Alytus: http://www.alytus-tourism.lt
Druskininkai: http://info.druskininkai.lt/
Rēzekne: http://www.rezekne.lv/index.php?id=89
Pärnu: http://www.visitparnu.com

Hotels:

Narva:
Inger: www.inger.ee
Narva: http://www.narvahotell.ee
King: http://www.hotelking.ee/en/restaurant.html

Pärnu:

Emmi: http://www.emmi.ee
Willa Wesset: http://www.wesset.ee/wesset/index.php
Koidula Park: http://www.koidulaparkhotell.ee

Ventspils:

Dzintarjūra: www.dzintarjura.lv
Jūras brīze: www.hoteljurasbrize.lv
Vilnis: www.hotelvilnis.lv
Olimpiskā centra: http://www.hotelocventspils.lv

Rēzekne:

Kolonna: http://www.hotelkolonna.com/public/29192.html
Latgale: www.hotellatgale.lv
Druskininkai general hotel web site: http://www.hotel-druskininkai.lt/

Alytus:

Alytus Hotel Park Conference Centre and Residence: http://www.nemunaspark.lt/
Dzukija: http://www.hoteldzukija.lt
Ode: http://www.ode.lt/
Senas namas: http://www.senasnamas.lt/
Vaidila: http://www.vaidila.lt/

Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia: http://www.csb.gov.lv/en/dati/data-23959.html

Map of the Baltic States: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Baltic_states_
utexas.jpg

DANIEL M. SÁEZ RIVERA/MÓNICA CASTILLO LLUCH

The Human and Linguistic Landscape of Madrid (Spain)

Summary

This is one of the first studies to apply the sociolinguistic theoretical framework known as the "linguistic landscape" (LL) to Madrid, the capital of Spain. Originally developed by Landry and Bourhis (1997), this approach is of great interest to the analysis of Madrid due to the recent multilingualism that has appeared in the city since the 1990s as a by-product of immigration. Against this backdrop, Castilian Spanish has, for the first time, come into simultaneous contact with several other languages and varieties of Spanish such as those of the Americas. This new situation can be seen in the LL of Madrid as documented in the series of photographs selected by the authors based on their representativeness of the public space of Madrid.

Résumé

Ce travail est un des premiers appliquant à Madrid l'approche d'analyse sociolinguistique initiée par Landry et Bourhis (1997) sur le Paysage Linguistique (PL). L'étude du PL est particulièrement intéressante à Madrid étant donné la nouvelle situation plurilingue de la capitale (face à son monolinguisme historique), provoquée par l'ouverture du pays à l'immigration, surtout à partir des années 90. Ainsi, le castillan de Madrid est entré en contact simultanément avec de nombreuses langues mais également avec d'autres variétés américaines de l'espagnol – celles-ci aussi en contact inédit entre elles –. À partir de notre corpus de photographies de différents espaces publics madrilènes, nous montrons que le paysage linguistique reflète cette diversité de langues en contact.

1 Introduction

The linguistic landscape (LL), a term coined under the theoretical framework of Landry/Bourhis (1997), Gorter (2006) and Shohamy/Gorter (2009), has until recently been a real issue only in those areas of Spain with two official languages, and especially in the Autonomous Communities of the Basque Country and Catalonia.

For instance, Solé (1998), Leprêtre/Romaní (2000) and Plataforma per la Llengua (2003) offer studies on the presence of Catalan in the street furniture[1] of Barcelona

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1   Such as billboards, phone booths, illuminated public objects like those in tube exits, etc.

and other major Catalonian cities. Similarly, Urrutia (1999) carries out an analysis of the legal norms regarding place names, road signs and bilingual signs in the Spanish Basque Country, where, like in other parts of Spain such as Galicia and the Euskera- or Catalan-speaking provinces, normalization of place names is a hugely polemical issue. However, these studies can only be part of what Spolsky (2009) calls "prolegomena to a sociolinguistic theory of public signage" – or even "parallels" to such a theory, for all these works were published either before 1997 or their authors do not even cite the seminal article by Landry/Bourhis (1997).

In these bilingual regions of Spain, only Cenoz/Gorter (2006) study the Basque Country following the approach established by Landry/Bourhis (1997). Their analysis examines the co-existence of Euskera and Spanish – but also English – in Donostia/San Sebastian, comparing this panorama with that seen in the Frisian-Dutch-English triad in Leeuwarden, the Netherlands. In Galicia, the only paper known to us on the subject is by Dunleavy entitled "A sign of the times: language contact in the Galician linguistic landscape" and presented at the Third International Linguistic Landscape Workshop held at the University of Strasbourg in 2010 (see this volume).

