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(Minority) Language as an economic factor for prosperity?

Roland Brandtjen

ABSTRACT:

In Europe exist over 200 languages of which only 24 are official languages of the EU. What effect do have minority and regional languages onto prosperity? Is there any correlation between the language use and regional GDP per capita? How does affect the meaning of an own regional language the regional wealth? These questions have not been answered yet in the scientific literature. To answer them, data of the German Bundesländer, the Regions of France and Italy, the autonomous communities and cities of Spain, the British constituency countries and Cornwall, as well as Monaco, Andorra, Liechtenstein, San Marino, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, Åland, the Isle of Man, the Bailiwick of Guernsey, the Bailiwick of Jersey and Gibraltar

This paper attempts to examine and fill a scientific gap on this topic by means of the comparison of economic data with results of adapted quantitative surveys. From 2019 and 2023, these surveys have been conducted in all mentioned regions. They are analysed by descriptive statistics. Correlation between regional language use and regional wealth, meaning of regional language use for the population and regional prosperity as well as the meaning of own unique culture for the regional population are calculated and interpreted.

The paper concludes with a Conclusion, the bibliography and an annex.

KEYWORDS:

Language, Minority rights, Economy, European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, Language Protection, Prosperity

AUTHOR



Prof. Dr Roland Brandtjen is professor at IU international University GmbH. As a European Studies scholar, his expertise lies in collective identities and their influence on politics. His focus is on the European integration process of regions of Germany, Spain, France, Italy and the UK, as well as all recognised micronations of Europe in relation to the concept of independence. He has studied and worked in Europe at home and abroad. He completed his doctorate at the RWTH in Aachen.

Introduction

... Europe, Eòrpa, Ewrop, Eoraip, Europa, Erop, Euròpa, Urope, Euröpa, Eropa, Europak, Euroopa, Airopa, Evropa, Ευρώπη, Uropa, Ûraope, Eurooppa, Eiropa, Jeropa, Oarpey, Léròp, Eoropa, Európa, Ojropa...

... Gjuha, Sproch, Luenga, Lengua, Lengoua, Llingua, Llengua, Hizkuntza, Yeth, Lingua, Jezik, Sprog, Leid, Taal, Language, Mál, Kieli, Langue, Lenghe, Parlement, Ddangua, Linga, Sprache, Γλώσσα, Oqaatsit, Teanga, Lingaz, Sprooch, Spraak, Rěc, Glare, Loceis, Spriik, Lenga, Parlache, Lang, Limba, Sproake, Cànan, Språk, Rěče, Lengoa, Schpraach, Réd, Laith ...

In addition to many dialects, there are around 225 languages in Europe. That is around 3 % of the global total. There are only 24 official languages in the EU, which roughly corresponds to only 10 % of the EU languages. (Council of Europe, 2023) There are many efforts, research and legal norms to protect the other 90 %. From a cultural, human rights, political and social point of view, this is important and justifiable. However, the question remains whether this also makes economic sense. There is a lot of literature on the costs and benefits of protecting regional and minority languages. However, there is a lack of comprehensive research analysing regional and minority languages as an economic factor. This study attempts to close this scientific gap. The regions of Germany, Spain, Italy, France and the United Kingdom as well as Andorra, Monaco, San Marino, Liechtenstein, Greenland, the Isle of Man, the Faroe Islands, Åland, Guernsey, Jersey and Gibraltar serve as the object of research.

To this end, language is first analysed in the economic literature. Then the term language will be defined. In order to understand the scope of European language protection, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages is analysed as an example. Furthermore, the associated languages are specified in the research objects. Data from surveys conducted over the last 4 years in the regions and territories mentioned are used for comparison with the economic level. This is followed by a conclusion. The literature used is listed in the bibliography.

Finally, all average data is presented in tabular form, as well as the wording of the questions asked in all available translations of the surveys in the appendix.

Language as an economic factor

There is a large gap in the scientific literature when it comes to language and its protection as an economic factor. Most of this looks at the influence of the economy on the language in question (e.g. the use of more economic terms, or language mixing through globalisation) or the social costs of protecting minority languages. (Teubert, 1999; Maeße, 2018; Annamalai, 2012) This paper reviews the positive effects of minority language protection on the economy. In this context, globalisation is mentioned in particular. Globalisation is the worldwide process of interaction and integration among societies, peoples, markets and governments. A distinction is made between economic, political and cultural globalisation. (James & Steger, 2014) Especially in the European area, the European Single Market and its 4 freedoms show the strong interdependence of all areas of life on a global and rather European level. There are 24 official languages within the EU, and all other nationally recognised languages may be used within the EU institutions. In order to promote and utilise the identification and advantages of the European Single Market, multilingualism is strongly supported by the "Mother

Tongue +2" project, which means around €2 per EU citizen per year. (European Commission, 2013) In this context, the advantages of the single market relate to job and sales opportunities. The former is supported by the freedom of establishment for workers. This strengthens human capital or human assets, which represent the skills and abilities of the labour force and thus the performance of the population. This includes their language and cultural knowledge. Minority language learning and promotion improves communication skills, the learning of related languages, as well as intercultural and cross-border co-operation. Increased human capital can thus lead to greater economic growth. (Deming, 2022; Goldin, 2016)

The second relates to the sale of own products in other countries and regions. The former German Chancellor, Willy Brandt, said once; "If I'm selling to you, I speak your language. If I'm buying, dann müssen Sie Deutsch sprechen."¹ (Herbst, 2014) This quote shows that trust in goods often includes a linguistic aspect. Customers expect a salesperson to be someone they can get on with and who understands the customer's culture and language. Research shows that customer behaviour has a positive effect on the purchasing behaviour of speakers of regional and minority languages. (Hendriks, van Meurs, & Behnke, 2019; Jayalakshmi, Varun, Bhat, & Karthik Kamath, 2017; Cateora, Graham, Gilly, & Money, 2024; Avadir, 2017)

Languages as part of the regional culture can also be relevant for economic growth among non-speakers. Countries and regions rely on tourism as an economic factor. This includes not only sports tourism in the mountains, but also cultural tourism. The latter thrives above all on authenticity. This includes the regional or minority language as well as other cultural assets such as traditions and food. Remote and sparsely populated regions in particular show potential here for both economic growth and the promotion of the regional language and culture. The more the culture is perceived as valuable, the more the language is promoted and the more interest in learning the language is generated. An example of this can be seen in the educational excursions of Occitan learners in France to the Val d'Aran in northern Spain. (Brandtjen R. B., 2021; Lonardi, 2021) Ultimately, the protection of minority and regional languages can be seen as a means of combating discrimination in society. Any kind of discrimination, including linguistic exclusion, leads to a more vulnerable economy and society. The less discrimination there is, e.g. through the protection of minorities, the more stable and steady economic growth will be. (Gradstein & Schiff, 2006)

The concept of a minority language is first explained below. It then shows which minority and regional languages are protected and spoken in the European countries and territories under consideration.

WHAT IS A (MINORITY) LANGUAGE

In a general sense, language refers to all complex systems of communication. Human language has the task of conveying meanings, both spoken and written. Spoken language is also called natural language. It shows a cultural and historical diversity with different variations. (Teubert, 1999; Lüdtke, 2012) Variants and forms of a language are called dialects. They refer to a particular region and differ from the standard language. The categorisation into language or dialect is often determined politically rather

¹ „... than you must speak German“ (own translation)

than linguistically. For example, the Nordic languages Danish, Swedish and Norwegian are linguistically understood as a dialect continuum. Politically, however, these are individual languages of the respective countries with a high degree of intelligibility. Mutual intelligibility between the Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin standard varieties is also higher than between the standard varieties of English, French, German or Spanish. (Granholm, Holand, Mozelius, & Stjernström, 2022; Oxford University Press, 2023; Thomas, 2003; Lesle, 2015) Clear boundaries between a language and a dialect are not generally accepted scientifically. The difference between the two is therefore fluid. The less intelligibility there is between two variants, the more likely both are to be defined as a language. (Kamusella, 2016)

Minority languages are languages that are spoken by a minority. They can be official languages of a state. There is no minimum or maximum size of the minority, and it depends on its reference group. Thus, a minority language can be the majority language in another country but belong to a minority in another state. Minorities therefore refer to ethnic groups, based primarily on self-definition, rather than to religious communities, and not to a territory. Examples of this would be Romani or Yiddish. Of course, a minority and its language can also coincide with a territory, such as Sorbian or Sardinian, but this is not a criterion and perhaps only coincidental. (Wirr, 2000; Oxford University Press, 2023; Laurie & Khan, 2017)

Regional languages, on the other hand, refer primarily to a specific territory, region or area. They play an important role in the preservation of regional cultural heritage and connect the population with their roots. Their speakers do not necessarily see themselves as different from other regions of the country and therefore belong to the majority population. Regional languages are often perceived as rural, divisive and/or as a sign of low education by non-speakers. (Yumnam & Singh, 2024; Peressotti, Lorenzoni, & Miozzo, 2024; Radatz, 2013)

PROTECTION OF REGIONAL OR MINORITY LANGUAGES

Language protection has been included in several international treaties since 1960. On the UN side, these include the Convention Against Discrimination in Education (1960), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). A treaty by non-governmental organisations called the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (1996) is also included internationally. At European level, there are two important treaties, particularly from the Council of Europe: The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995), which focuses mainly on the rights of minorities (which of course also includes language), and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) (1992). Of all these treaties, however, the latter two are the most legally binding. This is due to the special organisational structure of the Council of Europe with its European Court of Human Rights. The ECRML will therefore be examined in more detail below. (Maliçi Xhelili & Maljichi, 2024; Bruthiaux, 2009; Patten & Kymlicka, 2003)

The ECRML, as a treaty within the Council of Europe, must be signed and then ratified in order for it to provide secure legal protection. So far, only 25 member states have ratified it, including Germany, the Principality of Liechtenstein, Spain and the United Kingdom. However, the Principality of Liechtenstein has not placed any regional or minority language under its protection. France, Italy, Monaco, Andorra

and San Marino have yet to ratify it. In the case of France, however, this appears to be impossible for constitutional reasons. (Council of Europe, 2024; Bernoville, 2020)

Part I of the Charter, from Articles 1-6, contains general provisions as well as definitions, general obligations and declarations. This part describes, among other things, the process for state recognition of a language. Part II, which represents only Article 7, describes the objectives and principles on which states base their policies and legislation. Article 7 thus provides a framework for the preservation of recognised languages. Part III of the Charter, Articles 8-14, provides more concrete measures to promote and strengthen the use of regional or minority languages. Each language covered must be specified by governments. Part IV provides information on the application of the Charter in relation to periodic reports. Part V contains the final provisions of the Charter. (McMonagle, 2012)

Article 7 of Part II contains the following principles for the protection of language (Council of Europe, 2023):

- Recognition of regional or minority languages as an expression of cultural wealth.
- Respect for the geographical area of each regional or minority language.
- The need for resolute action to promote such languages.
- Guarantee of the teaching and study of regional or minority languages
- Facilities afforded to non-speakers of regional or minority languages to acquire a knowledge of them
- Relations between groups speaking a regional or minority language
- Elimination of discrimination
- Promotion of mutual respect and understanding between linguistic groups
- Establishment of bodies to represent the interests of regional or minority languages
- Application of the charter's principles to non-territorial languages

Part III details comprehensive rules, across a number of sectors, by which states agree to abide. According to Article 2, the signatory states must select and implement at least 35 measures in these areas for each recognised language. The following areas are listed in Part III (Council of Europe, 2023):

- Education
- Judicial authorities
- Administrative authorities and public services
- Media
- Cultural activities and facilities
- Economic and social life
- Transfrontier exchanges

In addition to the requirements of the ECRML, the states and territories analysed in this study also protect their languages through national laws.

In Germany, 7 languages or language groups are protected: Danish, Low German, Lower Sorbian, North Frisian, Romani, Sater Frisian and Upper Sorbian. Romani is the only language recognised as a minority language throughout the entire federal territory. The others are regional languages in some federal states. (Council of Europe, 2021) North Frisian has been protected by the Schleswig-Holstein law on the promotion of Frisian in the public sphere since 2004. (Schleswig-Holstein, 2016) The Sorbian languages

are also legally protected by the Unification Treaty on German Unity (1990), the constitutions of the federal states of Brandenburg and Saxony and the so-called Sorbian laws. (Pech, 2012) Sater Frisian is indirectly included in the Lower Saxony School Act in the right of all pupils to develop the skills of the respective regional variant of Low German and Frisian. Sater Frisian has yet to be clearly enshrined in a law. (Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium, 2023; Deutschlandfunk, 2024) In the case of Low German, there are several regulations in the individual federal states to protect and promote Low German. In Hamburg, it is considered a de facto official language alongside High German. Schleswig Holstein, on the other hand, considers Low German to be an official language throughout Germany in addition to High German in its legal norms. On the other hand, the Federal Court of Justice has ruled that if a patent or utility model application is filed in Low German, it is not written in German and requires a translation. (Läägeünnerloage, 2002; Schleswig-Holsteinischer Landtag, 2019; Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2008) Table 1 shows the languages of Germany, their total number of speakers worldwide and their protection under ECRML.

