



RISEUP

REVITALISING LANGUAGES AND SAFEGUARDING CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Grant Agreement: 101095048

D3.1 Description of a European language preservation Ecosystem



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Document Information

Deliverable number:	D3.1
Deliverable title:	Description of a European language preservation Ecosystem
Deliverable version:	1.0
Work Package number:	WP3
Work Package title:	Linguistic Ecosystems
Due Date of delivery:	31.01.2025
Actual date of delivery:	16.04.2025
Dissemination level:	Public (PU)
Type:	Report (R)
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Project name:	Revitalising Languages and Safeguarding Cultural Diversity
Project Acronym:	RISE UP
Project starting date:	01.02.2023
Project duration:	36 months
Rights:	RISE UP Consortium

Document history

Version	Date	Beneficiary	Description
0.1	01.12.2024	SOAS	Structure and table of contents
0.2	31.03.2025	SOAS	First draft for review
0.3	14.04.2025	UT	Reviewed draft
1.0	16.04.2025	SOAS	Finished document
1.1	13.11.2025	M&S	Refined formatting

Executive Summary

This deliverable aims to present a description of a European language preservation ecosystem by analysing the ecological conditions affecting the vitality of the five minoritised¹ languages (namely Aranese, Aromanian, Burgenland Croatian, Cornish and Seto) across diverse sociolinguistic and geopolitical contexts. Framed within the RISE UP project's objective to safeguard endangered languages in Europe, the report draws on a broad conceptualisation of linguistic ecosystems that integrates linguistic, sociocultural, geographical, political, economic etc factors.

The report combines empirical evidence from survey responses with ethnographic insights, literature review, expert contributions and community insights to describe the complex ecological realities in which these languages exist. The reports indicates that while all five languages benefit from high affective value and strong community engagement, they face common challenges: fragile intergenerational transmission, limited institutional support at national levels, contested or uneven processes of standardisation and a lack of integration into informal and digital domains of use. A key theme that emerges is the tangible benefits across multiple domains of engagement with local languages and cultural expression, especially their value for wellbeing.

Geographic and demographic factors also shape the conditions for vitality. Whereas Aranese, Burgenland Croatian and Cornish are broadly territorially concentrated within their countries of origin (although with varying diasporic presence), the Seto area is bisected by the current Estonian–Russian border, while Aromanian is transnationally dispersed. This calls for a combination of translocal, transnational and diasporic revitalisation strategies. Nevertheless, all the linguistic ecologies of the five communities are both locally rooted and symbolically distinct. Across all five contexts, the challenge of revitalisation is shouldered predominantly by grassroots community groups and individuals, with varying levels of support from local and regional institutions and minimal engagement from national governments.

Based on these linguistic ecological findings, the report proposes a framework for a healthy linguistic ecosystem that moves beyond symbolic recognition to ensure the meaningful embedding of minoritised languages in daily life. This includes investment in informal and intergenerational transmission, digital and educational integration and multisectoral collaboration between communities, institutions and policymakers. It also recognises the need to treat language vitality as inseparable from broader issues of identity, cultural resilience, well-being and regional development, among other ecological factors.

The findings and insights presented here will directly inform the next deliverable (D3.2: Guidelines for Language Revitalisation), which aims to propose evidence-based, scalable strategies for the sustainable maintenance and revitalisation of minoritised languages across Europe. As such, this deliverable contributes to the EU policy goals of linguistic diversity, cultural heritage protection and social inclusion in multilingual societies.

¹ The term 'minoritised' is used here to emphasise that the status of these languages as 'minorities' is not inherent, but the result of historical and ongoing sociopolitical processes that marginalise their use and value within society.

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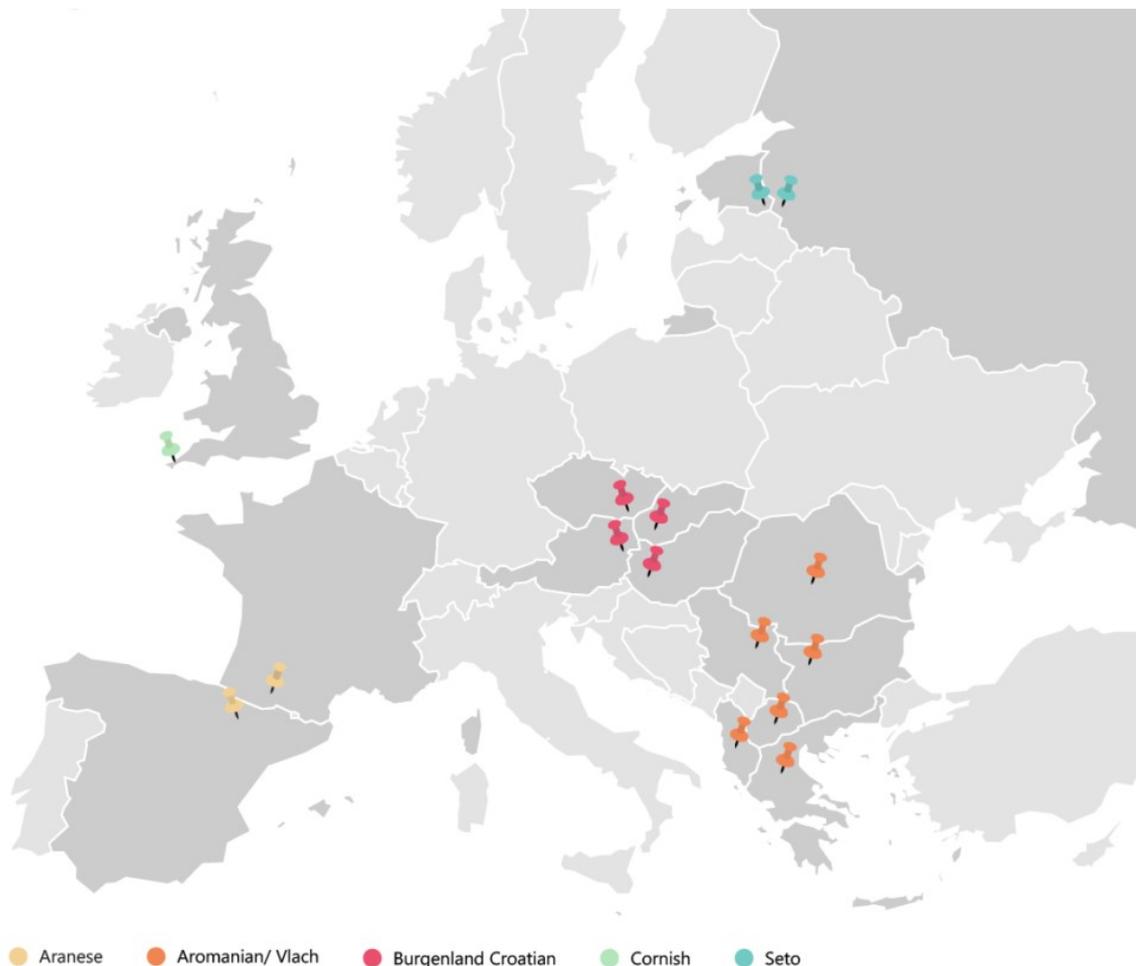
Term	Description
D	Deliverable
WP	Work Package
T	Task
EU	European Union
FCNM	Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
ECRML	Charter for Regional and Minority Languages
RQ	Research Question
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
BC	Burgenland Croatian
EGIDS	Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Ethnologue)
ELCat	Endangered Languages Catalogue
ECRML	European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages
FCNM	Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
LE	Linguistic Ecosystem
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIVIE	University of Vienna
UT	University of Tartu
UR	University of Roehampton
YEN	Youth of European Nationalities
M&S	Minds & Sparks
NURO	Nurogames
L1	First language

1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This report provides a detailed description of a European language ecosystem by discussing the diverse linguistic settings that characterise Europe's endangered and minoritised languages and language communities, specifically the five case study language communities involved in this project. The aim of this report is to present the complex linguistic ecologies within which these languages exist, the various elements that influence their vitality and the mechanisms through which they can be preserved or revitalised. Specifically, the report draws upon insights gathered from five language communities (Aranese, Aromanian, Burgenland Croatian, Cornish and Seto) which were selected for the RISE UP project as a result of their differing levels of endangerment, distinctive sociolinguistic contexts and unique linguistic ecological profiles within Europe. These five language communities are presented in Fig. 1 below.

Figure 1: RISE UP case study language communities



Source: RISE UP selected language communities: <https://www.riseupproject.eu/selected-language-communities/> (RISE UP, 2025)

Having stressed their distinctive sociolinguistic contexts and unique linguistic ecological profiles, we should note that the case studies were chosen to be illustrative of the situations of numerous minoritised languages across Europe, so many of these findings can be applied to other contexts.

Another key focus of this report is the conceptualisation of linguistic ecosystem that extends beyond mere linguistic relationships to encompass sociocultural, environmental/geographical, economic, historical, political, educational, developmental and technological dimensions. By situating languages within these broader perspectives, the linguistic ecosystem approach adopted here enables a nuanced analysis of the wide-ranging variables that shape language vitality and preservation strategies (Hornberger, 2002; Mühlhäusler, 2000). The findings presented in this deliverable are informed by key theoretical perspectives on linguistic ecosystems and language vitality (Haugen, 1972; Hornberger, 2002; Mühlhäusler, 2000 - see section 2.2.1 for a detailed discussion) and language endangerment and revitalisation (Fishman, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Romaine, 2007), including those addressing language endangerment from the lens of language policy (Spolsky, 2004), language ideology and attitudes (Austin & Sallabank, 2014) and language rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994). See Section 2 for our conceptualisation of linguistic ecosystem.

The analysis presented in this report is essentially descriptive, and focuses on the conditions that shape the linguistic ecosystem, the hierarchies that exist within multilingual contexts and the diverse extra-linguistic factors (such as politics, migration, attitudes and culture) that significantly influence language health and sustainability. Empirical evidence underpinning the findings of this deliverable is primarily drawn from data collected through the RISE UP online questionnaire (a blank version of which is reproduced in the Appendix), which was collaboratively developed by the consortium partners and versioned for all the language communities. The questionnaire was designed to address multiple dimensions of language use, proficiency, domains of interaction and intergenerational transmission, as well as community perceptions and attitudes towards their varieties/languages. Tailored versions of the survey were translated into 17 languages to accommodate the multilingual landscapes of the five case study communities. Responses analysed for this deliverable are based on data gathered until 31 July 2024 when the questionnaire was closed.

In addition to survey data, this report integrates relevant literature, ethnographic insights from RISE UP community experts, stakeholder perspectives gained via interviews, and fieldwork observations, to present a nuanced understanding of Europe's language ecosystem. Further details on the methods used are given in Section 3 of this report.

The synthesis provided here serves not only as a foundation for future work within RISE UP but also aims to inform policymakers, stakeholders and community groups on effective strategies for building healthy and sustainable linguistic ecologies in Europe and beyond.

1.2 Relation to other WP tasks and deliverables

This deliverable, which is guided by WP3's objectives, namely (a) mapping linguistic ecosystems, (b) identifying critical factors impacting linguistic vitality, (c) exploring possibilities for intervention, and (d) developing guidelines for stakeholders, interacts with the tasks and deliverables from the other RISE UP Work Packages, particularly WP2, WP4, WP5.

WP2 (Language Policies and Theoretical Background) serves as the theoretical underpinning of the entire RISE UP project. Specifically, WP3's task T3.1 (Analysis of Reasons for Language Endangerment)

has a direct relationship with WP2's T2.1: Analysis of Past and Present Language Policies. The policy landscape examined in WP2 provides critical insights into the historical, political and social factors influencing language endangerment. Additionally, WP3's T3.2 (Definition of a European Language Preservation Ecosystem) explicitly builds upon WP2's T2.2, which identifies stakeholders involved in language revitalisation.

This deliverable is also complemented by the tasks of WP4 (Language Safeguarding and Revitalisation Methods) by offering practical methodologies and tools for promoting and strengthening minority languages. WP4's deliverables (D4.1: collection of practices, activities and tools; D4.2: definition of quality criteria for practices, activities and tools; and D4.3: best practice strategies in language revitalisation) ensure that the guidelines provided by WP3 are not only theoretically sound but also practically feasible and evidence-based.

WP5 (Local Deployment) offers a practical testing ground for WP3's theoretical framework. In WP5, local stakeholders are identified (T5.1) and the evaluation of revitalisation methods is reported (T5.3). WP3's description of the linguistic ecosystem (D3.1) and guidelines (D3.2) directly inform the selection, adaptation and implementation of these methods, ensuring that WP5's activities are embedded in a thorough understanding of the ecological dynamics at play. Additionally, the involvement of local cultural and creative sectors (T5.2) in WP5 allows WP3's ecosystem framework to incorporate creative and cultural practices as integral elements of sustainable language ecosystems.

In addition, WP3 is connected to the rest of the WPs in the project. For example, the design of digital solutions (WP6) might benefit from WP3's ecological insights to ensure they effectively address linguistic, cultural and social factors crucial to endangered language communities. WP3 also relies on WP1 for project coordination, administration and oversight, while simultaneously supporting WP1 to achieve its objectives. Finally, WP3 consistently contributes to WP7's (Communication, Dissemination and Exploitation) objectives by providing reports (including those related to the linguistic ecologies of the language communities) for communication to wider audiences.

In summary, Tables 1 and 2 summarise these interconnections by detailing the deliverables that D3.1 received inputs from, as well as the tasks and deliverables that might draw insights from this deliverable.

Table 2: D3.1 Input from other tasks and deliverables

Deliverable/Task	Due Date	Input for D3.1
D4.1	M12	Collection of practices, activities and tools that promote minority languages
D4.2	M15	Definition of quality criteria for practices, activities and tools
D2.1	M26	Report on past and present language policies, including reasons for becoming an endangered language
D5.1	M12	Description of pilot case studies: preconditions, main stakeholder groups, special requirements, suggested methods

Table 3: D3.1 Output for other tasks and deliverables

Deliverable/Task	Due Date	Output from D5.1
D2.2	M35	Report on need for further research
D3.2	M34	Guidelines for language revitalisation
D4.3	M34	Report on best practice strategies in language revitalisation
D5.2	M32	Involvement of local cultural & creative sector: possible strategies and experiences
D5.3	M35	Evaluation report of methods being used
D6.3	M36	Documentation of RISE UP digital toolset

1.3 Structure of the deliverable

Following this introduction, a background to all the language communities is presented. Each case study community is presented using an identical structure, which aims to facilitate comparative analyses. The case study descriptions primarily draw upon data collected from the following sources: the RISE UP questionnaire, insights from deliverables listed in 1.2 above, ethnographic information provided by RISE UP case study experts and relevant literature.

The case study language description presented in section 2 focuses on aspects relevant to linguistic ecosystem. Since previous deliverables (e.g., D2.1, D4.1, D4.2 and D5.1) have presented general overviews of the five language communities, the overview presented in section 2 below focuses on language vitality levels of the languages and general language ecological issues, such as language contact. This section also provides a theoretical overview in which our conceptualisation of linguistic ecosystem is presented. Section 3 presented the methods used for data collection.

The fourth section presents the range of ecological factors influencing the linguistic ecologies of each language communities, based on data from different data sources (as explained in Section 3).

The final section provides the conclusion and recommendations. It synthesises insights from the case studies to provide practical recommendations aimed at building sustainable linguistic ecosystems.

2 Background

2.1 Ecological overview of the five case study communities

Since the Deliverables from other WPs (see D4.1, D4.2 and D5.1) have presented general introductions to the case study languages, this section overviews these five RISE UP case study language communities (Aranese, Aromanian, Burgenland Croatian, Cornish and Seto) from a language ecology standpoint. More detailed ecological factors found following the analyses of our quantitative and qualitative data are presented in Section 4.

2.1.1 Aranese

Aranese, an Occitan variety of the Gascon subgroup, has enjoyed official recognition within Val d’Aran (an autonomous administrative entity in northwest Catalonia, Spain) since 1979, achieving co-official status with Catalan and Spanish in 1991 (Suïls & Torres, forthcoming). As highlighted by previous reports, Aranese benefits from formal support, including its use in local governance through the Conselh Generau d’Aran, a strong trilingual education system (with Catalan and Spanish) and emerging digital presence driven by younger speakers and cultural influencers, though this is not yet widespread. However, despite this institutional and educational backing, its vitality is classified as ‘Endangered’ (UNESCO), ‘At Risk’ (ELCat) and ‘Threatened’ (Ethnologue EGIDS) – see Table 4 for an overview of the vitality levels from these scales.

A key ecological issue for Aranese is that it is characterised by sociolinguistic imbalance, particularly the pervasive influence of Spanish (Ramallo, 2018). The dominance of Spanish extends beyond typical diglossic domains (such as such as government, media, and formal education), significantly constraining Aranese to formal contexts such as schooling or official institutions, thereby marginalising it in informal and social contexts. This sociolinguistic dynamic largely results from Val d’Aran’s dependence on tourism, drawing a diverse workforce predominantly from Spanish-speaking areas of Spain and Latin America (Suïls & Torres, forthcoming). The consequent economic structure not only enthrones Spanish as the lingua franca but also means that social and economic advancement is associated with proficiency in Spanish rather than Aranese, which further limits motivations for everyday Aranese use in the wider community.

Geographical factors significantly influence the linguistic ecology of Aranese. The proximity of Val d’Aran to the French border historically facilitates cross-border interactions, reinforcing cultural and linguistic affinities with Occitan-speaking communities in southern France (Suïls, 2011). Yet, paradoxically, this geographical closeness has had limited impact on practical language vitality, given the predominance of Spanish and, sometimes, French in tourism-driven economic exchanges (Ministry for Culture, Catalan Government, 2021). As a result, although institutional recognition encourages positive identification among speakers, younger generations and migrants often perceive Aranese as socio-economically dispensable, which might mean their affiliating more closely with Spanish for pragmatic purposes, which shows the divergence between institutional efforts and everyday linguistic realities. This will be examined further in section 4.

The ecology of Aranese is also characterised by long-standing political marginalisation, particularly during the Franco regime (1936 to 1975), when minority languages in Spain were repressed. The effect of this historical moment continues to influence present-day perceptions of linguistic legitimacy and perhaps contributes to structural challenges in embedding Aranese within mainstream socio-economic and cultural life. The effects of globalisation further compound these dynamics, as the dominance of the so-called global languages like Spanish, English, and French minoritises languages like Aranese.

Technology and modernisation present a double-edged sword in the linguistic ecosystem of Aranese. On the one hand, limited digital presence constrains its visibility. On the other hand, emerging grassroots digital initiatives, such as language promotion on Instagram and TikTok, show potential for expanding Aranese’s reach beyond institutional domains. However, the language has yet to benefit meaningfully from advancements in areas such as machine translation, natural language processing,

or AI-driven language tools, which increasingly shape the communicative landscapes of minority language users.

2.1.2 Aromanian

Aromanian, known endonymically as *Armâneashti*, is a neo-Latin language of the Eastern Romance branch, closely related to Romanian and other Balkano-Romance varieties such as Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian (Sorescu-Marinković et al., 2020). It is also known in some places as *Vlach*, although this term is not favoured by community members. While D5.1 detailed its fragmented geographical distribution across six Balkan states (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, North Macedonia, Romania and Serbia) and provided extensive demographic and historical overviews, here we focus explicitly on ecological dimensions impacting Aromanian's vitality that have been less explored previously.

Aromanian's ecological context is profoundly shaped by its scattered territorial distribution across multiple national borders, each country providing distinct historical, political, sociocultural and legal contexts for language maintenance. This cross-border existence significantly affects efforts at linguistic standardisation, identity formation and revitalisation strategies, as policy frameworks vary widely: from substantial official recognition in North Macedonia and limited recognition in Albania, to complete absence of recognition or minority status in Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. Such policy fragmentation creates inconsistent language environments, deeply influencing both intergenerational transmission and speaker attitudes.

Historically, Aromanian-speaking communities evolved under prolonged multilingual contact, having engaged significantly with Greek, Albanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Turkish and Serbian languages, among others (Sorescu-Marinković et al., 2020). This historical multilingualism has resulted in substantial lexical influence from surrounding Balkan languages, embedding linguistic diversity deeply within the ecological landscape of Aromanian communities. Language contact has also been shaped by traditional Aromanian livelihoods: pastoralist herders practised seasonal transhumance, coming into regular contact with numerous social and linguistic groups across the Balkans, whereas merchants often rapidly adopted regional *lingua francas* such as Greek, thereby accelerating linguistic shifts and diminishing intergenerational transmission within these itinerant groups (Nowicka, 2016).

A range of other contemporary ecological pressures further shape the vitality of Aromanian. While official institutions occasionally support language visibility, the linguistic landscape (the visibility of a language in public spaces, such as signs, posters, shop names, street signs, graffiti, and official notices - (Landry & Bourhis, 1997)) across Aromanian-speaking areas typically remains dominated by national languages. Recent observations in Serbia, for instance, indicate increasing visibility of 'Vlach Romanian' in public spaces, yet similar visibility for Aromanian elsewhere remains limited, which further underlines the unequal and fragmented support across national contexts mentioned above (Sorescu-Marinković et al., 2020).

Diaspora communities have historically played a crucial role in promoting Aromanian language consciousness. Notably, diaspora intellectuals like Vasile Barba and Tiberiu Cunia in Germany championed significant initiatives such as the Union for Aromanian Language and Culture, which promotes orthographic standardisation and organises international Aromanian conferences. Despite this diaspora-driven activism, practical maintenance outcomes remain sparse and uncertain, with top-

down standardisation attempts occasionally generating controversy and ideological divisions among speaker communities rather than consensus.

Cultural and identity ecological dimension critically affects language use and vitality among Aromanians. Community attitudes towards linguistic and cultural identity vary extensively, informed by political orientations ranging from pro-Romanian alignment in Romania, pro-Greek orientation among Greek Aromanians, to a third position advocating Aromanian autonomy. In some areas, especially Greece, there is strong social stigma attached to admitting Aromanian ethnicity, which in some cases has led to lack of awareness of Aromanian ancestry. These competing ideological stances generate internal divisions and complexities for cohesive language planning and coordinated revitalisation efforts, which negatively impacts both collective identity formation and community-wide revitalisation efforts.

Intra-linguistic factors also impacts language vitality. Aromanian communities in urban centres such as Skopje and Bucharest experience dialect levelling and mixing, which shows ongoing linguistic adaptation processes within increasingly multilingual and urbanised contexts (Kerswill, 2008). The fragmented and contested orthographies further reflect ecological tensions, with different groups promoting variant orthographies based on wide-ranging ideological affiliations.

The digital aspect of the linguistic ecosystem is another important factor. While emerging digital platforms offer new avenues for learning, especially for diasporic communities, access and engagement remain uneven across regions. No integration of Aromanian into tools such as machine translation, AI-driven speech technologies, or mobile applications currently exists. These digital absences limit the language's adaptability to modern communication spaces. Moreover, the lack of digital standardisation and interoperable orthographies hinders its visibility and normalisation in daily digital routines, especially when compared with the expansive digital footprints of dominant national languages.

Likewise, broader forces of globalisation and uneven development across Balkan regions continue to influence language vitality in subtle but significant ways. Infrastructure disparities (such as limited educational or cultural resources in rural areas) compound the challenge of sustaining Aromanian outside urban centres. In such environments, as mentioned earlier migration towards cities or abroad frequently accelerates language shift. At the same time, the transnational mobility that characterises many Aromanian-speaking families increasingly exposes younger generations to globalised cultural norms, further distancing them from localised (or heritage) linguistic practices.

In sum, the scattered territorial distribution, historical multilingualism, socio-economic influences on language choice, contested cultural identities, limited diaspora impact, dialectal variation and emerging digital dynamics collectively shape Aromanian's linguistic ecology.

