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LATINO NAMING PRACTICES OF SMALL-TOWN BUSINESSES IN RURAL SOUTHERN FLORIDA[1]

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This article examines naming practices of Latino grocery stores and restaurants in an eighteen-county area of southern Florida. Business names denote cultural affinity and personal whims, and, like other forms of Latino cultural expression, they are drawn from the cultural roots of owners and clientele to connote the flavor and pride of Latino identity. Unlike other art or literary forms, however, business names reflect a commercial accommodation to the techniques and strategies of marketing more than a defiance of mainstream culture or the statement of cultural resistance to Anglo society. Their choices are strongly influenced by places and experiences that reflect Latino culture outside the local area rather than locales of current residence within rural southern Florida. (Transmigrant business, farm workers, naming practices and sociocultural identity, population expansion and rural settlement, southern Florida)

Discussing the shifting ethnicities that accompany the process of globalization, Hall (1991:42) calls identity "the ground of action," suggesting that the way one identifies is what will most influence one's behavior. Rouse (1992) provides additional discussion on what this might mean for Latino immigrants, for whom, he argues, an alternative framework is needed. He suggests that Latino immigrants maintain interests and commitment to family and the town from which they came at the same time that they develop another way of viewing the world through their experience in a new environment. He calls views from these dual experiences "bifocality." This article extends the work of these two authors, first by considering expressions of identity in naming practices for grocery stores and restaurants, and then by expanding the community of interest beyond migrant laborers to the entrepreneurial class within the Latino population. To do this assumes that the individuals who engage in entrepreneurial activities (specifically establishment and management of a business) may include men and women with backgrounds similar to their clientele. By way of a statistical analysis, I examine the formulation of immigrants as members of "multiple communities" (Chavez 1994) by testing the influence of place and experience on naming practices for grocery stores and restaurants.

The context for this inquiry is the process of Latinoization in rural areas of southern Florida, chosen for the rapid growth of the Latino population within the southeastern United States and that part of Florida. Increases in Latino and Latino-origin Caribbean people within the southeastern United States are similar to processes of Latinoization in other areas of the country, notably rural California, where persons of Mexican ancestry predominate in many towns and small cities (Allensworth and Rochín 1998). At one time, Chicago had the largest concentration of persons of Mexican ancestry living outside the southwest (de Lourdes Villar 1994), but this has changed. Latinos are increasingly found in metropolitan areas, such as Washington, D.C. (Pessar 1995), and New York City (Sontag 1998) in the northeast, or small

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towns and cities in the midwest, such as Garden City, Kansas (Stull, Broadway, and Erickson 1992). Another area of the country that draws large numbers of Latinos is rural southern Florida. The term "rural" is to be used with caution. Three counties of interest in this article (Palm Beach, Miami-Dade, and Hillsborough) have sparsely populated portions that are devoted to highly productive agriculture, but also have metropolitan urban areas (West Palm Beach, Miami, and Tampa, respectively) for which the counties are better known. Residents of Miami-Dade County, for example, distinguish South Dade as the southern, agricultural portion of the county from the northern (Miami) portion (Bryan, pers. comm.; also Greiner et al. 1992:69n).

Unlike the phenomenon of past decades of concentrated numbers of a single national origin that settle in one region or area (Allensworth and Rochín 1998), several national origins comprise the Latino population in rural counties of southern Florida. The U.S. Census found that 12.2 per cent of Florida's population in 1990 and 16.8 per cent in 2000 were Hispanic/Latino. From 1990 to 2000, the state's overall population increased 1.24 times, which was surpassed by the Latino population, which increased 1.70 times. Ten places in rural areas of the state are listed by the U.S. Census of the Population as having a Latino population of 50 per cent or more in 2000, but no more than five rural places had Latino populations that comprised 35 per cent or more of the total population in 1990 (Table 1). All but one of the ten places (Pierson-Sevilla in Volusia County) with a proportionately large Latino population are located in the southern half of the state. All ten places are known for their migrant population, comprised mainly of men and women of Mexican descent. One contribution to these increases is the availability of property, where lot owners can place trailers and build homes for renting or owning, in contrast to other areas where inexpensive property is less plentiful and housing more expensive.

The focus of analysis here is the effect that Latinoization has on the naming of commercial establishments in rural areas of southern Florida that cater to a clientele of Latin American and Latino-origin Caribbean ancestry which, for the most part, are managed and/or fully owned by men and women of Latin American and Caribbean Latino ancestry (hereafter shortened to Latino/a). Naming systems are an indicator of cultural identity that goes beyond personalized naming when extended to business firms. Grocery stores and restaurants are of key concern, as these establishments in many rural areas of southern Florida provide a site that both attracts and centralizes social interaction.

Table 1: Rural Florida Locales with High Proportion of Latino Population Ranked by Per Cent Latino of Total Population in 2000

Place Name	County	State Region	U.S. Census of 1990 Total	%Latino	U.S. Census of 2000 Total	% Latino
Immokalee	Collier	Southwest	14,210	65.6	19,763	80.0
Wimauma	Hillsborough	West-Central	2,932	64.4	4,246	72.9
Naples Manor	Collier	Southwest	4,574	28.8	5,186	69.3
Piersen-Seville	Volusia	Northeast	2,596	66.8	2,988	62.4
Dade City North	Pasco	West-Central	3,058	35.7	3,319	56.5
Yeehaw Junction	Osceola	East-Central	n/a	n/a	21,778	54.6
Zolfo Springs	Hardee	West-Central	1,219	37.8	1,641	53.6
Homestead	Miami-Dade	Southeast	26,866	35.3	31,909	51.8
Dover	Hillsborough	West-Central	2,606	36.6	2,798	50.9
Fellsmere	Indian River	East-Central	2,179	43.2	3,813	50.9
Wahneta	Polk	West-Central	4,024	20.7	4,731	47.3
Bowling Green	Hardee	West-Central	1,836	35.8	2,892	46.1

BACKGROUND

Biographical materials from Latino/a writers emphasize the local importance of the grocery store as a common site of aggregation more than studies which have appeared in the scientific literature, which are relatively silent on sites of aggregation. Although authors are describing urbanized areas, their writings are significant in an emphasis on the centrality of the grocery store in community and family affairs. The autobiography of Mary Helen Ponce (1993), for example, describes two local store owners in her home town in California, Mr. Jameson and Mr. Tamez, who "were good, kind men who did more than sell food" (Ponce 1993:91). Since her family had no telephone, the store owners relayed important messages to the family; Ponce describes sporadic communication from the tuberculosis sanatarium on her brother's condition through the store owners to her family, who lived down the street from the two stores (Ponce 1993:91-97). As another example from the opposite coast, Judith Ortíz Cofer (1993) writes of an affinity between clients and neighborhood grocery stores in New Jersey, including product labels that monolingual speakers could read (Ortíz Cofer 1993:86) and record-playing by adolescents as a means to signal romantic interest in someone (Ortíz Cofer 1993:138-40). Whereas Ponce refers to Latino and Anglo merchants (west coast), Ortíz Cofer is referring to merchants of Latino and Jewish descent who owned the neighborhood stores where she was raised (east coast). Approached from a different perspective, Richard Rodriguez (1982:29) remembers Mexican stores through the image of red and green hot chili peppers that hung like Christmas decorations near the clerk's counter. He blends the colors red and green that are common in mainstream society at Christmas with an icon of chili peppers that is decidedly Chicano. As Montaño (1997) points out, reference to chili peppers was derogatory when used by Anglos in Texas to describe Mexican Americans. Rodriguez's maneuver is a "parodic parry" (Tuleja 1997) that turns what otherwise would have been a negative connotation on its head.

