Survey and statistical analysis on the Friulian habits, attitudes, opinions, knowledge and use

University of Udine
Department of Human Sciences

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Introduction

The Friulian language, as it appears from our data in 2014, is (i) a living language, (ii) experiencing a phase of "cultural rebound", (iii) fully integrated in a multilingual context that does not marginalize it yet does not highlight it either, (iv) and that it is facing a future of profound changes.

The figures

In 2014, 420,000 people who regularly speak the Friulian language live in the provinces of Udine, Gorizia and Pordenone. Another 180,000 people speak it occasionally, from time to time. The community of speakers, that is, all those who make active use of Friulian, sums up today, with reference to these three provinces, to 600,000 people.

Understanding the language, even among those who do not speak it, covers almost the whole of the population taken into consideration. In the province of Pordenone and Gorizia, more than 83% of the population claims to understand Friulian. This percentage is over 96% in the case of the province of Udine.

The loss over time of the number of speakers has scaled down compared to what happened until 2000. Furthermore, a phenomenon in contrast to this gradual loss of speakers is to be found when analyzing the data from the younger respondents.

In the 1998 research ("A sociolinguistics reearch on the Friulian language", Picco, 2001), which represented the point of reference for this survey, it was estimated that the active use of the Friulian language had been lost, in the last decades of the 20th century, with an average rate of 1% per year. Between 1998 and 2014, this rate dropped by over a third, and now is 0.64% per year. For details on these estimates, see, in this research, the report ragarding the sample called "Friuli" (or "old sample").

Moreover, our research also shows a new and extremely interesting phenomenon for future growth: the fact that the youngest generation in absolute terms (those born after 1985) speak Friulian more actively compared to their peers in their thirties and forties who are closest age-wise. The "bounce" in the data indicates that younger age ranges have gained some percentages in the regular use of Friulian, higher than those from immediately "less young" ranges. This is shown clearly in the two most Friulian-speaking samples of our research, ie data related to the sample "Friuli" (which contains the most accurate estimate of the dynamics over time of the language) and even more explicitly in the data for the province of Udine.

The majority of speakers in the Friulian language is concentrated in the province of Udine, where the language is spoken regularly by 57.6% of the population, in addition to a 19.6% of occasional speakers, with a total of 77.2% of active use of language. In the province of Pordenone regular speakers are 25.9% of the population, occasional speakers 15% (40.9% is the overall rate of active use of the language). In the province of Gorizia regular speakers are 21.5%, 18.5% occasional, for a total 40% of the population that makes active use of Friulian.

The population of the provinces of Gorizia and Pordenone, respectively around 140,000 and 314,000 people, even when added together do not reach the population of the province of Udine (which amounted to more than 537,000 inhabitants). It can be concluded that, of the 600,000 total speakers highlighted by this research, more than 400,000 are concentrated in the province of Udine. For details on these figures see, in this report, the section on "estimates on the absolute number of speakers."

The protection and use of language

On average, about 80% of the population considered in the three provinces support the presence of laws for the protection of the Friulian language. 72.9% of the inhabitants of the province of Pordenone, 75.4% of the province of Gorizia and 82.7% of the inhabitants of the province of Udine consider fair the protection of the language. This means that many non-speakers also feel that the presence of laws and policies for the active protection of Friulian is fair.

The percentage of those who state, "if both parents are Friulian they should speak to their children in Friulian" is well-nigh unanimous, with percentages in all three provinces close to 90% of the population. This

figure has increased by more than 15 percentage points from '98 to today. The percentage of respondents who agreed to conduct the survey in Friulian has also increased strongly. In general, the negative stereotypes associated with the use of the Friulian language, associated with a "low" or just "popular" socio-cultural status, have decreased. The Friulian language is seen as important for human relationships, spoken by "friendly" people, not downgrading, no longer considered to account for a "difference" in prestige compared to Italian (the idea that Italian is more prestigious than Friulian crumbled in the last 15 years by 13 percentage points).

On the other hand, if all the negative stereotypes have clearly decreased, the protest or "ideological" aspects linked to the language have not increased. The use of Friulian in stores and offices is considered positive or normal by a percetage representing a wide majority of the population in all three provinces, but this figure over time, at least with reference to commercial contexts, has not increased, but decreased. Also considering "normal" the use of Friulian with strangers, however an opinion expressed by a large majority, has decreased over time. The view that in a meeting in which one person does not speak Friulian, it is correct to continue to speak in the former instead of passing into Italian has increased slightly in the past fifteen years but remains largely a minority. The view that at that point it is right to speak in Italian takes precedence even among those who regularly speak and feel Friuli at an identity level.