2.1.3 Burgenland Croatian

Burgenland Croatian (gradišćanskohrvatski or BC) is a Chakavian-based variety of Croatian spoken primarily in the Austrian province of Burgenland and Vienna, with smaller populations elsewhere in Austria and its neighbouring countries. Previous WP reports thoroughly detailed its linguistic classification, codification history and the ongoing ideological debates regarding its status as either an independent language or a variety closely approximating standard Croatian (Tyran, 2022). It has been recognised as a minority language under Austrian law since the Austrian State Treaty of 1955 and is

protected territorially by legislation, notably the Ethnic Groups Act, with specific provisions on bilingual education (Tyran, 2022).

The ecological context of Burgenland Croatian, however, extends beyond these institutional and legislative frameworks, as it is greatly shaped by historical, geographical, sociolinguistic, demographic and cultural milieus. Historically, the creation of the Burgenland region in 1921 introduced significant geopolitical changes, segmenting the Croatian-speaking population across Austria, Hungary and later Czechoslovakia. This division intensified during the Cold War when the 'iron curtain' dramatically altered cross-border interactions, thereby imposing distinct political pressures on each community and accelerating language shift, especially assimilation into German on the Austrian side (Tyran, 2022). Today, these historic divisions manifest in socio-political tensions within the BC-speaking community, which, similar to the Aromanian case discussed above, complicates unified efforts for language revitalisation.

The sociolinguistic ecology of Burgenland Croatian is profoundly shaped by continuous language contact with German. While bilingual education is officially available, its effectiveness varies. Moreover, the minority rights that protect BC only cover six districts within Burgenland, which means that some urban populations in Vienna are excluded. This partial territorial protection inadvertently reinforces German dominance outside the officially protected areas, which further marginalises Burgenland Croatian and, by extension, limits its use primarily to homes, religious practices and select community contexts (Tyran, 2022).

Geographically, Burgenland Croatian is situated along Austria's border with Hungary. Border reconfigurations historically weakened linguistic cohesion, which has led to increased pressures towards assimilation into the socially dominant German language to avoid socio-political stigma. Despite post-1989 improvements in cross-border mobility, these historical legacies continue to shape language attitudes and vitality. The cultural and identity aspects of the ecology of Burgenland Croatian is characterised by ongoing debates over linguistic authenticity, legitimacy, standardisation and prestige (Ščukanec, 2014). These internal ideological considerations, alongside limited acceptance of the standardised BC variety by speakers of non-standard dialects (Tyran, 2022) hinder collective revitalisation efforts.

Historically, economic migration from rural Burgenland to Vienna due to limited local opportunities results in significant diasporic populations, who actively establish institutions such as the Hrvatski Centar (Croatian Centre) to support language and cultural maintenance (de Frantz, 2006). Such diaspora efforts remain instrumental in providing unofficial educational and cultural resources, partially compensating for inadequate bilingual schooling provisions in Vienna (Tyran, 2022). Despite these efforts, demographic shifts continue to put pressure on younger generations towards linguistic assimilation in favour of German. Further, the linguistic landscape offers visible evidence of ecological support through bilingual topography initiatives. Since 2000, bilingual place-name signs, road signs and cultural installations have become more prominent in officially recognised districts. Recent initiatives have further expanded bilingual signage, including Austrian railway stations, promoting public visibility of cultural and linguistic diversity (Tyran, 2022). Nonetheless, digital ecology remains moderate; although digitalisation intensified during pandemic restrictions, the online presence of Burgenland Croatian, primarily via cultural performances and youth-oriented engagements, has not significantly reversed declining active trends in use.

Overall, this ecological overview highlights how historical border divisions, internal cultural tensions, continuous dominance of German, demographic shifts towards urban diaspora communities and unevenly implemented bilingual education policies significantly shape its current vitality and overall linguistic ecosystem. Addressing these ecological complexities requires integrated strategies that transcend institutional support, targeting broader community cohesion, intergenerational transmission and grassroots engagement (see Section 5).

2.1.4 Cornish

Cornish (Kernewek or Kernowek), a revived Celtic language historically indigenous to Cornwall in the United Kingdom, ceased to be used as a community language by the late 18th century. However, since the early 20th century it has experienced deliberate, community-driven revival efforts. Previous WP reports have extensively detailed the history of this revival, and Cornish's linguistic ancestry and demographic contexts, noting particularly that despite high symbolic significance, the intergenerational continuity of Cornish remains nearly absent, and it is estimated that "between 300 and 400 people are fluent speakers who use Cornish regularly, while around 5,000 have very simple conversational ability" (BBC News, 2015, n. p.).

The ecological context of Cornish is deeply shaped by its historical and ongoing contact with English, which significantly contributed to its initial extinction and continues to limit its vitality today (Stoyle, 2002). Historically, the dominance of English across all public domains (e.g., economic, religious, political and educational) contributed—and still contributes—to eroding the presence of Cornish in everyday communication, thereby causing near-total language shift by the end of the 18th century. Currently, despite a strong cultural revival and widespread symbolic use in signage, arts, branding and public events, functional bilingualism remains marginal (Ferdinand, 2013).

Political and policy-related factors are central to the linguistic ecology of Cornish. Although recognised as a minority language by the British government under two key European frameworks (namely the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 2002 and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 2014) (Cornwall Council, 2015), the policy framework supporting Cornish remains inconsistent and project-based, leading to instability in long-term planning and sustainable revitalisation efforts. Nonetheless, local governmental initiatives such as Cornwall Council's bilingual branding and email signatures contribute positively to the symbolic visibility of Cornish, which helps raise public awareness about the language but often without deepening practical language use or community fluency (Ferdinand, 2013).

The ecological role of the Cornish diaspora is particularly significant. Diaspora communities, largely individuals of Cornish descent residing outside Cornwall, have played crucial roles in cultural preservation, language advocacy, financial support and digital engagement. Through organisations such as Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek (The Cornish Language Fellowship), diaspora communities actively promote Cornish language and culture by contributing to language learning resources, advocacy campaigns and digital media initiatives. Publications like the monthly Cornish-language magazine *An Gannas* provide sustained language-learning resources. This active diaspora engagement has helped establish Cornish as an international symbol of identity, enriching its cultural capital and symbolic presence both within and beyond Cornwall (Ferdinand, 2013).

In terms of linguistic landscape, Cornish increasingly appears in bilingual signage, public art, cultural branding and even national retail chains such as Tesco and Wetherspoons serving the region, though

often symbolically rather than functionally (Cornwall Council, 2015; Schukking et al., 2019). While this symbolic visibility enhances public awareness and cultural pride, it has limited direct impact on everyday linguistic practices, which shows that there is a notable gap between symbolic public presence and actual communicative use.

Although Cornwall does not border another nation-state, its distinct regional identity within the UK significantly shapes its linguistic ecology. Historically marginalised within broader English governance, Cornwall's linguistic revitalisation is deeply intertwined with regional identity politics, cultural autonomy and local activism. Recognition of Cornish as a national minority language has amplified associations between language revitalisation and regional identity, which contributes to motivating language activists (Deacon, 2007). Also, these considerations sometimes situate the language within broader struggles over cultural/regional autonomy and socio-political recognition.

Digital ecology represents an area of relative strength for Cornish. The language enjoys a vibrant online presence, reflected through digital tools, resources and content available to learners and speakers globally. This digital vitality facilitates global learner engagement, enhances the prestige and visibility of Cornish and supports ongoing revitalisation, albeit primarily through adult learning networks rather than intergenerational transmission. However, the integration of Cornish into modern language technologies such as mobile language apps, AI-driven translation tools, or voice technologies, remains largely limited.

The economic situation in Cornwall is characterised by the juxtaposition of local poverty and the relative wealth of tourists and in-migrants. However, the role of rural development and economic opportunity in Cornwall has yet to be clearly linked to language use, even though depopulation, tourism economics, infrastructure and housing pressures affect the region's demographic base, which, in turn, affect language use and vitality in the region. Additionally, intra-linguistic dynamics such as orthographic variation and debates over linguistic authenticity persist (Davies-Deacon, 2016; Lowe, 2010), which occasionally complicate curriculum design, translation and spellings in public signage.

In sum, the linguistic ecology of Cornish is shaped by historical marginalisation, sustained contact with dominant languages, uneven but notable diaspora engagement, inconsistent policy and funding support, symbolic visibility with limited reach, and strong associations with regional identity politics. Effective revitalisation strategies moving forward will need to navigate these ecological dimensions holistically, perhaps by capitalising on strong digital engagement, diaspora support, cultural symbolism and sustained advocacy to improve the social domains in which the language is used.

2.1.5 Seto

Seto, or Setu in Standard Estonian, belongs to the Finnic branch of the Uralic language family and is closely related linguistically to Võro, another regional variety spoken in southeastern Estonia. Previous WP reports have extensively outlined Seto's linguistic affiliation, its demographic distribution across Estonia and Russia and the historical, political and legal contexts of its minoritisation, including issues related to border re-drawings during the 20th century and the resulting division of the Seto ancestral lands (Setomaa) between Estonia and the Russian Federation.

Seto's linguistic ecology is deeply influenced by ongoing geopolitical processes and power dynamics related to Estonian nationalism, language policy and border politics. While Seto maintains a robust ethnocultural identity, notably through traditional singing, festivals and Orthodox religious practices

(contrasting the predominantly Lutheran Estonian majority), its actual linguistic vitality remains under pressure. Seto is considered 'Endangered' by UNESCO and categorised between 'Threatened' and 'Shifting' on the EGIDS scale. Despite reported speaker numbers of around 12,500 in Estonia, practical intergenerational transmission is declining, particularly among younger generations. In fact, some sources suggest that the above speaker population, which is from the 2011 census, reflects people's ethnic affiliation rather than daily use of the language (Jääts, 2015).

Historically, the language ecology of Seto has been characterised by the status of Setomaa as a peripheral and marginalised borderland region. This marginalisation intensified under Soviet rule, where local and regional language forms were suppressed in favour of Russian and Standard Estonian, which, no doubt, profoundly impacted—and continues to impact—Seto's prestige and use in public spheres, as well as attitudes towards it. After Estonia regained independence, nationalist efforts aimed at strengthening the Estonian language and identity led to Seto being classified officially as a regional variety of Estonian rather than a distinct language, a policy which significantly negatively impacts its institutional recognition and protection (Koreinik, 2011). The Estonian Language Act (Keeleseadus, 2011) still does not explicitly recognise Seto, despite ongoing activist lobbying for official language status (ERR, 2023). This situation thus highlights a critical ecological factor where Seto's status remains uncertain, which weakens its perceived prestige and official legitimacy.

Contact with other languages also greatly influences the contemporary linguistic ecology of Seto. The language exists within a multilingual context where interactions with Estonian, Võro and Russian have affected both the linguistic repertoires of the communitive and the vitality of the language. Language mixing is frequent, and Seto speakers often incorporate lexical elements from Estonian, Võro and Russian within single exchanges. While such languaging practices naturally reflect community dynamics, they challenge normative linguistic classifications and standardisation efforts, which tend to pose difficulties for harmonising strategies aimed at promoting Seto as a distinct language (Holsapple, 2022; Koreinik, 2011).

Further recent developments shaping the ecology of Seto include the emergence of a Seto language kindergarten group, Seto courses at the University of Tartu and digital and media initiatives such as weekly Seto news broadcasts. While these developments are important and clearly contribute to the vitality of the language, digital presence and educational integration remain limited and still primarily rely on unstable project-based financing, limiting long-term planning and sustainable revitalisation. Moreover, cultural and identity-related tensions within Seto communities also pose ecological challenges. Efforts to standardise Seto, including a unified orthography shared with Võro, have met with considerable resistance, with many community members rejecting standardisation as incompatible with authentic cultural expression. This tension complicates some aspects of revitalisation (especially those involving written forms), as a significant proportion of the community remains either ambivalent or opposed to a formalised standard. This highlights an ecological paradox where standardisation is simultaneously a potential asset and an obstacle to community acceptance.

Demographic shifts and diaspora have played a critical ecological role in language maintenance. Significant migration from Setomaa to Estonian urban centres during the Soviet era created a diaspora actively involved in Seto cultural and linguistic preservation, notably through leelo-choirs (a traditional singing style) and other cultural activities. This diaspora support maintains Seto language use through cultural practices and has historically contributed to revitalisation efforts by preserving traditional songs and linguistic forms, including those retrieved from Seto communities in Siberia. Some of these

communities were formed as a result of Soviet-era deportations, which forcefully relocated Setos and other minority groups to remote areas, thereby disrupting traditional settlement patterns (Toitoja, 2025), but also inadvertently creating new sites of linguistic and cultural continuity.

Border geography continues to greatly influence language use and maintenance. Following the 1990s border reconfiguration, Setomaa became divided between Estonia and Russia, severely impacting cross-border interactions, land use and familial connections. The effects of this division remains central in contemporary political and cultural identity discourses, perhaps contributing to the mobilisation of Seto political and cultural elites to assert Seto ethnic and linguistic rights at national levels (ERR, 2023).

2.1.6 Conclusion

The detailed ecological analyses provided for each of the five case study languages highlight their distinctive historical, sociocultural, demographic, political and linguistic contexts, with the table below succinctly summarising and visually illustrating the overall vitality status of RISE UP's five language communities (Aranese, Aromanian/Vlach, Burgenland Croatian, Cornish, Seto) as collected from the publicly accessible 28th edition of Ethnologue (thus, not including the EGIDS), the Beta Version of the UNESCO World Atlas of Languages, Glottolog, and the Endangered Languages Project (based on the ELCat).

Although widely used in language documentation and revitalisation work, these vitality assessments should be treated with caution. These tools often apply inconsistent criteria, occasionally omit entire languages or varieties (as seen in the case of Seto in the table), and may fail to reflect local realities or speaker perspectives, including multilingual practices and linguistic ecologies. As such, while they offer helpful reference points, they should not be regarded as definitive; community-based understandings of vitality are essential for a more accurate and context-sensitive evaluation. These speaker- and community-based understandings of vitality are presented in Section 4 of this report, following extensive analyses of our data

Table 4: Language vitality of RISE UP's five case study languages

	Ethnologue (EGIDS). 28 th edition ²	UNESCO (Word Atlas of Languages, Beta ver.) ³	Glottolog ⁴	ELCat ⁵ (Endangered Languages Project)
Aranese	<p>'Alternative Name for Occitan'</p> <p>Endangered</p> <p>Population: 1M to 1B</p>	<p>Endangered/ Unsafe</p> <p>Speakers: 9,999</p>	<p>Listed, but no AES entry (Occitan – AES status: 'not endangered')</p> <p>Comment:</p> <p>Gascon (8631-oci-gsc) = At risk (20 percent certain)</p>	<p>'Gascon [aka Gascon Occitan, Aranés, Aranese]'</p> <p>'A variety of Occitan'</p> <p>At risk (20 percent certain)</p> <p>Numbers: 250,000 native speakers worldwide⁶</p>
Aromanian/ Vlach	<p>'Language of North Macedonia'</p> <p>(Aromunian / Arumanian / Vlach -> 'alternative name for Aromanian')</p> <p>'Aromanian is a stable indigenous language'</p> <p>Institutional</p>	<p>'Aromanian'</p> <p>Definitely endangered</p> <p>Spoken Language</p> <p>Speakers: 999,999</p> <p>'Aromanian in Albania'</p>	<p>Listed, AES status:</p> <p>'shifting'</p> <p>Comment:</p> <p>Aromanian (963-rup) = Threatened (80 percent certain, based on the evidence available)</p> <p>(see Moseley 2005)</p>	<p>'Vlach' leads to 'Aromanian'</p> <p>Source 1:</p> <p>Threatened (80 % certain)</p> <p>Numbers: 350,000 native speakers worldwide</p> <p>Source 2:</p> <p>At risk (20% certain)</p>

² <https://www.ethnologue.com/> [last accessed: February 26, 2025]

³ <https://en.wal.unesco.org/> [last accessed: February 26, 2025]

⁴ <https://glottolog.org/> [last accessed: February 26, 2025]

⁵ <https://www.endangeredlanguages.com/> [last accessed: February 26, 2025]

⁶ Since the population of Val d'Aran only numbers approx. 10,000, this figure presumably includes speakers of other Gascon varieties.

	Population: 10K to 1M	<p>Endangered/ unsafe</p> <p>Speakers: 3,848</p> <p>'Aromanian in Bulgaria'</p> <p>Critically endangered</p> <p>Speakers: 1,826</p> <p>'Aromanian in North Macedonia'</p> <p>Safe</p> <p>Speakers: 3,151</p> <p>Vlach -> your search yielded no results</p>		<p>Numbers: 306,237 native speakers worldwide</p> <p>Source 3:</p> <p>At risk (20% certain) 500,00 native speakers worldwide</p> <p>Source 4:</p> <p>Vulnerable (20% certain) 123,300 native speakers worldwide</p>
Burgenland Croatian	<p>'Alternative Name for Chakavian'</p> <p>Endangered</p> <p>Population: 10K to 1M</p>	<p>'Burgenland Croatian'</p> <p>Endangered/ unsafe</p> <p>Speakers: 99,999</p>	<p>Listed, AES status: 'shifting'</p> <p>Comment: Burgenland Croatian (1230) = Threatened (40 percent certain)</p>	<p>Threatened (40 percent certain)</p> <p>Numbers: 28,000 native speakers worldwide</p> <p>Date of Info: 1970</p>
Cornish	<p>'Cornish is a dormant language of the United Kingdom.'</p> <p>Endangered</p>	<p>'Cornish'</p> <p>Endangered/ unsafe</p> <p>Speakers: 999</p>	<p>Listed, AES status: 'extinct'</p> <p>Comment: Cornish (4050-cor) = Awakening</p>	<p>'Cornish is a 'revived' language; it once had no surviving native speakers (...) but has been learned by many in more recent times.'</p> <p>Source 1:</p>

	Population: Less than 10K	'Cornish in United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland' Severely endangered Speakers: 557		Awakening. '...almost all Cornish speakers are adult learners' Source 2: Awakening. ~600 native speakers worldwide. 468,425 ethnic population. Source 3: Endangered (20% certain) 600 native speakers worldwide
Seto	'Alternative name for Võro' 'Võro is an endangered indigenous language' Endangered Population: 10K to 1M	Seto -> your search yielded no results 'Voro' Endangered/unsafe Speakers: (no data)	Listed, but no AES entry Võro listed, but no AES entry AES status of 'South Estonian': 'shifting' Comment: Võro (2998-vro) = Threatened (80 percent certain)	0 Results for 'Seto' Under 'Võro': Additional comments: '...Although the differences between Võro and Setu are minimal (...), the identities of the speakers are clearly different.' Source 1: Threatened (80% certain) < 50,000? native speakers worldwide More on speaker numbers: 'The number of active and passive (potential) Võro speakers is estimated at 50,000. However, it is counted on the basis of self-reports and can easily be over-estimated.' Source 2: Vulnerable. (80% certain) ~50,000 native speakers worldwide

2.2 Theoretical background

2.2.1 Conceptualising linguistic ecosystem

The concept of linguistic ecosystem draws from the broader metaphor of ‘ecology’. This metaphor does not merely imply a concern with defending endangered languages, but instead offers a model for understanding the systemic and multi-levelled nature of factors that languages interact with (Calvet, 2006). Just as biological ecosystems are composed of interconnected organisms, environments and hierarchical layers, linguistic ecosystems involve languages, their users, institutional policies and the wider contextual factors in which they exist. Like species, languages are shaped by external stimuli and internal regulatory mechanisms, with their vitality influenced by a wide range of factors such as speaker population, attitudes, prestige, institutional support and functional range. This ecological model thus provides a useful lens for examining the conditions under which languages compete, converge, decline, or are sustained. Within this framework, linguistic ecosystem (LE) can be conceptualised in either narrow or broad terms.

The narrow or traditional approach to linguistic ecosystem focuses on the interrelations between languages, including processes such as language contact, borrowing, code-switching and shift, as well as the competition and cooperation among languages for domains of use, speakers and prestige. This understanding of linguistic ecosystem draws heavily from Haugen’s (1972) concept of ‘ecology of language,’ defined as the study of interactions between a language and its environment, especially the relationships between languages in contact (Calvet, 2006).

On the other hand, conceptualised broadly, LE refers to the interactions of languages, dialects or varieties within their specific sociocultural, geographical, historical and political contexts. In this sense, linguistic ecosystem refers to the dynamic and interconnected system of languages, their speakers, institutional structures, practices, ideologies and material conditions that coexist within a defined social, political, cultural and geographical etc context. It involves not only the interaction between languages but also the complex interdependence of individual agency, community networks, policy frameworks, educational environments, digital tools and economic forces that influence the vitality, use, transmission and status of languages. This broader conceptualisation of LE is particularly useful for understanding and addressing the conditions under which minoritised or endangered languages survive, decline, or are revitalised.

While the concept of linguistic ecosystem overlaps with earlier notions such as language ecology or ecology of language, particularly in their emphasis on the interactions between a language and its environment (Calvet, 2006; Haugen, 1972; Mühlhäusler, 2000), it slightly differs from these earlier concepts in its broader, more systemic perspective. Crucially, it extends beyond language contact to encompass all the ecological factors that can shape the life of a language. For this reason and in line with the aims of this report, linguistic ecosystem is the preferred term.

However, it should be made clear that this broad understanding of LE is not necessarily opposed to the narrow understanding presented above since; instead, it encompasses it, given that the interaction between the various (varieties of) languages that exist in a given context is fundamental to any broad understanding of LE. In all forms of ecology (whether biological, social, digital or linguistic), the key point is *interaction* between elements of a system. What the more inclusive understanding adds to the equation is the acknowledgement that there is a wider array of social, cultural, economic and other

environmental factors that influence the use, development and revitalisation of languages over time. The point is that these extra-linguistic factors (politics, geography, history, colonialism, gender, identity, culture, migration, globalisation etc) contribute significantly to the life and health of languages in any given context. To arrive at a complete understanding of LE, it has been argued that the linguistic factors must be considered alongside the extra-linguistic ones (Murugova & Evtushenko, 2023). This is particularly important in the context of language revitalisation since the factors affecting the vitality of languages are often diverse, complex and mostly extra-linguistic.

A linguistic ecosystem has been described as mirroring a natural ecosystem in its complexity and characteristics (e.g. Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001; Maffi, 2001). In such a space, linguistic diversity strengthens cultural and intellectual richness, just as biodiversity ensures ecological stability. Finally, similar to environmental changes that determine the survival of species in the natural ecology, the interaction of sociocultural, geographical, historical and political factors combine to shape which languages survive, or how they evolve over time. If a linguistic ecosystem becomes unbalanced, some thriving languages become dominant, while others become minoritised, endangered or extinct. As a result, languages need to show resilience in order to keep alive.

In light of the above reasoning, our approach in this report favours the broad understanding of LE in order to help us account for the complex landscape of language revitalisation in our five case study language communities. While the range of extra-linguistic factors that can impact the vitality of languages is almost limitless, the range of factors found across the five languages involved in this project are discussed in Section 4.

3 Description of methods

The analysis presented in this report is grounded in a multi-source, cross-method approach designed to capture the complex and varied linguistic ecosystems of five minoritised and endangered language communities in Europe: Aranese, Aromanian, Burgenland Croatian, Cornish and Seto. To build a comprehensive picture of the factors affecting language vitality in each context, the WP3 team drew on five interrelated sources of data: a survey, extensive literature review, ethnographic fieldwork, expert input and informal interviews.

Central to our data collection was the RISE UP Language Revitalisation Survey (see Appendix 1), a purpose-built online questionnaire collaboratively developed by Work Packages 3, 4 and 5. WP3 led the design of the first section, which focused on language use across domains, intergenerational transmission, speaker attitudes and ideologies, and motivations for language maintenance and revitalisation. To ensure accessibility and cultural relevance, the survey was adapted for each case study language and translated into 17 languages⁷ to cater for the linguistic ecologies of each language community. The responses included in this report were those collected up to 31 July 2024.