However, no studies of multilingualism based on the analysis of the LL have been published on post-1990s Madrid, a period when the human landscape of Spain underwent a major change (Pujol 2006), transforming the image of Madrid from a monolingual city into a cosmopolitan one. It was this very absence of research on the LL that led us to carry out this study of 3000 photos in which we explore the contact and co-existence of languages in Madrid, rooting our work in the demographic data on the immigrant population and their areas of concentration (see CAM 2009), this without disregarding the downtown area or other locations in the city[2]. Therefore, our corpus comprises observation and analysis of the LL in those neighbourhoods with the greatest density of immigrant populations such as Tetuán (often referred to as "Little Caribbean"), Usera (with a heavy presence of Chinese and Latinos), Lavapiés and Vallecas. Also included is the main commercial street (Gran Vía) and the very centre of Madrid and Spain (Sol Square)[3], as well as some loca-

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2   An initial result of our work is Castillo Lluch/Sáez Rivera (2011 and forthcoming). Notwithstanding, there is a poligenetical brief article by Muñoz Carrobles (2010), carried out with a non-systematic methodology, a scant bibliography (only Landry/Bourhis 1997 and Shohamy/Gorter 2009) and a subjective viewpoint, but at least the author also attributes the characterics of the LL in Madrid to globalization, tourism and immigration, as we do.

3   To clarify, Sol Square is the starting point of the road network of Spain. Also, it is here where the so-called "km 0" is located, the New Year is rung using the clock in the Square (which acts like a Spanish version of New York City's Times Square), and where the fight against the French in the 19th Century Independence War started. Therefore, the symbolic and national importance of the Square is extremely high: for instance, Sol was the place chosen in 2011 by the "15-M movement" as a campsite and to display the

tions such as the public transportation system and the airport. All of these were chosen because they provide a context for the negotiation of power relations between the different communities living within the changing ethnolinguistic milieu of the Spanish capital.[4]

2 Theoretical reflections on the typology of signs

Given the definition of *sign* by Backhaus (2007, 4, 66-67) as "a notice on public display that gives information or instruction in a written or symbolic form" and "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame", an assertion which is probably embraced by other contributors to this volume, we considered his nine categories of analysis (Backhaus 2007, 64-143) to be quite suitable for an LL study such as ours, i.e., (1) languages contained, (2) combinations of languages, (3) official and non-official signs, (4) regularities in geographic distribution, (5) availability of translation or transliteration, (6) visual prominence, (7) visibility of a sign's multilingual nature, (8) linguistic idiosyncrasies and (9) coexistence of older and newer signs.

Nevertheless, we also felt the need to address the classification of signs into official and non-official signs along with other similar taxonomies of signs such as the one described by Ben Rafael et al. (2006, 10), who distinguish between top-down flow and bottom-up flows of LL elements:

that is, between LL elements used and exhibited by institutional agencies which in one way or another act under the control of local or central policies, and those utilised by individual, associative or corporative actors who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits.

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group's indignation regarding recent Spanish and European economic policies, and the most important demonstrations have always culminated at this point of the city (and metonimically the country). Signs in Sol Square can have special salience if they are big enough to be seen in the many live television broadcasts made from the square, like the emblematic "Tío Pepe" sign (a brand of Spanish liqueur, whose sign has become a symbol for the square).

4   Landry/Bourhis (1997, 1, 28) in their ground-breaking article have already indicated how LL could mark the relative power of ethnolinguistic groups within a given territory. For other cases of immigrant languages with characteristics similar to Spain, see Barni/Bagna (2008b) for Italy and Garvin (2010) for Memphis, USA. It is also especially controversial in Israel (see for instance Ben-Rafael et al. 2006 and Trumper-Hecht 2010). For other indexes of relative power and status (and, therefore, struggle) in the relations between minority and majority groups, such as that seen in the English-French conflict in Canada, see Sachdev/Bourhis (1990).

Although for taxonomical reasons we will follow the distinction established by Backhaus (2007) between official and non-official signs, we would like to reflect upon what we call the three "Rs" of the LL:

a) The First R or Ruled LL: We think that the LL, both official and non-official, public or private, abides by laws which regulate and promote languages of possible use, so we do not believe the differentiation between top-down and bottom-up flows of LL elements to be of great importance, at least regarding the Spanish case. See Fig. 1.

b) The Second R or "Ruleable" LL: We would like to address the following questions: How far can these legal norms go without attacking freedom of expression? Can someone be stopped from using a language or some items of a language in the LL? Can someone be compelled to use a language in the LL? These questions arise in Madrid, with signs appearing only in Chinese such as the one in Fig. 2 (*Xi Ban Ya Hua Shang Xie Hui, Hua Shang Bao* 'Association of Chinese Traders in Spain', 'Newspaper of Chinese Traders in Spain')[5], which can bewilder the Spanish population in the city, since most Spaniards lack the ability to make sense of a sign in a foreign language with non-Roman logographic writing.