Table 1: Languages of Germany, their numbers of speakers and the form of protection by the ECRML (EU, 2013; EU, 2013; EU, 2013; Seeltersk-Kontoor, 2013; Niederdeutschsekretariat & Bunsnraat för Nedderdüütsch, 2018; Halwachs, 2003)

LANGUAGE	TOTAL NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	FORM OF PROTECTION BY THE ECRML
DANISH	6.000.000	II & III
LOW SAXON (LOW GERMAN)	2.200.000	II & III
LOWER SORBIAN	6.900	II & III
NORTH FRISIAN	10.000	II & III
ROMANI	4.600.000	
SATERLAND FRISIAN	2.000	II & III
UPPER SORBIAN	18.000	II & III

In the United Kingdom, the Gaelic languages, except of Cornish, are protected under both Part II and Part III. Only Cornish and the Scots and Ulsterscots varieties are placed under Part II of the ECRML. (Council of Europe, 2020) Scots, and therefore also its variants such as Doric, Shetland or Orcadian, has official status in Scotland. Ulsterscots, as a variant of Scots, as well as Irish, is officially recognised by the British Parliament in Northern Ireland by means of the Good Friday Agreement and the Northern Ireland Act. (Scottish Government - Riaghaltas na h-Alba, 2024; Government of the United Kingdom, 1998) Welsh and Scottish Gaelic were placed under national protection by the British Parliament as official regional languages. (Government of the United Kingdom, 2006; Government of the United Kingdom, 2005) Cornish is not an official language but only a regional minority language. There are therefore only local legal norms for its protection and promotion. The Cornish language office is responsible for this and even supports the employees of Cornwall Council in the use of Cornish. (Cornwall Council, 2023; Elgot, 2015) Manx Gaelic also occupies a special position in the international context. The Isle of Man is not part of the United Kingdom but is officially part of it as a Crown dependency. Nevertheless, with the agreement of the Isle of Man government, the UK is responsible for

its foreign policy. This means that the ECRML also applies to the Isle of Man. However, Manx Gaelic is not officially recognised as a language on the Isle of Man, although it is supported and promoted as an important national cultural treasure and symbol of identity. Complete schooling is now also possible in this language. (Isle of Man Government, 2024) Table 2 shows the languages of the United Kingdom, their total number of speakers worldwide and their protection according to the ECRML.

Table 2: Languages of the UK, their numbers of speakers and the form of protection by the ECRML (Language Magazine, 2023; Centre for the Scots Leid, 2022; O'Brien, 2023; Mackay, 2023; Global Language Service, 2024; Ulster-Scots Agency, 2024; Llywodraeth Cymru, 2024)

LANGUAGE	TOTAL NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	FORM OF PROTECTION BY THE ECRML
CORNISH	563	II
IRISH	2.500.000	II & III
MANX GAELIC	2.200	II & III
SCOTS	1.700.000	II
SCOTTISH GAELIC	60.000	II & III
ULSTER SCOTS	139.000	II
WELSH	891.800	II & III

Spain's impressive linguistic diversity is deeply rooted in the country's rich historical past. This fascinating cultural mix is clearly reflected in the many dialects spoken in the different regions of Spain. Each of these dialects tells its own story, preserves the cultural influences of times gone by and conveys a deep understanding of the roots of these regions. (Koretz, 2023) As a result, there is also an ongoing social, political and linguistic discourse about the concrete difference between a language of one's own and a dialect of another language. This discourse is supported by the Spanish constitution and history, among other things. According to Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution, Spanish is the official language of the Spanish state. Other languages can become co-official languages on the basis of the statutes of autonomy of the respective autonomous regions. These Co-Official Languages are protected by Parts II and III of the ECRML. Languages that are not included here but are recognised regionally on the basis of the Statute of Autonomy are protected under Part II of the ECRML. (Ministerio de Política Territorial y Memoria Democrática, 2024; Council of Europe, 2001)

The co-official languages in Spain are therefore Catalan (in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands), Aranese (in Catalonia), Basque (in the Basque Country and Navarre), Valencian (in the Valencian Community) and Galician (in Galicia). Valencian is linguistically a variety of Catalan but is recognized as a separate language for political and historical reasons. (Ministerio de Política Territorial y Memoria Democrática, 2024) Regionally recognized languages, but without co-officiality, are thus Aragonese (in Aragon), Asturian (in Asturias), Eonavian (in Asturias), Fala (in Extremadura), Leonese (in Castilla y León), Portuguese and Tamazight (in the autonomous city of Melilla). In addition, Catalan in Aragon, Galician in Asturias and Valencian in the Region of Murcia are protected under Part II of the ECRML, as they are only recognized languages there. (Council of Europe, 2024) Only Castilian (Spanish) as an official constitutional language and Extremadurian are not protected by the ECRML. Even though UNESCO

recognises Extremadurian as a language in its own right, it is not yet recognised by the Spanish and Extremadurian institutions. It is therefore not under any regional or national protection and is awaiting protection under the ECRML. The "Órgano de Seguimiento y Coordinación del Extremeño y su Cultura" is fighting for the recognition and promotion of this language and that of Fala. (Conde, 2016) Table 3 shows the languages of Spain, their total number of speakers worldwide and their protection according to the ECRML.

Table 3: Languages of Spain, their numbers of speakers and the form of protection by the ECRML (Etxepare Euskal Institutua, 2024; Gobierno de Aragon, 2013; Conselh Generau d'Aran, 2018; Academia de la Llingua Asturiana, 2017; Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004; Ávlla, 2022)

LANGUAGE	TOTAL NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	FORM OF PROTECTION BY THE ECRML
ARAGONESE	56.000	II
ARANESE (AN OCCITAN VARIATY)	8.316	II & III
ASTURIAN	550.000	II
BALEAR CATALAN	746.792	II & III
BASQUE	900.000	II & III
CASTILLIAN (SPANISH)	500.000.000	No
CATALAN	9.200.000	II & III
EONAVIAN	45.000	II
EXTREMADURIAN	200.000	No
FALA	11.000	II
GALICIAN	2.800.000	II & III
LEONESE	50.000	II
PORTUGUESE	260.000.000	II
RIFFIAN (TARIFIT BERBER)	1.300.000	II
VALENCIAN	2.400.000	II & III

Table 4 shows the total number of speakers, the protection according to the ECRML and in which region, state or territory the respective language is spoken. Faroese and Greenlandic are not protected under the ECRML within the Kingdom of Denmark because these languages are the main languages of the respective parts of the country, the Faroe Islands and Greenland, which is why they are already under extremely high protection for the majority there. (Council of Europe, 2000) Swedish is also the second official language in Finland, which is mainly spoken in the autonomous region of Landskapet Åland. Nevertheless, Finland has placed Swedish under the protection of the ECRML alongside Sami, Karelian, Romany and the "other non-territorial languages" (without defining these further). Part II and Part III apply to it. (Council of Europe, 1994) Guernésiais, the Norman language of the island of Guernsey, also known as Guernsey Norman French, is the official language of the Bailiwick of Guernsey alongside

Standard French and English. (Fallaize, 2020) Although the Channel Islands have the same status as a Crown Estate, similar to the Isle of Man, neither Guernésiais nor Jèrriais has been placed under the protection of the ECRML by the United Kingdom. Jèrriais, or Jersey Norman French, is one of the 3 official languages in the Bailiwick of Jersey alongside French and English. (States of Jersey, 2010 - 2024) French is the only official language in the Principality of Monaco. Monegasque, on the other hand, is the recognised national language, which must also be taught in Monegasque schools. It is a Ligurian dialect that is only spoken by very few native speakers. Monaco has neither signed nor ratified the ECRML, which means that it is not protected by the ECRML. (Passet, 2019) Like Monaco, the Republic of San Marino has neither signed nor ratified the ECRML. The only official language in San Marino is Italian. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the population speaks a dialect of Romagna, San Marinese. As this is also perceived as a dialect of Italian, it is not subject to any special protection, even though it is considered an important object of national identification for the San Marinese population. (Montanari, 2018)

Table 4: Languages of other considered territories, their numbers of speakers and the form of protection by the ECRML (The Nordic Council, 2022; LearnGreenlandic Greenland, 2024; Guernsey Language Commission, 2016; Governemnt of the Bailiwick of Jersey, 2001; Mackay, 2023; Passet, 2019; Zappulla & Lilit Movisyan, 2015)

LANGUAGE	TOTAL NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	FORM OF PROTECTION BY THE ECRML	TERRITORY
FAROESE	69.000	No	Denmark (Faroe Islands)
GREENLANDIC	57.000	No	Denmark (Greenland)
GUERNSEY NORMAN FRENCH	1.327	No	Bailiwick of Guernsey
JERSEY NORMAN FRENCH	4.700	No	Bailiwick of Jersey
MONÉGASQUE	100	No	Monaco
ROMAGNOL (SAN MARINO VARIETY)	1.100.000	No	San Marino
SWEDISH	13.000.000	II & III	Finland (Åland)

For centuries, France has pursued a strict language policy in which French is the only official language. Regional languages were recognised, permitted, taught and banned in stages. Since 2008, Article 75-1 has been introduced in the French Constitution, which recognises regional languages as France's heritage. However, as Article 2 of the Constitution is so much in favour of French, ratification of the ECRML would be unconstitutional according to the French Constitutional Council. Although France signed the charter in 1999, it is therefore not yet legally binding. (Ministère de la Culture, 2024; République Française, 2009)

Depending on which source you look at, there are different data on individual languages or dialects in France. Figure 1 shows a graphic of the language map of European France. In principle, there is the dialectal group of the Langues d'oïl, more in the northern part of metropolitan France, and the Langues

d'Oc (also called Occitan), more in the southern part of metropolitan France, whereby the dialects mentioned often have a low degree of intelligibility. The Langues d'Oïl group includes French, Norman, Gallo, Lorraine and Picard. Variants of Occitan are, for example, Gasconian or Provençal. The latter should not be confused with Franco-Provençal, which is also spoken in Switzerland and the Aosta Valley in Italy. Other Romance languages are Ligurian dialects on the border with Italy and in the south of Corsica, Corsican and Catalan on the border with Spain. Germanic languages in France are Alsatian, a Flemish dialect, Lorraine Franconian and the related Luxembourgish. Bretonic, the only Gaelic on the European mainland, and Basque also play a special role in linguistics here. (Minority Rights Group, 2019; Ministère de la Culture, 2024; Zappulla & Lilit Movisyan, 2015)



Figure 1: Les Langues Régionales en France Métropolitaine (Ministère de la Culture, 2024)

Table 5 shows the languages of the French regions and their total number of speakers. In addition to the languages just mentioned, other languages spoken in the official regions outside Europe, such as Kibosy or the respective Creole languages, can also be recognised. Languages of special regions such as New Caledonia or Tahiti are not listed here. (Délégation général à la Langue Française et aux langues de France, 2016)

Italy, like France, has signed the ECRML but not ratified it. This means that there is no protection of regional languages under European law. The Italian constitution itself does not define Italian as an official language. However, Article 6 of the Constitution states that the Republic shall protect linguistic minorities through adequate legal norms. (Italian Government - Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2020) Acting in accordance with this article, the Parliament has granted official status, at regional or municipal level, to eleven other languages: Ladin, German, French, Catalan, Occitan, Franco-Provençal,

Slovene, Arbëreshë, Griko, Sardinian and Friulian. These languages, in the areas where they are spoken, must be used on an equal footing with Italian, must be taught in schools and must be used in RAI broadcasts. In addition to national laws, several regional statutes have recognised the official status of various languages in their territories. Thus, the statute of Trentino-Alto Adige recognises, alongside Italian, German (only in the province of Bolzano), and the statute of the Valle d'Aosta region gives co-official status to French. The status of Piedmont, for its part, promotes Occitan, Franco-Provençal and Walser, a variant of German, in specific Alpine border valleys. Figure 2 shows the language map of Italy. (Baroncelli, 2017)

Table 5: Languages of France and their numbers of Speakers (Minority Rights Group, 2018; Zappulla & Lilit Movisyan, 2015; Etxepare Euskal Institutua, 2024; Ofis Publik Ar Brezhoneg, 2018; Minority Rights Group, 2018; Treffers-Daller & Willemyns, 2002; Délégation général à la Langue Française et aux langues de France, 2016; Betermin, 2018)

LANGUAGE	TOTAL NUMBER OF SPEAKERS
ALSATIAN	900.000
ARPITAN (FRANCOPROVENÇAL)	161.400
BASQUE	650.000
BRETON	226.000
CHAMPENOIS	????
CORSICAN	170.000
DUTCH (FLEMISH)	30.000.000
FRAINCO-COMTOU	1.000
FRENCH GUIANESE CREOLE	134.000
GALLO LANGUAGE	196.000
GUADELOUPEEN	350.000
KIBOŠY	60.000
LORRAIN	10.000
LORRAINE FRANCONIAN	360.000
LUXEMBOURGISH	300.000
MAORE COMORIAN	152.000
MARTINICAN CREOLE	340.000
NORMAN FRENCH	20.000
OCCITAN	220.000
PICARD	700.000
POITEVIN-SAINTONGEAIS	300.000
RÉUNION CREOLE FRENCH	560.000

For the territories considered here, Andorra's relationship with the ECRML is similar to that of San Marino and Monaco; Andorra has not even signed the ECRML yet. The official language of Andorra is only Catalan. For historical and political reasons (Andorra is a co-principality of the Bishop of Urgell and the French President), Spanish and French are widely spoken. Migrants from Portugal increased the number of Portuguese speakers in Andorra. However, the last 3 languages are indirectly promoted and recognised through membership of international language organisations such as the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie. (Govern d'Andorra, 2015)

Table 6: Languages of Italy and their numbers of Speakers (Zappulla & Lilit Movisyan, 2015; Minority Rights Group, 2018; UNHCR, 2018; Einheitskomitee der historischen deutschen Sprachinseln in Italien, 2013; Piccoli, 1993; Istat, 2017; Ligurian Community for the Language Fair, 2024)

LANGUAGE	TOTAL NUMBER OF SPEAKERS
ALBANIAN	7.500.000
ARPITAN (FRANCOPROVENÇAL)	161.400
CIMBRIAN	400
CORSICAN	150.000
CROATIAN	6.800.000
EMILIANO	1.300.000
FAETO-CELLESE	1.600
FRENCH	310.000.000
FRIULIAN	600.000
GALLO-ITALIC OF BASILICATA	100
GALLO-ITALIC OF SICILY	60.000
GALLURESE	100.000
GREEK	13.500.000
ITALIAN	68.000.000
LADIN	42.000
LIGURIAN	450.000
TABARCHINO	8.000
LOMBARD	3.800.000
MÒCHENO	1.900
NEAPOLITAN	5.700.000
PIEMONTESE	2.000.000
RESIANO	929

ROMAGNOL	1.100.000
SARDINIAN	1.000.000
SASSARESE	100.000
SICILIAN	4.700.000
SLOVENE	2.500.000
VENETIAN	3.900.000
WALSER GERMAN	22.780

Data and Method

In order to examine the influence of regional and minority languages on regional economic development, the regional economic performance is first put into perspective. For this purpose, the GDP per capita of the regions and territories is set in relation to the EU GDP per capita in 2019, 2020, 2021 and 2022 and divided into 5 categories. Unfortunately, reliable more recent regional GDP per capita data is not yet available. Furthermore, an average is calculated over the years. These economic categories are set in relation to the number of languages just mentioned and to data collected on language use, own language as a regional characteristic and own culture as a regional characteristic.

