

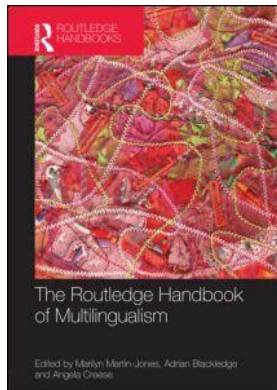
This article was downloaded by: 10.2.97.136

On: 04 Jun 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism

Marilyn Martin-Jones, Adrian Blackledge, Angela Creese

Multilingual citizenship and minority languages

Publication details

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203154427.ch4>

Alexandra Jaffe

Published online on: 31 May 2012

How to cite :- Alexandra Jaffe. 31 May 2012, *Multilingual citizenship and minority languages from: The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism* Routledge

Accessed on: 04 Jun 2023

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203154427.ch4>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Multilingual citizenship and minority languages

Alexandra Jaffe

Introduction

In this chapter, I use the Corsican case to examine shifting discourses about language and citizenship at supranational scales (European and “global”) and their implications for minority language speakers and minority language revitalization. The shifts I am referring to involve the replacement of an idealized monolingual national citizen with an idealized plurilingual European/global citizen; a movement away from static/essentialist models of identity and language towards process-oriented models of identification and communicative practice; an emphasis on linguistic repertoires rather than languages as fixed and bounded codes and a focus on the role those repertoires play within participatory frameworks of democratic practice in the public sphere. Although the Corsican situation has its particularities, it also serves as a case study that illustrates how these kinds of discursive and ideological shifts constitute new resources for the articulation of minority language identity and for minority language policy, planning and educational practice. At the policy level, I show the way that these wider frameworks have been adopted in Corsican language planning documents that construe Corsican–French bilingualism as a privileged form of currency in new markets of linguistic exchange and new models of the ideal “plurilingual” citizen, defined by his or her intercultural competencies and dispositions of openness/tolerance for diversity. At the level of educational practice, I provide one extended example of how these general orientations are enacted on the ground in a trilingual (Corsican–French–Italian) theater project that took place in 2005.

Finally, I consider some of the limitations and challenges of the discursive shifts that I have described. That is, the progressive ideal of the plurilingual citizen coexists, in an often unresolved tension, with “older” discourses and their embedded ideologies. As Beacco and Byram put it, within the European context, both the linguistic ideology of the nation and the linguistic ideology of the economy continue to influence government language policies and practices (2003: 24–6). The former posits “linguistically homogenous political entities” (Beacco and Byram 2003: 20) and, as Gal (2006: 17) emphasizes, rely on the ideal of Herderian notions of linguistic authority and identity. The latter frames multilingualism as a “cost” for efficient communication and ranks codes in terms of market, rather than cultural value. Finally,

the discourse of participatory citizenship begs the question of who defines what linguistic practices will “count” as adequate participation and leaves open the possibility of new forms of exclusion.

Globalization, repertoires and linguistic citizenship

Many scholars of language and globalization have pointed out how globalization results in changes in the number and nature of the “scales on which social activity and interaction take place” (Fairclough 2006: 21) and, hence, affects the composition of sociolinguistic repertoires and the value and legitimacy associated with the codes they include (Blommaert 2009: 561–62). One result of the mobility of persons, goods, services, capital and communication across national boundaries is an emphasis on the value of mobile, multilingual linguistic resources for translocal activities and exchanges (Blommaert 2009: 565; Stroud and Heugh 2004: 210). As Heller puts it, “speakers draw on linguistic resources in ways that make sense under specific social conditions” (2007: 2); conversely, when those social conditions change, the nature of those resources can also be reconceptualized (Stroud and Heugh 2004: 211). The significance of these global discourses about the exchange value of multilingualism for minority languages is complex and quite varied when viewed within a market logic, as market considerations can drive language hierarchies that can either benefit or disadvantage particular minority language groups (Block and Cameron 2000: 5; Heller 2001). Here, however, I want to focus on the significance of the notion of “exchange” within a political ideology and make the case that, to the extent that global citizenship is defined as the capacity for cultural and linguistic exchange and potential joint action, good citizens are those who cultivate the resources necessary to effect that exchange. Speaking more than one language thus becomes a resource for citizenship.

This is, in fact, the argument for “linguistic citizenship” made by Stroud and Heugh (2004). This post-liberal understanding of citizenship is founded on a “participatory” model of democracy and replaces definitions of the polity as requiring “a constituency of commonality” (2004: 205) in which cultural and linguistic homogeneity is “legitimately” imposed by the majority (Williams 2008: 56). Democratic/participatory citizenship emphasizes people’s rights and obligations to participate in the economic, social and political life of the communities to which they belong, from the local to the supranational levels (Starkey 2002: 7) and to recognize the rights of culturally and linguistically diverse groups within those communities to participate. In this respect, it addresses unequal access to participation by different categories of social actors. As a set of fundamental human rights, citizenship in the participatory/democratic model is something that each person *has*; at the same time, it is conceived of as something that has to be actively accomplished. The basis of *belonging* is thus the exercise of choice/agency, rather than essential or primordial characteristics (“blood” or “mother tongue”, for example). We can thus speak of *acts of citizenship*, like acts of identity, which produce and reproduce social memberships and relationships, and the moral and legal frameworks that govern community life. Within a participatory framework, we can productively view citizenship as a *stance* that individuals can take up through, among other things, linguistic choices and practices that include speaking a particular language, speaking it a particular way or engaging in particular modes of interaction with their attendant sociocultural implications for relationship and belonging (see Jaffe 2009). But stance is not simply a matter of individual adoption, it is also an interactional accomplishment: stances claimed by individuals can be ratified, ignored, modified or contested; stances can also be attributed to people without their full consent.

Acts of citizenship: the local and the supralocal intertwined

Viewing citizenship as stance thus underlines the importance of *recognition* of citizenship status and claims. That is, acts of citizenship have to be recognized by others; acts of recognition define both the status of the individual and the nature of the collectivity. Here, as Cerruti (2004) points out in her study of inheritance law and practice in the early French state, there is no “natural” space of belonging, nor is belonging simply “invented”: it emerges out of interactions in which individuals position themselves as competent to fulfill the obligations of the social contract; that competence is a function of mobilizable social resources, language/communication being one of them. In a period where the letter of the law forbids foreigners from owning property, Cerruti shows that some foreigners became property owners. She attributes this to local level accommodations and interpretations of the law, relative to those individuals’ social capital and networks. She concludes that a literal reading of the law (you can only inherit or transmit property if you are a French citizen) gets the causal relationships wrong: in fact, people became French because they managed to inherit or transmit property.