c) The Third R or Rebel LL: Not only governments or business owners but also private individuals and even young people can have an impact on the LL of a city, since their actions thwart all attempts at regulation or rules of law. In this regard, prohibiting graffiti written in certain languages or with politically incorrect content is futile. LL studies have documented the manual alteration or correction of signs in territories with languages which are either relegated to minority status or which are immersed in language-based conflict, as seen in the photos collected by Millán (2010) depicting Catalonia. These images show the deleting, crossing-out or adding of both Catalan and Spanish, depending on the case. A good example is the graffiti in the example written in Arabic appearing in Fig. 3, which we found in the multicultural neighbourhood of Lavapiés, where a high number of immigrants from the Maghreb have settled. The graffiti reads "Khanzir" 'pig'[6], a quite unusual word to be written in Arabic and which could serve here both as a mark of symbolic ownership of the neighbourhood by the immigrant population from Morocco and as an (im)personal insult or provocation aimed at the traditionally local people of the area (mainly older people but also single young professionals) who may eat pork.[7]

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5   We would like to thank Consuelo Marco, Professor of Chinese at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, for the transliteration and translation of the signs from Chinese.

6   We also need to thank Beatriz Soto, an expert on Arabic and Applied Linguistics in the School of Translation at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, for the transliteration and translation of the sign.

7   See also note 10.

Fig. 1. Spanish-English-Japanese tourist sign in downtown Madrid

Fig. 2. Sign in Chinese in the neighbourhood of Lavapiés

Fig. 3. Arab graffiti in Lavapiés: *Jhanzir* 'pig'

Regarding the application of Ruled and "Ruleable" LL to Spain, one must consider the legacy of the Franco regime as a necessary component to the full understanding of contemporary politics of LL in Spain. The dictatorship can be broken down into two periods in terms of LL and tolerance of languages other than general Spanish (see Herreras 2006: 41-44). From 1938 until the 1940s the "other" Spanish languages (like Galician, Catalan or Basque) as well as all other languages except Spanish, including European languages such as English or French, were banned from the LL (*Orden del Ministerio de la Gobernación de 16 de mayo de 1940* and *Orden del Ministerio de Industria y Comercio de 20 de mayo de 1940*).

From the 1950's to 1975 a time of relatively increased tolerance, the use of foreign or regional names was finally allowed (*Orden de 14 de noviembre 1958, art. 192 and Orden de 20 de junio de 1968, art. 18.2*) and new cultural associations for the recovery of the other Spanish languages proliferate (as in the case of Basque language schools or *ikastolas*). This new social openness was the consequence of a new strategy in Franco's regime to gain acknowledgement in the international arena in order to bring tourism to Spain and attract the level of foreign investment necessary for the development of the country. The General Education Law of 1970 represents the official acceptance of the other Spanish languages (referred to as 'vernacular'), which citizens now have the option to study in kindergarten and in primary schools, although Spaniards had to wait five more years for the actual implementation of the law (Herreras 2006, 44).

At present, written Galician, Catalan and Basque are protected by Linguistic Policy Laws, but no comparable laws exist for Spanish.[8] This unbalanced legal protection is comparable to the existence and influence of terminology agencies in that they exist and work for Catalan, Galician and Basque, but not for Spanish.

Here, we should recall the questions posed above regarding ruleable LL: should the use of Spanish be safeguarded in those signs written only in languages which are obscure to Spaniards, e.g. Chinese, so at least a translation into Spanish should be added? Although these signs are clearly addressed to the Chinese community in Madrid and no need is felt to translate them to Spanish, the use of Chinese without a Spanish translation constitutes a kind of communication barrier which is highly interdependent with the fostering of prejudices (usually negative), as Landecker (1951, 338) pointed out in his seminal article on types of integration.

This kind of opaque linguistic practice stands out as one of the factors which contribute to the image of the Chinese among the Spanish population "as a closed and somewhat mysterious community" (Nieto 2003, 215). By providing all signs

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8   To less-informed readers, the mere existence of the "Real Academia Española" (Royal Academy of Language) may be misleading, since this institution has no legal force and only operates as a curator of the language and not as a governing body: it only proposes, never enforces (see Fries 1989). Moreover, its interest is more focused on the international cohesion of the Spanish Language (the so-called "panhispanic" ideology, see Valle 2007) than on internal protection.

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written in Chinese with a Spanish translation, the Chinese population and their leadership associations may stand to benefit, since doing so would bring better information to the non-Chinese Spanish public and increase awareness of their activities and festivals (see Nieto 2007).

The existence or absence of a Spanish translation in this case or in any unilingual non-Spanish sign could be correlated with the heated "multicultural" or "integrationist" debate (as Schnapper 2007, 88-99 cleverly posits): a unilingual sign in Chinese is naturally understood and accepted in a multicultural setting, but at the same time the lack of a Spanish translation bears witness to a lesser "integration" that could increase if a translation were provided. To date, no laws have been passed in Madrid to make translation obligatory, as occurred in Rome in 2007 and in the city of Prato (Barni/Bagna 2008, 301; Barni/Bagna 2010, 9, 11).

