

Mónica Castillo Lluch / Rolf Kailuweit /  
Claus D. Pusch (eds.)

# Linguistic Landscape Studies

## The French Connection



FREIBURGER  
ROMANISTISCHE ARBEITEN

rombach

Mónica Castillo Lluch/Rolf Kailuweit/  
Claus D. Pusch (eds.)

**Linguistic Landscape Studies.  
The French Connection**

# FREIBURGER ROMANISTISCHE ARBEITEN

herausgegeben von

Andreas Gelz, Ursula Hennigfeld, Hermann Herlinghaus,  
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# Linguistic Landscape Studies. The French Connection

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## Reading diachrony in Linguistic Landscape synchrony: Spanish in Lausanne

### Summary

This research work examines a group of signs in Spanish produced by the Spanish-speaking community in the French-speaking city of Lausanne (Switzerland). The aim sought with the present study consists in placing those signs at their specific production time and using them to access the history of the Spanish-speaking immigrant community, which has been settled for over half a century in this city. The methodology used combines the identification of signs in Spanish across Lausanne's public space and their photographic documentation, the material analysis of these signs, seeking to find evidence of their chronology, and the historical contextualization of the signs via ethnographic research, from written information sources but also, and above all, by means of interviews with individuals related to the signs. In short, our purpose is to carry out a historical reading of the linguistic landscape so that the various signs allow us to discover the social dynamics of the communities by which they are produced.

### Keywords

Spanish in Lausanne; Linguistic landscape in Spanish; Spanish immigration in Switzerland; Latin American immigration in Switzerland; Spanish associations in Switzerland

### 1 Introduction

It comes as no surprise that signs belonging to different production and installation times coexist in the Linguistic Landscape (LL). This can be seen in Figure 1, where two signs separated by more than fifty years show the location of a post office in France.

The difference between both signs can be easily observed: the plaque above is enamelled and has a mid-twentieth-century typography, whereas the one below is much more recent, as revealed by its metal and Plexiglas base as well





Figure 1. Municipal Post Office, La Palud-sur-Verdon  
(April 5, 2015)

as its cybernetic typography.<sup>1</sup> Such a case very clearly shows the phenomenon of synchronisation in the LL of asynchronous signs, insofar as these are two equivalent signs and the old one was not removed after installing the new one. It is the redundancy of both messages that immediately allows us to see the different temporality of these two messages; when redundancy does not exist – the most common thing in the linguistic landscape (LL) – in principle, we pay no attention to this difference regarding sign production and installation times and tend to see both signs as synchronised in space.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a sign corresponding to the latest *La Poste* logo version, which dates back to 2005, as can be seen at <[http://www.ladressesmuseedelaposte.fr/IMG/pdf/4-4-2\\_histoire\\_du\\_logo\\_la\\_poste\\_2011.pdf](http://www.ladressesmuseedelaposte.fr/IMG/pdf/4-4-2_histoire_du_logo_la_poste_2011.pdf)>.

<sup>2</sup> A previous study of ours (Sáez Rivera / Castillo Lluch 2011: 315) dedicated to Madrid's LL and based on an observation carried out between 2009 and 2010 already referred to the synchronic or diachronic perspective that LL studies may adopt. Without a doubt, Jan Blommaert (2013) is the researcher who has placed the most emphasis on the necessity of reading LL in its historical depth rather than in its synchronic superficiality. I knew about his work after performing the present study and it pleased me to notice the high degree of convergence between my research and the historicist and ethnographic line defended by this author.

Reading the various LL signs in a historical way and not synchronically – as is done, for instance, by art historians when they distinguish the different periods in the production and restoration of a monument – constitutes the epistemological premise for this paper. The study object is a group of linguistic signs corresponding to a migrant community with a more than fifty-year-long settlement history in a mid-size city, more precisely the signs in Spanish of the Spanish-speaking community in Lausanne (Switzerland). Our study has as its aim to place the aforementioned group of signs present in Lausanne's public space at their specific production and installation time as well as to access the history of the Spanish-speaking immigrant community in this city through those signs. The methodology used combines the identification of signs in Spanish and their photographic documentation, the material analysis of these signs in search of evidence about their chronology, as well as the historical contextualisation of the signs by means of ethnographic research, using written information sources, but also – and above all – by means of interviews with individuals related to the signs.

My observation of Lausanne's LL began in the summer of 2013. I have been documenting the LL in Spanish since then, but the most significant part of the empirical work undertaken in the context of this research was performed in the autumn of 2014 with Iolanda Tomiuc, Émilie Savioz and Jonathan Stark, students enrolled in my master degree's course «Linguistic landscapes in the Hispanic world». I subsequently continued the exploration until the autumn of 2016. This study will only partially show the data of a more complete study still in progress, with the aim of illustrating the most relevant contexts when it comes to the presence of Spanish in Lausanne's LL. The organization of this paper is as follows: section 2 is devoted to multilingualism of Lausanne's LL, presenting the demographic data associated with the Spanish-speaking community in Switzerland as a whole and, more specifically, in the Olympic city. Section 3 explains the epistemological approach which guided the present research work. The descriptive and analytical part of the LL produced by the Spanish-speaking community in Lausanne can be found in section 4, after which the paper will finish with the main conclusions drawn from our study.

## 2 Multilingualism in Lausanne's LL and Spanish as the «main language» in the city

Lausanne has 140,000 inhabitants and is the capital city of the officially French-speaking Vaud Canton, which belongs to the Swiss Confederation, a country where the national languages – in order of importance by number of speakers – are German, French, Italian, and Romansch<sup>3</sup> (the first three of which are official). It additionally houses the headquarters of the International Olympic Committee as well as other international sporting institutions in which English is the usual working language, and has represented an economic pole of attraction for numerous foreign workers from a wide variety of origins for half a century. The percentage of foreign inhabitants in Lausanne, which amounts to 42% in 2016,<sup>4</sup> gives us an idea of the social and individual multilingualism existing in this city that can be easily perceived as soon as you mix with its residents and also through the observation of the LL featured in its public spaces.<sup>5</sup>

Together with the predominant French, the other two official languages of the Confederation, German and Italian, are frequently found in Lausanne's landscape,<sup>6</sup> and Romansch can occasionally be seen, too (by way of

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation (1999; state as of January 1<sup>st</sup> 2016), Articles 4 and 70 (<<http://www.admin.ch/opc/fr/classified-compilation/19995395/index.html#a4>>). There is another non-constitutional law, R.S. 441.1 «Loi fédérale sur les langues nationales et la compréhension entre les communautés linguistiques» (October 5<sup>th</sup> 2007; state as of January 1<sup>st</sup> 2010) which has as its main aim to promote the multilingualism of national languages and to protect Italian and Romansch.

<sup>4</sup> Data extracted from <<http://www.lausanne.ch/lausanne-officielle/administration/securite-et-economie/controle-des-habitants/statistiques/evolution-mensuelle-nombre-habitants-en-2016.html>>.

<sup>5</sup> No studies have so far been performed about Lausanne's LL. In fact, it seems surprising to find out that only six articles have dealt with the LL of Switzerland, despite this being one of the most multilingual countries in the European continent: Jenny Cheshire & Lise-Marie Moser (1994) on the considerable presence of English in advertising in French-speaking Switzerland; Tom McArthur (2000), who compares the LL of Uppsala and Zurich with regard to the co-presence of English with the local languages; Georges Lüdi (2007), who analyses multilingualism in Basel's public space; Ingrid Piller (2010), who explores multilingualism in the sex industry in this same city; Georges Lüdi, Katharina Höchle & Yanaprasart Patchareerat (2010), who conclude that English is used as a *lingua franca* in Basel due to the strong presence of international companies in the area, and finally Lüdi (2012), where the examination of the LL in two Basel-based companies serves to reveal not only that English has a symbolic role but also that immigrants' languages are almost invisible.

