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PART TWO:
LA QUESTIONE DELLA LINGUA

(Dis)Unity: On the Corsican and Italian Linguistic and Cultural Developments

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The concept of (dis)unity in Italian studies evokes the idea of relations between the once separate states that constitute contemporary Italy. This article treats (dis)unity from another angle, a peripheral (dis)unity, where both the potential markers of linguistic and cultural unity *with* Italy and actual disunity *from* Italy are put in perspective with Corsica. Even though Corsica is now a French Territorial Collectivity, a point to consider is that there existed a long lasting relationship between the peninsula and the island, which included overlapping phases of proximity and distance. Many power shifts and a tumultuous history influenced the islanders' identity. Confrontations within various French and Italian influences, such as culture and language, essentially resulted in the emergence of the Corsican identity. While Italy celebrates the 150th anniversary of its officially announced unification, Corsica still recovers from the complexity of its split that occurred with the peninsula a little over 200 years ago.

In this article, I will discuss the historical evolution and disruption of the linguistic continuum on Corsica, in order to set a frame of reference for the conceptualization of the links that currently unite Corsica and Italy. This will lead to highlighting aspects of the existing contemporary social, cultural and linguistic relationships, or lack of these relationships, between the island and the peninsula. However Corsican is to be identified as a separate language from Italian, I propose that Corsicans have the opportunity to experience and benefit from their linguistic "proximity" which offers them a new way to live and perceive their relationship with Italy. It could become a tool anchored in the principles of "intercomprehension" serving the development of multilingual competencies for Corsicans.

COMMON HISTORY AND EVOLUTION

Corsican linguistic development occurred along with the presence of pre-romance, Latin and Italian influences in the area, which had divergent impacts on the overall evolution of the Corsican language.

The common linguistic and cultural history of the peninsula and the island can be traced as far back as the Etruscans. Historians agree on the incontrovertible presence of the *Rasna* people on the Tyrrhenian Islands as early as 500 BC which

resulted in the creation of major Etruscan cities on Corsica such as *Alalia*. The Etruscan influence upon the Corsican language is coined by dialectologist Marie-Josée Dalbera-Steffanaggi as “Corsican specificity” in an article presented in *The Dialects of Italy*.¹ This specificity consists of the remnants of Etruscan features in modern Corsican resulting from a different pace of Romanization on the island.

Historians are conflicted as to whether the latinization occurred as early as the fourth-century but had a slow and delayed development, or if latinization only happened at a much later date and was brought onto the island through the means of Tuscan erudition. Regardless of these historical differences, Corsican historian Jean-Marie Arrighi notes that “[b]etween the end of the Roman Empire to the French conquest, Corsica finds itself in an ‘Italian’ world which does not correspond to an actual State, but to a geographical, cultural, and linguistic unity in which Tuscan self-imposed as the literary language since the fourteenth-century.”²

In 1755, Pasquale Paoli, *Babbu di a Patria* (Father of the Nation),³ created one of the first modern constitutions which granted significant rights to the people.⁴ *La Costituzione Corsa* was not only written in Italian, but it also deemed Tuscan the official language of the republican State of Corsica.⁵ Paoli’s work for freedom was especially discussed by French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau and later on by English writers such as James Boswell and Dorothy Carrington.⁶ Before his death, Paoli bequeathed his estate to education, which he claimed, “[s]hould be carried out in Italian, which is the maternal language of [his] compatriots.”⁷

We may ask ourselves how inclusive of the general public Paoli’s use of the term “compatriots” was. In “Langue Corse Entre Chien et Loup”, Comiti (2005) evokes a state of “Corsican monolingualism” where the only means of expression of the people was the Corsican language and where Italian only resonated with the elites.⁸ This lets us understand how the Corsican language had a chance to evolve by itself. It is nevertheless important to keep in mind that, even for the general public, some links existed between the two languages considering that the institutional language was Italian and that the use of Italian (or an Italianized Corsican) was essential for the people to fulfill any communication with the elites or the administration. Regardless of the people’s level of competencies, both the Corsican and the Italian languages were present and had a strong influence on the island. I hypothesize that Corsicans already performed intercomprehension and linguistic accommodation as early as the late medieval area.

STABLE DIGLOSSIA, OR NOT?

By adhesion to this cultural and linguistic unity in construction, Corsicans found themselves integrated in the ‘Italian world’, where they were part of a unity still under construction. They became installed in a stable diglossic system, where both the Corsican and the Italian language shared major importance.

Arrighi states that “the distinction between ‘Corsican’ or ‘Italian’ had no consequences [for the users].”⁹ Ghjacumu Fusina and Fernand Etori add that “[. . .] for centuries, Tuscan and Corsican formed a pair that was perceived by speakers as two levels of the same language;”¹⁰ hence the islanders perceived the process of “tuscanighjà” (“tuscanizing”) as a simple change of language register solely affecting the style of their communication¹¹. Figure 1 illustrates the linguistic proximity between Corsican and Tuscan, which permitted Corsicans to perform codeswitching and codemixing easily.

<i>English</i>	<i>Corsican</i>	<i>Tuscan</i>	<i>Italian</i>
Cheese	Casgiu / Casu	Cagio	<i>Formaggio</i>
Rug / Tatter	Cenciàulu	Cencio	<i>Straccio</i>
None (neg.)	Puntu	Punto	<i>Niente</i>
None/Nobody	Nimu	Nimu	<i>Nessuno</i>
Ice	Ghjacciu ['dja:t [u:]]	Diaccio ['dja:t [o]]	<i>Ghiaccio</i> ['gia:t [o]]
To speak	Parlà	Parlà	<i>Parlare</i>
Hurriedly	A la furriacera In furria	In furia	<i>In fretta</i>
Charm	Garpinu	Carpinu	<i>Fascino</i>

Fig. 1: Limited but Existing Proximity between Corsican and Tuscan¹²

With such existing linguistic proximities, we can imagine that Corsicans could easily draw knowledge from their everyday use of Corsican and periodic Italian influence from the elites in order to perform “tuscanization.” Accurately speaking Italian represented a more complex challenge but the user’s proficiency did not influence their usage. The Corsican-Italian diglossic situation promoted such favorable and stable sociolinguistic conditions that the boundaries between High and Low languages were blurred. In *Ideologies in Action* (1999), Jaffe expresses that, “[t]his meant that in everyday discourse, Corsicans could tap into the powerful connotations of Italian without necessarily mastering the language or having that mastery critically evaluated.”¹³ Their capacities in Italian were hard to define depending on the education of the speakers. Except for the highly ranked elite that was educated in the Italian language, the definition of what it meant for a Corsican speaker to speak Italian could have large variations on a competency scale.¹⁴ Corsicans would share this bilingual aptitude (Corsican - Italian) with the mainlanders long after France would take over. On this subject, Arrighi writes, “Corsica is then, same as the rest of Italy [. . .], in a structured and stable ‘diglossic’ system, which will last for several centuries.”¹⁵