⁷ The RISE UP Language Revitalisation Survey was translated into the following 17 languages: Aranese, Catalan & Spanish (for Aranese); Aromanian, Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian, Romanian & Serbian (for Aromanian); Burgenland Croatian & German (for Burgenland Croatian); Cornish & English (for Cornish); and Seto, Estonian & Russian (for Seto). These languages were selected to reflect the multilingual realities of the five case

Complementing the survey data, we conducted a systematic review of relevant literature on language endangerment, revitalisation, multilingualism and language policy. This included general works as well as material specific to each case study language and region. The review informed both the design of the survey and the interpretation of the results, allowing us to situate current trends within a broader sociolinguistic and historical framework. Key sources were curated in a shared Zotero database to ensure transparency and consistency across the consortium.

To contextualise both the survey findings and the literature, WP3 researchers also engaged in field visits to several case study communities. These visits provided opportunities for participant observation, e.g. of cultural events and language lessons, informal conversations and reflective note-taking. Observations made during these encounters were documented in fieldnotes and proved vital in identifying tensions between policies and implementation, reported language practices and actual use in everyday life. This kind of qualitative insight enabled us to cross-check and deepen our understanding of survey responses.

In parallel, members of the consortium conducted semi-structured and ethnographic interviews with language activists, educators and community members. Meetings were also held with language revitalisation actors and stakeholders, such as members of language associations and local government officials. These conversations, often conducted in conjunction with field visits or ongoing collaborations, shed light on attitudes towards revitalisation efforts, local stakeholder dynamics and the everyday realities of sustaining a minoritised language. While not always formally recorded, these interviews were invaluable for identifying themes that might not emerge through survey data alone.

The ethnographic and participatory aspect of our research has enabled us to gain acceptance and respect from community members and language movements, some of whom had expressed suspicion of external researchers, whom they perceived as ‘mining’ data and cultural knowledge without contributing to the wellbeing of the community or to language maintenance. This is known as ‘relationality’ and is increasingly highlighted in research on language endangerment and revitalisation (Leonard, 2017; Rice, 2010). Establishing good relations with language communities enhances the reliability of data collected.

Finally, the case study narratives were reviewed and enriched by language experts within the RISE UP consortium, many of whom have long-standing ties to the communities they represent. Their ethnographic knowledge and lived experience offered crucial insight and ensured the cultural and political accuracy of each description. Their input also helped to clarify local interpretations of language vitality and provided a check against potential external misreadings.

Taken together, these five sources (namely survey data, literature review, fieldnotes, interviews and expert input) formed a nuanced dataset that enabled WP3 to explore linguistic ecosystems from both macro and micro perspectives. The findings outlined in this report form the foundation for the next stages of WP3, including the development of a European language preservation ecosystem (T3.2) and the formulation of revitalisation guidelines (T3.3), while also contributing directly to other Work Packages, including WP4 (methods) and WP6 (digital tools). The next phase of research will include

study communities and to ensure accessibility and inclusivity for all potential respondents within their respective linguistic ecologies.

more targeted ethnographic fieldwork to further deepen our understanding of these linguistic landscapes.

4 Factors affecting linguistic ecosystems

This section presents the range of key ecological factors shaping the linguistic ecosystems of each of the five case study languages: Aranese, Aromanian, Burgenland Croatian, Cornish, and Seto. Drawing heavily from the survey data (see Section 3), each case study shows how sociocultural, geographical, political, economic, linguistic, and institutional dynamics influence language transmission, attitudes, domain use, and community resilience, which contributes to the overall vitality of the RISE UP case study languages. While the structure of analysis is broadly consistent across cases, the findings reflect the unique contextual factors (histories, demographics, attitudes, policies, politics etc) in which these linguistic ecosystems operate.

4.1 Aranese

The geographical distribution of languages and speakers in the Aranese context suggests both a deeply localised linguistic ecology and the effects of wider regional and cross-border influences. The analyses of responses to the survey questions “What varieties are used in your community?” and “In which country do you live?” illustrate the spatial anchoring and multilingual character of Aranese’s linguistic environment. Responses to the first question confirm Val d’Aran as a multilingual region, which is shaped by its historical, political and economic conditions. Catalan is the most frequently reported language variety (85%), followed closely by Spanish (80%), while 50% of the respondents reported using Aranese in the community. These three varieties form the core of a trilingual ecosystem institutionalised in the local education system. However, this trilingualism is unequal in vitality and use. While Aranese benefits from official recognition and use in schools and government contexts, it is overshadowed by Spanish, which dominates informal domains, commerce and social interaction (Ministry for Culture [Catalan Government], 2013), particularly among seasonal workers and immigrants. The presence of other unspecified languages in 25% of the responses and French in 10% indicates the increasing complexity of the linguistic landscape of Val d’Aran, which might result from patterns of mobility, tourism and migration that introduce new language varieties into the region.

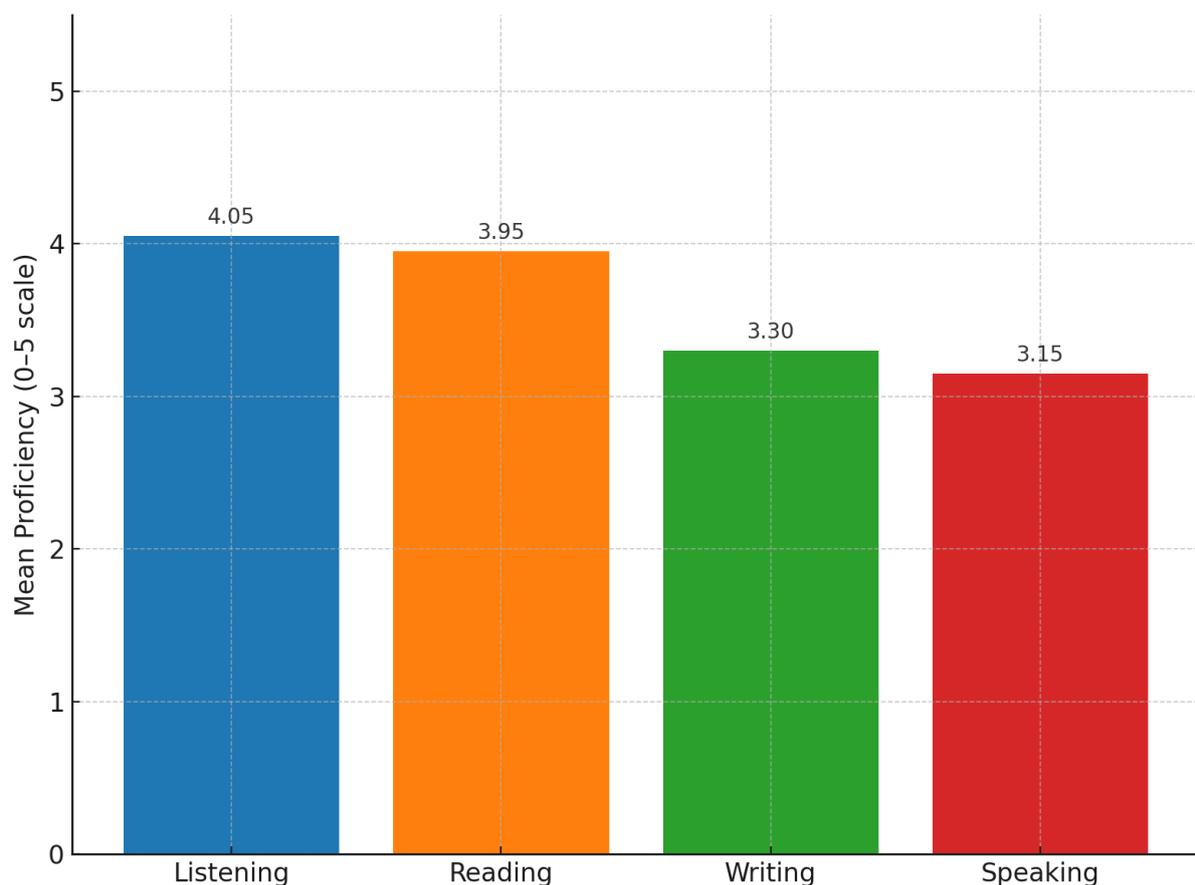
Responses to the question asking about the country in which respondents live show that the majority of participants (90%) live in Spain. While some respondents identify their location with broader national or regional labels (e.g. Catalunya, Espanya), others specifically refer to Val d’Aran or Vielha as their country, an outcome which suggests strong identification with the Val d’Aran identity. The few responses from France and Austria (5% each) suggest that Aranese remains primarily territorialised, with only minimal representation in the diaspora. These peripheral instances of Aranese presence outside its core region do not currently appear to play a significant role in language maintenance. These findings indicate that Aranese exists within a tightly bounded linguistic ecosystem rooted in a specific territorial and sociopolitical context, yet increasingly influenced by demographic shifts and economic pressures (Suils & Furness, 1999).

Findings also indicate that while Aranese benefits from official recognition and structured language planning, especially in the education system of Val d’Aran, its vitality is limited by its reduced presence

in private and informal domains. The community operates within a multilingual environment where Catalan and Spanish dominate, with 85% and 80% of respondents respectively reporting knowledge or learning of these languages, while 75% report the same for Aranese. This linguistic repertoire reflects the region's institutional arrangements where Catalan functions as a marker of regional identity, Spanish as the hegemonic national language and Aranese as a locally embedded minority variety for the expression of local Aran identity. The emotional dimension of language attachment reinforces this layered picture. When asked which variety is closest to their heart, half of the respondents chose Catalan, 45% selected Aranese (which some referred to as Occitan or Occitan-Aranese). Only a small proportion (5%) chose Spanish, which shows greater affiliation to local and regional identities than the national Spanish identity. Aranese retains significant symbolic worth among its speakers, connecting them to local heritage, while Catalan links them to a broader pan-regional identity. However, this symbolic attachment does not translate into consistent use of Aranese across all domains of life.

Self-reported skill ratings indicate that receptive competence in Aranese is relatively high (listening and reading scored mean ratings of 4.05 and 3.95 respectively), while productive skills such as writing (3.30) and speaking (3.15) scored lower, as shown in Figure 2 below.

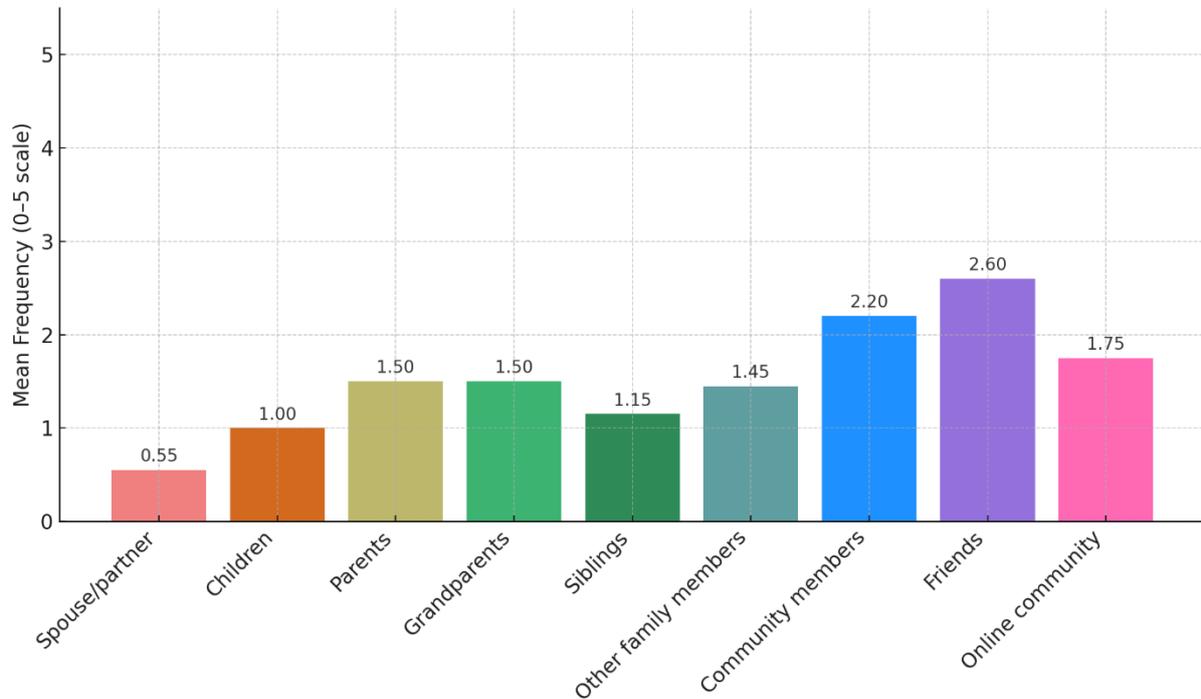
Figure 2: Self-reported proficiency in Aranese



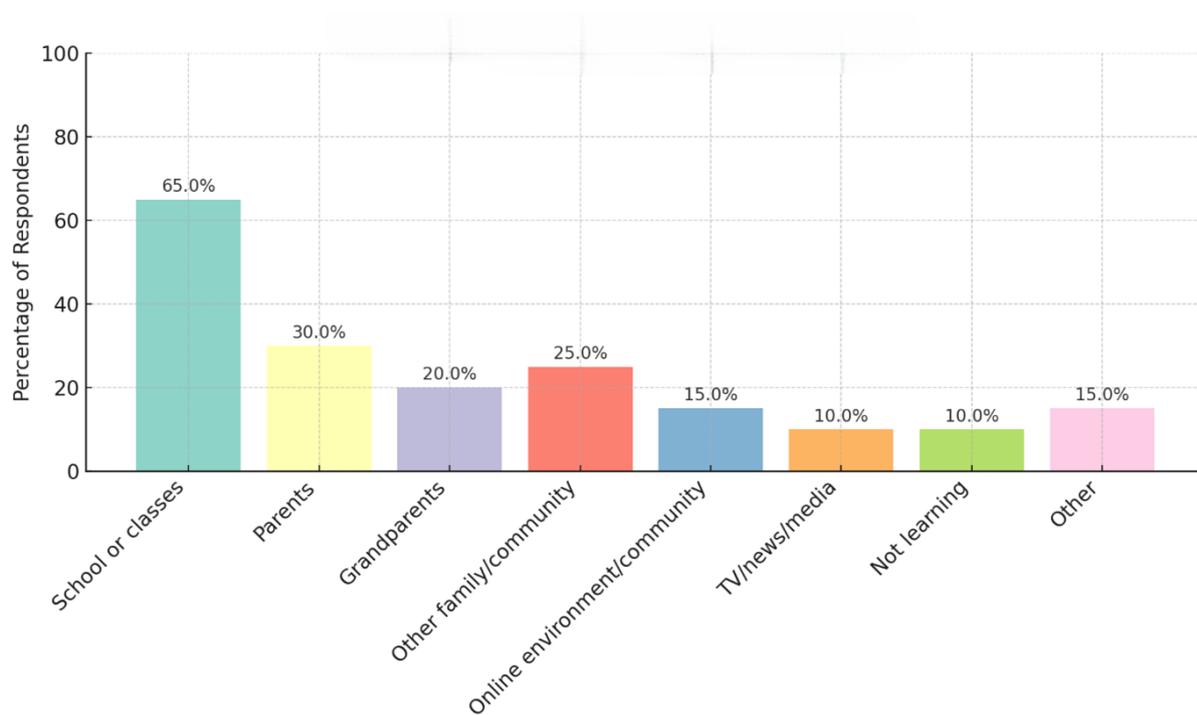
This pattern is common in contexts where minority languages are institutionally supported but not widely used in daily informal interactions. The higher variability in productive skills suggests uneven opportunities for practice, particularly outside formal environments like school. Respondents confirm this pattern in how they report using Aranese (see Figure 3 below): most frequently with friends (mean = 2.60) and community members (mean = 2.20), but far less with close family members or in digital

spaces. Use with spouses or partners is particularly low (mean = 0.55) and the use of Aranese with children (mean = 1.00) and siblings (mean = 1.15) also remains weak. These findings regarding low use of Aran within the family circle also suggest fragile intergenerational transmission (Suils, 2011).

Figure 3: Frequency of use of Aranese with different social groups



Further, learning patterns also confirm this imbalance. Sixty-five percent of respondents reported learning Aranese in school or classes, while only 30% and 20% reported learning it from parents and grandparents respectively. Other relatives or community members were also identified as sources, but far fewer acquired the language through online environments or media, as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Sources of learning Aranese

This heavy reliance on formal schooling for language transmission shows that while institutional provisions are in place, family-led and community-anchored transmission remains low. Without complementary support in family and social spheres, formal education alone may not be enough to sustain long-term vitality (Hickey, 2007). The age distribution of fluent speakers also supports this finding. For example, adults aged 30–64 were identified as most proficient in Aranese (80%), followed by senior citizens (65%). Young adults (18–29), many of whom likely experienced school-based instruction in Aranese, show moderate proficiency (55%). Competence among teenagers and children, however, drops sharply to 20% and 15% respectively, and only 10% of respondents identified infants as able to converse in the language. This age-skewed pattern suggests that unless reinforced in early and informal (especially in familial) contexts, Aranese is at risk of remaining a second-language subject rather than a lived language.

When examining the contexts in which Aranese is actually used, the mean scores were generally low, which confirm limited use of the language in wider social contexts as already reported above. Informal social domains such as community and leisure settings stand out, scoring highest (mean = 2.80), followed closely by education (mean = 2.70) and arts and culture (mean = 2.70), which indicates the visibility of the language in cultural spaces and institutional life. Use in government offices is moderate (mean = 2.45), while home/family (mean = 2.15), employment (mean = 2.05) and religious contexts (mean = 1.20) scored considerably lower. This domain-specific pattern reveals a fragmented linguistic ecosystem in which Aranese is sustained symbolically and institutionally, but remains peripheral in the most intimate and daily functions of life.

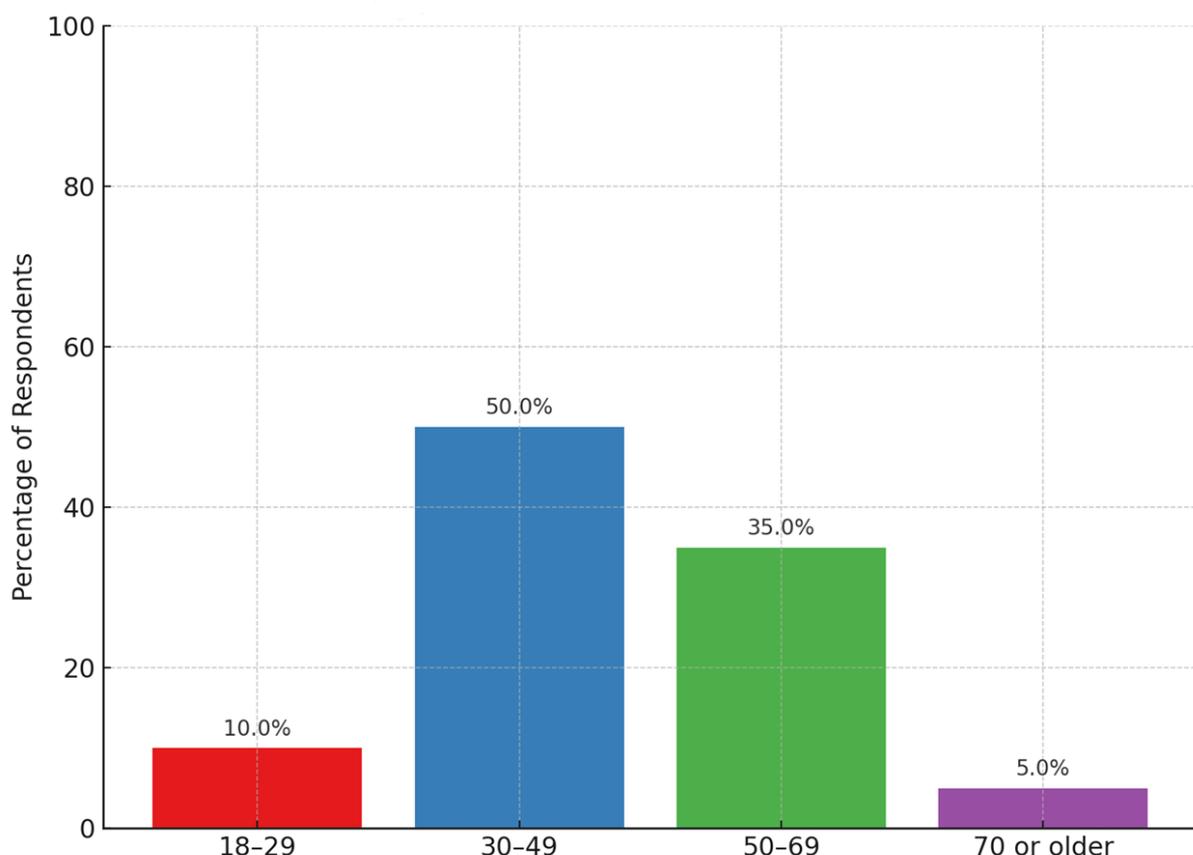
Respondents' views on the standardisation of Aranese further illustrate these tensions. Most responses support having a standard written form, seeing it as beneficial for education, media, digital visibility and institutional legitimacy. However, many stress the importance of maintaining dialectal

diversity and avoiding the erasure of local forms. Some raised concerns about the complexity of the current standard, particularly because it was built on broader Occitan norms that do not always reflect local usage. Others highlighted the confusion caused by competing dictionaries and orthographies, which seems to point to ideological conflicts within the community.

The sociocultural dimension of the Aranese linguistic ecosystem reflects a strong affective commitment to language maintenance, high awareness of its symbolic and cultural value and widespread endorsement of multilingualism. However, it also reveals challenges in community-level engagement, transmission across generations and uneven distribution of institutional and social responsibilities.

The age profile of respondents (see Figure 5) shows that most were aged between 30 and 69, with only 10% under 30. This has implications for the linguistic ecosystem, suggesting that existing attitudes and practices around Aranese are shaped by middle-aged and older adults. The low number of younger speakers may limit emerging forms of interaction, particularly in digital domains, and underscores the need to prioritise youth-oriented revitalisation efforts.

Figure 5: Age distribution of Aranese respondents



Further, participants expressed strong endorsement of multilingualism and the ability to navigate between varieties. Most agreed that different varieties are suited to different contexts (mean = 3.90), that speakers should choose based on situation (mean = 4.05) and that using multiple varieties is an asset (mean = 4.20). The highest-rated item overall was agreement that keeping Aranese alive is

important (mean = 4.95), a finding which reinforces the importance of the language in the community's symbolic consciousness. However, views on prestige revealed an imbalance: respondents did not believe Aranese has more prestige than Catalan (mean = 2.45) and Catalan was perceived as more advantageous for economic and social mobility (mean = 3.65).

