.

Barbara Johnstone (2000) stated that analysis of data is something that is rarely discussed in systematic detail. The phenomenon of migrant cityscaping and its impact on linguistic changes in the community and on individual residents triggered a complex range of responses. Collecting and analyzing this complexity presented a unique challenge. Representation of the responses and meanings constructed within the interviews was equally challenging and complicated. As a result, the methodology for analysis of the interview texts in this critical ethnographic study reflects a discursive approach that utilizes a mixed method of analyses, synthesizing and drawing from narrative interview analysis, conversation analysis and discourse analysis. In *Interpretive Ethnography*, Denzin (1997) described the postmodern text “as a parallax of discourses,” referencing the work of Bakhtin (1986) (p. 36). Denzin wrote:

Bakhtin (1986) anticipates the postmodernist text—a text based on a parallax of discourses in which nothing is ever stable or capable of firm and certain representation. His is a multiperspectival epistemology that thickens and makes more complex the very processes that qualitative researchers wish to capture and represent in their reflective texts. For Bakhtin (1986), all discourse (everyday speech, poetry, drama, novels, music, and scientific articles) is contextual, immediate, and grounded in the concrete specifics of the interactional situation. Discourse is dialogical; it joins people in tiny, little worlds of concrete experience. (Denzin, 1997, p. 36)

In Chapter 6, the researcher presents the results making every effort to show and explain the procedures of data analysis utilized in this study.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS OF INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Overview

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the steps in analysis of the data and a re-statement of the main research and interview questions, then, some detailed information about categorization, coding, organization and representation of the results. Following this information, the results of the data are presented by individual interview correspondingly in the order that the interview was conducted. In each Participant's section, after a brief introduction of the participant, results are presented with a systematic description and analysis of each interview text at multiple levels of analysis as described in the previous chapter (for reference, see Figure 40). This will be followed by a brief summary of the individual Participant's results. In Chapter 7, a synthesis and summary combining results from all the interviews will be presented with charts and tables followed by discussion of the group responses to the LL.

Briefly, the first step of analysis (Level I) includes the identification and coding of explicit statements about the LL elicited by researcher's questions about the LL, stimulated by direct contact with the LL, or generated by the conversation during the 'walking tour' interview. The second step (Level II) provides a categorical analysis of the content of the interview by grouping statements as topics/themes (referential or discourse information) that emerged in the interview or as emotional or evaluative statements indicating the participants' feelings and emotional responses. The third step (Level III) describes the dynamic interactions within the conversation which focus on discursive co-construction of knowledge, positioning and identity, and empathy movements between the interviewer and participant. Through narrative interpretation, the fourth step (Level

IV) of analysis contextualizes the meanings of the participants' responses to the LL in relation to the positionings, potential influences, and interactions with the researcher within the context of the 'walking tour' interview.

Restatement of Research and Interview Questions

As a reminder, the main research and interview questions for the study were:

- What cognitive and emotional verbal responses are elicited (triggered) by the close physical proximity and explicit reference to the linguistic landscape from long-standing and migrant populations in urban communities in Memphis, TN?
- To what extent is the 'walking tour' interview of linguistic landscape sites a viable tool for eliciting psychological responses to multilingualism and linguistic changes in the community and for raising awareness of local language usage, resources, and needs?

The pre-determined focused interview questions were:

1. How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?
2. When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?
3. What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?
4. Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area? If yes, why? Or, if no, why not?
5. Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?
6. Does or did this place have a special meaning or memory for you?
7. What does it mean to you now?
8. What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?
9. Which language do you think is the most important in this area?
10. Do you feel a connection with this place?
11. How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?

Categorization, Coding, Organization, and Representation

In Level I, the first step in the process of data analysis identified explicit statements from the interview text determined as responses to the pre-determined

interview questions. The focus of the study was to collect responses to multilingualism and changes in the LL as well as individual understandings of the community triggered by direct observation of languages, icons and images inscribed on signs, billboards, buildings, and grounds in public spaces. Therefore, specific utterances and statements from the interviews were selected according to the questions they addressed and coded in the following ways:

- Q - for explicit statements elicited directly by interview questions;
- S - for statements determined to be stimulated by direct observation of the LL;
- C - for statements generated by the conversation.

The results of the data for Level I analysis are organized by the list of tentative interview questions (shown in *italics*) proposed in the research design. It is important to note that in several instances the participant answered a question in response to direct observation of the LL and/or in response to the conversation generated during the ‘walking tour’ interview. In these instances, a response to a question was stimulated by observation of the LL or generated in interaction within the conversation or interview without being explicitly stated by the interviewer.

The next step of analysis, Level II, involved categorization of the content of the statements into two types of statements: 1) Topics/Themes category which contained the response statements that had referential content, cues of non-personalized information or public discourse about the phenomenon; and/or 2) Emotional/Evaluative statements category contained statements that were utterances which had been ‘personalized’ and expressed some emotional feeling or evaluation of the phenomenon or situation being investigated. The emotional/evaluative statements in this category were identified as

positive, negative, indifferent or neutral, unsure as a personal evaluation in response to visual stimulus and questions about language changes in the community as evidenced in the LL.

In Level III, three types or modes of dynamic interactions are analyzed. One type of interaction described focused on self-positioning statements as signifiers or microcosms of identity stimulated by the LL. Self-positioning statements were first generally categorized as professional or personal. Statements marking professional identities were coded as work status or academic status indicating reference to their job or reference to academic training or degrees. Identity markers categorized as personal were then coded as resident status, group affiliations, and individual identity orientations. The second dynamic process of interaction considered verbalized movements of empathy between researcher and participant. Borrowing from the field of performance studies, Pelias and Shaffer (2005) described empathy as movements of converging or diverging in agreement in the context of performer-audience interaction. This concept is applied to this study as discursive moves of agreement or disagreement, the taking up or resisting of propositions or statements about the LL, during the interview between the interlocutors—the interviewer and participant. Another dynamic of interaction concentrated on discursive co-constructions of meanings or discourse in relation to the LL. In each interview meanings understood about the LL were shared and as a result, deeper and richer meanings were jointly constructed. The space of the ‘walking tour’ interview is conceptualized as performance space, a space in which identity, meanings, and empathy movements are performed and negotiated. Also, drawing from previous studies in conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Wooffitt, 2005), the

researcher takes into account that while postmodern interviewing is fluid and dynamic, ‘talk-in-interaction’ is often systematic and orderly marked by utterances which perform activities such as turn taking, hedging, repair sequences, pre-closings and closings indicating a social organization and series of connected actions in the flow of interaction.

Level IV analysis presents discussion of contextualized meanings. The discussions of the ten interviews reflect qualitative interpretations of participants’ responses to the LL in the context of the ‘walking tour’ interview. Clearly, this researcher held Vygotsky’s notion that social interaction is the main site of human development and meaning making. Logically, meanings in this interview context were shaped by the questions and comments of the researcher, by the visual stimulus of the LL, and by the individual consciousness and history of the participant. In this section of analysis the researcher considered how the positioning and questions of the researcher/interviewer may have influenced the responses as well as further explicated the important role of the LL at the ‘walking tour’ sites as it stimulated the conversation and triggered memories and emotional responses in the participants. The researcher approached her understandings of participants’ statements and responses drawing from Duranti and Goodwin’s (1996) model for understanding talk-in-interaction by contemplating the perspective of the participant, the cultural and communicative tools and resources available to the participant, and the propensity of individuals to shift, change and re-position ideas and identities in conversation. Consequently, the meanings discussed at this level considered multiple interactive influences at the moment of seeing as well as the explicit statements of personal positioning, cognitive perceptions, and emotional responses recorded in the transcripts and the researcher’s fieldnotes.

Results of Individual Interviews

Participant 1

The first ‘walking tour’ interview was conducted Saturday morning on October 27, 2007. The researcher and the participant met for the first time the day before the interview at the initial contact meeting. Participant 1 was self-described as a white male in his late 50s. A monolingual speaker of English, he had studied Latin in high school. He had resided in the Memphis all of his life although he had lived in several areas of the Memphis metropolitan area as a child. Participant 1 had a college degree in business and worked in the area of public services. As we were driving to Lamar Avenue, the first site of the tour, when asked to describe Memphis, he responded, “It has its charms here but race continues to be an issue in this community and it’s probably a bigger issue here than in other areas.” When asked about his memories of the first site he responded, “We had a family business on Lamar. It was a restaurant. It’s no longer there. It’s no longer there.”

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 4) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 1. Each statement was coded as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 4 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 1</i>				
Participant 1	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	30	11	9	10
Percentage	100%	37%	30%	33%

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

I don't know (Q)

Until you see them advertising in these different languages you don't notice the impact of these other population (S).

It's not what you would think of traditional American commerce (C).

I don't get annoyed by it (Q)

When you have these other nationalities that are taking up residence here, that has kind of a big city feel (S).

Does that bother you?

No, I guess that's the American way (Q).

They come here to be able to make a living... (C)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

Within the last five years (Q).

[where I work] a lot of stuff she generates in two languages ... we have a lot of her stuff that is translated into Spanish (C).

I don't notice as many billboards anymore as I do just business (S)

The labels on food items ... they all have a second language ... sometimes three (C).

I think I notice that more than the billboards and signs (C).

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

I don't notice any radical changes (Q).

There are some things on signs now that I don't think I would have seen years ago...ten years ago (C).

It hasn't been completely changed (S).

St. John's school church and school are still there (S).

I've seen as much change on Lamar as on Winchester (S).

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?*

No. There's not any...no (Q).

5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

Not unless they're in a mall (Q).

If advertising occurs in an unfamiliar language, these businesses...it's all about money (C).

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?*

I grew up with a...we had a family business on Lamar (Q).

The restaurant was sitting right there. That was our parking lot (S).

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

I would say, this trip is the first time I've been on Lamar in months (Q).

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?*

I do wonder about the citizenship and just how many of these people are legally and illegally here (S & C).

People my age and older would say that the Italians have been a part of the culture of this town for a long time and the Greeks to a lesser extent (C).

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?*

We have children and being bilingual would be a real asset (C).

Spanish..a language that it was suggested they become real familiar with (Q & C).

10. *Do you feel a connection with this place?*

Yes. Mostly because of our restaurant (Q).

I don't long for the old days on this road (S).

Now this area has more crime issues (C).

Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 1, of the 30 explicit statements analyzed, 22 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 8 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. Table 5 shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 5					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 1</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
22	2	5	1	2	11
100%	10%	23%	6%	10%	51%

As stated previously, the explicit statements that answered, directly or indirectly, the pre-determined interview questions were divided into two types of responses. Of the 30 explicit statements analyzed, 22 were categorized as having emotional or evaluative content. Of these, 2 (10%) contained positive statements about multilingualism in the LL while 5 (23%) indicated negative feelings about changes in the community based on observation of the LL. Only 1 (6%) stated neutral or indifferent feelings and 2 (10%) expressed feelings of uncertainty. Most of the statements in this category, 11 (51%) were analyzed as personal evaluations. While 8 were categorized as referential in that the

utterances did not seem to contain emotional content, but expressed information about a topic or theme of discourse. Also, three of out of the total number of statements analyzed for Participant 1 were categorized as both emotional/evaluative and referential. Relevant issues categorized as topics and themes were introduced during the interview by the participant.

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Self-Positioning and Identity. In the first four expressions categorized as emotional/evaluative statements in Level I analysis, Participant 1 reported his responses to multilingualism or changes in the LL with use of the negative constituent “not” in each statement. For example, “I don’t know...” “It’s not what you think...” “You don’t notice...” and “I don’t get annoyed.” This seemed to indicate the placement of self outside and above the migrant discourses being observed via the LL. His residential community was a predominantly white community in the suburbs. On the surface, his responses to the questions were usually “yes” or “no” which reinforced a neutral, unemotional position about the LL. In one instance when asked if public advertisements in unfamiliar languages bothered him, he extended his ‘no’ response and said, “I do wonder about—this is a whole other issue—I do wonder about the citizenship and just how many of these people are legally and illegally here.” This clearly indicated his concerns and position as a long-standing English speaking legal resident; however, he quickly neutralized the response with “when you do see signage, that may be one of the impressions you get.” In the middle of the interview, he positioned himself in a professional position and commented that in the office where he worked “all the stuff we do ... is in two languages ... translated into Spanish.” However, when the researcher tried

to draw out the conversation on this topic, he hedged by asking a question about the local high school she had attended, falling back into a long-standing resident position reflecting on the past. Toward the end of the ‘walking tour’ interview, a shift in Participant 1’s identity from a distanced, mono-cultural, Euro-American, long time resident position to that of an individualized identity position of concerned father. In response to the LL and conversation during the interview, he stated, “We have...children...being bilingual would be an asset. If we want to talk in respect to my children, there’s a different dynamic. It seems to me that their futures could hinge on [it].”

Empathy Movements. Based on the impression of the transcriber of the interview text, the overall level of empathy during the interview was moderate. Noted by the researcher, Participant 1 evidenced some hedging and repair sequencing when he responded or avoided responding to questions about feelings. The researcher also noted that as this was the first ‘walking tour’ interview, she often felt clumsy or not as smooth conducting the interview while logistically moving the interview to the different sites. Another consideration for understanding the level of empathy was what Goffman (1963) refers to as the “institution of acquaintanceship.” This work is necessary in face engagements when two people meet for the first time. The discursive task of personally identifying one another with distinguishing knowledge is part of a mutual information relationship—a pattern that is repeated each time after the original meeting. The empathy in the interview seemed to increase when the researcher and participant talked of their personal memories of the ‘walking tour’ sites and growing up in Memphis.

Co-constructions of Meanings. Key motifs in the meanings constructed in close proximity and focus on the LL ranged from crime and racial issues to the need for bilingual education of the next generation of city residents. As we were driving to Lamar Avenue, the first site of the tour, when asked to describe Memphis, he responded, “It has its charms here but race continues to be an issue in this community and it’s probably a bigger issue here than in other areas.” For most of the interview, the participant and researcher re-imagined the community sites from their childhoods, as they were in the past, with the old familiar businesses, icons, and landmarks that defined places and spaces that were now transformed into multilingual communities with unfamiliar literacies. Several attempts to focus the participant on his feelings about recent linguistic changes in the communities were often hedged with repair sequences that re-directed the conversation to memories of school days and experiences growing up in Memphis. The most significant meanings co-constructed during the interview were recognitions of specific “remembered” places in Memphis that are now gone, ways language practices in Memphis have become more multilingual, and the necessity for future foreign language education for children.

Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings

Acutely aware of the potential to overly influence the participant’s responses, I, the researcher, worked to minimize my comments and insert questions from the pre-determined interview question bank as naturally as possible. Very often a question from the list was not actually articulated but was answered organically in the course of conversation and the act of noticing the LL. (The sources of the statements analyzed from Participant 1 are shown in detail in Table 4.) It was also my aim to make the interview

environment as relaxed and comfortable as possible to encourage an atmosphere of mutuality and openness, to maximize potential disclosure. On the way to the first site, I began by asking the participant to talk about his background and history in Memphis. Closer to the site, the first question I asked Participant 1 was, “What about the places we will be looking at? Any memories?” He responded at length talking about the business his family had at one time in this area and how things had changed. I asked if he noticed signs in general and he responded, “There are some things on signs now that I don’t think I would have seen ten years ago.” The changes he was noting and also the reason why it was important for this study to be conducted in Memphis at this time was because multilingualism on public signage was a new phenomenon. Most public signage throughout this metropolitan area was in English only until recently. Ten years ago, it was rare to see signs in this area that were not in English. At this point, Participant 1 informed me that we would be seeing some Hispanic signs in the area that we were approaching for the tour. Responding to his input in the conversation, I then asked how he felt about seeing signs that were not in English. Aware that his first language was English, at this point, I also inserted the question, “Have you studied other languages?” He responded that he had studied Latin in high school.

With respect to his feelings about multilingualism in the LL in Memphis, Participant 1’s initial response was reported as ‘unsure’ about the changes. It was the researcher’s impression that the participant had been noticing changes in the LL prior to the interview. As was stated in the previous paragraph, before reaching the first site of the ‘walking tour’, he commented, “You’re going to see some Hispanic ... right up here in this area as a matter of fact.” He later responded to the question about how he felt in that

moment when looking at the signs that were not in English with, “I don’t know...until we see them advertising in these different languages you don’t notice the impact of these other populations.” Positioned not only as the researcher but also as a fellow Memphian, with history in this area, I encouraged him to express what he was feeling and thinking while looking at the LL at this site and then at the others on Getwell and Winchester. Perhaps, because Participant 1 and I shared the same Euro-American ethnic background, he talked freely about his feelings. Although, in my opinion, responding at the moment of seeing is a ‘hot cognitive’ moment and is more likely to reflect less filtered responses due to research in this area suggesting that human attention is focused on one thing at a time and reflecting in action intensifies the experience (Abelson, 1963; Brand, 1987; Brennan, 2005; Farrell, 2007; Schön, 1983). As evidence of the researcher’s effort to minimize her influence and maximize the role of the LL, Participant 1’s interview transcript showed brief, open-ended questions inserted by the researcher which were often followed by lengthy comments and reflections that were cued by the LL. With the pronominal usage of “we” and “them” and the telling phrase “these other populations,” his statements signaled and reinforced a perspective of a long-standing, mainstream Euro-American, mono-cultural resident trying to cope with change. Implying a disruption in normal linguistic practices, the participant seemed uncertain as to how to reorient himself in a multilingual space.

The participant articulated throughout the interview that his position on multilingualism in the LL was neutral; however, subtle concerns about crime, immigration status of residents, and a sense of loss in that something that was familiar had become strange ran as undercurrents to the discourse about the inevitability of

change in the community. In spite of a tenor of resignation concerning linguistic changes in the community as evidenced by the LL, Participant 1 indicated that his children's success in the future could depend on their knowledge of multiple languages. The interview transcript with Participant showed 226 lines of talk contributed by the Participant, with 79 lines from the interviewer. Most comments initiated by the interviewer were short responses intended to encourage the participant to continue talking. The questions that were initiated such as "Do you go into stores with signs in languages that you don't understand?" were important in understanding the role of the LL in various communities and how language may serve as an identity marker, barrier or invitation to public spaces in Memphis. The interview ended with some interesting comments, not taped recorded, but noted in the researcher's fieldnotes. As he was leaving, the participant firmly acknowledged the need for multilingual education of children in the U.S. He also stated a surprisingly optimistic outlook for the future by stating that Memphis was a strong and resilient community and would cope with the changes as it had coped with struggles and diversity in the past.

Summary of Results for Participant 1

Participant 1 responded to the LL with nostalgia, concerns and vision. He positioned himself primarily as a long-time resident, a member of white-ethnic suburban community and also as a parent who saw multilingualism in his children's future. The LL triggered concerns about crime in the city and he did not appear to be comfortable with linguistic changes in the community, but nonetheless, seemed to accept these changes as inevitable with a little optimism.

Participant 2

Born in Ethiopia, Participant 2 was a male in his late 30s to early 40s. He had been living in Memphis for ten years. Highly educated, he came to Memphis for graduate studies. In his words, “I was born and grew up in Ethiopia. Upon graduation I was working for the university there, and started graduate studies. Then I received a scholarship (equivalent to the Fulbright here) to study in Germany. So I went to Germany and studied...for two and a half years before I came to the U.S. for further studies.” He fluently spoke four languages. His first language was Amharic, then Oromo, followed by German and English—the languages he then spoke at home. Participant 2’s history of migration, multilingualism, and academic studies, as well as his current professional career working for the city of Memphis made him uniquely suited for participation in this study.

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 6) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 2. Statements are shown as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 6 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 2</i>				
Participant 2	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	43	11	9	22
Percentage	100%	26%	21%	51%

The results for Participant 2 show that many of the pre-determined interview questions were addressed as a spontaneous response to the LL or naturally occurred during the conversation about the LL. This indicated that the postmodern interviewing methodology and use of the LL as a stimulus text contributed to the free flow of conversation and maintained focus on the topic under investigation. Participant 2's responses to the questions were:

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

That's interesting. Because it says something in Spanish and here at the bottom of the address the explanations are in English (S)

Sometimes I wonder what is the target? Spanish speakers or English speakers? (S)

Chinese restaurants use the Chinese script (C)

I see more and more churches with the Chinese and Korean writing (C)

I'm sure I have something interesting to tell you about these flags (S)

Like the church on Winchester has a bunch of flags (S)

Sometimes, I think they are trying to show they are international (C)

But sometimes, I don't understand it because when they have four or five flags—

how come they selected those flags? (S & C)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

Do you notice signs?