The data reported here, and compared with the economic data from the UE, were conducted in all regions (administrative regions such as federal states) in the states of France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom, in the total territory of San Marino, Andorra, Monaco and Liechtenstein as well as the autonomous territories of the Isle of Man, Gibraltar, the Faroe Islands, the Bailiwick of Guernsey, the Bailiwick of Jersey, the Åland Islands, and Greenland. For this purpose, quantitative research was offered in the form of individualised quantitative online-based surveys in the respective languages of the regions. By means of virtual snowball sampling, these surveys were promoted via social media of Facebook and X (former: Twitter) and given to the population of the target group. For this purpose, relevant hashtags of the respective regions were set, regional media (e.g. TV Melilla in the Autonomous City of Melilla) were contacted and disseminated in region-related interest groups (e.g. FALE in Normandy or OSCEC in Extremadura).

This type of sampling serves to find participants in e.g., hard-to-reach groups of people. A person in such a group who participates in the survey gives the questionnaires to other people in their network or arranges participation in the survey. It can increase the representativeness of the results by the diffusion of the survey into the corresponding group of participants. (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004; Atkinson & Flint, 2001) Challenges of a virtual snowball sampling might be the community bias, the lack of definite knowledge as to whether or not the sample is an accurate reading of the target population and that the target population might not always have access to the Internet. (Baltar & Brunet, 2012; Häder, 2006)

The surveys in the autonomous territories take place annually from January to March, in the European small states from February to March, in the UK from March to April, in Germany from May to June, in France from June to July, in Italy from July to August and in Spain from August to September. The

surveys of the autonomous territories were launched in 2019. The Spanish polls were published for the first time in 2020. In the UK and Italy, the polls were launched in 2021 and in Germany and France in 2022. In 2023 the surveys of each small European state were started. They are totally anonymous and fulfil the requirements of the DSGVO. All surveys were offered in the official state language as well as in co-official, recognised, regional and minority languages where possible. To avoid misunderstandings, the surveys were translated by official translators. Thus, it was offered in about 86 languages.

The transfer of the results to the population still needs to be clarified. Due to the subject matter and the nature of the sampling, there are more men than women among the participants in all regions. In all regions, on the other hand, very few (less than 1%) have indicated that they do not belong to the binary gender groups. The age groups between 30 and 49 are most strongly represented in all regions. Younger and older groups are underrepresented. On average, participants have at least vocational training or higher. academics are overrepresented. Only the income groups of all regions are fairly evenly distributed.

The final challenge to the data is that a region is defined the same in all countries. Thus, a region is a federal state in Germany and an autonomous city or community in Spain. In the United Kingdom, however, the constituent countries and Cornwall (because of its cultural and historical distinctiveness) have been defined as regions. In Italy and France, on the other hand, regions are legally defined. Particularities such as the region of Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol, which exists de jure but has relatively little de facto relevance for the population, have not been considered here. However, it is also confirmed that the regions in France were restructured in 2015. This reorganisation has come under great criticism from some of the participants.

ECONOMIC DATA

Regional GDP per capita in relation to the EU is broken down into 5 categories. The lowest categories correspond to less than 65% of EU GDP per capita, while the highest categories correspond to more than 120%. In between are the categories from equal to 65% to 80%, from equal to 80% to 100% and from equal to 100% to 120% of EU GDP per capita. The data used is based on official statistics from the EU, the World Bank and national and regional statistical offices.

GDP per capita in the EU in 2019 was €31,300. Figure 3 shows the regional GDP per capita in 2019. Autonomous micro-nations, e.g. Greenland, Gibraltar or Åland, as well as the European micro-states have a very high GDP per capita. In Germany, a clear economic divide can be seen between south to north and west to east. Italy and Spain show a north-south economic divide. In Spain, the UK and France, an economic concentration on the capital or hegemonic region of the state can be recognised.

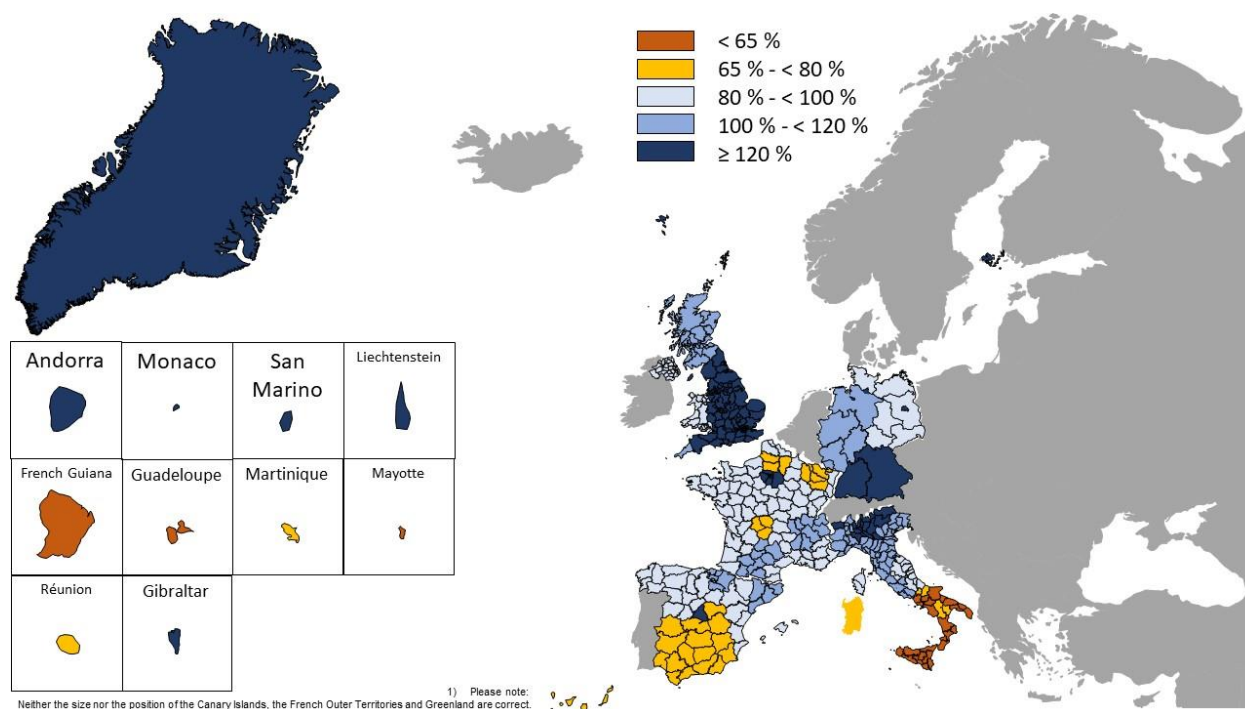


Figure 3: GDP per capita 2019 per region compared to the EU 27 average (2019 = € 31,300) own presentation according to (Eurostat, 2021; The World Bank, 2024; Office for National Statistics, 2023; Ålands statistik- och utredningsbyrå, 2024)

France's regions outside Europe, such as French Guyana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Mayotte and La Réunion, show a lower level of economic prosperity than the regions of Metropolitan France. Southern Italy, i.e. the regions of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily and Campania, had less than 65% of EU GDP per capita in 2019. Valle d'Aosta, Lombardy, Trentino-Alto Adige/South Tyrol, Berlin, Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, the Hanseatic cities of Hamburg and Bremen, Île-de-France, the Comunidad de Madrid and England in general each had more than 120% of EU GDP per capita in 2019.

In 2020, the EU GDP per capita will decrease to around €30,100. This decline is certainly due to the global pandemic. Compared to 2019, only the French regions of Mayotte, Guadeloupe and French Guyana have less than 65% of EU GDP per capita. The GDP per capita in the European autonomous micro-nations and micro-states, as well as Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, South Tyrol (excluding Trentino), England in general and the Île-de-France corresponds to more than 120% of the EU GDP per capita. In Germany, the West-East economic divide became clearer compared to 2019. The GDP per capita in southern Italy has somewhat equalized the EU GDP per capita. In the European French regions, GDP per capita is generally 80% - 100% of EU GDP per capita. Only the capital region and Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, the latter with 100% - 120%, have a higher value. In the UK the conditions have not changed since 2019. Spanish regions with up to 100% to 120% of the guideline value are only found in the capital region of Comunidad de Madrid and the País Vasco / Euskadi. There is therefore a proportional reduction in the Comunidad de Madrid and Catalunya regions. This data can be seen in Figure 4.

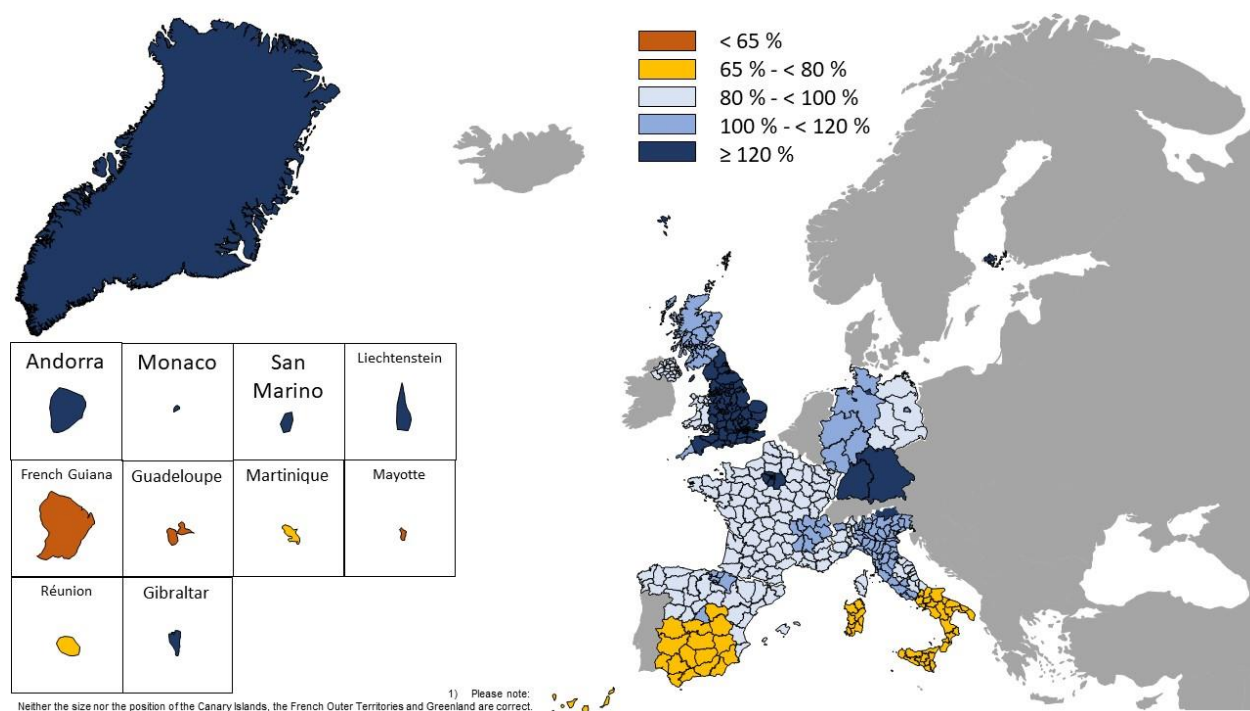


Figure 4: GDP per capita per region 2020 compared to the EU 27 average (2020 = € 30,100) own presentation according to (Eurostat, 2021; The World Bank, 2024; Office for National Statistics, 2023; Ålands statistik- och utredningsbyrå, 2024)

In 2021, EU GDP per capita increased to €32,700. As in previous years, the European microstates and the European autonomous micro-nations show a prosperity of more than 120% of EU prosperity. Compared to 2020, nothing has changed in the German federal states. In the United Kingdom, on the other hand, the prosperity of Wales has increased to over 120% of EU GDP per capita in 2021 compared to 2020. Northern Ireland's GDP per capita increased to comparatively 100% - 120% of the EU value. In France, the comparative values of the regions remained at the same level as in 2020. Only the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region increased its prosperity to the level of 100%-120% of EU GDP per capita. In the Italian regions, the comparative value of prosperity to EU GDP per capita increased in Lombardy and Basilicata to more than 120% and 80%-100% respectively. Tuscany reduced its value to 80%-100% compared to 2020. In all autonomous communities and cities in Spain, the prosperity ratios remain the same. The values for 2021 are shown in Figure 5.