In such a situation could one perceive Corsican as a type of Italian? Comiti clearly states that “trying to find the Tuscan linguistics keys to operate time travel and to defend the idea that Corsican and Tuscan are the same language are inadmissible. Since the more back in time you go, the more all romance languages were alike. Following this principle, should one conclude that French

and Italian are Latin?"¹⁶ It is, in fact, through the differentiation made in romance genealogy, that the Corsican language received its first international recognition as "a language" as demonstrated in the *Lexicon der Romanistischen Linguistik*.¹⁷ This is to be linked with Corsican sociolinguist Marcellesi's concept of "*naissance-reconnaissance*."¹⁸

Jaffe highlights that, "[. . .] language boundaries [are not] natural or self-evident; to a great extent, drawing these lines is an ideological and political decision."¹⁹ There are several differences between Corsican and Italian to be found in pronunciation, in verb contractions, in articles, endings, distribution of masculine and feminine and finally in lexicon.²⁰ These differences are named "markers of corsicaness" of the language by Marcellesi.²¹ The mutual intelligibility between Corsican and Italian is undeniable but Corsicans who have never learned Italian are left with quite a bit of knowledge to acquire to achieve full understanding and communicative competencies. Jaffe estimates that "the overlap [between Corsican and Italian lexicons] is considerable but probably not more than 70%."²² This perspective coincides with Fusina and Ettori's point of view as they explain that Corsican is not a derivative of Italian. They write, "[. . .] it is perhaps worthwhile to recall that Corsican is not Italian that is "imported" or "deformed." It is a romance language that resulted from the evolution of Latin which was spoken in a generalized manner on the island at a date that is hard to define."²³

A TRILINGUAL SHIFT

Regardless of the popular usage (monolingual Corsican, intercomprehension or bilingual Corsican-Italian), the evolution of the Corsican language reflects the languages of influence on the island which at a hinge period were Corsican, Italian and French. In his article, *Langue et identité : l'exemple du corse durant la troisième république*, Jean-Paul Pellegrinetti states that:

. . . [i]n 1805, as explained by Michel Casta, the March 18 Imperial Decree, permitted Italian and French bilingualism, because it was impossible to immediately implement the March 18, 1803 decree which imposed all official orders to be published in the French language within one year of the decree publication.²⁴

Pellegrinetti also states that while three languages were in use on the island until the end of the Second Empire (1870), Corsican remained the only means of oral expression while Italian and French were reserved for formal proceedings.²⁵

In the mid to late nineteenth-century, while most Corsicans remained essentially Corsican speaking, Italian linguist Corado Grassi reports that in 1861, 98% of Italians were known to have their *dialetto* as their only native language.²⁶ A high percentage of islanders still used Corsican as their sole means of communication

even after a century of French rule which illustrates that the use of the regional language in Corsica remained as high as the use of *dialetto* in Italy. The following chart reflects the shift in power and influence on the island in the 19th century.

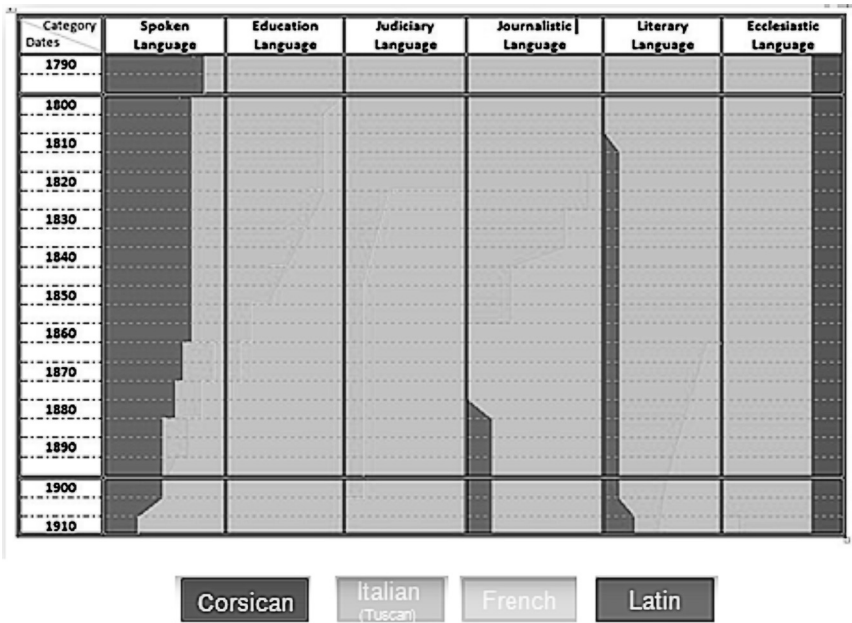


Fig. 2: Trilingual Shift in the nineteenth-century²⁷

Corsicans underwent an exceptionally long and slow trilingual shift that lasted around 150 years, from 1765 (the end of the independence of the Corsican Republic) to 1914 (the full assimilation of Corsicans as part of the French armed forces). A popular Corsican saying “*L’Italia se ne va e Francia non viene*” describes this unusual shift triggered by both political failure and historical events which delayed a full Corsican assimilation as part of the French unity.²⁸ The lack of similarities to the French language supported the Corsican resistance to the process of gallicization:

... [b]oth languages [Corsican and Tuscan] have their place in social life, and codeswitching depends on circumstances, the social and education levels of the speakers and on the context. The truth is that many Corsicans do not ‘know’ Tuscan, so to speak. But they all are able to ‘tuscanize’ (tuscanighjà) their usual language when it comes to speaking to representatives of the law or when they just want to be creative.²⁹

As opposed to the process of tuscanization, French takes the place of a foreign language that Corsicans would have to learn. “Since French and Corsican are not mutually intelligible to the degree that Corsican and Italian are, Corsicans had to learn French, rather than absorb it informally.”³⁰

CONTINUUM RUPTURE AND ITALIAN NEGATION

The beginning of the *Troisième République* in 1870 symbolized the start of the slow development of the French language (in schooling, military service, colonies, etc.) that would only reach an advanced state with the return of soldiers from the Great War in the early twentieth-century.³¹ This was when the French language became a lingua franca in everyday conversations. In Italy, Grassi describes the Italian linguistic continuum as a succession of transitions from *dialetto* to *dialetto italianizzato* to *Italiano regionale*, resulting in the modern use of Italian.³² The extraction of Corsica from the Italian-speaking world would result in a rupture of this continuum on the island. Unlike the case of the informal use of Tuscan by the islanders, “[. . .] the uneducated Corsican’s use of French would be noticed, and most likely, be judged as deficient.”³³ The authority of French over Corsican was complemented by a strict enforcement of the French monolingual policies that resulted in a degraded perception of the Corsican language as a dialect or even often as a patois of the French language. Despite Corsican’s separate language genealogy and structure from French, this depreciation was self-generated. The evolution of Corsican into a French patois was negatively developed and increased by “[t]he popular masses’ linguistic ignorance [. . .]”, as explained by Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi.³⁴

The negative status cast on the Corsican language by the sociopolitical situation would have an important impact on the Corsican-Italian relationship. Diglossia is not just a linguistic condition, but also a social and psychological one, and as indicated by the Corsican sociolinguist Jacques Thiers:

The unfavorable judgment of the dominant very often results in a ‘self-hatred’ in the dominated. This is called auto-odi in Catalanian sociolinguistic studies and more or less corresponds to [what Memmi A. characterizes as] the ‘colonized complex’ on Corsica.³⁵

As gallicization settled in the twentieth-century, Corsicans became less aware and appreciative of their relationship with Italy. Negative historical factors impacted this situation by devaluing the appreciation of Italy by Corsicans. Among the negative factors, one may include the Italian involvement in WWII and its failure at colonization.