Motivations for using or learning Aranese were also predominantly affective. Respondents felt that it made them feel connected with their origins (mean = 4.30) and enhanced their self-worth (mean = 4.30), while social expectation (mean = 3.80) and practical incentives (mean = 3.75) scored lower, as shown in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6: Motivations for learning/using Aranese



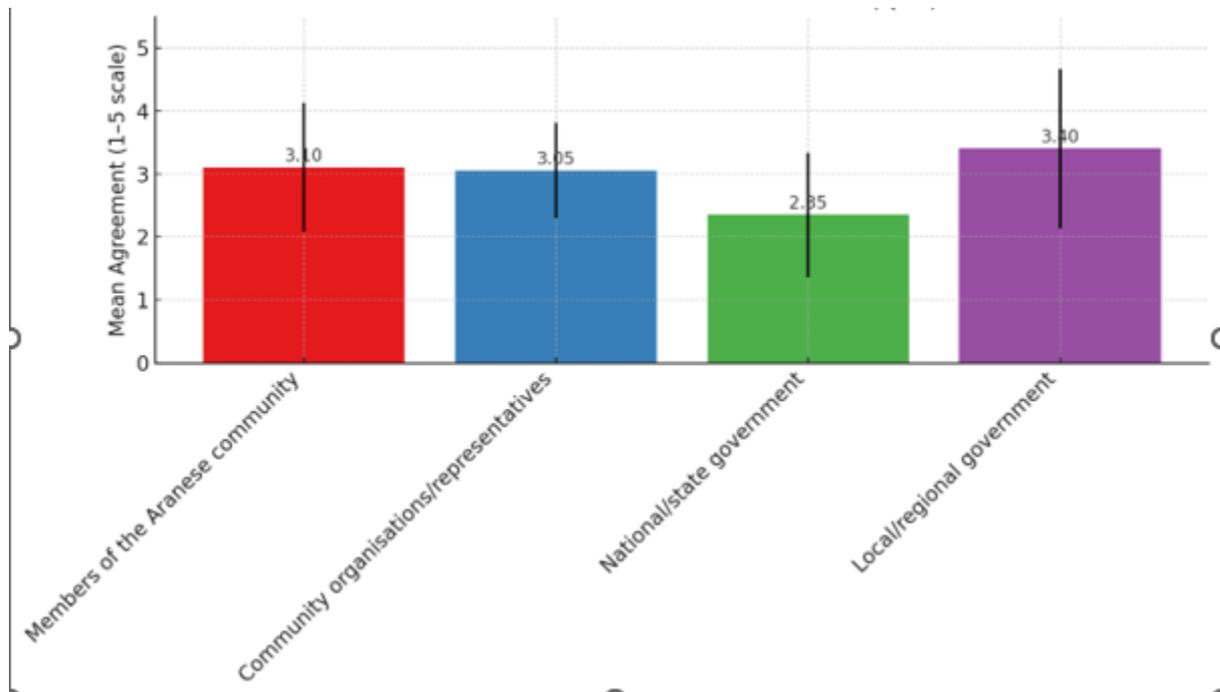
These patterns suggest that Aranese functions as an identity resource more than as a pragmatic or transactional one. Participants also reflected on the practical realities of language use and support. While there was moderate agreement that there are enough opportunities to learn Aranese (mean = 3.40), far fewer respondents felt they had enough opportunities to practise with others (mean = 2.85). This asymmetry highlights a structural weakness in the ecosystem: Aranese is taught, but not widely used. The limited social spaces for spontaneous use reinforce the institutional–informal divide seen in earlier findings.

When asked who is keeping Aranese going, responses pointed to a distributed ecology of responsibility. Institutions like the Conselh Generau d'Aran, the Institute of Aranese Studies and schools were repeatedly cited, along with teachers, activists and committed individuals, especially the elderly and cultural influencers. These accounts emphasise that Aranese is upheld through a combination of top-down planning and grassroots efforts, often converging through cultural initiatives and educational programmes. Nonetheless, a few participants noted a general lack of awareness or everyday concern among the broader population about the need to maintain the language.

In terms of perceived institutional commitment, local and regional governments received the highest ratings (mean = 3.40), while the national/state government was rated lowest (mean = 2.35), which confirms a common pattern in minority language contexts where trust and action reside at the local

level. This finding is consistent with the provisions of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which explicitly assigns implementation responsibilities to regional and local authorities, encouraging them to use minority languages for a wide range of purposes at local levels (Council of Europe, 2024). Further, community organisations (mean = 3.10) and members (mean = 3.05) received moderate scores, as shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Perceived efforts in preserving Aranese



Participants were nearly unanimous about the foundational conditions for revitalisation. Political will (mean = 4.90), effective teaching (mean = 4.80), positive attitudes (mean = 4.80), localised resources (mean = 4.80) and adequate funding (mean = 4.80) were all seen as essential, along with spaces and opportunities for use and family support (mean = 4.70). These responses reflect a widespread understanding of language vitality, where sustainability depends on aligned and interconnected efforts across policy, education, community and family life.

Finally, participants overwhelmingly agreed that keeping Aranese alive brings tangible benefits across multiple domains. Cultural knowledge (mean = 4.80), sense of self-worth (mean = 4.75) and mental well-being (mean = 4.40) were rated highest, with economic benefit (mean = 3.95) and tourism (mean = 4.35) also seen as relevant. These findings confirm that the language is valued not only for heritage reasons but also for its contributions to well-being, identity and development of the region.

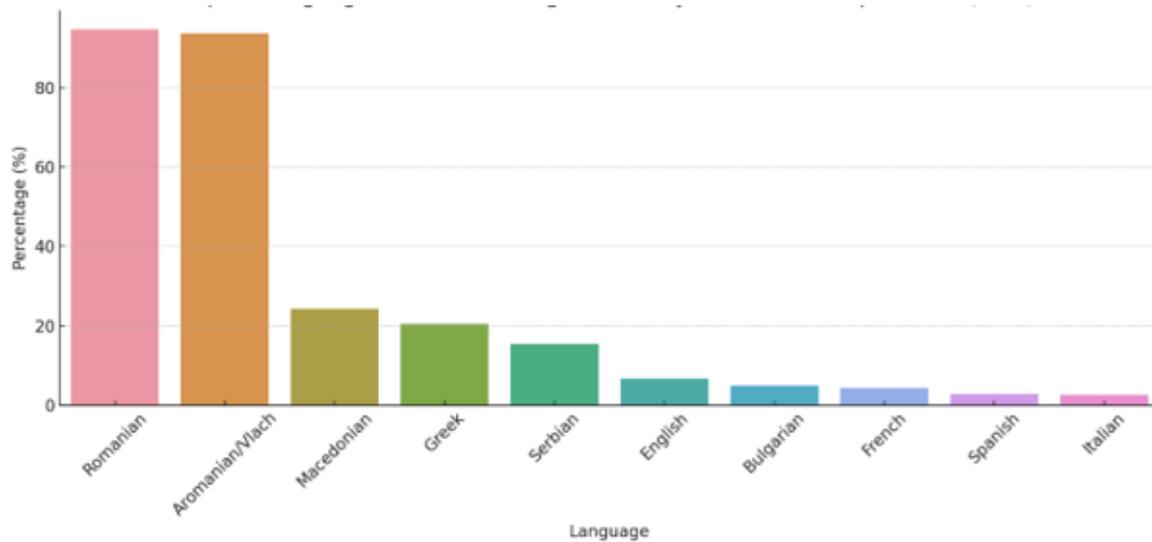
In conclusion, the above findings paint a picture of a linguistic ecosystem of Aranese that is institutionally robust but socially uneven. Aranese benefits from official recognition, structured education, and strong symbolic value, yet these strengths are diminished by fragile intergenerational transmission, limited use in wider social and private domains, and a perceived lack of prestige. The ecosystem is shaped by a trilingual environment in which Aranese, Catalan, and Spanish interact asymmetrically, with Spanish dominating in informal and economic spaces. While community attitudes

remain strongly positive and multilingualism is widely embraced, the functional integration of Aranese into everyday life remains limited.

4.2 Aromanian

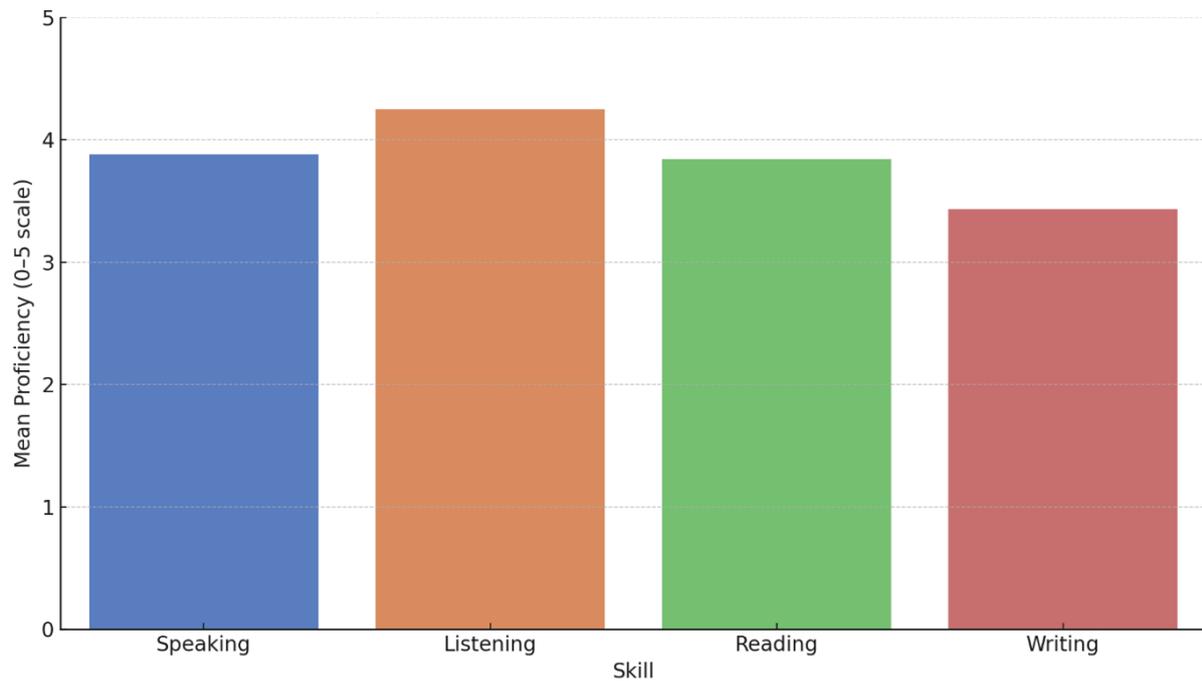
The Aromanian linguistic ecosystem is characterised by complex geographic dispersion and multilingual configurations. This is clearly reflected in the language varieties reported by community members and the countries in which they live. The vast majority of respondents (92.3%) report the use of Aromanian in their community. However, this high use of the language does not mean it is a monolingual situation: Romanian (31.6%) and Macedonian (28.4%) are also widely spoken, which reflects the influence of dominant national languages in Romania and North Macedonia, where large Aromanian populations reside. Greek (17.2%) and Albanian (13.7%) further reinforce the transnational composition of the Aromanian community and the long-standing historical ties and present-day settlement in Greece and Albania. Serbian (9.5%) and Bulgarian (3.5%) also appear, pointing to minority presences and historical migrations within the Balkans. Further, the presence of smaller percentages for languages such as English, German, Romani, Spanish and Sign Language(s) used in the community indicates the increasing role of urbanisation, mobility and the diaspora in shaping the community's linguistic repertoires. The multilingual environment indicates the pressures exerted by dominant state languages and shifting political borders (Ganea & Lascu, 2021).

In terms of geographical distribution, 43.5% of the respondents currently reside in Romania. This indicates both the historical and contemporary significance of the country for the Aromanian population. North Macedonia accounts for 17.5% of respondents. As Kara (2000) explains, “[t]he official recognition of Aromanians in the Republic of Macedonia is greater than in any other state except perhaps Romania” (n.p.) in North Macedonia, which helps explain the presence of Aromanian in the linguistic landscape of the community and the institutional backing it receives, as well as the support provided through cultural and civic associations. Greece, with 13% of the responses, remains a key site of Aromanian life, although formal recognition continues to face resistance, with negative attitudes and social stigma attached to Aromanian language and culture in the wider community (Fan-Moniz, 2024). Smaller yet notable diasporic presences are reported in the USA (3.5%), UK, Australia, France and elsewhere, collectively pointing to a globally dispersed community, as shown in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8: Top 10 languages known or being learned by Aromanian respondents

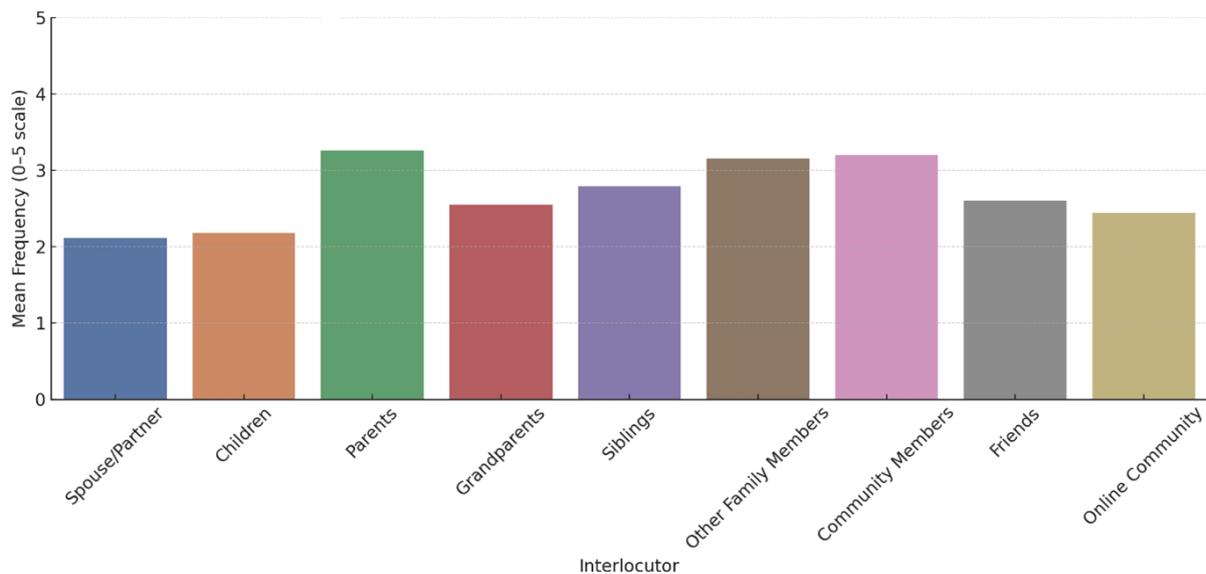
These distributions confirm the multiple ecologies in which Aromanian exists: territorially anchored in select Balkan states yet simultaneously used across global diasporas. These findings confirm that the Aromanian linguistic ecosystem cannot be understood solely in national or regional terms. It is embedded in a historically transhumant, cross-border pattern of mobility that continues today through global migration (Fan-Moniz, 2024). This would necessitate revitalisation strategies that are sensitive to both localised community needs (especially in Romania, North Macedonia and Greece) and the challenges and opportunities posed by diasporic life. Despite this multilingual environment and the threats from the national languages across the Balkans, Aromanian remains the language most deeply associated with identity: 89.5% of respondents identified it as the variety closest to their heart. It is notable that this strong affective attachment persists even in contexts where national languages dominate in institutional or public life. Such attachment plays a critical role in shaping the ecosystem, as emotional investment in a language is often a predictor of revitalisation potential.

Self-assessed proficiency ratings show relatively high levels in listening (mean = 4.25) and speaking (3.88), which suggests that oral transmission is still strong. Reading (3.84) is comparable, but writing scores are lower (3.43), a finding that reveals a gap in literacy development (see Figure 9 below).

Figure 9: Self-reported proficiency in Aromanian

These figures reflect a typical profile of an endangered or minoritised oral language, where speech skills are well developed but writing is underdeveloped due to lack of literacy training and limited opportunities to use the language, and sometimes due to standardisation controversies (Eppler et al., 2025). In other words, the linguistic ecosystem of Aromanian remains primarily oral, but it holds capacity for expanding literacy, especially if written norms and educational materials are made more accessible.

Use patterns further confirm the centrality of the home and extended family in the community. Respondents reported that they most frequently speak Aromanian with parents, other family members and community members, as detailed in Figure 10.

Figure 10: Frequency of Aromanian use with different interlocutors

As seen in Figure 10 also, use with children and spouses was markedly lower, which suggests a potential breakdown in intergenerational transmission. There is also a relatively weak presence of the language in online settings and digital spaces. These findings have implications for the long-term sustainability of the language, given that weak intergenerational transmission to younger users of the language risks contracting the ecosystem, especially considering that digital integration of minoritised languages is mostly driven by younger speakers (Bozdağ & Karakasoglu, 2024). The age profile of survey respondents illustrates this dynamic clearly: 44.2% were aged 30–49 and 32.9% were aged 50–69, together comprising over three-quarters (77.1%) of the sample. Meanwhile, only 13.7% were aged 18–29 and a mere 1.4% were under 18. This age asymmetry indicates a fragile base for long-term transmission unless revitalisation efforts engage youth more directly.

Further, learning pathways reinforce these patterns, as the majority of respondents reported learning Aromanian from grandparents (34.5%), parents (25.1%) and other family/community members (21.9%), confirming that language transmission is still largely oral and family-based. Only 5.7% reported learning through school or lessons, while 12.7% identified online environments as a source. This highlights two key implications: first, formal education remains marginal in the Aromanian ecosystem; and second, digital platforms may be emerging as new zones of learning (even if it is not a prominent space for use), particularly for diasporic speakers or those cut off from fluent elders.

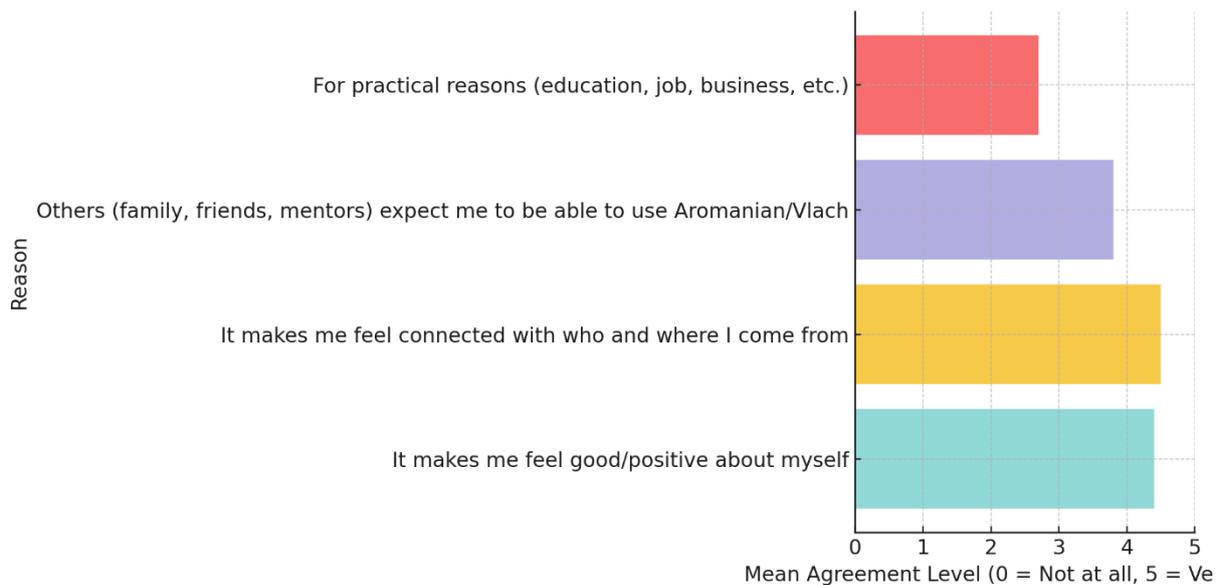
Similarly, the age distribution of active speakers shows a concerning generational gap. Adults (30–64) and senior citizens (65+) accounted for the majority of those able to speak Aromanian, while only a fraction of respondents identified infants, children, or teenagers as fluent speakers. This scenario of youngest generations not being fluent in using the language suggests that the ecosystem is at a pivotal point: the language is still actively spoken, but its future depends on urgently strengthening acquisition and use by younger generations through both formal and informal means. Domain of use responses confirm that Aromanian is primarily spoken in domestic contexts. It is used most frequently in the home and among friends or neighbours, but very little in religion, education, employment, or government. This restricted domain range reflects a language that remains vibrant in private life but lacks institutional support and public presence. The moderate use in online and leisure spaces indicates

emerging but still fragile expansion. For Aromanian to thrive in the long term, revitalisation must involve widening its functional range and strengthening the home–community nexus (Fishman, 1991) to include younger people, bringing it into schools, public life, cultural activities and youth/digital spaces.

Opinions on standardising written Aromanian reveal both aspiration and caution. Many respondents strongly support the development or reinforcement of a standard, given its benefits for education, unity, communication and preservation. Others support standardisation only if it is inclusive of dialectal diversity and does not suppress local variation. Some are sceptical of the feasibility of a standard Aromanian across the region because of the dispersion of the speaker populations, politicisation, and the risk of alienation. Several respondents referred to the Bitola Symposium (1997) and Freiburg Congress (1988) where a form of standard Aromanian was discussed, arguing that an informal standard already exists and should be promoted or refined rather than reinvented. These views reflect the broader tension in the linguistic ecosystem between authenticity and pragmatism, diversity and unity, oral tradition and literate practice.

The sociocultural landscape of the Aromanian community is characterised by high emotional investment in the language and strong grassroots engagement but limited structural support and generational continuity. For example, attitudes towards Aromanian/Vlach were overwhelmingly positive: 94.5% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the ability to use more than one variety is an asset (mean = 4.68) and 93.5% agreed that it is important to keep Aromanian alive (mean = 4.89). Similarly, 92.8% expressed that using or learning Aromanian is a strong part of their identity (mean = 4.70). These responses confirm that Aromanian functions as a central identity marker and that linguistic plurality is embraced within the community.

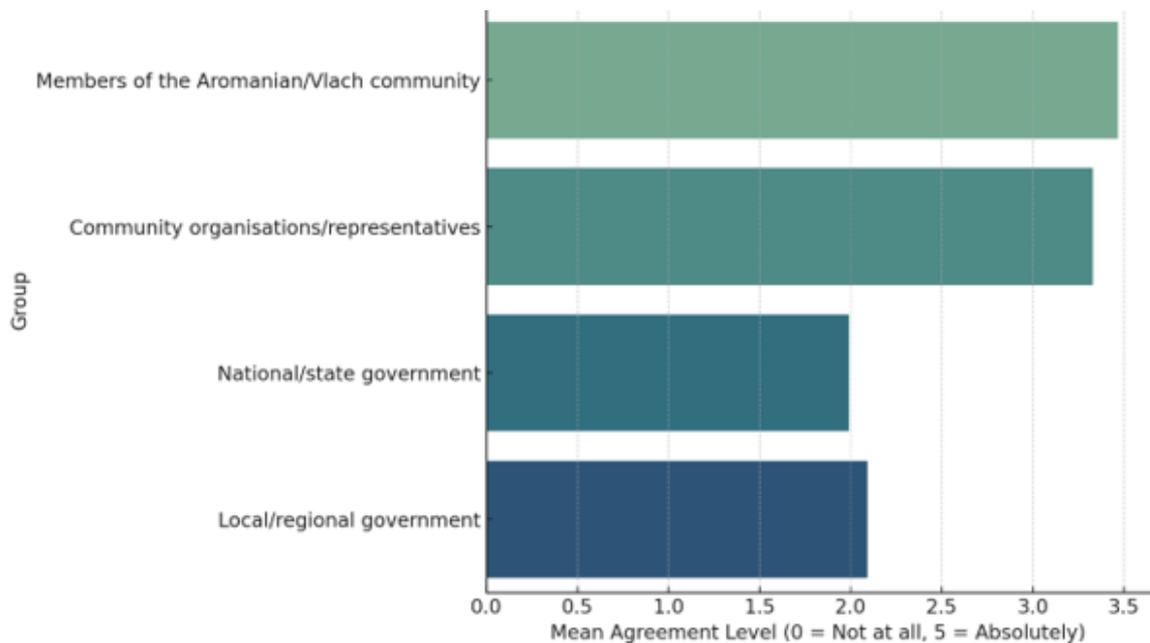
Similarly, motivations for learning or using Aromanian are predominantly affective and identity-driven: 94.8% of respondents said they want to use the language because it helps them feel connected to who and where they come from (mean = 4.78), while 91.8% agreed that it makes them feel good about themselves (mean = 4.66). In contrast, only 54.6% cited practical reasons like education or employment (mean = 2.73), which supports earlier finding that the language currently has limited functional utility in broader societal, institutional or professional domains (see Figure 11) below.