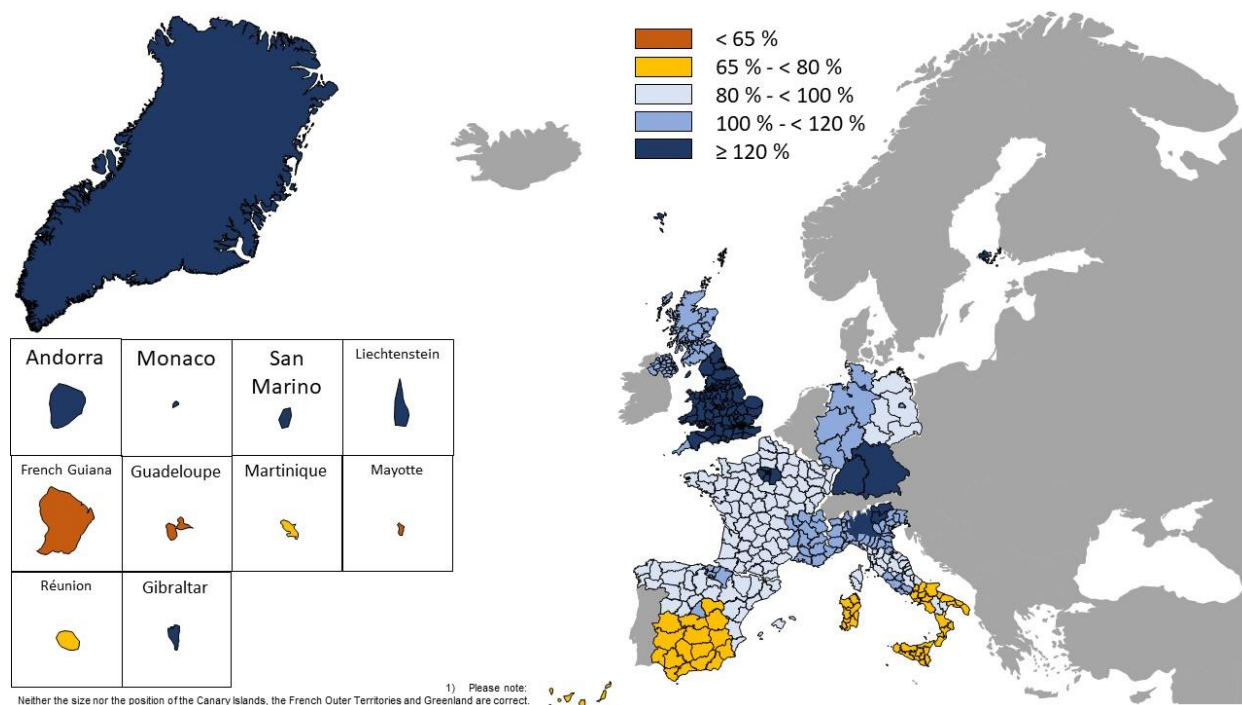


Figure 5: GDP per capita per region 2021 compared to the EU 27 average (2021 = € 32,700) own presentation according to (Eurostat, 2021; The World Bank, 2024; Office for National Statistics, 2023; Ålands statistik- och utredningsbyrå, 2024)

GDP per capita in the EU in 2022 has increased to €35,500. With regard to the regional economic data for 2022, it should be noted that final data is not yet available and only forecasts were used for the UK and France. According to this, the prosperity ratio to the EU of the regions of these two countries has not changed compared to 2021. In Germany, the ratios remain the same as in previous years, with the exception of Berlin. Here, the level increased to over 120% of EU GDP per capita. The same level will also be reached in Valle d'Aosta in 2022. The regions reaching less than 65% of the EU level in 2022 were French Guiana, Guadeloupe, Mayotte, Andalusia, Castilla - La Mancha, Extremadura, Sicily, Calabria, Campania and Apulia. The regions with an economic level between 65% and 80% were Martinique, La Réunion, Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria, Castilla y Leon, Región de Murcia, the Valencian Community, Sardinia, Basilicata, Molise, Abruzzo and Umbria. All other regions and territories remained at the previous year's level of prosperity. These data were visualised in Figure 6.

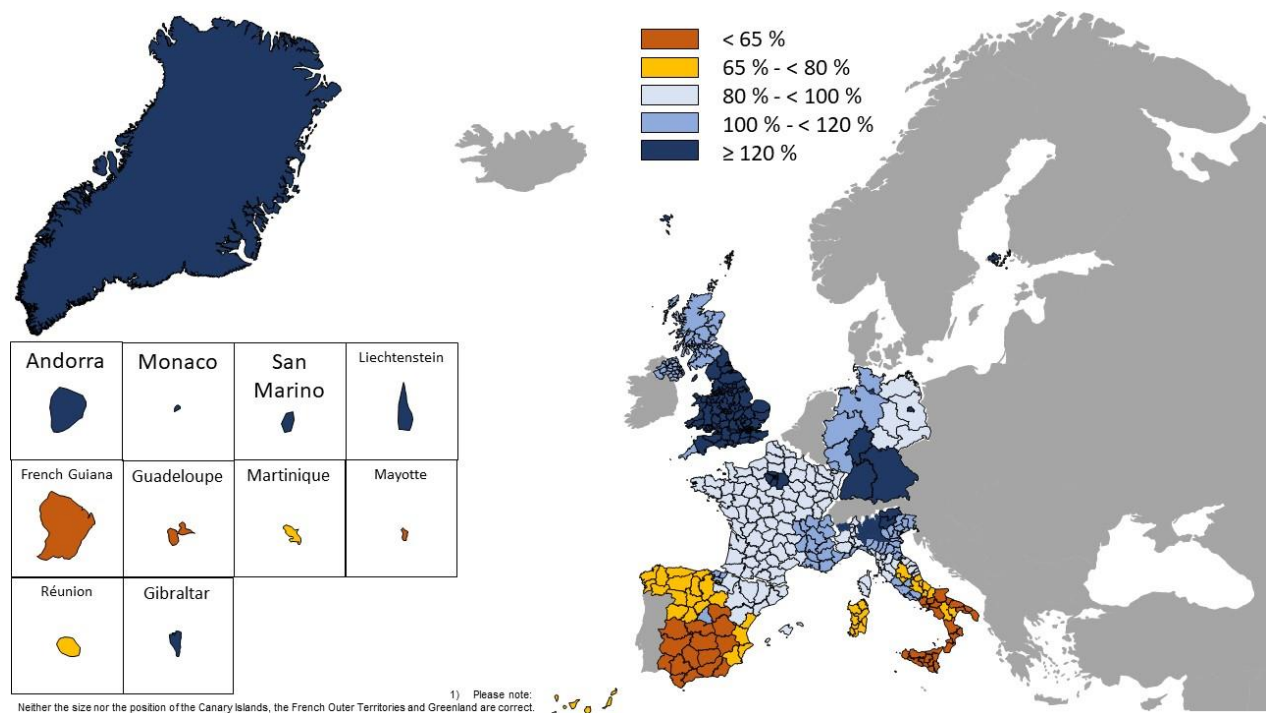


Figure 6: GDP per capita per region 2022 compared to the EU 27 average (2022 = € 35,500) own presentation according to (Istat - Istituto nazionale di statistica, 2024; Office for National Statistics, 2023; Ålands statistik- och utredningsbyrå, 2024; eurostat, 2024; INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2023; Insee - Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, 2022; The World Bank, 2024; Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder, 2023)

NUMBER OF LANGUAGES PER REGION

Now that the initial economic data has been understood, an attempt is made to capture the linguistic status quo. Figure 7 shows the number of languages spoken in all regions. Languages according to this pattern are the official, co-official, recognised, minority and regional languages. Dialects that are defined as such by linguistics (regardless of their intelligibility) are not included. This classification is certainly debatable not least for emotional reasons. The lowest value of languages is therefore 1, i.e. the official language. This means that only one language is used in Andalusia, Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, the Canary Islands, Castilla - La Mancha, Centre - Val de Loire, Ceuta, Comunidad de Madrid, England, Hesse, Île-de-France, La Rioja, Liechtenstein, Rhineland-Palatinate, Thuringia, Toscana und Umbria. 2 languages are spoken in Åland, the Balearic Islands, Campania, Cantabria, Cornwall, Euskadi, the Faroe Islands, Galicia, Greenland, Guadeloupe, the Isle of Man, Lazio, Liguria, Lombardy, Marche, Martinique, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Melilla, Navarra, Normandy, North Rhine-Westphalia, La Réunion, Saarland, San Marino, Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony, the Valencian Community and Wales. In Abruzzo, Asturias, Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Basilicata, Brandenburg, Brittany, Catalunya, Corsica, Emilia-Romagna, Gibraltar, Hauts-de-France, Lower Saxony, Mayotte, Molise, Navarra, Northern Ireland and Occitanie a total of 3 languages are spoken according to this classification. In Andorra, Bourgogne-Franche-Comté, Castilla y Leon, Extremadura, Monaco, Nouvelle-Aquitaine, Provence-Alpes-Cote d'Azur, Scotland, Schleswig-Holstein and Val d'Aoste have 4 languages. 5 or

more languages are in Apulia, Calabria, Grand Est, French Guiana, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Pays de la Loire, Piemonte, Sardinia, Sicily, Trentino-Alto Adige / South Tyrol and the Veneto region.

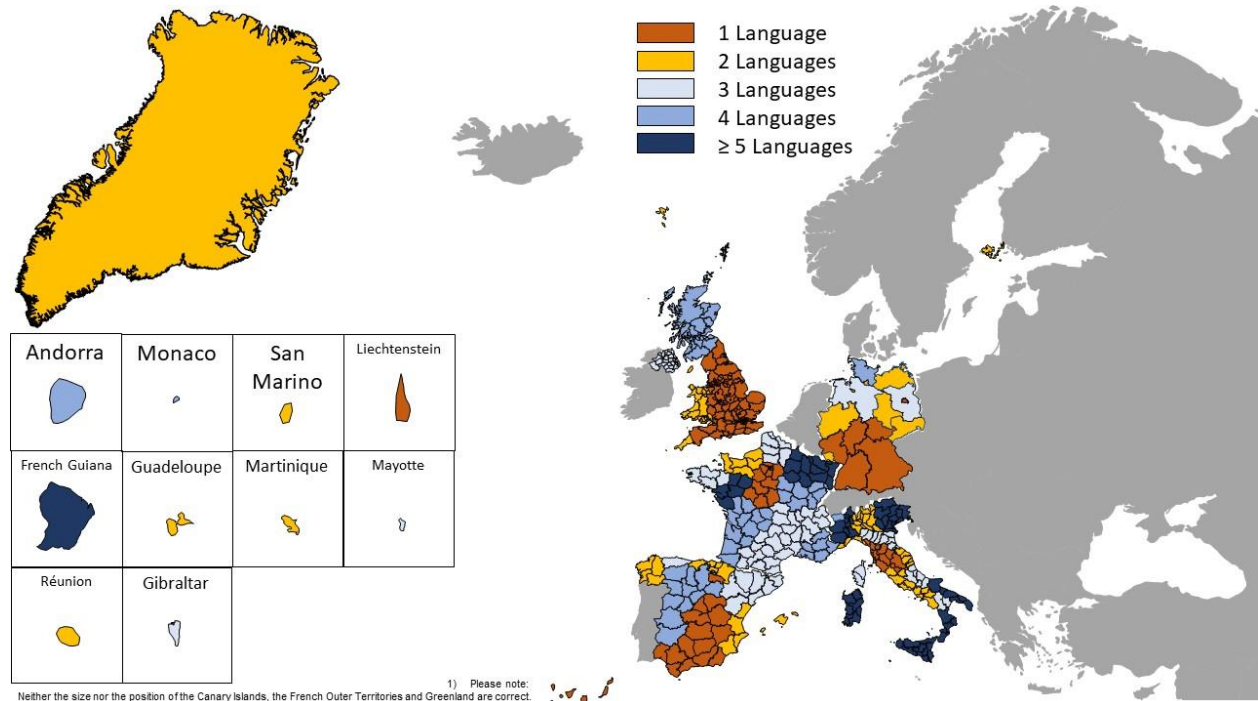


Figure 7: Number of languages by region

If you put the average economic level and the number of languages in the respective regions in relation, a scatter diagram results as in Figure 8. This scatter diagram results in an R-value of -0.18058199. This indicates a weak negative correlation between the two data series. One could therefore say that the more languages there are in a region, the lower its average economic level. It would also be correct to say that the lower the average level of a region, the more languages are spoken there. The assumption that regional and minority languages lead to lower economic standards is too hasty and has not been confirmed. This relationship is certainly also due to the historical linguistic policy developments of a state. After all, the official languages of a state are usually the language variant of the hegemonic region, the capital regions. These are usually the cultural, economic and political centres of a state, which leads to a concentration of wealth. On the other hand, regional and minority languages can survive better in remote and sparsely populated regions due to the low level of language policy pressure. However, due to their position, these regions are usually economically weaker.

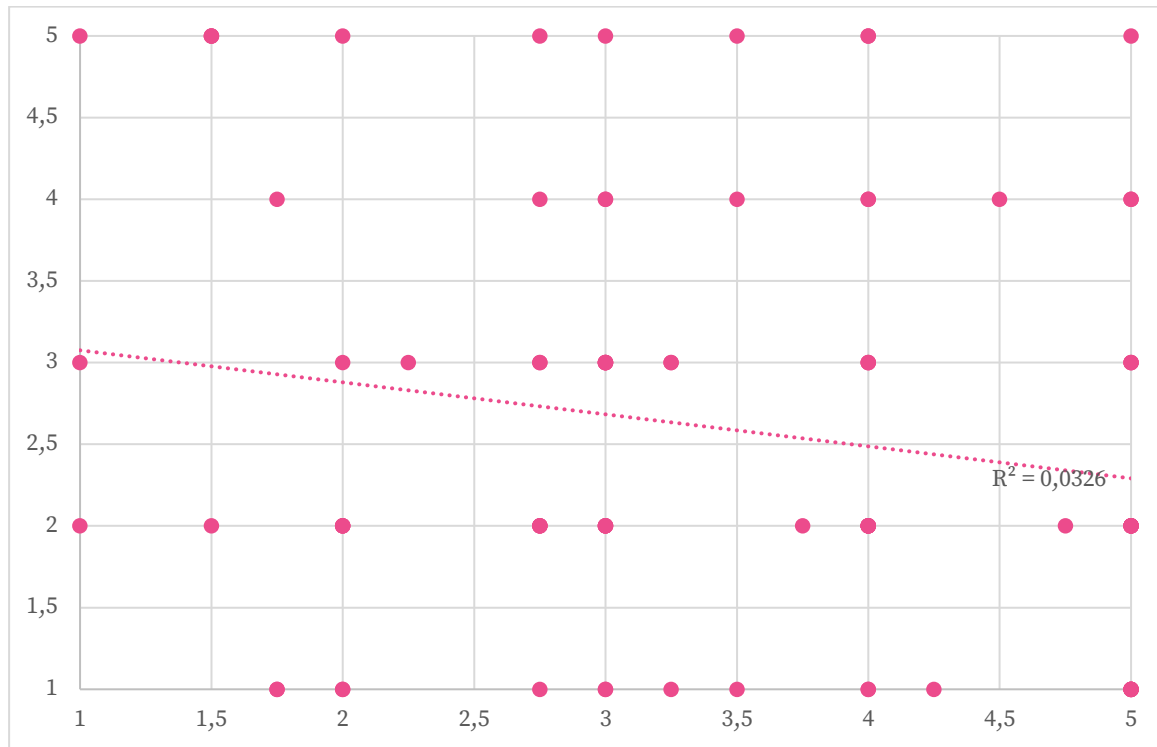


Figure 8: Scatter plot and trend line $r = -0.18058199$ / all regions and territories; number of languages vs. average economic level (own interpretation)

To verify this explanation, the R-values of the regions of individual states are examined. Since the recognized micro-nations and small states in Europe always have an economic level in the larger category, it is not possible to calculate the correlation. The r values are listed comparatively in Table 7.