On the linguistic level, the development of language activism from the 1950s to the 1980s accentuated the separation between Corsican and Italian. The 1951 Deixonne law allowed the “regional languages of France” to be taught in schools

for up to three hours a week. The original terms allowed schools to teach Basque, Breton and Occitan; however, the French government did not include Corsican since they perceived it as an Italian dialect: “Corsican had been excluded from this law on the grounds that it was not a regional language of France but an Italian dialect for which the French government was not responsible.”³⁶ Creating a differentiation between Corsican and Italian became essential for Corsican language activism to reach French language policies’ standards and deal with the implementation of Corsican in schools on “French terms.”³⁷ Twenty-three years after the original agreement, the list of officially teachable regional languages of France finally included Corsican, but at the cost of almost irreversibly repudiating the existence of the Corsican-Italian relationship.

At that time, in a desperate attempt to be granted these rights, the major common goal of so-called Corsican research was essentially to “[. . .] separate the Corsican language from its geographical and cultural environment [. . .] as long as its Latin root was amputated, and along with it, the risk of an unwanted connection [with Italy].”³⁸ Pascal Marchetti analyzed this separatist movement as a negative attempt “[. . .] to make Corsican stand out as ‘the Basque language of the Mediterranean.’”³⁹ This created truth on the origin and evolution of Corsican became part of the language landscape and diminished the Corsican-Italian relationship which resulted in an overall rupture from Italy for the masses.

PRO-ITALIANISM AND ITALIAN IN CORSICA

As proposed by Grassi, linguistic borders within Italy are blurred: “Neppuri i dialetti toscani sfuggono alla regola della mancata coincidenza tra regione amministrativa e regione linguistica [. . .].”⁴⁰ Could the issue of delimiting the area of influence of Tuscan and Italian extend peripherally to the now foreign island? In *Introduzione alla Dialectologia Italiana*, Grassi’s classification of Corsican as part of the Italian sphere of reference suggests so. He sorted the languages into four groups. One of them includes “[l’] Italia centrale (Toscana, Marche, Umbria), la Corsica, la Sardegna settentrionale [. . .] dove abbiamo i continuatori del latino classico.”⁴¹ Other Corsican, French and Italian scholars would place the Corsican language in Italian sections of their books and research with different variations of language status ranging from language to dialect (referred to as *un parler* in French).⁴² The association of Corsican with Italian remains visible in recent publications such as described by Hermann Haller’s “Italian outside of Italy” published in 2000.⁴³

In fact, from the 1980’s some islanders themselves defended the proximity between Corsican and Italian which Jaffe defines as the emergence of pro-Italianism on the island lead by Pascal Marchetti.⁴⁴ In 1989, Marchetti states that “[t]he Corsican language is Italian, it has even been, up till now, one of the least impure dialects of Italy.”⁴⁵ In the same book, *La Corsophonie: un idiome à la mer*, he attempts to reestablish historical and linguistic relationship by explaining the link

of Corsican and Italian languages which explicitly shows the foothold of Corsican in the Italian world. In the eighteen and nineteenth century, “[. . .] in Corsica, just like on the mainland, there are two levels of language.”⁴⁶ He describes the languages in use on the island as such and splits them into two categories:

- Ia) literary Italian, or ‘educated’ Italian, or written [. . .]
- Ib) regional Italian, spoken in some circumstances (at church, in court, etc.) in order to make a speech more solemn, or to officialize it.
- IIa) regional dialects, ‘northern’ and ‘southern’ Corsican [. . .]
- IIb) local dialects, geographically limited use of those varieties (counties or villages).⁴⁷

Grassi highlights that: “[. . .] ma addirittura vengono generalmente attribuite al toscano le parlate della Corsica, anche in ragione della lunga dominazione pisana.”⁴⁸ The linguist then makes a distinction between northern and southern Corsican, the *vocalismi* of which can be, according to him, respectively related to Tuscan and Sardinian.⁴⁹

The Corsican language does not exist in a standardized form and varies from area to area, with all variations being perceived as being different but coherent correct forms of the Corsican language. It has two major northern and southern subdivisions which more or less encompass the actual administrative *departments* respectively named *Haute-Corse* and *Corse-du-Sud*. The polynomic specificity of the Corsican language offer multiple links with Italian, as described by Corsican researchers Fusina and Etori: “In the south, it may come as a surprise that the closest [linguistic] neighbor is not Sardinian, even if it is so close geographically. The closest neighbor is to be found in meridional Italy, especially in Calabrian. A Southern Corsican, speaking Corsican in Tuscany, will be identified as being from Calabria; a Northern Corsican, speaking Corsican in Sardinia, will be identified as being Italian; and finally a Sardinian speaking Sardinian in Corsica, would not be understood.”⁵⁰

While I find the pro-Italian perspective to be very interesting both historically and linguistically, its purist ideology which perceives Italian as the referential norm is detrimental to the Corsican language because it would wipe away years of language activism by relegating Corsican to a position of *dialetto* in relation to the Italian language. Thiers, in “Papiers d’Identité(s)” published in 1989, mentioned that Italian, in its hegemonic relation, “suffocates” the Corsican language.⁵¹ Ten years later he explained that “[. . .] encouraging the reintegration of Corsican in the Italian linguistic area [. . .] would constitute a risk of *satellization* and a rupture in the affirmation of the linguistic autonomy that the Corsican language acquired over the past twenty years.”⁵²

Does the affirmation of this linguistic and societal fear of linguistic hegemony leave room for a re-appreciation of the Corsican-Italian relationship

nowadays? The last decades of the twentieth-century, saw the development of the concept of “Corsicanness” for the otherwise French citizens of the island as well as the beginning of the revitalization of the language with the reinsertion of Corsican in schools, the media and the development of a general broader usage. This context potentially offers better conditions for Corsicans to benefit from the proximity with Italian speakers. In the next sections I hypothesize that Corsicans can use their language as a tool to learn Italian and communicate with Italians, and expand their linguistic and cultural horizons, and be part of a larger world.