To sum up, by reading the data as a whole, it seems that the majority of negative stereotypes associated with the use of Friulian have disappeared over time and at the same time the strength of the "ideological" claims of those who associate the use of the language to some cultural or identity "advantage" has diminished. In 2014, Friulian is seen as a language without connotations, be they negative or positive. The Friulian language is seen as a "normal" or "local" language, its past linked with its present, without any particular "apologies" or "heroism" stemming from its use but also without net and radical opposition to undermine its linguistic and cultural status.

Friulian in schools

The presence of the Friulian language in schools is considered a positive aspect by a majority and large percentage of the population, ranging from 70.6% in the province of Udine to 66.9% registered in the province of Gorizia. The figure appears to be lower than in the past, probably because in previous research studies the question on the presence of the language in schools concerned only a "possible future." Today, because of the actual (albeit incomplete) implementation paths for the teaching of the Friulian language designed, programmed and in some cases put into practice in our schools, the question is no longer about a "possible future", but something that in some measure has concrete and measurable aspects based on experience.

In any case, at school level, the data obtained in our research are aligned with the high percentages that are actually found in schools when it comes to choosing whether to study Friulian. For a discussion of these issues see the various provincial reports, the report of the "Friuli" sample (comparison over time) and this report (which includes the chapter "Friulian in schools" and the isolation of the sub-sample of teachers).

Writing, reading, and media use

The Friulian language is confirmed as being more of a spoken language than written. Even isolating the data regarding only the speakers, the habit of writing in Friulian is clearly carried out by a minority. Writing emails and text messages in this language is the form of writing that is most in use: 37.8% of speakers use the Friulian language to communicate in this way, but to achieve this rate, 27.3% of the "sometimes”-nuanced answers must also be added. Those who answer "often" or "always" amount to about 10% of the speakers.

The same dynamics are recorded for "private" writing, to take notes or personal comments. 6.1% of the speakers say they do it, which is added to 16.3% response for "occasionally", bringing the total to 22.4%, a figure substantially stable compared to the past. The amount the language is used in writing when engaging on social networks is the weakest of all: only 3.4% of the speakers say they use Friulian in this context, which is added to a 15% response for "occasionally" with 18.4%.

This data, however, increase when focusing on younger-age groups. Young people write in Friulian more than the older ones, both when considering emails/sms and social networks, and here the figure was to be expected, and regarding writing private documents. The young and old are still united by writing in Friulian "as it is spoken" and are not very careful, conscious of, regarding matters of "correct spelling".

43.4% of speakers declare they "sometimes read magazines, newspapers or books in Friulian". However, the data appears in clear decline compared to the past, and the habit of reading is sporadic. The lowest percentages of readers in Friulian are found in the younger range end, the one under the age of 30 (31%).

The habit of watching or listening to radio/tv broadcasts in Friulian involves 13.6% of speakers. Considering the very high percentage of respondents who do so "occasionally" (over 50%) we reach 67.5% of speakers who declare, in some measure, to have contact with programs of this kind. This figure has increased by about 20 percentage points from 1998.

The data on going to the theater in the language follows the same dynamics, starting from 7.1% of those who do so "often" or "always", up to 53.1% overall. Very low internet use in Friulian: 1.6% of answers are "often" and "always" among speakers, this is something that speaks for itself, with no need to note that even the nuanced answers of "occasionally" in this case are limited to approximately 18%.

The "young" follow less radio/television programs and theatrical performances in Friulian, less than their "not so young" peers, but catch up in part due to a greater presence on sites or blogs in the language.

Generational transfer

The intergenerational transfer of language is one of the most important issues of this research, and it is analysed thoroughly in the report regarding the "Friuli" sample. In the latter, it was possible to compare the dynamics of intra-family language transfer over a period spanning several decades, thanks to the direct comparability of the "Friuli" sample with previous in 1998 and 1977. For further details on this issue, therefore, see "Language over time" in the report related to the "Friuli sample".

The fact of speaking in Friulian is closely related to the language habits of the respondent's family of origin. 80.4% of the speakers' parents speak to each other in Friulian (or "both", meaning by this term Friulian and Italian). This finding, which appears obvious, however, can also be read from the opposite point of view: about 20% of today's speakers have learned to speak Friulian in a different context from their parents' linguistic habits.

37.9% of speakers use Friulian with the partner in their current family, when adding "both" (Italian and Friulian together) this percentage rises to 54.8%. So about half of the current speakers speak Friulian, or also Friulian, with their partner.

28.2% of the respondents surveyed speak in Friulian to their children. It is a percentage ranging between a quarter and a third of the speakers: We can therefore estimate that, at present, a little more than a speaker out of four use the Friulian language with their children. This percentage, taking into account the answers "both", increases up to 55.9%.

Finally, 21.2% of the children of speakers speak Friulian among them (i.e. about one in five), to which is added a 16.3% of "both languages" that comes to an overall figure of 37.5%.

