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Gastronomy, Football, and Resistance: The multi-faceted visibility of Corsican in the Linguistic Landscape

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1. Introduction

The Mediterranean island of Corsica lies some 100 miles off the southern coast of the French mainland, about15 miles north of the Italian island of Sardinia and 40 miles west of mainland Italy. A number of scholars maintain that it is due to its insularity that Corsica has carved out a unique niche within France's national identity. Arrighi (2002: 23) argues, for example, that the island's physical separation from the mainland has helped it maintain a strong and distinct identity both historically and in the modern era, culminating in the *Statut Joxe* which accorded Corsica the then-unique status of *Collectivité territoriale* ('Territorial Collectivity') in 1991. As Blackwood (2008: 11–25) explains, the unique position of Corsica within the French political structure meant that the trends in language shift experienced elsewhere in the country during the 19th and 20th centuries did not play out in Corsica at the same pace. At the same time, the educational reforms represented by the national Deixonne and Haby laws did little to organise standardisation efforts, and most activists have remained more receptive to a permanent state of linguistic diversity, rather than an agreed, singular standard. As such, it has been widely reported in both academia and anecdotal accounts not only that it was possible to encounter non-French-speaking Corsicans until the 1950s, but also that Corsican itself is intensely variable, and can differ from one valley to the next (Carrington 1971; Comiti 2005; Jaffe 1999; Thiers 2014).

This chapter examines the contemporary status and visibility of Corsican as it is seen in the Linguistic Landscape (LL). Over the last 20 years, LLs have become the focus of evolving

cross-disciplinary efforts to understand better the language beliefs, practices, and management strategies of individuals, groups, and public and private organisations as they communicate through written signs in public spaces. The LL approach is particularly useful in the French context, since it offers a degree of analytical precision to the study of regional languages (hereafter RLs) which has been historically lacking. A 1982 survey carried out by France's *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques* ('National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies'), for instance, claimed that 96% of the population of the island understood Corsican, of which 90% spoke it regularly (Sibille 2000: 33). More recently, other surveys have presented results ranging from 64% to 80% which, as Judge (2007: 103) notes, appear rather generous since the widespread desire to learn the language at school suggests that intergenerational transmission continues to suffer. In spite of these figures, which are variable but nevertheless indicate a solid foundation for language vitality, Corsican remains 'definitely endangered' according to UNESCO's (2010) language endangerment atlas.

The analysis of Corsican through the LL is further justified by the legislation which exists on the island to promote and support the language in the public space. The *Agence d'aménagement durable, de planification et d'urbanisme de la Corse* ('Corsican Agency for Sustainable, Long-term Town Planning') has since 2009 been developing a 'strategic plan for the organisation and linguistic development of the Corsican language' (Collectivité Territoriale de Corse, 2012). Referred to informally as the *Charte de la langue corse* ('Charter of the Corsican Language'), the measure targets the 'reinforcement of the use and visibility of Corsican in social life and in the public space'. Currently, 90 of the island's 360 *communes* have signed the charter, in addition to a series of public and private sector organisations: regional bodies relating to agriculture, commerce, the environment, and tourism; companies such as the petrol station chain *ViTO Corse*, the *Lama* film festival, and

In Piazza ('in the square') magazine; and political and language activist groups *a Casa di u Populu Corsu* ('House of the Corsican People') and *a Casa Balanina di a Lingua* ('Balagne House of the Language'). The most important endorsement has come from Paul Giacobbi, former President of the *Conseil exécutif de Corse* ('Corsican Executive Council'), who signed the charter in May 2015, announcing the official intention to promote Corsican by forging 'concrete ties with the collective movement to grant Corsican its rightful place at the heart of society' (Collectivité Territoriale de Corse, 2015). Through assessing the visibility of Corsican in the LL, this chapter aims to scrutinise some of the places in which the RL is most salient. The following section outlines the methodology, section three makes an empirical assessment and discusses the three major contexts identified by the data, and chapter four offers some concluding and reflective remarks.