<sup>6</sup> The data which serve as the basis for the description provided in this paragraph were collected during 2014. Italian, apart from being the Confederation language spoken in the Ticino and Grisons Cantons, is also the Italian community's language, and some LL

example, a long text in this language appears in an announcement of the Confederation addressed to citizens doing the military service). What happens most often, though, is that the three official Confederation languages appear accompanied by English (in trains, at customs, in lake ports, or on bus ticket selling machines). French exclusively appears next to English on other occasions, as in the International Olympic Committee's communication with the public, or in the underground (*le métro*), and English can also be the only one used in some advertisements or inside the headquarters of the International Olympic Committee. It additionally deserves to be highlighted that the French used in Lausanne's public space shows certain lexical dialectalisms, sometimes deliberately, meant to index its belonging to the local community (this is the case of the advertising signs in a car park located downtown).<sup>7</sup> At the same time, one can find other languages, most of them spoken by immigrants living in the city (Portuguese, Spanish, Galician, Catalan, Basque, Turkish, Arabic, Greek, Tamil, Tigrinya, Amharic, Albanese, Polish, Russian, Thai, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Latin, Esperanto, and certainly many more).

Spanish is currently the third «main language» (the best mastered language)<sup>8</sup> amongst the foreign languages spoken in Lausanne (it has that status for 6.9% of citizens), after Portuguese (8.3%) and English (7.7%) and above Italian (6.4%) and German (5.2%). At a national level, these figures are only exceeded in Geneva (nearly 10%).<sup>9</sup> These data reflect the vitality that the

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signs may correspond to this immigrant community (the largest foreign community in Switzerland, with 313,725 residents in 2015). The same applies to German (the second largest foreign community in Switzerland, with 301,548 residents in 2015). These statistics about immigration in 2015 come from the *Secrétariat d'État aux migrations* (cf. <<https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/publiservice/statistik/auslaenderstatistik/monitor/2015/statistik-zuwanderung-2015-12-jahr-f.pdf>>).

<sup>7</sup> Riponne car park uses slogans such as: *Pour batoïller avec les copines, Pour ne pas casser ma crousille, Pour ne pas tourner comme un topio* (where *batoïller*, *crousille*, *topio* are regional variants to convey the meaning of 'to chat,' 'piggybank,' 'simpleton'). Cf. the report «Une campagne d'affichage 100% vaudoise» (29/07/2013) of the RTS radio station (<<http://www.rts.ch/la-1ere/programmes/forum/5082651-forum-du-29-07-2013.html#5082642?playlist=undefined&title=undefined&section=undefined>>).

<sup>8</sup> About this concept used in its surveys, the federal statistics office OFS points out the following: «Il s'agit de la langue la mieux maîtrisée, réponses multiples dans le cas de bilinguisme» (cf. <[http://www.scris.vd.ch/Data\\_Dir/ElementsDir/5658/36/F/Portrait\\_de\\_Lausanne\\_2015.pdf](http://www.scris.vd.ch/Data_Dir/ElementsDir/5658/36/F/Portrait_de_Lausanne_2015.pdf)>).

<sup>9</sup> These OFS data correspond to 2012 and were published in the report *Lausanne déchiffrée. Courrier statistique*, 10<sup>e</sup> année, n° 2, décembre 2014 (<[http://www.scris.vd.ch/Data\\_Dir/ElementsDir/7997/1/F/LD2\\_2014.pdf](http://www.scris.vd.ch/Data_Dir/ElementsDir/7997/1/F/LD2_2014.pdf)>).

Spanish-speaking community has had in French-speaking Switzerland since the first of the economic migratory movements towards this country – in which a considerable number of Spaniards took part – started back in the 1960s.

It must be remembered that the number of permanent and non-permanent residents in Switzerland as a whole at the end of 1950 (1,212) had increased tenfold at the end of 1960 (13,524), and this figure corresponding to 1960 was in turn going to be nine times higher at the end of 1970 (121,239).<sup>10</sup> The figures for Spanish nationals residing in Switzerland on a permanent basis remained similar to these until 1990 (116,987), after which the number of permanent residents was reduced by half during the period comprised between 1991 and 2010 (64,126 at the end of 2010);<sup>11</sup> and finally, the new economic crisis has once again made figures gradually grow since 2011 (reaching 82,334 at the end of 2015).<sup>12</sup> As a result, 2% of the residents in Switzerland registered in the 1970 population census already declared to speak Spanish. This language lost some ground afterwards (1.9% in 1980, 1.7% in 1990, and 1.1% in 2000)<sup>13</sup> but a certain recovery has recently taken place, with 2.2% of the Swiss population speaking it at present.<sup>14</sup> A vast majority of these Spanish speakers are of Spanish origin, but the number of Latin American permanent residents has kept increasing during the last decades until reaching a figure of 31,472 individuals at the end of 2015 (they hardly reached the figure of 7,178 at the end of 1980, which increased to 11,840 at the end of 1990 and was already situated at 21,369 at the end of 2000).<sup>15</sup> The relative proportion of Spaniards and Latin Americans has changed to a great extent since 1990, when 91% of the total were Spaniards as opposed to 9% of Latin Americans; the proportions at the end of 2015

<sup>10</sup> Figures drawn from the Excel spreadsheet «Population résidante permanente et non permanente selon le sexe et la nationalité, à la fin de l'année (1850–2009)», published by the OFS online (OFS > Thèmes > Population > Etat et structure de la population > Données détaillées; <<http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/02/blank/data/01.html>>).

<sup>11</sup> Figures drawn from the Excel spreadsheet «Population résidante permanente étrangère selon la nationalité, à la fin de l'année (1980–2015)», published by the OFS online (OFS > Thèmes > Population > Migration et intégration > Indicateurs; <<http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/01/01.html>>).

<sup>12</sup> Figures drawn from the OFS online source mentioned in fn. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lüdi / Py (1986, <sup>3</sup>2003: 26–27).

<sup>14</sup> Figures published by the OFS in <<https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population.assetdetail.333413.html>>.

<sup>15</sup> Figures drawn from the OFS online source mentioned in fn. 11.

were 72% and 28%, respectively. To this must be added that the real percentage of residents coming from Latin America considerably exceeds what these official figures suggest, because a significant part of this population is often registered in Switzerland with a Spanish passport after having obtained this nationality in a previous migratory stage in Spain.

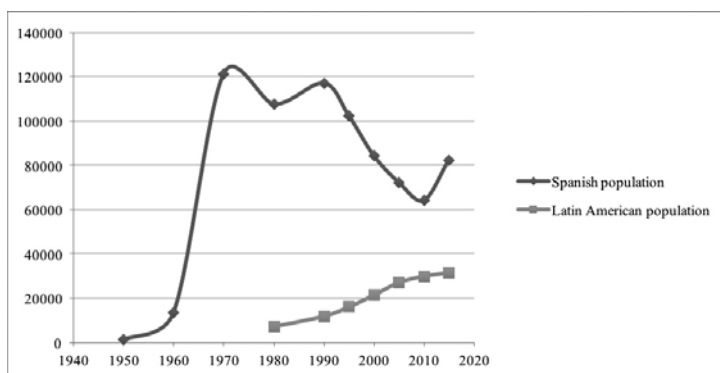


Figure 2. Spanish-speaking population in Switzerland

The data for Lausanne follow the same lines as those corresponding to Switzerland as a whole. We have accurate statistics for the Spanish population since 1950,<sup>16</sup> a year in which this population amounted to only 75 individuals. Its growth was exponential from then and until 1970, when it reached the figure of 6,235 individuals. The maximum level will be recorded in 1990 with 7,794 Spanish residents, a figure that was reduced by half in the following decade, the same as in the whole country (there were 3,734 individuals in 2010). The number of Spaniards in Lausanne increased again from 2010 onwards, amounting to 4,898 in 2015. In turn, Latin American residents – for which we have figures since 1980 – have been experiencing a linear growth since then: from 585 individuals in that year to 2,269 in 2015. The numbers of Spaniards and Latin Americans are consequently

<sup>16</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Lena Pasche, project manager at the Vaud Canton Statistics Office, who provided me with the figures about Spaniards and Latin Americans living in the city of Lausanne which are shown here. I must clarify in this respect – following her instructions – that the figures up to 1970 correspond to the number of residents according to the federal population census, which includes all the individuals with an economic domicile in Lausanne (even those who have a short stay here, the officials of international organisations and asylum seekers), and also that the data come from the *Secrétariat d'État aux migrations* and the *Registre cantonal des personnes, Vaud* since 1980.

much more balanced than during the previous decades in the city of Lausanne, too, and actually to a greater extent than what is suggested by official figures, since many of the individuals registered as Spaniards here were actually born in Latin American countries.