No. But yeah, they're unavoidable (Q)

Actually, I did not pay attention to the Spanish signs in this area before (S)

Yeah, on Summer Avenue, I saw many Hispanic business signs (Q)

Just yesterday, I saw a Korean Presbyterian church (C)

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

Memphis is dynamic, I mean things have been changing very fast since we moved here (Q)

It has changed a lot since I came here. Yeah. Now they have three Ethiopian restaurants (C)

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?*

If I am looking for something special and I only heard I can find in this place, yes, otherwise, I know, I don't feel frightened or something (Q)

For example, there is a picture of chickens [pointing] if I want to buy chicken why don't I go someplace where I understand the details in English (S)

5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

It depends. . . . (Q)

If I plan to go to a Chinese restaurant and there is a Chinese sign, that doesn't deter me (C)

But, if I'm looking for car maintenance, to buy some item, and the description is written only in Spanish, it doesn't make sense to me (C)

Unless there is no other option, I don't go there (C)

But if I want to eat Mexican food and the sign is written in Hispanica, it doesn't matter to me (C)

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?*

Yeah, when I was a student I had a used car so I brought it here twice for repair (Q)

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

Lamar is generally considered one of the depressed areas. So that is the
connotation for, at least, I have of it (Q)

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?*

If I see Spanish billboard or Spanish signs, definitely I expect that is an area
where Spanish speaking people live (Q)

Because this is how small businesses ... they have a very small market area (C)

They don't put that kind of sign to attract people from a fifty mile radius (S)

So, that it's in walking distance of their people (C)

But, in the case of Chinese restaurant or Thai restaurant, if they put their

language, sometimes it is, you know, to be fancy and to show that also it is
like authentic ethnic food (C)

In Memphis where there is no large Chinese community your main market is
everyone else (C)

It is not necessary to show that they are like Thai people or Vietnamese people
living in the area (C)

If I drive through a city or a neighborhood if I see signs of, you know, pawn shop
or something, I immediately associate it with, you know, some socio-
economic status (C)

But, if I see some kind of upscale sounding name, that definitely, signs give me an
idea of what the neighborhood looks like (C)

Even within the English speaking community, sometimes based on the signs, I
may have some understanding of what the neighborhood could be (C)

With the name of the church or the description of the church, sometimes, you can
tell whether it is a black neighborhood or a white neighborhood (C)

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?*

I just saw a small Hispanic supermarket (S)

That tells you how the Hispanic population is growing ... (C)

This area in the last several years has been declining. So maybe, the timing of the
immigrants and the new businesses they open and maybe that will be
welcome (C)

10. *Do you feel a connection with this place?* No answer (s) (N/A)

11. *How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?*

Yes, I believe like especially [for] new immigrants with limited language skills
(Q)

They tend to aggregate in an area where people who speak their language live (C)

So they have easy communication and they feel welcome where somebody would
understand them so that one side is just serving the customer to their
specific needs (C)

But for educated people or immigrants who have been around for a long time, I
don't believe that it is much of a factor (Q & C)

Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 2, of the 43 explicit statements
analyzed, 37 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 7 were coded as topics/themes

(T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 7) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 7					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 2</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
37	5	3	2	2	25
100%	14%	8%	5%	5%	68%

Of the 37 statements coded with emotional/evaluative content, 5 (14%) were clearly positive responses to the LL: “That’s interesting!” “I have something interesting to tell you about these flags.” “Maybe, the timing of the immigrants and the new businesses they open will be welcome.” “Memphis is dynamic...” “[I]n the case of Chinese restaurant or Thai restaurant, if they put their language...it is like authentic ethnic food.” Three of the statements (8%) were coded as negative in that he responded to signs that were only written in Spanish, “it doesn’t make sense to me” and “unless there is no other option, I don’t go there.” Another negative association from the LL was in the case of multilingual signs advertising pawn shops—he associated this type of business with a lower socio-economic class. Out of the 37 emotional/evaluative responses, 2 statements (5%) were coded as neutral or indifferent to signage stating that he really didn’t pay attention to signs, although they were unavoidable. Another 2 statements (5%) expressed his uncertainty about the target of intended messages, and in one response stated “I don’t understand it because when they have four or five flags—how come they selected those flags?” Most of the emotional/evaluative statements were coded as personal evaluations of the LL. This group contained 25 statements (68%). Feelings in

Participant 2's evaluative statements were often implied in the way he positioned himself with the use of pronouns. For example, "Sometimes, *I* think *they* are trying to show that *they* are international."

In the category containing unaffected referential information, 7 statements (19%) were analyzed and coded as topics/themes (T/T) that emerged in response to the questions, the stimulus text, and/the conversation about the LL. Informational topics and discourses in the analyzed responses to the LL during the 'walking tour' were: the status of Chinese script, Korean Church signs, flags in the LL, Ethiopian restaurants, economically depressed areas in the city, and Hispanic growth in the community. Interestingly, other issues emerged during the interview such as the English Only Movement, legal and illegal immigration, the Ethiopian community in Washington, D.C., language policy and practices in Europe, signage in Ethiopia, as well as LL research.

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Positioning and Identity. At the beginning of the interview, on the drive to the first site, Participant 2 reflected on his experiences in Memphis, first as an international graduate student living in mid-town and later, on his move to the suburbs. He described mid-town as "more open, multicultural and...the place to be for younger professionals." Constructing his identity as a multicultural, young professional, he commented, "I'm more comfortable living in mid-town...it [was] like the place to be for young professionals." A strong social network of friends and colleagues supported his feelings of belonging and contentment in Memphis. Throughout the 'walking tour' interview in the conversation and his responses to visual stimulus and questions about the LL, he often referenced his past academic career and present work, signaling and reinforcing a

non-placed identity (Hanauer, 2008), one of a highly trained professional immigrant in the community, not closely associating with himself with other migrant groups in the area or other nation states. In his responses to migrant discourses in the LL, he self-positioned himself as an educated and “older” immigrant resident, distanced from what he referred to as “new immigrants with limited language skills.” Indicative of this distance was his use of the pronoun “they” as in “they tend to aggregate in an area where people who speak their language live...so they have easy communication...they feel welcome.” He stated, “But, for educated people or immigrants who have been around for a long time, I don’t believe that it is much of a factor.”

Participant 2 maintained a professional observer position for most of the interview; however toward the end of the interview, he shifted from this professional position to a more personal one with the use of the pronoun “I” and “you” with comments like “I believe when you migrate you have to respect the culture and you have to learn the language”—indicating some of his deeper feelings about changes in the LL and migrant discourses. At the end of the ‘walking tour,’ he repositioned and commented on his and his wife’s multilingual identities in a mostly monolingual community.

Empathy Movements. Throughout the interview, the empathy between interlocutors was high. Frequently, comments were quickly affirmed with “yes” or “yeah.” Noted by the transcriber, there were not many pauses or hesitations in the conversation and the tone and rate of speech conveyed interest and enthusiasm. From the researcher’s fieldnotes, “Afterwards, I noticed that in this particular interview I unconsciously adjusted my vocabulary and the content of my responses to a more academic discourse level to match that of the participant’s comments.”

Co-construction of Meanings. The ‘walking tour’ interview with Participant 2 produced data characterized by in-depth conversations and discussions about language issues highly relevant to this study. An interesting topic the participant introduced into the dialogic interaction was the status of Chinese language on restaurant signs. Prompted by a spontaneous question from the interviewer, “And this restaurant over here is Chinese. What would you think of the people that would go to that one?” Participant 2 responded, “That is interesting because in Europe, Chinese restaurants are supposed to be, you know, more expensive than Italian restaurants.” Not deflected from the topic when the interviewer pointed and commented on another sign, Participant 2 continued this discourse about the status of Chinese restaurants here and in other places of the world, expanding this meaning for both interlocutors. “Ok. Yeah, so here actually Chinese restaurants—everybody goes, it’s not like you know, upscale only.” In the case of Chinese literacy he indicated that for him this held a positive association of authentic ethnic food. From the researcher’s perspective the most important conversations with Participant 2 centered around issues of immigration, migrant discourses in the LL and learning the target language. It was evident that wider discourses about the English Only Movement and illegal immigration contributed to the meanings constructed.

Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings

Following the procedure initiated in the first interview, on the drive to the first site, I opened the conversation with Participant 2 with, “Tell me something about your background.” To which he responded, “I was born and grew up in Ethiopia.” He followed this statement with a summary of his educational experiences, achievements, years in Memphis, and the languages he spoke. With no hesitation and very little prompting from

the interviewer, he positioned himself confidently as an educated, international, multilingual immigrant. At this early moment in the conversation, I sensed the line between researcher and participant was in the process of being erased, in a very post-modern interviewing way. Unconsciously at first, I later realized that I was continually adjusting my language and vocabulary to match his very professional and academic discourse. The initial focused question to elicit information about his readership of the LL was worded, “Do you pay a lot of attention to signs when you are out?” He responded by saying that it was unavoidable. During his interview, I would briefly point to a sign and he provided his thoughts about it in at that moment and often added additional thoughts based on his experiences and knowledge of the world. In the course of the conversation and ‘walking tour’, he expounded on his experiences living in other areas in Memphis, culture shock, and his knowledge of languages on signage in Memphis, Ethiopia, and Europe.

Based on his multilingualism and migration experiences, Participant 2 felt very strongly that “when you migrate you have to respect the culture. And you have to learn the language.” In the Memphis context, the host language was English. His feelings on migrant discourses in the LL were conditioned that “unless it organically grows to the extent the second language is spoken by a significant percent of the population” it should not be mandated to have other languages. From the researcher perspective, the interview was very lively and intense. Analysis of interlocutor patterns in the interview transcript showed 313 lines spoken by the participant in contrast to 162 lines of speech by the interviewer. A large number of lines spoken by the interviewer are mostly attributed to

responses to questions from the participant rather than comments initiated by the researcher.

A brief follow-up was conducted two years after his ‘walking tour’ interview. When asked if he had benefited from participation in the study, he responded, “Yes, it helped me realize and think about the various languages spoken in American cities and their relationship to various socio-geographic realities.” He added that his position on learning English had changed somewhat now that he had moved to another location on the west coast. He now felt that it may be “advantageous for the local authorities to have multi-lingual signs” especially for services such as emergency responses, road rules and legal warnings.

Summary of Results for Participant 2

For Participant 2, the LL in Memphis triggered self-positioning statements indicative of a professional multicultural/multilingual immigrant, choosing the non-placed migrant identity option. He did not closely associate himself or connect with the migrant communities or discourses in the LL. During the ‘walking tour’ interview, he expressed his opinion and feelings that individuals who migrate to the U.S. from a non-English speaking country should respect the host country and learn English. However, he did report in the follow-up that he had become more aware of the LL and its relationship to people groups and had re-thought and softened his position on learning English.

Participant 3

Participant 3 was a self-described white female in her 50s. She had lived in Memphis all her life and had taught and been an administrator in the local school systems. She reported that “English—Southern English” was her first language; although,

she could read basic Spanish. Throughout her professional career she had worked directly with migrant and immigrant populations of school children and parents. “There’s like a hundred [groups]...with all different dialects...from always getting African kids, and of course the Asian kids from various countries. The TSL guy was saying there’s like 160—I don’t know the exact number—different languages they have to deal with.”

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 8) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 3. Statements are shown as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 8 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 3</i>				
Participant 3	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	43	21	10	16
Percentage	100%	48%	23%	37%

As the table above indicates most, 48%, of Participant 3’s responses to the interview questions were elicited by a direct question from the interviewer. As compared to some of the other participants in the study, her responses triggered by the LL, 10 (23%), were somewhat lower than 50% of the other participants. This seemed to support her comments at the start of the ‘walking tour’ that she was very attentive to the LL and regularly noticed new languages on signs.

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

Well, I mean, the whole illegal immigrant thing, you know, gives it a different light to me (Q)

At first, it was just, OK, these are Mexican people and it didn't register with me that, you know, the Hispanics are here and, you know, OK, they're working and minding their own business and they seem to be nice until all the political controversy came out about them being illegal (C)

That has drawn my attention more to it...maybe changed my view a little bit (C)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

This widespread, I would say, about six years ago (Q)

It has really mushroomed (C)

They're mostly Spanish here (S)

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

They're spread out but they're like in groups (Q)

It has really mushroomed (Q)

It was always spread out more; it has been fairly recent and fairly fast (Q)

Out Winchester near Schnucks where, actually, across from Central Church, they have an international farmers' market (C)

It's got like a lot of Asian, lot of Mexican, all that kind of food. It's huge (C)

I had no idea that this was here (S)

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?*

Um...probably during the day on a Saturday (Q)

I wouldn't feel unsafe (Q)

I probably wouldn't want to come over here at night (S)

Only when I need my car worked on (Q)

So not except out of necessity to get my car worked on (C)

5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

Umm ... every once and a while (Q)

There's a shop up at Parkway Village...they had tamales...my Daddy loves
tamales...I went there a couple of times and got handmade tamales for
him (C)

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?*

Yeah. I know the apartments along here when they first built them they were real
nice (Q)

Yeah, the Rebel Motel (laughter)...not that I ever frequented it (Q)

Dixie Mart was back there (C)

This area is where my grandma lived (Q)

I spent half my life over here (C)

This really is different (S)

Tops Barbeque and the first Krystal was down here (Q)

There was a little corner drug store (Q)

I'm gonna cry (S)

My granddaddy had a big garden back here (Q & S)

He grew grapes on that fence (Q & S)

But see, we could walk through here and go to Krystal (Q & S)

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

I have to come back and take my car for inspection over here and that's it (Q)

See now, St. Johns was closed...they've opened these (S)

They've reopened the Catholic schools (C)

Someone gave them millions of dollars to reopen the schools in this area (C)

There are a lot of Hispanic kids, a lot of foreign kids, a lot of the...well the blacks, too (C)

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?*

To me, it's like...I think they stick together, they group them together (Q)

I think the people with the different languages are more comfortable with them...and they congregate in [these] areas (S & C)

They stay in their own little world (C)

I think it's become more political...it has been more prevalent that way in the last couple of years since all the controversies out there (C)

One thing, it's an industrial area (Q)

It's a crossroads areas and there are jobs for these people who maybe don't, you know, you work in the warehouse and don't speak the language (Q & S)

I think the Hispanics are more in industry area, warehouses, and construction (C)

What amazes me, the police department, they're trying to get more Spanish speaking officers, that's like a big thrust (C)

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?*

I tell you another area that is real...it was probably the first area to get more of the foreign and the Hispanic...is out on Austin Peay and Raleigh (C)

10. Do you feel a connection with this place? (see Question 6)

11. How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?

Oh yeah. That's why I'm saying that I think they tend to congregate. ... here (Q)

Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 3, of the total 43 explicit statements analyzed, 35 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 20 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. For this participant, several statements were coded as both E/E and T/T. The table below (see Table 9) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 9					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 3</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
35	2	6	1	1	25
100%	6%	17%	3%	3%	71%

As the table above indicates, the majority of Participant 3's E/E responses to the interview questions concerning her feelings about multilingualism on signage and linguistic changes in the community were personal evaluative comments with a total of 25 (71%) of the total 35. These statements contained her personal memories of places in the community, her perceptions of the growth of migrant populations in the area, the new languages on signs she was noticing during the 'walking tour' interview, and feelings about the status of immigrants in the community. Only 2 (6%) of the total 35 responses to the LL, clearly, expressed with the pronominal use of "I", her feelings and willingness to shop in stores that displayed signs with other languages. In the 6 (17%) negative

responses, she stated that wider discourses about illegal immigration and crime had colored her feelings about what she was seeing. “Well, I mean, the whole illegal immigrant thing, you know, gives it a different light to me.” She was uncertain about her feelings about the new languages on signs saying that “it’s become more political” and controversial.

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Positioning and Identity. On the way to Lamar Avenue, when asked to talk about her feelings about the linguistic and demographic changes in the community, Participant 3 immediately positioned herself as a professional educator. She discussed funding of ESL education in Memphis area schools until we arrived at the first ‘walking tour’ site. A long-time resident of Memphis, she commented that she had lived in the city “all my life.” Linguistically, she described herself as a speaker of “Southern English” and a reader of basic Spanish. Signaling her connection to the area and ownership of her identity as a long-time resident, the LL triggered a commentary of her knowledge of multilingual signage in the area. “So I say...then one will pop up in the middle of English signs and they’re mostly, you know, Spanish here ... I’m not familiar with the Chinese-Japanese, whatever, but an Asian type of, you know, several more of that now like over on Summer there’s more of that.” When the researcher drew her attention to a Vietnamese sign marking a Buddhist Temple, this prompted discursive construction of another aspect of her identity. “I guess being a Christian, I don’t care—that’s their business of worship. ... I guess I notice a place of worship that’s not Christian more than I would a sign for Mexican foods or whatever.” Expressing openness to multiculturalism, she referenced a family member who had married a “guy from Mexico” who was

described as “real nice and accepted in our family.” Nonetheless, Participant 3 referred to the black, migrant and minority communities as “they” as opposed to “we” and “Everybody” in reference to white ethnic legal residents. Thus signaling and reinforcing the position of normalcy from the white Euro-American perspective, she expressed a change of feelings about multi-lingualism in the LL based on wider discourses about illegal immigration.

Empathy Movements. The empathy between interlocutors was perceived as moving from moderate empathy to high as the participant shifted from her professional positionings as an educator, to that of long-time resident who was concerned about issues of illegal immigration, and then to her more personal feelings about specific changes in the community and her memories of place and space. At one point Participant 3 stopped mid-sentence and said, “I’m gonna cry.” To which the researcher remarked with concern, “You got emotional.” Although, the LL had changed the area, she could still see visible markers of the past as she reminisced, “He [her grandfather] grew grapes on that fence.” Expressing these feelings triggered by the LL indicated a space of openness and acceptance between the interlocutors.

Co-construction of Meanings. One of the most significant meanings constructed during the ‘walking tour’ with Participant 3 revealed that wider national discourses about illegal immigration can negatively affect how someone sees language groups and local literacies. Another interesting conversation stimulated by the LL constructed meanings of a secret color-coded literacy that was present on Getwell Road (see Figures 17-19). The researcher had traveled this street many times and photographed the LL, but had not noticed the red trim on several houses on this street. During the ‘walking tour’ interview

of this site, the conversation and visual stimulus in the LL triggered a memory for the participant. She just then remembered something a neighbor had told her about the red-trimmed houses on this street—they were marked as places for new immigrants.

Step Four (Level IV): Discussion of Contextualized Meanings

With Participant 3, the conversation began with a discussion of her professional career which had brought her into contact with multiple ethnic groups in the community. To encourage the conversation and begin to focus the interview, the researcher inserted a question about the participant's knowledge and experience with bilingual education programs in the area. She replied at length. This conversation space balanced the power structure between the interlocutors and allowed the participant to solidly position herself as a professional educator, a long-time resident, and someone who was very much invested in the community. In keeping with the focus of the study which was to collect responses to multilingualism and linguistic changes in the community, this moment in the 'walking tour' interview seemed to provide a natural opening for my question, "What is your first language?" She stated, "English. Southern English." My next question, "Do you speak or read any other languages?" was answered and followed by this question, "Do you notice signs?" As exemplified in this exchange, the researcher worked to make the interview space inclusive and circular in that she did not strongly lead the interview with a series of questions and answers but attempted to open a space for the natural flow of conversation.

At this point in the interview, the conversation shifted to active attention on the LL and the actual signage we were seeing at that moment on Lamar Avenue. What followed in the interview text, after this shift, were short questions from the researcher

followed by long responses from the participant. A question about the participant's memories of the site on the 'walking tour' of Winchester Road provided detailed responses and descriptions of the area now and then. One of the most interesting discussions was prompted simply by the researcher pointing and saying, "Do you see the sign? Vietnamese." This sign was located at the Vietnamese Temple and triggered for the participant the thought of a giant statue of Buddha in the front yard of a house in the neighborhood, nearby, but not on the 'walking tour' site. Participant 3 asked me if I had seen it and I replied with one word, "No." The next response from the participant was 22 lines in length and discussed in depth, with strong emotion, her thoughts about her own religious identity and the religions now practiced in the community. Understandably, changes in religious practices were brought about by recent waves of international migration to the area. In this interview, the reflective action of noticing the LL underscored the role of the LL to symbolically represent the presence of different language groups or cultures and to trigger emotional responses.

Participant 3's responses to the LL were also influenced by wider public discourses about illegal immigration. She commented that she had once been very accepting of migrants in the community but now was concerned about their status and the potential for negative impact on the community and country. Positioned as a long-time resident, her professional identity and white Euro-American perspective sometimes conveyed a position of normalcy for herself and that of otherness for groups not sharing the same social/cultural backgrounds. However, Participant 3 was very interested in the community, the LL and was open to multiculturalism.

Summary of Results for Participant 3

Participant 3's initial responses to the LL were initially interpreted as negative due to influence of wider public discourses in the media about illegal immigration. Her feelings about linguistic changes and multilingualism in the community were reserved and uncertain at that moment. Her responses to the LL clearly indicated that she had strong attachments and ties to the communities of the 'walking tour' sites—ties which were being questioned and challenged by new literacies marking and redefining old familiar place and space. In the follow-up two years after her interview, she commented that she had greatly benefited from the study by becoming more aware of changes.

Participant 4

Participant 4 was an African-American woman in her 40s who had grown up in Mississippi. She moved to Memphis 19 years before, after serving in the military, to attend the University of Memphis. With a degree in business, she was very interested and excited about participation in a study of commercial signs in the Memphis area. At the beginning of the interview she stated, "To me this is just something that I never really thought about—to be honest. I never thought about what I saw. I never really stop to think about it." Although a monolingual speaker of English, she had lived in several areas of the country and had gained an appreciation of cultures and understanding of the variety of lifestyles in the US. She was content living in Memphis and remarked, "I think Memphis is a really great place to live—outside of the crime of course."