2. Methodology and Procedure

2.1. Survey Areas

Whilst the data discussed in this chapter do not relate directly to the legislative efforts discussed above, they offer an important snapshot of the language situation on the island. During fieldwork carried out in spring 2015, photographs were taken of written signage visible on the middle 100m stretches of twenty streets in the cities of Ajaccio and Bastia, the island's largest urban centres. The streets were selected according to two parameters: proximity to the cities' central points, as determined by city authority maps and Google mapping software; and prominence of thoroughfare, where important arteries leading towards the city centre were also selected.[1] This approach is discussed elsewhere (cf. Blackwood, 2015; Gorter, 2013; Soukup, 2016 for overviews), and was taken here to allow for sufficient data to be collected to inform a detailed empirical analysis. Despite the clear relevance of the

selected survey areas, it is important to note that the texts photographed within them cannot be said to illustrate the language situation in the cities or on the island at large; rather, they offer a valuable insight into some of the dynamics of Corsican authorship in two of the island's most frequented public spaces.

2.2. Item Classification

To date, the majority of LL studies have selected items for analysis based on the model developed by Backhaus (2007: 66), who understands a single sign to be 'any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame'. An alternative method has emerged where whole establishment fronts are considered single items (Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz, 2012; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Coluzzi, 2012), based on the principle that texts visible on the premises of a certain organisation illustrate that organisation's writing practice and (from the perspective of studying multilingualism) language management strategies. Given that both these methods are open to criticism along a number of lines (Blackwood, 2015; Blommaert & Maly, 2014; Gorter, 2013; Huebner, 2009), this study considers a single LL item in terms of its pragmatic function, rather than its physical properties. Thus, written texts were analysed and classified as performing one of a number of communicative functions, based on the similar notions of sign 'types', 'frames', and 'functions' developed respectively by Spolsky & Cooper (1991), Kallen (2010), and Sloboda (2009) (cf. also Blackwood, 2010; Franco-Rodríguez, 2009; Jaworski, 2010). In many cases, single signs (by their spatial definition) contained more than one function: for example, a poster containing a brand name, a slogan, and an event advertisement. In all cases, individual items (rather than physical signs) were considered the fundamental LL unit. Following pilot testing and a prior study conducted in Liverpool (Amos, 2016), a set of 14 function variables was established:

- Announcement

- Direction

- Establishment Description

- Establishment Name

- Event Advertisement

- Information Item

- Instruction

- Label/Tag

- Product

- Slogan

- Small Advertisements

- Street Sign

- Trademark

- Warning

Following identification, items were accorded a value in each of five independent variables. Reflecting both quantitative and qualitative LL methods, these variables account for both the physical properties of the signs on which items were found, and the contextual properties of their meaning. Table 1 lists and explains the variables, and provides example values for each.

Table 1. Variables and Example Values[2]

Variable	Explanation	Examples
Language	Language(s) contained on the item	French; Corsican; English; Spanish (and combinations)

Materiality	Material type of carrier	Permanent; hand-written; professionally printed; digital
Authorship	Author status type within public/private dichotomy	International chain; municipal; independent business
Site	Contextual description of sign space	Bank; café; external; supermarket
Field	Subject matter of text	Finance; gardening; sport; travel

With these classifications, the data provide detailed contextualisation of the presentation of Corsican, from which trends in its configuration, discursive associations, contextual presentation, and authorship were drawn. Together, these lines of enquiry construct a data-informed assessment of the visibility and status of the RL, as it is represented in the LLs of Ajaccio and Bastia.

3. Analysis

3.1. The Empirical Data

The street surveys recorded a total of 5638 items in Ajaccio and Bastia. 4339 (77%) featured French, whilst Corsican was visible on 769 items (13.6%).[3]

Table 2. Frequency and Proportion of French and Corsican Items

	# Items	# French	# Corsican	% French	% Corsican
Ajaccio	2600	1994	416	76.7	16
Bastia	3038	2345	353	77.2	11.6

Total	**5638**	**4339**	**769**	**77**	**13.6**

In order to examine these observations in more depth, table 3 illustrates the five most frequent values recorded across each of the five variables.