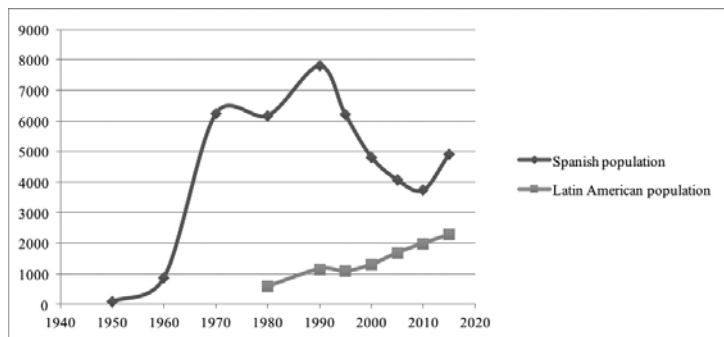


Figure 3. Spanish-speaking population in Lausanne

As anticipated above, capturing the reflection of this Spanish-speaking community in the linguistic landscape, describing it, and analysing it through a historical lens as well, constitute the goals that we set ourselves with the present research work. Starting from the observation that Lausanne's public space of today shows a juxtaposition of signs in Spanish which correspond to different introduction times, linked to various historical stages of immigration, it is our intention to examine the LL in this city, drawing a distinction between the old messages and the most recent ones, on the basis of elements which can turn out to be revealing for the establishment of that different chronology.

### 3 Epistemological approach

A historicist approach was adopted from the very beginning of the data collection process with my students Iolanda Tomiuc, Émilie Savioz and Jonathan Stark for the description of the LL in Spanish existing in the city of Lausanne. As for the pedagogical framework within which a large part of the empirical work for this research was carried out during the autumn of 2014, it seemed relevant and logical to take our knowledge about the history of the immigrant Spanish-speaking community as our starting point<sup>17</sup>


<sup>17</sup> My study about the Spanish of the Spanish-speaking community in French-speaking Switzerland began in 2013, mainly based on a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews that I have

in order to collate that knowledge with the information that the city's LL gave us with regard to that history. Observing the LL from that historical point of view enabled us to converge with the line of analysis strongly recommended by Jan Blommaert (cf. his volume of 2013) and already suggested by authors such as Bernard Spolsky in his well-known paper published in 2009 – where he focused on the road signs in Jerusalem before and after the Six-Day War –<sup>18</sup> or Lola Pons Rodríguez (2012) with the meticulous analyses of old signs and the change in LL that she offers us in her monograph *El paisaje lingüístico de Sevilla* [The linguistic landscape of Seville] (cf. §3.2.1 and §5.3). The observation that Jan Blommaert performed in his own Antwerp quarter (Oud-Berchem) for several years led him not only to distinguish the historical layers of LL but also to argue, in contrast to the mostly synchronicist analyses of LL carried out until then, that «[l]inguistic landscaping can be all kinds of things, but not an a-historical inquiry; it is an instrument for historical research» (Blommaert 2013: 51). The method that he advocated consists in combining ethnographic observations with LL data, ideally by means of longitudinal studies; in other words, exactly the one that we had adopted in our research. We completely share his opinion when he states the following:

Signs lead us to practices, and practices lead us to people: individuals and groups who live in a given area in a particular configuration, with a particular degree of regulation and order, and with different forms of social and cultural organisation in relation to each other. This sequence, from signs to practices to people, is the true analytic potential of linguistic landscaping. (Blommaert 2013: 50)

Therefore, an attempt was made throughout our observation of the LL in Spanish existing in the city to associate each sign with its specific production time as well as to distinguish a variety of chronologies in all those signs according to the social practices which they depict and to its different emitters. The signs which make up our corpus were initially located at a group of streets in Lausanne's city centre and subsequently in other city areas where, according

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carried out with my students since the  within the framework of the project that gradually took shape under the name of COLLE in (Spanish acronym for 'Oral Corpus of Spanish language in Romania' (ly)).

<sup>18</sup> Only Arabic and English were originally used in the signs corresponding to the Jordan occupation of the Old Town between 1948 and 1967, but an upper line of tiles in Hebrew were added after 1967, when Jerusalem's Old Town came to be under Israeli rule again. From that time, sign-writing is already presented in one-piece tiles with Hebrew, Arabic, and English; and the transliteration of the latter is no longer based on Arabic, but on Hebrew.



to our knowledge, there were other signs in Spanish. This did not allow us to ensure that our study would be exhaustive, in the sense that it comprised all the signs in Spanish which are visible in this city, but we do believe that our corpus brings together those signs corresponding to the Spanish-speaking community's best-known establishments. During our identification of these signs, they were simultaneously analysed according to their shape and content in search of evidence that could inform us about their production context and the history of the activity that they reflected. Seeking to complete this information, we systematically requested the collaboration of association presidents, service managers, or the directors of the businesses in question by means of personal interviews; and they gave us some details thanks to which a more precise image of what those signs represented in the history of Lausanne's Spanish-speaking community could be obtained.

As for the evidence that the actual signs provide about their age, it can be of different kinds: material; dialectal; content-related; or associated with linguistic forms.

- a. The most visible evidence has to do with their materiality, that is, with the more or less old appearance of those signs, which can be seen in the state of conservation of their texts, and that of its base, but also in their typography and design which, as is well-known, may be strongly influenced by a temporary fashion. On the other hand, the young <age> of some signs will become easily visible in the provisional nature of its base or in its writing by hand that precedes the definitive written sign. Sometimes, the manipulations of a sign – as if they had been crossed out – may also denote that they are old signs the obsolete content of which triggers a critical reaction from a reader.
- b. In the case of Lausanne's Spanish, the dialectal features can equally be indicative of one period or another. Very simplistically, we could refer to two periods with a high Spanish-speaking immigration rate: that corresponding to the 1960s and 1970s; and the one which has taken place in this century as a consequence of the new economic crisis. As explained above, the immigration of the 1960s and 1970s was essentially Spanish, unlike that of the 21st century, which includes a significant proportion of Latin Americans. Consequently, American lexical or orthographical features will probably have to be interpreted as corresponding to recent signs.
- c. Another possibility derives from the fact that the actual content of signs can inform us about the time when they were produced; for instance, the foundation of Spanish centres and associations in Lausanne very often

- dates back to 30 or 40 years ago, which means that we tend to associate the signs of Asturian, Galician, or Spanish centres with the past century.
- d. Finally, it happens that certain formal deviations from Standard Spanish, such as those caused by transfers from French, suggest that the sign was produced by authors who had already lived within a French-speaking environment for a long time, or, similarly, certain typographic anomalies – such as the absence of the tilde in <ñ> – are likely to denote a production in past decades, characterised by a lesser degree of versatility in print shops.

The decoding of such chronological evidence provided by the linguistic signs in Spanish found in Lausanne's public space, with the additional support of personal and documentary testimonies, enabled us to read a part of the history of the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of this city. Furthermore, the actual evolution of signs, and even their disappearance in the period comprised between the summer of 2013 and the autumn of 2016 – during which my observation took place – confirms the change dynamics within the Spanish-speaking population of this city.