Ortíz Cofer and Rodriguez mention large chain stores where their respective families shopped, which were found outside Latino neighborhoods where their families lived. At these stores, Rodriguez translated for his parents. Ortíz Cofer, however, is silent on whether she ever translated for her mother (her father served in the U.S. Navy, which implies English-language skills, at least for him). Ponce provides little detail of alternative places of shopping for her family or whether she and her siblings translated for their parents. For the generation of Latino/as that was in the United States at the time these writers were growing up, having store managers and clerks with skills in both Spanish and English was a draw for customers.

It is telling that Ponce, Ortíz Cofer, Rodriguez, and earlier Latino/a writers rarely used the restaurant as a site of aggregation for interaction in local neighborhoods. The reasons for this distinction between patronizing local grocery stores and restaurants (except for extended family celebrations) is the home-based nature of the grocery store, where one would purchase what one needed for preparation at home, and the more commercialized use of the restaurant to serve a public that went beyond the local neighborhood.

These autobiographical reminiscences suggest that grocery stores would differ from restaurants in naming practices, since the grocery store is a prime site of social aggregation and interaction for persons of Latino ancestry, whereas the restaurant is a means of entering the business world for Latino/as who find themselves in a new environment in a new country. This expectation, which was partially supported, was that grocery stores would show more instances of names that were culturally encoded, whereas restaurants would have names more easily understood outside the Latino community. In rural southern Florida, there has been an increase in the number of stores, restaurants, and other businesses that have been established by Latino/a owners for a growing Spanish-speaking population, most of whom came to Florida from Central America, specifically, Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, as well as Latino-origin countries of the Caribbean, specifically, Cuba and Puerto Rico. Attracted to rural areas where agricultural employment is common, men and women of several national origins are represented among those who enter the state to perform farm labor.[2]

The centrality and focal attraction of the neighborhood store within an urbanized area of immigrants (Sánchez 1993) is replicated by a country store that creates a similar centrality in a rural area where few sources exist for the purchase of consumable necessities, such as food and household products. Skelly et al. (2002) identify the store (*tienda*) as the pivotal structure for Latinos who interact and share information within "sociospatial knowledge networks" in rural areas of another southeastern state (North Carolina). Apart from the provision and sale of food and household products, the common services provided by grocery stores managed/owned by Latino/as in rural southern Florida include: a) selling telephone cards for calls to Latin America and the Caribbean (some cards emphasize reduced rates for international calls, and some emphasize reduced rates for domestic calls), occasionally with interior booths for privacy of the international calls; b) cashing pay checks for workers who lack access to check-cashing services, especially on weekends, after payday; c) providing space for pinball machines and/or billiard tables (typically one to three tables or one to two machines), which may be in a side room or back room; d) renting and selling a range of video selections in both Spanish and English, some of which are imported from Latin America; and e) selling tickets for regional buses and van services, especially to and from the border (*la frontera*). A few grocery stores doubled as eating establishments by building a lunch counter at one side of the store, or by placing a few tables outside where patrons could eat what had been purchased inside (e.g., breads, pastries). At times the business is a conversion of the previous establishment that gives it a particular appearance (more ethnic if desired, less ethnic if desired). One eatery owned by a Latino/a that is located at one end of a large agricultural town in eastern Florida, for example, is a refurbished gas station.

Living arrangements for farm workers vary throughout the state and include converted housing, mobile home parks, and other forms of accommodation, such as

multiple occupancy and, occasionally, homeless shelters, and brief periods in the woods. Most of the state's labor camps are found in southern rather than northern Florida. Many farm workers work in the area where they live, but migrant workers throughout the state also "commute" to work; that is, they live in one county and work in an adjacent county. In the course of conducting field research in the several counties of southern Florida, I often noticed license plates from adjacent counties. Conversations with the drivers indicated that they and their passengers were trying out work in the local area, sometimes with the intention of moving to that county. As work in agriculture wanes at the end of the season or when work is slow, workers may seek employment outside agriculture. Some of them remain in a nonagricultural job for a period of time. Given the uncertainty of such work, however, they may choose to return to agricultural work, which is fairly easy, given the open system of recruitment that characterizes farm labor. A need for manual labor inside and outside agriculture throughout the state, then, is conducive to the process of Latinoization. A number of attorneys, beauticians, florists, photographers, radio personalities, real estate brokers, and other Latino/a professionals can be found in rural southern Florida. Except for the attorneys, particularly those who specialize in immigration law, their professional services infrequently are used by those who perform farm labor.

METHODS

For this study, I visited 92 small cities and towns in rural areas of eighteen counties of southern Florida. Most of the data were collected during an intensive twelve months (September 1997 through September 1998) working with an immigration reform project for a legal services agency, and while I was based in a Florida farm town and conducted an ethnography of risk behavior among farm laborers in rural areas of the southeastern United States. Fourteen of these 92 locales had populations of 25,000 to 90,000 persons; 31 had populations of 5,000 to 24,999 persons; and the remaining 47 had populations under 5,000 persons. Grocery stores owned and operated by Latino/as were found in 49 of the 92 cities, towns, and unincorporated areas, and restaurants owned and managed by Latino/as were found in 47 of the 92 cities, towns, and unincorporated areas. Thirty-six unduplicated cities, towns, and unincorporated areas among the 92 locales had both grocery stores and restaurants that were sampled in this analysis, and 23 had one or the other, but not both.

Sixty-eight locales in these eighteen counties were visited over the twelve-month period. Most were visited multiple times, and visits to the remaining locales were made two or fewer times. Informal interviews were conducted with 35 business owners, managers, clerks, cashiers, and other personnel in the 68 locales. Some interviews and site visits were conducted outside the period of intensive fieldwork. Telephone directories and Spanish-language newspapers provided additional

information for corroborating the presence of these stores and restaurants. Statistical analysis was performed with Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS 10.0).

The sample consisted of 206 grocery stores and 143 restaurants that fit two or more criteria of a grocery store or restaurant that was: a) owned, managed, and staffed by a person or persons of Latin American or Caribbean Latino/a ancestry, b) frequented by customers of Latin American origin or Latino origin from the Caribbean, and c) named in some way that reflected the origins of the owner and/or the business clientele. An additional 24 locales were visited in these same rural areas, but they did not have grocery stores or restaurants that fit the criteria of Latino ownership or management or a clientele that was predominantly Latino. Naming data on a sample of 206 grocery stores and 143 restaurants, then, were accumulated for a total of 68 cities, towns, and unincorporated areas that were evenly distributed across a range of locale size (Table 2). An obvious indication of the naming criterion was an establishment's name or part of its name in Spanish. Among the businesses that were visited, an additional 69 grocery stores and seventeen restaurants were noted that had business names in English, whereas clients and customers, or owners, were Latin American or Caribbean Latino/a. By the name alone, there was no indication or trace of the origins of the business clientele, ownership, or management. These 86 businesses permitted a comparative analysis of naming practices that reflected an expression of identity.