A process/practice approach to belonging also applies to the notion of the community itself, which is defined less in terms of the innate characteristics of its members but by the common vision enacted by collective acts of citizenship.

Language, plurilingualism and democratic citizenship: European frameworks

Within the European Union (EU), plurilingualism is defined as a set of competencies that are the precondition for social interaction among Europeans and the development of “the feeling of being European with all its cultural wealth and diversity” (Byram 2006). Beacco and Byram put it this way: democratic life in Europe requires the creation of a public space “in which everyone can play a part and be recognized as belonging to [a] community of citizens” (2003: 69). Because Europe is plurilingual, this space has to be too, especially if Europeans wish to deny the monopoly of English as a lingua franca. That is, developing lingua francas is an integral part of European Language Education policy (Breibach 2003: 17). Thus, in the Council of Europe’s *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe*, we find the following statement: “Plurilingualism ... is above all crucial for social and political inclusion of all Europeans whatever their linguistic competences, and for the creation of a sense of European identity ... [it] ... allows participation in democratic processes not only in one’s own country and language area but in concert with other Europeans” (Beacco and Byram 2003: 9). This perspective is realized in support for *education for plurilingualism* (2003: 16) and in the Council of Europe’s 1999 Declaration and Programme of Action of the Committee of Ministers on *Education for Democratic Citizenship based on the Rights and Responsibilities of Citizens*. Plurilingualism for social interaction and cohesion and for participation in a shared public sphere is not conceived of solely in terms of elite, high-level, purely linguistic competencies. In fact, *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* distinguishes *multilingualism* (as individual knowledge of multiple languages or the presence of multiple languages in a given society) from *plurilingualism* (Council of Europe 2001), which is defined as a “complex or even composite” communicative competence based on “varying degrees of proficiency in several languages and experiences of several cultures.” Plurilingualism is thus the ability to make flexible use of a linguistic repertoire in intercultural communication (2001: 4, 168).

In these European documents, plurilingual competencies are not just tools for the exercise of citizenship, becoming and being plurilingual are framed as fundamental ways of acquiring

and exercising positive moral and social dispositions towards linguistic and cultural diversity (Beacco and Byram 2003). Plurilingualism is thus presented as a core act of citizenship. This translates into Council of Europe support for *education for pluricultural awareness*. This is aimed at forming a plurilingual citizen who is “able to recognize the wealth of linguistic repertoires [of others] and to identify collectively and affectively with that multiplicity” (Beacco and Byram 2003: 21); she recognizes language rights as cultural rights (particularly those of minorities) and is able to negotiate intercultural encounters. Recognition of language rights includes respect for languages and their historical associations with particular communities, but it also includes respect for individual and collective agency, for acts of identification through language (2005: 9). As such, plurilingualism is defined as an “essential component of democratic behavior” (Beacco and Byram 2003: 68). “Europe,” writes Beacco, “should be identified not by the languages spoken within it, but by a common perspective on language diversity” (2005: 21). Education for plurilingual competence thus targets “existential competences”: attitudes, motivations, values, beliefs, cognitive disposition; “*savoir être*” (knowing how to be) (Council of Europe 2001: 105).

Finally, plurilingual education is connected to the ideal of democratic citizenship as a model of practice, through its legitimation of multiple languages and in its recognition of differentiated strategies for the teaching of different languages to different speakers with uneven competencies (Council of Europe 2001: 134). That is, the practice of plurilingual education is linked with a commitment to *differential citizenship*, which pursues policies that create equity for weaker or threatened groups (Beacco 2003: 69).

The texts presented so far lend support for a plurilingualism that encompasses regional and minority languages without naming them explicitly. In addition, the 1992 *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages* promotes

the protection and promotion of regional or minority languages in the different countries and regions of Europe [because they] represent an important contribution to the building of a Europe based on the principles of democracy and cultural diversity within the framework of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

(Council of Europe 1992: 1)

Plurilingual citizenship in contemporary Corsican language planning

In this section, I examine the deployment of European notions of plurilingual citizenship in contemporary Corsican language policy and planning. I refer to the following motions and language planning documents:

- Deliberation 05/112 AC of the Corsican Assembly (1 July 2005) Approving Strategic Orientations for the Development and Dissemination of the Corsican Language;
- Deliberation 06/107 AC of the Corsican Assembly (29 March 2007) Authorizing the President of the Executive Council to Sign the Projects of Conventions between the State and the Corsican Territorial Collectivity Relative to the Plan for the Development of the Teaching of Corsican Language and Culture for the Period 2007–13;
- Council for Corsican Language and Culture (Cunsigliu di a Lingua è di a Cultura Corsa) “Lingua Corsa: un fiatu novu [The Corsican Language: A Second Wind] for the Corsican Language]” 2007; the final version of the 2005 report of the Scientific Committee to the Corsican Assembly on which the 2005 vote was based;
- PRDF: Strategic Plan for Language Development, Corsican Regional Assembly, 26 July 2006.

The timeline for the development of these documents can be explained thus: in 2004 the Corsican Territorial Collectivity convened a committee of experts (called the Scientific Committee) to report on the current state of the Corsican language and to make recommendations for strategic language planning policy for the next few decades. This committee was composed of linguists, language planners, bilingual educators and outside consultants, including Jean-Claude Beacco, who served in an expert advisory capacity at the EU level in the Language Policy Division in Strasbourg. It held both open/public forums on Corsican language in the media, education and economic life and drafted a report that served as a blueprint for the Strategic Plan that was voted in by the Assembly, as well as for a separate Language in Education Policy document approved by the Assembly the same year (29 June 2006). A final official version of this report was published in 2007 (see document 4, above).

Discourses of globalization: redefinitions of markets and linguistic value

In the Assembly's deliberation of 2005 (see document 1), the importance of the Corsican language is affirmed as "social bond, heritage, and resource for the development of Corsica" (Assemblée de Corse: 2005: 6). The discourse of heritage and of social bonds—that is, of Corsican as an essential characteristic of Corsican culture and identity—affirms the value of Corsican in terms that remain unchanged from the early days of the Corsican Regional Assembly, and the nineteenth-century Nationalist frame of reference for identity claims.