#### 4 The LL of the Spanish-speaking community in Lausanne

A selection of some relevant signs in Spanish found in Lausanne's LL will be offered below, classifying them into two categories: (1) those corresponding to institutions, associations and businesses of Spanish individuals; and (2) those linked with Latin American entities and individuals.

##### 4.1 The LL of Spanish entities and individuals

The Consulate General of Spain deemed it appropriate to open a labour office (*Oficina laboral*) in Lausanne (Rue Saint-Martin 26, 1005 Lausanne) during the 1970s – as is well known, a period during which a large number of Spanish workers arrived in the city. That office, which depends on the Department of Employment and assists Spaniards with their formalities related to social security and retirement pensions (hence why the sign is entirely monolingual), still remains open today. It is literally announced on the directory at the building façade as «Oficina laboral española – I.E.E. / Consulado de Espana en Ginebra» (Spanish Labour Office – I.E.E. / Spanish Consulate in Geneva) (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Spanish Labour Office – Spanish Emigration Institute. Spanish Consulate in Geneva (Rue Saint-Martin 26, 1005 Lausanne) (November 27, 2014)

In addition to an anomalous spelling of the word *oficina* for the double <f>, undoubtedly due to analogy with the French spelling of *office*, it also calls our attention that the tilde of the <ñ> in «Espana» is missing (but not in the adjective *española* used in the preceding phrase). Even though this is worthy of mention – insofar as state institutional signs count on means which usually ensure their adaptation to the standard –, what surprises us to a greater extent is to discover that the expression *oficina laboral* has become obsolete, since the current name of this consular service is *Sección de empleo y seguridad social* [Employment and Social Security Section],<sup>19</sup> and, above all, to notice that the initials I.E.E. correspond to a reality which brings us back at least to the 1980s, insofar as they refer to the *Instituto Español de Emigración* [Spanish Emigration Institute], which existed between 1956 and 1985 (cf. Calvo Salgado *et al.* 2009).<sup>19</sup> As a matter of fact, you can notice that the adjective *laboral* was crossed out with a marker (the crossing out has been partially cleaned, but it is still visible), most probably as a protest reaction. The lack of formal correction in the sign, of updating in the name of the organisation, and the crossing out, can now be seen by us as providing evidence of a chronological lag. The office, which opened every day and was highly frequented during the 1970s and the 1980s, has gradually reduced its attention hours as the Spanish population in Lausanne decreased, and nowadays it only remains open to the public on Wednesdays (unlike the employment and social security section in Geneva, which opens every day). This sign has survived as a fossil in LL which illustrates the organisation of the Spanish migrant community in Lausanne during the 1970s and the 1980s, and the

<sup>19</sup> A name which is actually used by the employees of this office in personal communication and in the answering machine message. Cf. <[http://www.empleo.gob.es/movilidadinternacional/es/menu\\_principal/viviren/consejerias/](http://www.empleo.gob.es/movilidadinternacional/es/menu_principal/viviren/consejerias/)>.

fact that it has not been modified suggests the decadence which currently characterises the activity of that service in the city.

The social organisation of the Spanish migrant community during the 1970s and the 1980s in Switzerland as a whole, and more specifically in Lausanne, was supported by an extremely strong associative movement, of which a few associations still survive.<sup>20</sup> They required meeting venues where the Spanish community met to develop a wide range of cultural and recreational activities. They were the so-called *centros* [centres], in which associations were initially allowed to commercialise drinks and foods for the consumption of their members, who spent a large proportion of their spare time there, until a law on hospitality and catering (*Loi sur les auberges et les débits de boissons*)<sup>21</sup> which subjected these structures to the regulatory and fiscal regime of cafés and restaurants came into force in 2003. It was in this way that the centres of the most active associations became bars and restaurants open to the general public ever since. At present, only one Spanish centre, an Asturian and a Catalan one are left in the city of Lausanne, along with another centre for Spanish invalids and pensioners. As will be seen below, most of these centres have lost their essence to a greater or lesser extent with respect to their original use (they mostly operate as restaurants for the public at large), if they have not disappeared, as it happened a short time ago with the historic *García Lorca Centre*, which brought together many Andalusian residents in Lausanne until 2013, or the equally important Galician centre called *Promoción da cultura galega* [Promotion of Galician Culture], which remained open until May 2015 in the Flon quarter.

The *Centro Español de Bussigny* [Bussigny Spanish Centre] is located in the municipality of the same name on the outskirts of Lausanne (Ch. de la Chocolatière 1, 1030 Bussigny-près-Lausanne). The Spanish initials CEB – which act as a logo of this centre – have been printed on the glass panels at the entrance of the establishment, with the date of 1963 next to them (cf. Figure 5).

According to the information provided by the current – Galician – manager,<sup>22</sup> this chronological reference commemorates the year when a group of newly arrived Spaniards founded the Association of Spaniards in Lausanne and undertook the construction of the building in their free time, especially at

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Calvo Salgado (2009).

<sup>21</sup> This can be consulted at the Vaud Canton legislation portal <<http://www.rsv.vd.ch/>>.

<sup>22</sup> I thank Juan Carlos Gosende for the information that he gave me during a personal interview held on January 21, 2015.



Figure 5. Detail of the entrance door to the Bussigny Spanish Centre (Rue de la Chocolatière 1, 1030 Bussigny-près-Lausanne) (January 21, 2015)

weekends; the centre was finished and inaugurated in 1975 and served as a meeting place for its Spanish members for decades – some 300 of these members still belong to the association nowadays, and they only gather on the occasion of major festivities. The centre has now become a restaurant open to the general public and, thanks to its great capacity and its Spanish specialities, it attracts customers of various nationalities (Swiss, Arabs, Latin Americans, Spaniards...). For our purposes, it is worth highlighting that the centre's logo, recently created and shown at the entrance of this establishment, is accompanied by the mention of the year 1963 (it also appears at the header of its web page in a very prominent place, next to the Spanish shield, «Founded in 1963»<sup>23</sup>). This is full of symbolism: the visitor interprets it as information about the age of the establishment (more emblematic than

<sup>23</sup> <<http://www.centreespagnol.ch>>.



Figure 6. Entrance of the Bussigny Spanish Centre (Rue de la Chocolatière 1, 1030 Bussigny-près-Lausanne) (November 11, 2015)

real) which guarantees its quality, and as a present-day tribute to the Spanish pioneers thanks to which this building was erected. In this regard, the chronological reference is displayed in the LL as a reminder of the origin of this centre, most of whose customers no longer belong to the community for which it was conceived. This is why the other signs appear in French and Spanish (*Entrada / Entrée* in big letters at the doorway of the building) or exclusively in French (timetables and other pieces of information at the entrance door, the detailed advertising about the centre itself which is offered on the paper tablemats, or the sign *Salle fumeurs*). One last detail needs to be highlighted with regard to the LL that shapes this establishment: the doorway of the entrance to the plot of land where the building stands is crowned with the name of the centre forming an arch, a design set which can indeed be described as ‘vintage’ and brings us back to the 1960s, when it was founded (cf. Figure 6).