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 10) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with

Participant 4. The statements at this level are organized and presented in relation to their response to one of the pre-determined interview questions. In the table, statements are shown as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 10 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 4</i>				
Participant 4	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	42	23	6	13
Percentage	100%	55%	14%	31%

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

It just makes me more aware that it's not just Americans here (Q)

And we have to cater to everybody when we're in business and not just selling to Americans (Q)

We do get confused with the Chinese and Japanese (C)

Because, if you don't know the language, to be honest, I'd think they were basically the same (C)

With the Spanish population constantly increasing we're seeing more and more Spanish signs (C)

It almost makes you want to go out and learn to speak Spanish (Q)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

Where I really, really paid attention to signs—would have been in 1995 (Q)

Not many foreign languages [then] (Q)

There are more now than there were in 1995 (Q)

I would say in the last five years we've had an increase... (Q)

I can notice a sign if they've got a different language on it (Q)

It will catch my attention (Q)

To try and see, well, what is it? (Q)

You know, we take the pictures but we never really think about what's the
perception that we saw (C)

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

With the Spanish population constantly increasing we're seeing more and more
Spanish signs (Q)

It almost makes you want to go out and learn to speak Spanish (Q)

I never saw that sign before...that's a new one (S)

But then, they're catering to both [English and Spanish speakers] (S)

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?*

I would (Q)

Oh yeah, I've been in that shopping strip once (S)

5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

If they have the products that I'm looking for (Q)

But, if it's like a Spanish-Mexican grocery store, I don't eat a lot of Mexican so I
wouldn't feel comfortable going in there (Q)

As long as I can pretty much tell what it is, I'm okay (Q)

If I can read it, I can say, okay that's in Spanish (Q)

We've got a place on Winchester that has multi-culture things and I've gone in there just out of curiosity (C)

You've seen the big cow tongue laid out there for you to purchase (C)

Stuff that we Americans wouldn't eat (C)

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?* N/A

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

I think this is interesting (S)

Because it really opens your awareness to your surroundings and what's really going on (S)

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?*

There are a lot of Hispanics here (S)

Kind of lets you know what the group is consistently made of (Q)

If you see a bunch of signs that are in Spanish, you can pretty much be assured that it's mostly Spanish people that live in the area (Q)

On Knight Arnold you see a lot of Spanish signs over there and that whole section now is predominantly Hispanic there now (C)

When I see signs about cleaners—it may be a stereotype—but most of, those are the Asian people that kinda have the cleaning stores (C).

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?*

Some of the sites we've done, everything was just in Spanish (Q)

And to me it didn't cater to the Americans at all (Q)

Even when you go to the store they weren't speaking English (Q)

So to me they weren't doing what I find American business owners doing (C)

Their niche is specifically to that race (C)

So when I find places like that, I'm not comfortable there because to me, I'm not that important (C)

10. *Do you feel a connection with this place?*

I've never lived outside of East Memphis (Q)

And that would entail the Winchester area and it would also entail Southeast Memphis... (Q)

11. *How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?*

Yes, it does (Q)

When you see all those signs...it's just...to it makes me feel like, Oh God, where am I going...look at all these...It's too much information sometimes (C)

Step Two (Level II): Categorical Content Analysis

From the transcribed interview with Participant 4, of the 42 explicit statements analyzed, 35 (83%) had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 7 (17%) were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 11) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 11					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 4</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
35	13	8	0	1	13
100%	37%	23%	0%	3%	37%

The table above shows that 13 (37%) of Participant 4's emotional responses to the LL and multilingualism on signs at the 'walking tour' sites were positive. Early in the interview she expressed, "It almost makes you want to go out and learn to speak Spanish." In contrast to the positive statements and indicative of her perception of the boundary that language creates, 8 (23%) negative statements communicated her feelings of exclusion and discomfort when going into stores marked by foreign language signs. She stated, "So when I find places like that, I'm not comfortable...I'm not that important." "And to me, it didn't cater to Americans at all." Participant 4 had clear opinions about the LL. She contributed 13 (37%) personal evaluations and had no emotional/evaluative statements that were coded as neutral or indifferent. Only 1 (3%) statement indicated uncertainty and that was in reference to her confusion with signs in Chinese or Japanese. Topics and themes that emerged during the interview with Participant 4 were: increase in Hispanic population, Spanish only signs, multilingualism on signs, exotic foods in local stores. In addition, other topics such as travel, life across the US, African-American family achievements, and her professional work were discussed.

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Positioning and Identity. At the beginning of the interview, Participant 4, initially, positioned herself in terms of length of residency. She stated that she had moved to Memphis "19 years ago." Other aspects of her identity were constructed as she referenced herself as ex-military, a traveler, the "mother of two children" and a former University of Memphis student with a degree in Business management. The LL triggered frequent comments about her professional work in Memphis which positioned her as

knowledgeable of the business life in the city and someone very interested in the topic of this study. She stated that she was monolingual English speaker but “I can notice a sign if they’ve got a different language on it. It will catch my attention.” Into the interview, when asked about her feelings when she sees signs in other languages, she recast her identity as an American business woman. “It just makes me more aware that it’s not just Americans here. And we have to cater to everybody when we’re in business, not just selling to Americans.” Emphasizing this position when talking about all the exotic foods now available in Memphis, she commented, “Stuff we Americans wouldn’t eat.” Although African-American, she did not reference this aspect of her identity until near the end of the ‘walking tour’ when she talked about her family and her brother who had been the first African-American Mayor in her hometown in Mississippi.

Empathy Movements. Participant 4 was very excited about participating in the study. Her professional background and interests contributed to her enthusiasm. The empathy was high throughout the interview marked by an exchange of responsive expressions such as “yeah,” “okay,” “well,” “right,” “you’re right,” and “alright.” The conversation flowed freely and there were very few hesitations or pauses in the interaction.

Co-construction of Meanings. Interestingly, Participant 4 was very attentive to signs and sometimes felt signs imposed too much information in public spaces, intruding on her personal thoughts and actions. This suggested that for this participant the LL was a powerful mediating force which may be overwhelming at times. Also, it is important to differentiate its emotional affect on individuals and the personal relationship that

individuals have with literacy. For this particular participant, language presented a powerful means of exclusion and inclusion.

Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings

As with the previous three interviews, the interview with Participant 4 started with an invitation for her to tell me about herself and her life in Memphis. However, in this interview, the researcher noted that having grown up in Memphis and having experienced segregation and the historically long-standing tension between the white and black communities here, she was sensitive to ethnic differences and a little tentative at the beginning of the process of acquaintanceship (Goffman, 1963). As it happened, Participant 4 was very outgoing and didn't hesitate to begin her story. Without any prompting from the researcher, she offered, "I think this is exciting. I'm really excited about doing this and this is not just a front... To me this [looking at the languages on signs in the communities in Memphis] is just something that I never really thought about to be honest. I never thought about what I saw. I never really just stop to think about it." This provided a natural opening for some of the pre-determined questions. I began by asking her about her first language and whether or not she had studied a foreign language. She commented that English was her first language and that she had never studied another language. My next question was: Do you notice signs? She replied, "I can notice a sign if they've got a different language on it." How this conversation opened and began to construct meanings exemplified the meditational role of the LL in the 'walking tour' interview. Consciousness quickly shifted from our personal racial differences to the concrete signs and symbols that marked a common ground of interest, both literally and figuratively, to provide a space for meaningful dialogue.

Participant 4's responses to migrant discourses and multilingualism in the LL appeared on the surface to be very positive. She had no reservations about shopping in the areas of the 'walking tour' sites. She was very interested in other cultures and international food. However, when asked about how she felt about going into a store with an unfamiliar language, she expressed some discomfort when going into a Spanish-Mexican store. Migrant discourses in the LL triggered two main self-positionings for Participant 4: one that was a professional identity, marked by frequent reference to her academic training and work; and the other, her personal identity as an American, making a distinction between her resident status and that of the new migrant residents. Reference to her African-American identity came toward the end of the interview in the form of an expression of pride in the accomplishments of a member of her family who is now a community leader in her hometown.

In this interview, Participant 4 contributed 237 lines of conversation while 131 lines were attributed to the researcher/ interviewer. Analysis of the interview transcript showed that questions from the researcher were sometimes elaborated with brief explanations. Perhaps, this was due to expectations on the researcher's part of the delicacy of cross-racial communication in this particular community. Nonetheless, the phenomenon of linguistic changes in the LL in Memphis combined with the experience of walking and reflecting on these changes provided transformational teaching and learning moments. In the follow-up two years after her interview, Participant 4 wrote, "This study awakened my desire to learn a foreign language and it was beneficial during a project for my international marketing class."

Summary of Results for Participant 4

Participant 4's responses to the LL were more positive than negative. She was very interested in new businesses and international cultures evidenced in migrant discourses while at the same time sensitive to perceptions of the boundaries these new literacies created for her. Although indirectly self-identified as African-American, the participant positioned herself, primarily, as a professional woman and Amercian in relation to other minority migrant discourses in the LL, perhaps, indicating a perceived hierarchy of residential status.

Participant 5

A long-standing resident of Memphis, Participant 5 was a male, in his forties who had lived in the city his entire life. He was educated in what he called the "Catholic school system" in Memphis and had earned his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the local public university. He stated that he had studied French in school but was self-described as a monolingual speaker of English. At the beginning of the interview, he commented, "I am not overly well traveled. My travels usually extend to the southeastern parts of the United States." While he and his family resided in the suburbs, he was highly engaged with public services and the residents of Memphis in his professional work.

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 12) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 5. Statements are shown as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 12 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 5</i>				
Participant 5	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	61	20	28	13
Percentage	100%	37%	45%	21%

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

Well, it just makes me...it just confirms that things are changing (Q)

Sometimes for the better...sometimes worse (Q)

It's funny but I think it's important that they do it because otherwise they're
excluding another market (Q)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

No, no, I wouldn't say that I've noticed anything, uh, different as far as...

[multilingualism] No, I've not noticed that at all (Q)

It's not here on our billboards, or I didn't notice it (Q)

Not mine [in my neighborhood]...not where I typically travel (Q)

Now I think there's some Spanish on Summer (C)

Well, I see one up there (S)

I drive this way cause it's on the way to Mississippi, but, probably I'd catch it but
it wouldn't resonate (C)

I do now [see the Spanish literacy on a sign]...I would not have seen it (S)

I think they could have made that bigger (S)

I think in this past ten to fifteen years is where we've seen a larger concentration
of Spanish speaking people residing (C)

Even in my area, there are now some...small Hispanic retail markets (C)

They coincide with El Portan (C)

I don't even know what that means—El Portan. Is that a word? Or a name? (C)

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

You know, things are always constantly changing (Q)

I don't think it's worse (S)

I think it's just a change in demographics here (Q)

I think it's now, it's the way it is (Q)

I think again it's change and you have to change with it (Q)

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?*

No (Q)

I don't get down there at all (Q)

I would assume that this might be a high crime area (S)

About every four years I have to campaign down in these areas (C)

5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

No, no, I don't necessarily...outside of restaurants (Q)

I wouldn't be shopping at a Hispanic place (Q)

It seems like a very market specific retailer (S)

So, they're reaching their market and perhaps I'm not one of them (S)

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?*

This, when I was growing up was a largely black population; not it appears to be

more diverse than that (S)

My wife once worked back there... (S)

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

Well, it's just lower economic (Q)

You gotta watch out. Crime issues (Q)

I would say here in Memphis you do have—unfortunately—the white and black areas separated by race (C)

Typically I campaign here...generally it's in shopping centers (C)

But I like that sign—Respect Our Neighborhood: Stop the Crime—it lets people know, the criminal, that the people are watching (S)

I think this area has a reputation for crime (S)

I think these apartments over here are notorious for hot beds of crime (S)

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?*

So, apparently, I'd assume that you got a lot of Hispanic people living around this area (Q)

Hispanic auto mechanic—that typically doesn't reach me (S)

I would think that they are exclusively Hispanic or Spanish-speaking people and may not be overly English speaking (Q)

I'd think it is authentic Chinese (S)

I would assume the owners are Chinese (S)

This [the red trim on houses] means something in Spanish; I assume they're Spanish (S)

I think there's a concentration of Hispanics in Southeast Shelby County...probably here (S)

I would say black...because of colors (S)

The colors translate black to me (S)

See the African colors—black, gold and red—would be the African flag (S)

So that's what that communicated to me (S)

I didn't look at the letters (C)

They're reaching both markets...you have English and Spanish (S)

That's good (S)

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?*

I think they only speak Spanish (C)

It's apparently a black and Hispanic area (S)

Well, I believe that it would be [difficult]...without Spanish in this area (S)

If I was a retailer...I would have on my sign both English and Spanish (S)

10. *Do you feel a connection with this place?*

My wife used to work for Holiday Inn; this is it (S)

My goodness how it has changed (S)

11. *How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?*

I think it's very strong (Q)

I can only imagine if I went to a foreign country—a non-English speaking—I

would certainly gravitate to those who were putting things in English (C)

So, it's strong (Q)

I can only imagine what these Mexicans are feeling like coming into an English

speaking country (C)

Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 5, of the 61 explicit statements analyzed, 42 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 18 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 13) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 13					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 5</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
42	2	9	3	2	26
100%	5%	21%	7%	5%	62%

At the beginning of the ‘walking tour’ interview, when asked how he felt about multilingualism and new languages on signs in the community, Participant 5 stated that he did not really pay attention to the language on signs. Of the 42 statements categorized emotional/evaluative, 3 (7%) were coded as indifferent or neutral. Two (5%) responses communicated his uncertainty about how these changes would affect the community. The majority of statements with emotional content, 26 (62%), were personal evaluative statements. In response to the LL, he often began evaluative statements with the personal pronoun “I” as in “I think...” “I would assume...” “I don’t think...” “It seems like...” or “I wouldn’t say.” As the interview progressed, 2 (5%) of Participant 5’s emotional responses were coded as positive responses in relation to multilingualism and changes in the LL, these statements clearly expressed his feelings that using other languages on signs was important “because otherwise they’re excluding another market.” In contrast, 9 (21%) responses triggered by the LL indicated slightly negative feelings of not being

welcomed in Hispanic stores and his concerns about crime in the area. “So, they’re reaching their market and perhaps I’m not one of them.” Interesting topics and themes that emerged in the ‘walking tour’ interview with Participant 5 were: Spanish literacy, recent growth of Hispanic communities, crime, segregation, socioeconomically depressed areas of the city, symbolism and associations of colors and flags, foreign language study, Catholic churches in the area, first and second generation Italian immigrants in Memphis.

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Positioning and Identity. In the first few minutes of the interview, Participant 5 positioned himself as a life-long resident of Memphis. He stated, “I love Memphis. It’s my home.” Other personal aspects of his identity were marked as he described himself as someone who was educated in the Catholic school systems, a husband and father. After a brief mention of personal information, he quickly shifted to a more professional position—that of marketing professional with degrees in business and someone who was very knowledgeable about migration patterns in the area and problems in the city. He commented, “We have a lot of people leaving Shelby County because [of] our tax rate; we have a lot of crime.” In regard to multilingualism in the LL, he stated that he had not really noticed a lot of changes; however, as the interview progressed and he noticed signs, he shifted from this professional—almost detached position—to one which was personally affected by the input of foreign languages in the LL. He insisted, “I hate it that I’m not bi-lingual. I wish I were.” By the end of the interview, he was very interested in learning to speak and read Spanish and was thinking compassionately about non-English speaking migrants. “I can only imagine if I went to a foreign country—a non-English speaking—I would certainly gravitate to those who were putting things in English. It’s so

strong [referring to the question of how language affects a sense of belonging]. I can only imagine what these Mexicans are feeling like coming into an English speaking country.”

Empathy Movements. Listening to the tape recorded interview with Participant 5, the transcriber noted a distinct “chill” or tension in the interviewer’s voice in the first part of the interview. To the researcher this was surprising, however, after listening to the tape and reflecting on the transcribed interview text, she realized that during the first part of the ‘walking tour’ this participant who was a professional businessman had assumed a professional outsider position. In the interaction, he was perceived as having a neutral, indifferent attitude toward migrant communities and multilingualism in the LL. When he spoke of providing literature from his office in Spanish, he stated, “We recognize that segment of the community.” However, within the context of the ‘walking tour’ and the conversation, his position shifted dramatically and he expressed a genuine interest in migrant communities and language learning. The level of empathy was evaluated as moving from low to high. This incident emphasized the subjectivity of interpretations and how interactions and meanings are shaped by feelings between the interlocutors.

Co-construction of Meanings. The topic of crime and problems with racial issues in Memphis was brought up time and again with several of the participants during the ‘walking tour’ interviews. From observations of the conditions of buildings and the signage targeting minority and migrant residents, Lamar Avenue was by all indications a high crime, lower socio-economic area in Memphis (see Figure 11). In particular, Participant 5’s reading of the LL in this area opened constructive dialogue about these issues based on real material texts that revealed the inequity in environmental spaces that different groups in a society or community experience. At one point Participant 5

commented, “But one of our problems here...we’ve got a bad race problem. And we’re mired up in it; we just can’t seem to shake it...I’m optimistic. It is resolvable but I really don’t know the steps or the path to take.” The researcher then asked, “Do you think recent changes in demographics, different groups...different minority groups will make a difference?” Participant 5 responded, “I think it could. I think that it could diversify us more than just white and black.” In a journal article in *Works and Days*, George Lipsitz (Spring/Fall, 2006) presented an inspiring alternative social movement that rallies around the issue of environmental justice for all residents in our cities—one that could possibly, at the same time, address important issues of racial inequality in a more positive, proactive way. The LL provided a unique window into these problems and the ‘walking tour’ presented a venue to open discussion of sensitive social and racial issues.

Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings

From the ‘walking tour’ interview with Participant 5, there were 265 lines spoken by the researcher with 468 lines of conversation contributed by the participant. The conversation began with a narrative from the participant describing himself and his relationship to the area. Participant 5 was, at the least, a third generation Memphian. He stated several times during the interview, “I love Memphis. It’s my home.” He identified himself as white, Catholic, Democrat, and a marketing professional. He seemed very comfortable talking so I said very little at the beginning of the interview. After comments from the participant about his wife’s background as a second generation Italian immigrant, I asked him if he had ever studied a foreign language. He stated that he had studied French in high school but wished that he could learn Spanish. All aspects of his identity contributed to his responses and understandings of the LL; however, his

positioning as a marketing professional seemed to be the most salient identity perspective influencing his interpretations and comments about the LL.

When asked by the researcher if he had noticed linguistic changes on signage in the city, Participant 5 insisted that he had not really noticed linguistic changes on signs in areas of the city where he lived. It was then that I pointed to a big billboard and said, “Have you not noticed that?” He responded, “It’s not here on our billboards. Or, I didn’t notice it.” The ‘walking tour’ sites were all areas that the participant frequented for professional reasons; however, they were not close to his residential area so he did seem to feel a sense of ownership with these communities. Going back to my research questions, the purpose of the ‘walking tour’ interview was to explicitly reference and focus attention on the LL in order to elicit responses to multilingualism in areas of Memphis. Interestingly, in this interview, as noted by the transcriber, I, the researcher, was more forceful in my attempt to help the participant notice the changes. From the participant, the dialogue opened within the interview often focused on negative responses, such as crime, which the participant associated to changes in demographics. Participant 5 was very confident with a strong personality, and my responses to this participant often challenged his comments, perhaps, in an unconscious attempt to counter negative responses and match his strength as an interlocutor. We negotiated meanings as professionals from both business and education; however, we shared a common interest and love of our hometown.

As the tour progressed, Participant 5 suggested that for economic reasons, business signs should include other languages in order to reach potential markets or consumers. Contrasting this professional position, as Participant 5 became more

stimulated by the LL and engaged in the conversation, he expressed strong personal feelings about his desire to learn another language. The LL provided input for language learning and he became very interested in symbolism related to color codes. The participant noticed details and made connections about the LL that I had not noted. This is just one example of how this underscored the importance of reflecting at the moment of seeing. At one point when asked about the people groups in a particular area based on iconic symbols and signs, he responded, “I would say black because of the colors.” The researcher replied, “Ok. But the language is all Spanish.” He then said, “See the African colors, black, gold, and red...would be the African flag. So that’s what that communicates to me...I didn’t look at the letters. But then, they’re reaching both—see, that’s smart.”

The dynamic interactions in the space of this interview were characterized by a balance in power manifested by the way the participant often took the lead and asked me questions about how *I* felt about what was happening in the areas we were noticing. In the course of the interview, his perspective changed as his awareness of the linguistic variety in the city grew. Toward the end of the interview, his position shifted to a more personal identity position and it was evident he was looking at the community with new eyes. From the follow-up questionnaire conducted two years after the ‘walking tour’ interview, he articulated this new awareness by stating, “I love Memphis and understand we live in an ever-changing environment and appreciate how businesses and local governments respond and reach our diversity. We are all one but are reached in different ways of communication.”

Summary of Results for Participant 5

Participant 5's statements and responses to the LL were initially neutral, non-personal, from a marketing professional position. He claimed at the start of the 'walking tour' interview that he had not really noticed many changes in regard to new languages in the LL. In the process of noticing, as a businessman, he felt that the presence of other languages on signs was a good marketing strategy. Negative emotional responses that emerged during the interview were more related to crime issues that focus on the LL provoked. Nonetheless, the 'walking tour' had a very positive outcome in that it stimulated his personal interest in learning Spanish and other foreign languages as well as gave him a new awareness and appreciation for the cultural diversity and linguistic resources present in the community.