TOOLS FOR INTERCOMPREHENSION

In the following sections, I defend the idea that the Corsican-Italian relationship can be a fulfilling one in other terms and conditions, as it becomes a tool to allow Corsicans’ linguistic and cultural fulfillment and open-mindedness which can be applied to Corsican’s education as well as in their everyday lives.

One of the major areas of influence of pro-Italianism was education. Marchetti along with a group of other pro-Italianists (including other teachers and researchers), all defenders of Corsica’s *Italianness* created “VIVA VOCE” a Corsican magazine written in Italian. They also defended the reintroduction of Italian in schools as well as making it obligatory for the Corsican teaching credential, “[to] have a Latin language examination, and a foreign romance language, or Italian.”⁵³ They supported their ideology by defending “a relationship [with Italy] that just cannot be denied.”⁵⁴ Some institutions purposely followed Marchetti’s proposal and taught Italian as a foreign language in partial immersion with a native speaker instructor as early as the 2nd grade.⁵⁵

I noted that the geographic proximity, along with the original linguistic contiguity, was used as a pedagogical tool. During my field research in 2010, I conducted interviews with both Italian teachers in high schools and bilingual (French-Corsican) teachers in primary school. Students in Corsica get a chance to experience trips to Italy (which remains the destination of preference for school trips), a preference for Italian as a foreign language, bilingual teaching (Corsican-French) and the use of the Corsican language to reassess the Italian proximity.

In the bilingual primary education, the interviewee mentioned that the choice of which classes or topics should be taught in French or in Corsican “[. . .] is up to the teacher.”⁵⁶ She mentioned that this freedom was undeniably efficient when teaching “history and geography [which] are subjects that are often taught in the Corsican language, since it is topic-appropriate.”⁵⁷ Teaching these classes in the Corsican language puts a special focus on the long history between Corsica and Italy. She also states, “During my diploma oral examination, a jury member asked me, ‘Given that [you] had majored in Italian at the university, had [you] ever considered integrating Italian into [your] future lessons?’”⁵⁸

One of the instructors, who teaches Italian in a Corsican high school, whose class I sat in on, repeatedly told her students “Comment dit-on ‘*cuchjara*’ en Italien? Allons, vous n’êtes ni de Roubaix ni de Tourcoing, pour ne pas le savoir?” which translates into “How would you say ‘*cuchjara*’ [spoon] in Italian? Come on. . . you don’t live in Roubaix nor Tourcoing not to know, right?”⁵⁹ Both Roubaix and Tourcoing are cities located in the very northeast of France. The fact that the instructor points out these cities is not an attempt to mock those who live there, but is simply an amusing way to help Corsican students understand or realize their linguistic and geographical proximity with Italy. During an interview, the instructor explained that:

It is an expression I use sometimes, so that the pupils are conscious that their geographical location exposes them more than others to the Italian language. In Corsica, people listen to Italian radio; watch Italian TV, there is huge Italian presence especially during the summer, and therefore Italian newspapers, Italian cars, and signs [which are] in Italian. All of this represents a huge advantage for learning a language!⁶⁰

In addition to learning Italian and references to Italy in schools, local signage represents a source of linguistic proximity thanks to the prevalence of Italian remnants in toponymy. In Corsica, many cities share two names, often an Italian one (commonly identified as the French one) and its Corsican equivalent. When France took over, in a time of national monolingualization effort, rare were the names of cities in Corsica that underwent gallicization such as “Saint-Florent” or “L’Île-Rousse”. Most of the time, the Italian names were reported and registered just as they were and became the official French denomination as it is the case for the examples in figure 3: “Lavatoggio,” “Petreto-Bicchisano,” or “Santo Pietro di Venaco.”



Fig. 3: Examples of Italian-heritage names and Corsican names

The numerous names of cities, villages, and *lieux-dits* are a limited but reliable source of knowledge for learning aspects of Italian structure and pronunciation. Italian-heritage city names share gender features with the Italian language (replacement of the Corsican ending in *-u* by the Italian ending in *-o* for masculine-singular for example) such as in: *Santo Pietro di Venaco*. Over the years

Corsicans retained a pronunciation which is very close to the Italian pronunciation for these Italian-heritage names and to some extent also share a few more pronunciation features with Italian that they can draw from their Corsican names. This provides an advantageous opportunity for them to pronounce Italian phonemes properly, that French speakers would otherwise mispronounce unless they had learned Italian. For example, the city name *Biguglia* in Northern Corsica: French speakers would read /bi gy gli 'a/ where as both Corsican and Italian share the same pronunciation: /bi 'gu lia/. You may see more examples of shared Italian-Corsican pronunciation in the following chart.

Letters	Shared Corsican – Italian Pronunc.	Example of Corsican names using that specific pronunciation	French equivalent pronunc.
u	/u/	<i>Lumio, Bustanico, Curzo</i>	/y/
gli	/li/	<i>Zigliari, Biguglia, Casaglione</i>	/gli/
chi	/ki/	<i>Petreto-Bicchisano, Porto-Vecchio, Chialza</i>	/li/
cc	/(t)t/	<i>Cristinacce, Carbuccia, Lecci, Porticcio</i>	/s/
gg	/(d)d ₃ /	<i>Calcatoggio, Poggiolo, Coggia</i>	/g/
qu	/kw/	<i>Quenza, Quasquara</i>	/k/
gu	/gw/	<i>Guagno, Guitera, Guardalé</i>	/g/
zz	/(d)dz/	<i>Mezzana, Mezzavia, Zonza, Solenzara, Fozzano</i>	/z/
sc	/ʃ/	<i>Pisciatello</i>	/s/

Fig. 4: Corsican Toponymy and Common Features with Italian⁶¹

Some Corsicans feel at ease when communicating with Italians, they enjoy learning Italian in schools and they visit Italy from a young age and keep returning; but the population does not take all available advantages from this underlying Corsican-Italian relationship. Can a future in the Italian speaking world be enriching for Corsicans? On this topic Marchetti wrote:

[Now] is not the time for us to lose our cultural richness when we are so worried about roots and the exploration of the past. Nor is it time

to waste this opportunity to be part of two big European languages and civilizations [French and Italian] during the European era.⁶²

As Duverger explains it, Corsican's bilingualism and simplified access to multilingualism are not going to shake up the stability of Corsican's identity, but rather give Corsicans a chance to be part of an outer social open-mindedness.