The Asturian Centre was founded in Crissier in 1985 and later moved to its new premises at the also industrial district of Renens in 2003 (Ch. du Chêne 17, 1020 Renens), as is explicitly specified at a large tile mural inside the building which can be seen at the very moment when you enter the premises (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Mural of the Asturian Centre in Lausanne (Chemin du Chêne 17, 1020 Renens) (November 27, 2014)

The interest both of its members and of the centre management in remembering the dates of maximum dynamism once again becomes evident in their exhibition for the communication with the public. The Association of Asturians still exists, with about one hundred members who get together from time to time to celebrate certain festivities (once a week in past decades). And the restaurant has been run by a Galician hostess since 2009;<sup>24</sup> like the CEB manager, she has succeeded in achieving a clientele of all the nationalities present in Lausanne. For this reason, a change has been made in the neon sign that can be most easily seen from the street: whereas it used to read *Centre asturiano* [Asturian Centre] in 2014, a new one has been installed in 2016 which says *Centro asturiano español* [Spanish Asturian Centre] (cf. Figures 8a-b). According to the manager, non-Spanish customers do not usually know the meaning of the word *asturiano*, and they have preferred this new designation so that the restaurant can be unmistakably recognised as Spanish by that public segment. It deserves to be stressed that the centre's web page, which has existed since 2013, was also given the name of *Centre*

<sup>24</sup> Mari Carmen García Telo, who kindly gave me all this information in several personal conversations between 2014 and 2016.



Figure 8a-b. Asturian Centre in Lausanne (Chemin du Chêne 17, 1020 Renens)  
(November 27, 2014 and November 20, 2016)

*espagnol asturiano*, and that all its contents are expressed in French and aimed at the restaurant clientele in general.<sup>25</sup>

The association *Promoción da cultura galega*, which opened its doors in 1987, was installed at an establishment located in the central Flon quarter (Rue de la Vigie, 5, 1003 Lausanne) since 2004. Amongst the most memorable activities carried out by this association stand out two Galician Folklore contests held in 1989 and 1990 which brought a variety of groups, both from Switzerland and from other European countries, to Lausanne. The as-

<sup>25</sup> The web page contains no information whatsoever about the Association of Asturians.



sociation itself had a choir during the first decades, with the participation of older members who were not replaced by the new generations. Folk dance, however, especially aimed at the youngest ones, still brought together some 60 participants in 2009. According to its current president,<sup>26</sup> this association had 300 members in 2004, but this figure went down to 100 in only a couple of years following the coming into force of a law in 2007 which prevents foreign workers from returning to the country of origin before their retirement taking with them the capital accumulated at the occupational retirement scheme (the ‘second pillar’ of the Swiss social insurance system). This was the reason why a considerable number of Galician workers decided to return to Galicia before 2007, which caused a significant weakening of this community’s associative life. *Promoción da cultura galega* has 141 members in 2016, but only one third of them takes part in the activities organised by this association. These activities were developed until May 2015 in the premises located at No. 5 of Rue de la Vigie, which also housed a restaurant, *Restaurant Galicia* (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Centre of *Promoción da Cultura Galega* [Promotion of Galician Culture] in Lausanne (Rue de la Vigie, 5, 1003 Lausanne) (December 17, 2014)

<sup>26</sup> Manuel Amarelle was kind enough to give me an interview on November 20, 2016, during which he provided me with all these data. I would like to express my thankfulness to him for that generous conversation.



Figure 10. Sign of *Restaurant Galicia* (Rue de la Vigie, 5, 1003 Lausanne) (December 17, 2014)

Our observation between the autumn of 2013 and the autumn of 2016 has allowed us to witness the disappearance of this centre (both the restaurant and the association's office). The restaurant has been having different managers, and during our visit in 2013, it was no longer run by Galicia-born people, but by a Brazilian family (to which must be added that Lausanne's Capoeira Association had been installed next door). All the information about the restaurant was given in French, which already showed the loss of its original Spanish roots, even though the Brazilian managers kept a menu with several Spanish specialities. It was closed for works in 2014 (cf. Figure 10), a circumstance which was already interpreted by some of our informants as a prelude to its definitive disappearance as a typically Galician restaurant. The office for the promotion of Galician culture kept an information board at its entrance (on the basement of this building) in 2013 and until 2015, where it announced – in Galician language – the meetings and activities associated with Galician culture that took place in Lausanne as well as in other Swiss locations. Next to those two signs in Galician were others issued in Spanish by the Spanish Embassy about vocational training in Galicia for Spanish construction workers in Switzerland or containing instructions for the European Parliament Election held on May 25, 2014. This board was still kept up to date in 2014. We witnessed how the premises of the association *Promoción da cultura galega* were closed in 2015, and no trace whatsoever of the association or of the Galician restaurant can be found today (in 2016; Figure 11). At the moment, the association is looking for new premises where



Figure 11. Premises of the old Centre of *Promoción da Cultura Galega* [Promotion of Galician Culture] in Lausanne (Rue de la Vigie, 5, 1003 Lausanne) (September 7, 2016)

it can be installed and continue with its members' activities; it actually does not rule out the idea that the solution might lie in joining other Spanish associations and sharing a centre with them.

The *Centre català Lausana-Ginebra* [Lausanne-Geneva Catalan Centre] (Rue de Genève 91, 1004 Lausanne) has existed since 1969 as Lausanne's Catalan Centre, and it established a partnership with the Catalan centre of Geneva in 2014. It organises a variety of activities, such as the celebration of traditional festivities, lectures, Catalan language or theatre courses, meetings of Catalan professionals residing in Switzerland, events for children, and showing of films or broadcasts of Football Club Barcelona matches. This centre brings together the Catalans who founded it and the younger generations – partly arrived in Switzerland during the last ten years – who are incidentally very

active at the current governing board. This centre's linguistic landscape is confined to a small sign on the directory located at the building entrance, which reads as follows: *Centre català Lausana-Ginebra Rez ch.* (a centre without a restaurant and only open at the times when its activities are held); however, the true communication within this group takes place online: its web page <<http://www.catalanssuissa.org>> informs in Catalan language about every activity developed by the centre and is kept permanently updated. The dynamism of this page, along with the photographs which show the association members' activities, makes it clear that its current collective organisation is highly consolidated and multifaceted and that, as such, this one is probably the most active of the Spanish centres which still remain in Lausanne.

A street located in the Old Town of Lausanne – Rue de la Tour, 1004 Lausanne – is home to the premises of two associations who provide signs in Spanish to LL: at Number 8, the Association of Spanish Invalids and Pensioners (AIPES for its Spanish initials); and at Number 35, the *Peña Hispánica* [Hispanic Circle]. They both present anomalous spellings which reveal a scarce linguistic planning. A sign printed on paper can be found at the entrance door of the first establishment which publicises the AIPES (cf. Figure 12) and literally reads as follows: *CENTRO ESPAÑOL / Ass. de Inv. y /*



Figure 12. Association of Spanish Invalids and Pensioners (AIPES for its Spanish initials) (Rue de la Tour, 8, 1004 Lausanne) (October 13, 2014)

*Pensionistas / Españoles* [Spanish Centre / Association of Spanish Inv(alids) / and Pensioners].

The abbreviation *Ass.* spelt with a double *s* <ss> is undoubtedly due to a transfer from French (*association*) and it seems to us that *Inv.* will be impossible to decipher by anyone who does not belong to this association, which suggests that it is mainly addressed to members. Under this sign, another one announces the *Horario de abertura* [Opening Times] (cf. Figure 12) of the premises entirely in Spanish (days of the week), though using the term *abertura* instead of *apertura*, which equally suggests a transfer from the French expression *horaires d'ouverture*. This set of monolingual signs in Spanish reveals that the association's focus is placed on its members, who are their exclusive clientele, and the aforementioned orthographical and lexical transfers from the language spoken by the host society reflect the long-term immersion of the speakers emitting such messages. The association was founded by Spanish emigrants in 1987, twenty-five years after the first migratory movements, when the community felt the need to support those of its members who had become pensioners due to the passing of time or invalids because of work accidents. The current president and secretary of this association have lived in Switzerland for 45 and 53 years, respectively,<sup>27</sup> and they manage an association which has gone down from 110 members to 50 at present. All members visit the premises on the occasion of major festivities such as *El Día de la Hispanidad* [The Day of the Hispanic world] or New Year Eve's Dinner, but it usually receives more men than women, the former also gathering there to watch football matches at weekends.