Participant 6

A female in her twenties, Participant 6 had migrated with her family to the U.S. from Mexico when she was a preschooler. "I was from kindergarten to sixth grade in Texas. But then, we moved to Memphis." In response to a question about her first language, she responded that Spanish was her first language but quickly added, "Yes and no in a way because when I was brought up, I was brought up speaking both, really, because when I was small my brothers were going to school and they would speak more English. But, to my mom, they would speak Spanish. So to us, they would speak English and Spanish so I was kind of learning both of them at the same time." Although not a professional translator, in all the jobs she had held in Memphis since graduation from high school, she felt that being bilingual was a great advantage and her skills in translating were valued and often utilized.

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 14) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 6. Statements are shown as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 14 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 6</i>				
Participant 6	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	48	14	18	16
Percentage	100%	29%	38%	33%

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

Umm...well, I mean it makes me realize that our population is growing because before you would never really see a Mexican restaurant especially like in Spanish (Q)

Now most restaurants they already have them in Spanish when before they used to kind of have it to where the people would understand it like “The Mexican Restaurant” or something like that (C)

That we’re growing? (laughter) (Q)

It’s kind of good to see that because actually you have more variety of stores to go to now than before (Q)

Because before, you know, I didn't...well, I mean I would go into stores, but it feels good to know that there are other people ... speaking. . . . (C)

It makes me feel good to know that we're kind of ... uhm ... there's more of a variety out there and you can choose to go to different stores just shop for different things (S & C)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

Uhhh ... I guess it's been about five years ... or ten years ago (Q)

I guess when I was 18 ... (Q)

That's when it started changing because when we moved here there was really not that many (Q)

Because when I used to go to school...uh...you could count 'em [signs in other languages] (C)

Really, I didn't have a lot of Hispanic friends so most of my friends were different cultures...Chinese, or white, or Black or African-American (C)

['La Costa Imports' sign] Yeah, that wasn't there (S)

['Acadamos'] I think it's a learning center. It might be for Spanish kids, for Hispanic students, you know (S)

We just passed some Asian ... they have like Asian things ... there's a couple of little shops right there (S)

And that 'B Mart' that's an Arabic store, place (S)

And they've taken over like [pointing] there's a...what is that shop? (S)

There's a lot of them right there (S)

‘Latina Americana’ and ‘El Padron’ that’s another restaurant that’s never been

right there and also a beauty shop right there. Those were never there (S)

Oh yeah, there’s another Asian store over here. It’s been there for a few years (S)

[Looking at sign ‘*Le Meijer de Mexico*’] The best part of Mexico. It’s advertising

the calling card. That card is very popular now (S)

So, a lot of things are changing (S)

Memphis has really changed in the last 10 years (C)

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

It’s changed. Now they do have a certain name, you know, the name that they

want to put on the restaurant (Q)

That has changed [pointing to a sign] (S)

[Points to a sign] That wasn’t here. This was United Auto Sales. It’s a car

dealership. They are Hispanics and have been here for a few years (S)

Yeah, like ‘La Prensa Latina’ that’s a newspaper that we have now, that we have

like our own newspaper. That’s something new, too (Q)

I’ve been to Winchester ... I did notice a lot of changes ... there were a lot of

Hispanic and Asian store that I saw that I didn’t know were there (C)

I’ve notice that we’ve got ... there’s a lot more entertainment places where

Hispanics can go now (C).

I think this church right here is a Mexican Catholic church. It’s become really big

with Hispanics (S)

You know we saw a lot of Asian stores and restaurants (S)

And you know, you've actually made me look more at that because I saw them
but I never really paid attention to how many there were (S)

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?* N/A
5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

[other than Spanish] Well...no, because I don't know what it is (Q)

But, I think if you see the name, like the Chinese restaurant that has something
you can't understand [it] would kind of tempt me to go in there to see
what's in there (C)

But yeah, back in the day when I did not see that many Chinese restaurants or
Mexican restaurants when I would see the Chinese, in their letters, I was
kind of afraid to go in there in a way because I didn't know if they were
going to look at me funny (C)

A couple of years ago we went to that [Chinese] restaurant, just out of curiosity
we wanted to go in that food market to see what they have in there (S)

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?*

Summer Avenue...yeah, it's more the area where I was brought up and taken
around a lot (Q)

Yes, around the Getwell area I did notice a lot. That's where I remember when we
were younger my mom had to drive all the way to Getwell to get to some
Mexican stores to go grocery shopping (Q)

At first it [pointing to a sign] was Taco Bell. That was our first Mexican
restaurant. We used to eat a lot of Taco Bell. And then we started seeing

more Mexican restaurants so we started going to eat at Mexican restaurants. I barely go to Taco Bell now (C)

Like with us, it was jobs ... my father found work around this area so we came this way. He brought us over here. He started ... cause he was a contractor, brick layer, and all that (C).

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

There's more ... there's more different cultures that you would never have thought would come this way (Q)

It would help them to know that there are different cultures and if they don't mind being around different ... uhm ... cultures ... then I guess ... they would feel at home ... I guess it would depend on the person what race they were and how they felt about being around those kind of people (C)

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?*

And like here, right here, all you'll see with be different...like Arabic. Arabic owned but what I've noticed a lot of Arabic, they do not put their different names. They put names you can understand (Q)

I know I've seen a lot of Chinese restaurants that don't have any Chinese characters on it but it seems to be targeting mostly English speakers who like Chinese food (C)

What I've noticed in Chinese restaurants, they try to put the Mexican food with their Chinese food and American food all at the same time in their buffet so everybody will get a little variety of everything (C)

It also helps people know that there are different people that don't speak ... that just like they speak English, other people speak other languages and it's something that is good to know about that person (C)

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?* N/A

10. *Do you feel a connection with this place?*

Like with us, it was jobs ... my father found work around this area so we came this way. He brought us over here. He started ... cause he was a contractor, brick layer, and all that (C).

Now they [Hispanic community radio station] do festivals also ... it's grown larger now and playing more a part of Memphis than it has ever (C)

11. *How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?*

It does. It does (Q)

Step Two (Level II): Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 6, of the 48 explicit statements analyzed, 33 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 21 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 15) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 15					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 6</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
36	14	2	0	2	18
100%	38%	6%	0%	6%	50%

Participant 6's responses to the LL were very positive. In 14 (38%) of the 36 emotional statements analyzed, the LL triggered positive responses to multilingualism, in particular, the frequency of the Spanish language now on signs at the sites during the 'walking tour' interview. Marking her cultural identity, she responded, "Before, you know, I didn't ... well, I mean I would go into stores, but it feels good to know that there are other [Hispanic] people." Most of the 18 (50%) personal evaluative statements expressed a new awareness, activated onsite, of the scope of linguistic changes and also, memories of the earlier situations of public literacy in Memphis. She talked of the infrequency of multilingualism on public signs in previous years, and her shortage of other Hispanic friends in the community when her family first arrived. She commented, "When I used to go to school...you could count 'em [signs in Spanish]." A total of 2 (6%) negative responses expressed her fear of going into a store marked with an unknown foreign language. "I was kind of afraid to go in there in a way because I didn't know if they were going to look at me funny." Indicating a multicultural sensitivity, 2 (6%) of the emotional responses conveyed her uncertainty about how other races in the community felt about interactions with and the presence of other language groups now in the area. Significant topics and themes that emerged during the interview with Participant 6 were: Hispanic growth, meanings on Spanish language signs, identity and race, local Arabic owned businesses, Asian stores, bilingualism, migration experiences, school, work, maintaining Spanish literacy skills, and family language practices.

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Positioning and Identity. Participant 6's initial comments in the interview positioned her as international migrant from Mexico but also as someone who had lived

and worked for most of her life in Memphis. She described herself as bilingual insisting that she could not remember a time when she was not speaking both Spanish and English. During the ‘walking tour’ interview, Spanish language on signs in the LL triggered responses of personal affiliation with the Hispanic migrant population of Memphis. She reported these feelings, “Yeah, like *La Prensa Latina* [see Figure 2] that’s a newspaper that we have now...that we have like our own newspaper. That’s something new, too.” Interestingly, over the course of the ‘walking tour’ interview, the frequency of Spanish literacy in the LL seemed to empower her and thus created a discernable shift in her primary identity position as Hispanic migrant to that of a bilingual/bicultural Memphian. When asked in a follow-up two years after her interview if she had benefited from the study, she wrote, “Yes, I benefited because it made me pay more attention to the different signs and realized how much my city has changed over the years.”

Empathy Movements. The empathy level in the interview with Participant 6 moved from moderate to high. At the start of the ‘walking tour’ interview, Participant 6 seemed a little reserved and was carefully wording her responses such as, “I guess things have changed...when we moved here there was really not that many [signs in Spanish]. Because when I used to go to school...uh...you could count ‘em (laughter).” But as the interview progressed the interaction flowed with few pauses or hesitations. The transcriber noted frequent outbursts of laughter and commented that we seemed to be having a very good time.

Co-construction of Meanings. Interesting insights related to migrant communities and personal identity evolved during the conversation regarding going into stores with unknown or foreign language literacy. Reinforcing exclusive and inclusive affects of

language, Participant 6 commented, “Back in the day when I did not see that many Chinese restaurants or Mexican restaurants, when I would see the Chinese, in their letters, I was kind of afraid to go in there in a way because I didn’t know if they were going to look at me funny.” This response indicated the power of literacy and linguistic group identity as a marker of belonging or boundary. Also, in the interview the participant discussed the significance of the Mexican stores on Getwell Road, some of the first in Memphis, and also of the significance and symbolic meaning of the Taco Bell restaurant to earlier Hispanic migrants. She commented that before other Mexican restaurants were opened in the area, Taco Bell was “the closest to home cooking that I could get.”

Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings

Prior to the ‘walking tour’ interview with Participant 6, I, the researcher, had conducted five other interviews. The participants were numbered to ensure anonymity and show the order of the interview. With each interview, my understanding of the LL in the community expanded and new meanings constructed in previous interviews played a role in meanings constructed in subsequent interviews. As reminder of the critical, post-modern interview methodology utilized, I was also an instrument in this study as I worked to create a “third space” of interaction in the context of the interview, to balance power structures, to encourage a free flow of conversation, to understand thoughts and feelings triggered by the LL, and to raise awareness of multilingualism in the community.

In the context of this particular interview, I was acutely aware of my professional position as researcher and member of the dominant discourse, home-town resident community. In the interview, 184 (40%) lines of transcribed conversation were contributed by the researcher while 270 (60%) lines were ascribed to Participant 6.

Sensitive to the vulnerable position of the participant as migrant community member, I opened the conversation on the way to the ‘walking tour’ site by asking the participant for background information. I began by asking her to tell me anything she wanted about herself and her history in Memphis. Initially, her responses were worded carefully with slight hesitations. She spoke, “I was from kindergarten to sixth grade in Texas. But then, we moved to Memphis. That’s when I moved to the Macon area. We lived there for a while and I went to Treadwell High School.” Reflecting in the act of interviewing, I hoped to balance any unspoken or unconscious perceptions of power differences and find common areas of interest between myself and the participant. I responded by sharing the name of a relative who had been a basketball coach at her high school. This seemed to ease an opening for more natural conversation as she talked about some of her memories in Memphis. When she mentioned that she and her family had liked Memphis so much that they never went back to Texas, I told her about my family in Texas. It was the participant who introduced bilingualism into the conversation when she talked about previous jobs she had gotten because she spoke both Spanish and English. Following these comments, I asked if she paid attention to signs in the area. From that point on, we had connected and enthusiastically engaged in discussion of the LL in the community and her responses to linguistic changes represented in the LL. Our initial adjustments in positionings exemplified Goffman’s (1963) process of acquaintanceship. We were shifting and moving to make ourselves known to one another in a way that would be remembered and could enable us to dialogue in a meaningful way.

Participant 6’s responses to the LL were very positive. As her self-constructed position of bilingual speaker began to emerge, it was reinforced and empowered in the

LL. The frequency of Spanish language on signs encouraged responses such as “our population is growing” and “you have more variety of stores to go to now than before.” She began the interview positioned primarily as a Hispanic migrant who was bilingual. Continuing to construct her identity in the context of the interview, she discussed the advantages of being bilingual and talked about her own Spanish literacy development and that of her daughter’s English and Spanish language developments. As the interview progressed, there was a marked shift in positioning from migrant to one of bilingual, long-time resident. I drew her attention to signs and continued to ask what she thought about each one. She became more and more empowered commenting on the LL and changes in the community, constructing herself as a bilingual Memphian who had spent most of her life in this place. Some of the sub-text triggered by the LL in this interview centered on the emerging role of the Hispanic community in the area and the need for all residents to be open to multiple languages and cultures.

Summary of Results for Participant 6

Participant 6’s responses to multilingualism and migrant discourses in the LL were positive reinforcing the notion that frequency of a particular migrant language in public spaces encourages ethno-linguistic vitality within that migrant group and individuals (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Her responses to the LL were closely connected to her personal identity as a Hispanic migrant; however, this identity shifted to a bilingual Memphian identity as she was empowered by Spanish literacy in the LL. Her negative responses were indicative of the uncertainty and boundary that a foreign language often creates. In the follow-up conducted a year after the ‘walking tour’ interview, Participant 6 commented, “[T]his was a great experience.” When asked how she had benefited by

participating she stated, “[I]t made me pay more attention to the different signs and [I] realized how much my city has changed over the years.” One of the most encouraging outcomes for Participant 6 was that she now had plans to train to teach English as a Second Language.

Participant 7

A long-standing resident of Memphis, Participant 7 was a male in his late thirties, self-identified as African-American and a preacher’s kid. “I’ve lived in Memphis all my life ... well I’ve lived in Memphis all my life but we spent summers in Mississippi-Central Mississippi-down in the Delta.” Although a monolingual speaker of English, he spoke of his interest in foreign languages and linguistics and expressed an acute awareness of dialects, language varieties and vernaculars during the interview. He stated, “[G]rowing up as a preacher’s kid we often times—we would go to church services that were in...a Catholic service would be in Latin that we didn’t understand. So coming up in high school, I took a Latin etymology class, Greek etymology and took Spanish.” After high school, he studied at a local vocational, technology college and now worked in an office of public services.

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 16) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 7. Statements are shown as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 16 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 7</i>				
Participant 7	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	59	14	29	16
Percentage	100%	24%	49%	27%

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

It basically says like how the neighborhoods changed (Q)

I don't guess it makes...it doesn't make us...not feel foreign or anything (Q)

To me, this sort of says change (S)

It, it tells me I've got to learn other languages (Q)

Yeah, some signs also become stuck in your head (S)

It just seems the signs without the language, it becomes, the icons become more
than the words (S)

In a lot of cases, when I see signs like that [Da Wing], I keep, I keep on going by
the business. It actually kind of offends me (S)

Where 'Dealz on Wheelz' doesn't bother me... 'Mo' Money Taxes' does (S)

Well, if it's going to be English, use English. If it's going to be Spanish, use
Spanish (C)

I hate it because what it does, it teaches kids that it's okay not to speak proper
English (C)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

This restaurant, right here, that's been there forever. Amelio's ... that's been
there, I know 15 years (S)

The culture right in here is really changing cause like through here, we lived here, eight years ago. There was absolutely no Hispanic influence...none and overnight (S)

When I moved here, I remember it was saying how much the apartments were and things like that...but you'll pass it now, you'll see the signs in Spanish (S)

Did you ever hear, right here, Esmarelda grocery store? That's new. (S)

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

I don't think you can be in business today and not [learn another language], in Memphis, and not ignore the Spanish-speaking public here (Q)

Yeah, it [Summer Avenue] is [fascinating]. Because it's really changing...and it's changing every day (C)

And this is a true sign of how diverse Memphis is becoming (S)

That's changed names four or five times...that's Crazy Tacos—Taco Loco—six months ago (S)

That was something I had noticed that people from other languages are picking up on the language of business (C)

That not the first Asian business [Heng's Auto Repair ... *mechanic en general*] that I've seen that has Spanish speaking people (S)

In fact, I've noticed some Spanish-only signs (C)

I remember going to a Chinese restaurant, placing my order to the young woman who was Chinese at front and having her turn around and give the order to the cook in Spanish (C)

Coming up on a sign...there's a sign that coming up somewhere... I saw it last time...that's one...see...that [The Golden Jewelers] bothers me (S)

That bothers me. I don't like it. That whole hip-hop culture thing (S)

Cultural influence just happened overnight (C)

And it's happened rather smoothly like the language issue doesn't seem to be a problem with anybody (C)

And, the colors that's one thing I've noticed (S)

Yeah, there's a lot of change through here...biggest change that I can tell you about this area wasn't even a sign...it was...the shoe is no longer on Lamar (Q)

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?*

I used to would. The store that are here, that are now...when I grew up, are completely different (Q)

5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

I've actually, at first, I wouldn't (Q)

And then like I said, the economic incentives 'cause the things are cheaper there...yeah, I go in (Q)

I'll go in and I'll find somebody that speaks Spanish and I'll tell him what I want and I'll learn the word of what I'm looking for (C)

I realized that they're in business to make money so they're gonna speak English to me because they want my money (C)

It's like people are learning, learning to go to Hispanic grocery stores because of the difference in price. I mean, it's outrageous. An apple will cost you a

buck at Kroger. And you can go get things here, grown in farms around Memphis cheaper (C)

So I said, “Hey what is this. I want to check this out.” It’s a completely Spanish central shopping center...it’s like nothing in Memphis. I got curious enough to say, “Let me go investigate.” (C)

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?*

We’re going to pass a set of apartments in which I used to live (Q)

I grew up down Pendleton off Smithaven which is right up here on the right (S)

[‘Mercado Adams’ store] Hey! What that puts me in mind of when I see Adams, I think about the Adams Family Restaurant...it was on the corner over there (S)

Yeah, the Statue of Liberation. People were saying they were so sick of things that were negative in the Black community. And the church decided to put up the Statue of Liberty and said because we want to say that we are American and America needs to follow its path back to Christ (Q)

The international flags that they have up, that was actually left over from some of the things they were doing at Central Church (Q)

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

Lamar corridor is really waking up in Memphis (Q)

I remember that place. The signs in Spanish, the places that the Muslims buy their olive oil, rice in bulk, you can get olive oil for half the price in one of those stores than you can in Kroger (S)

I know that up here is where I call the Mexican Mall of Memphis...*El Mecadito of Memphis* (S)

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?*

That at one time was where we had a large Asian population in Memphis. They don't live here anymore. Now it's all Hispanic (Q)

And seeing the houses [with bright red trim] it kind of tells me that there's another hidden iconic language (S)

The place over here, there's a Spanish place right across the street. I believe that [*Importada a Dora*] is the Spanish gay bar (S)

I'm gonna say, the iconography, the rainbow (S)

And then there is, uh, the cowboy place across the street, where you know, you pass by, you see a guy with pie plates and ten pounds of turquoise (S)

And the Z markets... I don't know what is, the Z means but I just know they're all owned by Arabic people (S)

Nueva Direccion, new Directions, the Spanish church, that is the Spanish version of that other church down the street (S)

They're mostly Hispanic...I've noticed we have a lot of Hispanic people here (S)
Most of them Mexico—we also have a large Cuban population (C)

Cuba and Guatemala...I keep meeting people from Cuba and Guatemala (C)

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?*

They [the businesses] know the demographics. They know the Spanish speakers are here (S)

I've noticed Kroger has multilingual signs. ... I never see a large number of Spanish speaking people in there. I just occurred to me why they're not getting them. The signs are on the inside, not the outside (S)

10. *Do you feel a connection with this place?*

At one time when we first got married we lived in an apartment up here on the right. So we're going in areas I really know well (S)

11. *How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?*

Ah, I think it does (Q)

If you've lived in a neighborhood, you get comfortable with seeing certain things...it kind of tells you, ya made it home (C)

You cannot come to my neighborhood [now in the suburbs] and tell anything. If nobody's out, you couldn't tell any ethnicity or any group of anybody in the neighborhood (C)

Step Two (Level II): Categorical Content Analysis

From the transcribed interview with Participant 7, of the 59 explicit statements analyzed, 39 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 30 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 17) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 17					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses from Participant 7</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
39	9	4	1	1	24
100%	23%	10%	3%	3%	62%

As the table above (Table 18) shows, Participant 7 expressed 9 (23%) positive statements regarding his feelings about multilingualism and the increase of migrant discourses in public spaces. He was very enthusiastic about the recent linguistic changes. Reflecting his personal perceptions of transitional linguistic spaces in Memphis, he stated, “Cultural influence just happened overnight. ... And it’s happened rather smoothly like the language issue doesn’t seem to be a problem with anybody.” The majority of his emotional responses, 24 (62%) were expressions of personal evaluations contributing unique understandings of the LL—worthy of an applied linguist. For example, he commented, “It seem the signs without the language, it becomes...the icons become more than the words.” This echoed a semiotic proposition by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) asserting that the iconic or visual aspect of any sign may override the literacy. Participant 7 indicated only a trace of neutrality toward the LL and he expressed very little uncertainty in his feelings about what he was seeing in the LL. Paradoxically, he exhibited negative feelings in 4 (10%) statements in response to a particular vernacular on signage in the LL. In reference to the *Da Wing* sign (see Figure 9) he stated, “It actually kind of offends me.” Equally offensive to Participant 7 was the ‘*Mo’ Money Taxes*’ sign. These signs had appropriated African-American vernacular English (AAVE), thus raising a complex of identity issues and insights about the relationship that individuals have with literacy and the LL.