Figure 11: Motivations for learning/using Aromanian

However, a significant infrastructural gap was revealed in responses to language support and accessibility. Only 62.8% felt they had adequate opportunities to practise Aromanian (mean = 3.48) and just 54.5% said they had enough opportunities to learn or improve it (mean = 3.14). Despite these challenges, 87.5% felt it is important to pass the language on to future generations (mean = 4.84) and 86.2% supported the idea that non-Aromanians should be welcome to learn the language (mean = 4.31). These findings suggest that the community is open, committed and ideologically unified, despite being challenged by a lack of institutional resources and support.

When asked who is actually helping to maintain Aromanian, the most common responses pointed to individuals, families, grassroots associations and cultural organisations. Cultural societies like the Aromanian Cultural Society in Bucharest, Consiliul A Tinirlor Armanj (Council of Aromanian Youth) and Society Farsharotu were frequently named. Activities mentioned include book publishing, theatre, music, festivals, online podcasts, language classes and folklore performances. Respondents consistently reported that government involvement was either minimal or obstructive, particularly in Greece and Romania. In contrast, North Macedonia was noted for offering some language education in schools and public broadcasting, although even there government support was described as inconsistent.

When directly asked about effort levels by different stakeholders, only 39.8% of respondents agreed that national/state governments are doing enough to support Aromanian (mean = 1.99) and 42.3% said the same for local/regional governments (mean = 2.09). In contrast, 69.6% believed that members of the Aromanian community are doing enough (mean = 3.47) and 66.6% rated community organisations positively (mean = 3.33), as detailed in Figure 12.

Figure 12: Perceptions of efforts in supporting Aromanian

These results highlight the community's reliance on its own members and the urgent need for institutional recognition, funding and support. Respondents also identified the most essential resources for language sustainability: 94.7% rated community centres and safe spaces to use Aromanian as necessary or absolutely necessary (mean = 4.64). Similar levels of agreement were observed for the need for positive attitudes (mean = 4.62), localised language materials (4.57), trained teachers (4.55) and consistent funding (4.49). These results reemphasise that language vitality is seen as the outcome of infrastructure, attitudes and community engagement.

Finally, participants linked language maintenance to broader societal benefits: 96.1% believed that Aromanian enhances cultural knowledge (mean = 4.62), while 94.5% tied it to a sense of self-worth (mean = 4.67). Mental well-being also received a high endorsement (mean = 4.39). While perceived economic benefit was generally lower (mean = 3.32), there was moderate support for its value in tourism (mean = 3.82), which suggests untapped potential for integrating the language into economic and development programmes.

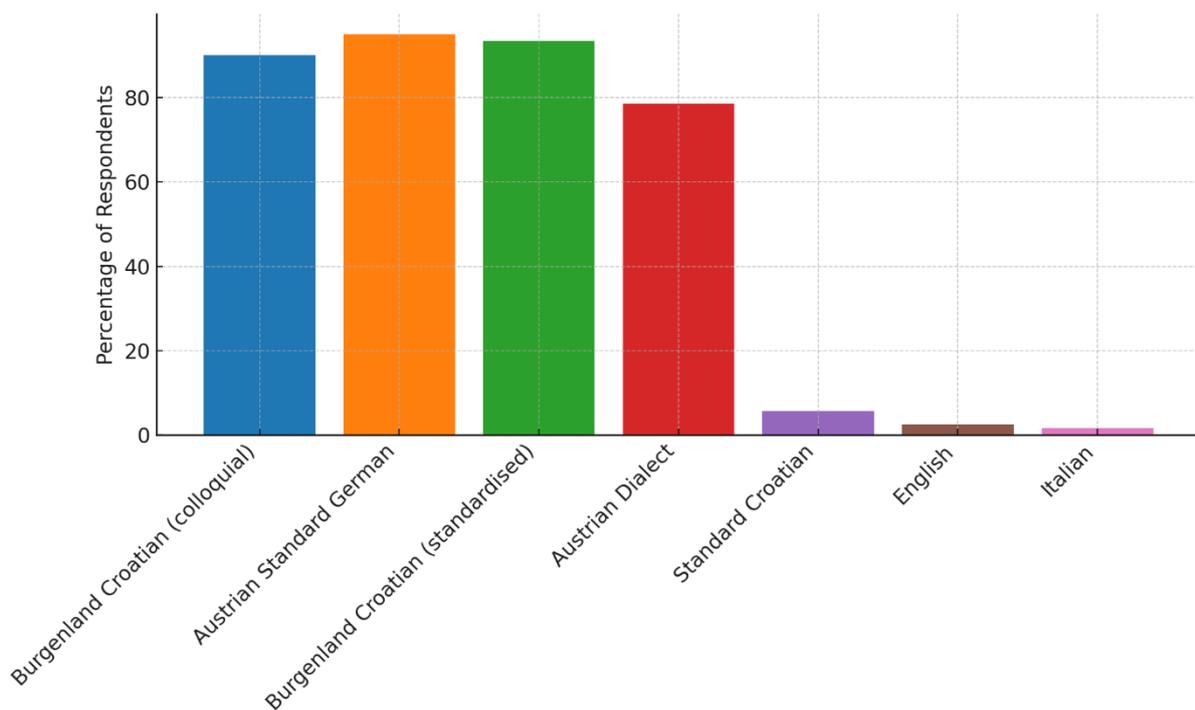
Taken together, the Aromanian linguistic ecosystem is defined by high affective value, strong grassroots support and widespread multilingualism, but it remains constrained by geographic dispersion, limited institutional support, and fragility in intergenerational transmission. Aromanian is clearly rooted in local Balkan communities and extends across global diasporas, which therefore requires revitalisation strategies that are both locally grounded and transnationally coordinated. The ecosystem continues to rely heavily on oral transmission and family networks, with modest engagement in formal education in some countries and emerging use in digital contexts. While community actors play a central role in sustaining the language, the long-term vitality of Aromanian depends on expanding its functional domains, engaging younger generations, and building more robust infrastructural, institutional and policy support across the diverse regions where the language is spoken.

4.3 Burgenland Croatian

The linguistic ecosystem of the Burgenland Croatian community is characterised by a strong degree of geographical concentration within Austria (Minority Rights Group, 2015). Of all respondents, 98% reported living in Austria, with 13.5% of these specifically identifying Burgenland (the historical heartland of the community) as their place of residence. Only 1.5% of respondents reported living outside Austria (one in Germany and one in New Zealand), indicating minimal diasporic dispersion and highlighting the community's rootedness in a specific territorial context (Šćukanec, 2014). This spatial concentration supports close-knit social networks (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1983; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007; Milroy, 1987, 1987, 2002) and enables targeted language policy implementation at the regional level.

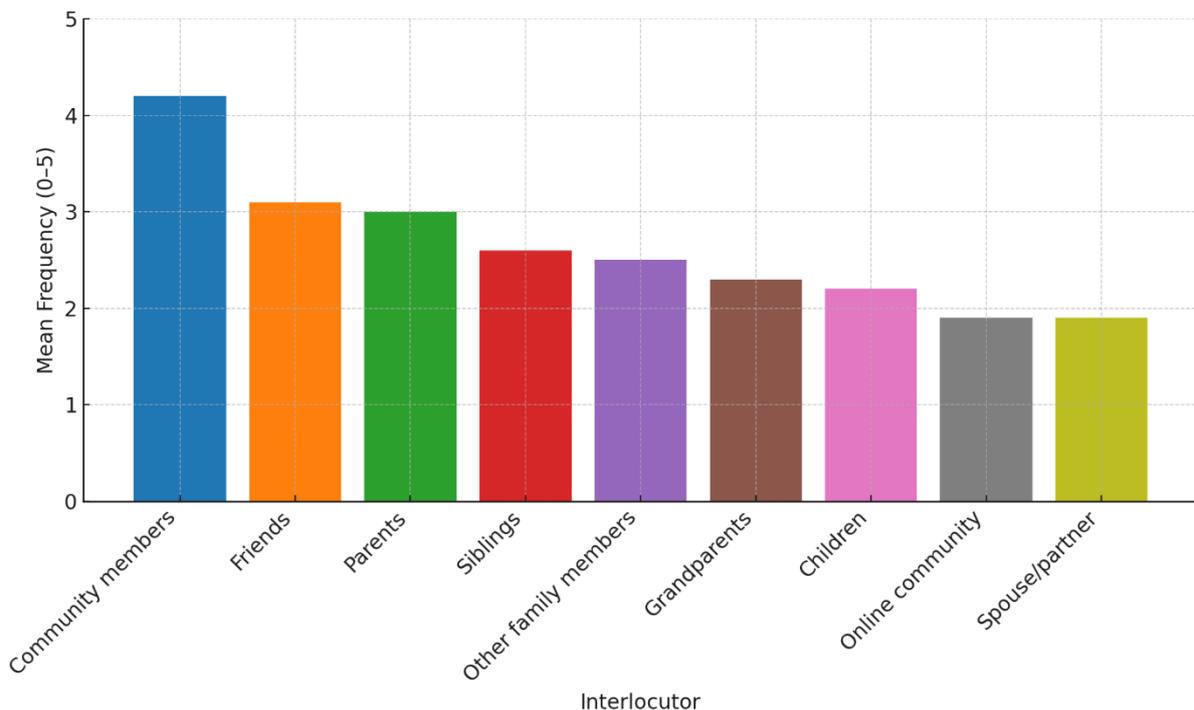
In terms of languages spoken in the community, respondents describe a multilingual environment anchored by Burgenland Croatian, which was reported by 95% of respondents. Alongside this, Austrian Standard German was reported by 51% and Austrian Dialect of German by 46%, which, considered together, reflect a multilingual ecosystem in which the minority language remains widely used, particularly in familial and community contexts, while the dominant state language and its regional dialects tend to play a more prominent role in formal or institutional settings such as education, media and administration. While the vast majority of respondents report familiarity with multiple varieties—colloquial Burgenland Croatian (85%), standardised Burgenland Croatian (76%), Austrian Standard German (90%) and Austrian dialect (74%)—as shown in Figure 13 below, it is the colloquial form of Burgenland Croatian that emerges as the variety closest to heart for most respondents. This emotional connection to the spoken variety reflects the importance of validating non-standard forms in revitalisation efforts.

Figure 13: Varieties known or being learned by Burgenland Croatian respondents



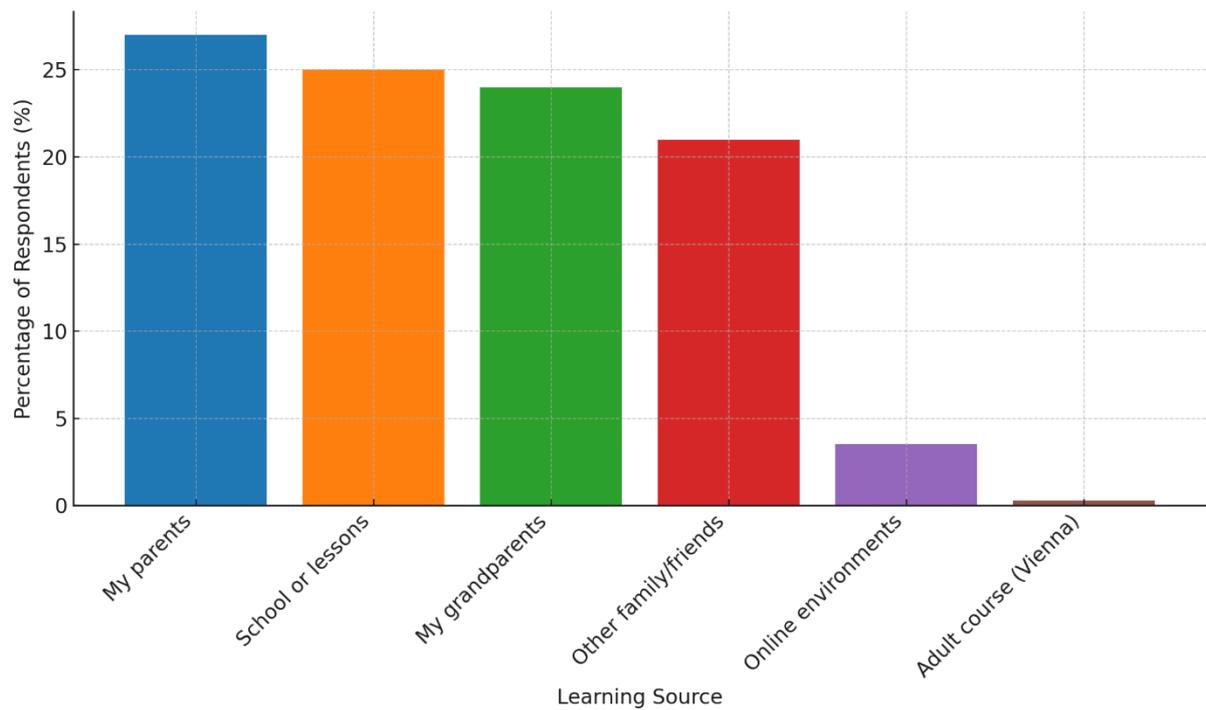
Further, self-assessed proficiency is high across listening (mean = 4.44), reading (mean = 4.27) and speaking (mean = 4.20), but drops to a mean of 3.83 for writing. This suggests that Burgenland Croatian remains a highly oral language, with written proficiency being a relatively underdeveloped skill within the community. Similarly, the use of the language is strongest in community settings, where interaction with other speakers sustains daily use (mean = 4.21). However, its presence diminishes within the home (e.g., with children or partners) and is minimal in digital spaces, findings which indicate important gaps in intergenerational and online transmission.

Figure 14: Frequency of use of Burgenland Croatian according to interlocutors

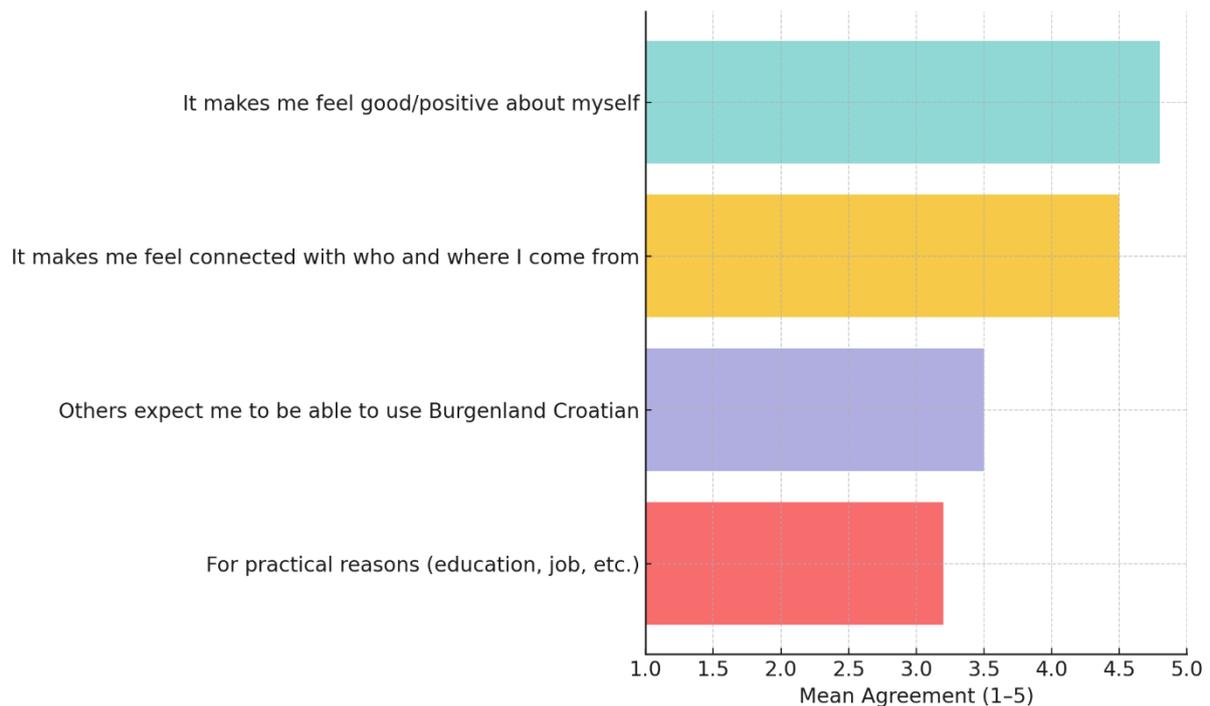


Older generations (65+) and adults (30–49, and 50–69) are perceived to be most fluent speaker groups. While younger age groups, especially teenagers and children, are also mentioned, they are seen as less consistently proficient. This outcome further shows a potential weakening of transmission pathways, which could undermine long-term vitality of the language. Although younger age groups are perceived as less consistently proficient, the presence of speakers across all age groups in the survey data (30–49 (36%), followed by 50–69 (29%), 18–29 (26%) and 70 or older (9%) indicates that language use remains relevant across life stages. This distribution suggests that language use and maintenance are not confined to the oldest generation but are actively relevant across life stages, especially among middle-aged adults who often serve as key transmitters of language to both older and younger family members (Pagé & Noels, 2024; Singleton & Pfenninger, 2018).

With regard to language learning, respondents indicated that they learned BC primarily through parents (27%), school instruction (25%) and grandparents (24%), which shows that the role of family and schooling in language acquisition are broadly similar, although not high. Digital and adult education remain marginal (3% and 0.3% respectively), which underscores the need to diversify learning opportunities and broaden access beyond traditional settings.

Figure 15: Sources of learning Burgenland Croatian

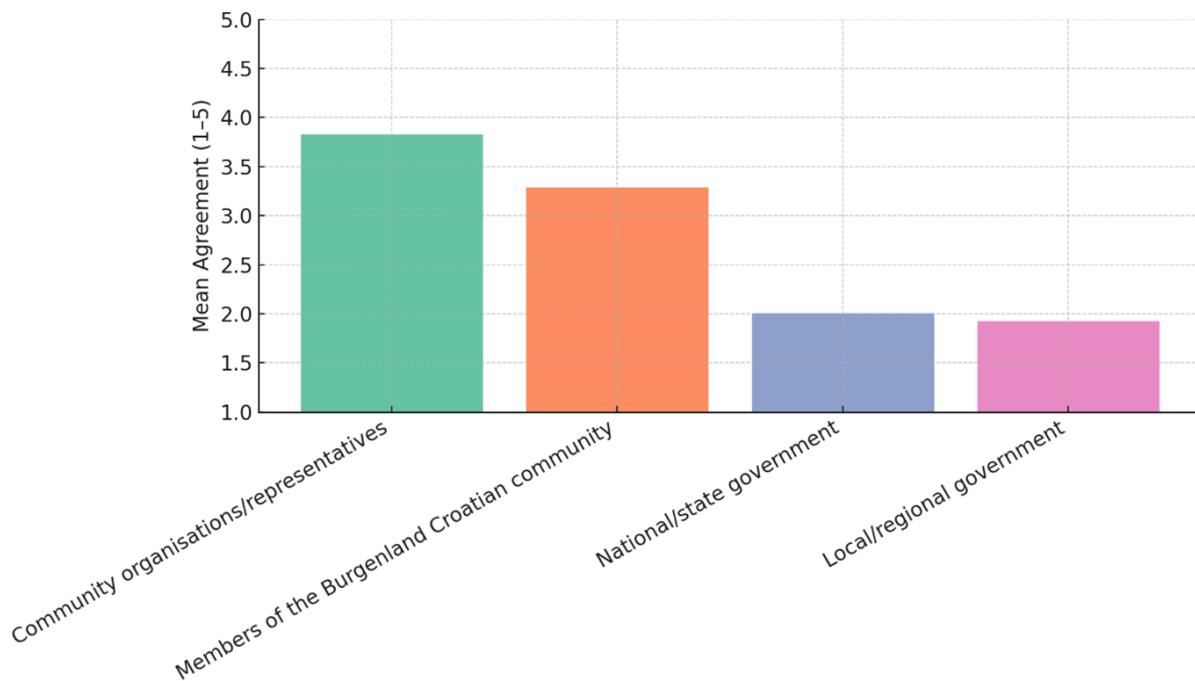
The sociocultural dimension of the Burgenland Croatian linguistic ecosystem reveals a community that is both deeply invested in its language and aware of the structural challenges to its long-term sustainability. The community's attitudes towards multilingualism and identity formation are overwhelmingly positive. Nearly all respondents agreed that being able to use more than one language is an asset (mean = 4.88), that keeping Burgenland Croatian alive is important (mean = 4.82) and that using it is part of their identity (mean = 4.64). These views strongly affirm the symbolic and cultural embeddedness of the language. Similarly, emotional and identity-based motivations are the most powerful reasons for wanting to use or learn the language. Feeling good about oneself (mean = 4.75) and feeling connected to one's heritage (4.50) far outweigh practical or external pressures, such as education and work (see details in Figure 16).

Figure 16: Motivations for learning/using Burgenland Croatian

These findings demonstrate the importance of affective, culturally rooted revitalisation strategies rather than purely instrumental approaches. Respondents also expressed strong commitment to inclusion and transmission. Over 96% agreed that it is acceptable for non-community members to learn the language and more than 85% stressed the importance of passing the language to future generations. However, lower levels of agreement (means between 3.3–3.9) around opportunities to practise and learn the language, or agree on the language’s role, suggests a lack of coherence and infrastructure within the ecosystem.

Responses show that efforts to maintain Burgenland Croatian are primarily driven by community organisations and individual actors. Cultural associations such as Hrvatsko Kulturno Društvo u GRADIŠĆU (Croatian Cultural Association in Burgenland), Hrvatski Akademski Klub (Croatian Academic Club) and Hrvatski Centar (Croatian Centre) are consistently identified as central actors, who offer language courses, cultural programming, theatre and musical events. Individuals (including parents, educators, authors and activists) are also considered to play an essential role through family transmission, creative production and informal teaching. Respondents also indicated that a wide range of grassroots activities from festivals and folk dancing to media (e.g. Hrvatske Novine, Novi Glas) and church-based initiatives also contribute to sustaining the language, as well as other actors such as bilingual schools, village associations and cross-border collaborations (e.g. Jezik Prez Granic - Language Without Borders) who are mentioned as important contributors.

However, many respondents noted gaps: low institutional support, fragmentation among associations and varying levels of youth engagement. These insights point to a vibrant but uneven ecosystem that could benefit from a shared vision and stronger coordination. Community-led efforts were rated highest in terms of perceived effectiveness: community organisations (mean = 3.82) and individuals (3.28). In contrast, the national and regional governments scored extremely low (means = 2.00 and 1.92) in terms of their efforts in Burgenland Croatian language maintenance, as shown in Figure 17.

Figure 17: Perceived efforts to maintain Burgenland Croatian

The results presented in Figure 17 show a clear lack of institutional trust or visible commitment to supporting the language from the government. Respondents identified a broad set of necessary conditions for the future of Burgenland Croatian. Positive attitudes (mean = 4.93) and effective teaching with trained teachers (mean = 4.88) were rated most relevant, followed by adequate funding (mean = 4.73), political will (mean = 4.71) and support for families (mean = 4.52). These high scores across all items underscore the need for a coordinated, well-resourced strategy that integrates education, community life and public policy. Similarly, language maintenance is seen to offer wide-ranging benefits: cultural knowledge (mean = 4.72), self-worth (mean = 4.60) and mental well-being (mean = 4.48) topped the list. Economic benefits (mean = 3.80) and tourism (mean = 3.88) were also acknowledged, all suggesting that respondents recognise both cultural and socioeconomic value in language maintenance and revitalisation.

Overall, the Burgenland Croatian linguistic ecosystem presents a compelling case of community resilience grounded in territorial stability, multilingual repertoires, and strong cultural identification. Its vitality is sustained by deep-rooted affective ties, wide-ranging community initiatives, and cross-generational engagement. However, the ecosystem remains vulnerable to structural limitations, including low digital engagement, declining use in family contexts, and a perceived lack of wider institutional support at the national level. The uneven distribution of responsibility creates fragilities that must be addressed through coordinated, multi-scalar and sustainable language revitalisation and maintenance strategies. For Burgenland Croatian to continue to thrive, its ecosystem requires not only the preservation of existing community strengths but also broader support to bridge generational, digital, and institutional divides.