Why are these situations favorable to plurilingualism? Probably because using other languages as young as possible to study, learn, and play allows one to experience linguistic 'otherness,' the arbitrariness of the sign, the relativity of lexicons (very often semantic fields do not even match), grammar, syntax, and codes, as intensely as possible. This is due to the fact that always experiencing issues such as translation, interpretation, and relation between languages, transparencies, false friends, and all other metalinguistic activities favor the development and extending of linguistic competences and offer an occasion to think of the language/culture relationship.⁶³

CORSICAN'S "COMMUNICANCE" ASSETS

During my field study in Corsica I collected several examples of Corsicans engaging in conversations with Italian speakers, they unknowingly produced functional intercomprehension and performed "communicance."⁶⁴ Castagne coined the term "communicance" to refer to the type of the conversation resulting from functional intercomprehension where two or more people communicate each using their own language. I would like to introduce the following examples of functional and practical intercomprehension. In each example we can see the capacity that Corsican speakers and Italian speakers have to work to understand each other in communicance as well as resolve inevitable communication issues arising for the languages differences.

This first example is a passage from a radio show called *Mediterradio*. It is a Corsican radio show, airing on RCFM, which is produced in collaboration with Sardinian *Radiopress* based in Cagliari. Every week the show is co-hosted by Corsican Pierre-Louis Alessandrini and Sardinian Vito Biolchini and both participate in their native languages, respectively Corsican and Italian. On the RCFM web page, *Mediterradio* is introduced as the "[t]he show, that for the past ten years, has been the proof of complete possibilities of intercomprehension between Corsican and Italian."⁶⁵

RCFM – December 24, 2011 at 11.30AM

Corsican Italian Bivalent

CO = Corsican host IT-1 = Italian guest # 1 IT-2 = Italian guest # 2

[2.16]	CO	Eccu, cusì, pudemu conchjude di i nostri ascoltatori, un bon natale a tutti, quantunque, [...] , si spera che u caprettu serà nanta i tavulini di Corsica è di Sardegna, perchè u caprettu, Vittu, (l') u mangiate ancu voi ?	Here we are, so we can conclude for our listeners, a Merry Christmas to all, and of course we [...] hope that spring lamb will be on all Corsican and Sardinian tables. Since, Vitto, [in Sardinia] you eat spring lamb as well?
	IT-1	Si, più il maialetto, però, bisogna specificare, [...] soprattutto il maialetto !	Yes, in fact [we eat] more piglet, to be more specific, [...] essentially piglet!
	IT-2	E anche l'agnello...	And even lamb...
	IT-1	Certo, maialetto, agnello.	True, piglet and lamb.
	CO	U maialettu, l'agnellu è u caprettu é a tutti bon natale. Ci ritruveremu lunedì chi vene, e parleremu di pallò, di calciu Ciao, ciao a tutti	Piglet, lamb, spring lamb and to all a Merry Christmas. We will be back next Monday, we will talk about soccer, soccer . Bye, bye everyone.
[3.06]		[Frequenza Mora - jingle]	[Frequenza Mora - jingle]

Fig.5: Mediterradio Intercomprehension

The example I selected demonstrates this possibility that exists for Corsicans speakers and Italian speakers to intercommunicate. It also shows two occurrences when the Corsican speaker, after realizing that his words may not be understood, makes up for an anticipated misunderstanding, by inserting an Italianized word in his Corsican discourse. This occurs when the Corsican host says that next week he will be talking about “pallò” (pronounced /balo/ meaning “soccer” in Corsican) and decided to reformulate by using the word “calciu” (a made-up corsicanized version of the Italian word “calcio”) which makes the word transparent for an Italian speaker.

The Corsican host was given a key word “maialetto” by his co-host. Instead of creating confusion by using the Corsican word “purcellettu” he creates a more understandable (for the Italian speakers) version of the word by using “maialettu.”

This second example is a conversation that occurred between Italian speaking tourists visiting the Corsican highlands in 2009 and a Corsican speaking shepherd selling his own cheese there.

Shepherd's hut – August 10, 2010 at 5.35 PM

Corsican Italian Bivalent Spanish French English

CO = Corsican shepherd T1 = Female tourist T2 = Male tourist R = Researcher

1	CO	Messieurs, entrez	Gentlemen, come in,
2		Messieurs, dames.	Ladies and Gentlemen.
3		Mettez votre main comme ça,	Put your hand out like this, I will
4		messieurs-dames, je vous fais goûter	give you a taste of brocciu (cheese).
5		le brocciu.	
6	R	He says to put out your whole hand.	He says to put out your whole hand.
7	T1	Ok. (she puts out her hand) Ass?	Ok. Like this?
8	CO	Ok, English?	Ok, English?
9	T2	O italiano?	Or Italian
10	CO	'italiano? Allora vi parlu u corsu,	Italian? Then I'll speak Corsican to
11		s'emu à capisce megliu.	you, we'll understand one another
12			better.
13	T1	Si.	Yes.
14	T2	Si, corso va bene.	Yes, Corsican will work.
15	T1	Che buono!	This is so good!
16	T2	Si.	Yes.
17	R	Merci.	Thank you.
18	CO	A ricotta /rigoda/, italiano, c'est ça ?	(The) 'Ricotta', in Italian, right?
19		- (No response) -	- [No response] -
20	T1/2	Ricotta, in 'italiano ?	Ricotta, in Italian?
21	CO	Ricotta, si.	Ricotta, right.
22		- (Pause for tasting) -	- (Pause for tasting) -
23	T1	Che buon-i! (last vowel indistinct)	This is so good!
24	CO	H/è bonu, deliciousu.	It's good, it's delicious.
25	T1	Delicioso/u, è incredibile! Che cosa	Delicious – it's incredible. What can
26	R	possiamo fare?	we do with it?
27	CO	Possiamo mangiarla con acqua di	We can eat it with
28		vita e zucchero	liqueur and sugar
29		- (Several seconds of no talk,	
30		tasting cheese) -	
31	CO	Fromaggiu di pecura (/prkura/),	Sheep's cheese,
32		dui mesi (/dz/).	two months (old).
33	T	Dui mesi (/t/).	Two months.
34	CO	Di u ghjornu stessu, d'oghje	(this one is) freshly made today
35			

Fig. 6: The Shepherd's Hut

The communication situation was as natural as possible, before hand both tourists and the shepherd did not know that the conversation was being recorded and I tried to intervene as little as possible. Engaging in a conversation, regardless of the language used was not an issue for the shepherd who first addressed the tourists in French and then offered to speak English. Upon realizing that the tourists spoke Italian, the shepherd confessed that comprehension would be eased by functioning in intercomprehension: “Allora vi parlu corsu, s'emu à capisce megliu.”⁶⁶

The shepherd was unsure if his pronunciation of the cheese name (/ricotta/ vs. /ricorta/ vs. /rigoda/). A consensus would finally be found over the word “ricotta” when the shepherd re-pronounced it /ricorta/ for clarity, which he had originally pronounced /rigoda/ according to Corsican *cambiarini* rules. We can note that when he originally asked “[Si dice] Ricotta in Italiano?”, the first attempt was marked by the shepherd pronunciation /idalianu/ which is not caught by the tourists. In the second occurrence he tried to apply a more “italianized” pronunciation by undoing the Corsican *cambiarini* which turned /ida/ into /ita/ and then used the typical Italian ending –o instead of the Corsican

one in *-u*.⁶⁷ The shepherd even extends his accommodation to creating the word *fromagiu* which does not exist in Corsican by mixing features of Corsican, French and Italian.