Under the heading "Openness," however, we find the following statement:

European construction, the globalization of exchanges, tourism, population movements, urban mixing lead us to a view of language and identity that is no longer confined to intimate social circles and sites of ancestral allegiance, but as values of exchange, sharing and openness, be it with reference to the learning of the language by new residents, contact with other languages, consciousness of a Mediterranean and European identity, cultural exchanges or the economic valorization of [cultural] specificity (labels, "identity" products, tourism).

(Assemblée de Corse 2005: 5)

The notion that the Corsican language is a resource for economic development is pursued in an executive summary document on Corsican language policy prepared by the head of the Corsican Language and Culture Office at the Corsican Territorial Collectivity, who writes that:

through identity branding of [Corsican] products and of Corsica itself, [language] can be a source of differentiation (symbolizing the typicality of products; "Made in Corsica" for tourism) and of creativity that is not just cultural (popularity of polyphonic music, for example) but economic (the food industry but also all domains in which consumption is enhanced by a symbolic dimension: tourism, fashion, the craft industry.); markets which have been underdeveloped ... In a global context, [identity economies] make it possible to exploit "niches".

(Graziani 2008: 2)

Of interest to us here is the marriage of a discourse of "openness" and cultural exchange with identity marketing in a global context. The Corsican language becomes a marker of a cultural authenticity and specificity that can be sold: it lets tourists know about the difference they can consume, and authenticates the cultural value of specific commodities. In this respect,

the discourse of the Corsican Assembly draws on the potential of the global to give new value to the local, including local languages (Heller and Boutet 2006; Jaworski and Pritchard 2005).

There is a trace, in Graziani's text, of unease related to the fit between the "new market" value of Corsican as a display of cultural authenticity for commercial purposes and its historical value as a heritage language and between language as an instrument of communicative exchange versus a tool of economic exchange. It lies in the information structure of the phrase that alludes to creativity as "not just cultural ... but economic." That is, cultural creativity in this phrase is taken for granted/given; economic creativity is not. Readers are invited to view economic activity through the lens of the cultural forms (polyphonic music) they already view as legitimate.

Overall, however, market considerations are a very small part of the discourses about the value of Corsican in this corpus of deliberations and policy documents. The greatest emphasis is placed on harmonizing the historical legitimacy of Corsican as a language of local identity and heritage with progressive ideals of plurilingual European citizenship and a Mediterranean cultural identity. This goal is stated explicitly in all of the planning and policy documents above. For example, in its initial report to the Assembly before the 2005 vote, the Council for Corsican Language and Culture stated that it aimed to "articulate the collective identity aspirations [of Corsicans] with the plurilingual dynamic advocated by European authorities" (2007: 5). The Council Members and a subsequent policy document identify two key strategies towards this end: (1) strategies for "linguistic stimulation" targeted at Corsican; and (2) "openness" towards plurilingualism (Council for Corsican Language and Culture 2005: 3) within a European and Mediterranean geographical context (Collectivité Territoriale de la Corse 2007: 19).

Plurilingual repertoires and the reframing of language shift and revitalization

One of the ways in which the European discourse about plurilingual repertoires has been mobilized at the Corsican level has been to reframe the results of language domination and shift: that is, the mixed and uneven levels of competence many Corsicans have in the Corsican language. The Council for Corsican Language and Culture Final Report is careful to define plurilingualism as "the ability to use several languages in order to communicate, languages that one masters to varying degrees" (2007: 63) and to define the individual's plurilingual repertoire as being similarly made up of varied kinds and levels of competencies, in a variety of codes acquired at different stages of life (*ibid.*). The composition of that repertoire thus has the potential to shift across the lifespan (2007: 374). Council Members state explicitly that the repertoires approach as a tool of Corsican language revitalization is important because popular concern about the decline in spoken Corsican "tends to consider that understanding Corsican is not a competence." In contrast, they write that "adherents to a repertoires approach take the opposite position" (2007: 375) and go on to affirm that "every competence in a language, no matter how small, deserves recognition and can be officially certified, in contrast to dominant perspectives on language competence that only valorize high-level competencies and do not attribute any value to non-expert forms of language" (*ibid.*).

Let us unpack, for a moment, the following sociolinguistic phenomena being alluded to here: (1) hierarchies of value related to different forms of Corsican competence and practice; (2) linguistic insecurity among Corsican speakers with reference to a notion of expert knowledge or *bon usage* in the minority language; and (3) an idealized "balanced" bilingualism as a criterion for legitimate and authentic Corsican identity and minority language practice/skills. First, the text makes direct reference to the potential for a repertoires approach to repair social

misrecognition of comprehension skills. But the over-valorization of active oral skills also indexes another form of misrecognition: the undervaluing of school competencies in Corsican, where children's levels of spoken practice tend to lag behind their abilities in comprehension, reading and writing. The repertoires approach thus helps to valorize the outcomes of language revitalization through schooling; outcomes that do not reproduce "traditional" forms of minority language linguistic knowledge. These new forms of competence are still subject to critique from the Corsican society at large, in a "resistance of separation" (Jaffe 1999) to academic definitions of a language that has historically been experienced and given value outside any formal contexts. But that society also exhibits a converse response to the elaboration of a "high" form of Corsican in academic and literary circles: linguistic insecurity of both vernacular speakers and learners of Corsican who evaluate themselves negatively with reference to an academic norm. In short, in the current sociolinguistic context, there is competition between the value and authority of an "authentic" Corsican, defined almost exclusively as first-language oral skills practiced in informal domains and a "good" Corsican learned in school and practiced by "professionals": one or the other of these frames of evaluation has the potential to de-legitimize and disenfranchise many Corsicans' knowledge of the language. So too does the implicit, but powerful image of the "balanced bilingual" (Jaffe 2007), which is out of sync with the inherent "imbalance" (or differentiated practices, competencies and values) of Corsican and French in both individual and societal repertoires that is the outcome of both language shift and language revitalization. Thus, the reference in the excerpt above to "non-expert" forms of language as "subject to certification." In short, the validation of multiple kinds and levels of competence in a plurilingual repertoire has significance in efforts to shape public opinion about what counts as Corsican, and what counts as being a Corsican–French bilingual in the current sociolinguistic context. The goal is to maximize the range of linguistic competencies and practices in Corsican that will "count" as gestures of solidarity, identification and belonging at the regional scale by tapping into discourses at a European/global scale.