The German federal states, the Italian regions and the French regions also show a weak negative correlation. In the British Constituencies and Cornwall there is a strong negative correlation with an R-value of -0.62017367 . In Germany this seems to be due to the economic differences caused by the division of Germany. In connection with this, more languages are recognized in the East German federal states than in the West German ones. In Italy there is a linguistic difference between the south and the centre of the country. The economic north-south divide and the social challenges in southern Italy, such as the mafia, seem to explain the weak negative correlation. In France, a very centralized state, economic strength is centred near the capital, but languages proliferate outside this region. Likewise, England, the hegemonic power within the United Kingdom, is the economic, cultural, and political centre, where fewer official and regional languages are recognized. The exception to the negative relationship is Spain. The Spanish autonomous communities and cities show a weak positive correlation with the R-value of $+0.02153884$. Spain has both an economic north-south divide and a linguistic divide. This means that more languages are recognized in the north than in the southern autonomous community. Due to the history of civil war and independence movements in Spain, the last Spanish dictatorship strengthened the economy, especially in the north of Spain, from which it still benefits today. (Mendizabal & Serrano, 1988)

Table 7: Sample correlation coefficient Number of Languages and Average Economic Level (own interpretation)

Group	Sample correlation coefficient r_{xy}
All	-0,18058199
German Bundesländer	-0,27675936
Italian Regions	-0,1132619
Spanish autonomous communities and cities	+0,02153884
British constituencies and Cornwall	-0,62017367
French regions	-0,16878744

From this it seems certain that the correlation between the number of recognized languages and the average economic level of a region is not due to the number of languages. What is much more certain is that the connection between the past language and economic policies of the respective domestic hegemonic power causes these connections.

WHICH LANGUAGE DO YOU USE THE MOST?

The existence of languages is one thing, the use of language is another. The questions therefore remain as to what connection the use of minority and regional languages has to the average economic level. Figure 9 shows the average over the years of the stated use of a regional and minority language in the respective regions reported by the survey participants. The recognized, official, co-official, minority and regional languages were included as well as the indication of dialects. In Italy and southern Germany in particular, dialects were specified when asked which language they spoke the most. The emotional definition of a language differs from the linguistic definition. This is taken into account here. Languages that do not exist as minority or regional languages in the country or region were excluded (e.g. the information on the Greek language was excluded in Bavaria but included in Sicily). It is interesting to note that only in 6 out of 89 regions and territories on average over the years did all participants report speaking the hegemonic language. These regions are Thuringia, Berlin, the autonomous city of Ceuta, the Comunidad de Madrid, La Rioja and the Canary Islands. All other regions had on average at least 0.5% of participants who reported speaking their regional or minority language the most. The highest proportion of respondents, 95.3% in Åland and 94.7% in the Faroe Islands, reported their regional language as their main means of communication. More than 50 % of participants in Catalunya (78.7 %), the Balearic Islands (69 %), Galicia (63.7 %), the Comunidad Valenciana (58 %) and the Veneto region (51.7 %) mainly spoke their respective regional languages. Surprisingly, in regions and territories that officially have no other language, a relatively high proportion claim to use their dialects as their main language and other regional languages. This is most pronounced in the Principality of Liechtenstein with 85.1 %. In the respective states, the following regions are the frontrunners in this respect: Bavaria with 32.3%, England with 0.7%, Centre-Val de Loire with 1.5%, Andalucia with 11.7% and Umbria with 22.9%. In the case of Bavaria, even more participants indicated their regional High German dialect as the main language used than in the other federal states, where other languages are even officially used. The lowest regional language use in Germany is in Berlin and Thuringia with 0% each. Scotland has the highest regional language use in the UK at 33.1%, and England the lowest at 0.7%. Mayotte, with 30.9%

of participants, is the French region where most people speak their regional languages, while the capital region Île-de-France has the lowest with 0.5%. In Spain, the highest proportion of regional language speakers is generally highest in the north and lower in the south. At 78.7%, Catalunya is the Spanish region with the most regional language speakers, while Ceuta, La Rioja, the Comunidad de Madrid and the Canary Islands have the fewest. Interesting are the results of the average regional language use in Asturias with 40 % and Extremadura with 14 %, which represents more than in some autonomous communities with co-official languages. Among the Italian regions, the Veneto region is in first place with 51.7% and Lombardy is in last place with 8.8%.

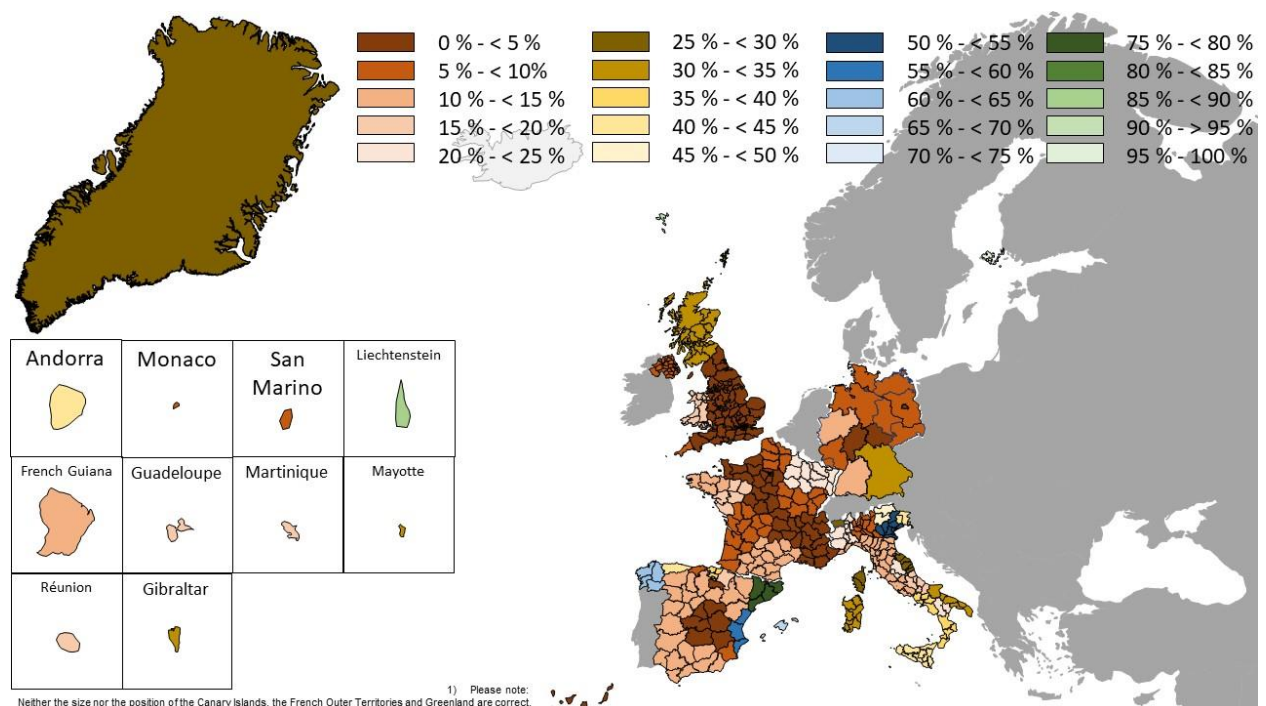


Figure 9: Average over the years of stated regional language use (own interpretation)

If the participants' average statements on language use are set in relation to the average economic level, the scatter diagram in Figure 10 shows an R-value of +0.05372805. This means that there is a weak positive correlation between average regional and minority language use and the average economic level. The suspicion is that the higher the awareness of regional language use, the greater the regional identity and thus the greater the effort for regional economic progress. However, this initially remains just a guess. (Brandtjen R. , 2022; Brandtjen R. , 2023)

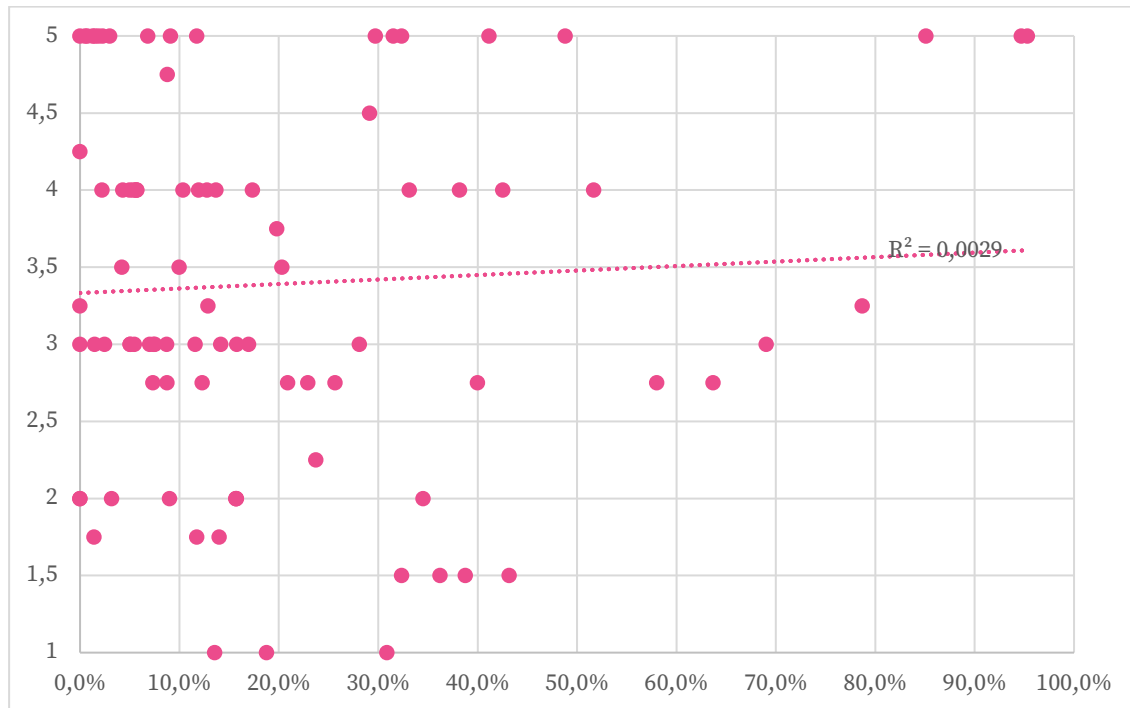


Figure 10: Scatter plot and trend line $r = 0.05372805$ / all regions and territories; average regional language use vs. average economic level (own interpretation)

To check the assumption, the R-values of the respective states are first checked. Table 8 shows an R-value of -0.18973985 in Italy, an R-value of -0.22045018 in the United Kingdom, an R-value of -0.62372167 in France, an R-value of $+0$ in Germany, 27277358 and in Spain the R-value of $+0.29595636$. There is therefore a weak negative correlation in Italy and the United Kingdom. In France there is a strong negative correlation. Germany and Spain each have a weak (almost moderate) positive correlation. Since the recognized micro-nations and small states in Europe always have an economic level in the larger category, it is not possible to calculate the correlation.

It can therefore be said for Italy, the UK and France that the more regional and minority languages are used on average, the lower the average regional economic level. This is very pronounced in France, which is probably due, among other things, to the restrictive language policy and the strong centralization. In the United Kingdom it may just be due to England's hegemonic position. Italy's value, however, is difficult to explain without taking other social aspects into account. Once again, an important point seems to be the special economic and social problems, especially in language-rich southern Italy.

In Germany and Spain, however, one can say that the more regional and minority languages are spoken on average in the region, the higher the regional average economic level. In Germany this is certainly due to the southern German states such as Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. They have a very high economic level, officially have no languages other than German, but they do have a very strong linguistic awareness of their respective High German dialects, some of which have little intelligibility with Standard German. In Spain, on the other hand, the past economic policies of the last dictatorship seem to be able to provide an explanation.

Table 8: Sample correlation coefficient Average Regional Language use and Average Economic Level (own interpretation)

Group	Sample correlation coefficient r_{xy}
All	+0,05372805
German Bundesländer	+0,27277358
Italian Regions	-0,18973985
Spanish autonomous communities and cities	+0,29595636
British constituencies and Cornwall	-0,22045018
French regions	-0,62372167

Even though a weak positive correlation was calculated between average regional language use and average regional economic level, this does not occur for all states. A clear cause-and-effect relationship between regional language use and economic level has therefore not been proven. The connection to regional identity cannot yet be answered here, but an emotional definition of regional language, even of dialects, seems to be evident. For this it is necessary to analyse the opinion of the people on the meaning of the language.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC OF [REGION]? – OWN LANGUAGE

Survey participants were asked what the main characteristics of their region were. You could choose from 7 options for this single choice question; Own Language, Unique History, Own Culture, Unique Social Norms, Political Autonomy, Independent Economy, or another freely selectable possibility to be specified. For this paper, the results for the options “own language” and “own culture” were chosen. Figure 11 shows the average over the years for choosing your own regional language.