Shepherd	Italian	French	Corsican
Fromagiu	Formaggio	Fromage	Casgiu Furmaghiu

Fig. 7: Linguistic Accommodation

While there is still much to be said about Corsicans' interactions with Italian speakers, this article focused on exposing an aspect of Corsican studies, Corsican-Italian relationships, which in recent year may have sometimes been disregarded. We have seen that the historical study highlights that the relation between Corsica and Italy lead to an overall rupture dictated by socio-political factors and language planning. These factors were detrimental but did not completely severe all levels of proximity which give Corsicans means to communicates with Italian speakers.

The article aim to show that communicance with Italian speakers in Corsican is possible and that Corsicans are willing to perform it. They possess the necessary tools to achieve linguistic accommodation very efficiently whether it is when performing intercomprehension or when learning Italian. Thus, I conclude that when it comes to discussing the relation with Italy, the time is no longer to define if Corsican is a language, *langue régionale*, or an Italian dialect.⁶⁸ Romance studies on language genealogy and sociolinguistic work on Corsica prove that Corsican deserves to be called a language. It is however time for Corsicans to overcome internal and external glottopolitical issues and to fulfill their linguistic abilities by using the remaining assets of their relations with Italy. One of the assets of the future of Corsican speakers may lay in building a concrete relationship with the Italian language (through intercomprehension, the development of plurilingual and multicultural competencies) which would reveal to be a strong and rare opportunity to outshine the classic borders of their former diglossic relationship.

Notes

1. Marie-José Dalbera-Stefanaggi, *The Dialects of Italy* (New York: Routledge Edition, 1997), 310.
2. Jean-Marie Arrighi, *Histoire de la Corse* (Paris: Edition Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2002), 51.
3. Many islanders perceive Pascal Paoli (Pasquale Paoli in Corsican) as the figure of the "Father of Nation." Paoli served as general of the Corsican Republic (1755-1769),

as well as Departmental Administrator (1790-1794), and latter as the temporary Viceroy of the Anglo-Corsican Kingdom (1794-1796).

4. Marco Fioravanti, "La Costituzione della Corsica nella prospettiva del costituzionalismo italiano del Settecento. Intorno a un recente libro di Antonio Trampus". *Diritti comparati*. 26 Luglio 2010. <http://cdlm.revues.org/index116.html> (First accessed in January 2011, here I refer to the original article in Italian published in *Diritti Comparati*: "Comparare I diritti fondamentali in Europa."

5. Both constitutions, the 1755 "*Costituzione Corsa*" (the Corsican Republic) and the 1793 "*la Costituzione del Regno Anglo-Corso*" of the short lived Anglo-Corsican Kingdom, were written in Italian leaving little room to inspire the population to use the French language, however the island was bought by France to the former Kingdom of Pisa in 1769. Tomi was the first to do a detailed analysis of the Anglo-Corsican Kingdom, see: Tomi, Pierre. *Le Royaume Anglo-Corse*. Etudes corses, IX-XIV, 1956-57.

6. In 1763, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote *Projet de constitution pour la Corse* (this is the final title as adapted in modern French by the editors in 1861). Rousseau never finished the project but an advanced manuscript is on file at the Library of Neuchâtel in Switzerland. The text is included in *Oeuvres complètes de Rousseau, III*. In *Projet de la constitution* Rousseau defended Paoli's work for freedom and insisted on the islanders' right to have their own identity since they cannot completely be absorbed in any national unity because of their geographical specificity.

Both Boswell and Carrington provided extensive work on the constitution, the period of the independence of Corsica and Paoli, see: Boswell, James. *An Account of Corsica, the journal of a tour to that island and memoirs of Pascal Paoli* (London: 1768).

7. Jean-Marie Arrighi, *Histoire de la Corse* (Paris: Edition Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2002), 51.

[My own translation - original quotation in French:] "[Que] l'enseignement y soit fait en langue Italienne qui est la langue maternelle de mes compatriotes." J. M. Arrighi reports the words of Paoli as part of the Father of the Nation's legacy and explains that, at a time when the reference language was shifting from Italian to French on the island, Corsicans were strongly encouraged to send their elite to study in Italy in order to preserve their mother tongue.

8. Jean-Marie Comiti, *La Langue Corse Entre Chien et Loup* (Paris: Edition L'Harmattan, 2005), p.31.

"Monolinguisme Corse." Full quotation: "S'il y a un monolinguisme avéré dans la Corse génoise c'est bien un 'monolinguisme corse'." In this section of his book, '*3-Un monolinguisme refoule*', Comiti discusses the common phantasmagoric conception that Corsicans, when the island was under Italian protectorate, were all bilingual. As the section title expressed he believe that under Italian rule only the elites spoke and used the Italian language, where as the people remained monolingual and spoke Corsican.

9. *Ibid.*, 55. [My own translation - original quotation in French:] "A quoi sert de se demander si c'était 'du corse' ou 'de l'italien' puisque pour ceux qui les utilisaient cette distinction était inopérante ?"

10. Ghjacumu Fusina and Fernand Etori, *Langue Corse Incertitudes et Paris*. (Aiacciu: Scola Corsa, 1981), 81. [Original quotation in French :] “Pendant des siècles, toscan et corse ont formé un couple perçu par les locuteurs comme deux niveaux de la même langue.” I used the English translation of this citation provided by Jaffé. She wrote this translation in: Jaffé, Alexandra. *Ideologies in Action: language politics on Corsica* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 72.

11. Jean-Marie Arrighi, *Histoire de la Corse* (Paris: Edition Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2002), 51.

12. My own chart: *Proximity between Corsican and Tuscan* offers comparisons between several Corsican and Tuscan features, which establish the proximity of the two languages.

13. Alexandra Jaffé, *Ideologies in Action: language politics on Corsica* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 76.

14. Teaching French in schools started to be implemented as soon as 1805 and Paoli died in 1807 (as mentioned in note 8 he had a posthumous influence on education). The results of the implementation of French became perceivable in 1821 with Mourne, the *Inspecteur de l'Académie* (the national board inspector) who really tried to enforce French education on the island. By 1829, less than 43% of schools taught in French (Arrighi: 2002), the schools which taught in French kept on teaching ‘Italian-as-a-foreign-language’ intensely as well as specialized translation from Italian to French and from French to Italian. In 1844, the *Lycée de Bastia* was the first establishment to cancel their ‘French-as-a-foreign-language’ classes. Once Italian decreased as a means of education, solely the elite kept on being educated in Italian.