Table 3. Most frequent Corsican Values[4]

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

The data reveal a number of interesting aspects about the distribution of Corsican. The most significant of these is arguably authorship, since the trend recorded in this survey contradicts previous hypotheses about RL authorship in French LLs: whilst it has been argued that RLs in France experience a level of municipal support that is generally not reciprocated by private sector actors (Blackwood, 2011; Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz, 2012; Bogatto & Hélot, 2010; Hornsby, 2008), the LLs of Ajaccio and Corsica suggest the contrary, since private actors were found to be responsible for the majority (638 items; 83%) of Corsican visible in the public space. In contrast, official agency — represented by the municipal, departmental, and regional authorities (no Corsican items were recorded on the national level, relating to e.g. country-wide laws or government ministries; nor the international level, e.g. the European Union or other official transnational texts) — accounts for only 133 items (17.3%). As table 3 illustrates, there are other aspects of this investigation which merit further analysis, notably the significant proportion of home-printed items, the proliferation of graffiti, and the salience

of trademarks and slogans. Whilst more attention is given to these elsewhere (Amos, 2017), many of these trends are discussed in this chapter in the contexts of gastronomy, football, and resistance, identified empirically through the gastronomy, sport, and politics values recorded in the field variable.

3.2. Gastronomy

The most common value in the field variable is gastronomy, in which 110 Corsican items were recorded (14.3%). The most common function of Corsican gastronomy items is to serve as establishment names for a variety of bars, cafés, restaurants, takeaways, groceries, and food shops. Examples in Ajaccio include *A Piazzetta* ('The Little Square'), *Masseria* ('Small Farm Holding'); *A Conca d'Oru* ('The Golden Vat'), *U Palazzu* ('The Palace'), *Dall'A Pizza* ('[Place] of The Pizza'), *Casa Corsa* ('Corsican House'), and *L'Aiuccinu* ('The Ajaccien' or 'The One from Ajaccio'); in Bastia the RL was visible in names such as *L'Olivella* ('The Privet'), *Noi* ('Us'), *A Stonda* ('The Moment'), and *A Buttega* ('The [Artisanal] Delicatessen').

Figure 1. Corsican Establishment Names

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

The RL was recorded in the names of food products such as cheese (*Sulana*, *Ninu*, and *Fiumorbu*) and pastries (*Fiadones*, *Castagnus*, and *Canistrelli*), as well as slogans associating the RL with the commercialisation of food and drink on the island. One such example was recorded outside a branch of the international supermarket chain *Spar* on the Cours Grandval in Ajaccio.

Figure 2. Corsican *Spar* sign

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

Above the French *Proche de vous* ('close to you'), the Corsican *Core Città* ('heart of the city') depicts a sense of localness and intimacy which indicates that the language, as well as the supermarket and its produce, are at the heart of Ajaccio. This particular example demonstrates not only an association between gastronomy and the RL, therefore, but also between a multinational company and the local community. This is also a feature of *Les Charcuteries de Corse* ('Cooked Meats of Corsica', hereafter LCC), a brand which, although presented consistently in French, advertises a number of products with Corsican names.

Figure 3. LCC poster

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE]

On the poster shown in figure 3, the products *Prisuttu*, *Coppa di Corsica*, and *Lonzu* appear in Corsican, with translations into French italicised above. Below the product names is a stylised picture of the island alongside the text *Corsica*, which appears in the RL and not as the French *Corse*. On the left, super-imposed onto a picture of succulent-looking cured meat, is the French slogan *authenticité !*. It is reasonable to argue that the intention is to associate the product (and in doing so the LCC brand) with legitimacy and authenticity which, alongside the image of the island and the word *Corsica*, merges with a sense of a local, island identity. This is an exemplification both of Spolsky and Cooper's (1991: 84) third sign rule ('write in a language with which you wish to be identified') and the commodification of the RL within the local economy (Heller, Pujolar, & Duchêne, 2014; Leeman & Modan, 2009). However, whilst the RL is linked with the geographic space through the superimposing of the text *Corsica* onto the island sketch, the notion of authenticity in terms of the product is expressed in French alone.