The *Peña hispánica*, where its most visible sign shows the phrase *PENA HISPANICA* printed on its yellow awning, is also known for being a meeting point for viewers keen on the sport mentioned above. The fact that the absence of the tilde in the letter <ñ> constitutes a common phenomenon due to the typographic limitations of print shops in non-Spanish-speaking countries does not avoid the phonological confusion caused (is it /'peña/ [circle] or /'pena/ [sorrow]?). This graphic disruption matches that of the establishment itself which, despite having been a *peña* [circle] of Spaniards in the past, is currently nothing but a private business frequented above all by males of various nationalities, as the current manager explained to us. The *Peña hispánica* – as well as the Spanish *García Lorca* Centre, which disappeared in 2014 – still appeared on the census of emigrants' associations and

<sup>27</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Juan Parra (president) and to Raimundo González (secretary) for their warm welcome in this association on October 13, 2014.

centres in January 2013 established by the Directorate General for Migrations, belonging to the General Secretariat for Immigration and Emigration of the Spanish Ministry for Employment and Social Security.<sup>28</sup> A group of Spanish friends founded this centre in a former stable located in the town of Renens, on the outskirts of Lausanne (Rue du Simplon 28, 1020 Renens) in 1967.<sup>29</sup> Being extremely active, since it housed the Federation of Spanish centres in the Geneva consular district (with more than 20 associations), it set itself as a priority to support Spanish workers in Switzerland, helping them to find a job and organising vocational training courses (of mechanics, electricity and computing) and even classes of Spanish for immigrants' children. Later on – in 1982 – it moved to a larger establishment located in the also peripheral town of Crissier (Rue des Alpes 61, 1023 Crissier), which included meeting rooms for members and a bar. After having been one of the most important centres within the Spanish associative movement in Switzerland during its nearly fifty years of operation,<sup>30</sup> it recently closed its doors. No visible signs of this centre are left in Crissier at present, since the old roasting company which housed the centre has been demolished in order to erect a new building, which represents the most emblematic example of the disappearance of an era: the one based on the support offered by associations and centres to the Spaniards who arrived in Switzerland with the first immigration movements.

The fact that a considerable part of the Spanish workers who had initially come to work on a temporary basis settled down permanently in Lausanne from the 1960s resulted in the opening of shops, especially of food, run by Spaniards, with an offer which sought to alleviate this social group's culinary homesickness. One of these businesses is *El andaluz* [The Andalusian], which opened in 1981 as a wholesale warehouse of Spanish products for the sale to Spanish shops and restaurants. After 25 years of wholesale distribution, it moved to the current establishment (Avenue de Couchirard 2, 1004 Laus-

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<sup>28</sup> It is the last one published to the present day (November 2016) on the Portal for Spanish nationals residing abroad: <[http://www.ciudadaniaexterior.empleo.gob.es/es/direcciones/asociaciones-y-centros-de-emigrantes\\_ene\\_2013.pdf](http://www.ciudadaniaexterior.empleo.gob.es/es/direcciones/asociaciones-y-centros-de-emigrantes_ene_2013.pdf)>.

<sup>29</sup> It is precisely one of them, Miguel Molina, Secretary General of the *García Lorca* Centre for more than 40 years, who provided us with all the information presented here, during a personal interview held on December 8, 2015. I take the chance to thank him for that interview.

<sup>30</sup> For further information, cf. the archives of the Centre of Documentation about Spanish emigration <[http://www2.1mayo.ccoo.es/archivos/cdee\\_pdfs/PDFCRISSIER/PDF/INTRODUCCION.pdf](http://www2.1mayo.ccoo.es/archivos/cdee_pdfs/PDFCRISSIER/PDF/INTRODUCCION.pdf)>.



Figure 13. *El Andaluz* [The Andalusian] (Avenue de Couchirard 2, 1004 Lausanne) (December 9, 2014)

anne) ten years ago and opened a space meant to sell to the public. Its owner, the Granada-born Jesús Carmona, widened his offer to Portuguese and Latin American products one decade ago, «because of the market's needs», as the brand new web page <[www.elandaluz.ch](http://www.elandaluz.ch)> explains. Carmona himself told us that he only sells on a wholesale basis to Spanish and Portuguese restaurants, because there are hardly any Spanish shops left in Lausanne now. Among the last ones in the city are two butcher shops: *Les Boucheries de Montchoisi*, *Hermida & fils* (Avenue de Montchoisi 51, 1006 Lausanne) and *La Boucherie-charcuterie Ramos* (Rue d'Echallens 60, 1004 Lausanne), both of them opened by Galicians, the former in 1997 and the latter in 2005. It deserves to be highlighted about the LL of these three establishments that, except for the name, the rest of the communication is carried out in French. This provides evidence of their owners' long-term settlement in Lausanne, of the collaboration provided by second generations in the businesses, and

of their opening to a broader clientele, beyond the Spanish colony which originally constituted their priority. The presence of some non-standard features of French in the signs of these businesses (cf. Figure 13: «Spécialité espagnols») is indicative of the difficulty that these Spanish businessmen (and on the whole, many emigrants) have in mastering written French, despite their extended linguistic experience in this French-speaking city.

It is interesting to note that, apart from working as a shop window to promote its products along with the company's values, the aforementioned web page <[www.elandaluz.ch](http://www.elandaluz.ch)> allows its owner to tell the story of this business, placing the emphasis on its long tradition as well as on its service to the Spanish colony in Switzerland:

Cela fait déjà 35 ans que EL ANDALUZ consacre ses efforts à l'importation et distribution de produits alimentaires dans le territoire suisse. Son fondateur, M. Jesús Carmona, avait alors réalisé que de nombreux consommateurs ne parvenaient pas à trouver certains produits alimentaires de base pour eux, tellement habitués à en faire usage dans leur pays d'origine. Espagnols d'origine, ces personnes ne trouvaient pas un lieu où acheter des aliments provenant de leur pays. <<http://www.elandaluz.ch/Company.aspx?c=history>> [14/11/2016]

It is of course worth highlighting for our purposes that the business uses this channel of communication with its customers to introduce itself as a social service which has met the needs of Spanish and Latin American immigrants for 35 years, making this stand out as one of the firm's main assets.

#### 4.2 The LL of Latin American entities and individuals

While the aforementioned Spanish immigrant community began to return to Spain in the 1990s and the number of Spaniards in Switzerland gradually decreased, the figures associated with the Latin American community experienced an ongoing progression in the Confederation. It has already been mentioned that the official number of permanent residents born in Latin American countries is lower than the real one, because many of them appear registered as Spaniards after having become Spanish nationals during a previous migration stage in Spain. By way of example, the Colombian Embassy confirms us that the figure of 297 permanent residents of Colombian origin in Lausanne in 2015<sup>31</sup> is very far from the effective one. This Colombian


<sup>31</sup> The figures provided in this section with regard to the different Latin American national communities come from the *Secrétariat d'État aux migrations* (between 1980 and 2010) and



community incidentally stands out in the city for its important cultural activity developed through associations which have already been established here for decades, such as the veteran *Asociación Colombiana de Investigadores en Suiza* [Colombian Association of Researchers in Switzerland] (ACIS for its initials in Spanish, since 1992) or *Colombia vive* [Colombia lives] (since 2001). They both show messages in Spanish during the events that they organise and the festivities that they celebrate in the city – especially the second one, which is more prolific in this regard – and, above all, they carry out an intensive activity on the Internet (cf. <[www.acis.ch](http://www.acis.ch)> and <[www.colombiavive.com](http://www.colombiavive.com)>). All the online communication of these two associations takes place in Spanish, which is in keeping with the fact that this communication has the Colombian colony formed in Switzerland in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century as its addressees.