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Positioning and Identity. Participant 7 positioned himself as a life-long resident of Memphis. He identified himself as a “preacher’s kid” and one of four boys in his family. He was also married, a father, a Republican, and very, very interested in all languages

and dialects. Although for the most part a monolingual, he talked enthusiastically and at great length about this interest and his earlier training in Latin and Greek etymology and Spanish classes. Constructing his ethnic identity in the context of conversation about the problem of standardization of English, he commented, “Being African-American, depending on where you go, just within my culture, on a different side of the city, one word or one string of words will mean something completely different to the point there’s people I can’t even understand because the dialect is so different.” He positioned himself in opposition to standardization of English. However, during the ‘walking tour’ interview, signage with AAVE, provoked a sudden shift from his liberal linguistic position in relation to an acceptance of all varieties and dialects. Participant 7 personally reacted to a form of literacy in the LL. He expressed his extreme dislike of AAVE signs stating, “I hate it because what it does it teaches kids that it’s okay not to speak proper English.” Thus, reinforcing Foucault’s theory that opposing discursal positions may be found in the same speaker. Participant 7’s responses were illuminating in that they underscored Fought’s (2006) assertion that blacks and African-Americans may differentiate in attitudes about AAVE often depending on socio-economic class in relation to the use of non-standard grammar.

Empathy Movements. The empathy level in the interview with Participant 7 was noted by the transcriber as very high based on the pitch, tone, rate of speech, laughter, and lack of hesitations between the interlocutors. The researcher attributed this to the common interest that the researcher and this participant had in multilingualism in the LL, the topic of linguistics, and foreign languages—all contributing to their enthusiasm and the continuous flow of conversation. Also, one important aspect of empathy in this

interview was the way the ‘walking tour’ interview created a space for two individuals who had grown up in the same city but had different racial/ethnic backgrounds embraced an opportunity to discuss important social, cultural and linguistic issues and problems in their hometown.

Co-construction of Meanings. During the ‘walking tour’ interview with Participant 7, several interesting topics emerged in response to the LL—in interaction new meanings were discursively constructed. The first topic was triggered by the participant’s negative response to AAVE on signs on Lamar Avenue as mentioned earlier. This led to a discussion on language standardization and appropriations of language varieties for marketing effects. The “insider” information that this participant knew about the Statue of Liberation (see Figure 30) contributed understanding to the researcher and all the other participants in the study who were interviewed after him. Another topic was triggered by the red-trimmed houses on Getwell Road (see Figures 17-19). This conversation opened a discussion of non-language codes with special meanings. Seeing and discussing the red-trim on the houses, Participant 7 was reminded of history in our area and the use of quilts to signify safety and mark the way to the Underground Railroad for African-American slaves who had escaped their owners in the 1800s. Signifying the way literacies and codes carry nuances of meanings for individuals based on personal cultural/ethnic background and history, the LL became not just an educational tool for raising awareness of multilingualism but a tool for re-creating history in time and place.

Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings

In what follows, I must explain the unique context and special significance of the ‘walking tour’ interview with Participant 7. Both, participant and researcher were born and had grown up in Memphis; however, there were striking differences in our experiences and understandings of the LL based on our individual ethnic backgrounds. Historically segregated, tensions and misunderstandings often existed between the white and the often marginalized African-American communities in Memphis. What is significant was how the ‘walking tour’ interview that focused on the LL provided us with an intercultural space for ‘real’ dialogue. From my personal experiences and history in this place, this was a rare opportunity that I thankfully embraced. The transcription of the interview with Participant 7, while taking approximately two hours to conduct, the same amount of time as was spent with the other participants, was much longer. The transcribed interview contained 480 (32%) lines of conversation by the interviewer and 1,015 (68%) lines of responses from the participant. During and after the interview, I, the researcher, felt that this was a conversation that I had wanted to have for a very long time.

From the start, Participant 7 positioned himself in the interview as an enthusiastic student of linguistics. He maintained this position for most of the interview. In the first 150 lines of conversation, I only spoke 20 lines to his 130. He spoke at length about his interest in foreign languages, his background in the area, and how he had been noticing the LL for a long time. My first articulated question from the pre-determined list was in response to his comment about signs in Spanish that we were about to view. I asked him

how it made him feel to see the signs in Spanish. He welcomed the new languages on signs with interest and optimism that the community was changing for the better.

Consequently, as the ‘walking tour’ progressed and he was caught up in the viewing of the LL, his African-American identity became an important lens for his interpretations and feelings about the LL and changes in the community. When I called his attention to some signs that contained AAVE, he did not disguise his strong feelings toward them and spoke of how they reflected negatively on the African-American community. A sign often triggered a memory or names of individuals associated with the signs. Although the black ethnic group constitutes the majority of the present population in the city of Memphis, Participant 7 had an insider view of the migrant and minority groups residing in the areas. As negotiations of meanings became more fluid and open, I learned more about my hometown and saw the LL from a different perspective. The most meaningful discussion for the researcher occurred at the site of the iconic “Statue of Liberation” on Winchester. The participant’s insider knowledge of the background and history of the group that was responsible for construction and the placement of this statue and their intended message to the community, helped me to see this item in the LL with an “other’s” eyes. As Heath’s (1980) work in the white and African-American communities in the South asserted, different cultures and ethnic groups have different “ways with words” or expressions of values and meanings.

Summary of the Results for Participant 7

Participant 7’s responses to the LL were positive and expressed his conviction that he needed to learn more languages. Indicating his view of the economic benefits of a multicultural community, he expressed his excitement in the new places to shop that had

lower prices and international food products. His negative responses to the LL were linked to his perception of a low status connotation that AAVE on signage cast on African-American residents in Memphis.

Participant 8

A long-standing resident of Memphis, identified as white, female and approximately in her late seventies, Participant 8 had lived in Memphis her whole life and now resided in an area close to the ‘walking tour’ site. She still worked full-time as manager of a department within the domain of public services. When questioned about her first language she emphatically stated, “English, and the ONLY language.” When asked if she had studied another language in school she replied, “No, no I didn’t have to...All I wanted to do was get out of high school. I wanted to go to work.”

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 18) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 8. Statements are shown as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 18				
<i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 8</i>				
Participant 8	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	31	12	10	9
Percentage	100%	39%	32%	29%

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

You know, I really don't pay a lot of attention to them (Q)

I know there are lots of Mexican restaurants here in the area (S)

They are not my favorite places to go (C)

Well, I don't pay much attention to them (Q)

I just hate it that they've closed my store [pointing]; the man's sold it because
they were going out of business (S)

I guess it really hasn't affected me (Q)

I mostly think of the crime or people not working and not paying taxes (C)

I wish it was like it used to be (S)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

From this point down [pointing to a place on the street] there's quite a bit of
change (S)

Like Chinese, or Mings or something over there (S)

And Seven Elevens with Spanish (S)

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

I don't care what anybody is as long as they work (Q)

I don't like it when people come over here and live off of welfare and live off the
government (C)

I think they ought to pay taxes (C)

[A story] There's a Seven Eleven or something around the corner from me and
they're Mexican—uh, they were Arabs in there first—the Mexicans hang
out in there and...uh...one of the Mexicans came in this other Seven

Eleven and wanted something and was speaking in Spanish. So the girl said, "I don't know Spanish. You need to learn to speak English. So he said, "You need to learn to speak Spanish." Oh boy, he thought she was out of line...you need to learn to speak English (S)

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?*

Everything I do is pretty close to where I live (Q)

I've just been working out here in the last ten years; it's not where I've lived (C)

5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

If I don't know what it is, I don't want to go in there, unless it's a restaurant (Q)

I've been tempted to go in there [pointing to a Chinese shop] (S)

I had a Susie Wong dress one time but I don't know if they've got clothes (C)

It doesn't bother me if they got what I want (Q)

If I thought they had a Susie Wong dress, I'd be there in a minute (C)

Not if they've got what I want...just show me how much it costs (Q)

[A story] I'll tell you what does kinda bug me. I went to the store, where they

 speak, well a lot of Mexicans were in there, and when you go in there and
 all of a sudden they right away start laughing about you. It makes me mad
 for them to do that cause they know you speak English. I wish I could
 understand [Spanish] just for that reason (C)

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?*

[Pointing to a Chinese restaurant] My mother died in '88 and she used to go there.

 She liked the wanton soup (S)

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

There're some changes. People moving in (Q)

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?*

Seems like mostly the residents on Summer are moving out and the Mexicans are moving in (Q)

Well, between Shelby Oaks and where we just came off...I've not seen anything but Mexican out that way (Q)

Mostly what's changing is there's a few Asians (C)

I haven't seen many [Asians] and not very many blacks (S)

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?* N/A

10. *Do you feel a connection with this place?*

I've lived around Summer all my life. I was born a block from here (Q)

11. *How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?*

N/A

Step Two (Level II): Categorical Content Analysis

From the transcribed interview with Participant 8, of the 31 explicit statements analyzed, 25 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 13 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 19) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 19					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 8</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
25	4	6	4	2	9
100%	16%	24%	16%	8%	36%

Of the total 25 statements that had emotional/evaluative content, 4 (16 %) statements from Participant 8 were coded as positive in relation to her response to the LL. Three of these statements reflected her willingness to shop at stores which had special merchandise she was looking for and the other one was indirectly positive in that it indicated her desire to learn another language—if only to know if someone was talking about her. As background for this response, she recalled, “I’ll tell you what does kind of bug me...I went to a store here, they speak, well...a lot of Mexicans...and they right away start laughing at you. It makes me mad! I wish I could understand [Spanish] just for that reason.” Triggered by the LL, she explicitly acknowledged her negative feelings in 6 (24%) of the analyzed statements focusing on her worries about crime in the neighborhood and migrant populations who were not paying taxes and living off the government. In 4 (16%) responses she stated, “I really don’t pay a lot of attention” and “I guess it really hasn’t affected me.” In 2 (8%) statements she expressed her uncertainty about going into businesses with foreign language signs. Indicative of her overall feelings about multilingualism and changes in the community, most of the 9 (36%) personal evaluative statements expressed her longing for the way it was—“I wish it was like it used to be.”

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Positioning and Identity. Almost 80 years old, Participant 8 had lived in East Memphis all her life. Establishing her position as a long-time resident Memphian, she spoke of her former local fame as an expert water skier. The LL seemed to trigger memories of Memphis in the old days. An Asian store sign reminded her of a Susie

Wong dress that she had once owned. She commented that she would be in that store in a minute if she thought they had one of those Susie Wong dresses. When asked about her first language, she responded, “English...and the ONLY language.” Reinforcing her monolingual identity, when asked if she had ever studied another language, she replied, “No, no. I didn’t have to.” Still employed full-time in public services as a departmental manager, Participant 8 positioned herself as a working woman and as someone unaffected by the demographic changes in the community with comments such as, “I don’t care what anybody is as long as they work.” Signaling singular affiliation with the white-ethnic community, she spoke of changes in the LL and community by referring to other ethnic groups in the third person as in her comments, “I’ve not seen anything Mexican out that way. Mostly what’s changing is there’s a few Asians...I haven’t seen many and not very many blacks. And I see them (the Mexicans) in the grocery store more than any other place.”

Empathy Movements. The ‘walking tour’ interview was not as long as the other interviews due to time constraints for this participant. The empathy level in the interview with Participant 8 was described as moderate. The participant was very lively but did not seem to be very interested or thoughtful of the LL and changes in the community. Although, when the interviewer and participant engaged in conversation about Memphis and the “way it used to be” the interaction flowed more naturally. From the researcher’s fieldnotes, the most poignant conversation about her feeling about the LL and demographic changes in the community occurred after the tape recorder was turned off.

Co-construction of Meanings. The conversations with Participant 7 during the ‘walking tour’ interview revealed her fears about changes in the community based on

migrant groups she perceived to be very violent. She recounted, “they come up and down the streets in bands with the music real loud and then they shoot a lot up in the air.” On a positive note, she expressed her willingness to shop in stores owned and operated by international migrant if she knew they had something she needed or wanted. One thought the researcher analyzing her interview text—migrant businesses need to communicate to the existing English speaking community if they want to promote their businesses and better community relations.

Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings

Nearly 80 years old, Participant 8 lived and worked near the area of the ‘walking tour’ site on Summer Avenue. A life-long resident of Memphis, I began the interview by asking her about her history in the area. She provided some information about her parents. Coming to the site, I asked her about her first language. With no hesitation she said, “English...and the ONLY language.” When asked if she had ever studied another language, she commented that in high school she didn’t have to take one so she didn’t. In the context of this interview, getting the conversation going took some effort. At the site, I pointed to a sign in Spanish and asked her if she noticed signs in the area. She expressed that she didn’t really pay a lot of attention to them. However, she immediately commented on the increasing number of Mexican restaurants in area. What followed this response was a non-stop narrative of 28 lines of transcription about demographic changes in her neighborhood and incidences of inappropriate behavior attributed to the young Mexican migrants in the community. In the context of this interview, the LL clearly triggered fears and her apprehension about changes in this area.

Participant 8's responses to the LL reflected her insecurity about the effects of migrant populations on crime in the city. Having lived in Memphis her entire life, she indicated feelings of annoyance and paranoia in regard to the use of other languages when she visited local stores. Therefore, multilingualism in the case of Spanish language on signs in the LL triggered negative feelings. Her responses to foreign languages in the LL were not all negative. Several times during the interview, Chinese characters triggered memories of taking her mother to a Chinese restaurant and her favorite Susie Wong dress. In this interview, I positioned myself as a hometown girl. We reminisced together and talked about favorite memories of Carnival times, the places we went roller skating and swimming in the summer. I asked her about shopping in places with foreign languages signs and about what signs were saying about the community. About shopping, she stated that language would not be a barrier. "Not if they've got what I want. Just show me how much it costs." About what the signs are saying about the community, she responded, "There's some changes. People moving in. Seems like mostly the residents on Summer are moving out and the Mexicans are moving in." The 'walking tour' interview of the LL in her neighborhood also stimulated comments about her perceptions of social and racial barriers that still exist. At this point in her life, she was not that interested in learning another language; although, she wanted to understand what other people were saying in her presence. In the follow-up one year after her interview she wrote that she had become more aware of changes in her area and stated, "I think they should learn English, become citizens and pay taxes."

Summary of Results for Participant 8

Participant 8's responses to the LL and changes in the community were mostly negative based on her perceptions and association of minority and migrant populations with crime. She didn't particularly care about language as much as she wanted migrants in the community to become citizens, to work and pay taxes. Nonetheless, she felt that she had benefited from the study as she has become more aware of her community.

Participant 9

Coming to Memphis over thirty years ago as a refugee from Cambodia, Participant 9 was self-identified as an Asian American woman in her late forties. She spoke of her family as having been one of the very first Cambodian families to come to Memphis in the 1970s with the help and sponsorship of a local religious group. When asked about her first language, she responded, "K'mai [Khmer]." Now bilingual, she stated, "When I'm around my parents, I speak Kmai. When I'm around my kids—kind of both. And nieces and nephews, usually just English." She works in an office of public services where she has been employed for almost thirty years. The designated meeting place with Participant 9 before the 'walking tour' was a Cambodian Buddhist Temple in the vicinity of one of the selected sites (see Appendix B).

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 20) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 9. Statements are shown as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 20				
<i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 9</i>				
Participant 9	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	42	13	20	11
Percentage	100%	30%	47%	26%

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

Oh my, more...more international people (Q)

They tell me it's not just me here (Q)

You know when we first came we feel like a foreigner. Now I know we're not the only one (Q)

[Asian language] My market. It's close to where I want, when I need it, I can do it. That's how I see it. There's one over here, I don't have to go too far (Q)

Oh yeah, on Cleveland I look all down, you'll see different ones...the video store, the restaurant...even though they are Vietnamese they just write in English but they have Vietnamese name on it (Q)

But now they put more...like an advertisement by putting it in their own language...It's like, uh, Mexican (S)

It's also convenient. If you want Mexican, you know, oh you go there that's where the Mexican food...Chinese or Vietnamese (Q)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

Ah, New China Restaurant...I'm surprised that the Chinese have English...in Asia you will see they have their own language (S)

I haven't seen that one. I haven't been here for a while. I don't know, maybe a week (S)

Is that the Vietnamese Temple? The Vietnamese Temple. They were telling me about it. I was going to drive by one day. So this is it? (S)

Oh, you know, I think the flags represent what kind of food they sell (C)

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

Some people moving in other people moving out...they're no longer in that area (Q)

I got used to the change. It doesn't bother me. I know if they knock down one thing, they'll build something else. It does not bother me one bit. But when they're not building, I got a little worried on that part (Q)

Vietnamese, uh, they [looking at a large statue on the temple grounds] Gah, this is big (S)

I'm surprised they don't have signs (S)

But I admit, I didn't know that community [Hispanic] was so large (S).

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?*

No. Well only when I'm here on weekends...I might shop here (Q)

The Crown Jewelry is owned by Cambodians (S)

But most of the time, I shop over there near where I work (C)

There is Chinese stores, a market...like when my mother need something from the Chinese store, like vegetables and stuff (C)

5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

[*Mercado de International* on Winchester] Everybody in Asian community knows
about that store (C)

There's one [pointing to food store]. I think they're Filipino (S)

See that one right there...That Thai, that Thai restaurant right there (S)

And that next to it is also Asian store, but they don't have as much as that, that big
old market (S)

That big old market got good fish. You want your fish fried? They fry fish for you
(C)

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?*

[At Vietnamese Temple] You know that's a religious flag, don't you? (S)

Each color represents a different thing that Buddha gave up his life for (S)

That's Sri Daen [statue of a Goddess]. You see a lot of pendants with her on it (S)

I used to shop there...right here used to be a Cambodian Jewelry store (S)

[Statue of Liberation at World Overcomers Church]...forgot what this country
was based on—religion, freedom of religion. And now some people have
forgotten that (Q)

Yes, yes. It's part of our questioning when we took the citizenship test (C)

If I was in my country, I probably wouldn't be able to read and write right now
(C)

The war was bad but good. Kind of kicked me out of the country and bring me
over here and I was able to learn a lot more (C)

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

It's close by. I like that. So that way if I like want to go to Mexican, Cambodian, or Vietnamese—well, we don't have Cambodian grocery store...I know what street it will be easier for me to go (S)

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?*

But to me, every time I see [pointing to signs] them, I know that the community of that particular race is in that area (Q & S)

The more signs—especially in Spanish—I see, that in that particular community there's more Spanish coming in (Q)

And...at the grocery stores nowadays in certain sections they sell Mexican foods.

So I know that the more they sell... I know there's more in the community (C)

[Here] the majority of the workers are Spanish. In their stores you go in there, it is Spanish (S)

This area is more blended. It's not white, it's not black...but the more, the more I work with people the more I realize that it's like Blacks want to be separated but other race—we blend in...Asian, other races, we blend (S & C)

When I talk with them, I say, "Why don't you just—like us—blend in? It's your home. You know. Get used to it." (C)

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?*

Mexican (Q)

10. *Do you feel a connection with this place?*

Remember what we're here...why we're here. Yeah, it had that message

[Looking at the 'Statue of Liberation' on Winchester] (S)

11. *How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?*

Hmm...that's a good question. I don't know about this. I don't know (Q)

Step Two (Level II): Categorical Content Analysis

From the transcribed interview with Participant 9, of the 42 explicit statements analyzed, 27 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 21 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content, some statements in both categories. The table below (see Table 21) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 21					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 9</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
27	8	0	1	5	13
100%	30%	0%	4%	18%	48%

Participant 9's responses to the LL during the 'walking tour' interview resulted in 8 (30%) positive explicit statements about her feelings and understandings of *migrant cityscaping* in the LL in Memphis. Signaling and reinforcing her immigrant identity, she responded, "You know when we first came we feel like a foreigner. Now, I know we're not the only one." There were no discernable negative statements. The majority of her responses to the LL, 13 (48%), contained personal evaluations about the changes in the LL, her life and positioning in the community, and her personal relationship with the migrant businesses marked by the signs that were seen and discussed. In several

instances, her responses were nuanced with hesitation and uncertainty. The researcher determined 5 (18%) of the responses were uncertain. For example, when asked about the increase of multilingualism on signs she replied, “Oh my, more...more international people.” In response to the question that asked if language affected a person’s sense of home and belonging, she commented, “Hmm ... that’s a good question. I don’t know about this. I don’t know.”

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Positioning and Identity. Before the interview began, Participant 9 met with the researcher at the Cambodian Buddhist Temple which was in the vicinity of the ‘walking tour’ site. Participant 9 recounted her story of how she and her family had come to Memphis as refugees in the 1970s. Positioning herself as foreigner, Buddhist, international immigrant and refugee, these aspects of her identity were significant in the construction of meanings and her interpretations of LL.

Empathy Movements. The empathy level with Participant 9 was evaluated as “moderate to to high”. The interviewer met the participant on a Saturday morning in the Cambodian Buddhist Temple where they talked for about an hour before the ‘walking tour’ interview began. In an effort to promote intercultural communication and reduce any anxiety for the participant, the researcher brought pictures she took on a visit to Cambodia in 2005. This seemed to create a bond and put the conversation in a comfortable place. The empathy increased throughout the ‘walking tour’ and was especially significant in the exchange at the Vietnamese Temple site (see Figures 25-28).