15. Jean-Marie Arrighi, *Histoire de la Corse* (Paris: Edition Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2002), 51.

[My own translation - original quotation in French :] “La Corse et alors, comme le reste de l'Italie [hors de la Toscane], dans un système de “diglossie” structurée et stable.”

16. Jean-Marie Comiti, *La Langue Corse Entre Chien et Loup* (Paris: Edition L'Harmattan, 2005).

[My own translation - original quotation in French :] “Essayer de trouver les clefs linguistiques toscanes, qui nous permettent de remonter dans le temps, pour dire que le corse est du toscan, est irrecevable. Car plus on remonte dans le temps, plus les langues romanes se ressemblent. Selon se principe, doit-on en conclure que le français et l'italien sont du latin ?”

17. Hans Goebel, *Korsisch, Italienisch und Französisch auf Korsika*, in Günter et al. 1988: *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, Bd. 4: S. 829-835.

18. Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi et al., *Sociolinguistique : Épistémologie, Langues régionales, Polynomie* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2003).

19. Alexandra Jaffé, *Ideologies in Action: language politics on Corsica* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 74.

20. Corsican has a pronunciation feature that implies a much different pronunciation from Italian which is called *Cambiarini*. When a vowel becomes intervocalic its pronunciation shifts from voiceless or unvoiced to voiced. Which implies that every time

the definite article (which happen to be single vowels in Corsican: u,i,a,e) are used and the word starts with an onset pair consonant-vowel, its pronunciation changes to voiced, changing the pronunciation of almost all initials, but this feature also applies to consonants located within words. An example of *cambiarini* are “casa” pronounced /kaza/ and “a casa” /a gaza/, that is considering that the letter s in pronounced /z/ because of the same phenomenon.

21. Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi et al., *Sociolinguistique : Épistémologie, Langues régionales, Polynomie* (Paris: l’Harmattan, 2003), 173.

22. Alexandra Jaffe, *Ideologies in Action: language politics on Corsica* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 75. “As far as I know, nobody has quantified exactly how much of the Corsican lexicon is shared with Italian. Suffice to say that this overlap is considerable but probably not more than 70%. Corsicans and Italians who have not studied each other’s language need to do a fair amount of work to understand each other.”

23. Ghjacumu Fusina and Fernand Etori, *Langue Corse Incertitudes et Paris* (Aiacciu: Scola Corsa, 1981), 12. [My own translation – original quotation in French :] “ Il n’est peut être pas inutile de rappeler que le Corse n’est pas de l’Italien importé et “ déformé ”, mais une langue romane, c’est-à-dire une langue qui résulte de l’évolution propre au latin parlé dans l’île de façon généralisée à partir d’une date qu’il est d’ailleurs difficile de préciser.”

24. Jean-Paul Pellegrinetti, *Langue et identité : l’exemple du corse durant la troisième république, Cahiers de la Méditerranée, vol. 66, L’autre et l’image de soi*. 2003. URL : <http://cdlm.revues.org/document116.html>. (Online article since July 21, 2005.) (First accessed on October 10, 2008.) [My own translation – original quotation in French :] “En 1805, comme le souligne Michel Casta, le décret impérial du 18 mars autorise le bilinguisme italien et français en raison de l’impossibilité d’appliquer dans l’immédiat l’arrêté du 13 juin 1803 imposant dans un délai d’un an après sa publication, la rédaction de tous les actes officiels en français.”

25. Ibid.

26. Grassi, et al., *Introduzione Alla Dialettologia Italiana* (Roma: Editoti Laterza, 2003), 59.

In their publication, the chart and data are referenced as such: *Dati da Grassi et al., 1998, p.83 e Buroni et al., 2005, p.26*.

27. I created this chart to illustrate the development of the trilingual shift in the 19th century from data collected from different sources. It represents approximated proportions of usage according to specific dates; which mark changes, restrictions, increase, etc. in language usage.

28. Jean-Marie Arrighi, *Histoire de la Corse* (Paris: Edition Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2002), 62.

29. Ibid., 50. [My own translation – original quotation in French :] “[. . .] Mais ils sont cependant capable de “toscaniser” (tuscanighjà) leur langue habituelle, quand il s’agit de s’adresser à une autorité ou de faire œuvre de création [. . .]”

30. Alexandra Jaffe, *Ideologies in Action: language politics on Corsica* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 77.

31. Jean-Paul Pellegrinetti, *Langue et identité : l'exemple du corse durant la troisième république*, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, vol. 66, *L'autre et l'image de soi*. 2003. URL : <http://cdlm.revues.org/document116.html>. (Online since July 21, 2005.) (First accessed on October 10, 2008.) [My own translation - original quotation in French :] “[à] l’enracinement de la troisième République (1870), avec l’œuvre scolaire, le service militaire et la conquête coloniale, [qui] permet au français de devenir véritablement la seule langue officielle et écrite. Elle devient celle de la presse insulaire, des professions de foi des élites politiques ou celle utilisée par les populations pour l’ensemble des inscriptions des monuments aux morts érigés aux lendemains de la Grande Guerre.”

32. Grassi, et al., *Introduzione Alla Dialettologia Italiana* (Roma: Editoti Laterza, 2003).

33. Alexandra Jaffe, *Ideologies in Action: language politics on Corsica* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 77.

34. Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi et al., *Sociolinguistique : Épistémologie, Langues régionales, Polynomie* (Paris: l’Harmattan, 2003), 113.

[My own translation - original quotation in French :] “L’ignorance linguistique aidant, les masses [ont même eu tendance à surenchérir dans ce domaine et à croire que toutes les langues régionales, malgré parfois leurs grand éloignement structurel et génétique du français n’était que des “patois” de celui-ci.]”

35. Jacques Thiers, *Papiers d’Identité(s)* (Aiacciu: Edition Albiana, 2008), 53.

[My own translation - original quotation in French :] “ On sait en effet qu’aux jugements défavorables du dominant correspond bien souvent chez le dominé une “ haine de soi-même ”, appelée auto-odi par les études sociolinguistiques catalanes et qui correspond sensiblement à ce que A. Memmi caractérise comme “ le complexe du colonisé.”

36. Alexandra Jaffe, *Ideologies in Action: language politics on Corsica* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 135.

37. Ibid.

38. Ghjacumu Fusina and Fernand Etori, *Langue Corse Incertitudes et Paris* (Aiacciu: Scola Corsa, 1981), 12. [My own translation - original quotation in French :] “Détacher le corse de son environnement géographique et culturel [. . .] pourvu de couper sa racine latine et avec elle, le risque d’une indésirable parenté !”