Plurilingual repertoires in education

The concept of the plurilingual repertoire has also been widely adopted in Corsican bilingual education, where the phrase "bi-plurilingualism" has become the preferred term to describe its ultimate goals. The adoption of this phrase is important because it avoids a number of pitfalls associated with talking uniquely about Corsican–French bilingualism. First, the image of a plurilingual trajectory in the life of the learner reframes school bilingual practice as a stage along the way rather than as a final outcome. "Bilingualism," commented the Regional Inspector for Corsican Language and Culture, "is only a stage on the path towards plurilingualism" (Arrighi 2004: 1), going on to characterize monolingualism, and an associated monocultural view of the world as a deficit in the modern context (2004: 2). In another document, a member of a Corsican bilingual teachers' association marries a Whorfian take on language and thought with becoming a pluricultural person, rather than with becoming more authentically Corsican, writing that:

Each language corresponds to a vision of the world, a way of thinking of it, creating it through the verb. The child quickly acquires a relativistic perspective on the world; he/she is capable of accepting the different visions of the world that other foreign languages will present to him. This makes him a pluricultural being.

(*Sciolilingua* 2004: 1)

In a similar vein, Defendini and Pergola (Corsican Education Inspectors) write that “We have to meet the challenge of forming tomorrow’s European citizens. Plurilingual citizens from a Mediterranean region integrated within Europe” (2007: 121). They evoke the linguist Claude Hagège and his advocacy of effective language education for plurilingualism, and go on to cite the following excerpt from the work of Gilbert Dalgaglian: “Plurilingual education consists of creating a symbiotic relationship between the small region and the larger geopolitical entity, cultural roots and openness, unity in respect for diversity” (ibid.).

The shift from a discourse of bilingualism to a discourse of “bi-plurilingualism” is significant for the promotion of minority language education in the Corsican context because it sidesteps competition with dominant languages (especially English, but also other romance languages like Spanish and Italian) for a place in a bilingual repertoire. This competition is very real and manifests itself in language choice practices in middle school (*collège*) and secondary school, where parents and students often opt for dominant foreign languages instead of Corsican whenever the curriculum permits or forces such a choice. Such competition is only intensified by widespread popular acceptance of the cognitive and academic advantages of early bilingualism, a point to which we will return. This allows Corsican–French bilingualism to be represented as a privileged point of departure—a springboard—for the development of additional linguistic competencies. The Collectivité Territoriale de la Corse thus asserts, supported by reference to the expert discourse of linguist Jean Duverger that “early bilingualism (acquired before the age of seven) prepares the child for the learning of other languages, and favors the acquisition of numerous other consequences. This is why it is important to privilege bilingualism even before school starts, in preschools and daycares” (2007: 19). Teaching Corsican is thus “not just about insuring the transmission of the language, but also about using it as a foundational resource for developing an aptitude for plurilingualism among schoolchildren” (ibid.). The unique value of Corsican as a language of intimacy, proximity and cultural value is then introduced into this discourse of cognitive and educational development: “Psycholinguists agree that bilingual education is most effective when the second language is present in the environment of the learner, and can be linked to his or her life history or personal experience” (ibid.). Because Corsican is “present in the environment of our students, close to Latin and other romance languages, [it] is the best language from which to promote schoolchildren’s desire to learn other languages and plurilingual aptitudes. [Corsican] also helps them to better master the French language” (2006: 32). Learning the minority language is thus framed as a form of “extra” cognitive and pedagogical capital (that could not be obtained by the early learning of another dominant language) in a competitive linguistic marketplace that demands both French language proficiency and multilingualism. In this case, we could say that experience and opportunities for practice at the local scale (where there is a second language “present”) are projected and valorized at an international one.

Second, the validation of multiple kinds and levels of competencies in different codes in the discourse of plurilingualism has obvious significance for the acts of teaching and learning Corsican. I have already alluded to its potential to legitimate school knowledge and to attenuate the conflict between school and “traditional” models of linguistic authenticity, practice and value. If school language is sometimes depreciated in popular “traditionalist” discourse, Corsican bilingual education is also sometimes evaluated with reference to excessively high expectations and judged a failure if it does not produce perfectly balanced 11-year-old bilinguals. Thus, the plurilingual repertoires approach makes it possible for schools (and the society at large) to “certify” levels and types of competence that fall short of that idealized balance, but which are in fact attainable in a bilingual elementary school curriculum. In this case, a European/international discourse is pressed into service to harmonize, at the regional level,

images, expectations and models of the bilingual person with the potential of language planning through education in the current sociolinguistic context.

Bi-plurilingualism in educational practice: an example of the plurilingual repertoire in action

Chi si sbaglia, inventa! (Making mistakes is a form of invention!)

This is the title of a trilingual (Corsican–French–Italian) pedagogical resource book that resulted from a year-long, multi-school trilingual project based around the work of Gianni Rodari and conducted in two Corsican schools with a total of 28 bilingual classes in 2005 under the tutelage of the director Orlando Forioso, an Italian expatriate working in Corsica. Rodari was an innovative and award-winning Italian children’s author of poetry, theater and prose who was famous for his writing and for his presentations and workshops for teachers and school-children on the “techniques of the fantastic” (Argilli 2007), which included improvisational prompts for acting and writing based around unexpected or “absurd” pairs of words and concepts. The second page of the book explains, in Italian, Corsican and French, that the title is an adaptation of an Italian proverb that says, “Sbagliando s’impara” (Mistakes are a path to learning). The promotional text on the back outside of the cover reads: “Here, we find errors at the very center of an active pedagogy, where making mistakes is no longer sanctioned, but is an integral part of the learning process ... this is an academic text where the pedagogical dynamic is propelled by dreams and humor.” The message is twofold: creativity requires letting go of conventional notions of error and, as a pedagogical objective, can have equal status to “correctness.” That correctness, furthermore, can be best achieved by the understanding that comes from accepting and analyzing error.