Participants in Euskadi with 56.7% and Catalunya with 41.7% had, on average, the highest scores of those who stated their own language as the main characteristic of their region. The participants from the Principality of Monaco and the Republic of San Marino saw this least, with an average of 0% of participants each. Among the autonomous micro-nations and micro-states, 38.3% of participants from the Faroe Islands see their own language as the main characteristic. Among the Italian regions, participants from Friuli-Venezia Giulia were the most likely to indicate their own language(s) as their main characteristic at 26.5%, while those from Lazio were at least at 2%. In Spain, the leaders were the participants from Euskadi (the Basque country). The proportion was lowest in the autonomous city of Ceuta, with an average of 0.3% of its participants. On average, the highest number of participants from the French regions in Occitanie chose their own language at 20.8%, and the lowest in Bourgogne-Franche-Comté at 0.3%. Among the German federal states, Saarland is in first place for its own language as a regional characteristic with an average of 16.5% of its participants, and the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen is in last place with 1.5%. In the United Kingdom, Wales leads the way with 31.3% of participants and Northern Ireland comes last with just 0.9% of participants.

However, it is striking again that even participants in regions and territories that officially only recognize one language see their "own" language, at least in part, as the main characteristic of their area. The emotional connection between language or language use and region or territory seems to become clear.

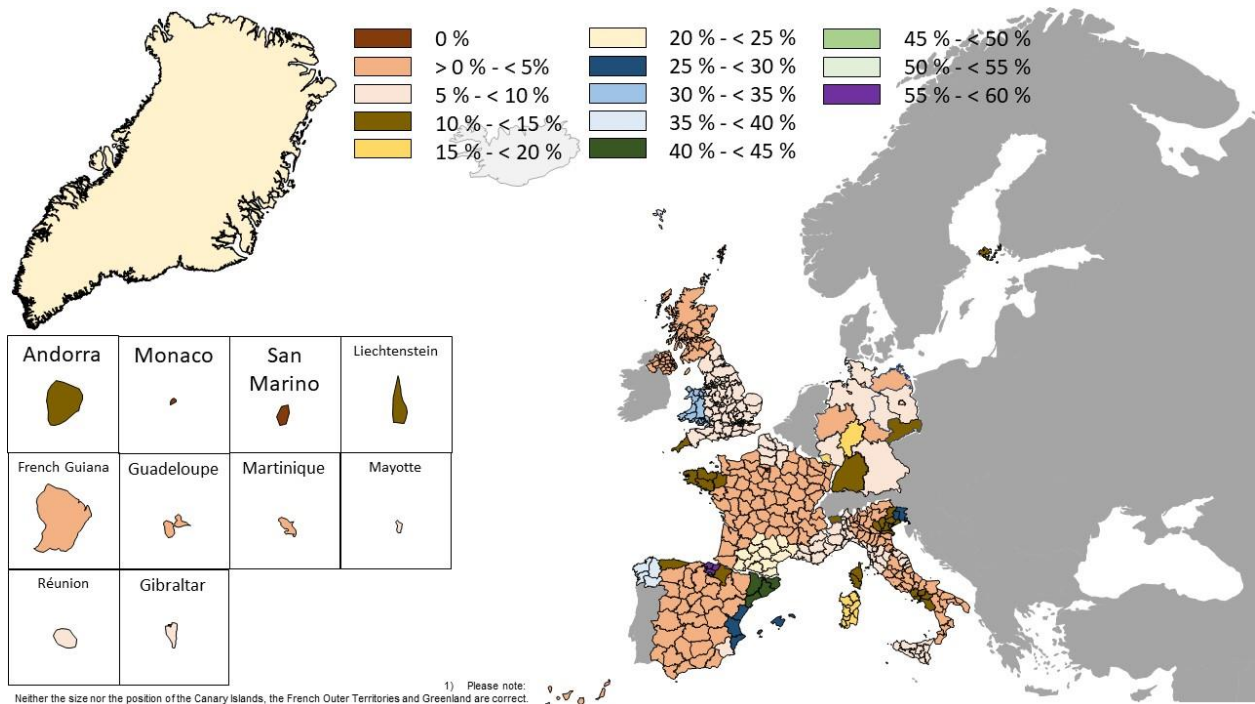


Figure 11: Average over the years of "Own Language" stated as main regional characteristic (own interpretation)

If you compare the average information on the main characteristic "own language" with the average economic level, the scatter diagram from Figure 12 results. This also results in an R-value of +0.12105164. This means that the higher the importance of one's own language as the main characteristic of a region, the higher the average regional economic level.

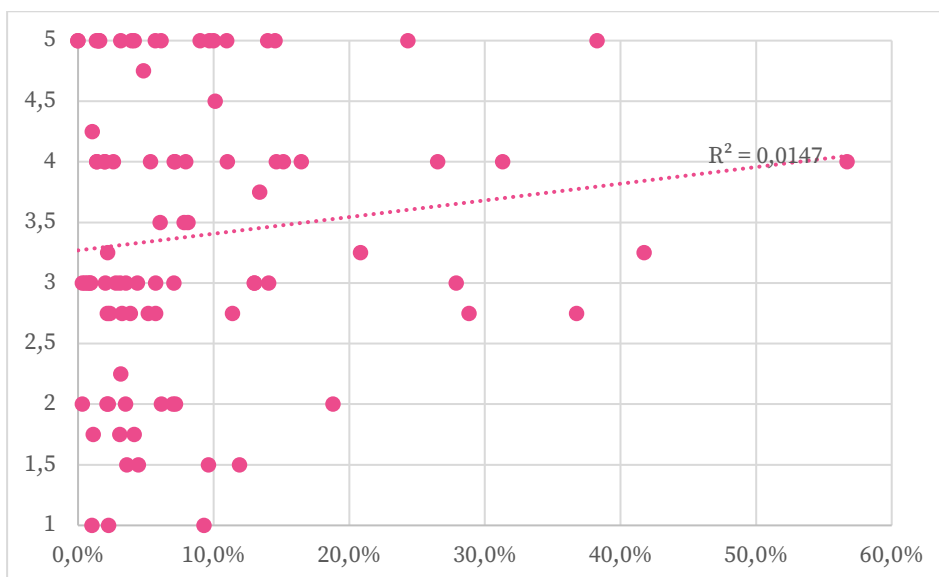


Figure 12: Scatter plot and trend line $r = 0.12105164$ / all regions and territories; average own language as characteristic vs. average economic level (own interpretation)

To check this R-value in more detail, Table 9 shows the respective R-values of the states. Germany has an R-value of +0.03738461, Italy of +0.03717843, France of +0.04010239, the United Kingdom of +0.25123413 and Spain of +0.45397561. Since the recognized micro-nations and small states in Europe always have an economic level in the larger category, it is not possible to calculate the correlation.

There is therefore a moderate positive correlation in Spain. In all other states a weak positive correlation. This means that at the state level the assumption can also be confirmed that the higher the importance of one's own language as the main characteristic of a region, the higher the average regional economic level.

Table 9: Sample correlation coefficient Average Own Language as Characteristic and Average Economic Level (own interpretation)

Group	Sample correlation coefficient r_{xy}
All	+0,12105164
German Bundesländer	+0,03738461
Italian Regions	+0,03717843
Spanish autonomous communities and cities	+0,45397561
British constituencies and Cornwall	+0,25123413
French regions	+0,04010239

It seems as if the awareness and importance of regional languages can actually be seen as an argument for a greater connection to the respective region. This in turn could lead to a greater willingness to make efforts to promote the regional economy and thus increase prosperity. To formulate a final rule based on this would be too far-reaching and would ignore other influencing factors. Nevertheless, the positive correlation between the two aspects is clearly visible.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC OF [REGION]? – OWN CULTURE

Culture is a very broad concept. In the survey, one's own culture was determined using examples such as traditions, customs and music. Nevertheless, some participants also included language in the concept of culture, despite their own option of language. (Bonvillain, 2020) Additionally, the sum of the results for own language and own culture always represents the majority of the option for this item in the surveys. Therefore, the selection of one's own culture is chosen as the main regional characteristic in the following.

Figure 13 shows the average over the years of participants who stated their own culture as the main characteristic of their own region. On average, the most participants in Abruzzo chose their own culture, at 74.2%. The lowest average value is in Île-de-France at just 7.7%. The highest average value is therefore in Italy. Lombardy has the lowest Italian value at just 24.4%. Among the autonomous micro-nations and small states, Greenland takes the lead with 52.3%. At the bottom is San Marino with 8.3%. Of the Spanish regions, Andalusia, closely followed by Extremadura, has the highest average at 73.2%, and 27.4% of participants from Euskadi represents the smallest group. Among the French regions, Martinique has the highest value at 69.8% and Île-de-France has the lowest value at just 7.7%. In

Germany, on average, most participants in Bavaria, at 72.8%, say that their own culture is their main characteristic, and 19.5% of participants from Saxony-Anhalt is the lowest German figure. In Scotland, 59.8% of participants chose their own culture and in England only 30.7%.

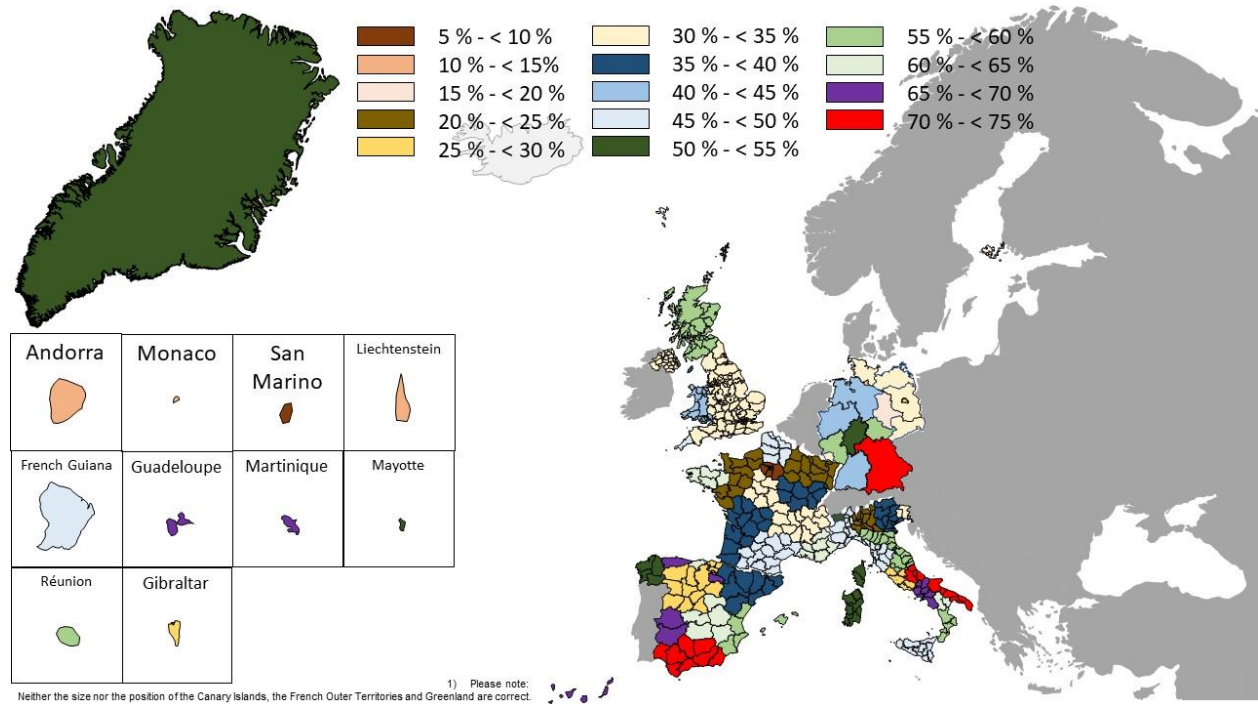


Figure 13 : Average over the years of "Own Culture" stated as main regional characteristic (own interpretation)

The comparison between the average economic level and the average results for one's own culture results in the scatter diagram in Figure 14. This comparison has an R-value of -0.56351052. This results in a strong negative correlation. This means that the higher the importance of one's own culture as a main characteristic, the lower the average economic level.

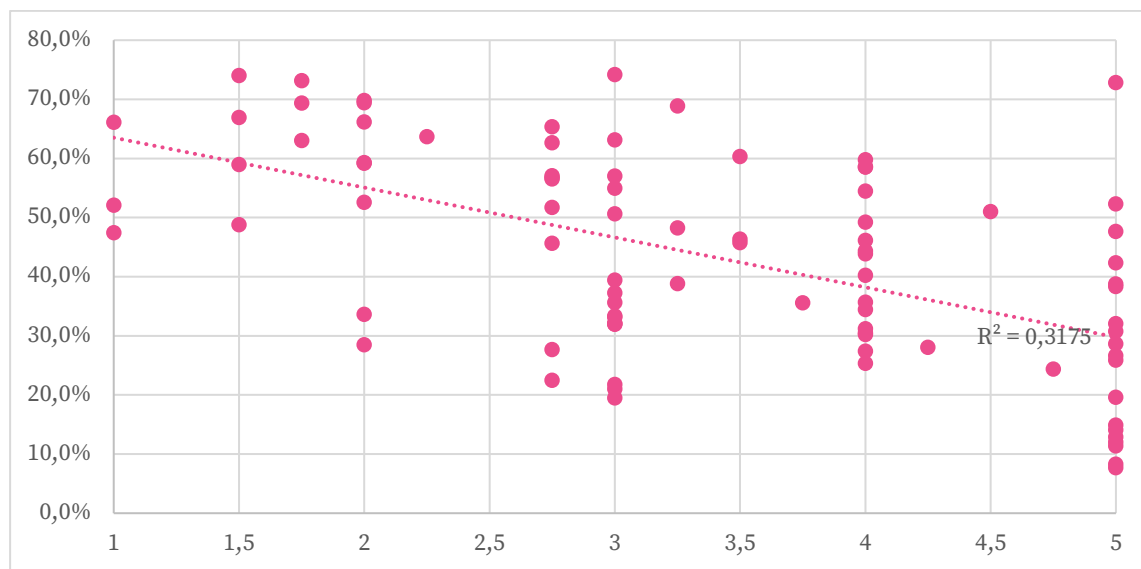


Figure 14: Scatter plot and trend line $r = -0.56351052$ / all regions and territories; average own culture as characteristic vs. average economic level (own interpretation)

For a more detailed examination, the R-values of the states are shown in Table 10. Since the recognized micro-nations and small states in Europe always have an economic level in the larger category, it is not possible to calculate the correlation. The British R-value is -0.07766458, in Spain it is -0.52121959, in France it is -0.58283212 and in Italy it is -0.70297485. Thus, there is a weak negative correlation in the United Kingdom and a strong negative correlation in France, Italy and Spain. This means that a greater importance of one's own culture as a main regional characteristic corresponds to a lower regional average level of prosperity. Germany, on the other hand, shows an R value of +0.16463733, which corresponds to a weak positive correlation. Thus, a greater importance of one's own culture as a main regional characteristic corresponds to a higher regional average level of prosperity.