3 Methodology

We adopted a contrastive methodological approach, carrying out a systematic analysis of photographs taken of multilingual fixed signs[9] (Spanish side-by-side with some other language) or multi-dialect signs (Spanish from the Americas alongside Castilian Spanish, for instance), or those which contain any language other than Spanish. The photos were taken in several synchronic sessions in June 2009, November 2009, January 2010 and September 2010, thus providing some degree of diachronic data[10], although we mainly took the photos to represent a synchronic sample.

The data obtained with our digital cameras, both compact and reflex, was later studied with the help of a database program (Iphoto 09 – Apple) under the theoretical framework of both LL sociolinguistic theory and the latest Spanish studies on migration linguistics (see Calvo Pérez 2007, RILI 2007 and Lengua y Migración 2009).

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9   We did not take into account moving signs or oral language, therefore following Backhaus (2007, 4, 10).

10   One example of the fast diachronic flow of LL, which we can call Moving LL or Dynamic LL, is graffiti, a practice which is forbidden in Madrid (Rebel LL). This prohibition explains why the graffiti "Los Ñetas valen vergas" ('The 'Ñetas', a Latino gang, are great'; idiomatic Latin American Spanish: "vergas" 'dicks'), which we photographed for the first time on 4/06/2009 on Guillermo de Osma St. (Delicias neighbourhood), was found by us on 29/01/2010 to have been deleted (though some traces of the previous writing remained) some months afterwards. It is not necessary to point out that this graffiti is used as a means of marking the area of influence and action of the gang. Regarding graffiti in LL, see Pennycook (2009).
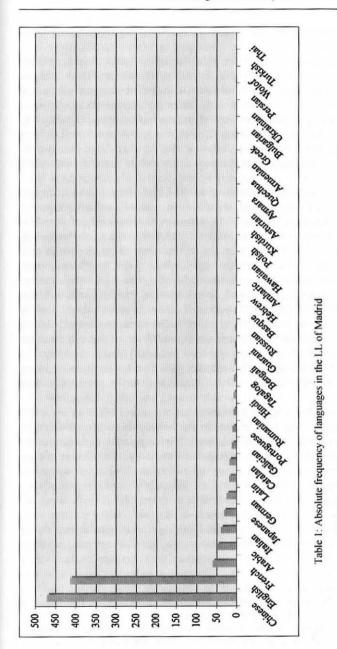
4 Results

Our results show the presence of 35 languages in the public sphere of Madrid along with Castilian Spanish.[11] We have classified the languages into three groups: "commonly seen", "occasionally seen" and "seldom seen", depending upon the number of signs with a given language and the diversity of the vocabulary and semantic fields contained within, both indicators of the relative ethnolinguistic vitality of different language groups.

The number of signs containing a language can be correlated with the demography of that language and the immigration community which speaks it, with *demography* being one of the three factors (the others being *status* and *institutional support*) of the ethnolinguistic vitality in the starting point articles by Giles/Bourhis/Taylor (1977) and Bourhis/Giles/Rosenthal (1981).

Regarding semantic fields, it cannot be equally considered a case of "other" Spanish languages and some Western languages, which seldom appear in the names of banks, bars and restaurants, in comparison with languages like Chinese or Arabic and dialects like the American variations of Spanish, which show a wide variety of semantic fields which can be a clue to different and diverse linguistic domains, defined by Fishman (1972, 442) as "a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of a speech community". This wide variety of domains for the use of a language is one of the key factors in Landweer's (2000) work on indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality. Such domains can be also paired with the institutional factors of ethnolinguistic vitality already pointed out by Giles/Bourhis/Taylor (1977, 315-318) and Bourhis/Giles/Rosenthal (1981, 146).

It appears that the more ethnolinguistic vitality of a language or speech variety seen in the LL city, the more likely it would be for that language or speech variety to endure in time.

Table 1 contains the languages appearing in all of the signs (both official and non-official), providing a graphic display of the 1205 signs found in the 3000-photo corpus.[12] In the case of non-official signs, the vast amount of handwritten advertisements – a testament to the real vitality of a language – has greatly contributed to the increasing presence of some languages like Chinese. Furthermore, the repetition of the same sign in a shop (like brands in shop windows) has also been taken into

11 At this point we need to thank Yolanda Benito García and Javier García González for their touring of some areas of Madrid with immigrant populations (Vallecas and Tetuán); SP Kalita, Alexandru Negoescu, Elke Reuter, Alain Sultan, Natalya Tumchenok helped us to understand some languages, at times transliterating or translating, and Emma Peris Fenollera gave us valuable insight on improving the quality of the photos.

12 The difference between both numbers is due to the fact that many times we took photographs of some details in the framed signs.

Table 1: Absolute frequency of languages in the LL of Madrid

account, for these duplicate images increase the density of a given language in the LL of a city.