Well over one-half of the sampled grocery stores that served a clientele of Latino/as opened business within a twelve-year period; that is, sometime between 1988 and 1999. I spoke with too few restaurant personnel and owners to extract generalizations on their business history in southern rural Florida.

Table 2: Grocery Stores and Restaurants Sampled in Eighteen Counties of Rural Southern Florida

Locales	Total Locales N=	Grocery Store n=	%	Restaurant n=	%	Total Business
Town/city under 5,000	21	61	29.6	31	21.7	92
Town/city 5,000-9,999	18	41	19.9	37	25.9	78
Town/city 10,000-24,999	12	43	20.9	36	25.2	79
Town/city 25,000-89,999	16	59	28.6	36	25.2	95
Town/city 90,000-105,000	1	2	1.0	3	2.1	5
Total	68	206		143		349

BACKGROUND TO BUSINESS START-UP AND MANAGEMENT

Some grocery stores in rural southern Florida take on the veneer of "mom-and-pop" stores, owing to the family-owned nature of the business and proprietor's interest in community activities. The grocery stores and restaurants owned and managed by Latino/as in rural southern Florida, however, frequently utilize the labor of more than two family members, such as children, brothers, sisters, various in-laws, as well as local residents who work as employees. Several businesses have expanded to two or more in the same small city or, more commonly, adjacent cities (e.g., La Mexicana #1 and La Mexicana #2, both in an inland farming town, La Mexicana #3 in a low-income area of a coastal city, and La Mexicana #4 in a coastal city that is known for wealthy retirees; La Placita Mexicana #1 and La Placita Mexicana #2, located in inland farming communities in adjacent counties). Typically, the original and subsequent stores are rural sites; one exception is a Latin American Bakery (Los Tres Monitos) in a small Gulf coast city comprising primarily immigrants and retirees, which is a branch of the main bakery located on the opposite side of the state in the city of Miami (Atlantic coast). One of the largest enterprises in rural southern Florida is owned and managed by eight brothers, who expanded to five stores and one bakery in five towns at the time of the study. The manager of the grocery store in west Florida characterized the expansion of these six stores as *por la orilla* (around the rim), which refers to store locations along the coastal borders of the state, which closely correspond to the farm labor circuit in southern Florida.

Contacts at establishments generally included an introduction to the main family member who held managerial control of the business, such as "my aunt" or "my mom," and, conversely, also identified other family members who were "helping out." One of eight brothers of the larger chain of six establishments, for example, commented that all but one brother had his own store and that each relied on his children (*los hijos*) for helping out after school; a couple of summer visits subsequently confirmed that his daughters and sons were also helping out over summer vacation. There was a greater likelihood of encountering younger family members in the late afternoon at several stores and restaurants, which confirmed the presence of daughters, sons, nieces, and nephews who were helping out in a kinsman's or kinswoman's business. The other common kin relation was an in-law, more often a woman than a man. Several Latino newspaper advertisements emphasized the family nature of these rural stores and restaurants with a picture of parents with children, a couple who own and manage a store, and several related scenarios, such as a mother-daughter pair who operate their own store.

Four life-story vignettes document aspects of the struggle to purchase and maintain a business and illustrate the inclusion of family members within the commercial enterprise.

Micaela and Salvador Paredes

Micaela was born in California, the second oldest child, and eloped at age sixteen with a man who was born in Mexico. Micaela and Salvador came to Florida in the early 1970s, at the invitation of a friend of Salvador who worked for a large agricultural company. After five years of migrant farm labor harvesting oranges along Florida's east coast, potatoes in Idaho, and apples in the state of Washington, and a brief period for Salvador as a crew supervisor for a harvesting company (she translated, he managed the crew), she and her husband started a grocery store in a small farm town in east-central Florida, which they made their home base. Micaela attributes the decision to the birth of their son (born on the season) and daughter (born in Florida), and a desire to raise their family in a manner outside the struggle of seasonal travel in agriculture: "This is for my kids. They don't want to do what we did [migrate]. Sometimes they work on the weekend or the summer for spending money."

By the time they started the store, her husband's family was living in town. Salvador brought one brother the first year they were in Florida; the remaining brothers and sisters came the second year. Micaela invited a sister, Armenta, who came in 1984. Younger sisters remained with their parents in California. These siblings from each family soon found work in agriculture or helped at the store in its early years. Experienced in community organizing in California, Armenta was unable to find similar work in Florida, but she learned that she could earn good money picking citrus fruit. Within two years she became a crew leader. She explained: "Guys I worked with said, 'Why don't you try it? We'll work for you.' So that's how I got started." Her skills as an organizer paid off. At the time I met her, she was supervising field crews for a local citrus company, and her improved lifestyle matched that of her sister.

The Paredes' second child took third place in the annual competition for the title of princess during the local Latino festival. On a visit to the store at the time of the Latino festival, the oldest son, a high school senior, confided to me that he did not participate in these community events, even though there was a sign in the store asking for donations to help his sister win the title of festival princess. Although a studious worker, he sometimes was absent from the store. In a study of stores run by Chinese American families, Song (1998) notes that children evaluate family pride by amount of labor invested by brothers and sisters within the family business. The Paredes' son in this instance was asserting his individuality by acknowledging that he was becoming less like his parents and, by extension, the ethnic enclave to which they belonged.

Ignacio Fernandez

Like several men in his agricultural community, Florida-born Ignacio first started in agriculture while working with his father, who was among the first agricultural

workers and crew leaders who came from Texas to southern Florida. With earnings and savings from a contract labor company that he formed with his sons, Ignacio was able to purchase property to establish a labor camp in one part of town and a convenience store in the commercial area of the town. Although the grocery store catered to clients of all backgrounds who both come on foot from nearby migrant housing and in motor vehicles from more distant parts of town, Ignacio remained loyal to his Latino roots and built a small taco stand at the shady side of the store. Similar to merchandizing strategies and buffer tactics utilized by multiethnic business owners in Philadelphia described by Goode (1994), Ignacio hired a Mexican-born woman whose cooking skills combined with her knack for social interaction gained and maintained a consistent clientele in a town where several food services provided the gamut of Mexican cuisine. During time that I spent outside the store, I noticed primarily men but also women, especially migrant women, continuing to talk with the woman at the taco stand after they had consumed the taco or gordita that they had purchased.

Better known as a store owner than labor contractor, Ignacio also is appreciated for his community philanthropy. He once assisted a tuberculosis investigation sponsored by the local health clinic and funded by the state health department that conducted basic surveillance at several local labor camps. A woman who served as an interviewer for that study remembered how he rigged electric lights at his camp and served refreshments that enabled the research team to work for several nights collecting specimens and data. This he was graciously willing to do, despite the possible interpretation in the community that it was his labor camp that had a health problem.