The oldest Latin American community in Lausanne is that of Chileans, because of their arrival in Switzerland as political refugees between the 1970s and the 1990s. There were already 209 Chilean residents in the city in 1980, a figure that went up to ca. 700 in 1990, and 486 individuals of this nationality are registered at present. As could be expected, some of the Olympic City's visible signs in Spanish are signed by Chileans. *La casona latina* [The Latin Big House] (Rue Nelson Mandela 1, 1004 Lausanne), a space which opened its doors in 2008, is co-managed by a Chilean who has lived in Switzerland since the late 1970s, and arose from an association founded in 1998<sup>32</sup> which had been born with the aspiration of becoming a cultural venue specialised in Latin America. It is located in one of Lausanne's artistic poles (next to the *Arsenic* theatre and not far from *Les Docks* concert hall) and operates as a business oriented to a very large public, which is why only its name is displayed in Spanish. Outside the establishment, all the information appears in French: this includes advertising of its dance classes (tango and salsa, above all), as well as of Spanish and Portuguese language lessons. The most visible sign outside the premises is a promotional poster of the centre entirely drawn up in French («Vivre l'Amérique latine ! / [www.casonalatina.ch](http://www.casonalatina.ch) / Culture et formation dans un cadre authentique / Tango / salsa / samba / flamenco / folklore / Cinéma & théâtre / Musique & concerts / Langues indigènes / Littérature & poésie / Galerie d'expositions»), the primary aim of which is to refer people back to this centre's website, which is highlighted by means of a more striking typography. In effect, this establishment prioritises its web page

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from the *Registre cantonal des personnes – Vaud* (those corresponding to 2015) and were supplied to me by  Pasche, from the Vaud Cantonal Statistics Office.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. <<http://www.casonalatina.ch/index.php/features/musee-ethnographique>>.

and social networks in its communication. The desire to attract the largest possible – and not exclusively Spanish-speaking – public explains not only this strategy but also the decision to draw up the content of this web page entirely in French. The centre uses its web page, together with a Facebook account and a mailing list, to publicise its cultural programme, consisting in concerts, cinema sessions, parties on the occasion of major festivities, and dance classes, as well as Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese language lessons. The growing importance achieved by the Latin American community in Lausanne in recent decades has made *La casona latina* become a meeting point for enthusiasts of Latin American music and dances, whether they are of Latin origin or associated with other nationalities, turning this centre into the city's most visible Hispanic structure, both in terms of cultural programme and regarding its way of communicating. Another very popular Chilean business in the city is the restaurant *La creación del tata* [Grandpa's Creation] which opened its doors in 2010 (Rue de la Borde 9, 1018 Lausanne). The large-sized name of the restaurant shines in Spanish, and the printed menu at the entrance glass panels juxtaposes their translation or explanation in French to the name of the dishes in Spanish, insofar as its culinary specialities are addressed to a wide range of customers. For instance: «Pastel de choclo / gâteau de maïs (salé-sucré) accompagné d'une salade de tomates». That is the reason why the web page (<<http://creaciondeltata.ch/>>) is also written in French, the language used by the restaurant owner in her daily life since 1982. Another piece of evidence suggests that the business, despite having been recently opened, belongs to a Spanish-speaking woman who has already been in contact with French for a long time:<sup>33</sup> the change of place suffered by the tilde in the most visible sign that shows the name of the restaurant «LA CRÉACION DEL TATA» (< *création*).

A special mention amongst Latin American communities in the city of Lausanne needs to be made of the Ecuadorean one, since this nationality has currently become the most numerous of all Latin Americans (808 permanent residents in the city in 2015) and it is likewise worth stressing that 30% of all the Ecuadoreans registered as such in Switzerland live in Lausanne. *La tienda de la esquina* [The corner shop] (Rue du Tunnel 15, 1005 Lausanne) constitutes a clear reflection of the significant presence that Ecuadorians have

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<sup>33</sup> My gratitude goes to Eliana Núñez for her warm welcome and the information provided in several visits to her restaurant.



Figure 14. *La tienda de la esquina* [The corner shop] (Rue du Tunnel 15, 1005 Lausanne) (December 1, 2016)

in Lausanne.<sup>34</sup> The business was created in 1998 and its premises were initially located at a corner of the central Place de la Riponne (which explains its name) before moving to its current premises in 2012. This shop sells Latin American food products, in addition to providing a low-cost parcels service through which remittances to America can be made, too. These services are advertised at the shop windows with large signs in Spanish: «Parcels office / Latin products / Money remittances». The term *Épicerie* is included on this list of the largest signs, as a means to send an invitation addressed to non-Latin customers (Figure 14).

Its multiple shop windows feature advertisements of Latin products, handwritten and printed messages of the owner, as well as various promotional posters for cultural events aimed at the Latin American community. There

<sup>34</sup> The information below was collected by Émilie Savioz in 2014 during a personal interview with the shop manager.

is also a movable display with advertisements of Latin products. Another example of the commercial activity carried out by the Ecuadorean community in Lausanne can be found in *La caleta* restaurant (Rue de l'Alé 15, 1003 Lausanne), which has been operating since 2010. The word *caleta* is commonly used along the Ecuadorean coastline with the meaning of 'home, dwelling'.<sup>35</sup> They essentially offer dishes from Ecuador and their most regular customers are people born in that country. The menu lists each dish in Spanish and its content is explained both in Spanish and in French. However, the restaurant provides a brochure which contains the week's menu only in Spanish both in the restaurant and online (<<https://www.facebook.com/lacaleta.lausanne>>), which confirms that this information is especially addressed to Spanish speakers.

Therefore, it is Latin American businesses rather than Spanish ones that produce LL in Spanish in Lausanne and it is also American hands that write private advertisements which can be read, for example, in another of the most frequented establishments dedicated to money remittances in the city: *Paco services* (Rue des Terreaux 18, 1003 Lausanne), very popular amongst Latin American customers, as can be easily inferred from the signs in Spanish issued by the firm (a display stand in the street and inside the premises) and from the numerous handwritten announcements in American varieties of this language which hang from a board at the entrance of the establishment (cf. Figure 15).

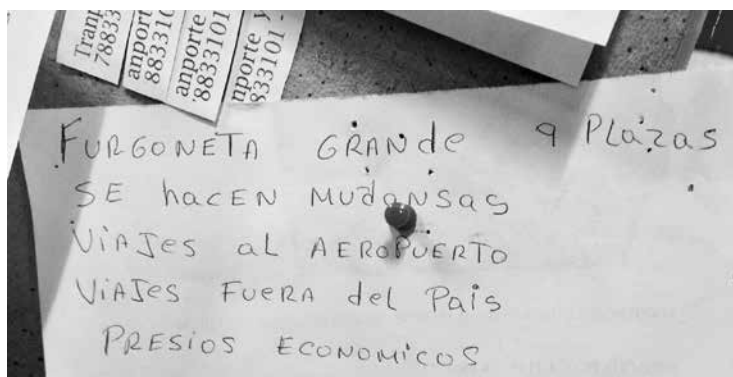


Figure 15. Handwritten personal announcement in *Paco Services* (Rue des Terreaux 18, 1003 Lausanne) (December 17, 2014)

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (2010), *Diccionario de Americanismos*, s.v. *Caleta*.

A clear confirmation of the fact that most of these signs have been written by Latin Americans stems – in addition to more or less direct declarations of their authors («Soy chilena y busco trabajo» [I am Chilean and am looking for work]), «Viajo a Ecuador» [I am going to travel to Ecuador] – from dialectal features such as  *seseo* [pronunciation of the Spanish /θ/ as /s/] reflected in writing – on some occasions, due to hypercorrection – («Se hacen *mudansas*» [Removals are made]), «*presios* económicos» [cheap prices], «Alguna persona *interesada*» [Anyone interested]) or from American vocabulary («*fono*» [telephone], «llevo *encomiendas*» [I take parcels] or «el 19 de diciembre *día* viernes» [on Friday, December 19]).