One interpretation of this is that Corsican is not considered as appropriate as French for these communications, which are of central importance to the advertising role of the sign. Indeed, according to Scollon & Scollon's (2003) code preference model, the poster at once displays a preference for French, which is consistently printed above Corsican, and for Corsican, the texts written in which are larger. Whilst this alone does not indicate a clear privileging of one language over the other, the size difference arguably suggests that the lower texts serve as follow-up corrections, or at least clarifications, of the terms above. This strengthens the case for the terms to be classified as Corsican, supported also by morphological differences between the names themselves: *Prisuttu*, for instance, is expressed as *Jambon de Corse* ('Corsican ham'), where *di Corsica* is not included in the RL. The reverting to a generic description in French indeed suggests that the meaning is not inherent to the national language, at least not within a single morpheme. *Prisuttu*, however, confirms not only the

existence of the meaning in a single Corsican word, but also the exclusivity of its identity to the RL. The same interpretation can be made of the third product *Lonzu*, the French translation for which (*Lonzo de Corse*) includes both the geographic modifier and a gallicisation of the noun-final <u>. The second product, *Coppa*, is similarly unlikely to be interpreted by readers as French, despite the inclusion of *de Corse | di Corsica* in both languages. This is not only due to the italo-romance lexicographical appearance of the word (the noun-final <a> is not a feature of standard French), but also because of its identical presentation in the Corsican text underneath.

Throughout the spaces in which these examples were recorded, however, the most prominent example of Corsican in gastronomy was provided by the Corsican company *Pietra*.

Figure 4. *Pietra* logo[5]

[INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE]

In terms of spatial distribution, *Pietra* items were recorded in four bars, a café, a restaurant, and a shop. Following a number of studies conducted across several years, Blackwood & Tufi (2015; cf. also Blackwood, 2011; Blackwood & Tufi, 2012) report that *Pietra* items significantly boost the presence of Corsican on the island, claiming that the company is responsible for over 20% of monolingual RL items and 5% of multilingual ones. By contrast, the 17 *Pietra* items recorded in this study account for a far smaller proportion of the corpus (2.2%). It is possible that this results from methodological differences in terms of survey area selection and item coding. However, given the significance of the discrepancy, it is also

plausible that the current data reflect an expansion of the RL into new spaces in which it was not previously as prevalent. Whilst studies carried out elsewhere in France have yet to report that the use of RLs in commercial branding is as extensive as *Pietra*'s use of Corsican, the indications from the data collected for this project are that the practice of using RLs in product branding is significantly more established on Corsica than elsewhere in the country (Amos 2017; see also Blackwood 2010, 2011; Hornsby 2008). A particularly interesting development during the fieldwork for this project was the launch of the brewery's newest product, *Pietra Rossa* ('Red Pietra').

Figure 5. *Pietra Rossa* poster[6]

[INSERT FIGURE 5 HERE]

The labels on the bottles and glasses illustrate the preference for the Corsican *rossa* on the main stylised banner logo, though the French text *Bière Rouge* ('Red Beer') is included underneath. Unlike the ribbon designs illustrated in figure 4, however, both halves of the *Biera Corsa | Rossa* ribbon appear in Corsican, whilst the French *Bière Rouge* is accorded a minor position underneath the logo and in a smaller typeface. Since the brewery is inconsistent in its management of the two languages across its range of products, it cannot be assumed that the *Rossa* campaign indicates a definitive change of policy to present a Corsican-only logo; however it is clear that, particularly as more *Rossa* posters become distributed throughout the LL, *Pietra* plays a significant role in maintaining Corsican visibility in the LL in general, and in the gastronomy field in particular.

3.3. Football

In addition to gastronomy, the LL testifies to an established relationship between Corsican and the island's principal football teams, *Athletic Club Ajaccien* (ACA) and *Sporting Club de Bastia* (SCB). This link was especially strong in Bastia, expressed on stickers, posters, merchandise (football strips, supporters' flags, keyrings, clothing, etc.), and in hand-written texts featuring slogans such as *Bastia vince* ('victory to Bastia'), *SCB*, *Uniti!* ('United!'), and *Forza Bastia* ('Go, Bastia').

Figure 6. Support for SCB in shop front.