As the reader can easily tell from the table, the most frequent languages in our sample are Chinese[13] and English. English is used in official signs (both bilingual Spanish/English and multilingual in combination with Spanish, English or Japanese, for instance) in public spaces such as airports, trains, the underground, taxis, street signs and sightseeing signs, telephone-booth signs, museum signs and signs for educational institutions. In non-official signs, English can appear alone or along with any other language (Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, etc.). English is also the language of omnipresent brands like Western Union and its use is fundamentally symbolic.

While Chinese is most often represented in the LL of Madrid as an immigrant language[14], we were only able to find one official sign in which the language was used (a welcome message at the desk of the Autonomous Community of Madrid in the airport), far from the large presence of top-down signs in Prato, Italy (Barni/Bagna 2008, 302). However, it is easy to find Chinese in all types of non-official signs: not only Chinese restaurants and discount shops, but also supermarkets and food markets, clothing shops, costume jewellery stores, electronics shops, gyms, bars, hairdressers, legal services, estate agent's, travel agencies, driving schools, bookstores, DVDs and music stores, call centres, chemist's shops, associations and periodicals (newspapers and magazines). The whole amount of what we called "guest signs" (personal handwritten ads or printed posters, usually monolingual, affixed to walls and shop windows which act like hosts, though not always in a premeditated fashion, to these signs) constitutes 40% of all signs included in our sample. A person can live his entire life in Chinese with hardly any need to learn Spanish.

Other western European languages like French, German and Italian are secondary languages in tourism, so they have attained some limited visibility in official signs such as welcome messages in the airport, ticket machines in the underground and public parking, telephone booths, the cathedral and museums. The prestige of these languages is apparent in the brand names of businesses, banks and restaurants. Moreover, in the case of French, we found this language used as a means of communication among people from former French colonies, like in some signs addressed to the African population from Morocco or Senegal.

The situation of Arabic, another "immigrant language", is in some aspects similar to that of Chinese: its official presence is scarce (just one road sign pointing to Algeciras, a town in the south of Spain through which travellers pass on their way to

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13   Chinese is also the most frequent language in the contrastive LL of Seville, Spain (see Pons Rodríguez, 2011 and forthcoming).

14   "Immigrant languages [...] are those of numerically larger, stable groups, with intentions of putting down roots within a local community" (Barni/Bagna 2008, 298).

the port serving Morocco), but its private or non-official use is quite significant. That is why it is no surprise to find Arabic not only in the old signs of Arab airlines on Gran Vía, but also increasingly in restaurants, teahouses, food markets (*halal* butchers and sweet stores), hairdressers, call centres, remittance services, one bank in the neighbourhood of Tetuán, even a chemist's store in Lavapiés Square, and occasionally in street graffiti (as we have already seen).

Japanese is displayed in such official signs as the main street and sightseeing signs in downtown Madrid, acting as a kind of official welcome and recognition of the Japanese people, one of the main sources of tourism for Madrid and Spain as a whole. Nevertheless, as the Japanese population is not significant in Madrid, especially in comparison with their Chinese counterparts, the use of Japanese in private signs is not very widespread, with just a few commercial signs addressed to Japanese tourists and several signs advertising Japanese restaurants.

Besides these "commonly seen languages", we also documented some others. Therefore, we have considered "occasionally seen" languages to be Latin, Galician, Catalan, Portuguese, Romanian, Hindi, Tagalog, Bengali, Guarani and Russian. To be more precise, Latin is used in a grandiloquent sense in the names of cinemas, theatres and hotels in downtown Madrid and probably in some other places of the world, with examples like Rex, Coliseum, Excelsior or Senator. Latin is also used in hybrids like Securitas Direct (a surveillance company) and Sportium (a chain of gambling establishments, a new trend in Spain which takes after a trend seen in England). Catalan and Galician are used only occasionally, except for bank names (*La Caixa, Caixa de Catalunya, Caixa Laietana, Sabadell, Caixanova*); Galician also appears in the name of Galician restaurants (quite common in Madrid) and in the road signs to La Coruña (the Galician place name "A Coruña" is the official term used throughout Spain) and Catalan in a couple of clothing shops. It is surprising that Portuguese, the language of a neighbouring country, is practically absent in Madrid and only appears in relation with Brazil and not with Portugal (bars and restaurants, remittance advertisement); the same is not the case in other cities of Spain like Seville, in which Portuguese from Portugal is easily found. [15]

Romanian, another immigrant language, is also seen in remittance advertisement posters and in "guest signs" appearing in the form of personal handwritten adverts. We found Hindi in Roman script in the names and menus of Indian restaurants and some costume jewelry stores in Lavapiés. Devanagari script is used in lieu of Bengali in posters hung in the same neighbourhood, but Roman transcript is used for the names of call centres. Tagalog, one of the main native languages of the Philippines,

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15   In the case of Seville (see Pons Rodríguez, 2011 and forthcoming), Portuguese from Portugal is widely used in the monumental city centre in official tourist signs which display Spanish, English and Portuguese in the third place. This is due not only to the large flows of tourists in Seville from the neighbouring country but also to an official agreement between the mayor of the city in 2002 and the "Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa". Therefore, Portuguese in Seville works like Japanese does in Madrid.

which was a Spanish colony until 1898, can be read in a food market in Tetuán, in some advertisement posters for money remittance services for immigrants and in the timetable of the services of the Kingdom Hall of the Jehovah's Witnessess in the neighbourhood of Tetuán.