One of the short stories by Rodari included and translated into French and Corsican from the original Italian in Forioso’s resource book illustrates the approach to linguistic correctness embedded in Rodari’s work. Entitled “To be and to have,” it features the character of a professor called Grammaticus who, while travelling by train, meets two Italian workers returning to Italy for elections after a long time abroad seeking work. “Io ho andato in Germania nel 1958” (I went to Germany in 1958), says the first, incorrectly using “to have” (*ho andato*) as the auxiliary verb instead of the verb “to be” (*sono andato*). His companion says “Io ho andato prima in Belgio nel miniere di carbone” (I went first to Belgium to work in the coal mines), making the very same error. Visibly distressed, the professor finally jumps up and berates the two of them: “‘Io ho andato! Io ho andato!’ Here’s the classic error of Southern Italians, replacing the verb ‘to be’ with the verb ‘to have’ in the past participle. Didn’t they teach you in school to say ‘Io sono andato’? The verb ‘to go’ is intransitive, and requires the verb ‘to be’ as its auxiliary?” Taken aback, the workers respectfully agree that he must be right as he is so learned and they stopped their schooling at the age of 11. But one of them finally ventures the following commentary: “It’s true, then, that ‘to go’ is an intransitive verb, something whose importance I couldn’t possibly dispute. But in my view, it seems to me that it’s a sad verb, very sad. Going to look for work among strangers ... leaving one’s family, one’s children.” He continues: “I am, we are! Do you know where we are, with all the verb ‘to be’ and all our hearts? We are still in our country even if we went to Germany and France. We are always still there, and it’s there that we would like to stay, to have nice factories to work in and beautiful houses to live in.” In the end, the professor ends up declaring: “I am a fool, a fool. Here I am trying to look for errors in verb forms ... but the biggest mistakes are found in the state of the world” (Rodari 2007: 99–101).

In this story, the importance of grammatical correctness is subordinated to more pressing truths: the truth of the workers' attachment to their native soil, and the truth of the conditions that push them into economic exile; those truths are eloquently expressed in the workers' non-standard grammar. It is also a story in which identification (the verb "to be") is both subject to structural constraints and an active, individual, affective process. As such, it is a fable that has particular application to the contemporary Corsican context, where language shift (due to structural constraints) has made being Corsican through the use of the Corsican language a conscious and deliberate act of identification with complex repercussions rather than a simple condition of identity. It lends value to those acts of identification (the effort to learn and use Corsican) as acts of attachment to their culture, even if they are linguistically less than perfect. That is, in the context of language education, and Corsican language education in particular, the importance of "correct" speech is subordinated to communication, creativity and a collective project of identification.

Plurilingual practice has a significant role to play here. First, the introduction of a third language into the classroom that has neither the overwhelming historical authority of French nor the affective, symbolic, cultural value of Corsican provides students and teachers with the opportunity to enjoy playing with and making errors in a code with few to zero negative repercussions for identity or status. This shows us that the plurilingual repertoire is not just differentiated in terms of the nature and type of competencies an individual has in a set of codes, but also offers differentiated experiences of language. Second, the linguistic proximity of Italian and Corsican makes it possible for that linguistic play to take place at a relatively high level. That is, in these bilingual schools, most students' Corsican comprehension skills give them good to excellent comprehension of Italian. They thus experience the access that an "imperfect" or "unbalanced" bilingualism can give them to a satisfying plurilingual communicative practice and to metalinguistic experiences related to the subtleties of Corsican: Italian linguistic contrasts. In many cases, their Corsican teachers also model an adult plurilingualism made up of varied competencies in different codes. This is because many of them participate in the teaching of Italian and in trilingual projects such as the Forioso–Rodari one while openly acknowledging the gaps in their knowledge of Italian. They display a positive orientation to being learners of Italian and model the strategies they use to fill gaps in their knowledge of the language for specific communicative purposes. Finally, the linguistic proximity of Corsican and Italian also guarantees the possibility for learning through error, if error is defined as violating code boundaries. For both students and teachers in Corsica, speaking Italian inevitably results in "interferences" between the two languages. In the Forioso–Rodini project, those interferences were simultaneously validated as part of the creative process and used as resources for contrastive analysis. These multiple goals are reflected in the assessment criteria elaborated by one team of teachers during the project (Muracciole *et al.* 2006).

Here we do find an attention to code boundaries and "correct" pronunciation and "error-free" performance, but this is accompanied by an emphasis on metalinguistic awareness of "errors" and a positive attitude towards correcting and learning from them. This frames metalinguistic know-how of two kinds as valuable: (1) knowing about and being able to police linguistic boundaries given the right resources and in specific circumstances; and (2) knowing how to disregard those boundaries for a variety of social, creative and communicative purposes. These understandings were developed through the learning sequence. In the improvisational stage of the students' dramatic work, language mixing and "errors" were accepted and encouraged. In a second stage, they revisited their improvisations and identified linguistic structures in all three languages for explicit instruction and review. The final products (dramatic performances)

Table 4.1 Assessment criteria for 'Chí si sbaglia inventa' theater project

<i>Categories assessed</i>	<i>Skills/knowledge validated</i>
A. Linguistic knowledge	
1. I understand what is asked of me in Corsican, Italian or French	<i>comprehension</i>
2. I am able to distinguish between Italian and Corsican	<i>code boundaries</i>
3. I express myself without interferences	<i>code boundaries</i>
4. I articulate and speak loudly	<i>expressive/performative skills</i>
5. I speak without pronunciation errors	<i>oral linguistic performance</i>
6. I am able to make appropriate word choices	<i>oral linguistic performance</i>
7. I know and use each language's unique characteristics (accents, gestures, forms of expression)	<i>code boundaries</i>
8. I am able to apply and demonstrate the lexical and syntactic knowledge I acquire	<i>active linguistic learning</i>
9. I can recite a text that I have learned from memory	<i>memorization</i>
B. Corsican language	
1. I have correct pronunciation	<i>oral linguistic skills</i>
2. I apply vocabulary and structures I have learned in new contexts	<i>active linguistic learning</i>
3. I am able to express myself spontaneously	<i>oral linguistic performance (high level)</i>
4. I demonstrate pleasure in playing with the language (errors, invented words, words with strong meanings)	<i>metalinguistic stance + creativity</i>
5. I coordinate words, gestures and attitudes in appropriate ways	<i>expressive/performative</i>
C. Dramatic performance	
1. I carry out directions	<i>attitude/comportment</i>
2. I use a discourse that is appropriate for my character	<i>expressive/performative</i>
3. I did not make any errors when I delivered my lines	<i>code boundaries + memorization + expressive/performative</i>
4. I recognize my errors	<i>code boundaries + metalinguistic awareness</i>
5. I am able to articulate the nature of my problems, be they lexical, syntactic or to do with dramatic expression	<i>metalinguistic awareness</i>
6. I self-correct my mistakes immediately	<i>metalinguistic stance/awareness + active linguistic learning</i>
7. I demonstrate through performance the lexical, syntactic and expressive competencies I have learned	<i>active linguistic learning + expressive/performative</i>
8. My performance was smooth	<i>expressive/performative</i>
9. My level of physical movement and gesture was appropriate	<i>expressive/performative</i>
10. I demonstrated imagination	<i>creativity</i>
11. I ask to reimprovise in order to improve my performance	<i>active learning + attitude</i>

Source: (Foriosio, 2007).

incorporated the results of that study, but did not exclude codeswitching and language mixing as creative choices. The evaluation grid also shows that linguistic skills and form were far from the unique focus of the project: there is a significant emphasis on creativity, expressive/performative skills, students' investment in memorization and their stance as active, cooperative learners.