4.4 Cornish

The sociocultural, political, economic, and geographical contexts in which Cornish exists play an important role in shaping its linguistic ecosystem, including its vitality, transmission and use. Survey responses reveal that the Cornish linguistic ecosystem is marked by strong affective attachment, inclusive social values (despite some resentment of incomers) and extensive community engagement. These factors operate alongside structural challenges relating to access, funding and visibility, which all interact with institutional policy and resourcing. Responses indicate that Cornish is widely viewed as a meaningful cultural asset. Geography plays a defining role in shaping the distribution, use and perception of Cornish (Brown & Wrathmall, 2023). Survey data confirm that the language is rooted in Cornwall but also exists within wider, geographically dispersed communities. Lessons in diaspora, especially in London, had inspired several key language activists. These patterns of spatial distribution are integral to understanding the conditions under which the language is maintained.

Geographical factors intersect with economic and political factors. A relatively high proportion of interviewees reported being jobless, and were reliant on public transport to access in-person language lessons. Cornwall is long and narrow, and centralised transport infrastructure prioritises longitudinal access to and from England. Thus, an interviewee living on one coast, relatively close to a class on the other coast, was unable to access it.

Findings show that Cornish speakers are necessarily bi-/multilingual, as English is the first language learned by the vast majority of people in the region, and given that Cornish is a revived language and has extremely limited functional roles in the wider society for everyday communication (Schukking et al., 2019). Cornish speakers who completed the survey perceive their communities as linguistically diverse, with English firmly dominant and Cornish existing (even if marginally) alongside it as part of a broader multilingual ecology. When asked what varieties are used in their communities, Cornish was mentioned in 79.2% of responses, and Standard English in 67.9%, indicating that these two varieties are widely perceived as coexisting in local linguistic setting. Cornish English was mentioned in 17.0% of responses, British Sign Language in 13.2%, and Welsh in 9.4%, which suggests additional layers of linguistic diversity. While most people in Cornwall remain monolingual English speakers, the survey findings reflect the multilingual settings experienced by Cornish speakers, in which Cornish is visible and heard alongside English and, in some settings, other minoritised or signed languages. However, it is important to interpret these findings in light of our survey sample characteristics. Respondents are already engaged in Cornish language use and revitalisation, and are therefore not representative of the general population. In reality, most people in Cornwall are monolingual English speakers (Kandler et al., 2010), and the figures here reflect the linguistic practices of a small but committed bi-/multilingual community working to sustain Cornish in an English-dominant context.

A clear majority (approximately 60%) of participants live in Cornwall, confirming that the core of revitalisation efforts is locally anchored. However, respondents also reported living in (other parts of) England, Wales, North America, France, New Zealand and Hungary, reflecting the broader geographic/diasporic reach of the Cornish language community. These findings illustrate that Cornish revitalisation is not solely a local effort, but part of a transnational and diasporic ecosystem, with evidence that its benefits from a wide range of international links. The presence of language activists, learners and speakers across multiple countries extends the spatial scope of Cornish. Such spatial

variation has practical implications, e.g., it signals that language revitalisation efforts must not assume a uniform model of use across the region. Instead, they should respond to the geographically dispersed presence and visibility of Cornish. It may also enable it to benefit from the experiences of other revitalisation movements, e.g. Māori.

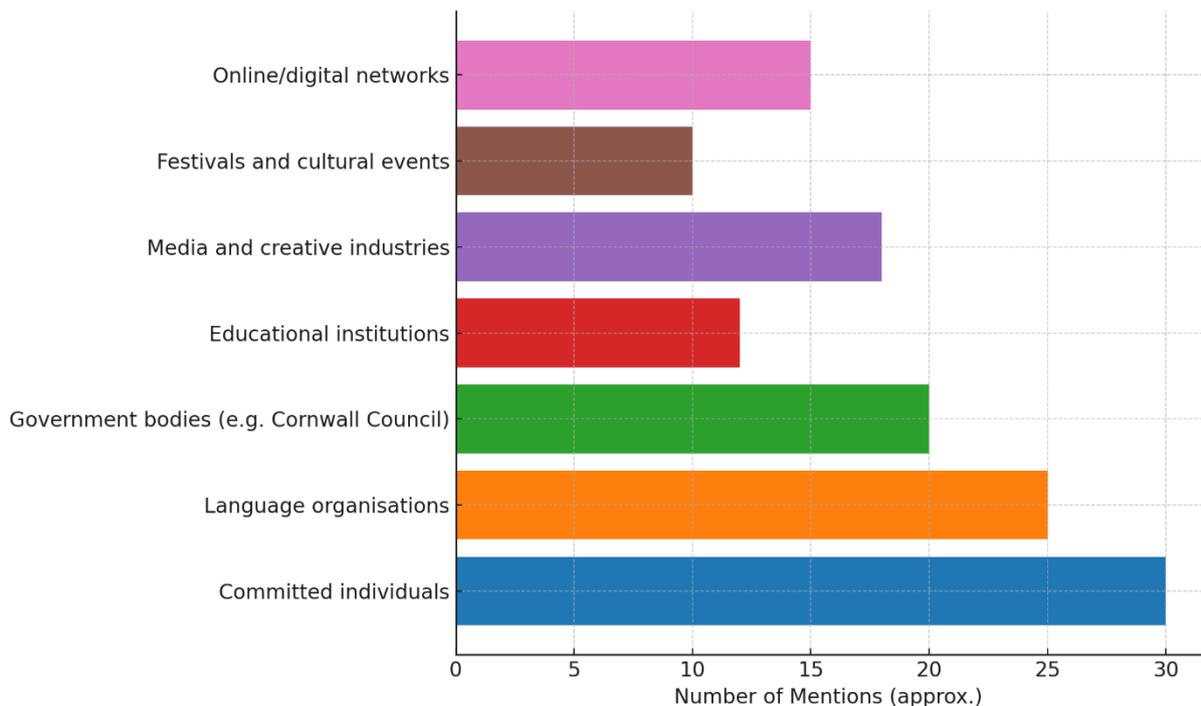
In interpreting geographical data, it is also significant that many respondents named Cornwall or Kernow as their country, rather than England or the United Kingdom. However, some respondents who geographically reside in Cornwall nonetheless identified 'England' or 'UK', indicating varying degrees of territorial (or even political) affiliation. These naming practices reflect more than place of residence since they can express perceptions of belonging, cultural identification and territorial distinctiveness, which are central to the Cornish language movement. This suggests that Cornish revitalisation is not only about language, but also part of a broader assertion of regional identity and self-definition (Dunmore, 2020; Husk & Williams, 2012), both of which are embedded in the linguistic ecosystem.

With regard to the wider sociolinguistic and sociocultural dimensions of the Cornish ecosystem, the vast majority of respondents agreed that keeping the language alive is important (Mean = 4.92) and many indicated that using or learning Cornish is closely tied to their sense of identity (Mean = 4.23). The broader sociolinguistic environment was also reflected in attitudes to multilingualism, which was highly valued (Mean = 4.26), while respondents strongly rejected the view that English should be the only language of public communication (Mean = 1.55). These views suggest a socially embedded commitment to linguistic diversity and a widespread rejection of monolingual ideologies. Participants also expressed strong commitments to inclusion and intergenerational transmission. There was broad agreement that Cornish should be passed on to future generations (Mean = 4.60) and that it is acceptable for non-Cornish people to learn the language (Mean = 4.53). Nevertheless, in interviews some participants expressed resentment of incomers, and one incomer who is learning Cornish reported not feeling fully accepted. Questionnaire respondents also expressed concerns about the practical conditions for language use: respondents reported limited opportunities to communicate with other speakers (Mean = 2.47) and to access structured learning environments (Mean = 2.70). This gap between motivation and opportunity is a key feature of the Cornish sociolinguistic landscape. Similarly, emotional reward (Mean = 4.47) and a sense of belonging or connection to heritage (Mean = 4.40) were identified as the most important reasons, while practical motivations such as employment or education were ranked significantly lower (Means = 2.68–2.74). Revitalisation, in this context, is not framed as an instrumental pathway to economic gain but as a community-driven effort to sustain cultural identity and cohesion.

A further aspect of the Cornish ecosystem investigated relates to patterns of acquisition and affective alignment. The high affective affiliation to Cornish (identified as the variety 'closest to the heart' by 72% of respondents) suggests that its symbolic value remains high even among those who also speak other languages. This affective orientation reinforces the significance of Cornish as a central element of identity for many speakers and it is likely to sustain engagement in revitalisation efforts despite threats from English.

Community members and civil society groups were identified as the key actors in keeping the language going, as shown in Figure 18 below.

Figure 18: Actors involved in sustaining Cornish and their roles



Responses to this question revealed a wide array of contributors, including individuals, language organisations (such as Kesva an Taves Kernewek and Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek), cultural producers (including musicians and filmmakers), diaspora networks and creative and digital communities. These efforts span formal and informal domains, from adult classes and school programmes to bilingual signage, theatre, podcasts and grassroots events. While festivals score low in the survey, we focused on them in the ethnographic component of our study. Cornwall Council and local authorities were also mentioned, although views were mixed: some respondents praised their efforts, while others highlighted a perceived lack of consistency.

This distributed ecosystem reflects a high degree of community agency, but also uneven or inconsistent institutional engagement. Ratings of whether 'enough is being done' to support Cornish show that members of the community were viewed as the most active (Mean = 3.51), followed by community organisations (Mean = 3.04). Local government was rated lower (Mean = 2.57) and national/state government lowest of all (Mean = 1.57). These figures point to a perceived imbalance in responsibility and the need to strengthen the involvement of public institutions in a way that matches community investment.

Respondents were also asked to assess which factors were most necessary for sustaining the language. Positive attitudes and effective teaching were rated equally as the most important (mean = 4.75, for both), followed by adequate and regular funding (mean = 4.70) and localised language materials (mean = 4.62). Political will (mean = 4.55) and community-level support (mean = 4.38) were also considered

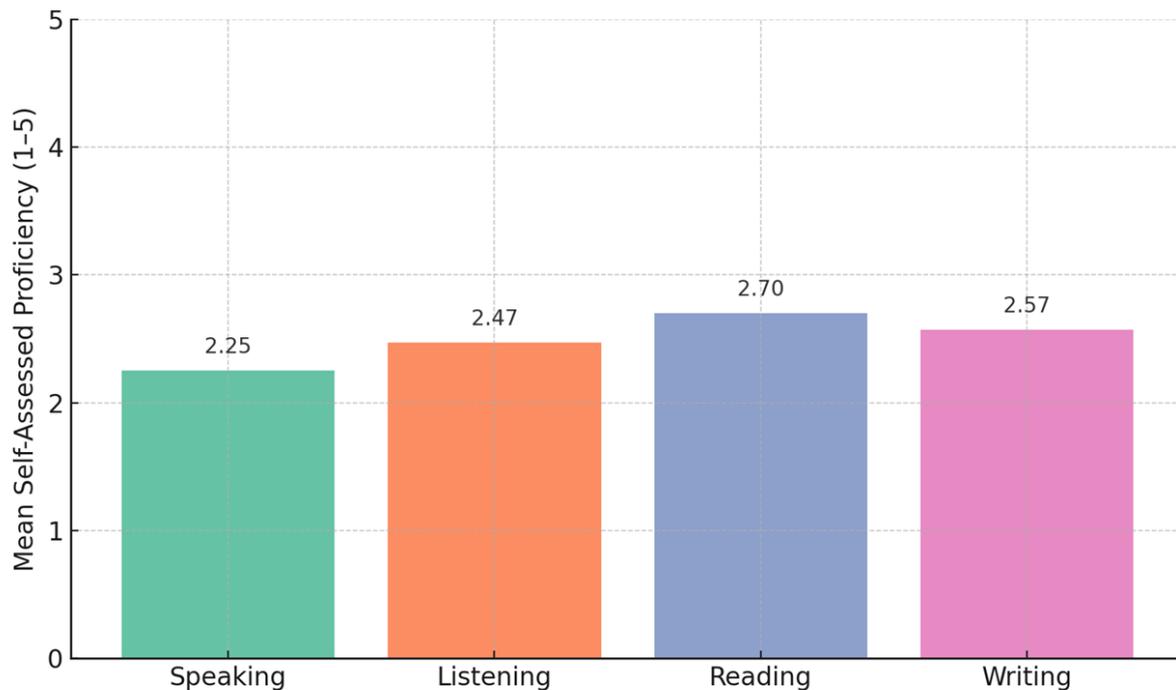
essential, which taken together highlight the importance of both intangible social values and concrete institutional support in language maintenance and revitalisation efforts.

The age profile of respondents adds further nuance to the sociocultural dimension of the Cornish linguistic ecosystem. Nearly half of all participants (49.1%) are aged between 50 and 69, with only 13.2% under the age of 30. This demographic imbalance suggests that the current revitalisation momentum is being sustained predominantly by middle-aged and older adults, while younger generations remain underrepresented. While this signals deep-rooted commitment among older cohorts, it raises important concerns for long-term sustainability, particularly around intergenerational transmission and youth engagement (Schukking et al., 2019). A revitalisation movement heavily concentrated in older age groups risks limiting the everyday socialisation of Cornish among children and young adults — a key factor in ensuring the future viability of the language.

The question of standardisation drew a range of views, illustrating ideological tensions around legitimacy, access and control. Many respondents supported the existence of a single written form (the Standard Written Form established in 2008 (Akademi Kernewek, 2021), particularly for education and public communication. However, this support was often accompanied by calls for flexibility and respect for orthographic diversity. A smaller number of respondents expressed strong resistance to standardisation, seeing it as exclusionary or overly centralised. These responses reflect broader issues of authority, ownership and ideological alignment within the language movement.

Further, when asked about the broader value of Cornish, respondents identified cultural knowledge (Mean = 4.77), sense of self-worth (Mean = 4.35) and mental well-being (Mean = 4.28) as the strongest benefits. These findings affirm the perception of Cornish as a socially embedded and psychologically meaningful practice.

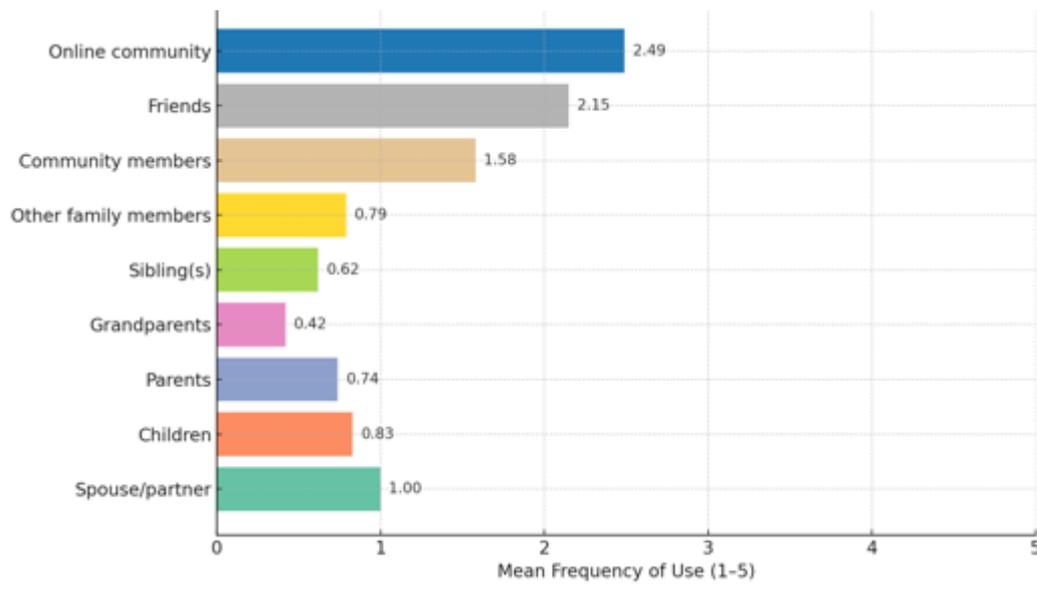
The language acquisition dimension of the Cornish linguistic ecosystem points to a situation where individual learning, digital use and cultural engagement are growing, but where sustained fluency, generational transmission and everyday interaction remain extremely limited. Survey findings suggest that Cornish learners possess modest proficiency across the four core skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. The lowest average score was in speaking (mean = 2.25) and the highest in reading (mean = 2.70). These patterns are captured in Figure 19.

Figure 19: Self-reported proficiency in Cornish

These scores corroborate the claim that the Cornish language revival has seen a notable trend where passive competence (understanding and reading) surpasses active use (especially speaking). This imbalance suggests that while many individuals engage with Cornish as a cultural or identity marker, fewer incorporate it into daily communication. The limited opportunities for immersive practice and the dominance of English in public life contribute to this disparity (Ferdinand, 2013). In recognition of this challenge, the Cornish Language Strategy (2015-2025) developed by the Cornwall Council has given greater attention to providing more spaces for the use of Cornish in daily communication (Cornwall Council, 2015). However, despite its many activities to achieve this goal, it remains largely unachieved.

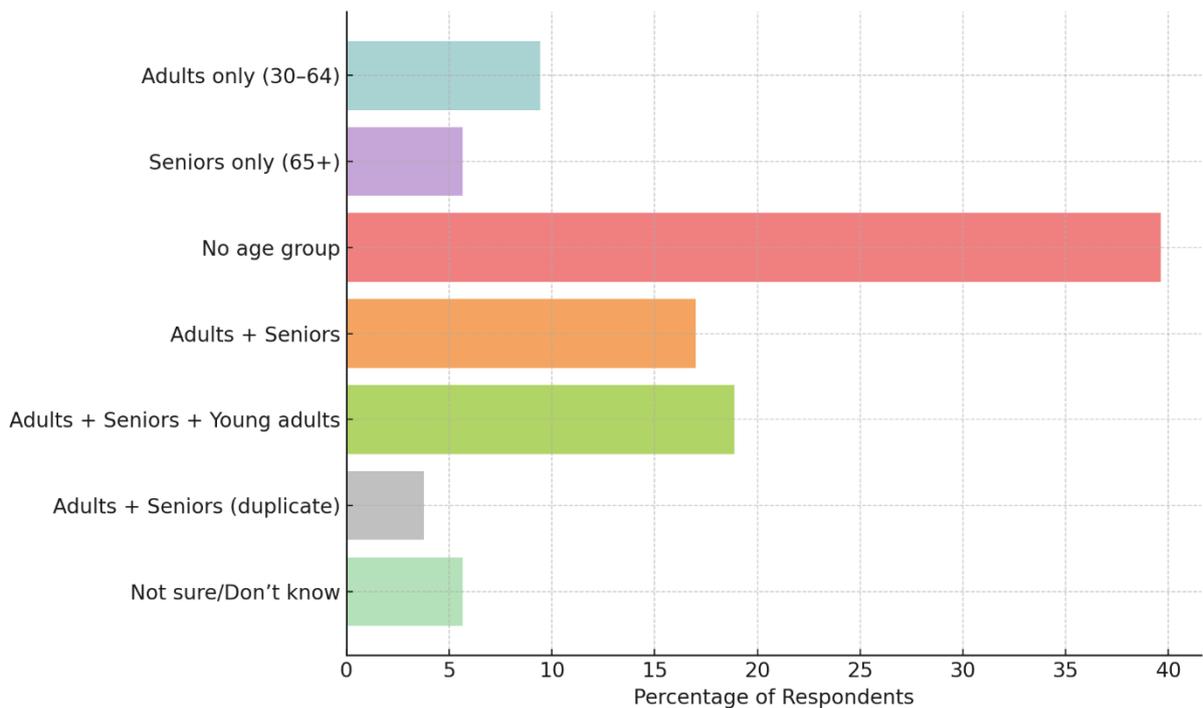
Similarly, respondents reported using Cornish most frequently with friends and in online spaces, while use with family members was rare, especially among children and grandparents. This is evident in Figure 20, which presents average frequency scores by interlocutor type.

Figure 20: Frequency of speaking Cornish according to interlocutors



Cornish is chiefly sustained through peer networks and digital communities, rather than through intergenerational family transmission or schooling where it is almost absent (Schukking et al., 2019). These patterns are further reinforced by responses to the question about which age groups in respondents’ communities are able to hold an unrehearsed conversation in Cornish. Nearly 40% said no age group could do so. While some fluency was reported among adults and senior citizens, children and teenagers were not mentioned at all. Only 18.9% of respondents identified young adults (18–29) as part of the fluent cohort, and even then only alongside older generations. The absence of early-age acquisition is striking and points to a major weakness in the transmission chain. These scores are graphically detailed in Figure 21.

Figure 21: Age groups perceived as fluent in Cornish



Beyond proficiency and domain use, the survey explored how Cornish is learned. Most respondents reported acquiring it through structured lessons (20.8%) and online platforms (22.6%), confirming that revitalisation is largely driven by formal instruction and self-directed study. Other means such as informal community- or family-based learning (7.55%), books (7.55%) and immersion in cultural activities (5.66%) were mentioned less frequently. This reflects a revitalisation model dependent on planned, intentional learning rather than naturalistic exposure, which further limits the language's integration into everyday life.

Overall, the Cornish linguistic ecosystem is defined by high affective investment, community-led revitalisation efforts, and a strong orientation towards identity-building. While respondents report linguistic diversity and a shared commitment to sustaining the language, the sociolinguistic realities reveal structural limitations. These include extremely limited intergenerational transmission, a concentration of speaker engagement among older adults, and restricted opportunities for the use of the language in everyday communication. English remains dominant in all domains of public life, and Cornish is rarely acquired or used as a first language. Nonetheless, the language's symbolic value and emotional resonance continue to motivate individual and collective efforts across local and transnational spaces. For Cornish to transition from a largely symbolic resource to a more robust medium of communication (Cornwall Council, 2015), revitalisation strategies must address both the affective and practical conditions under which the language can be learned, used, and transmitted, especially among younger and new speakers.

4.5 Seto

The findings presented in this section reveal that Seto coexists with a range of other varieties, most prominently Estonian and Võro, but also Russian and English, indicating a multilingual ecology. This distribution is closely tied to historical patterns of contact, regional affiliations and contemporary language repertoires.

Starting with the question "What varieties are used in your community", responses show that the most frequently mentioned variety is Estonian (91.4% of respondents), followed closely by Seto (84.3% of respondents) and Võro (50% of respondents). Smaller numbers mentioned Russian (17.1%) and English (7.1%). This shows that Seto coexists with dominant national (Estonian), related local (Võro), historical (Russian) and global (English) languages. The proximity of Seto to Võro and the widespread use of Estonian demonstrate a high degree of functional multilingualism, while the presence of Russian and English illustrates external influences from historical contact and globalisation respectively.