Co-construction of Meanings. For the researcher, the meanings constructed in interaction at the Vietnamese Temple site provided a new understanding of Buddhism, its

flag, icons, symbols and followers in the context of Memphis, Tennessee. The participant had never visited this Temple so it was also an experience of discovery and meaning making for her. Characteristic of postmodern interviewing sensibilities, the roles were exchanged and the participant became teacher as she turned to the researcher, pointed to a flag and asked, “You know that’s a religious flag, don’t you?” She then proceeded to explain the meanings of each color represented something significant in the life of Buddha. Together we discursively constructed an understanding of the statues and multicultural literacies located on the corner of Winchester and Goodlett streets.

Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings

As previously noted, I met Participant 9 at a Buddhist Temple near the Winchester ‘walking tour’ site. There, prior to the ‘walking tour’ interview, we sat and talked about Cambodia and her experiences coming to Memphis in the 1970s as a refugee. It is important to note that this participant had known one of my relatives for a long time; and therefore, positioned me as family of a co-worker. Seen from this perspective, as an ethnographer, I felt that I had face validity in the community. From the transcribed interview text, the interviewer had 125 (36%) lines while the participant contributed 223 (64%) lines of conversation text.

On the way to the site, I asked about her first language. She stated that her first language was Khmer. She talked about the growing Cambodian community in Memphis and how she now spoke mostly English with her nephews and nieces who had migrated to the area. When asked if she noticed signs, she became very animated talking about the signs in Vietnamese on Cleveland Avenue (not one of the ‘walking tour’ sites but evidently important to this participant).

Her responses to the LL and changes in the community were mostly positive; however, she sometimes conveyed ambivalent feelings about other minority or international groups. Participant 9 was very interested in food and multiple languages in the LL often triggered for this participant certain foods and ingredients. Excited about new international places to shop that were discovered during the ‘walking tour’ interview, she commented that multilingualism in the LL made her feel less like a foreigner. On the other hand, with a sigh offered, “The more signs especially in Spanish...I see, I know that in that particular community—there’s more Spanish coming in.” When we visited the Buddhist Temple behind the Spanish/Mexican market on Winchester, the participant shifted to the role of teacher as she explained the signs, icons, and symbols marking this area. As with Participant 6, the presence of familiar literacies representative of home country in the LL seemed to empower Participant 9 and encourage ethno-cultural vitality for the minority migrant resident.

As with the other participants, I asked how she felt when the languages on signs in the community changed and if the changes bothered her. After conducting the interviews, I questioned, if perhaps, asking if something bothered someone, was overly influencing the response and encouraged a negative response or the assumption that something was bothersome. She stated that it did not bother her very much—she had gotten used to the change—almost as if this activity signified life and vitality. In this respect, she stated, “[W]hen they’re not building, I got a little worried on that part.”

Throughout the ‘walking tour’ interview, meanings were clearly tied to her personal identification as an international immigrant U.S. citizen. Reinforcing this position, the Statue of Liberation on Winchester provoked very emotional responses that

appeared to link her religious and national identities. Also, overriding the written language “American Must Return to Christ” on the base of the Statue, this iconic American symbol of freedom triggered strong feelings as she expressed that the statue made her “remember what we’re here for...why we’re here.” Following this statement, Participant 9 responded:

Come here you follow what, you know, the rules, regulations, stuff, you can make anything you want. Do anything you want. If I was in my country, I probably wouldn’t be able to read and write right now. Too busy farming. And my grandmother does not believe in education. The war is bad but good. Kind of kicked me out of the country and bring me over here and I was able to learn a lot more.

Summary of Results for Participant 9

Participant 9, a bilingual, responded with guarded, yet positive, feelings about multilingualism and changes in the LL. She positioned herself in relation to the LL as an immigrant and U.S. citizen, Cambodian refugee, and Asian. The LL did trigger some comments about the behavior and actions of other minority groups. Perhaps due to the absence of Khmer language in the LL in the area, she could not say if the signs in the community provided a sense of belonging or connection to a place. Participant 9 appeared to have adopted an assimilation model of migrant identity while maintaining her Cambodian ethnicity.

Participant 10

Participant 10 was a young man in his mid-20s. He had lived in Memphis his entire life except for a year and a half when he was away at school. A college graduate,

his first language was English; however he had studied Spanish in high school and claimed to “speak a little bit of Spanglish.” From kindergarten through high school, he had attended Memphis private schools, with predominantly white student populations, and was at the time of the interview teaching in a private school in the city. Having grown up in the areas of the ‘walking tour’ sites, he commented, “Over in Southeast Memphis...Uh, and, it’s, uh, demographics have changed over my lifetime and it’s an evolving area, for sure. Crime rate’s going up.”

Step One (Level I): Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

The following table (see Table 22) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analyzed as responses to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 10. Statements are shown as elicited by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), and/or generated from the dialogic interaction in the conversation (C).

Table 22				
<i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded by Source for Participant 10</i>				
Participant 10	No. of explicit statements analyzed	Elicited by question (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	53	22	19	12
Percentage	100%	42%	36%	22%

1. *How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?*

It’s more, I think it’s more indifferent (Q)

I’ll say this, it is, I believe frustrating living in a town that I’ve lived in all my life and saying, “Boy, I want to read that sign, but I can’t read that sign.” (Q)

So, do I dislike it? I guess you could say that, at times, but not because of the diversity, it's because I want to know what that says. And I don't know the language (Q)

I mean it's just, to me it's just a constant reminder of the evolution or the... uh... the... I mean, I think more and more people want to be in America (Q)

I think they want our lifestyle (C)

And I say "our" I mean an American lifestyle. The free will to do as they please and, and worship as they want to worship, and work as they want to work (C)

More and more people are moving in from other countries and, and are, uh, striving to hold up our lifestyle and, and working, and doing all the things that we do, you know (C)

I know that the Chinese population is growing... you see an increase but not an overbearing increase, I don't think (S)

2. *When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?*

Absolutely. I mean, there's more and more, there's the, uh, you know, you see Spanish more on signs when you never saw it at time, in fact I would say five years ago (Q)

Help me, help me. For the record, there is a bear traveling down the road on I-40 hanging out the back of a car (S)

That's something I feel like I wouldn't have seen five years ago (S)

What, flags they've got! They've got the Mexican flag, the American flag... is that the Italian flag right there? (S)

3. *What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?*

More and more...Spanish population is increasing (C)

And now they're everywhere, you see them...can't call a toll-free number or anything without... (C)

As far as the landscape changing like this, uh, is that good or bad thing? I wouldn't say, it's just a different thing... time will tell (C)

As I believe the Asian population is increasing at a rapid rate (C)

[Heng's Auto Repair] I would know that that was an auto repair place, but that would be about it. Can Americans, can Americans bring their cars there? (S)

Now, what used to be Willow Road Inn, right here, is now the *San Marcos* (S)

It's interesting, because this is, yeah it's got the, what looks like English-speaking church also offering a Spanish service (S)

So, this [Winchester area] is a big change, culturally, from what it used to be, a all, mostly white neighborhood to a mostly not-white neighborhood...African-Americans, Asians, Spanish, all different types (S)

It was Schnucks, an Albertsons...it's unbelievable the change how that's taken place. And not a very long period of time (S)

4. *Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area?*

I don't think so. I think it's a kind of a different...culture over here (Q)

I probably don't wear the same clothes, or share the same interest as the culture over here (C)

I don't...cause it's not the same area that I grew up in. It is physically speaking,
but, none of the stores are the same, there's very few things that are the
same (Q)

I said crime and barbecue are still here and Topps is still here, uh, but, everything
else has changed (C)

5. *Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?*

Probably not (Q)

If I don't know what language it is or don't know what it says, I would, I would
be more than hesitant to, to enter in a store like that (Q)

And not because there's necessarily bad things in there, just because I don't know
exactly what I'd be getting into (C)

[If] there's something specific I might need from a Spanish market like that, I, I
would (Q)

Very good Chinese food there (S)

There's a Korean Baptist Church [near where he teaches] (C)

Japanese steak house right over here, *Nagasaki* (S)

6. *Does this place have a special meaning or memory for you?*

No memories, no, I mean, uh, other than knowing, always hearing from Memphis
people, "Don't break down on Lamar Avenue." (Q)

Getwell. ...this is kind of old stomping grounds because through college I was on
staff with the University of Memphis football team and our athletic
facilities were over here, South Campus (S)

I think it's just interesting cause this is...the old Kennedy Hospital where, you know, back in World War II where they brought the vets back over that were injured. And they'd stay here. And an interesting fact you probably already know about Getwell is that it used to be named Shotwell until ... they started bringing the vets back and they changed it to Getwell and moved Shotwell over a couple of streets (S)

[Winchester area] Not far from where I used to, where I grew up (Q)

[Summer Avenue] moved in over here when I was 22 through 24 (Q)

7. *What does it mean to you now?*

Well, I think, the more aware of ... you see it but you don't really think about it until you see it and then you see some more and then you see some more of, of the bilingual signs. It kinda blows you away. Especially when you go back to a place that used to be very, very familiar to you and now it's just, the changes are amazing...I don't feel like I've been alive that long. And to see, a huge change like that in the last few years, it's, it'll kinda blow you away (C)

8. *What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?* N/A

9. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?*

I would think that this was a heavily Spanish populated area (Q)

I think this is more of an African-American area. Umm...you see, *Da Wing Spot*, and not to be stereotypical, but you know, that's...that's how, I mean that's...that's...um...a vernacular (S)

Definitely, African-American. I mean, there's not, there's not a white person on the, on the whole store front (Q)

All the ones I've noticed have been, uh, looks like Spanish speaking people (S)

10. *Which language do you think is the most important in this area?*

I think as the more that move in, the more there is a market for, um, you know, whatever need they have to be in, in Spanish (Q)

There's a large amount of Spanish-speaking people around, so Spanish would be one to take [language to study]...because it's gonna help you communicate with people and you're gonna run into in everyday life, not just on occasion (Q)

11. *Do you feel a connection with this place?*

Yeah...I used to eat. I mean, I would eat lunch there probably four to five days a week when I was working over here (Q)

[Iconic Statue of Liberation at World Overcomers Church] Well, I'll go into that, but I've got, I've got a background to this. Because this was where my elementary school campus was. This is where I went to kindergarten through fifth grade, in this church (Q)

It just blows me away because it's just...it's just completely different and I don't know what to think about it because, like I said, I was, for six years, I

drove into this church parking lot and went to school, and it wasn't anything like that there (S)

You know, I have some, I mean...religiously I look at it and wonder (S)

I'm not used to something that in-your-face. Uh, not a fan. No, do not like it (S)

A sense of uneasiness, I guess you'd say (S)

12. *How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging in a place?*

Oh, I think it's all the...I mean it affects it at times (Q)

Especially if, say, you can't read something, or it's a different dialect or something that you're not used to, then you're going to feel out of place even, I mean, you're going to feel like, "I don't belong here" (Q)

Sure, sure. I mean, that's your surroundings (Q)

Step Two (Level II): Categorical Content Analysis

From the transcribed interview with Participant 10, of the 53 explicit statements analyzed, 39 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 22 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 23) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed.

Table 23					
<i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 10</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
41	3	12	2	2	22
100%	7%	29%	5%	5%	54%

At the start of the 'walking tour' Participant 10 expressed feelings of indifference toward the LL and linguistic changes in the community. Over the course of the interview

this changed. Of the 41 responses with emotional content, Participant 10 had 3 (7%) statements that were positive toward signage with languages other than English. Indicating an awareness that learning an additional language could potentially be beneficial for him, he stated, “Spanish would be one language to take...because it’s gonna help you communicate with people that you’re gonna run into in everyday life, not just on occasion.” Participant 10 had 22 (54%) responses that were personal evaluative statements about recent changes in Memphis and the American lifestyle. However, 12 (29%) of the responses to the LL were categorized as negative. Most of these statements indicated his frustration at not being able to understand the meaning of the signs, his discomfort with the suddenness of all the linguistic changes in the community, and his feelings of now being excluded from once familiar spaces based on impressions of language boundaries created by foreign language signs. Also, capturing his uncertainty at the moment of seeing, he expressed, “It kinda blows you away.” In one other instance, when viewing the Statue of Liberation (see Figure 30) at the World Overcomers church on Winchester, he exclaimed, “I mean...religiously, I look at it and wonder.”

Step Three (Level III): Analysis of Dynamic Interactions

Positioning and Identity. Participant 10 positioned himself as a long-time resident of Memphis. A monolingual who had studied Spanish, he was a schoolteacher in the private Christian school systems, most often associated with the middle to upper class white-ethnic community in Memphis. Early in the interview constructing himself as objective observer of the LL, he made these comments on the demographics and changes—“Spanish population is increasing. As I believe the Asian population is increasing at a rapid rate. There’s quite a bit of African-American and then, Caucasian.”

However, this position seemed to be challenged by the frequency of migrant discourses during the ‘walking tour’ when he expressed, “I mean...to me it’s just a constant reminder of the evolution or the, uh, the, I mean, I think more and more people want to be in America. I think they want our lifestyle.” The Statue of Liberation on Winchester, viewed and discussed during the ‘walking tour’ interview, challenged his cultural expectations of appropriate signage and triggered a strong response, affirming his identity as a conservative white Southern Baptist.

Empathy Movements. The empathy with Participant 10 began as “moderate” and moved to “high” as the participant became more comfortable with sharing his opinions and feelings—not just facts about the signs and literacies encountered during the ‘walking tour’ interview. It was apparent that he was a teacher when he often elaborated on topic triggered by a question or sign and brought local political discourses into the discussion. The transcriber noted frequent burst of laughter, responses from both interlocutors that encouraged conversation such as: “so,” “okay,” “yeah,” “yes,” “Uh huh,” “well,” “absolutely,” “right,” and “that’s right.”

Co-construction of Meanings. Participant 10’s responses to the Statue of Liberation (see Figure 30) at the World Overcomers church emphasized Berger’s assertion that we make sense of what we are seeing based on our expectations, our backgrounds and our experiences. The following dialogue from the interview transcript with Participant 10 best illustrates the discursive construction of meaning enacted at this site.

- Interviewer: So, we’re coming down to a very, uh, you know, this big icon on the corner.
P10: Uh uh.
Interviewer: I want you to tell me when you see it.

P10: Well, I'll go into that, but I've got, I've got a background to this.
Interviewer: Okay. All right (looking at the participant).
P10: Because this was where my elementary school campus was.
Interviewer: Okay.
P10: This is where I went to kindergarten through fifth grade, in this church.
Interviewer: Okay.
P10: and, uh...
Interviewer: Now when you see that now, what kind of feelings do you have?
P10: It's, um, I, it just blows me away because it's, just, it's...for one, it's just completely different and I don't know what to think about it's because, like I said, I was, for six years, I drove into this church parking lot and went to school and, and it, it wasn't anything like that there (pointing to the statue). You know, I have some, uh, I mean, I don't know, religiously I look at it and wonder, you know, I think different things.
Interviewer: Well, what? Like what?
P10: Well, it, I don't necessarily d..., it says, "America Return to Christ." I don't disagree with that. It's, I guess a little more flamboyant than I'm, I'm, I'm used to, or you know, I'm, I guess a—a Southern—kind of a stricter—coming from a stricter Southern Baptist background. I'm not used to something that in-your-face.

In this instance, the mixed literacies on the icon did not completely override the message in the text—all literacies competed and as a result created confusion for the reader who was emotionally attached to this site. Making meaning of this text was complex, multi-layered and individualized.

Step Four (Level IV): Contextualized Meanings

As was the routine throughout this study, on the way to the 'walking tour' site, I began the interview by asking the participant to talk about himself and his background in Memphis. After briefly identifying himself by gender, age, and date of birth, Participant 10 offered that he had studied Spanish in High School and his first language was English. When I asked about his profession, he stated that he was a middle school teacher and then provided information about his school, the subjects he taught, and his studies at the

University of Memphis. As an educator, he seemed to appreciate the opportunity to participant in the study. In this regard, we shared a common profession and were positioned as educators with an understanding of the white-ethnic culture in Memphis and common experiences growing up in this area. From the beginning, the interview was lively and face-paced. When I asked if he noticed signs, he responded, “Absolutely!” When asked what he noticed about them, he talked about the differences in official and non-official signage—signs that were described as top-down (governmental) or bottom-up (non-governmental/private or commercial) in a study by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006). As in the case of the interview with Participant 8, the transcribed interview with Participant 10 was lengthy and produced over 1,070 lines of interview text. There were 360 (34%) lines attributed to the interviewer while the participant contributed 710 (66%) lines to the conversation.

For Participant 10, his social life in Memphis was centered around Evangelical private school education and work. Apart from his involvement with the Athletic programs at the university, he did not engage in intercultural interactions often. However, in the space of the ‘walking tour’ interview, the LL raised his awareness to changes in the community and triggered feelings—some conscious, some surprising—as he positioned himself in relation to migrant discourses, multilingualism, and familiar public spaces in transition. Many of his responses to the LL were negative attributing this to his frustration with not understanding the meanings of signs with foreign languages and feeling excluded from places based on imagined linguistic boundaries.

As was discussed in the previous section, for Participant 10, the most striking emotional response to the LL was elicited by the Statue of Liberation on Winchester. In

terms of hot cognition, although the participant had seen this statue many times, his responses at the moment of seeing were unfiltered and emotional, revealing how powerful an icon in the LL can be on an individual's emotions when it conflicts with memories or changes perceptions of this place. At the end of the interview the researcher asked if he had learned anything or saw something new. He replied, "Well, I think...more aware, you know, you see it but you don't really think about it until you see it and then you see some more and then you see some more...of the bilingual signs. It kinda blows you away. Especially when you go back to a place that used to be very, very familiar to you and now...it's just, the changes are, are amazing...I don't feel like I've been alive that long."

Summary of Results for Participant 10

Participant 10's responses to multilingualism and migrant discourses in the LL in Memphis expressed surprise by the frequency of multilingualism in the LL. For this participant, the linguistic changes in the community also provoked feelings of frustration that he could not understand foreign language signs which had redefined familiar home places, making them strange or foreign. From a pragmatic position, he expressed a desire and the necessity to learn another language. However, his identities as life-long Memphian and American national appeared to be bound together with monolingualism in English (Pavlenko, 2005)—although, he did speak a little Spanglish.

Summary of Individual Interviews

One recurrent theme in all the participants' narratives and responses to the linguistic landscape expressed how the LL in Memphis reflected recent, and in some cases extreme, changes in the demographics and language use in the area. Most

participants attributed this change to the growth of the Hispanic migrant population. Some indirectly linked the linguistic changes in the LL to an increase in crime while other participants understood the changes as inevitable effects of globalization and migration. Some participants expressed perceptions of economic, linguistic, and cultural benefits to be gained from living in a multicultural/multilingual community. These results were anticipated; however, what were not expected were the multiple meanings and different ways individuals interpreted and responded to the LL.

Table 24 on the next page combines individual results and addresses the cognitive aspects of the first research question: What cognitive and emotional verbal responses are elicited (triggered) by the close physical proximity and explicit reference to the linguistic landscape? In particular, Table 24 provides a snapshot of what was happening in Memphis and what residents were saying about the LL during ‘walking tours’ in 2007 and 2008. What does the data collected in this study show that other data and studies do not? For one thing, the data collected in this study demonstrated that the act of reading the LL is personal—individualized, interpretive, and influenced by wider discourses. While there were some patterns in the noticing of information in presentations on signage, each participant offered a unique perspective or understanding of the literacies in the LL based on his or her own background and history. Also, the self-positionings and emotional responses to the LL showed that the LL is not a neutral text. The participants identified and positioned themselves in relation to the surrounding text—the cultures and language groups associated with the languages and symbols on the signs. Consequently showing that humans have a complex and intimate relationship with public literacy; although, this relationship is very fluid and recursive. The study showed how icons and

images evoked stronger expressions of feelings and often overrode the linguistic message of text. From moment to moment during the ‘walking tour’ interview, new sensations and information were integrated with existing understandings thus triggering reinterpretations and adjustments to meanings.

To some extent this study exposed how problematic making assumptions about the meanings of signage in a particular place and space can be when interpretations do not include local voices and multiple understandings. In no way, could I, the researcher, have anticipated all the different topics and sub-texts that were introduced by the participants during the ‘walking tour’ interviews.

Next, Table 24 presents highlights of the themes and sub-texts from individual visual perceptions of the Memphis LL.

Table 24	
<i>Table of Individual Perceptions of the LL in Memphis</i>	
Participant	Visual Perceptions of the LL in Memphis
P1	Migration of non-English speakers to Memphis has changed the life and language usage in the communities. Some areas are more affected than others and changes are possibly related to an increase crime, but in the future our children would benefit from knowing other languages.
P2	Memphis has become more multicultural and interesting. However, the presentation of flags and other iconic symbols in the LL were often confusing as to the meanings and target audience.
P3	The changes on signs in Memphis showed an increase in the Hispanic populations in the communities of the ‘walking tours.’ Some new businesses in the LL were perceived to be targeting lower socio-economic populations who may or may not be legal residents.
P4	The LL communicated that the population of Memphis had changed and become less “American” but more multicultural and interesting. The LL also represented “otherness” and created boundaries.
P5	The LL indicated a change in demographics that possibly contributes to crime in the area. The LL is a resource and tool of marketing that should be utilized to promote economic development. The LL is rich in foreign language input and embedded with other literacies such as color codes.