The authors of the assessment grid reported that one of the “real, tangible benefits” of the project was the “pleasure and interest in being part of a bilingual program” exhibited by the children. They concluded with the following:

We want to emphasize that the teaching of a minority language has a non-negligible affective dimension. This is a plus that gives bilingual education its power and its legitimacy. Children are conscious of learning a second language, a language of the region where they are growing up; for some a powerful link to family, for others a part of social life—these are the bases of their motivation to learn ... If it is true that we must always try to make the link with the children’s lives, it’s also true that we need to make a connection with their imaginations, so that school can become a place where everyone who wants to can contribute a small piece of his or her history.

(Muracciole et al. 2006)

Defendini and Pergola, in their assessment of the project, note the same engagement and enthusiasm on the part of the students, and write that “the choice of activities, the work of comparison and reflection on practice lent meaning to the learning process, in the wider context of a plurilingual education” (2007: 121) that they define (see above) in terms of education for democratic European citizenship.

Taken together, these two assessments of the project suggest that creative plurilingual pedagogies make it possible for a local project of identity to be intimately coordinated with a wider plurilingual project. The former provides motivation for Corsican–French bilingualism, a precondition for being able to do advanced work in Italian, and the latter is a catalyst for the work of the imagination—identified as a crucial element in the individual student’s personal investment in the bi-plurilingual enterprise.

Tensions in the plurilingual project: being vs becoming bi- and plurilingual

This coordination of the bilingual and plurilingual agenda is not a completely seamless one. One of the cornerstones of contemporary Corsican discourse about plurilingualism in language planning documents is the representation of Corsica as a bilingual society and of Corsicans as bilinguals. The 2005 Deliberation states that

This plan is thus intended to make use of the still-widespread knowledge of the Corsican language. It aims, on the one hand, to develop and extend the domains in which Corsican–French bilingual competency is observed in use, and on the other hand, to make that competence the core of the linguistic repertoires of Corsican inhabitants.

(Collectivité Territoriale de la Corse 2007: 20)

In a special annex to the Scientific Committee’s Final Report entitled “Plurilingual and pluricultural education, definitions,” the authors emphasize both Corsicans’ diverse linguistic repertoires and their appreciation of that diversity as part of their aptitude for plurilingual citizenship:

Plurilingual competence is one of the foundations of living together. If one recognizes the diversity of languages in one’s own repertoire—their diverse functions and values—that consciousness of one’s own personal diversity favors a positive appreciation of the languages of the Other ... the role of education ... is to lead learners/users to view the development

of their plurilingual competencies as a personal objective as well as the way that they can fully realize their responsibilities as democratic citizens.

(Thiers 2008: 395)

They state that “plurilingual competence is present in all individuals, who are potentially or effectively plurilingual, because this competence is the concrete outcome of the capacity for language that is the genetic heritage of all humans” (2008: 374).

I would argue that in speaking to Corsicans in general and to Corsican decision makers in particular, this text both describes and exhorts, characterizes and projects sociolinguistic identities and states of consciousness in an effort to simultaneously appeal to Corsicans to develop themselves as bilinguals and in doing so, to become better, plurilingual European citizens. The image of latent or incipient bilingualism and plurilingualism is what makes it possible for them to tell Corsicans they are both “already” good linguistic citizens while exhorting them to become better ones through greater use or knowledge of Corsican. This is captured in the description of the “central objective” of the Scientific Committee report: “to reinforce and develop bilingualism in Corsican society in order to better live European plurilingualism” (Thiers 2008: 326).

We find further evidence of this discursive strategy in the use of the term “linguistic *stimulation*” (*dynamisation linguistique*) as the target of policy in all of the Corsican documents referenced above. Compared to “development,” or “revitalization,” or “elaboration,” the term “stimulation” casts Corsican as having an existing, albeit latent vitality that is susceptible to being boosted by a variety of interventions, identified as: (1) restoring Corsican’s vitality in informal linguistic contexts; (2) consolidating Corsican’s gains in formal contexts; (3) making the use of Corsican “normal” for the society in general and for its members; and (4) giving everyone a full linguistic competence in the Corsican language (understanding, speaking, reading and writing) (Thiers 2008: 332).

Corsicans are represented as having overwhelmingly positive attitudes towards Corsican: “For Corsica, knowing the traditional language is most often presented as one of the keys of the environment with respect to history, traditions and even geographic space via toponyms” (Thiers 2008: 328). These positive attitudes are not just “traditional” ones, they are also the outcome of successful language revitalization: “Corsican has significantly improved its symbolic status and has increased in its identity value and impact at the same time as it has lost ground in its traditional domains of use” (*ibid.*).

To return to the concept of the plurilingual European citizen as a disposition towards language, communication, equity and diversity, the picture that emerges in this foundational text is that a Corsican bilingualism in Corsican and French is the basis for the expression and development of plurilingual competencies (*savoir faire*) and dispositions/attitudes/values (*savoir être*, knowing how to be). The latent Corsican bilingual individual and society is represented as poised to assume this European plurilingualism, but not without *work* on both *savoir faire* and *savoir être*; work that language policy and planning measures are intended to facilitate.

It is here that we find a discursive and ideological tension between representations of Corsican bilingualism as being in place (based on “new” definitions of bilingualism as encompassing even passive competence) and being severely threatened and in need of vigorous political, social and economic investment.