Rafaela Obledo

When not working as a disc jockey for a Spanish radio station, Rafaela, a third-generation Texan, manages a food service from a large mobile unit parked alongside a small building in a farm town of west-central Florida. The one-room building serves as a billiard room. When she and her husband first opened their food business more than twenty years ago, they had a smaller mobile unit that they took to county fairs and ethnic festivals that catered to a Spanish-speaking clientele. To make the food business successful, the traditional roles of the "marital bargain" were inverted (Hirsch 1999): Rafaela remarked that her husband's cooking attracts customers, and her accounting skills provide organizational and managerial stability. I noted at times when I was visiting the pool room in the evening and on weekends that they did a heavy business in food sales from the mobile trailer. Further, while decorations and posters were noticeably absent on the walls of the food service and pool room, several posters of contemporary Latino/a recording artists comprised the main decor of the interior walls of the radio station where Rafaela worked.

Assisted on the weekends and in the evening by grown children, who worked or attended school in the local area, the Obledo family for several years managed a

billiard room adjacent to their mobile food service, where they prepared the food they sold. The billiard room attracted mostly men who were born outside the United States, owing to its proximity to nearby rental housing in one of the town's neighborhoods. Near the end of fieldwork, the billiard room was converted to a clothing store that similarly attracted men, but now attracted more women than previously, all of whom were in need of clothes for work and recreation.

Manuela Gallegos

In another small town of west-central Florida, Manuela owns a local bakery-grocery store. Started 22 years ago by her brother-in-law, the store was a novelty for that time, and its opening was featured in a long article in a newspaper from one of Florida's larger cities. Manuela and her husband travel to the Midwest for the summer, where they sometimes remain a few weeks into the start of the agricultural season in Florida.

For more than ten years when they first were in business, their bakery distributed breads of various kinds to nearby towns, cities, and unincorporated communities. Interviewed in another state of the southeast,[3] Juan Martín recalls one season that he delivered breads for the store at a time that it was one of the few Latino grocery stores in a multicounty area of west-central Florida.

> I liked that little town. I filled his truck every day in the morning, with tortillas, breads, religious candles (*velas*), peppers, and cheeses. [Pause.] I filled it with everything. We used to travel all day around his route [seven counties]. There was a large lake [Lake Okeechobee] that I remember. When we traveled in his truck, he would play music in Spanish. He sold cassettes, so we had music to listen to. . . . We'd arrive at the stores and these pretty women, *Mexicanas*, would ask me about cassettes. I told them I didn't do the orders, that he did.

After spending a couple of years in Texas, Juan originally came to work in the citrus harvest in Florida, but he switched to work in the store. He received better pay for working three or four days at the store than a full week of picking oranges. Prior experience of selling fruit from a pushcart in the capital of a province of north-central Mexico, before he came to the States, convinced the Gallegos family that he could handle the delivery job. Juan also wanted a respite from the more arduous work of citrus harvesting.

These vignettes provide a glimpse at how people in the community recognized a need for certain types of specialized services that was informed by an awareness of the possibilities of economic livelihood other than agriculture in rural southern Florida. Many owners of Latino stores and restaurants had little prior business experience, other than managing the economic survival of families of orientation and procreation, as well as the belief that they can succeed at a business venture. The increasing number of commercial establishments owned/managed by Latino/as attests to the attraction of a family-owned or self-owned business as a means of livelihood.

NAMING COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS

There are many Spanish terms that comprise the lexicon for businesses that sell food supplies and food products, and provide prepared food and meals as take-out or consumed on the premises found in rural southern Florida, including: *bodega* (sundries or grocery store), *boliche* (small store), *café* (small eatery, often open-air), *cafetería* (self-service restaurant), *carnecería* (meat shop), *colmado* (sundries store), *comedor* (eatery with minimal accommodations), *changarro* (street stand), *kiosco* (booth), *mercado* (market), *panadería* (bakery), *restaurante* (restaurant with full or partial service), *sucucho* (small store), *supermercado* (supermarket), *taquería* (place that makes and sells tacos), *tienda* (generic term for store, particularly a grocery store), and *tortillería* (place that sells primarily breads). The terms bodega, panadería, taquería, and tortillería are those that most frequently appear as the names of commercial establishments in Florida. Bodega, panadería, and tienda appear more often in everyday conversation than the terms taquería and tortillería. Based on a hierarchy of size, *tiendita* (the diminutive form for store), tienda, and supermercado are common terms in daily talk to refer to a store that sells food products and supplies, and restaurante (shortened at times to restauran') is the common term for a place where one can purchase prepared meals.

LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATION

Most business names are compound constructions. The basis of the business name is a headword that designates the nature of the business, to which may be added modifiers (North 1987). A short slogan may follow that describes something about the business or refers to the type of customers who might frequent its premises. Some names are in Spanish, some are in English, and some combine a little of both languages. Examples of headwords and modifiers include cafetería (e.g., Cuban Cafetería and Deli), grocery (e.g, La Placita Grocery, Spanish American Grocery), panadería (e.g., Boriqueña Panadería, Panadería La Favorita), restaurante, which closely approximates the English equivalent "restaurant" (e.g., Río Grande Restaurant; Los Portales, Mexican Restaurant, and El Charro, Restaurante Mexicano), and store (e.g., Ortiz Food Store). At times, compound names vary with the architectural features of available space. For example, Maria's Restaurant is listed in the phone directory, on the headboard to the restaurant, and in the menu; Maria's Mexican Food appears on the front board (defined below) and front hood of a delivery station wagon (windowless), and Maria's Authentic Mexican Food is painted on the side and rear of the station wagon parked at the entrance to the shopping mall where the restaurant is located.

The headword and its descriptor are recognizable by the font type or letter size, and they are located near or at the entrance to the place of business. They are found on a front board above the door, across a window or front wall, or on an outside panel located somewhere on the premises but near the entrance. A front board is the

space that appears above the eaves or roof space above the door. The outside panel is the sign located closest to pedestrian and automobile traffic, and it is most common among stores that are located on highways in rural areas of southern Florida where automobile traffic is light and speed limits are high. It thus catches the attention of a passing motorist more effectively than a smaller sign located on the front of the establishment. In rural southern Florida, pictorial designs may accompany a name, especially a smaller representation that is placed on a front board or a larger one that is placed on an outside panel.

Any difference that appears between headword and descriptor rarely is transferred to a telephone directory, which generally truncates the two in county-wide and place-specific listings. However, the headword and descriptor distinction appears in business advertisements in Latino newspapers where print technology permits a replicated transfer of naming forms and styles. Five Spanish-language newspapers were published and distributed in rural southern Florida at the time of fieldwork. Additional papers that were published exclusively for the Spanish-speaking community in Miami occasionally were distributed in rural areas of the state; but advertisements in these papers were from and for the metropolitan area of Miami.