P6	The LL reflected the strength and vitality of the Hispanic community in Memphis. The LL provides a means to communicate to the community that there are other cultures present and other languages have a right to speak. Multilingualism is good and being bilingual is an advantage.
P7	The LL showed how the community has changed and how necessary it is to learn more languages. Public literacy has multiple codes. And, AAVE in the LL was perceived as sub-standard, in his opinion, negatively reflecting the African-American community in Memphis.
P8	The LL was representative of microcosms of culture and people groups who were different—often migrants stereotyped as not working or paying taxes. Chinese businesses had a higher status than Hispanic.
P9	Multilingualism in the LL created an ambiguous cognitive and emotional state—in one respect, it provided comfort that other foreigners were present in the community while at the same time, it caused concern about the growing Hispanic migrant community. Icons and images in the LL conveyed the strongest messages of home, religion, freedom, and hope.
P10	The LL was a reminder that more and more people are coming to America, to Memphis, and changing the community. Unknown language signs created an emotional and physical boundary and new icons made familiar places strange. The large iconic statue of Liberation was visually offensive yet also created confusion because the religious message written on the sign connected him to his religious identity.

As mentioned before, multi-modal literacies in the LL in the form of icons, images, color codes, and symbols challenged the expectations of participants and opened dialogue about multiple interpretations and ways of seeing. For example, the Statue of Liberation (see Figure 30) was loved, was hated, was confusing, was Memphis, and/or was just “too in your face” for some of the participants. Meanings were never fixed but felt deeply and connected to an important event, memory, idea, knowledge or experience.

Summary

In summary, results from the individual interviews have shown a multiplicity of meanings and a wide range of emotions in response to the LL in Memphis. In the case of Memphis, there was general consensus that Hispanic migration to the area has contributed to the economic growth of Memphis by providing labor and specialized skills

notably in the area of construction. A variety of goods and services targeting this population further showed the vitality of this community. As indicated in Table 24, some participants were encouraged by this growth while many long-term residents were neutral, unsure, or afraid. All agreed that minority language groups are growing in the area and several participants expressed a strong desire to learn a migrant language. Perhaps empowered by Spanish-language signs in the LL, many migrant languages were at this time visible in the LL indicating richer, multicultural and for some, more challenging, community spaces.

CHAPTER 7: OVERALL RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Synthesis of Results

The results in the previous chapter focused on the first research question with multi-layered analysis of each individual interview. Results were analyzed with hybrid methodology that utilized an interactional sociolinguistic approach to identify cognitive and emotional verbal responses elicited by reference to the LL in the context of an interview conducted onsite while viewing the LL. This chapter synthesizes these results and begins to address the second research question which considers the effectiveness of the ‘walking tour’ methodology as a tool for applied sociolinguists. The questions this study sought to answer were:

1. What cognitive and emotional verbal responses are elicited (triggered) by the close physical proximity and explicit reference to the LL from long-standing and migrant populations in urban communities in Memphis, TN?
 - How do residents express visual perceptions and emotional responses to “new” languages (migrant or minority discourses) and change in the LL?
 - How do perceptions of the linguistic landscape work to connect residents to their social and psychological identities?
2. To what extent is the ‘walking tour’ interview of LL sites a viable tool for eliciting psychological responses to multilingualism and linguistic changes in the community and for raising awareness of local language communities, resources, and needs?

- How are individual understandings of demographic, economic, historical, and linguistic changes in the community constructed or expressed during the ‘walking tour’?
- How does the ‘walking tour’ of LL sites create space for the “free flow of conversation” and maintain focus on the topic of multilingualism?

As shown in the previous chapter, the answers to these questions are individualistic, complex, and multilayered. Ultimately, one goal of this study was to represent this complexity and the multiplicity of individual responses and reactions to language issues embedded in the LL. Nonetheless, in this chapter, I will identify some of the patterns of responses across participants and discuss the overall effectiveness of the ‘walking tour’ interview as a research tool. A tool and text utilized for eliciting responses to the LL, raising awareness of multilingualism and changes in the community, and for creating an intercultural conversation space for communication. Discussions in this chapter begin with comments on the *Role and Relationship of the LL* in this study. Next are discussions of analyses of overall results and patterns in *Levels I and II* (combined), *Level III* and *Level IV*. The final main section presents *Principles of Readership of the LL* based on the researcher’s interpretations of the influence of the LL on the meanings and understandings co-constructed in the context of the interviews in this study. Lastly, will be a brief summary and evaluation of the overall effectiveness of the ‘walking tour’ interview in research methodology.

Role and Relationship of the LL

Expanding the concept of literacy as simply a cognitive skill, in *Local Literacies: Reading and Writing in One Community*, Barton and Hamilton (1998) provided a “social practices account of literacy” (p. 21) which aided my understanding of the role of the LL in this study. A cognitive and emotional force, the LL told the story of language use, contact, choice, and change in Memphis. This text provided a rich literacy resource outside of traditional institutions of education and classic modes of literacy as it embodied linguistic practices, values and beliefs, and the multicultural diversity in the community. At the same time, the LL was a dynamic relational force. The figure below (Figure 7) is a model of the interactive relationship of the LL as stimulus text showing how explicit reference to the LL stimulated and shaped the conversation, influenced positionings, and focused the discourse and meanings co-constructed in interaction during the ‘walking tour’ interviews.

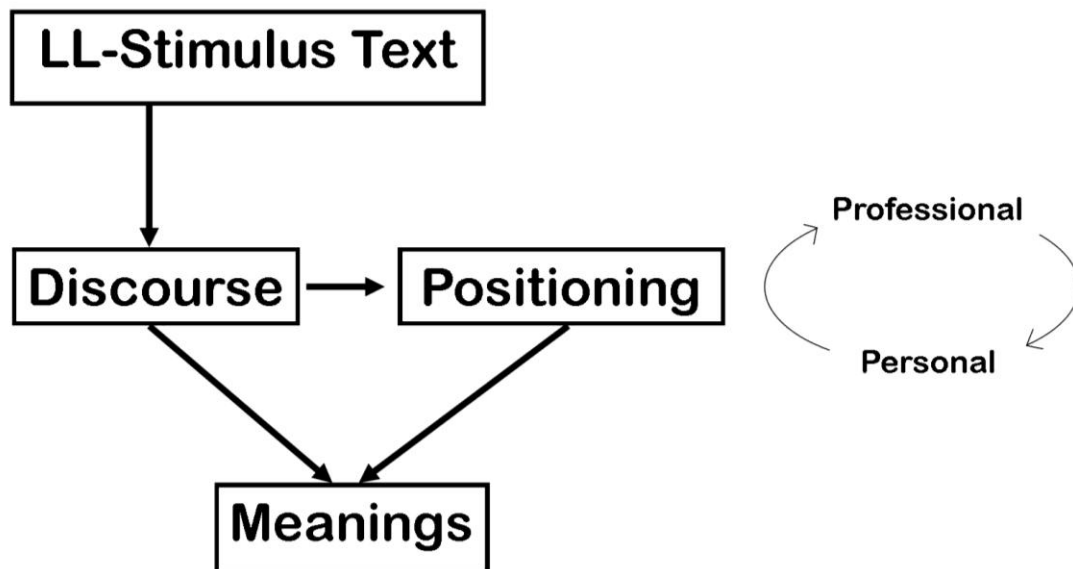


Figure 41. Model of interactive relationship of LL and meaning constructions.

Focused attention on the LL during the ‘walking tour’ interviews triggered a continuous process of meaning making. The LL elicited explicit statements about migrant discourses and linguistic changes in the community. The discourses produced were embedded with self-positioning statements that accessed the participants’ professional or personal identities which in turn, shaped meanings and created more discourse that was shaped and visually stimulated by the LL—a hermeneutical interaction.

Discussion of Results in Levels I and II

Cognitive and Emotional Responses to the LL

The following table (see Table 25) shows that data generated in the ‘walking tour’ interviews were multiplied by the visual stimulus and postmodern interviewing methods.

Table 25							
<i>Summary of Results of Levels I and II Analysis of Responses</i>							
<i>Participant</i>	<i>No. of statements analyzed</i>	<i>Elicited by question</i>	<i>Stimulated by LL</i>	<i>Generated during conversation</i>	<i>No. of Topics Themes</i>	<i>No. of Emotional Evaluative</i>	<i>% of E/E Positive (P) Negative (N)</i>
P1	30	11	10	10	11	22	P = 10% N = 23%
P2	43	11	9	22	7	37	P = 14% N = 8%
P3	43	21	10	16	20	35	P = 6% N = 17%
P4	42	23	6	13	7	35	P = 37% N = 23%
P5	60	20	28	13	18	42	P = 5% N = 21%
P6	48	14	18	16	21	36	P = 38% N = 6%
P7	31	12	10	9	13	25	P = 23% N = 10%
P8	59	14	29	16	30	39	P = 16% N = 24%
P9	42	13	20	11	21	28	P = 30% N = 0%
P10	53	22	19	12	22	41	P = 7% N = 29%

Totals	425	161	159	138	170	340	P = 19% N = 17%
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Table 25 shows the number of responses selected from the interviews (a total of 425 explicit statements) that addressed the core interview questions which were generated not only from articulated pre-determined interview questions, but also from the visual stimulation of the LL and the conversation between the researcher and participants. The interview methodology created an interactive environment that opened up dialogue about sensitive sociopolitical language issues and race relations in the community. It enabled multiple open-ended complex responses to the questions under investigation.

The table above (see Table 25) shows that 161 (38% of the total) statements were elicited by questions from the researcher. Results show 159 (37%) responses were initiated by the participant occurring through stimulation and interaction with the LL, while 138 (32%) explicit statements were generated by the discourse about the LL and the conversation within the context of the interview. As mentioned above, many of the pre-determined interview questions (37%) were answered in the act of noticing the LL—not elicited with a question from the researcher. This finding was significant in that these responses indicated genuine thoughts and feelings initiated by the participant. Synthesis of the overall results from all the participants indicated a balance between positive and negative responses to the LL. Of the total 340 explicit statements from all participants containing emotional or evaluative content, 19% were decidedly positive in response to multilingualism and linguistic changes while 17% were determined as having negative emotional or evaluative content. Reinforcing white Euro-American dominant culture and perhaps monolingual perspective, Participants 1, 3, 5, 8, and 10, shared similar linguistic backgrounds and a dominant identity marker as long-time resident. Not unexpected, these

participants had a larger percentage of negative responses to linguistic changes.

Participants 2, 4, 6, 8, and 9 reported multicultural/multilingual and/or minority ethnic backgrounds. They expressed a larger percentage of positive statements as opposed to negative responses to the LL. However, the details of the positive and negative responses varied greatly across all participants.

Categories of Noticing

As part of the analysis of the explicit statements, in addition to emotional/evaluative statements, specific topics or themes of information triggered by the LL were identified. From the content of these referential statements, nine categories of noticing emerged. The categories of noticing included types of information perceived as embedded in the signage or understandings expressed by the participant viewing the LL within the context of the ‘walking tour’ interview. As stated earlier the process of noticing was provoked in three ways: 1) by direct questions from the interviewer; 2) by the individual participants stimulated by the LL; and 3) by the conversation between researcher and participant in direct contact with the LL. The researcher identified nine types of information about the LL that emerged during the analysis of the explicit statements elicited from the participants in the ‘walking tour’ interviews. The types of information will be referred to as *categories of noticing*. Categories of noticing identified were: 1) language/ethnic group identity; 2) name of business or institution; 3) type of service, business or institution; 4) change in signage; 5) icons and images; 6) color codes; 7) production quality; 8) placement of sign; and 9) symbolic trigger of sub-text.

Table 26 below shows the nine categories of noticing, with an explanation of each category and examples from statements by the participants. Following the table is a discussion of how this process of noticing was enacted during the interviews.

Table 26 <i>Categories of Noticing</i>		
Category of Noticing	Explanation of category	Examples from Participants
Language/ethnic group identity	The languages on signs in relation to language groups and cultures of speakers	Spanish/Hispanic/Mexican signs Chinese Vietnamese Korean script Black/African-American/Ebonics
Name of business or institution	The actual name of the business or institution on the sign	Heng's Auto Repair Z-markets Da Wing Spot Esmarelda Mercado Mecado Adams store
Type of service, business or institution	The kind of service, business or institution advertised on the sign	Vietnamese Temple Cambodian Jewelry store New China Restaurant La Prensa Latina bilingual news Grocery stores for Hispanics
Change in signage	Noticing of new signs or changes in signs from previous experiences with signage in the areas	The Rebel Motel was here. Just saw a Hispanic supermarket. Crazy Tacos was Crazy Loco Kroger has multilingual signs Getwell Rd. used to be Shotwell
Icons and images	The pictures, symbols, logos or statues in the LL	Buddhist statues Shoe shaped children's store formerly on Lamar Statue of Liberation
Color codes	Associations of meanings and ethnic groups with colors on signs in the LL	Colors on flags at World Overcomer's Church Colors of trim on houses Colors on signs represented ethnic groups
Production quality	Evaluations of the material professional quality and presentation of the signs	Noted if the sign was on a billboard, professionally done, or hand-painted on window or door. One participant commented on the estimated cost of the sign.

Placement of sign	The location and visibility of the sign in relation to a building or structure and/or other signs in the area	In a few instances, the height and visibility of signs were noted as well as the way it appeared next to other signs.
Symbolic trigger of sub-text	Social discourses, issues, and meanings provoked by explicit focus on the LL	Migration, citizenship, crime, English only, bilingualism, race issues, ESL and education needs

Once onsite and throughout the ‘walking tour’ interviews, I, the researcher, would point to a sign or ask the participants what they thought about the signage in the area.

While focusing attention on the LL, I was very careful to keep these questions general, opened ended, and as brief as possible. Almost always, the participant responded by first identifying the specific language or language groups they associated with a particular sign. Very often, I heard responses such as “that’s Spanish” or “that’s Mexican.” In many instances, participants recited the name of the business or institution followed by their knowledge of the type of business, service or institution the sign represented. Thus, these three categories of noticing (language, name, and type of service/business) were the most common referenced responses.

Another type of referential statement expressed, pertained to comments about changes in the LL or community. Each participant had a unique history and/or experiences in the communities of the ‘walking tour’ sites. Depending on memories provoked by the LL, the participants often expressed how the area had changed demographically or provided information about the previous history of a particular sign and the business or institution that used to exist at a particular site. Historically valuable local knowledge, the participant’s responses that were identified within the category of noticing changes enhanced the researcher’s understanding and knowledge of her

hometown. Their personal knowledge and histories provided poststructuralist accounts and interpretations of the history of Memphis and ways it has changed in individual memories. This category of noticing often provoked emotional responses and feelings of nostalgia for several of the participants self-described as long-time residents.

The next two categories of noticing—icons/images and color codes—presented in Table 26, demonstrated how powerful non-linguistic semiotic systems were in the process of noticing the LL. The emotional impact of the iconic Statue of Liberation (see Figure) and statues at the Buddhist Temple site (see Figure) provoked responses that overrode the linguistic messages accompanying these icons. Images in the form of photographed or hand-painted items in the LL drew the attention of the participant often before the words on the signs. In addition, all types of flags and in many instances, colors in the LL were assigned meanings and associations to particular countries and/or people groups. The idea of red trim color coding of the houses on Getwell Road, provoked, for one African-American participant, the memory of the secret “quilt” literacy that was used in the days before and during the Civil War to direct former slaves who were seeking freedom by way of underground railway or another type of safe haven. The responses in the categories of icons/images and color codes were emotional and multi-dimensional.

Two categories of noticing, the production quality and the placement of the sign, emerged from comments about the expense or professional quality of the signage and the placement of the sign. One participant, in particular, noted and could approximate the cost of a sign. Often, the professional appearance of a sign created a perception of stability and respectability. The placement of the sign was also noted and related to the quality of the sign. Hand-painted signage seemed to echo a transient migrant voice in the

LL. Where the sign was placed in relation to the building or business it marked was mentioned by many of the participants. The height of a non-English language or multilingual sign, unattached to a building, was often noted as well as its placement and visual effect in relation to surrounding signage.

The final category of noticing (see table 26) is described as a symbolic trigger of sub-text. This one is slightly different from the other categories in that it represents referential information in the form of a discourse not explicitly related to the LL but triggered by something in the LL. The sub-texts triggered during the process of noticing the LL ranged in topics from local crime to language policies and practices in Europe. In the act of noticing the LL, we had conversations about bilingualism, ESL programs in the public schools, foreign language education, Ebonics, and the English Only movement. In the space of the ‘walking tour’ interview, the participants opened dialogues about migration, citizenship, and segregation, touching on ‘hot topics’ such as racial segregation and religious differences and practices. Unanticipated, these discussions were not prompted by a question from the researcher but grew organically within the comfort of the conversation and the stimulation of the LL.

Discussion of Results in Level III

Dynamic Interactions in the LL

In this study, three modes of dynamic interactions (self-positioning and identity, empathy movements, and the co-construction of meanings) were analyzed to explicate and contextualize the conversation and meanings constructed during the ‘walking tour’ interviews. This level of analysis contributed methodology that supports a feminist

approach and interactional direction in interview research supported by Oakley (1981), Mishler (1986), and Gubrium and Holstein, (2003). Mischler (1986) surmised:

An interview is a joint product of what interviewees and interviewers talk about together and how they talk with each other. The record of an interview that we researchers make and then use in our work of analysis and interpretation is a representation of that talk. How we make that representation and the analytical procedures we apply to it reveal our theoretical assumptions and presumptions about relations between discourse and meaning.” (Mishler, 1986, p. vii)

Table 27 represents the overall results of analysis of these dynamic interactions.

Table 27			
<i>Table of Results for Level III Analysis of Dynamic Interactions</i>			
Participants	Self-Positionings and Identity	Level of Empathy in interactions	Co-Constructions of Meanings
P1	Memphian (life-long) Parent	low to moderate	Remembered place in Memphis, Future foreign language education
P2*	Young Professional, “older” educated immigrant	high	English only discourses Status of minority languages in Memphis
P3	Memphian (life-long) Educator/Administrator	moderate to high	Wider public discourses about illegal immigration Color-coded literacy on Getwell Road
P4	Business professional American	high	Foreign language signage as boundary/exclusion Public signage overload
P5	Memphian (life-long) Marketing professional	moderate to high	LL as indicator of socio-economic level in area Crime and race issues
P6*	Bilingual (Memphian) Hispanic migrant	moderate to high	Exclusion/inclusion affects of signage History of Hispanic stores on Getwell Road

P7	Linguist (student) African-American	high	AAEV on signs on Lamar African-American history of quilt literacy in the LL
P8	Memphian (life-long) monolingual	moderate	Remembering Memphis places and earlier times Migrant group behaviors and language practices
P9*	Cambodian refugee Immigrant U.S. citizen	low to high	Multi-modal literacies at Buddhist Temple site Immigrant response to Statue of Liberty replica
P10	Memphian (life-long) monolingual	high	Familiar place and space transformed by signage Conflicting messages of icons and language texts in the LL
*indicates bilingual or multilingual participant			

To illuminate the relationship between discourse and meaning, Table 27 combined the self-positioning and identity statements with an understanding of how empathy between the researcher and participants in each interview worked to co-construct the meanings listed in the last column. Expressions of empathy signaled active listenership and gave clues to how meanings were encoded, integrated, and verbalized. By making the interactions between these dynamic processes transparent, the interview methodology proposed in this study contextualized meanings of the LL drawing from both conversation analysis/talk-in-interaction and discourse analysis.

Self-Positioning and Identity Markers

In additions to emotional responses and themes or topics introduced into the conversation, focused attention on the LL during the ‘walking tour’ interviews provoked a variety of positionings and expressions of individual identities from the participants. Table 28 lists Participants 1-10 and shows the identities that were accessed for each

participant during the ‘walking tour’ interviews. This chart divides the identities into two types of self-positioning categories: *professional* and *personal*. Specific identity markers identified as *professional* were listed according to references to work status and/or specific reference by the participant to academic status or educational programs or degrees earned in relation to discussion about the LL. Identity markers that self-positioned participants in a *personal* manner were grouped in terms of resident status, social/group affiliations, and individual identity orientations. In Table 28, the identity in regular bold font indicated the dominant identity expressed by the participant, while the identity in bold italics, showed the second most dominant identity accessed over the course of the interview.

Table 28					
<i>Summary of Results of Positioning and Identity Triggered by the LL</i>					
Self-Positioning Category→	PROFESSIONAL		PERSONAL		
<i>Specific Identity Markers</i>	Work Status	Academic Status	Resident Status	Social/Group Affiliations	Individual/Identity Orientation
Participant 1	Government office worker	College graduate	Long time Memphian	White suburban community	monolingual <i>Parent</i>
Participant 2	Young Professional	Multiple graduate degrees/teacher	<i>“older” educated immigrant</i>	Mid-towner Ethiopian	multilingual/multicultural husband
Participant 3	<i>Education Administrator</i>	Graduate degree	Memphian “All my life”	Multicultural family	Monolingual Southerner Christian
Participant 4	Business professional	University Graduate	Migrated from Mississippi	Family African-American military	Monolingual <i>American</i> Mother Traveler
Participant 5	Campaigner <i>Marketing professional</i>	Graduate	Memphian “All of my life”	Democrat Catholic Sub. white community	Frustrated monolingual* Husband Father

Participant 6	Shop/Office work translator		Mexican Migrant “grew up in Memphis”	<i>Hispanic community</i>	Bilingual Mother Daughter Sister
Participant 7		Studied languages Tech College	Memphian All my life	<i>African- American</i> Republican	Linguist monolingual Preacher’s kid husband father
Participant 8	Department Manager		Memphian All my life	White English speaking community	Monolingual Daughter Water skier Tax payer
Participant 9			<i>international immigrant US citizen</i>	Buddhist Asian community family	bilingual Cambodian refugee foreigner
Participant 10	Teacher Coach	Education degree	Memphian Whole life	Evangelical Private schools MSU Athletics	<i>monolingual</i> Southern Baptist Sports fan

In Table 28, the other identity positions are there to show the plurality and multiplicity of roles and identities expressed by each individual participant in relation to the semiotic messages in the LL and discursive interactions during the ‘walking tours.’