Table 10: Sample correlation coefficient Average Own Culture as Characteristic and Average Economic Level (own interpretation)

Group	Sample correlation coefficient r_{xy}
All	-0,56351052
German Bundesländer	+0,16463733
Italian Regions	-0,70297485
Spanish autonomous communities and cities	-0,52121959
British constituencies and Cornwall	-0,07766458
French regions	-0,58283212

The difference could be due to the fact that Spain, Italy, France and the United Kingdom are seeking regional autonomy due, among other things, to economic differences. A move away from the hegemonic culture due to centralized political and economic structures would therefore be understandable. This means that one's own culture is more important, especially in economically weak regions. There is a great deal of decentralization in Germany, culturally, economically and politically. This explanation is not a definitive proof, but an explanatory assumption.

A negative connection with the importance of one's own culture for the participants and economic prosperity is clear. The explanation for this result is pure speculation and requires further research.

Conclusion

There is a scientific gap in the field of research into minority languages as an economic factor. However, languages play an important role in the context of globalisation, the European Single Market, as part of human capital to promote prosperity and as an important aspect of cultural and educational tourism. There is broad social support for the promotion of minority and regional languages. Legally, this is supported by the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages of the Council of Europe, among others. Some countries therefore place their languages under the special protection of this European legal standard, while others reject this and support their languages as cultural heritage to very different extents.

The economic data show a clear difference between Northern and Southern Europe, as well as the difference between the hegemonic region and the periphery in centralised countries. Since official languages historically usually correspond to the language variant of the hegemonic region, minority languages are more likely to be found in the periphery. A direct comparison of these generally results in a weak negative correlation. The outlier of the Spanish results also confirms this assumption, as the peripheral regions, especially the north of Spain, still possess a higher wealth due to historical economic policies. In the further analysis, the average level of prosperity was compared with the average regional language use. In general, a weak positive correlation emerged, meaning that the more a regional language is used, the higher the regional prosperity. In the context of this analysis, however, this only seems to apply to Germany and Spain, where there is almost a moderate positive correlation. However, in Italy and the United Kingdom there is a weak negative correlation, and in France there is even a strong negative correlation. These results seem to be explained by different country-specific reasons. In France it seems to be an effect of the restrictive language policy. In the case of the United Kingdom, however, it seems to be due to England's domestic hegemonic status. Italy and its social peculiarities, especially in the south, seem to be an explanation. The correlation in Germany may be due, among other things, to the fact that not only languages, but also dialects, were possible when using regional languages. In Spain's case, historical economic policy could once again be a reason.

If you correlate the average economic level with the average information about whether your own language is the main characteristic of the respective region, a clear statement emerges. In general, and in the respective countries, there is at least a weak, and in Spain even moderate, positive correlation. The greater the importance of regional language use, the higher the economic prosperity. It seems as if the awareness and importance of regional languages can actually be seen as an argument for a greater connection to the respective region. This in turn could lead to a greater willingness to make efforts to promote the regional economy and thus increase prosperity. Comparing wealth with information about one's own culture as the main characteristic of a region generally shows a weak negative correlation. This is also available in all countries except Germany. The explanation of the results seems to be the respective degrees of economic, political and cultural centralization.

In summary, it is clear that the economic impact of minorities and regional languages is difficult to measure without taking into account further historical, political, social and cultural aspects. Nevertheless, the connection between the importance of regional language use and prosperity can be clearly seen.

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Annex:

DATA OVERVIEW

REGION	AVERAGE ECONOMIC LEVEL	AVERAGE REGIONAL LANGUAGE USE	AVERAGE OWN LANGUAGE	AVERAGE OWN CULTURE
ABRUZZO	3	17,0%	3,5%	74,2%
ÅLAND	5	95,3%	11,0%	19,6%
ANDALUCIA	1,75	11,7%	4,1%	73,2%
ANDORRA	5	41,1%	10,0%	12,0%
ARAGON	3	11,6%	3,1%	39,4%
ASTURIAS	2,75	40,0%	11,4%	65,4%
AUVERGNE-RHÔNE-ALPES	4	4,3%	1,4%	34,4%
BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	5	11,8%	14,5%	42,3%
BASILICATA	2,25	23,7%	3,2%	63,7%
BAYERN	5	32,3%	9,0%	72,8%
BERLIN	5	0,0%	6,1%	25,9%
BOURGOGNE-FRANCHE-COMTÉ	3	7,5%	0,3%	37,2%
BRANDENBURG	3	5,1%	5,7%	32,0%
BREMEN	5	1,5%	1,5%	32,0%
BRETAGNE	3	14,1%	13,0%	63,1%
CALABRIA	1,5	38,7%	3,6%	58,9%
CAMPANIA	1,5	36,2%	11,9%	66,9%
CANTABRIA	2,75	7,3%	2,4%	62,6%
CASTILLA LA MANCHA	1,75	1,4%	1,1%	63,0%
CASTILLA Y LEON	2,75	12,3%	3,9%	27,7%
CATALUNYA	3,25	78,7%	41,7%	38,8%
CENTRE-VAL DE LOIRE	3	1,5%	0,5%	33,1%
CEUTA	2	0,0%	0,3%	28,5%
COMUNIDAD DE MADRID	4,25	0,0%	1,0%	28,0%
COMUNIDAD VALENCIANA	2,75	58,0%	28,8%	56,5%
CORNWALL	4	5,0%	11,0%	49,2%
CORSE	3	28,1%	14,0%	50,6%
EMILIA-ROMAGNA	4	13,7%	2,6%	58,6%
ENGLAND	5	0,7%	9,7%	30,7%
EUSKADI	4	38,2%	56,7%	27,4%
EXTREMADURA	1,75	14,0%	3,1%	69,3%
FAROE ISLANDS	5	94,7%	38,3%	47,6%
FRIULI-VENEZIA GIULIA	4	42,5%	26,5%	31,2%

REGION	AVERAGE ECONOMIC LEVEL	AVERAGE REGIONAL LANGUAGE USE	AVERAGE OWN LANGUAGE	AVERAGE OWN CULTURE
GALICIA	2,75	63,7%	36,8%	51,7%
GIBRALTAR	5	31,5%	5,7%	26,6%
GRAND EST	2,75	20,9%	2,2%	22,5%
GREENLAND	5	29,7%	24,3%	52,3%
GUADELOPE	1	18,8%	1,0%	66,1%
GUERNSEY	5	2,3%	1,4%	14,9%
GUYANE	1	13,5%	2,3%	47,4%
HAMBURG	5	3,0%	4,0%	28,6%
HAUTS-DE-FRANCE	2,75	8,7%	5,2%	45,6%
HESSEN	4	2,2%	15,1%	54,5%
ÎLE-DE-FRANCE	5	0,5%	1,6%	7,7%
ISLAS BALEARES	3	69,0%	27,9%	55,0%
ISLAS CANARIAS	2	0,0%	2,2%	66,1%
ISLE OF MAN	5	1,3%	3,1%	38,8%
JERSEY	5	1,9%	1,5%	14,1%
LA RÉUNION	2	15,7%	6,2%	59,3%
LA RIOJA	3,25	0,0%	2,2%	68,9%
LAZIO	4	11,9%	2,0%	25,3%
LIECHTENSTEIN	5	85,1%	14,0%	12,9%
LIGURIA	4	10,4%	7,2%	46,1%
LOMBARDIA	4,75	8,8%	4,8%	24,4%
MARCHE	2,75	25,6%	5,7%	56,7%
MARTINIQUE	2	15,7%	2,1%	69,8%
MAYOTTE	1	30,9%	9,3%	52,1%
MECKLENBURG- VORPOMMERN	3	5,0%	4,4%	32,1%
MELILLA	2	3,2%	7,0%	33,6%
MOLISE	2	15,7%	3,5%	69,4%
MONACO	5	6,8%	0,0%	11,4%
NAVARRA	3,75	19,8%	13,4%	35,6%
NIEDERSACHSEN	4	5,3%	8,0%	40,2%
NORDRHEIN- WESTPHALEN	4	12,8%	1,9%	44,4%
NORMANDIE	3	2,5%	0,7%	21,8%
NORTHERN IRELAND	3	8,7%	0,9%	33,3%
NOUVELLE- AQUITAINE	3	7,0%	2,0%	35,6%
OCCITANIE	3,25	12,9%	20,8%	48,2%
PAYS DE LA LOIRE	3	15,8%	0,9%	21,0%
PIEMONTE	3,5	20,3%	7,8%	46,3%
PROVENCE-ALPES- CÔTE D'AZUR	3,5	4,2%	8,1%	60,3%
PUGLIA	1,5	32,3%	4,4%	74,0%
REGION DE MURCIA	2	9,0%	7,2%	59,2%

REGION	AVERAGE ECONOMIC LEVEL	AVERAGE REGIONAL LANGUAGE USE	AVERAGE OWN LANGUAGE	AVERAGE OWN CULTURE
RHEINLAND-PFALZ	4	5,7%	7,1%	58,5%
SAARLAND	4	5,7%	16,5%	30,2%
SACHSEN	3	5,5%	13,0%	31,9%
SACHSEN-ANHALT	3	7,4%	7,1%	19,5%
SAN MARINO	5	9,1%	0,0%	8,3%
SARDINIA	2	34,5%	18,8%	52,6%
SCHLESWIG- HOLSTEIN	4	5,6%	5,4%	30,5%
SCOTLAND	4	33,1%	1,4%	59,8%
SILICIA	1,5	43,2%	9,6%	48,8%
THÜRINGEN	3	0,0%	2,8%	57,0%
TOSCANA	3,5	10,0%	6,0%	45,7%
TRENTINO-ALTO ADIGE	5	48,8%	4,1%	38,3%
UMBRIA	2,75	22,9%	3,2%	57,1%
VAL D'AOSTA	4,5	29,1%	10,1%	51,0%
VENETO	4	51,7%	14,6%	35,7%
WALES	4	17,3%	31,3%	43,9%

QUESTION 1: WHICH LANGUAGE DO YOU USE THE MOST?

Albanian	Cilën gjuhë përdorni më shumë?
Alsatian	Welli Sproch redde-n-ìhr àm meischte?
Aragonese	Qué idioma usa más de cutio?
Aranese (an Occitan variaty)	Quin idiòma use mès a diari?
Arpetan	Quinta lengoua utilisâd-vos lo més?
Asturian	¿Qué llingua usa más a diario?
Balear Catalan	Quin idioma empra en es dia a dia?
Basque	Zein hizkuntza erabiltzen duzu gehien eguneroko bizitzan?
Breton	Peseurt yezh a implijit ar muiañ ?
Castillian (Spanish)	¿Qué idioma usa más a diario?
Catalan	Quin idioma utilitza més en el seu dia a dia?
Cornish	Py yeth a wrewgh devnydhya an moyha yn fenowgh?
Corsican	Chì lingua usa u più ?
Croatian	Koji jezik najviše upotrebljavate?
Danish	Hvilket sprog bruger du mest?
Doric (Scots variaty)	Fit leid dae ye makk eese o the maist?

Dutch	Welke taal gebruik je het meest?
English	What language do you use the most?
Eonavian	¿Qué lingua/lilingua usa máis a diario?
Extremadurian	Qué idioma gasta mas de corrienti?
Fala	¿Qué idioma usa mais a diariu?
Faroese	Hvat mál brúkar tú mest?
Finnish	Mitä kieltä käytät eniten?
French	Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus ?
Friulian	Cuale lenghe dopristu di plui?
Galician	Que idioma emprega máis a diario?
Gallo Language	Qheu parlement qe vous caozéz le pus ?
Gallo-Italic of Sicily (San Fratello variety)	Chi dangua usai chjussei?
Gallurese	Ca' linga trattéti di più?
German	Welche Sprache nutzen Sie am meisten?
Greek	Ποια γλώσσα χρησιμοποιείτε περισσότερο;
Greenlandic	Oqaatsini sorleq atornerusarpiuk?
Guernsey Norman French	Quaie langue qué vous faisaiž servi lé pus?
Irish	Cén teanga is mó a úsáideann tú?
Italian	Quale lingua usate di più?
Ladin	Ci lingaz adorëise pa le plü?
Ligurian	Quæ a lingua che sciâ deuvia ciù tanto?
Ligurian (Tabarchino variety)	Che lèngua üzè de ciü?
Lombard	Qe lingua al/la droev plussee ?
Lorrain	Quée langue que vos pêliz-ti lo pus'?
Lorraine Franconian	Wat for'n Sprooch schwätzen Dir am Meeschten?
Low Saxon (Low German)	Wat för en Spraak bruukt Se meest?
Lower Sorbian	Kótaru rěc nejwěcej wužywašo?
Luxembourgish	Wéi eng Sprooch benotzt Dir am meeschten?
Manx Gaelic	Cre'n ghlare t'ou gymmydey smoo?
Mòcheno	De beil sproch praucht ir zan mearestn?
Neapolitan	Qua'lengua ausate 'e cchiù?
Norman French	Qui loceis qu'os prêchiz le pus?
North Frisian (Föhr-Amrum Variety)	Hün spriik brükst am miasten?