Establishment names in rural southern Florida are nostalgic, personalistic, and pragmatic; they provide a forum for the owner to make a statement of personal identity, business strategy, or the expected clientele; and they sometimes refer to places and locales where the intended customers have lived and worked and, likely, wish to remember. According to Rodriguez (1982), the lyric quality of a name forces its remembrance. Naming practices serve to publicize a business as a site where one may encounter the familiar for Latino/as who experience a discomfort and an unfamiliarity with negotiating business transactions in North America, and these same practices publicize the unusual and encourage patronage by crossover customers from mainstream society who desire "exotic cuisine" (Hall 1991).

There are restaurants and food stores that cater to a broad clientele in the towns and small cities of rural southern Florida. Some are immigrant owned, as opposed to ownership by a U.S.-born Latino/a. For example, Crazy Chicken is a Colombian-owned restaurant located in a city along Florida's Gulf coast. The name is an surreptitious translation of *El Pollo Loco*, a chain of restaurants found in California. The name was switched to English to avoid legal infringement. The English name as well as its location off a main boulevard serve the purpose of attracting a crossover clientele in a city where Latino/as form a small portion of the total population. A few businesses capitalize on the use of an exotic name to attract crossover customers (e.g., Iguana Mia, a Mexican-owned restaurant with locations in two coastal cities whose servers, few of whom speak Spanish, are persons of diverse backgrounds). Identifying a commercial establishment as a producer of "authentic cuisine" (English variation) or *comida típica*, "typical food" (Spanish variation) (Sánchez 1993) has been an advertising tradition since the 1900s, wherever Latino businesses were founded in the United States.

A few businesses in rural southern Florida that cater to a Latino/a clientele are owned by persons other than those of Latino ancestry. Tienda Kanjobal, in a small city along the east coast of Florida, for example, was owned and managed by a proprietor of Mayan descent who recently bought another store on the same block. Several stores and restaurants were owned and managed by men and women of Caribbean descent. Given the similarity in cuisine (to some extent) and close proximity of Caribbean and Latino/a families in nearby neighborhoods, store owners adopted advertising and stock for both groups (e.g., signs in Creole and Spanish, distinct types of beans and legumes). Some of the businesses are Anglo owned, particularly in the smaller towns where seasonal Latino/as work in agriculture. For example, Wood's Supermarket is located in an interior town of less than 1,800 people in a county that ranks third in the state in number of farm labor camps. It caters primarily to a Spanish-speaking clientele; some employees are native speakers of Spanish who settled in the community. When the store was sold more than ten years ago, it retained the name of its original owner (Woods).

VISUAL REPRESENTATION

When visual representations accompany a name, they typically are caricatures of Latino culture. Unlike the derogatory political cartoons designed for a North American readership that have appeared in urban newspapers over past decades (Johnson 1980), the visual representations that accompany business names in rural southern Florida portray Latinos in a playful manner, at the same time continuing some stereotypic images of Latino society and culture. There is a general absence of images that allude to Latin American issues as those of lesser importance to an American audience or refer to Latino/as as persons of lessened ability, such as depiction of Latinos as children (Johnson 1980) or as lethargic and slow (Rich and De Los Reyes 1997).

Most of the human forms visually represented by businesses in rural southern Florida are male. Eight businesses among a total of 349 had men who figure prominently in the visual representation; most were found with restaurants. Men are typically ethnicized through costumes of the rural poor of Mexico; that is, they are dressed in loose-fitting, white attire rather than more elaborate, cosmopolitan business suits (indoor reference) or *charro* outfits (outdoor reference). Unlike the *sombrero*-wearing dozer (hat over eyes, slumped in slumber) and similar images of lethargy or immaturity or poverty, the men have lively facial expressions (they smile or appear to be inviting the viewer), and they are standing or moving rather than sitting. The gestures and body form often are exaggerated, as a tangible reminder that actions can speak loudly. It is the traditional items of their clothing, if they are shown, such as *zarapes* and sombreros, that are ambiguous in miniaturization, as they overshadow the stylized gestures of the wearer. One may take this miniaturization as a statement that culture is minimized by mainstream society, or as an implicit

recommendation that actions can override whatever habits of mind and cultural practices position one as different in rural southern Florida.

Women, on the other hand, were found less often than men, appearing in two full-length portraits and three head-and-shoulder profiles among the 206 grocery stores and 143 restaurants. The manner of display engenders these forms as traditional women, who, like the men, are ethnicized with rural origins. For example, more than one depicts the women in peasant-length skirt and white blouse, with large earrings or a flower in the hair, a close counterpart to the men but fancier and showier than men in their white *campesino* attire. One outside panel on a state road in a predominantly agricultural area depicts a woman with a flower in her hair, carrying a tray of grapes, a pineapple, and two other fruits, which gives the message that "the traditional woman serves others." Although none of the women in visual representations follows the stereotype of the woman outside the household who serves men as a barmaid, appearance in situations of service continues to stereotype women in traditional roles.[4]

Animal forms appeared less often than human forms in representations that accompanied names of stores and restaurants. When they appear, they are anthropomorphized and follow the strategies of representing men rather than women. Postures are playful and active, such as having an animal smiling at the viewer, rather than laden with food or dry goods, and thereby serving as a beast of burden.

Murals rarely were placed on grocery stores or restaurants, inside or outside the building. This is due to the political nature of mural creation and its presentation, which had historic importance in the 1920s, '30s, and '40s, particularly in the southwestern United States. A mural has been and continues to be "profoundly cultural in its organizational mutuality and *confianza*, its group mobilization and action, and the active participation of diverse mobilization processes of community movements much as those generated by the labor unions and mutual aid societies" (Vélez-Ibáñez 1997:244). Despite the presence of two locales with efforts to mobilize and organize the farm labor force in southern Florida (one incipient coalition, one coalition with regional news coverage), these efforts have not been incorporated into the naming practices of local businesses, nor have they been embodied in visual representations at commercial establishments. This is a different situation than that described by Cadaval (1991) for kioscos in the Latino Festival in Washington, D.C., where political slogans (especially for Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador) were incorporated amid references to national origins and reminders of a "touristic aesthetic." Few persons engaged in business as owners and managers in rural southern Florida seek an affiliation with efforts to mobilize farm labor, partially because some (but not all) ownership was made possible by savings earned in harvest contracting and labor crew management, rather than low-paying work as farm workers.

Two murals were found among the grocery stores, both on exterior walls. One combined neutral symbols of prehistoric and historic origin that included images of a ceramic head, arrow, and pyramid for indigenous origins, and a palm tree for its

Floridian locale (owing to the particular choice of a light brown for the trunk and green for the palm leaves, which has become, by its manner of presentation and color shading, an icon in Florida). At the same time, the palm tree also refers obliquely to tropical areas south of the border. A second mural used a pre-existing side wall with a Seminole domestic scene. The mural was left intact from the previous building. The Seminole Nation is an indigenous people who reside in southern Florida; the store is located close to the Seminole reservation. The lack of mural-adorned buildings parallels their absence in linguistic and visual representations of the names of grocery stores and restaurants, and reflects a general lack of political reference of any type in business names.

NAMING DEVICES

The main naming strategies for grocery stores and restaurants, listed in order of frequency, include those of a) national, regional, and macroregional origins; b) locales of tradition and things of tradition; c) personalization; d) references to the current community; e) cultural icons; f) references to former municipalities and provinces; g) popular culture; and h) double initials (Table 3).