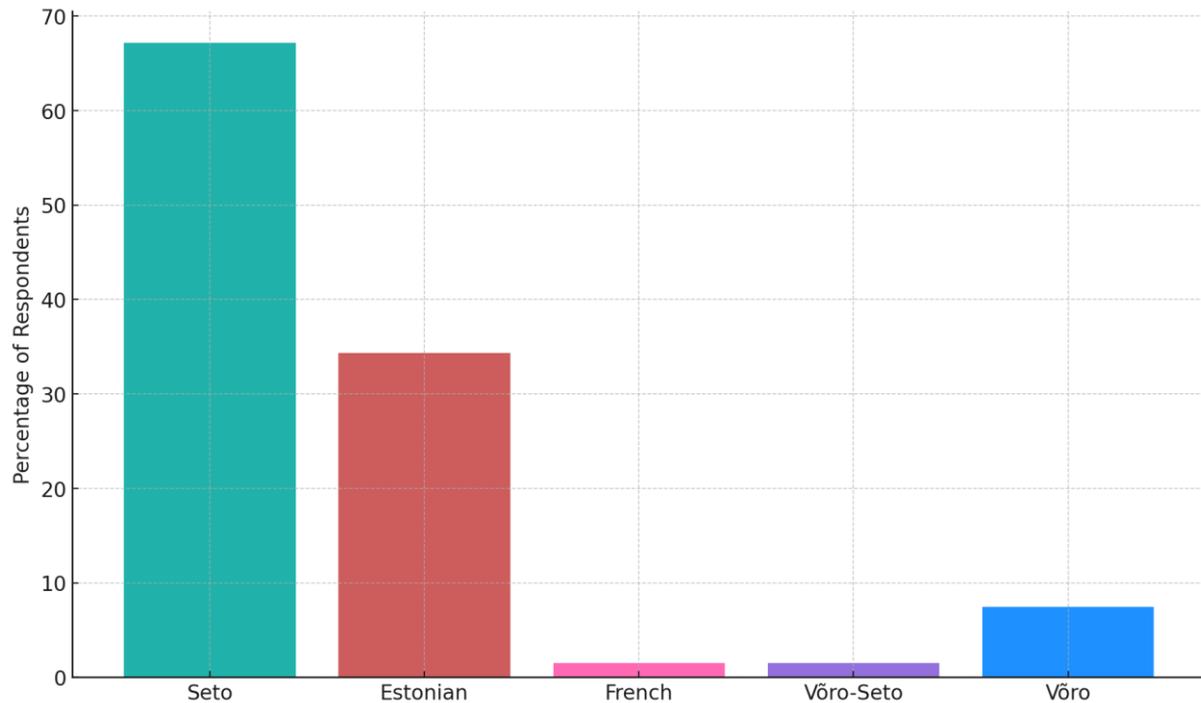
In response to the question asking about the country in which participants live, Estonia is the primary place of residence for 75.7% of respondents. However, 15.7% explicitly referenced the Seto Kingdom as their 'country' of residence (which might be interpreted as a reflection of the symbolic local identity associated with Seto), while 4.3% reported living in Russia, which is consistent with the historical division of Setomaa across state borders. These results point to a transnational linguistic ecology, in which Seto is shaped by both its position within the Estonian state and its use in transnational settings.

In line with the above findings, almost all respondents reported knowledge of both Estonian (90.0%) and Seto (89.9%), while 57.1% knew Russian, 44.3% Võro and 22.9% English. This multilingual competence points to a multi-faceted linguistic ecology shaped by Estonia's national language policies, historical contact with Russian and close ties to the Võro language, which forms part of the same South

Estonian continuum. Global and neighbouring languages such as English, Finnish and German were also mentioned, though to a lesser extent. The prevalence of these varieties underlines the permeability of the Seto linguistic ecosystem to national, regional and transnational influences.

Despite these multiple affiliations, Seto retains a central symbolic status: 62.9% of respondents named Seto as the variety closest to their heart. Estonian followed at 32.9%, with Võro mentioned marginally (see Figure 22 below). This emotional orientation affirms Seto's enduring value as a language of belonging and identity, even in a setting of extensive multilingualism.

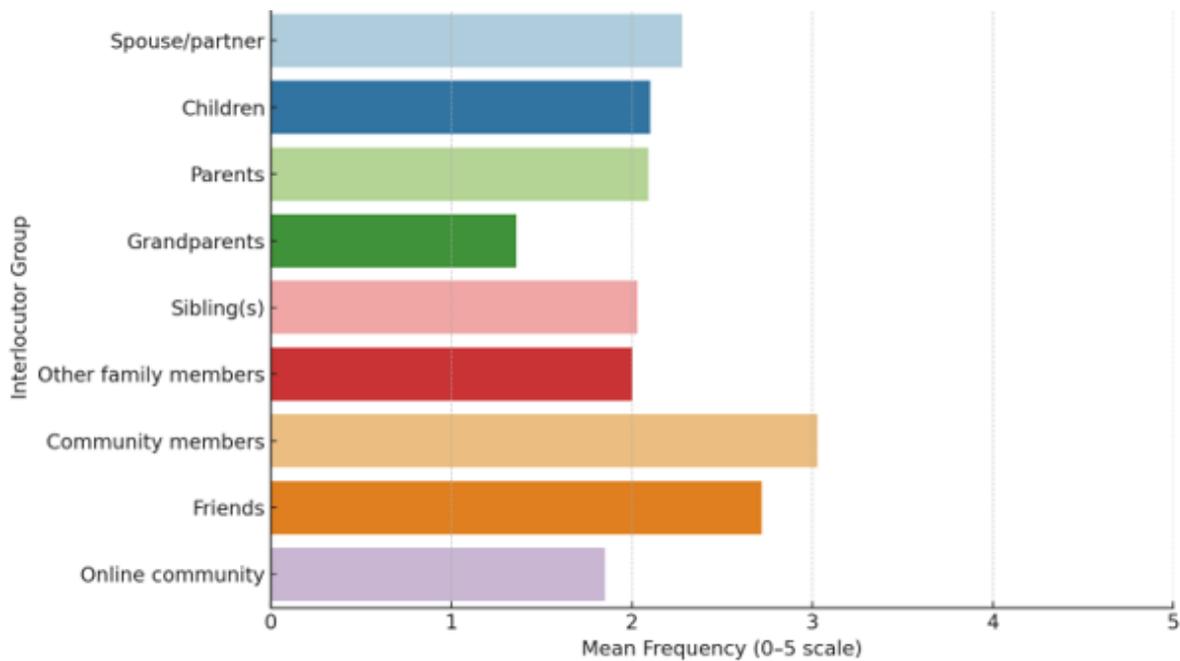
Figure 22: Affective value of language varieties for Seto respondents



Notably, oral proficiency in Seto is strong. Listening had the highest self-rated average score (mean = 4.52 on a 5-point scale), followed by reading (mean = 3.97), speaking (mean = 3.85) and writing (mean = 2.97). These figures show that Seto remains a living spoken language in the community but also suggest that writing is underdeveloped or underused, pointing to limited formal instruction and a relatively small presence in formal domains, such as education, publishing, or online formats (Rannut, 2004).

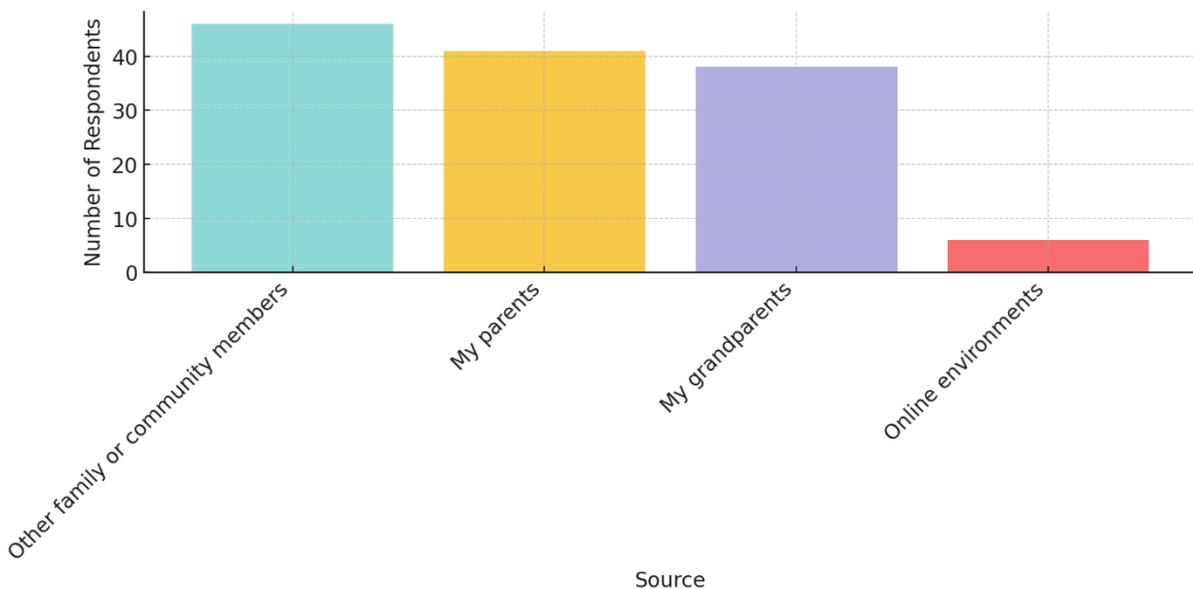
Patterns of actual use further support the idea of an orally robust, socially embedded language. Respondents reported speaking Seto most frequently with community members (mean = 3.03) and friends (mean = 2.72), with lower frequencies for children (mean = 2.10), parents (mean = 2.09) and siblings (mean = 2.03). Online community use was notably lower (mean = 1.85), confirming that Seto remains primarily a local and inter-personal language. In terms of situational use, Seto was used most in everyday community (mean = 3.09) and family settings (mean = 3.06), followed by arts and culture (mean = 3.00) and leisure (mean = 2.67). In contrast, institutional domains such as employment (mean = 2.10), religion (mean = 1.93), education (mean = 1.75) and especially government offices (mean = 1.40) showed markedly lower use (see Figure 23).

Figure 23: Frequency of speaking Seto according to interlocutors



Learning sources reflect this local, oral tradition. Over two-thirds (65.7%) reported learning Seto from family or community members, 58.6% from parents and 54.3% from grandparents. Only 8.6% cited online sources, indicating a digital gap in Seto learning patterns. These findings confirm that the transmission of Seto is overwhelmingly informal, dependent on familial and social networks rather than institutional or technological platforms, as shown in Figure 24.

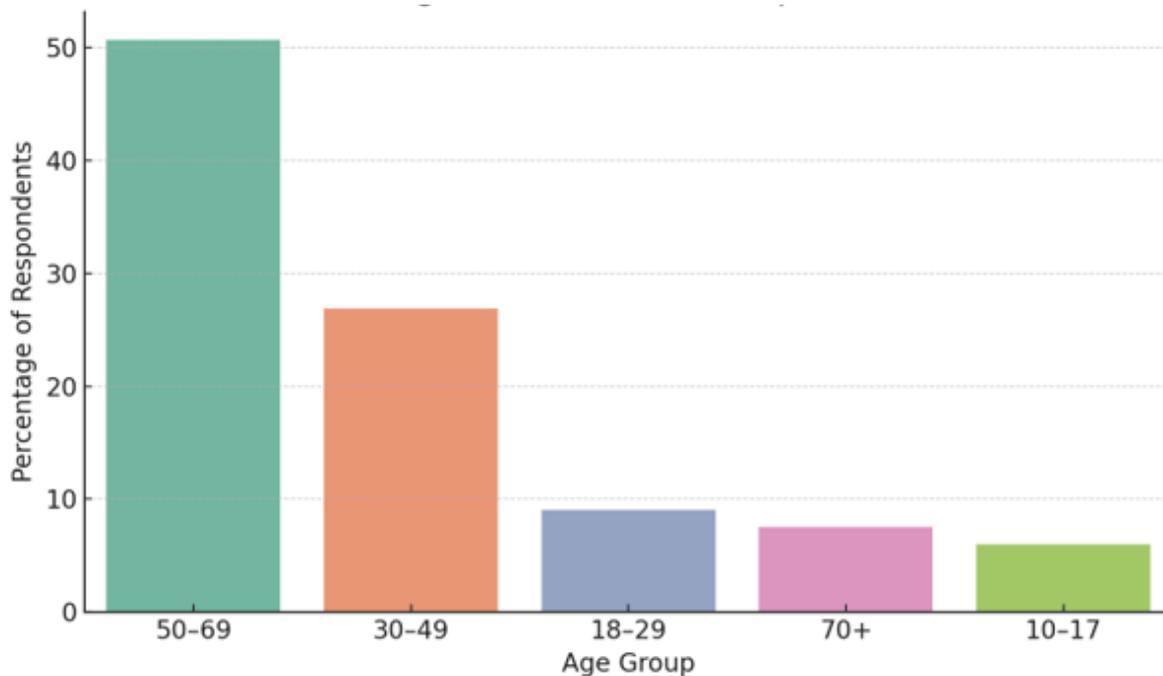
Figure 24: Sources of learning Seto



When asked which age groups are the most proficient speakers of Seto, 84.3% identified the elderly (65+), followed by 75.7% for adults aged 30–64. The figure dropped to 18.6% for young adults (18–29) and to just 4.3% for children and teenagers. These responses suggest a top-heavy speaker base, with conversational fluency concentrated in older generations. This skewed generational profile raises

concerns about sustainability and underlines the urgency of intergenerational transmission strategies. Similarly, the age distribution of respondents shows that the community is significantly weighted towards older generations: 50–69-year-olds make up 50.7% of participants and a further 7.5% are aged 70 or older. Meanwhile, younger adults (18–29) account for only 9.0% and adolescents and children (10–17) just 6.0%. This demographic skew underscores the urgent need for targeted revitalisation strategies aimed at young people.

Figure 25: Age distribution of Seto respondents

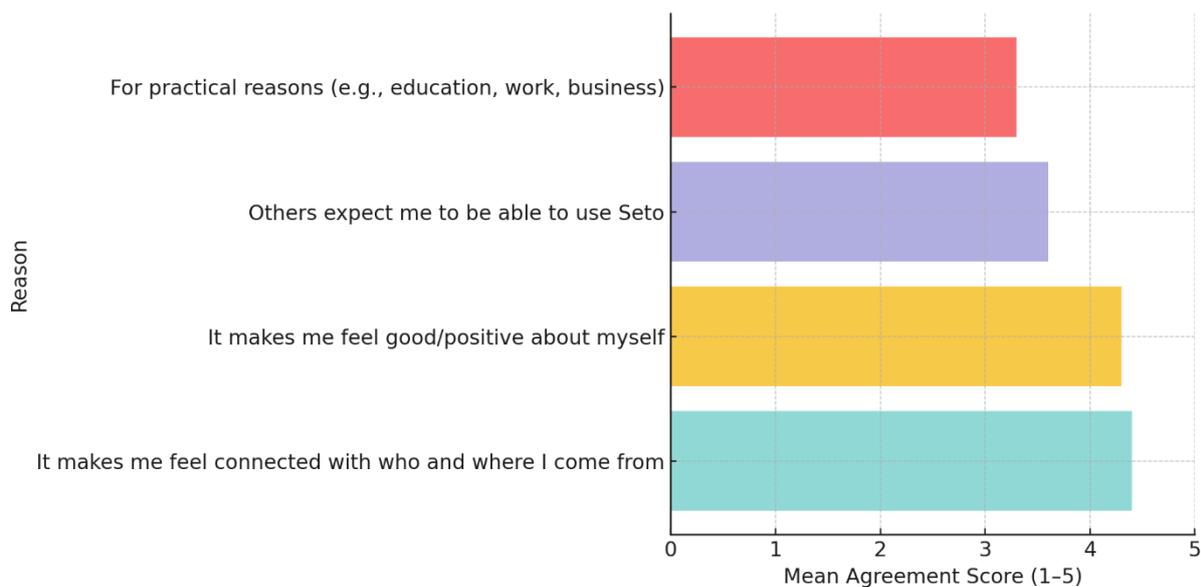


Views on the possibility of having a single standard written form of Seto were divided. Just over half of respondents (50.7%) opposed the idea, arguing that it would compromise regional authenticity and the language's internal richness. A smaller share (17.9%) supported standardisation as a tool for education and digital development, while 16.4% expressed mixed or ambivalent views. A further 14.9% were unsure or declined to answer. The debate reveals a classic tension within revitalisation efforts: balancing bottom-up linguistic diversity with top-down standardisation that enables wider institutional and technological use (Darquennes & Vandebussche, 2015).

The sociocultural profile of the Seto-speaking community reveals a vibrant, identity-oriented ecosystem sustained by grassroots commitment and cultural continuity, as well as one that faces demographic, structural and policy-related challenges. For instance, attitudes towards multilingualism and Seto identity are overwhelmingly positive. Nearly all respondents agree that keeping Seto alive is important (mean = 4.93 on a scale of 1 to 5) and many view multilingualism as a strength rather than a challenge: the ability to use multiple varieties was rated as an asset (mean = 4.76) and most people believe that using/learning Seto is a strong part of their identity (mean = 4.21). Only slightly above half of the respondents to this question (mean = 2.97) agreed that public communication should be conducted solely in the national language and just under half (mean = 2.34) thought that multilingualism creates social problems. These figures suggest a sociocultural ecosystem that is largely pluralistic, inclusive and committed to linguistic diversity.

Respondents' motivations for learning or using Seto are deeply tied to emotional and identity-based reasons. The top reasons include feeling connected to one's roots (mean = 4.42) and feeling good about oneself (mean = 4.33), with lower emphasis placed on external expectations (mean = 3.67) and practical reasons like work or education (mean = 3.36)—see Figure 26. This indicates that Seto plays a key role in how people see themselves and relate to their heritage, a finding further supported by strong agreement that the language should be passed to future generations (mean = 4.79) and that it is acceptable for outsiders to learn Seto (mean = 4.46). This sense of openness highlights the community's desire for the language to thrive, not only among Seto speakers but more broadly.

Figure 26: Motivations for learning/using Seto



Respondents are moderately satisfied with their opportunities to learn (mean = 3.81) and practise (mean = 3.82) Seto, but this also suggests room for growth in accessible learning environments. While some community members express concern over the lack of consensus or visibility on the role of Seto (mean = 3.81), the broader picture is one of active engagement across various sectors of society. In open responses, participants identified a diverse range of actors contributing to Seto's survival, including individuals, activists, leelo choirs, cultural and educational institutions, kindergartens, museums and organisers of major events such as Seto Kingdom Day and Seto Folk. These contributions range from language teaching and publishing to organising performances and integrating Seto into everyday communication. However, there is a clear disparity in perceived responsibility across actors. While community organisations (mean = 3.63) and community members (mean = 3.61) are seen as doing the most, national/state governments received a low rating (mean = 2.15), pointing to a structural gap in institutional support from the national government. The local/regional level was viewed more favourably (mean = 3.19), but still lagged behind community-led efforts. This underscores the need for top-down frameworks to complement the bottom-up initiatives.

When asked what is most necessary to keep Seto alive, respondents prioritised community spaces where Seto can be used (mean = 4.73) and positive attitudes (mean = 4.67), followed closely by localised language materials and effective teaching (mean = 4.42, for both). These responses indicate that language vitality is seen as being tied to active use, shared value systems and supportive

infrastructure. Support for families raising children in Seto (mean = 4.30) and adequate funding (mean = 4.07) were also considered important, which reinforces the call for sustainable revitalisation efforts.

Finally, respondents strongly agreed that maintaining Seto has wide-ranging sociocultural benefits: nearly all believed it promotes cultural knowledge (mean = 4.81), mental well-being (mean = 4.73) and sense of self-worth (mean = 4.72). Tourism also rated highly (mean = 4.60), while perceived impacts on physical well-being (mean = 3.72) and economic benefit (mean = 3.58) were lower, which suggests that while the language may not yet yield substantial material returns, it is seen as a vital source of symbolic and cultural capital.

In sum, the Seto linguistic ecosystem is characterised by rich multilingualism, strong emotional attachment, and grassroots vitality, yet it faces pressing challenges around intergenerational transmission, institutional support and threats from the national language (policy). The language is deeply embedded in local and symbolic geographies, sustained by community actors and cultural networks, but remains marginal in formal domains and underrepresented among younger generations.

4.6 Commonalities and differences

Across all five communities, there is strong affective attachment to the minority language, with speakers consistently identifying it as central to their sense of identity, heritage and wellbeing. This emotional investment is paired with broad support for multilingualism and positive attitudes towards language diversity.

In all these communities, research participants placed strong importance on the value of maintaining local languages for wellbeing and mental health. This reflects empirical findings in communities around the world, as language maintenance and revitalisation have been associated with improved healthcare outcomes: e.g. delaying the onset of dementia (Bialystok et al., 2007), reducing the risk of suicide (Hallett et al., 2007) and diabetes (Gracey & King, 2009; Whalen et al., 2016), improved self-confidence and empowerment, resilience (Bradley, 2010), and overcoming historical trauma (Skrodzka et al., 2020). A healthy linguistic ecosystem is thus intrinsically linked to improved health outcomes.

Language use is strongest in informal community and family contexts (especially for Seto, Aromanian and Burgenland Croatian), but weakest in institutional domains like education, government and employment, except in Aranese, which benefits from relatively strong institutional support in education and governance. In all cases, older generations were identified as the most fluent users, with a sharp decline in transmission to younger generations. As noted earlier, this age asymmetry indicates a fragile base for long-term transmission unless revitalisation efforts engage youth more directly. The RISE case studies and language communities were chosen to represent a range of ecological contexts and vitality levels. The findings illustrate that the example of Cornish, which as a revived language might be seen as an outlier, is valuable given that without increased take-up of all the case study languages among young people, all of our case study languages might be in the same situation within a generation.

Geographical and demographic differences shape the vitality of each language. Aranese, Burgenland Croatian and Cornish are territorially concentrated within the main countries of their origin (even though there is evidence of diasporic use), while Aromanian and Cornish are geographically dispersed, necessitating transnational revitalisation strategies. While Burgenland Croatian benefits from official status in Austria and Aranese enjoys legal protection in Catalonia, Aromanian lacks consistent

recognition across the Balkan states where it is spoken. Cornish, despite its robust community activism, receives minimal state support in post-Brexit UK, relying largely on grassroots efforts, even though it is recognised by the British government under two key European frameworks (namely the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 2002 and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 2014) (Cornwall Council, 2015). In all cases, official recognition and legal protection tends to be partial and territorial. Diasporas were found to be salient in nearly all cases, which highlights a need for wider recognition and support.

A notable difference lies in the role of education and standardisation. Aranese and Aromanian (in North Macedonia) have institutionalised support in education settings, though these are not always sufficient for intergenerational transmission. In contrast, Aromanian (in other Balkan states), Cornish and Seto are still primarily learned through personal or community networks, with formal education playing a limited role. The standardisation of a written form remains contested across the board: while a codified standard exists or is emerging in all cases, there are persistent tensions between inclusivity and unity, particularly in Aromanian and Cornish, where orthographic fragmentation or ideological divisions remain.

A factor which has not been explored prominently in revitalisation discourse or language policy is gender. It was not covered explicitly in the main questionnaire, but some salient points emerged from the supplementary ethnographic research. At its simplest and most traditional, gender plays a role in who uses and transmits language within households and communities. Lindgren (1984) posits that women, either consciously or unconsciously, may associate a minoritised language with their own lower status in traditional society, and associate the majority language with modernity and thus more liberal attitudes towards women's status. (Leonard, 2012) warns of the potential for a focus on (hyper)traditionalism in language revitalisation to hinder women's choices. In the case of Seto, however, our ethnographic research revealed that women felt empowered by participating in traditional singing, and by reviving traditional crafts, needlework and costumes. One feature of the Cornish language movement which emerged as salient through our ethnographic research is its intersectional nature: arguably intersectionality is an intrinsic aspect of ecosystems and research into minoritisation. A significant proportion of Cornish interviewees identified as LGBTQ+, and some as disabled. Intersecting experiences of minoritisation can impact attitudes and strategies. This realisation has led to RISE UP WP7 committing to making its travelling art exhibition (which features artists from each language group) a safe, accessible space for all. Given the overall need for increased youth involvement in language revitalisation, attention to intersectional concerns seems relevant to our recommendations.

Finally, all communities report insufficient institutional support at the national level, relying instead on committed individuals, community organisations and local initiatives to sustain revitalisation. Community-led efforts are perceived as more effective than those of government institutions, highlighting a widespread mismatch between grassroots engagement and top-down support. While affective motivation is high, the practical conditions for use are uneven, such as access to learning resources, opportunities for practice and public visibility. The challenge across all five case study communities is not simply about teaching the language, but embedding it meaningfully in daily life, digital spaces and intergenerational practices to ensure long-term vitality and healthy ecosystem.