For example, the Scientific Committee’s Final Report notes that the positive valorization of Corsican as a result of revitalization efforts to date has some negative results at the level of identity: “The feelings associated with the loss of Corsican are of a loss of familial, social and

cultural heritage; a loss of cultural bearings ... we can thus understand how the loss of Corsican competence can be interpreted as a deficit, even as a major handicap” (Thiers 2008: 328). In the Strategic Plan for Language Development, “deficits in intergenerational transmission of language and culture” are characterized as having negative psycho-linguistic and sociocultural repercussions, with “adolescents having a hard time situating themselves in insular space and time” (Collectivité Territoriale de la Corse 2007: 19) and having only “a fragmented vision of their immediate environment: their neighborhood, their school, in the best of cases their village, but no vision of the island as a whole because this space is not ‘named’ by the school as an institution and seldom evoked in its entirety in the society” (2007: 41). Bilingualism thus becomes a way to fix a cultural malaise, to “reconcile the Corsican community with its language and overcome once and for all the historical conflict with the language of the [French] State” (Thiers 2008: 333).

The stances taken by the authors of this policy document in response to these sentiments of cultural loss/handicap are multiple and complex. This complexity is in part because of the multiple scales within which the value of speaking Corsican is being located, and the multiple spheres of citizenship (local, European and global) in which speaking Corsican is being promoted. One of the tensions of “harmonization” of these multiple scales has to do with the status of the components of the plurilingual repertoire. In the European discourse, all plurilingualisms are potentially equal although practically tipped in favor of dominant languages as tools of wider exchange. European linguistic diversity, as we have seen earlier, is defined as resisting the hegemony of English as a lingua franca. At the regional scale, defending a culturally significant linguistic diversity that includes the minority language involves resisting not only English as the preferred language in a bilingual repertoire, but also resisting other national languages as potential priorities over Corsican language learning. European reference documents on language learning do provide some resources for one line of defense of minority over other languages in a bilingual agenda, on cognitive/pedagogical grounds (we have seen this in the Plan, in reference to the efficacy of bilingual instruction where the second language is “present” in the students’ environment).

But the main line of defense for Corsican–French bilingualism as the baseline from which Corsicans build their repertoire by acquiring other European languages is that it has intrinsic cultural value, that it is needed in order to make Corsicans “whole,” balanced, and anchored in cultural space and time. This argument rests almost inevitably on nationalist rather than post-nationalist ideologies of fixed, bounded and homologous linguistic and cultural entities, of language as an essential marker of authentic cultural identity and comes into implicit conflict with the plurilingual citizenship framework. It also leads to a rather conventional view of language competencies and “good usage” (*bon usage*—language standards). Note, for example, the reference to giving everyone “full linguistic competence” in both oral and written usage as one of the key goals of Corsican language planning. This is a fairly clear allusion to balanced bilingualism defined as equal competencies in both languages, not to a plurilingual repertoire in which multiple levels of competence are validated. “Good usage” in Corsican is also identified indirectly as a target for language revitalization in the Scientific Committee’s Final Report, where the authors comment on the linguistic effects of language shift:

The linguistic erosion that [Corsican] has experienced in informal usage leads, in the long run, to processes of substitution: the language of everyday use [French] ends up infiltrating the vernacular [Corsican], creating linguistic hybrids and a progressive loss of awareness of linguistic standards [*bon usage* in Corsican].

(Thiers 2008: 335)

These commentaries raise the question about how much, and what kind of linguistic and cultural capital “certifies” individuals as Corsican bilinguals at the regional level and, at a supranational scale, qualifies individuals or groups as good plurilingual citizens. The implication is that the individual needs to be culturally grounded, psychologically sound and should have relatively balanced linguistic competencies for their bilingualism to be a springboard for European plurilingual citizenship. From this perspective, the imperfections in Corsican bilingualism at the individual and societal level are handicaps and the glass of European plurilingualism half-empty rather than half-full.

In short, tears in the fabric of Corsican culture—linguistic, cultural and psychosocial rupture alluded to in the report—call for and benefit from the legitimation of practice, process and agency in the work of identification over fixed competencies, codes and identities. However, at this moment in Corsican history, the ideological conversion is not complete, and the model of the plurilingual citizen stands in a sometimes uneasy relationship with older, essentializing models of linguistic identity and legitimacy.

To return to a point made in the introduction, this ideological and discursive conflict at the local level is a refraction of the same phenomena at the European level, where the diversity in the European mantra of “unity in diversity” is still conceptualized in terms of bounded nations, regions, languages and cultures (Kraus 2008).

Conclusions

In the past, minority language citizenship was based primarily on nineteenth-century nationalist models in which minority cultural and linguistic authenticity was measured against an ideal of bounded and homologous codes and identities. Today, however, minority linguistic citizenship is no longer conceptualized solely at a national scale. In the Corsican case, European and global scales of reference have introduced new process and practice-based concepts of linguistic citizenship that are based on plurilingual practices and have the potential to validate forms of linguistic capital that minority language speakers have—even in a context of language shift—and to validate learning and using minority languages and other foreign languages as valuable acts of citizenship. Within a nationalist framework of identity, Corsican speakers with limited levels of Corsican competence risk being evaluated (by themselves or others) as culturally inauthentic. In contrast, we have seen how a plurilingual framework represents Corsican speakers with varied levels of minority language competence as privileged European citizens and promotes classroom practices that place the emphasis on student agency, engagement, imagination and communicative practice across languages rather than focusing solely on their formal knowledge within the boundaries of single codes. This “new” framework, however, has not fully replaced the “old” nationalist one either at the European or the local, Corsican level; this is reflected in the underlying struggle, in Corsican language planning documents, to validate both “being” and “becoming” through speaking Corsican.

Related topics

Regional minorities, education and language revitalization, language rights, discourses about linguistic diversity.

Further reading

Blommaert, J., Collins, J. and Slembrouck, S. (2005) ‘Spaces of multilingualism’, *Language & Communication* 25: 197–216.

(This article addresses how the notions of linguistic and communicative competence are tied to specifics of place and scale, and thus, how multilingualism has specific, differential value depending on the social and political environments in which it is evaluated.)

Coste, D., Moore, D. and Zarate, G. (1997) *Compétence Plurilingue et Pluriculturelle. Vers un Cadre Européen Commun de Référence pour l'Enseignement et l'Apprentissage des Langues Vivantes: Etudes Préparatoires*, Strasbourg: Conseil de l'Europe.

(This publication offers an introduction to the notion of plurilingual and pluricultural competence that has been widely adopted in subsequent Council of Europe publications.)

Heller, M. (ed.) (2007) *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

(This volume explores bilingualism from a social-theoretical perspective, taking a critical perspective on both bilingual practices and discourses about bilingualism.)