Occitan	Quin idiòma usa mai jornalièrement?
Picard	Queu parlache que t'imployes l' puque?
Piemontese	Quala lengua i deuvre ëd pì?
Portuguese	Que língua utiliza mais diariamente?
Réunion Creole French	Kèl lang ou koze plüs souvent ?
Romagnol (San Marino variaty)	Quale ch'l'è la lèngua che a usè at piò?
Sardinian	Cale limba impreadas de prus?
Saterland Frisian	Wäkke Sproake bruuke Jie ap't maaste?
Scots	Whit leid dae ye uise the maist?
Scottish Gaelic	Dè an cànan as motha a chleachdas tu?
Sicilian	Quali lingua usi chiossai?
Slovene	Kateri jezik uporabljate največ?
Swedish	Vilket språk använder du mest?
Ulster Scots	Whit leid dae ye uise the maist
Upper Sorbian	Kotru řeč wužiwaćcé najbóle?
Valencian	Quin idioma utilitza més en el seu dia a dia?
Venetian	Che lengua doparèo de pì?
Walser German (Formazza variaty)	Welli Schpraach brüchädär z meischt?
Walser German (Issime variaty)	Wéll réd brouheder mia?
Welsh	Pa iaith ydych chi'n ei defnyddio fwyaf?

QUESTION 2: WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC OF [REGION OR TERRITORE]?

Language	Question	Answer 1	Answer 3
Albanian	Cila mendoni se është tipari më karakteristik i [Region]?	Gjuha vetanake	Kultura vetanake (tradita, zakonet, muzika, ...)
Alsatian	Wàs, éirer Meinùng nooch, màcht àm beschte de Großoschte üss?	Sini eijene Sproch	Sini eijene Kùltür (Tràdition, Brich, Musik...)
Aragonese	Que creye vusté que ye o más carauteristico d'Aragón?	A suya propia luenga	A suya propia cultura (tradizions, costumbres, mosica...)

<i>Language</i>	<i>Question</i>	<i>Answer 1</i>	<i>Answer 3</i>
<i>Aranese (an Occitan variety)</i>	Qué cre vosté qu'ei çò més caracteristic de [Region]?	Era sua pròpria lengua	Era sua cultura unica (tradicions, costums, musica,...)
<i>Arpetan</i>	Quinta est d'après vos la caractèristica més caractèristica du [Region]?	Sa pròpra lengoua	Sa pròpra cultura (tradicion, cotemes, musica, ...)
<i>Asturian</i>	¿Qué cree vusté que ye lo más carauterístico de [Region]?	La so propia llingua	La so cultura propia (tradiciones, costumes, música...)
<i>Balear Catalan</i>	Què creu que és es més característic des Illes Balears?	Sa llengua pròpia	Sa seva història única
<i>Basque</i>	Zure ustez, zerk adierazten du [Region] gehien?	Bere hizkuntza propioa	Bere kultura propioa (tradizioa, ohiturak, musika...)
<i>Breton</i>	Petra, hervezoc'h, a skeudenn ar gwellañ [Region] ?	He yezh dibar	He sevenadur dibar (hengoun, boazioù, sonerezh,..)
<i>Castillian (Spanish)</i>	¿Qué cree usted que es lo más característico de [Region]?	Su propio lengua	Su cultura propia (tradiciones, costumbres, música...)
<i>Catalan</i>	Què creu que és el més característic de [Region]?	La seva llengua pròpia	La seva cultura pròpia (tradicions, costums, música,...)
<i>Cornish</i>	Pandr'a dybowgh bos an moyha gnasek a Gernow?	Hy yeth hy honan	Hy gonisogeth hy honan (hengovyow, manerow, ilow...)
<i>Corsican</i>	Chì pensate chì rappresenta u più a [Region] ?	A so propria lingua	A so propria cultura (tradizione, usi, musica, etc.)
<i>Croatian</i>	Što je po vašem mišljenju najkarakterističnije obilježje Molisea?	Vlastiti jezik	Vlastita kultura (tradicija, običaji, glazba, ...)
<i>Danish</i>	Hvad kendetegner efter din mening mest [Region]?	Eget sprog	Egen kultur (tradition, skikke, musik, ...)

<i>Language</i>	<i>Question</i>	<i>Answer 1</i>	<i>Answer 3</i>
Doric (Scots variety)	Fit dae ye think is the maist characteristic o Scotlan?	Ain leid	Ain heirskip (tradition, wyes, music,...)
Dutch (Flemish)	Wat vertegenwoordigt Hauts-de-France volgens u het meest?	Zijn eigen taal	Zijn eigen cultuur (traditie, gewoonten, muziek,...)
English	What do you think is the most characteristic of the Region?	Own Language	Own culture (tradition, costumes, music,...)
Eonavian	¿Qué cree usted qu'è lo máis característico d'Asturias?	A/la súa propia lingua/llingua	A/la súa cultura propia (tradicíois, costumes, música,...)
Extremadurian	Qué crei vusté que es lo mas propiu de [Region]?	La su lengua propia	La su coltura propia (tradicionis, costumbris, música,...)
Fala	¿Qué pensa que é o mais característicu de Extremadura?	A sua propia língua	A sua cultura propia (tradiçõs, costumes, música...)
Faroese	Hvat er serliga eyðkenni Føroya?	Egið mál	Egin mentan (siðvenja, siðir, tónleikur,...)
Finnish	Mikä on mielestäsi Ahvenanmaalle ominaista?	Oma kieli	Oma kulttuuri (perinteet, puvut, musiikki,...).
French	A votre avis, quelle est la caractéristique la plus typique du [Region] ?	Sa propre langue	Sa propre culture (tradition, coutumes, musique,...)
Friulian	Cuale ise par te la carateristiche plui tipiche de [Region]?	Lenghe proprie	Culture proprie (tradizion, costumes, musiche,...)
Galician	¿Que cre vostede que é o máis característico de [Region]?	A súa lingua propia	A súa cultura (tradicíons, costumes, música...)
Gallo Language	Qhi qe c'èt-ti qi, pour vous, erperzente le pus la [Region] ?	Son parlement a yelle	Sa qhulture a yelle (tradicions, amouézeries, muziqe,...)

<i>Language</i>	<i>Question</i>	<i>Answer 1</i>	<i>Answer 3</i>
<i>Gallo-Italic of Sicily (San Fratello variety)</i>	Sigaun tu, qual è la caratteristica chjù sparticulära di la Rregian sicilieuna?	Avar na ddangua sau la saua	Avar la pruoria cultura (tradizziuoi, abitudini, mùsica...)
<i>Gallurese</i>	Cal'è, sigundu te, la caratteristica più típica di la Saldigna?	Linga proppia	Cultura proppia (tradiziòni, custumi, musica,...)
<i>German</i>	Was charakterisiert, Ihrer Meinung nach, [Region] am meisten?	eigene Sprache	Eigene Kultur (Traditionen, Bräuche, Musik,...)
<i>Greek</i>	Ποιο πιστεύετε ότι είναι το πιο χαρακτηριστικό γνώρισμα της περιοχής της Σικελίας;	Η δική σας γλώσσα	Δική του κουλτούρα (παράδοση, έθιμα, μουσική, ...)
<i>Greenlandic</i>	Suna Kalaallit Nunaannut naleqqunnersaava?	Nammineq oqaatsit	Nammineq kulturi (ileqqoq, pissuserissaarneq, nipilersorneq,...)
<i>Guernsey Norman French</i>	Tchi qu'erpersente lé Bailliâge à Guernesî lé mus?	Sa proper langue	Sa proper tchulture (traditiaon, coûteumes, musique,...)
<i>Irish</i>	Cad é an tréith is mó i dTuaisceart Éireann, dar leat?	Teanga féin	Cultúr féin (traidisiún, nósanna, ceol, ...)
<i>Italian</i>	Secondo lei qual è la caratteristica più tipica della / del / dell' [Region]?	Lingua propria	Cultura propria (tradizione, costumi, musica,...)
<i>Ladin</i>	Ciüna é pa, do Osta minunga, la carateristica plü tipica dl [Region]?	So lingaz	Süa cultura (tradiziuns, usanzas, musiga,...)
<i>Ligurian</i>	Inta seu opinion, quæ a l'é a caratteristica ciù tipica dël [Region]?	Unna seu lengua	Unna seu coltua (tradiçioin, costummi, muxica...)
<i>Ligurian (Tabarchino variety)</i>	Què a l'è segundu ti a carateristica ciü tipica da Sardégna?	a próppia lèngua	a só cultûa(tradisiun custümme e müxica...)
<i>Lombard</i>	Segond Luu/Lee, qual è-la la carateristega plussee tipega de la Lombardia ?	La so lengua	La so cultura (tradizion, abigliament, musega)

<i>Language</i>	<i>Question</i>	<i>Answer 1</i>	<i>Answer 3</i>
Lorrain	Qu'ôst-ce que, s'lon vos, r'présente lo pus' lo Grand L'vant ?	Sè langue	Sè cultûre (tradition, coutumes, musique,...)
Lorraine Franconian	Eier Meening noo, wat representiert am Beschten et Grooss Osten?	Sein eijen Sprooch	Sein eijen Kultur (Tradition, Gebrauch, Musick...)
Low Saxon (Low German)	Wat karaktereseert, Ehr Menen na, [Region] an'n meest?	egen Spraak	egen Kultur (Traditioon, Bruuk, Musik,...)
Lower Sorbian	Co charakterizěrujo, pó Wašom měnjenju, Bramborska nejwěcej?	swójska rěc	Swójska kultura (tradicije, nałogi, muzika, ...)
Luxembourgish	Wat mengt Dir am meeschte representéiert de Groussen Osten?	Seng eege Sprooch	Seng eege Kultur (Traditioun, Gebräicher, Musek, etc.)
Manx Gaelic	C'ired ta'n red smoo cowreydagh jeh Mannin?	Glare er-lheh	Cultoer er-lheh (tradishoonyn, shenn-chliaghtaghyn, kiaull, as nyn lheid)
Mòcheno	De beil ist ver enk s sèll as der Trentin-Sudtirol tipisch mòcht?	De sai' sprochen	De sai' kultur (praich, tràchtn, musik,...)
Neapolitan	Pe vvuje che r'è 'a cosa cchiù bbella c'appartène a' Campania?	Na lingua	A curtura (tradizione, musica, ausanze)...
Norman French	Seloun voute apercheu, quique ch'est qui représente le pus la Normaundie?	Sen prope loceis/préchi	Sa prope tchulture (traditioun, couoteumes, musique, ...)
North Frisian (Föhr-Amrum Variaty)	Wat karakterisieret, efter din meening, Sleswich-Holstian am miasten?	aanj spriik	aanj kultüür (traditsjuunen, brüken, musik)
Occitan	Segontes la siá opinion quina es la característica mai típica de [Region]?	Sa pròpria lenga	Sa pròpria cultura (tradicion, costumas, musica,...)
Picard	Quo ç' qui moute, pou ti, ce qui représinte l' puque les Hauts-de-France ?	S' parlache	S' culture espéciale (tradition, habitues, musique, ...)

Language	Question	Answer 1	Answer 3
Piemontese	Second voi, qual a l'è la ròba pì tipica del Piemont?	Soa lengua	Soa cultura (tradission, costume, musica...)
Portuguese	Qual acha que é a característica mais característica da Extremadura?	A sua própria língua	A sua própria cultura (tradições, costumes, música,...)
Réunion Creole French	Dapré ou, koça i rœprézante mié la Rényon ?	Son lang kréol	Son kiltür kréol (tradisyon, koutüme, müzik...)
Romagnol (San Marino variety)	Sgand vo quale ch'l'è la caraterística piò tepica dl'[Region]?	Lèngua propja	Cultura propja (tradiziòun, custom, musica . . .)
Sardinian	Cale est a pàrrere tuo sa caraterística prus tipica de sa Sardigna?	Limba pròpia	Cultura pròpia (tradizione, costùmenes, mùsica,...)
Saterland Frisian	Wät moaket ätter Jou Meenenge Läichsaksen ap't maaste uut?	Oaine Sproake	Oaine Kultur (Traditsjoon, Bruukdum, Musik, ...)
Scots	Whit dae ye feel maist characteryses [Region]?	Ain Leid	Ain Cultur (tradeetion, habits, music, etc)
Scottish Gaelic	Dè tha thu a 'smaoineachadh a tha nas cumanta ann an Alba?	Cànan fhèin	Cultar fhèin (traidisean, cleachdaidhean, ceòl, ...)
Sicilian	Secunnu tia quali è a caratteristica chiù tipica d'a Raggiuni Siciliana?	Na lingua propia	Na cultura propia (tradizioni, abitudini, musica, ...)
Slovene	Kaj je po vašem mnenju najbolj značilna značilnost Avtonomne dežele Furlanije Julijske krajine?	Lastni jezik	Lastna kultura (tradicija, običaji, glasba, ...)
Swedish	Vad tror du är det mest karakteristiska för Åland?	Eget språk	Egen kultur (traditioner, dräkter, musik,...)
Ulster Scots	Whit dae ye feel maist characteryses Norlin Airlan?	Ain Leid	Ain Cultur (tradeetion, habits, music, etc)
Upper Sorbian	Što karakterizuje, po Wašim mēnjenju, Sakska najbóle?	Swójske řeče	Swójsku kulturu (tradicije, naložki, hudžbu,...)

Language	Question	Answer 1	Answer 3
Valencian	Què creu vosté que és el més característic de la Comunitat Valenciana?	La seua llengua pròpia	La seua cultura pròpia (tradicions, costums, música...)
Venetian	Cuata zeta par voialtri ta carataristega pi tipega de ta [Region]?	ta so lengoa	ta so cultura (tradision, costumanse, muxica, ...)
Walser German (Formazza variety)	Nachlüt eich wellts észch z tipischär Pchenntzeichä fam Piemont?	Di eigänd Schpraach	Eigändi Kultur (Traditzjoo, Brücha, Musik...)
Walser German (Issime variety)	Was ischt, selon au, la caratteristica piü tipica vam Augschtalann?	d'réd das nuan dschiendri hen	ürriun chonntschaft (brouha, kleider, musica ...)
Welsh	Beth ydych chi'n meddwl yw'r mwyaf nodweddiadol o Gymru?	laith eich hun	Diwylliant eich hun (traddodiad, arferion, cerddoriaeth, ...)