The visibility achieved by the Latin American community in Lausanne's LL does not end here. A number of other establishments show some more signs in their language apart from the name,<sup>36</sup> and new ones will undoubtedly arise in the coming years. It is thus advisable to continue paying attention not only to how Spanish is printed in the streets of Lausanne but also to the social organisation patterns that such messages reflect.

## 5 Conclusions

The LL of a city makes it possible to read the signs of an immigrant community as evidence of the organisation and the diachronic evolution of its members. This is what we have done on these pages with a group of signs in Spanish which are visible in the public space of the French-speaking city of Lausanne, recovering their historical motivation through an ethnographic exploration. This semiotic decoding requires the identification and understanding of the context where such signs – which in the case under study here have existed for over half a century – were produced. The use of some documentary sources can contribute to achieving this aim but, without a doubt, the most valuable information is that provided by the actual LL authors or by individuals closely related to those signs.

The approach adopted in this paper was an essentially retrospective one: based on an observation of signs, an attempt has been made to rescue the

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<sup>36</sup> At least *Amigo Taco* (a Mexican restaurant which has been open since 2012 at Rue Martrey 72, 1003 Lausanne), *La Clave Music Bar* (an Ecuadorean cocktail bar which opened its doors in 2011 at Rue de la Tour, 1003 Lausanne), the restaurant *Poco Loco* and the bar *La Movida* (both of them with a Mexican atmosphere and operating for more than 20 years at Place Chauderon 5, 1003 Lausanne).

social background from which they originated. Nevertheless, the research – extended over three years, from 2013 to 2016 – has sometimes permitted to record LL real time evolutions which have made sociodemographic dynamics in progress known to us. This sample of mutations occurred in LL between 2013 and 2016 serve as a live illustration of the processes which have been developing during the last few decades.

Two historical processes can be mainly read in Lausanne's LL in Spanish:

1. The loss of linguistic signs in Spanish is indicative of the consolidated integration of the Spanish community settled in Lausanne for decades and, consequently, their progressive detachment from associations. The associative movement which began in the 1960s with the first generation of Spanish economic immigrants developed to a great extent during the 1970s and the 1980s. Spaniards organised themselves collectively, seeking to maintain activities and keep ties with their compatriots in their free time. Since means of communication and air transport were much more expensive during that period, the subjective distance with regard to Spain was much greater than nowadays. This reason along with the professional and civil fragility that characterised a large proportion of the first Spanish immigrants led them to shape dense social networks. When the following generations formed by their descendants reached adult age, they moved away from the associations that their parents had created, since they no longer saw socialisation as being essentially based on the relationship with Spaniards. The new generations of Spanish immigrants – with a more highly qualified profile in general, and with the much more developed means of communication and transports which are available at present – do not need structures such as the old associations and centres so much. The LL in Lausanne reflects these dynamics. Some of the signs produced by those associations are still displayed in the public space of the city and its outskirts (those of the Bussigny Spanish Centre, the Asturian Centre, the Catalan Centre), though already with a motivation other than the original one. Thus, the Bussigny Spanish Centre and the Asturian Centre now essentially operate as restaurants open to the whole public, and their communication is logically formulated almost entirely in French. This also becomes visible in the case of other businesses, such as the large distribution warehouse called *El andaluz* or the two Galician butcher shops mentioned above, which have as their main aspiration to reach the broadest possible clientele. Other important Spanish associations ended up closing their doors in 2014 and 2015, and the signs in Spanish that they exhibited in Crissier

(the *García Lorca Centre*) and in the Flon (the *Promoción da cultura galega*) have therefore disappeared for ever.

2. The new voices of LL in Spanish are mainly American. Communities such as the Colombians, with a strong more-than-twenty-year-old collective organisation, organise themselves in associations that mostly communicate in Spanish. Since they are not linked to economic interests, it comes as no surprise that both ACIS (*Asociación Colombiana de Investigadores en Suiza*) and *Colombia vive* are focused on their Colombian members and maintain the use of Spanish in their communication, also when that communication becomes external in the cultural activities developed by the second one. Furthermore, in this case, the physical distance from their country of origin seems to have a stronger and more long-lasting fusion effect in this community compared to the Spanish one, and this is true for all socioprofessional classes. To this must be added that the large and recently-formed Ecuadorean community in Lausanne, which passed from 79 individuals in 2010 to 808 in 2015, has authored a considerable number of signs in Spanish in the city centre: from those shown by *La tienda de la esquina* in the vicinity of Place de la Riponne to those of *La caleta* restaurant in the commercial Rue de l'Ale. With an essentially Latin American and especially Ecuadorean client base, both businesses mostly use Spanish both in their shop windows and in their communication. In turn, the cultural space known as *La casona latina* or *La creación del tata* restaurant, promoted by Chileans settled in Switzerland since the late 1970s and the early 1980s and with a highly-varied clientele, choose a sign-writing in French, or bilingual in the case of the second establishment.

Associated with communication in the physical public space, it is worth considering the one that these entities and individuals produce on the Internet and which, as seen above, is in keeping with the linguistic practices aimed at street communication.

Furthermore, we have observed that the actual signs often provide material evidences about their age. Sometimes, the format of signs or some manipulations that they have suffered inform us about their original date (cf. the usual typography of the 1970s shown by the Bussigny Spanish Centre and the crossing out in the Consulate's labour office). On other occasions, the time-related evidence stems from purely linguistic details, such as some dialectal phenomena and particularities of the Spanish contact variety arisen in French-speaking Switzerland. Americanisms have currently become more



Figure 16a-b. Signs in *Restaurant Commerce* (a) and detail of the sign printed on its large windows (b) (Gerechtigkeitsgasse 74, 3011 Bern) (November 14, 2014)

numerous in Lausanne's LL than during the past century, and the messages of Spanish-speaking residents in this Swiss city have often contained transfers from French already for several decades.

Our tour will finish with a short trip to the city of Bern, where Number 74 of the centrally-located Gerechtigkeitsgasse houses the historic *Restaurant Commerce*, which displays its French name on a neon sign in the shape of a Spanish flag (cf. Figure 16).

Even though this syncretism (Spanish flag plus French name in a German-speaking city) is interesting in itself, another sign of this business turns out to be the most striking one in our opinion: the list of its successive managers since 1947 has been printed on the two large windows of this restaurant, at the height of the eyes of passers-by. On the occasion of celebrating the 60 years of existence of this restaurant with its present-day personality, as a



Spanish restaurant,<sup>37</sup> we were told in German that the restaurant had been mainly run by Spaniards (in some cases, with the collaboration of a Swiss spouse) throughout those decades and that it is currently managed by a couple of Portuguese nationals. Interestingly, it was deemed appropriate to make the names and surnames of each one of those individuals – as well as the precise chronology corresponding to their activity since 1947 – known to the public (cf. Figure 16b).

This example of Bern is undoubtedly the most explicit one, but the aforementioned case of the Spanish Centre in Bussigny (with its symbolic opening date – 1963 – printed on the large windows of this restaurant, cf. Figure 5) and of the Asturian Centre (the ceramic mural sign «Fundado en Crissier en 1985 / el nuevo en Renens en 2003», cf. Figure 7) share the same ambition. They seek to pay tribute to teams of emigrant workers who succeeded in their small feat of making a popular restaurant in Bern profitable, of erecting a building on the outskirts of Lausanne where their compatriots could meet, and to keep a centre and an associative movement alive in that same city. A shop window, a mural or some large windows thus become pages on which a historical account of the events and the everyday life of communities in diaspora can be written. These chronicles and other less visible samples deserve to be given full attention by the LL researcher.

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<sup>37</sup> The history of this restaurant apparently dates back to the Late Middle Ages, as recorded on the establishment's web page <<http://www.restaurantcommerce.ch/restaurant/geschichte/>>.

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The French Connection

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