[INSERT FIGURE 6 HERE]

These items testify not only to widespread support for the local football club, but also to an established corollary between football and the Corsican national identity discourse. As Siebetcheu (2016) similarly posits, this link is constructed in part through the notion of group identity created by terminology such as *uniti* ('united'), *abbunatu* ('member') and *mentalita nustrale* ('indigenous mentality').

Figure 7. Group identity through football.

[INSERT FIGURE 7 HERE]

To borrow Coupland's (2014) terms, these items reflect a process of metacultural projection of pride, unity, and identity onto the RL, both in terms of the football clubs and their supporters, and of their symbolism as advocates and upholders of Corsican linguistic identity. Moreover, and as Blackwood & Tufi (2015: 53–54) comment in relation to football supporters in Nice, the interpretation of Corsican-language support for SCB is distinctly politicised. Whilst such items constitute clear expressions of support for the club, therefore, they also convey a local identity that is not just Bastian and related to football, but that is Corsican and conveyed through the RL. The idea that objects relating to SCB, in particular, serve as a proxy for Corsican identity is sustained by the use of blue and black colours in nationalist graffiti, and the combination of football slogans with those supporting the Corsican nationalist movement.

The upper image in figure 8 depicts the text *i francesi fora | FLN vincerà* ('Out with the French | the FLN [*Fronte di Liberazione Naziunale* ('national liberation front')] will be victorious') written in the black and blue of SCB. The lower left image exemplifies the phrase *Bastia 1905* (a common name for SCB, referring to the year of the club's inauguration) beneath the text *Corsica libera* ('free Corsica'), incorporated into the regional symbol of the Moor's head. The lower right image depicts Great Britain in black and blue with a clearly marked border between England and Scotland, seemingly idealising the Scottish independence movement.[7]

Figure 8. SCB references in nationalist graffiti

[INSERT FIGURE 8 HERE]

Figure 9. SCB flag outside the *Hôtel de Ville* in Bastia

[INSERT FIGURE 9 HERE]

As the image in figure 9 shows, this type of activism is not restricted to private actors, since the SCB flag was the only item visible on the Town Hall at the time of the survey, aside from the French *Hôtel de Ville* etched into the stone. The reason for the absence of any official flag is unknown, though the displaying of a Corsican identity symbol on a public building in the absence of any French national signage is suggestive of a preference to exhibit the local identity of the building rather than its function within the national administrative structure. The texts on these items not only constitute objects of Corsican activism, therefore, but serve a collective role in the maintaining of a local identity, defined through membership of the football-supporting in-group and the use of the RL.

3.4. Resistance

Whilst the examples above are discussed in the context of regional identity construction and maintenance, a significant number of items associate the RL with a more forceful sense of resistance to the national and French ideology, both linguistic and political. On the one hand, this is conveyed indirectly through in-group morphological markers such as *nostra* ('our') and *noi* ('us'). Beyond football, this process was also visible in postcards, stickers, and other items displaying self-identifying phrases such as *so* [sic] *corsu e ne so* [sic] *fieru* ('I am

Corsican and proud'), *so* [sic] *corsu parlu corsu* ('I am Corsican and speak Corsican'), and the translingual phrase *piulelli à bord* ('cutie pie [lit. 'little chick'] on board'), which plays on the 'baby on board' cliché established within bumper-sticker culture (Case, 1992; Doyle & Tranter, 2015; Newhagen & Ancell, 1995).

Figure 10. Corsican identity stickers.

[INSERT FIGURE 10 HERE]

On the other hand, however, resistance to the national identity is also conveyed directly through phrases such as *Corsica patria nostra* ('Corsica [is] our land'), *una voce libera è naziunale* ('one free and national voice'), *a terra corsa a i corsi* ('the Corsican land to the Corsican people'), and *Corsica libera* ('[a] liberated Corsica')

Figure 11. Corsican resistance items.

[INSERT FIGURE 11 HERE]

Such items illustrate a clear engagement with the island's separatist discourse, in which the French national identity is rejected in favour of a Corsican one.[8] Such texts were visible predominantly as graffiti: either as hand-written slogans painted on walls (16 items); or

transgressive (Soukup, 2016) stickers placed in the LL anonymously (47 items). Whilst the painted graffiti construct an intentional reference to the political counterculture (Pennycook, 2009; Sloboda, 2009), the stickers reinforce the specific discourse associated with Corsican nationalism through direct references to political movements, demonstrations, and events.