Table 3: Naming Practices Compared for Grocery Stores and Restaurants

	Per Cent Grocery	Per Cent Restaurant
Origins	63.0	37.2
Locales of Tradition, Things of Tradition	13.2	15.2
Personalization	7.0	18.1
Current Community References	4.4	1.4
Cultural Icon	4.0	16.7
Former Municipal and Provincial References	3.5	7.2
Popular Culture	3.5	3.6
Double Initials	1.3	0.7

Appearing in more than one-half of the total sample of Latino names, the most common naming device is designation of one's identity by reference to national origin (primarily Mexico, Cuba, or Puerto Rico) or through a reference that extends the boundaries of national origin to a regional or macroregional origin (Latino/a or Latin American, and occasionally by reference to the Mexico/Texas borderlands). Origin names appear in 47 instances in the headwords for the restaurants, and 86 instances in headwords for grocery stores. Names typically refer to a place that was left behind. This might be a country (e.g., Mexico) or a state in the United States (e.g., Texas). Names also may refer to a new place of settlement, which invariably occurs by adaptation of the name Florida (e.g., El Floridita), which double-references the name of the state as well as its Spanish origins (Ponce De Leon named the state *Pascua Florida* for its tropical vegetation and discovery on Easter Sunday).

Locales of tradition, things of tradition, and personalization comprised less than 20 per cent each and ranked second and third among common naming practices. This trend toward inclusiveness in business naming parallels the political use of panethnic identification for purposes of collective action (Jones-Correa and Leal 1996) and it outweighs the popular use of microlocality names and identities that characterizes some areas of Mexico (Vila 1997). Personalization of a store or business by incorporating the owner's name or name of a loved one typically occurs through the use of an English apostrophe (e.g., Garcia's) rather than the name as a descriptor as occurs in Spanish (e.g., Tienda Garcia). This practice of reference through apostrophe reflects an ideological foundation within capitalist society that one can become "her own boss, his own boss" in economic livelihood.[5]

Personalized naming and cultural icons are more common with restaurants than grocery stores, and locales of tradition and things of tradition are more common with grocery stores than restaurants. Whereas restaurants cater to a crossover clientele in certain areas of the state, grocery stores are less likely to do so (though some provide take-out), since they provide a range of products that require experience in preparing traditional dishes. Restaurants more often use cultural icons than references to things of tradition or locales of tradition that would be obscure to a crossover clientele. Grocery stores incline to things of tradition and locales of tradition more than restaurants for generating populist appeal. These strategies do not necessarily generate profit. During the year of observation, one grocery store and two restaurants closed. Within a five-year period prior to the period of fieldwork, six grocery stores and six restaurants closed in or outside agricultural towns and cities in the eighteen-county area (these twelve structures were not counted in the sample). Conversely, 21 new restaurants were opened (seventeen new establishments, two management changes with a new name, one combined restaurant-grocery store, one converted to a combined restaurant-grocery store) and eight new grocery stores were opened (six new establishments, one combined restaurant-grocery store, and one converted to a combined restaurant-grocery store).

Commercial naming practices differ in significant ways from those of other genres where naming and cultural representations are elaborated to emphasize a sense

of cultural pride and the practice of political resistance. One exception is the direct reference to religious figures or concepts. This is especially true for the Virgin of Guadalupe (*La Guadalupe*), which is common as a dashboard decoration, residential window display, and an interior wall painting (Rodriguez 1994) throughout rural areas of southern Florida. Leitmotifs that are common in Chicano art do not appear in business naming in rural southern Florida. None of the grocery stores or the restaurants was named for a revolutionary figure or an ideational concept; for example, none was named after the revolutionary female soldier, Adelita, or Father Hidalgo, the legendary originator of *El Grito*, "The Shout of Independence" (Goldman 1997). None replicated references to pre-Columbian figures (e.g., jaguar, serpent, or rose) or referred either in whole or in part to concepts from contemporary Hispanic culture (e.g., skulls or skeletons) (Gradante 1985; Spier 1985). None used a culture-hero type associated currently or in the past with militancy or counter-culture. Specifically, there were no references to *cholos, pachucos, pintos, pochos*, home-girls, or home-boys (Campbell 1984; Moore 1978; Sánchez Jankowski 1991), and no references to *batos* (Limón 1989) or "low-riders" (Bright 1998). Similarly, there were no references to the contested land of Chicano heritage in the southwest; La Azteca occurs for a chain of stores, but none of the names of stores or restaurants referenced *Aztlán* (Anzaldúa 1987).

Soft references were made to "rural" and "country" through language (Hoshino 1987) without a recourse to the use of stronger derivatives (e.g., the Spanish equivalents to "hillbilly" and "redneck"), which would be denigrating among Latinos in the South. Use of diminutives in some names sanitized and avoided any references to a condition of local poverty. El Jacalito occurred in one name but not *el jacal* (hovel), and El Jibarito occurred in one but not *el jíbaro* (bumpkin). None of the names selected for Latino business establishments suggests any form of invidious comparison of rich versus poor. El Rancho and El Ranchito occurred several times across various counties, but not *la hacienda* (landed estate) or *la estancia* (estate).

Names of commercial establishments generally mix terms, categories, images, and styles, thus creating the potential for an erasure of the saliency of one category or particular naming device (Herndon and McLeod 1982). Names of origin and personalized names occasionally are mixed (e.g., Julio's Latin Market), rather than a mixing of categories that would reference culture or microlocal or local communities, home-country provinces, or municipalities. Moreover, there is a general absence of aspects of popular culture that represent any form of hybridization or tropicalization of Latino culture within Anglo society (Flores 1997; Spitta 1997). One of the rare examples of popular culture is the name of a Cuban-owned restaurant, Fernandez De Bull, which is located in a small coastal city known for its retirement communities within an area that also includes recent immigrants from Mexico and Central America. Combining genres, Fernandez De Bull is a playful transliteration from English to Spanish of a well-known Walt Disney cartoon character, Ferdinand the Bull (see Appendix for other examples).

In sum, the majority of choices for the names of grocery stores and restaurants in rural southern Florida emphasize aspects of the origins of the immigrant community, particularly by references to countries of origin, or regions and macroregions. Other aspects of culture appear less often. When they do, they remain clear of arenas of political contestation or militant issues. Rare among the choices for business names are aspects of local culture other than occasional reference to local towns, neighborhoods, and streets, or use of double initials, which is a direct reference to an era when cattle raising was prominent in selected areas of rural southern Florida (cattle branding was done with double initials and some Anglo stores in these areas use double initials as a reference to local culture).

ANALYSIS

Most of the warnings regarding census data were written and published before the U.S. Census of the Population conducted in 2000, which made greater efforts than any of the previous counts to defray the fears of undocumented immigrants who might be unwilling to respond to the census. Previous warnings were particularly skeptical of census data for the study of farm workers, since the migratory population is transitory, and for most areas, April, the month of census data collection, is a month of seasonal departure (Kissam and Garcia 1996; Lavin 1996; Roka and Cook 1998). Despite these caveats, census data by place may be used reliably to compare number of establishments with number of Latinos, or proportion of Latinos to a town's population (Allensworth and Rochín 1998). Census data provide a general view of the size of places and population proportions in areas (communities) where the grocery stores and restaurants were located. This focus is important for the present analysis.