Stroud, C. and Heugh, K. (2004) 'Linguistic human rights and linguistic citizenship', in D. Patrick and J. Freeland (eds) *Language Rights and Language Survival: A Sociolinguistic Exploration*, Manchester: St Jerome Publishing.

(In this article, Stroud and Heugh propose a model of 'linguistic citizenship' that involves a critical look at the relationship between linguistic difference and social/political boundaries and hierarchies.)

Bibliography

Argilli, M. (2007) 'Gianni Rodari, biografia tratta dal libro onomimo', in O. Forioso (ed.) *Chi si Sbaglia, Invental* Bastia: Stamperia Sammarcelli.

Arrighi, J. (2004) *Discours de Clôture*, Presentation at Conference on Bilingualism, Corté, France, October.

Assemblée de Corse (2005) *Deliberation 05/112 AC (1 July 2005) Approving Strategic Orientations for the Development and Dissemination of the Corsican Language*, available online at www.corse.fr/documents/Assemblee/delib/53_878_DELIBERATION_N2007-64_AC.pdf

—(2007) *Deliberation 06/107 AC (29 March 2007) Authorizing the President of the Executive Council to Sign the Projects of Conventions between the State and the Corsican Territorial Collectivity Relative to the Plan for the Development of the Teaching of Corsican Language and Culture for the Period 2007-2013*, available online at www.corse.fr/documents/Assemblee/delib/53_878_DELIBERATION_N2007-64_AC.pdf

Beacco, J. (2005) *Languages and Language Repertoires: Plurilingualism as a Way of Life in Europe*, available online at www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistic/Source/Beacco_EN.pdf

Beacco, J. and Byram, M. (2003) *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe, Main Version, draft 1 (revised) April 2003*, available online at www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Guide_niveau3_EN.asp

Block, D. and Cameron, D. (2001) 'Introduction', in D. Block and D. Cameron (eds) *Globalization and Language Teaching*, New York: Routledge.

Blommaert, J. (2009) 'A sociolinguistics of globalization', in N. Coupland and A. Jaworski (eds) *The New Sociolinguistics Reader*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Breidbach, S. (2003) *Plurilingualism, Democratic Citizenship and the Role of English*, available online at www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/BreidbachEN.pdf

Byram, M. (2006) *Languages and Identities*. Council of Europe, Language Policy Division, Strasbourg. www.coe.int/t/.../Byram-Identities-final_EV.doc

Cerruti, S. (2004) 'Microhistory: social relations versus cultural models?' in A. M. Castrén, M. Lonkila and M. Peltonen (eds) *Between Sociology and History: Essays on Microhistory, Collective Action, and Nation-Building*, Helsinki: S.K.S. Press.

Collectivité Territoriale de la Corse (2007) *PRDF 2007-2013*, available online at www.corse.fr/documents/education/PRDF/cahier1.pdf

Council for Corsican Language and Culture (Cunsigliu di a Lingua è di a Cultura Corsa) (2007) 'Lingua Corsa: un fiatu novu [The Corsican language: a second wind for the Corsican language]' in J. Thiers (2008) *Papiers d'Identité*, Ajaccio: Editions Albiana.

Council of Europe (1992) *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages*, available online at <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/148.htm>

—(2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, available online at www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf

- Defendini, M. and Pergola, P. (2007) 'Arts, culture et langues romanes: La grammaire de l'imagination', in O. Forioso (ed.) *Chi si Sbaglia, Inventat!* Bastia: Stamperia Sammarcelli.
- European Council of Ministers (1999) *Declaration and Programme of Action of the Committee of Ministers on Education for Democratic Citizenship based on the Rights and Responsibilities of Citizens*, available online at <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=313139>
- Fairclough, N. (2006) *Language and Globalization*, New York: Routledge.
- Forioso, O. (ed.) (2007) *Chi si Sbaglia, Inventat!* Bastia: Stamperia Sammarcelli.
- Gal, S. (2006) 'Migration, language ideologies and multilingualism', in C. Mar-Molinero and P. Stevenson (eds) *Language Ideologies, Policies and Practices: Language and the Future of Europe*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Graziani, F. (2008) *Structuration des politiques publiques en faveur de la langue corse*, available online at http://files.eke.org/pdf/topaketen_aktak/structuration_des_politiques_publicques/politique_linguistique_corse.pdf.
- Heller, M. (2007) 'Bilingualism as ideology and practice', in M. Heller (ed.) *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- (2001) 'Globalisation and the commodification of bilingualism in Canada', in D. Block and D. Cameron (eds) *Globalization and Language Teaching*, New York: Routledge.
- Heller, M. and Boutet, J. (2006) 'Vers de nouvelles formes de pouvoir langagier? Langue(s) et économie dans la nouvelle économie', *Langage et Société* 118: 5–16.
- Jaffe, A. (1999) *Ideologies in Action: Language Politics on Corsica*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- (2007) 'Minority language movements', in M. Heller (ed.) *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- (2009) 'Introduction: The sociolinguistics of stance', in A. Jaffe (ed.) *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jaworski, A. and Pritchard, A. (eds) (2005) *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Kraus, P. (2008) 'A one-dimensional diversity? European integration and the challenge of language policy', in J. Arzoz (ed.) *Respecting Linguistic Diversity in the European Union*, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Muracciole, A., Muracciole, F. and Pastinelli, M. (2006) *Presentation for Colloquium on Minority Language Education*, Corté, France, July.
- Rodari, G. (2007) 'Essere e avere', in O. Forioso (ed.) *Chi si Sbaglia, Inventat!* Bastia: Stamperia Sammarcelli.
- Sciolilingua, A. (2004) *Introduction à l'Atelier No. 1: Pédagogie du Projet et Enseignement Bilingue*, Presentation at Conference on Bilingualism, Corté, France, October.
- Starkey, H. (2002) *Democratic Citizenship, Languages, Diversity and Human Rights: Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe from Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education*, available online at www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistic/Source/StarkeyEN.pdf.
- Stroud, C. and Heugh, K. (2004) 'Linguistic human rights and linguistic citizenship', in D. Patrick and J. Freeland (eds) *Language Rights and Language Survival: A Sociolinguistic Exploration*, Manchester: St Jerome Publishing.
- Thiers, J. (2008) *Papiers d'Identité*, Ajaccio: Editions Albiana.
- Williams, C. (2008) *Linguistic Minorities in Democratic Context*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.