Figure 12. Independentist sticker

[INSERT FIGURE 12 HERE]

The item shown in figure 12 has been placed over an existing sticker advertising a demonstration for members of the national union CGT (*Confédération générale du travail;* 'General Confederation of Work') which supports professionals in the public and private sectors. The Corsican sign displays the slogan *i nostri primà l'altri* ('our own before others') above the word *indipendenza.* Although it is a common practice to stick new posters over old ones, it is also plausible that the placement of the sticker over the CGT item, rather than below or above it, indicates a deliberate process of erasure, where the Corsican overwrites the French both in terms of its language and the political subtext.

This hypothesis is further supported by the nearby poster encouraging readers to vote for the alternative union STC (*Sindicatu di travagliadori corsi*; 'Corsican workers' union'), pictured in figure 13. The positioning of *i nostri primà l'altri* therefore suggests an intention to devalue CGT by supporting a local alternative. This not only represents a preference for one union over the other, but — given the direct reference to 'our own' and 'the others' seen here and elsewhere — for a Corsican organisation over a French one.

Figure 13. STC electoral sticker

[INSERT FIGURE 13 HERE]

The LL also attested 22 items on posters advertising demonstrations, aspirations, and objectives of the independence movement. The first example shown in figure 14 contains the slogans *Tutti in Aiacciu* ('Everyone in Ajaccio') and *libertà per i patriotti* ('freedom for the patriots'), as well as the phrase *Corsi | dumane saremu ghjudicati* ('Corsicans | tomorrow we shall be judged'). A text in biro adds: *libertà per i patriotti in priggio* ('freedom for the patriots in prison').

Figure 14. Independentist event posters

[INSERT FIGURE 14 HERE]

The lower-left poster in figure 14 advertises a public demonstration in aid of a 'political solution' in the town of Corte in the centre of the island, organised by student group *Ghjuventu Indipendentista* ('Independentist Youth'). The lower-right poster advertises a fundraising 'evening for the patriots' in the commune of Biguglia, about seven miles south of Bastia, organised by *Associu Sulidarità* (an organisation which campaigns for the release of

Corsican political prisoners), with the promise of a veal roast, tombola, and performances by Corsican-language singing groups *Arcusgi, Chjami Aghjalesi,* and *Surghjenti.*

The striking difference between these and the gastronomy signs discussed above is the unanimity of Corsican and the complete absence of French, not only in the political slogans and names of the events, but also in the key information given about their times and locations. On the one hand, this demonstrates that the authors are prepared to risk excluding the majority of the readership which does not understand Corsican; on the other hand, it illustrates their prioritising of Corsican as a symbolic resource and their support for the use of the RL within the context of the nationalist movement.

Figure 15. *Amnistia* poster calling for the release of political prisoners.

[INSERT FIGURE 15 HERE]

This politicisation of the RL is further substantiated by the 21 posters calling for *Amnisitia pà i patriotti incarcerati è ricercati* ('Amnesty for the imprisoned and hunted patriots' — cf. figure 15). The visibility of this anonymous poster on seven streets across both cities demonstrates the significant effort put into its distribution (copies were also found on a university campus discussed elsewhere (Amos, forthcoming)). Moreover, their salience in the LL is suggestive of a lack of desire to remove the posters, at least until the point at which the fieldwork was carried out. Along with the demonstration posters and the invitations to social events, these items indicate that support for the island's independence movements and resistance to the French national ideology are established functions of Corsican in the LL.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the major aspects of Corsican visibility as recorded in the central areas of the island's two largest towns. Informed by the empirical data, it has argued that the contexts in which the RL is most salient can be thematically organised as gastronomy, football, and resistance. Since the RL serves as a tangible marker of Corsican identity expressed through the language choice of the numerous and varied authors who contribute to its visibility in the LL, it is thus argued that a process of identity construction is common to all three fields.