I first considered the number of Latino establishments by size of place; that is, cities, towns, and unincorporated communities where these businesses were located in rural areas. The mean size of the 68 locales with Latino-owned or -managed grocery stores and restaurants was 14,967 persons in 2000 and 17,171 persons in 1990. Their respective medians of 7,931 and 8,217 indicate that most of these locales were small. Locales that had Latino grocery stores were greater in size than those without Latino grocery stores. The difference was not statistically significant. Overall, locales where Latino grocery stores were found were slightly smaller than those locales where restaurants were found, and communities that had no Latino grocery stores were twice the size of rural communities that had no Latino restaurants.

Linear regression was the statistical technique used in the analysis to construct models that describe the strength of selected variables. The basic rationale of starting a grocery store or restaurant is the belief that it will succeed as a business. This implies that those who establish a business view the presence of a potential client base, which has an influence on their decision whether to open a restaurant or a grocery store. I assumed that the existence of a grocery store or restaurant that was

owned, managed, and utilized by Latinos would be positively associated with a sizable Hispanic population in the local area amid a set of demographic considerations for the total general population, total Hispanic population, and proportion of Latinos to the total population. Data from the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses were used. Since a majority of grocery stores and restaurants were established within the past twelve years, 1990 was expected to be influential, owing to establishment of most businesses in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Evidence that the Hispanic population had maintained or increased its size was expected to influence the viability of a business and hence its continuing existence. As mentioned earlier, twelve businesses had closed within the previous five years (six grocery stores in six locales, and six restaurants in six locales).

Dependent variables were grocery stores and restaurants. Those with a Latino identifier in their name (described in the section on naming devices) were analyzed separately from an aggregate total of all of the grocery stores and all of the restaurants that were located in local Latino communities, and were owned, managed, and patronized by Latino/as. There was an aggregate variable that combined all of the grocery stores and restaurants, one for those that had a Latino name and one for the aggregate of Latino businesses. Census data were derived for the total population and Hispanic/Latino population from the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census of the Population[6] and organized by the locale in which grocery stores and restaurants were located.

A linear model to explain the influence of Latinoization on naming practices for grocery stores with Latino names emphasized counts from the 2000 census, whereas counts from the 1990 census were particularly strong in explaining naming practices that used English and Spanish for the combined sample of grocery stores and restaurants. The stronger models occurred for grocery stores using Latino naming practices and included only independent variables from the 2000 census counts. The strongest included per cent Latino population to total population in 2000, and the size of the Latino and the total populations in 2000 ($p < .0001$). These three variables formed a model that explained 39.2 per cent of the variance among variables. Latino naming practices for the restaurants on the other hand were better explained with independent variables of per cent Latino population to total population in 1990 and size of the Latino population in 1990 (Table 4). However, these variables were able to explain only 24.6 per cent of the variance. Overall, more of the variance for naming practices of the grocery stores than the restaurants was explained by these population variables of size and proportion.

Table 4: Models for Naming Practices

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Combined grocery stores and restaurants n=349	% Latino 1990	Latino 1990	% Latino 1990 Latino 1990
F=	**16.040	**18.371	**15.011
R squared	.223	.247	.353
Grocery stores and restaurants that follow Latino naming practices n=261	Latino 2000	Latino 2000 total 2000	
F=	**15.552	**17.456	
R squared	.238	.361	
Grocery stores with Latino naming practices n=137	% Latino 2000 Latino 2000 total 2000	Latino 2000 total 2000	% Latino 2000 Latino 2000
F=	**11.607	**16.994	**14.577
R squared	.392	.382	.346
Restaurants with Latino naming practices n=126	% Latino 1990 Latino 1990	Latino 1990	
F=	**8.978	***12.448	
R squared	.246	.182	
Grocery stores without Latino naming practices n=69	% Latino 1990 Latino 2000	% Latino 1990	
F=	**16.648	**19.744	
R squared	.377	.261	
Restaurants without Latino naming practices n=17	Latino 1990		
F=	***12.295		
R squared	.180		

**$p < .0001$
***$p < .001$

Size Latino 1990: Latino 1990
Size Total 1990: total 1990
Proportion Latino 1990: % Latino 1990

Size Latino 2000: Latino 2000
Size Total 2000: total 2000
Proportion Latino 2000: % Latino 2000

Greater explanatory power to population variables from the 2000 census for grocery-store naming practices represents the capacity of store owners to anticipate whether an area was a prime locale for settlement of a growing Latino population, at the same time that existence of a business that catered to mostly Latino customers would attract more persons of Latino ancestry. These two dimensions of the growth process were an important consequence of Latino naming practices and the choice of where to establish a business. Restaurants, on the other hand, were influenced by population variables that were associated with the 1990 census but were not necessarily magnets for attracting or compelling the settlement of a growing Latino population. Presence of a sufficiently large clientele that was not Latino would ensure the continuation of a restaurant (selling prepared foods) more than a grocery store that sold foods that required a cultural knowledge of culinary preparation. That models to explain naming practices of grocery stores were stronger than those for restaurants (Latino names and other than Latino names) indicates the importance of the grocery store in rural areas of southern Florida, much like the emphasis it was given in the popular literature from Latino/a writers in the United States.

Since most of the grocery stores and restaurants in a given locale had the same zip code (not unexpected in a small town), an alternative analysis (not shown) was conducted for larger towns that had multiple zip codes. Population by zip code rather than place was used for fifteen areas where the locale occupied a larger geographic space. I anticipated that establishment of a business was a response to the presence of Latinos as one of several communities (or eco-niches) in a larger locale. The resulting analysis was weaker than that in which population counts of the entire place were used; that is, conceptualizing the locale as an entire incorporated area, whether it was a town or city. Explanatory power was generally 5 to 10 per cent lower than that of the prior analysis, and F scores were lower. This provides further corroboration of the idea proposed by Chavez (1994) that Latinos perceive themselves as members of the overall community and recognize that they form but one among several multiple communities that exist within the locale where they reside.

CONCLUSION

The presence of grocery stores and restaurants in rural southern Florida that are owned/operated/staffed by persons of Latin American and Caribbean Hispanic ancestry represents a pioneering effort that is both commercial in its foundation and reflective of multiple identities rather than an example of cultural resistance or one-generation assimilation into American society. Recency of this phenomenon suggests a growing awareness that Latin American and Caribbean peoples within rural areas of southern Florida purchase for their immediate needs and are less inclined to frequent Anglo-oriented businesses. Hence, their consumer needs require resolution (North 1987). An increase in the number of establishments reflects a growth in the demand for specialized food products and personalized services. Some of the strategies for private sector commercial advertising and public sector service

provision are channeled to a clientele of seasonal as well as permanent-resident Latino/a consumers, and some of the businesses are intended for a broad range of consumers that includes persons from the wider society.