Call centres (especially the posters in their windows) are usually a good source of LL data in Madrid; the same is also the case for Guarani, which can also be seen in the signs appearing in food markets offering typical products from Paraguay. Finally, Russian is mainly found as a language geared toward tourism (for instance as one of the languages into which the official guide of the Prado Museum is translated), but it is also used in some commercial signs addressed to the Russian immigrant population.

In the section of "seldom seen" languages, almost hapax from a philological viewpoint (i.e., found just once or almost once), we can include Basque, the only non-Indo-European language of Spain, and a Romance language battling for recognition in Spain like Asturian, and also Greek, Thai, Hawaiian, Slavic languages like Bulgarian, Polish and Ukranian, African languages like Wolof and Amharic, Middle Eastern languages like Hebrew, Turkish, Kurdish, Armenian and Farsi, and Native American languages like Aymara and Quechua.

The use of all these languages is more symbolical than informational, since it is mostly associated with bars and restaurants, but also some shops, in order to attract "the attention of potential clients" (Ben-Rafael 2009, 44) with the promise of an exciting exotic experience, whilst in other cases these signs function as "identity markers" (Ben-Rafael 2009, 48) of regional origin or pride (Asturian), libertarian struggles with which the use of Basque is linked in Spain or a multicultural tolerance ideology like the case of Wolof, displayed in a multilingual greeting sign located in the multiethnic area of Lavapiés, introduced by the Spanish imperative "Díselo" ('Tell it to them') and along with Hebrew, Chinese, Bengali, Arabic, English and French (Castillo Lluch/Sáez Rivera 2011, 81, 88).

Although not included in the above-mentioned account of languages, some special credit must be given to other varieties of Spanish, especially Latin American Spanish, due to their strong ethnolinguistic vitality which is surpassed only by Chinese. This linguistic vitality can be seen in the diversity of lexical domains of Latin American Spanish vocabulary displayed in the streets of Madrid: food (bakeries, grocery stores, supermarkets, restaurants and bars), but also body care (hairdressers and dental clinics), clothing shops, international call centres and courier services, travel agencies, banks, entertainment and cultural events (clubs, shows, festivals, music concerts) and religious aspects (santería).

The importance given to these kinds of Spanish from the Americas is explained by the fact that the biggest immigrant community in Madrid consists of people coming from South America and the Caribbean (40.85% of the foreign population in Madrid). This is a key feature in our data which we hope will be a contribution to the theoretical framework of LL, for the internal variation of a particular language

has not been the focus of any LL scholarship until now.[16] A parallel can be seen in the situation of Spanish in the USA as reported by Franco-Rodríguez (2008, 2009), to which we can add the visual dictionary of Spanish in Mexico made by Takagaki/Ueda/Ávila (1996), with pictures illustrating the definitions included therein.

Finally, we can find some more prolegomena studies of this kind of Latino LL in the later work done by the master of Spanish dialectology, Manuel Alvar (2000, 37), who carried out a traditional dialectology study of Spanish in the Dominican Republic (one of the main sources of Latino immigration in Madrid). As mentioned in the prologue to his book, an indicator of the presence of Dominican people in some neighbourhoods of New York is the signs in the surrounding shops.

5 Discussion

The LL of Madrid depicts the capital of Spain as a cosmopolitan city with a human and linguistic diversity comparable to some other metropolitan areas already studied from the LL point of view, such as Tokyo (Backhaus 2006, 2007), Bangkok (Huebner 2006) or Jerusalem (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006), but also some other European capitals like Rome (Barni/Bagna, 2008, 2009). While embracing this international perspective, we cannot overlook the domestic point of view, since analysis of the co-existence of Spanish with the other non-official Spanish languages in a city reveals how a particular language that has co-official status in one part of the country survives in another area where it does not enjoy the same status. On this matter, we believe that we are faced with a clear de facto linguistic federalism[17], since the presence of the other Spanish languages is negligible (with the exception of road signs) and these receive a treatment within the LL of Madrid that is on par with that afforded to other western European languages like French or German, for Spanish co-official languages mainly appear in the same kinds of businesses, i.e., banks and restaurants, whose use of a particular non-Spanish language is more symbolic or