5 Recommendations and Conclusion

Drawing upon the detailed analyses of the range of ecological factors identified in the report, this section outlines clear steps and strategies for policymakers, stakeholders and community organisations to effectively support the maintenance and revitalisation of minoritised languages across Europe. These recommendations will directly inform the development of the subsequent deliverable, Guidelines for language revitalisation (D3.2), which will provide a basis for more targeted guidance and actionable strategies.

5.1 Towards a healthy linguistic ecosystem for European minoritised languages

A linguistic ecosystem, like its environmental counterpart, depends on balance, resilience and the ability to sustain itself over time. Yet unlike natural ecosystems, which may stabilise through gradual processes, linguistic ecosystems require active engagement and sustained momentum to remain healthy. As Anderson (2015) notes,

[a] healthy linguistic ecosystem, like its environmental counterpart, is one in which any trash or toxins that interfere with its homeostasis and equilibrium are nonexistent or only exist to a minimum degree. However, unlike its environmental equivalent, in order for a linguistic ecosystem to maintain agents' [individual and institutional] motivation—and thus remain healthy—it requires a high degree of momentum (i.e., analogously, its evolutionary clock must be ticking at a much higher speed). [...] Maintaining the health of the linguistic ecosystem requires that there is a high degree of pressure for rigorous thinking placed on the individuals [and institutions] occupying this environment.

This perspective emphasises the importance of proactive, future-considering revitalisation strategies that not only protect existing language use but also generate the conditions for continuous innovation, learning and participation across generations, groups and institutions.

Building a healthy linguistic ecosystem for Europe's minoritised languages requires recognising that language vitality is not solely a function of speaker numbers or institutional presence, but the outcome of complex interrelations between sociocultural, political, geographic, economic and technological factors. The case studies presented in this report confirm that while emotional attachment and community-driven activism are common to all five languages, structural conditions (such as intergenerational transmission, institutional support and domain integration) vary widely and often remain insufficient. A European language preservation ecosystem must therefore operate across multiple levels, supporting both top-down frameworks and bottom-up initiatives, while being sensitive to local and transnational ecologies.

First, it is essential to embed minoritised languages into everyday life beyond symbolic or institutional domains. While education systems in some contexts (e.g., Aranese) offer structured opportunities, all five ecosystems reveal fragile intergenerational transmission, limited family use and marginal digital integration. Revitalisation strategies must therefore prioritise informal domains, such as home, peer networks, leisure and online spaces, by supporting families, training intergenerational mentors and facilitating digital innovation. This includes investing in user-friendly digital tools, children's media, informal learning spaces and youth-oriented content that make minoritised languages more accessible, desirable and relevant to younger generations.

Second, inclusive and flexible standardisation practices are necessary to navigate intra-linguistic diversity without alienating speakers. Across the case studies, tensions emerged between formal written standards and community preferences for dialectal variation and authenticity. A preservation ecosystem must therefore promote standards that are transparent, accessible and pedagogically useful, while safeguarding variation and ensuring legitimacy through community participation. Standardisation must be treated not as a prerequisite for revitalisation, but as a negotiated process, embedded within broader ideologies of language ownership and identity (Lane et al., 2018).

Third, a healthy European language ecosystem must foster meaningful partnerships between communities, institutions and governments at multiple scales. The case studies repeatedly highlight the disproportionate burden borne by community organisations and individuals in the face of weak or inconsistent institutional backing. National and regional governments must move beyond tokenistic recognition and provide sustained funding, policy alignment and political will. At the same time, community-driven efforts should be supported with training, infrastructure and platforms for visibility. Cross-border and diasporic networks must also be recognised as key ecological actors in the wider European context.

Finally, revitalisation efforts must adopt an ecosystemic mindset that treats language not as an isolated object, but as deeply interwoven with culture, well-being, economic development, place-based identity and the range of other factors identified in this report. Language maintenance is not only about transmission but also about meaningful use, recognition and value within daily life. This includes linking revitalisation to tourism, mental health, cultural production and local economic initiatives and regional investment e.g. internal transport, which might ensure that minoritised languages are seen not as relics of the past, but as living assets for sustainable futures. A European preservation ecosystem must therefore be grounded in systemic thinking that recognises linguistic vitality as both an outcome and a driver of inclusive, resilient and culturally diverse societies (Murugova & Evtushenko, 2023).

5.2 Conclusion

This report has explored the ecological conditions shaping the vitality of five minoritised languages in Europe (Aranese, Aromanian, Burgenland Croatian, Cornish and Seto) drawing on an integrative framework that accounts for linguistic, sociocultural, political, geographical and a range of other dimensions. By foregrounding the concept of linguistic ecosystems, we have moved beyond narrow, language-internal explanations of endangerment to consider the full range of external forces, such as history, border and national politics, migration, institutional policies, community ideologies and digital infrastructures, which co-determine language survival and revitalisation.

The findings confirm that all five languages are maintained through high emotional attachment and strong community engagement, yet all also face considerable structural vulnerabilities. Intergenerational transmission remains weak or inconsistent, with language use often confined to symbolic, educational, or cultural domains. Institutional support is uneven, particularly at the national level, leaving communities to rely heavily on grassroots efforts. These challenges demonstrate the need for a European language preservation ecosystem that is both systemic and context-sensitive, and one that combines bottom-up and top-down efforts and embeds language use in daily life.

This deliverable lays the foundation for the next Deliverable of WP3 (D3.2 - Guidelines for language revitalisation). Building on the findings presented here, D3.2 will propose a set of guidelines that can

offer practical, adaptable and scalable strategies that reflect the realities of minoritised language communities across Europe. As we move towards implementation, it is important that future efforts remain grounded in the ecological complexity and diversity of linguistic life. Revitalisation cannot succeed through isolated interventions; it must be approached as the cultivation of living ecosystems that are fragile, interdependent, complex, evolving and deeply embedded in the social, political and cultural fabric of Europe.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: RISE UP Language Revitalisation Survey

RISE UP Language Revitalisation Survey (Kernewek/Cornish)



This survey is part of a Europe-wide research project known as RISE UP: Revitalising Languages, Safeguarding Cultural Diversity: www.riseupproject.eu, which aims to empower minoritised language communities by building and supporting connections between language activists, speakers and new speakers in different communities, identifying good practices and developing resources. We seek your collaboration in completing this short survey about the variety or varieties used in your community (**we refer to whichever way you speak as 'variety', whether you call it 'language', 'dialect', 'accent', 'idiom', 'slang' etc.**).

We envisage a number of potential benefits to participants and language communities, namely creating a set of tools to support local communities, and connecting groups and individuals, especially young people/learners. Completing this survey will take approximately 20-30 minutes. We don't expect there to be any negative impacts from filling in the questionnaire.

We invite anybody interested in Kernewek/Cornish to take part in this survey.

If you prefer to complete this survey in Cornish/Kernewek, please click this link to do so: <https://forms.office.com/e/sm7h1HU6dG>

* Required

Informed consent

For ethical reasons, we need your consent to take part in this research project. Your answers will only be used for the purposes of this research, and will be completely anonymised. You have the right to withdraw at any time.

If you have any questions, please contact riseup@soas.ac.uk

1. I understand the project information and agree to participate *

Yes

Section

2. How old are you? *

- 10-17 (I have approval from my parent(s)/guardian(s) to complete this survey)
- 18-29
- 30-49
- 50-69
- 70 or older

3. What varieties are used in your community? *

- Kernewek/Cornish
- Standard English
- Cornish English
- British Sign Language
- Other

4. What varieties do you know/are you learning? *

- Kernewek/Cornish
- Standard English
- Cornish English
- British Sign Language
- Other

5. Which is the variety that is closest to your heart? *

6. How proficient/fluent are you in Kernewek/Cornish in the following skills? *

	Fluent [5]	4	3	2	Not fluent [1]	No knowledge [0]
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>					
Listening	<input type="radio"/>					
Reading	<input type="radio"/>					
Writing	<input type="radio"/>					

7. If you speak Kernewek/Cornish, who do you speak it with, and how often? *

	Always [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]	Not applicable (N/A) [0]
Spouse/partner	<input type="radio"/>					
Children	<input type="radio"/>					
Parents	<input type="radio"/>					
Grandparents	<input type="radio"/>					
Sibling(s)	<input type="radio"/>					
Other family members	<input type="radio"/>					
Community members	<input type="radio"/>					
Friends	<input type="radio"/>					
Online community	<input type="radio"/>					
Others (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>					

8. If you chose 'others' above, could you tell us who they are?

9. I learnt/am learning Kernewek/Cornish from [tick as many as appropriate]:

*

- My grandparents
- My parents
- Other family and community members
- School or lessons
- Online environments
- Other

10. Which age group(s) is able to hold a sustained, unrehearsed conversation on a range of topics in Kernewek/Cornish in your community? [tick as many as appropriate] *

- Infants (0-5 years)
- Children (6-12 years)
- Teenagers (13-17 years)
- Young adults (18-29 years)
- Adults (30-64 years)
- Senior citizens (65 years and older)
- No age group
- Other

11. In which situations/contexts do you mostly use Kernewek/Cornish, and how often? *

	Always [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]
Home/family	<input type="radio"/>				
Friends/Neighbourhood/Community	<input type="radio"/>				
Religion/Worship	<input type="radio"/>				
Employment	<input type="radio"/>				
Education contexts	<input type="radio"/>				
Government offices	<input type="radio"/>				
Leisure	<input type="radio"/>				
Arts and culture	<input type="radio"/>				
Online environments	<input type="radio"/>				
Others (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>				

12. If you chose 'Others' above, could you tell us in which situations/contexts?

13. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? *

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Different varieties are appropriate for different contexts	<input type="radio"/>				
Speakers can choose the variety that they will use in any situation	<input type="radio"/>				
The ability to use more than one variety is an asset	<input type="radio"/>				
In the UK, public/official communication should occur only in English	<input type="radio"/>				
In the UK, using English is important for social and economic advancement	<input type="radio"/>				
English represents British identity	<input type="radio"/>				
Kernewek/Cornish has more prestige than English	<input type="radio"/>				
The use of more than one language creates social problems/makes social unity difficult	<input type="radio"/>				
Keeping Kern ewek/Cornish alive is important	<input type="radio"/>				
Using/learning Kernewek/Co rnish is a strong part of my identity	<input type="radio"/>				

14. I want to be able to use/learn Kernewek/Cornish because: [tick as many as appropriate] *

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
It makes me feel good/positive about myself	<input type="radio"/>				
It makes me feel connected with who and where I come from	<input type="radio"/>				
Others (family members, friends/mentors etc.) expect me to be able to use Kernewek/Cornish	<input type="radio"/>				
For practical reasons such as education, getting a job, doing business etc.	<input type="radio"/>				
Other reasons (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>				

15. If you chose 'Other reasons' above, could you give us other reasons for which you want to be able to use/learn Kernewek/Cornish?

16. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? *

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I have enough opportunities to learn/improve Kernewek/Cornish.	<input type="radio"/>				
I have enough opportunities to communicate/practise with other speakers of Kernewek/Cornish.	<input type="radio"/>				
It is OK for people who are not members of the Cornish community to learn Kernewek/Cornish.	<input type="radio"/>				
It is important for speakers of Kernewek/Cornish to pass the variety to future generations.	<input type="radio"/>				
Community members and community representatives agree on the role of Kernewek/Cornish in your community.	<input type="radio"/>				

17. Who is interested in keeping Kernewek/Cornish going [individuals, networks, organisations, associations, government agencies etc.] and what do they do to keep Kernewek/Cornish going? [You can mention specific activities, events, programmes etc.] *

18. Is enough being done to keep Kernewek/Cornish going by the following: *

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
members of the Kernewek/Cornish community?	<input type="radio"/>				
community organisations /representatives?	<input type="radio"/>				
national/state government?	<input type="radio"/>				
local/regional government?	<input type="radio"/>				
other groups? (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>				

19. If you chose 'other groups' above, please tell us which groups and the extent to which their activities are enough.

20. How necessary do you find the following in relation to keeping Kernewek/Cornish going? *

	Extremely necessary [5]	4	3	2	Not at all necessary [1]
Community centres and other spaces where one can use Kernewek /Cornish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Localised language materials	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Positive attitudes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political will	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Effective teaching (e.g. trained teachers)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Adequate and regular funding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Support for families raising children in the language	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

21. If you chose 'Other' above, please tell us what else you consider necessary to keep Kernewek/Cornish going.

22. What is your opinion about having one standard form of written Kernewek/Cornish? [please write 'N/A' if none] *

23. To what extent do you agree that keeping Kernewek/Cornish going is beneficial for: *

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
physical well-being?	<input type="radio"/>				
mental well-being?	<input type="radio"/>				
sense of self-worth?	<input type="radio"/>				
economic benefits?	<input type="radio"/>				
tourism?	<input type="radio"/>				
cultural knowledge?	<input type="radio"/>				
others? (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>				

24. If you chose 'others' above, please tell us other (potential) benefits of keeping Kernewek/Cornish going.

25. How regularly do you read articles in Kernewek/Cornish in the following print media? *

	Regularly [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]	I don't know this printed medium
An Gannas: Cornish Language Magazine	<input type="radio"/>					
Western Morning News articles in Cornish	<input type="radio"/>					
The West Briton news articles in Cornish	<input type="radio"/>					

26. Which other print media that publish articles in Kernewek/Cornish do you know which are not mentioned above?

27. Which of these print media do you subscribe to because you want to read articles in Cornish? *

- An Gannas: Cornish Language Magazine
- Western Morning News
- The West Briton
- None
- Other

28. How regularly do you visit these websites in Kernewek/Cornish? *

	Regularly [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]	I don't know this website
Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek: http://cornish-language.org/?lang=kw	<input type="radio"/>					
Kresen Kernow: https://kresenkernow.org/a-dro-dhyn/	<input type="radio"/>					

29. Which other websites in Kernewek/Cornish do you know which are not mentioned above?
Please name them and indicate the URL, if possible.

30. How regularly do you see content of the following social media channels/groups in Kernewek/Cornish? *

	Regularly [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]	I don't know this social media channel/group
Speak Cornish (Facebook)	<input type="radio"/>					
I pledge to become more fluent in Cornish (Facebook)	<input type="radio"/>					
WE LOVE KERNEWEK, OUR CORNISH LANGUAGE (Facebook)	<input type="radio"/>					
Kernewek Tweets (Twitter/X)	<input type="radio"/>					
Sodhva an Yeth Kernewek/Cornish Language Office (Twitter/X)	<input type="radio"/>					
Cornish Language & Culture Society (Instagram)	<input type="radio"/>					
Cornish Language Group/Bagas Gernowek (LinkedIn)	<input type="radio"/>					
Kowethas: The Cornish Language Fellowship (Facebook)	<input type="radio"/>					

31. Which other social media channels/groups in Kernewek/Cornish do you know which are not stated above? Please name them and indicate the social media platform and the handle, if possible.

32. Which of these social media channels/groups in Kernewek/Cornish have you liked/subscribed to/do you follow? *

- Speak Cornish (Facebook)
- I pledge to become more fluent in Cornish (Facebook)
- WE LOVE KERNEWEK , OUR CORNISH LANGUAGE (Facebook)
- Kernewek Tweets (Twitter/X)
- Sodhva an Yeth Kernewek/Cornish Language Office (Twitter/X)
- Cornish Language & Culture Society (Instagram)
- Cornish Language Group/Bagas Gernowek (LinkedIn)
- Kowethas: The Cornish Language Fellowship (Facebook)
- Other

33. How regularly do you actively post on social media channels/groups in Kernewek/Cornish? *

Regularly [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]
<input type="radio"/>				

34. How regularly do you listen to these podcasts, radio stations or audio resources in Kernewek/Cornish? *

	Regularly [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]	I don't know this podcast/ra dio station/aud io resource [0]
BBC Radio Cornwall's Cornish language broadcast	<input type="radio"/>					
Pirate FM's Cornish language broadcast	<input type="radio"/>					
Radyo An Gernewegva	<input type="radio"/>					
The Cornish Language Podcast on Spotify	<input type="radio"/>					
Learn Cornish Podcast on Apple Podcasts	<input type="radio"/>					

35. Which other podcasts, radio stations or other audio resources in Kernewek/Cornish do you know which are not mentioned above? Please name them.

36. How regularly do you watch the following videos, TV programmes or films in Kernewek/Cornish? *

	Regularly [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]	I don't know this video/TV programme /film [0]
BBC's Cornish Shorts	<input type="radio"/>					
Hwerow Hweg (Bitter Sweet)	<input type="radio"/>					
Pellwolok an Gernewegva/ An Mis Cornish Language Television Programme	<input type="radio"/>					
Kernowpalooza TV programme on YouTube	<input type="radio"/>					

37. Which other videos, TV programmes or films in Kernewek/Cornish do you know which are not mentioned above?

38. Please list events that you find most important for the Cornish language community. *

39. Which events would you like to have/see introduced for the Cornish language community? [If none, please enter 'N/A'] *

40. How regularly do you read the following in Kernewek/Cornish? *

	Regularly [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]	Does not exist
Fiction (incl. poetry)	<input type="radio"/>					
Non-fiction	<input type="radio"/>					

41. How much do you agree with the following statements? *

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	I don't know
There are enough fiction books (incl. poetry) in Kernewek/Co rnish for my needs.	<input type="radio"/>					
There are enough non- fiction works in Kernewek/Co rnish for my needs.	<input type="radio"/>					
There are enough children's books in Kernewek/Co rnish.	<input type="radio"/>					
There are enough books for young people in Kernewek/Co rnish.	<input type="radio"/>					

42. How regularly do you listen to music in Kernewek/Cornish?

*

Regularly [5]	4	3	2	Never [1]
<input type="radio"/>				

43. How do you listen to music in Kernewek/Cornish? (tick as many as appropriate)

- Streaming platforms (e.g. Spotify, YouTube)
- Live
- CD/recording
- Radio
- I do not listen to music in Kernewek/Cornish
- Other

44. Do you create art (e.g. music, film/videos, etc) in Kernewek/Cornish? (tick as many as appropriate) *

- Yes, privately, alone
- Yes, privately, with other people
- Yes, in public, alone (e.g. I perform as a solo artist)
- Yes, in public, with other people (e.g. I perform with a group, such as a band or in a music group)
- No
- Other

45. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	I don't know
There are enough children's songs in Kernewek/Co mish.	<input type="radio"/>					
It is easy to find new children's songs in Kernewek/Co mish.	<input type="radio"/>					

46. Do you use the following facilities or services? (tick as many as appropriate)

- Bilingual (Cornish and English) pre-school (kindergarten) and/or creche
- Out-of-school educational projects for children to promote Kernewek/Cornish
- Extracurricular musical activities for children involving Kernewek/Cornish
- Language courses in Kernewek/Cornish for adults
- Library with Kernewek/Cornish books
- Evening events in or with Kernewek/Cornish
- Kernewek/Cornish folk dance groups
- Youth clubs/youth associations in which Kernewek/Cornish is used
- Religious events in Kernewek/Cornish
- Conversation groups in Kernewek/Cornish
- Kernewek/Cornish store
- Other

47. How important do you find the following competitions or awards? *

	Extremely important [5]	4	3	2	Not at all important [1]	I don't know this competition/award [0]
Gorsedh Kernow Awards and Competitions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
FylmK: Annual contemporary Cornish language short film competition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Go Cornish Awards for Primary Schools teaching Cornish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cornwall Heritage Trust Award for language projects	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Holyer an Gof: Cornish Books Awards organised by Gorsedh Kernow	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Others (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

48. If you chose 'Others' above, please tell us other awards and competitions related to Kernewek/Cornish language which are not mentioned above.

49. How do you estimate the contribution that the following resources make to the promotion of Kernewek/Cornish? *

	Very large [5]	4	3	2	No contribution [1]	I don't know [0]
Print media in Kernewek/Co mish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				
Social media channels/groups in Kernewek/Co mish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				
Podcasts, radio stations, audio resources in Kernewek/Co mish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				
Videos, TV programmes and films in Kernewek/Co mish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				
Events at which Kernewek/Co mish is used	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				
Books in Kernewek/Co mish such as fiction (incl. poetry) or non-fiction works	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				
Music in Kernewek/Co mish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				
Kernewek/Co mish competitions and awards	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				
Kernewek/Co mish facilities and services	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				
Websites in Kernewek/Co mish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				

50. How important do you find the following Kernewek/Cornish resources? *

	Extremely important [5]	4	3	2	Not at all important [1]	I don't know this resource [0]
Online Cornish Dictionary - https://www.cornishdictionary.org.uk/	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cornish Language Calendar	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Learning platforms (e.g. Go Cornish, SaySomethin gInCornish)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Word Tango in Kernewek/Co mish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cornish Magi Ann app	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
SwiftKey (autocorrect for Cornish)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kerdle (Cornish version of Wordle)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

51. How important is it to you that the following digital tools or services are available in Kernewek/Cornish? *

	Extremely important [5]	4	3	2	Not at all important [1]	I don't know this digital tool/service [0]
Wikipedia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Machine translation tools (e.g. Google Translate, DeepL)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Computer operating systems	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mobile phone software	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Chatbots (e.g. ChatGPT, Bard)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Games (PC/phone)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Others (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

52. If you chose 'Others' above, please tell us which other digital tools or services you would want to become available in Kernewek/Cornish.

53. In which language(s) do you mostly use the following digital tools or services? *

	Kernewek/Cornish	Standard English	Other language	I don't use this digital tool/service
Wikipedia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Machine translation tools (e.g. Google Translate, DeepL)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Computer operating systems	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mobile phone software	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Chatbots (e.g. ChatGPT, Bard)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Games (PC/phone)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

54. In other minoritized language communities, the following offerings exist. How desirable would you find these offerings for Kernewek/Cornish? *

	Extremely desirable [5]	4	3	2	Not at all desirable [1]	This offering does already exist [0]
Language Race (running event aimed at raising visibility and support for Kernewek/Cornish)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
(Intensive) language courses for vocational reorientation, i.e. people learn Kernewek/Cornish in order to have more professional opportunities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mentoring programmes, where one proficient speaker interacts with a learner of Kernewek/Cornish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Translation contests including Kernewek/Cornish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Any other offerings (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

55. If you chose 'Any other offerings' above, please tell us which other offerings you would find desirable for Kernewek/Cornish.

56. Are there any other resources and activities for the promotion of Kernewek/Cornish that you know of and would like to mention? [If none, please write 'N/A'] *

57. In which areas are Kernewek/Cornish resources lacking most? (tick as many as appropriate) *

- Media
- Events
- Literature and non-fiction works
- Music
- Facilities and services
- Competitions/awards
- Further resources/offerings
- Digital services
- In no area
- Other

58. For which age group(s) are Kernewek/Cornish resources lacking most? (tick as many as appropriate) *

- Infants (0-5 years)
- Children (6-12 years)
- Teenagers (13-17 years)
- Young adults (18-29 years)
- Adults (30-64 years)
- Senior citizens (65 years and older)
- There are enough resources for all age groups

59. What do you think will be the future of Kernewek/Cornish?

60. Is there anything else you'd like to tell us about Kernewek/Cornish?

61. Which gender do you identify as? *

- Female
- Male
- Non-binary
- Prefer not to disclose
- Other

62. What is the highest education you have completed? *

- Primary/elementary school
- Secondary school (incl. middle and high school)
- Vocational training
- Higher education (university, college, etc.)
- Other

63. How frequently do you use these devices? *

	Very frequently [5]	4	3	2	Not at all [1]
Smartphone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tablet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Computer/laptop	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other electronic devices (please state below)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

64. If you chose 'Other electronic devices' above, please tell us which other devices you use.

65. What is/was your field of occupation? *

66. Do you do any voluntary work in relation to Kernewek/Cornish? (e.g. are you a member of a Kernewek/Cornish organisation/group and do voluntary work for them?) *

67. In which country do you live? *

68. This survey is completely anonymous and your answers will be used solely for this study. However, we'd like to talk to you further if you're willing. If so, please leave us your contact details here (e.g. email address, telephone number).