The gastronomy items indicate that Corsican identity remains a key objective of authors who commodify the RL as a commercial resource. Most of the examples do not reference this process directly, but rely on the implicit links between place and language, supported by images and emblems of the island which marry the RL with notions of quality, authenticity, and tradition. The additional linking of these values to group identity, upheld through phrases such as *noi* ('us'), and *nostra* ('our'), further underlines the RL's currency in this context, and indicates an inherent resistance of Corsican expression to the dominant (French) linguistic practice and its concomitant national identity. As much as the textual references to Corsica and its language, pictorial representations of the island draw a direct link between Corsican identity and the RL, which is projected onto the products, goods, and services on sale. As Blackwood and Tufi (2015: 142) contend, this signifies the extent to which Corsican is embedded within the island's internal economy. It may be argued, in addition, that this process represents a commodification of the RL that reaches beyond Corsica's shores, as products are sold to visitors from mainland France and beyond.

The commercialising of local products in Corsican — ranging from *Pietra* to cured meats and cheese, and from beach bags and clothing to football — indicates that, to borrow Fishman's (1991: 20–24) terms, many actors consider the RL to be 'the most appropriate' conveyer of localness. In the instances where Corsican is preferred to French, therefore, it may be argued that this represents a challenge to the official language. It cannot confidently be claimed that every Corsican text is intended as a direct affront to French to the same extent as many of the nationalist graffiti slogans; however, the establishment and maintenance of the RL as a marketable commodity indicates the power of Corsican to exist in multiple contexts, from many of which French is absent. In this sense, the LL attests to a sense of achievable linguistic independence, even if support for complete political independence is waning (Serrano, 2011).

It has not been possible here to discuss other ways in which this identity discourse permeates the LL. Of particular importance is the use of the RL by official actors in (for example) Ajaccio's bilingual city crest (*Ville d'Ajaccio | Cità d'Aiacciu*), the names of the city halls (described both as *Mairie* and *Hôtel de Ville* in French, and *Merria* and *Casa Communa* in Corsican), and the advertisements for public participation in *conseils de quartier* ('district political meetings'), expressed in Corsican as *incontru citatinu* ('citizen meetings') and which discuss democratic procedural activities at the municipal level in Corsican only. Future studies may wish to examine the impact of these and other aspects of the LL in terms of the challenge brought to national authority by local offices and organs of the State. From the perspective of this chapter, however, it is clear that the vitality of Corsican in the contemporary LLs of Ajaccio and Bastia is conveyed not only through associations with tradition and localness, but is also entangled with parallel factors of identity construction, conveyed principally through support of local football clubs and institutions, and resistance to the national linguistic ideology.

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Notes

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[1] In the case of Ajaccio, this approach required adaptation to account for the fact that the city centre curves around a bay. Investigations made on foot indicate that the focal point of the city lies on the west side of the bay, amongst the majority of the largest streets, shops, and public buildings.

[2] The variables and values within them have been developed from existing methods and theories in the LL field, including work by Cook (2013); Jaworski (2010); Kallen (2010); Reh (2004); Scollon & Scollon (2003); Solé Camardons & Romaní (1997). These and other methodological developments are discussed in detail elsewhere (Amos & Soukup, forthcoming).

[3] All percentages are rounded up to the nearest .1%.

[4] The total number of values shown for each variable differs because the variables did not each include the same number of values. Whilst only five values were recorded in the materiality variable, for example, the site variable contained 42 values, and field yielded 47 values.

[5] Right image reproduced for clarity from http://www.brasseriepietra.corsica/.

[6] Right image reproduced for clarity from http://www.corsenetinfos.corsica/Brasserie-Pietra-lance-Rossa-_a9791.html.

[7] Several scholars have commented on the parallels drawn by various European regionalist movements with the Scottish case. See Pittock (2008) for an overview, as well as Moreno (2006), Paquin (2002), and Sorens (2009).

[8] This is here discussed in the context of the LL. For more information on Corsica's various independence movements and their links with language politics, see Arrighi (2002), Arrighi & Jehasse (2008), Jaffe (1999; 2014), and Serrano (2011).