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16 Conducted at the same time and in coordination with our work is the LL study of Seville, Spain, by Pons Rodríguez (2011 and forthcoming).
17 According to the Spanish Constitution of 1978 (Article 3), "Castilian", i.e. Spanish, is the official language of the whole country, but other Spanish languages can have the credit of a co-official language in those regions where they are spoken according to statutes of Autonomy or regional laws, which is actually the case for Catalan, Galician and Basque speaking regions. Nevertheless, some politicians and sociolinguists, especially coming from Catalonia, plead for a linguistic federalism de lege (see Boix 2006): following the Swiss example, each language should be primarily used in its region, but all languages should be learned in all the territory. By interpreting a de facto linguistic federalism as displayed in the LL of Madrid it is shown how Castilian or Spanish is the principal language of Madrid, but also the other Spanish languages are known and acknowledged, although in an unbalanced and unequal position.

connotative than informational or denotative, as a marker of good food (in the case of Galician or French) or trustworthy money handling (as it is conventionally thought in Spain of German and Catalan bankers).

It is also of note that our sample is highly representative of the LL reality of Madrid. Proof of this representativeness arises from the fact that, based in our field work and field notes in which we clearly associated photos to street numbers, we have been able to trace a series of distribution patterns for the languages within the urban geography by investigating different spots of the city, which could be easily displayed in several maps with the help of the tools presented by Barni/Bagna (2009). By doing this, our work is characterised by one of the factors ("regularities in geographic distribution") that, according to Backhaus (2007), should be considered when studying LL. Thus we have found five recurrent patterns of distribution of the language signs in the urban geography:

5.1 Monopoly

Big commercial streets, like those that appear or could appear in the Spanish version of the famous board game, e.g. Gran Vía, Bravo Murillo or Marcelo Usera, contain signs in Spanish or international languages. The latter mainly have a connotative-symbolic use (the chic of English, for instance), but at times also have a denotative-informational function for tourists. This is actually the same kind of pattern found by Cenoz/Gorter (2006) in one of the central shopping streets of Donostia/San Sebastian and in 'Nijstêd-Nieuwestad' in the centre of Ljouwert-Leeuwarden, with both studies showcasing the local languages and also English.

On the other hand, back streets or side streets, with lower income levels (and more affordable rents for stores), show the "subtext" of immigrant languages or dialects, despite being just a block away from the main streets. This idea leads us to the next pattern.

5.2 Ghetto or "spider web"

In some neighbourhoods with a presence of immigrant populations which are framed or bisected by big thoroughfares and commercial streets, a great density of non-Spanish LL is found across several blocks, like a dense web and (social) network from which it would not be easy for the inhabitants living there to "escape" or in which outsiders may not be particularly welcome.[18] A relevant example of this is

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18   A scene of certain unrest which took place during our field work in Lavapiés could be interpreted as an illustration of the creation of ghettos signaled by LL (and thus why LL could be related to degrees or kinds of integration): as we were taking photographs of different signs in Mesón de Paredes St. (right where we found the "Khanzir" sign, see fig. 3), we were invited, in a not so gentle manner, by a group of Arab teenagers to leave the neighbourhood, because "the neighbourhood was theirs".

found on both sides of Bravo Murillo St. to the north of Cuatro Caminos square. Known as "Little Caribean", this area is located in the neighbourhood of Tetuán. Within the limits of Usera, Chinatown is a neighbourhood that is crossed by Marcelo Usera St. and is shared with the Latino population. Lavapiés, with its rich historical tradition, is where many theatre pieces of local customs and manners by Ramón de la Cruz or Arniches are set, and is now a multiethnic and multilingual area swarming with people from Africa, both Arab and Subsaharian, from India or from China. Nearby, just one block away from Gran Vía, visitors can find a concentration of Chinese businesses on the parallel street of Leganitos.

This ethnic and linguistic distribution is comparable to the presence of Korean in the area of Tokyo called Shin-Ōkubo, "a district well known for its long-established Korean community" (Backhaus 2007, 63), or the high proportion of Chinese on Yawarat and Charoen Krung Roads in Bangkok (Hueber 2006, 43).

5.3 Progressive Immigrant LL

A gradual combination of patterns 1 and 2, the same street turns from a Spanish and western international LL (a Monopoly pattern) to an immigrant ghetto-like LL (e. g. Monte Igueldo St. in Vallecas).

5.4 Spotted LL

Scattered spots of immigrant LL can be seen all over the city, mainly in Chinese-run shops and small food markets. The alliance of immigrant communities is remarkable to see: Chinese shop-owners selling not only traditional Spanish food and Chinese food, but also products from Latin America or Arab couscous; small multiethnic food or fruit markets in Lavapiés and so forth. As these stores have a diversified clientele, their products (and signs and words) become widespread among Spanish and non-Spanish customers.

5.5 Silent or Silenced LL

No significant LL is displayed in the streets, despite known demographic presence of immigrants in an area. This could be due to manifold causes: in the case of silent LL, maybe there is not a large enough audience to be addressed in the language, the speakers of this language cannot afford stores and signs or do not think it necessary to display their language; silenced LL could be caused by authoritative measures (mainly legal), as was the case in other Spanish languages during Franco's times (Castillo Lluch/Sáez Rivera 2011, 84), but the cause may be social pressure too, causing the use of a language in LL to be repressed.