Most of the naming devices that appear in the names of grocery stores and restaurants represent what Rouse (1992) calls "second language," which is drawn from cultural references and values that reflect the way someone was raised. "First language" is the way that migrants talk of a new environment, which implies that they have changed the ideas and values in which they were enculturated. These owners of grocery stores and restaurants, at the point that they began their business in a new setting, are drawing from the cultural foundation that grounds their identity. Grocery store and restaurant names tell us about the cultural and geographic origins of persons who establish a business, as much as they tell us about intended recipients of the products that they provide and the ways that their name-makers want to be remembered and acknowledged, as they seek to create a place that is familiar and recognizable for their families and themselves and create a legacy of belonging in rural southern Florida.

APPENDIX

Selected Examples of Headwords Used in Naming Grocery Stores and Restaurants

Origins:

National: Boriqueña Panadería; Cuban Café I, II, III; La Mexicana #1, #2, #3, #4; Mexico Supermarket; Quick and Tasty Mexican Food; Sol de Mexico.

Descriptors (not replicated in headword): Cuban [12X all for eateries], e.g., Mi Restaurante (Comida Cubana) and Carrera's Restaurant (Cuban Food); Puerto Rican [1X]; Mexican [33X for grocery stores], e.g., La Estrella (Tortillería and Tienda Mexicana) and El Mercado (Mexican Store) [53X for restaurants], e.g., Los Cocos (Mexican Restaurant) and Yeya Restaurant (Mexican Food).

Regional: Azteca I, II, III, IV, V, VI; La Frontera [2X]; Los Norteños; Río Grande [3X]; Spooner's Southwest Grille (American Mexican); Tienda Kanjobal.

Macroregional: Las Américas Grocery Store (Latin Groceries and Produces); El Caribe Fish Market; Caribbean Food Store; La Hispana (Cafeteria); Latin Food (Cafetería); Latin Grocery [2X]; Latino American Market (Su Tienda Hispana); Spanish American Grocery.

Personalization:

First Name: Chavela's Bakery; Florasmín (Panadería); José's Tortillería; María's Restaurant (Mexican Food); Sonia's Restaurant; Xochitl Mexican Store.

Nickname: Celestino's (Great Mexican Food); Flaco's Mexican Steakhouse; Lisha's Take-Out; Morena's Tortilla Shop; Pancho/a [4X]; e.g., Panchita's Restaurant; Rosita's Mexican Store.

Generic Variant: (Los) Amigo(s) [7X]; e.g., Los Amigos Grocery; Primo(s) [3X]; e.g., Primo Mini Mart.
Surname: Diaz Groceries; Garcia's Bakery; Rodriguez Food Store; Treviño's Food Store.
Anglo Name (typically dual usage in both languages): Freddy's Mexican Food, Oscar's Handy Pantry (Bodega Latina); Tony's (Latin Grocery and Meat Market).

Locales of Tradition, Things of Tradition:
Locale of tradition: El Rancho [5X]; e.g., Mi Ranchito Restaurante; La Casa [5X] Casa Cabana (Cuban and Puerto Rican Food) {La Caye in Creole}; La Plaza [6X]; e.g., La Placita Mexicana; El Rincón Mexicano.
Thing of tradition: El Gallo [2X]; El Girasol; El Jalapeño; Mesón, Olé (Mexican and Spanish Cuisine); Pesos (Mexican Restaurant).
Toponym: El Cerro Grande; El Oasis; La Quebradita.
Hybridized thing: La Palma(s) [2X].
Religious reference: La Fé [2X]; La Gloria [3X]; e.g., La Gloria Mexicana (Grocery Store); Guadalupe [2X]; e.g., *La Guadalupana;* La Reina Food Market; Virgen del Carmen.
Celebratory reference: La Fiesta [3X]; La Sorpresa.

Cultural Icons:
Domain of food: headword: El Taco [11X]; e.g., El Taco Loco [2X], La Taquería Taco Riendo [1X] and El Taconazo [1X].
Domain of clothing: El Charro; El Sombrero; El Zarape #1, #2.
Domain of performance: La Bamba [cross-list "fad"]; La Macarena [cross-list "fad"]; El Mariachi [2X].
Miscellaneous domains: El Cacique; El Toro [2X].

Current Community References:
Local: Bonita Bakery [Bonita Springs]; Dover Mexican American Store [Dover]; Naranja Food Market [Naranja]; La Tienda Mexicana de LaBelle [LaBelle].
MicroLocal: Grocery of Eden [Eden Road]; Krome Cafe [Krome Avenue]; Ortiz Food Store [Ortiz Avenue]; Pine Cone Park Restaurant [Pine Cone Trailer Park].

Former Municipal and Provincial References:
Province: Casa de Guerrero; Durango Market; La Michoacana [3X]; La Tapatia/El Tapatio [3X].
Variation: El Floridita.
Municipal: El Paso Tienda Mexicana; Guadalajara Restaurant; La Sierrita; Taquería Uruapan; Tenanpa Dos Lounge.

Double Initials:
Cattle brand: H & L Grocery Store (Mexican Food); M & N Food Mart.

Popular Culture:
Fad and fashion: Fernandez De Bull; Speedy G's [Speedy Gonzalez].
Transliteration: Chislaine; Frikitín.
Literary: Don Juan [2X].
Miscellaneous: Los Tres Monitos.

Note: Descriptors when present are given in parenthesis: "[2X]" appears twice, "[3X]" appears three times, etc. (separate owners). Diminutives are assumed when counting duplication; for example, La Plaza may become La Placita, or La Casa may become La Casita, and La Guadalupana appears as well as La Guadalupe. Single ownership is indicated by sequential numbering: #1, #2, #3, #4, or I, II, III, IV, V, VI.

NOTES

1. Travel during legal education outreach was covered by a grant from the George Soros Foundation, awarded to Florida Rural Legal Services. Additional travel was completed as the first phase of field reconnaissance for a study of drug and alcohol use among farmworkers by a grant from Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (Grant #6206), awarded to the author. Travel for each project was conducted separately. Thanks to Chris Larsen, Odalys Rojas, and Gladys Seda for sharing their combined knowledge of rural southern Florida and Latino/as. Portions of the data were presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 1998.
2. Work is primarily available in perishable fruits and vegetables (Geuder et al. 1997; Adams, Zonner, and Albrecht 1997).
3. It is not uncommon to find men and women with past experience in an area that is not a current residence. A past experience is valid as a focus of inquiry (see related discussion in Appadurai 1991) and it signals the importance of multi-site ethnography in field research among farm workers.
4. Noticing a similarity in three of the visuals used to depict women, I asked the manager of a west-central Florida store that had one of these and he explained, "We got that picture from a sign company. . . . There's another like it in [town name]," where I had observed the same visual representation.
5. Interestingly, this practice was common for naming rural beauty salons and dress shops that were owned and operated by Latinas, where one would expect personalized attention.
6. Census data for this analysis were obtained from U.S. Census Bureau (2002a, 2002b). An earlier analysis was completed before 2000 census data were available with 1990 census data derived from Data User Services (1990).

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