The LL was never a neutral context but always a point of reference for self-positioning. Each interview revealed identity markers of singularity and plurality of cultural affiliations. Conveying nuances of culture, the LL was perceived as a powerful means of exclusion or inclusion based on the personal identity, background, and expectations of the participant. Responses to the LL signaled and reinforced aspects of individual identities, creating in some instances, opposing discourses within the same speaker. Self-positioning statements often shifted during the interview as different identities were accessed.

Indicating the complexities of responses and multiple ways individuals indexed certain identities during the interviews, Table 28 showed the dominant identities

discursively constructed with each participant in bold type with the next strongest identity in bold italics. Participants 2 and 4, one self-described as Ethiopian and the other as African-American, primarily referenced their professional identities while other aspects of personal identity were revealed as secondary. Interestingly, Participants 1, 3, 5, 8, and 10, all long-time residents affiliated with the Euro-American ethnic white community culture, positioned themselves most often as Memphians, thus, indicating by preference of this identity, a consensus of perceptions of status for long-time residents in this community. Other secondary identities that were indexed differentiated the participants and revealed individual insights, thoughts, and understandings of the LL in relation to personal identities.

On the other hand, migrant/immigrant and minority residents showed more diversity and options in the construction of primary identities while positioning themselves in relation to the LL. Consequently, for these participants there was less uniformity in responses to the LL as evidenced by individualized meanings. For example, Participant 2 was primarily self-positioned as a young professional in the community and in the course of the conversation, as an “older” educated immigrant as well as teacher, Ethiopian, multicultural and multilingual husband. However, even with a multicultural, multilingual identity, this participant held a strong opinion supporting the use and importance of English among immigrant residents in the community. In all participants, self-positioning statements shifted as the interview progressed and new thoughts, feelings, and memories indexed other identities that were triggered by walking in the LL and the conversation. Pennycook (2001) asserted that “applied linguistics is rife with problematic constructions of otherness” and called for more research into the politics of

difference (p. 142). He cited Venuti (1997) who argued for an approach to translation based on the ethics of difference. The different identities indexed in the ‘walking tour’ interviews demonstrated the multiplicity and complexity of translating, interpreting and understanding any text.

Co-Constructed Meanings

In his essay, “Leaning to see the impact of individuals,” William Doolittle (2001), a geographer from the University of Texas, maintained that while the primary purpose of fieldwork is to collect data—there is another dimension to field work—that of discovery. “Discovery, however, is not simply the finding of something unexpected, such as additional data. It can also result in a change in the way one thinks about and interprets phenomena” (Doolittle, 2001, p. 423). The most interesting discoveries for the researcher during the ‘walking tour’ interviews were the co-constructed meanings and the non-linguistic, semiotic systems or codes present in the LL, but often unnoticed until pointed out by a participant.

For example, in the case the red-trimmed houses on Getwell Road (see Figures 17, 18, 19), one participant who lived near that street offered “insider” knowledge and maintained that this color-coded literacy marked these houses as safe havens or rental places for new immigrants. That information was suggested to another participant who in turn reflected on the Memphis history of another type of “secret” literacy utilized in the area to guide runaway slaves to freedom. As an African-American this literacy was very meaningful and contributed to his responses and understandings of the red-trimmed houses on Getwell. In addition, the unusual history of the Getwell street name was co-constructed, remembered, and passed on from participant to participant.

Another significant moment of co-construction of meanings occurred at the Buddhist Temple site with Participant 9 (see Figures 25, 26, 27). In characteristic postmodern interviewing mode, the icons and images present at this site prompted the participant to reverse the roles and become the interviewer. The literacies present in the LL at this site connected the participant to her religious identity and re-created Asian place and space. Each color of the Buddhist flag (see Figure 26) signified a special event or contained meanings in the life of Buddha. The religious and cultural significance of the Buddhist Goddess statue (see Figure 27) was explained. In the conversation, the participant drew from western religion to relate these meanings to the researcher. The discourse and meanings of the LL co-constructed at this site represented an unrepeatable moment grounded in context.

Contextualizing Meanings from a 'Walking Tour' Interview

The dynamic interactions analyzed in this study were contextualized within a critical space of engagement between the researcher, the participants and the LL. This space was designed by the researcher to raise awareness and encourage noticing of the LL. The responses were in part elicited by questions from the researcher; however, many were triggered by the LL and the contributions to the conversation by the participants, thus indicating the dynamic role and relational influence of the LL. Cited from *Interpretive Ethnography*, Denzin (1997) again drew from Bakhtin (1986):

The basic, underlying structure of the text lies in its connectedness to the boundaries that join two consciousnesses, two selves (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 106).

Two speakers (or a reader confronting a text) create a context for meaning that

cannot be easily transferred to another context. This life is thoroughly contextual, grounded in the moment of its existence. (Denzin, 1997, p. 37)

As the evidence of the sources of explicit statements showed in Table 25 and Figure 7.1, presented earlier in this chapter, the experience of being in the LL and the moment of seeing shaped responses and the meanings co-constructed in this space. The contextualized meanings showed a variety of positionings by the researcher in response to the participant and provided an understanding of how discourse about the LL was created in interaction at the moment of seeing or reading the LL text. In addition to linguistic landscape study, the methodology worked out in this study could potentially contribute to the growing corpus of ‘talk-in-interaction’ and/or interactional linguistic studies. Based on the results of this study, the final section in this chapter summarizes insights gained and offers Principles for Readership of the LL.

Principles for Readership of the LL

1. *The LL is never a neutral text.*

The LL is embedded with culture and meanings. This text illuminates processes of human actions. “Human action is enabled only through the semiotic system we use” (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, p. xii); therefore, humans have a personal relationship with these semiotics systems. This relationship always results in some form of self-positioning and identity in relation to the LL.

2. *Reading this text was individualized and complex.*

The results in this study substantiated Hanauer’s (2003, 2006) claim that meanings are not fixed, but reside within the individual who is in the center of competing and imposed social discourses. Humans are unique and capable of

recursion—the cognitive linguistic process of taking language structures and embedding meaning in them, embedding these meanings in the self, and then changing meanings, over and over (Wray, 2008). This embedding ability was evidenced throughout the ‘walking tour’ interviews and differentiated the participants in groups and as individuals. Responses varied from person to person and understandings could not be attributed or predicted according to one characteristic or aspect of identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

3. *LL provides input for second language learning.*

The LL in Memphis triggered interest in foreign language learning and provided opportunity, exposure, and access to foreign languages in authentic contexts. This encourages a shift of the responsibility of language learning from the migrant to the host community (Kinging, 2004). Responses to the LL in Memphis also suggest that willingness on behalf of non-English speaking residents to make migrant languages more accessible may improve attitudes about multilingualism.

4. *Wider social and political discourses affect the way individuals read the LL.*

Discourses about illegal immigration influenced the responses to the LL, more often in a negative way. Noticeably, effects of wider public political discourses about migration/immigration were more salient in participants with a higher professional/educational status indicating a relationship between social status and discourse (Rampton, 2008). Discourses that promote social, linguistic, and economic benefits (Gorter & Cenoz, 2009) could possibly promote more positive interpretations of the LL and migrant discourses.

5. *Icons and images provoke strong emotions.*

In several instances in the study, icons and images evoked stronger emotional responses often overriding written texts (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). In the case of the Statue of Liberation, this icon triggered both extremes of positive and negative emotions. Meanings were tied to personal identification with immigrant experience or family history of migration or a site of early education experience.

6. *A 'walking tour' of the LL focuses the reading of this text, provides indexicality, and creates an intercultural communication space for the negotiation of meanings.*

Effectiveness of the methodology in this study demonstrated how meanings were constructed in interaction and heightened at the moment of seeing. Awareness was raised, identities were indexed, self-positions were flexible and shifted in response to the LL, space was defined and redefined, and in some cases attitudes about language use in the community were changed within the space of the 'walking tour' interview.

Summary

As evidenced in the postmodern 'walking tour' interviews, the LL does mediate cognitive/emotional understandings. It triggers responses and negotiations of identity based on background, personal experiences and expectations. The LL is an authentic text that gives physical presence to migrant languages in a community, provides linguistic input, indicates strength of ethnic group vitality, and provokes positive or negative feelings. Individual case studies provided rich descriptions and offered valuable insights into the complexities of feelings and responses to migration, language contact choice and change. These individual studies provided critical poststructuralist interpretations of the

LL in Memphis. Postmodern 'walking tour' interviews using the LL as stimulus text provided a dynamic methodological tool for collecting responses and raising awareness of multilingualism in the community by creating a space for the free flow of conversation facilitating the negotiation of local knowledge and academic understandings about language use and change in the community.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

Opening Remarks

The results from this study presented co-constructed meanings and understandings of the LL based on individual identities and the positionings of the participants and researcher in interaction with the LL during ‘walking tour’ interviews. By focusing attention on the LL and linguistic changes in the community, a variety of feelings and thoughts were illuminated and discussed revealing to some extent what local residents are thinking when confronted with multilingualism and language change. The ‘walking tour’ interviews opened dialogue about language change in the community and provided a space of intercultural communication as well as an educational opportunity to raise awareness of linguistic changes, needs, and resources in the community. Understanding the fears individuals are facing when confronted with public spaces in transition is necessary in order to address these concerns about language change and multilingualism in communities across the United States. On the other hand, by focusing on positive responses elicited in this study, linguists and language policy makers have support to highlight the benefits of a multilingual community and appreciate the important and dynamic role of public signage.

This qualitative interview study of co-constructed meanings, feelings and visual perceptions of the LL in Memphis was an emotional ethnographic adventure. The representation of this study highlighted the complexity and multiplicity of ways individuals read and experienced this postmodern text while at the same time presented the challenge faced by researchers who seek to collect data to analyze the readership of

the linguistic landscape. In reflection and summary of the study, some observations about the ‘walking tour’ interviews in Memphis are as follows:

- *Poststructuralist interpretations of the LL were expressed.*
- *The LL was a cognitive and emotional mediator of public space.*
- *Euro-American dominant discourse remains a power structure in Memphis as it constructs meanings of the LL from a position of normalcy.*
- *Evidences of multicultural awareness were most salient in minority and migrant perceptions.*
- *Intercultural communication worked both ways—languages should be made accessible to all potential learners.*
- *Affects of wider public discourses on perceptions of migration and multilingualism in the LL influenced responses.*
- *Visual literacies in the form of icons and images in the LL are powerful.*
- *The postmodern ‘walking tour’ interview created a unique space for multicultural interactions and dialogue about change and difference.*

Most importantly, through dialogic interaction, this study opened dialogue about multilingualism and migration—two very “hot topics” debated in the U.S. at this time.

Contributions of this Study

LL Research

This study answered the call from Gorter (2006) for more research that explores the psychological and visual perceptions of the LL and addresses the gap in current linguistic landscape (LL) literature. Since 1997, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) asserted that the majority of LL studies have focused primarily on “description and analysis of written

information” (p. 343). More studies have called for interpretations of the LL that take into account the psychological and visual perceptions of the sign readers (Ben-Rafael, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2009; Huebner, 2009; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009; and Spolsky, 2009). Collins and Slembrouck (2007) noted “how they [public signs] are read [by the passerby] is a question rarely addressed” (p. 335). Following previous studies by Dagenais et al. (2009), Hanauer (2004, 2009), Malinowski (2009), Slobada (2009), Spolsky (1991), Trumper-Hecht (2009) that investigated individual authorship, agency, and readership of the LL, this study addressed the readership of the LL. In doing so, the researcher attended to multiple social dimensions of multilingualism and synthesized data gathering and analyzing tools with “application of methods that [were] rigorous while also permitting a certain degree of creativity and flexibility” (Hult, 2009, p. 88). This LL research methodology expanded the use of the linguistic landscape approach beyond descriptive analysis, beyond functional and symbolic purposes, to the interactional, meditational, psychological and emotional domains.

Sociolinguistic Interviewing Methodology

This postmodern ‘walking tour’ interview approach and methodology contributed to sociolinguistic interviewing in the following ways: First, it argued for a critical applied linguistic (Pennycook, 2001) approach and methodology that problematized the practice of sociolinguistic interviewing and destabilized basic assumptions of naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) by questioning the objectivity of the researcher. This qualitative ethnographic study acknowledged the subjectivity of the researcher and valued her role in the postmodern co-constructive position of meaning making. In particular, it practiced the constructive work of creating an interview space that enabled participants to safely

express feelings and thoughts during the moment of seeing, which resulted in less-consciously filtered responses. Secondly, the methodology demonstrated an expansion of the use and notion of LL (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009) that utilized the LL as a stimulus text which includes icons and images (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009). This study indicated powerful emotional responses are triggered by these meaningful forms of representation at the moment of seeing. Thirdly, the methodological design and representation of this study demonstrated a systematic method for analyzing the discursive processes of meaning making and dialogic interaction in interview research. The postmodern ‘walking tour’ interview methodology contributed a new way to represent the richness and complexity of the study of language contact, choice, and change in multilingual urban communities.

The Postmodern ‘Walking Tour’

A Methodology of Third Space

The postmodern ‘walking tour’ interview created a “third space” of interaction where the researcher and participant came with different but equal sensibilities, sensitivities and negotiated meanings of the LL—contributing individual understanding to co-constructed meanings. As Berger (1963) suggested, we all experience visual art or literacies, emotionally and cognitively, based on who we are, our backgrounds, experiences, and expectations. In one way, the voices and messages in the LL took the attention off the individual participant and researcher and allowed them to direct sensitive comments toward a text that was dynamic and living but not human. This provided a safe space outside the body to negotiate identities and meanings more freely as “fixed identities of the traditional societal order [did] not hold sway” (Doran, 2004, p. 96).

Intercultural Mediation Space

Collective observations of the LL, implemented as text and tool used in conjunction with postmodern interviewing, also became a space for mediating and developing intercultural communication skills. Going beyond multiculturalism, this interactional sociolinguistic methodology designed space for creation and communication of nuanced cultural insights into the complexity of the urban human landscape, the multi-hued voices that congregate and converse in urban spaces.

An Educational Tool

This interview space provides researchers with a tool to raise local awareness and educate the community about changes in a community and a venue to promote the benefits of multilingualism and multicultural communities. As evidenced in this study, there are social, economic and linguistic resources and information embedded in a linguistic landscape. In a follow-up questionnaire conducted one to two years after the individual ‘walking tour’ interviews, nine of the participants commented that they personally, and in some cases professionally, benefited from participating in the study. All ten reported an increased awareness and sensitivity to public literacy and changes in the LLs in their communities.

Limitations of the Study

This study was only a partial representation of the phenomenon of migrant cityscaping in Memphis, Tennessee. The methodology needs to be more systematic for comparison of responses to specific public literacy sites and differences in individual meanings. Also, the participants in the study represented a small selection of the residents of Memphis. In addition, although postmodern interviewing seems natural, the logistics of conducting ‘walking tours’ at multiple sites can be quite challenging. The weather and traffic were often problematic. The researcher who conducts ‘walking tours’ needs to be adequately prepared for this kind of interviewing with questions at hand (memorized if possible). In the future, I would recommend that the researcher spend more time onsite, before the ‘walking tour’ interviews, to study the linguistic landscape and plan the logistics of the interview. The first few interviews felt very clumsy and from the transcripts, the researcher noticed that too much time was spent “bonding.” So much so, as recorded in the her fieldnotes, “We missed noticing several features in the LL.” Even with this, the transcripts were very lengthy and rich, although sometimes not clearly cued as to the exact location of the participants’ comments.

Implications for Action and Research

This area of sociolinguistics needs more qualitative ethnographic studies in linguistic landscape research that investigate reader responses and understandings. To make meaning of a linguistic landscape, researchers should consider a more dynamic comprehensive context which calls for more interview research that focuses on analysis of discursive interactions between surrounding texts and participants in context. The linguistic landscape is an inexhaustible source of human activity in urban spaces. From a

critical aspect, this interview methodology could possibly have pushed deeper during the ‘walking tour’ interviews into political and social issues of language usage, linguistic rights and social inequities. On-site ‘walking tours’ have tremendous potential.

Why conduct a study like this? Right now, the U.S. is in a critical transitional moment in history where each decision counts. Migration/immigration and language policies hotly debated at every level of society will have enormous impact on acceptance of multilingualism and multiculturalism in both urban and rural contexts. Discourses in favor of a more multiple language-proficient society need to be articulated while at the same time local concerns and issues need to be heard. These are times when language experts need to get involved in the language education of the local community. In my first semester as a PhD student at IUP, in one of my first classes, David I. Hanauer (2003), the professor of my second language literacy class, defined academic pedagogy as intervention in the learning process. Cummins (1995) encouraged educators to become involved in empowering minority language students at a societal level through a framework of intervention. Shohamy (2006) urged linguistics to intervene, to become language activists, proactive in response to linguistic diversity, language preservation and rights. I have argued for more qualitative ethnographic research in LL research and at the same time adhere to Gee’s (2008) notion of ‘interventional ethnographies,’ that asserts in ethnographic studies researchers “don’t just describe what people do, you resource them in some way—give them new or expanded tools—and see what they do and how they do it” (interview with James Paul Gee by St. Clair & Phipps 2008: 96).

Final Comments

I was motivated to do this research project with a desire to understand how individuals in the U.S. are responding to multilingualism and to promote multicultural acceptance and understanding in contested urban spaces. I now think that a focus on multiculturalism is not enough—it is more important to develop intercultural communications skills. Along this line, I agree with Czobor-Lupp (2008) that imagination plays a huge role in the creation of intercultural communication spaces. She challenged researchers to show that imagination can “play a dialogical and creative role in providing the language that makes intercultural understanding possible” (Czobor-Lupp, 2008, p. 431). In the following quote Czobor-Lupp expressed:

The political stake is not only to detect and thematize through the language of lifeworld the systemic deficiencies and social problems that hamper rational communication, but also to linguistically create, in the first place, the imaginative and perceptive (common) horizon on which rational communication depends.
(Czobor-Lupp, 2008, p. 431)

In this study, I imagined a space where people in my hometown could come together to talk about changes, our differences, and plan for the future. The quote above

expresses my vision for this study while echoing traces of the quote from the first page of this dissertation:

*The horizon leans forward,
Offering you space to place new steps of change.*

-Maya Angelou (1993)

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Presentation at BAAL Conference 13 September, 2008, University of Swansea.

Signs of Memphis

Explore the Linguistic Landscape in your community!

You have been given this flyer because you are a resident of Memphis, Tennessee. And whether you are a long-time resident or have recently moved here, you may have a lot to say about changes in your community.

Have you noticed new languages on commercial signs and billboards in your community? What do you think about this?

If you would like to be part of a university approved study that explores your perceptions and responses to languages on signage in your community, please contact:

Rebecca Todd Garvin
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
r.t.garvin@iup.edu

Your identity will be strictly confidential but your thoughts and words on this topic will give local voice to discussions on national language issues and debates.

I grant permission for Rebecca Todd Garvin to contact me.

Name _____

Phone _____ email _____

For more information contact Rebecca Todd Garvin at 412-904-3033 or at the email address printed above.

Informed Consent Form

My name is Rebecca Todd Garvin, and I am a PhD student at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. I am also a native of Memphis, TN.

You are invited to participate in this research study which is investigating perceptions and responses to language and language changes on signs and billboards in public spaces in your communities. The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask.

The purpose of this study is to explore and collect responses of residents to language variety and language changes visible on signs and billboards of commercial shopping areas in local communities. Participation in this study will require that you accompany the researcher on a brief "walking" tour and respond to questions in an interview at a designated meeting place. This entire meeting should take only about one hour.

Your responses to interview questions are very important. Therefore, I ask your permission to tape the interview. This tape will only be used by me and the project director, and will not be shared with anyone else. To ensure confidentiality, your name, address and place of work will not be used or appear any place in this study.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying me, or the Project Director, Dr. David I. Hanauer. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to your interview will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence. The information obtained in the study may be published in academic journals or presented at academic meetings but your identity will be kept strictly confidential.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement and mail it to: Rebecca Todd Garvin, Department of English, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, PA 15705, using the stamped envelope attached. The extra unsigned copy is for you to keep. If you choose not to participate, do not respond to this letter.

If you have any questions please contact the researcher or the project director:

Researcher: Rebecca Todd Garvin
PhD Candidate/Teaching Associate
Indiana University of PA
Indiana, PA 15705
Phone: 724/422-2757
Email: r.t.garvin@iup.edu

Project Director: Dr. David I. Hanauer
Professor Department of English
Indiana University of PA
Indiana, PA 15705
Phone: 724/357-2274
Email: Hanauer@iup.edu

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724/357-7730).

(Consent form on the next page)

Informed Consent Form**VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:**

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed consent form to keep in my possession.

Name (please print):

Signature:

Date: _____ **Phone** where you can be reached:

Best days and times to reach you:

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

Date: _____ **Investigator's signature:**

Rebecca Todd Garvin



Cambodian Temple Sign, photo taken October, 2008.