6 Conclusion

To conclude, we would like to point out a number of possibilities for further re-
search and critical interpretations. It could be of interest to explore the likely rela-
tionship of the distributional patterns of LL found in Madrid as indicators of the dif-
ferent kinds of language acculturation processes (such as those posited by Gugen-
berger 2007)[19] and sociolinguistic integration (see Moreno Fernández 2009)[20], all
framed by political policies of integration *vs.* social processes of integration (see
Schnapper 2007, with a thorough bibliography in many languages, and Bajo Santos
2007). We aim to pursue this potentially controversial interpretation in future re-
search, as we cannot devote it the care and attention it deserves in this work. Fur-
thermore, new studies must be carried out to verify whether these LL patterns are
identical, similar or radically different in other cities within Spain or abroad, taking
also into consideration their similarity or divergence regarding the manifold map-
ping of languages and language varieties in cities (see studies like Bulot 1999, in
which one can see how rivers, neighbourhoods or old political frontiers shape the
linguistic diversity of Rouen, Venice or Berlin).

Beyond the scope of this first analysis of the LL of Madrid, and a next natural re-
search step, is (a) the comparison of this objective linguistic mapping of the LL of
Madrid with the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of the languages found (for which
the questionnaire by Bourhis/Giles/Rosenthal 1981 and the insights by
Sachdev/Bourhis 1993 could be useful) and (b) the perception of the LL by the in-
habitants, a recent trend in LL studies, whether using sociological procedures like
street-administered surveys (Aisteran/Cenoz/Gorter 2010) and phone questionnaires
(Trumper-Hecht 2010) or a postmodern ethnographic approach in "walking-tour"
interviews (Garvin 2010).

This way it would be made clear how "visible" and controversial international-
language signs are to all kinds of populations and how immigrant signs are regarded
by the Spanish population and tourists (probably not really aware of this immigrant

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19   According to Gugenberger (2007, 22-24), there are four kinds of linguistic acculturation
     of immigrant populations, i.e., (1) integration (interest in knowing and speaking at least
     two languages: the one spoken by the immigrant and the language spoken in the host
     community), (2) assimilation (adopting the host language but forgetting one's own), (3)
     separation (keeping one's own language without great interest in learning or using the
     host language), (4) oscillation (very little interest in using or learning the host language
     without at the same time trying to keep one's own language correct and alive).
20   Moreno Fernández (2009) establishes for the Spanish case what may be an overly linear
     model of sociolinguistic integration with increasing knowledge of the host language: sur-
     vival integration > schooling-working integration > social integration > identity integra-
     tion.

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reality, if they keep to "monopoly" streets, as would be the case for tourists), but
also by the diverse immigrant communities.[21]

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FRANÇOIS-XAVIER BOGATTO/ARLETTE BOTHOREL-WITZ

La cartographie du paysage linguistique comme outil d'analyse du plurilinguisme de l'espace urbain strasbourgeois

Résumé

Cette contribution vise à interroger la localisation spatiale des langues, (re)présentées sur les enseignes commerciales du centre ville strasbourgeois. L'étude de ces écrits urbains, considérés comme une matérialisation du plurilinguisme, apparaît comme une approche complémentaire aux travaux menés sur les contacts de langues dans l'espace alsacien (Huck et al., 2008). En proposant de cartographier le paysage linguistique, nous tenterons d'apporter des éléments d'appréciation sur la structuration de l'espace et sur la manière dont se dessinent et se définissent les territoires. Par ailleurs, dans la mesure où nous cherchons à diversifier les approches théoriques et méthodologiques, notre étude de terrain prend appui sur les travaux qui relèvent, d'une part, du Linguistic Landscape et, d'autre part, de la sociolinguistique urbaine, qui permet, plus particulièrement, de s'intéresser aux liens entre les faits socio-langagiers et la structuration de l'espace urbain.

Summary

The aim of this contribution is to analyse the spatial location of languages, which are displayed on shop front signs in the centre of the city of Strasbourg (France). The study of these urban writings will be considered as a form of materiality of multilingualism and our approach complements previous studies (Huck et al., 2008) of language contact in Alsace (France). We propose to map the Linguistic Landscape, and we provide some results regarding the way the urban space is structured through its linguistic signs. Moreover, based on our attempt to diversify our theoretical and methodological approach, we argue that this empirical study refers to both Linguistic Landscape studies and Urban Sociolinguistics studies.

1 Introduction

Si l'espace alsacien a donné lieu à de nombreux travaux qui relèvent de la géolinguistique dialectale ou, plus récemment, de la sociolinguistique des contacts (Huck et al., 2008), il n'en demeure pas moins que la ville de Strasbourg, en tant qu'espace