39. Pascal Marchetti, *La Corsophonie: Un Idiome à la Mer* (Paris: Editions Albatros, 1989).

40. Grassi, et al., *Introduzione Alla Dialettologia Italiana* (Roma: Editoti Laterza, 2003), 59.

41. Ibid., 109.

42. Jacques Allières, *Manuel de Linguistique Romane* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001).

[My own translation - original quotation in French :] “Le corse: parler toscan, avec affinités génoises, anciennes ou introduite après 1288 (cession de l’île par Pise) au nord, Sardes au sud, il doit sa spécificité a des facteurs plus sociopolitiques que linguistique.”

Allières uses the least fortunate term in French to describe Corsican as an Italian “parler.” The term “parler” roughly translates as “dialect” but has a more negative connotation, since as the term implies ‘a language-to-be-spoken’ which gives a sense that the language does not deserve more than orality. ‘Parler’ comes very close to meaning to ‘patois’. This type of negative appreciation becomes rarer; this is especially true for references published in the 21st century. Other researchers and linguists reported the proximity of Corsican and Italian or sorted Corsican as part of the Italian sphere, for more details see: Etori, Fusina, Grassi, Marchetti, Thiers, Viale, Vuillier, etc.

43. Hermann Haller, *Italian Outside of Italy*. Encyclopedia of Contemporary Italian Culture (New York: Routledge, 2000).

44. Alexandra Jaffe, *Ideologies in Action: language politics on Corsica* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 136-137. Jaffe titled a chapter of her book “The emergence of a pro-Italian voice” and writes about the italianists from pages 136 to 146.

45. Pascal Marchetti, *La Corsophonie: Un Idiome à la Mer* (Paris: Éditions Albatros, 1989), 22. [Original quotation in French :] “La langue corse est italienne, elle a même été jusqu’ici l’un des moins impurs dialectes d’Italie.” I used the translation provided by: Jaffe, Alexandra. *Ideologies in Action: language politics on Corsica* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 72.

46. Ibid., 75. [My own translation - original quotation in French :] “A cette époque [. . .] on avait donc en corse, comme en terre ferme, deux niveaux de langue.”

47. Ibid., 75. [My own translation - original quotation in French :]

“Ia) Italien littéraire, ou ‘cultivé’, ou écrit [. . .]

Ib) Italien régional, parlé en certaines circonstances (à l’église ou devant les tribunaux) afin de solenniser le discours, sinon l’officialiser

IIa) dialecte régional, le corse ‘du nord’ ou ‘du sud’ [. . .]

IIb) dialecte local (ou ‘parler’), variété du corse d’un usage géographiquement très limité (*pieve* ou village)”

48. Grassi, et al., *Introduzione Alla Dialettologia Italiana* (Roma: Editotri Laterza, 2003), 49.

49. Ibid.

50. Ghjacumu Fusina and Fernand Etori, *Langue Corse Incertitudes et Paris* (Aiacciu: Scola Corsa, 1981), 12.

[Original quotation in French :] “Au sud, on sera peut-être surpris de constater que la plus proche parenté n’est pas avec le sarde, pourtant si proche dans l’espace, mais avec les dialectes de l’Italie méridionale, notamment le calabrais. Un Corse du Sud parlant corse en toscane sera identifié comme calabrais ; un corse du nord parlant corse en Sardaigne centrale sera identifié comme italien ; quand à un sarde parlant sarde dans la péninsule, il ne sera pas compris.”

51. Ghjaccumu Thiers, *Papiers d’Identité(s)* (Aiacciu: Edition Albiana, 1989).

52. Ghjaccumu Thiers, *Langue Corse, Standardisation et Polynomie*. Revista de Llengua i Dret, Issue 32, December 1999, 132. ISSN: 0212-5056, ISSN web: 2013-1453 [My own translation - original quotation in French] “[. . .] la réintégration du corse à l’italien.

[. . .] elle pourrait constituer un risqué de satellisation, en rupture avec l'affirmation de l'autonomie linguistique du corse [obtenue notamment lors de ces vingt dernières années].”

53. Pascal Marchetti. Viva voce interview, 2007 (online article first accessed in January 2009) <http://www.webzinemaker.com/admi/m6/page.php3?num>

54. Ibid.

55. One of the examples is the Legastelois primary school in Bastia, upper Corsica.

56. Anick, (January 2010), Personal interview of a bilingual schoolteacher in Bastia, Corsica.

[My own translation – original quotation in French :] “Il est libre à l'enseignant [de choisir certaines matières].”

57. Ibid.

[My own translation – original quotation in French :] “L'histoire-géographie, c'est une matière qui s'enseigne beaucoup en langue corse, car elle s'y prête bien.”

58. Ibid., (February 2010)

59. Maryvonne. (December 11, 2010), Personal interview of an Italian teacher in Bastia, Corsica. The example here is in French, but the teacher used both French and Corsican variations, asking her student to make the relation between the Corsican and the Italian word. [In Corsican:] “*Cume si dice 'chuchjara' in italianu? Aio, un site micca di Roubaix o di Tourcoing, pe micca sapela, ino?*”

60. Ibid.

61. My own chart created by contrasting selected examples of French pronunciation and Italian/Corsican common pronunciations in Corsican toponymy.

62. Pascal Marchetti, Viva voce interview, 2007 (online article first accessed in January 2009) <http://www.webzinemaker.com/admi/m6/page.php3?num>

63. Jean Duverger, *De L'Enseignement Bilingue à l'Éducation Plurilingue* (Corte: University of Corsica, Conference proceedings, Jan 2008). [my own translation – original quotation in French :] “ Pourquoi ces situations sont elles favorables au plurilinguisme ? Sans doute parce que le fait d'utiliser deux langues très jeunes pour travailler, apprendre, jouer, permet vraiment de vivre en profondeur l'altérité linguistique, le caractère arbitraire du signe, la relativité des lexique (souvent on le sait, les champs sémantiques ne s recouvrent pas) mais aussi celle des grammaires, des syntaxes, des codes ; parce que le fait de vivre au quotidien les problèmes de traduction, d'interprétation, le fait de chercher des relations entre les langues, des transparences, des dissemblances des étymologies, toutes ces activités métalinguistiques permanentes ne peuvent naturellement que favoriser le développement de compétences d'ouverture à d'autres langues et donner à penser au niveau de la relation langue/culture.”

64. Eric Castagne, *The Stakes of Intercomprehension* (Bar le Duc: Saint Paul Imprimeurs, 2007), p.156.

65. http://sites.radiofrance.fr/chaines/francebleu/?nr=d09bf68b7350ea5853c1d87010444f6c&70e0a31635fe1b271700a9300af6fa70_container_id=6995 [My own translation

- original quotation in French :] “Cette émission, depuis 10 ans fait maintenant la preuve de la totale intercompréhension entre le Corse et l’Italien.”

66. “Shepherd’s hut”, Passage from recordings, summer 2009. [text shows original quotation in Corsican –my own translation :] “Then I’ll speak to you in Corsican, we’ll understand one another better.”

67. Cambiarini : Refer to note 21.

68. As officially recognized by the French government “Langue régionale de France” (“French regional language”).