The percentage of answers "both languages", in particular in the specific case of the language spoken with children, or by children, must be analyzed with great caution. It is impossible to accurately estimate if it corresponds to an actual multilingualism (i.e. an equal level of use of Italian and Friulian) and how much it reflects an "escape route", that is, a situation in which the language actually used is Italian, standing next to some expressions or brief moments of using Friulian.

A more in-depth understanding and analysis of these aspects, extremely detailed but crucial, requires new analysis within our data, and perhaps new future research that are explicitly aimed at investigating the use of Friulian as it emerges in the modern world must be done. A "new" Friulian, or a "new life" for Friulian, which is the result of a new context, essentially multilingual and multicultural, to which it is exposed, and the new challenges that lie ahead in a phase of change and "cultural rebound".

The "cultural rebound"

As already mentioned, young people (those aged 18-29) claim they regularly speak Friulian more than people in their thirties and forties, reversing a trend that seemed destined to always provide only negative data (progressive loss of language) as it was getting closer to the present and the passage of time was accounted for.

Data for the younger age group relate to a number of cases, which is not high in an absolute sense, in our research, or in the official records of the region, (the people aged between 18 and 29 years are a very low percentage of the population). However, at the same time, the phenomenon related to this turnaround in the youngest group, who "acquire" the use of Friulian rather than "lose" it, is a solid figure, as it has already emerged in other recent research. It is also consistent with the observation of the society, the territory, and the cultural events that take place there, the participation to the latter.

This seems to be the most obvious sign, but not the only one, of a turning point and a profound change in the very meaning of speaking in Friulian (and of the Friulian culture in general) which opens the doors to the future with very different prospects compared to past predictions. The roots of this "cultural rebound" in our opinion can be summarized in these points:

1. the world has changed in its cultural assets in the last two decades with the rampant development of digital technology, and this has contributed, along with other more specific aspects (such as the protection of language, the creation of public use opportunities, etc. .) to eliminate the main "stigma" related to Friulian and minority languages;
2. The introduction of teaching Friulian in schools helped popularize a process of "elevation of status" of the language, particularly among younger people, who do not realize there is a "before" and "after" with respect to these changes but they are faced with only the experience of the "after";
3. cultural changes have redefined a context of values in which what is different or a "minority" is not necessarily disregarded, but considered special and "anchoring" compared to a social horizon that is increasingly extending (the phenomena of the so-called "globalization");
4. in general, society has shed its "ideology-drive", at least in part, and in this context also a language or languages are not heavily charged with ethical, value or political meanings, but simply used ("a code is as good as any", for better or for worse),
5. these young people are actually still very used to hearing Friulian being spoken, in their territory, or in many cases simply by their grandfathers, who, due to the longer life expectancies are still around in large numbers, as well as quite numerous and particularly Friulian speaking.

Friulian, as all languages and cultural phenomena, can only live inserted in the the world. Therefore, faced with a changing world, Friulian inevitably changes too. Understanding how it changes is the goal of new future research, and an even more in-depth analysis of data collected through this research. As for predicting the future, however, this is not possible. That is because the future is not determined by current facts: it depends on the behavior of people and the way they interpret, and manage, the new cultural context. Perhaps never before has the future of Friulian been in the hands of its people.

Part I - Identikit of speakers

In order to highlight the unique characteristics of the Friulian speakers, using the wealth of all the data available and not just one of the selections made for composing the various samples in which this research is articulated, we isolated from the total sample of interviews all those who have declared to speak Friulian, on a regular or occasional basis. The three provincial samples and the "Friuli" sample set up in the exact same way as the 1998 research sample in order to allow an accurate comparison of the dynamics of language over time.

The data for this sample of speakers (which we will call, to be precise, “the speakers") are the most consistent and solid data to allow the description of the universe of people who actively use Friulian, in terms of language use, motivations, opinions, media consumption, and so on. It also allows the comparison between the universe of the speakers and that of the "non speakers" (the remaining part of the total sample, or the people who stated that they do not make active use of Friulian) to highlight "structural" differences in their opinions and/or habits that can be attributed or related to the active use of the language in some way.

1. Age ranges and correlation with the active use of Friulian

The average age in the context of the "speakers" is 53 years. It is five years older than what was found in the context of the "non speakers" (where the average is 48 years), and this difference, more than the average age itself taken as an absolute number (rather close to the overall average of respondents reached by our research, and also close to the average of the total population) emphasizes and reiterates a structural feature of Friulian in recent decades: the fact that it is being spoken by a greater percentage of the population in the more elderly groups.

The correlation between increasing age and average increase in the use of Friulian is on the other hand known, and has been consistently found in research carried out over the years.

Despite the fact that direct correlation is clear at the level of total data, our research also shows a new and extremely interesting phenomenon for future growth: the fact that the youngest generation in absolute terms (those born after 1985) speak Friulian more actively compared to their peers in their thirties and forties who are closest age-wise.

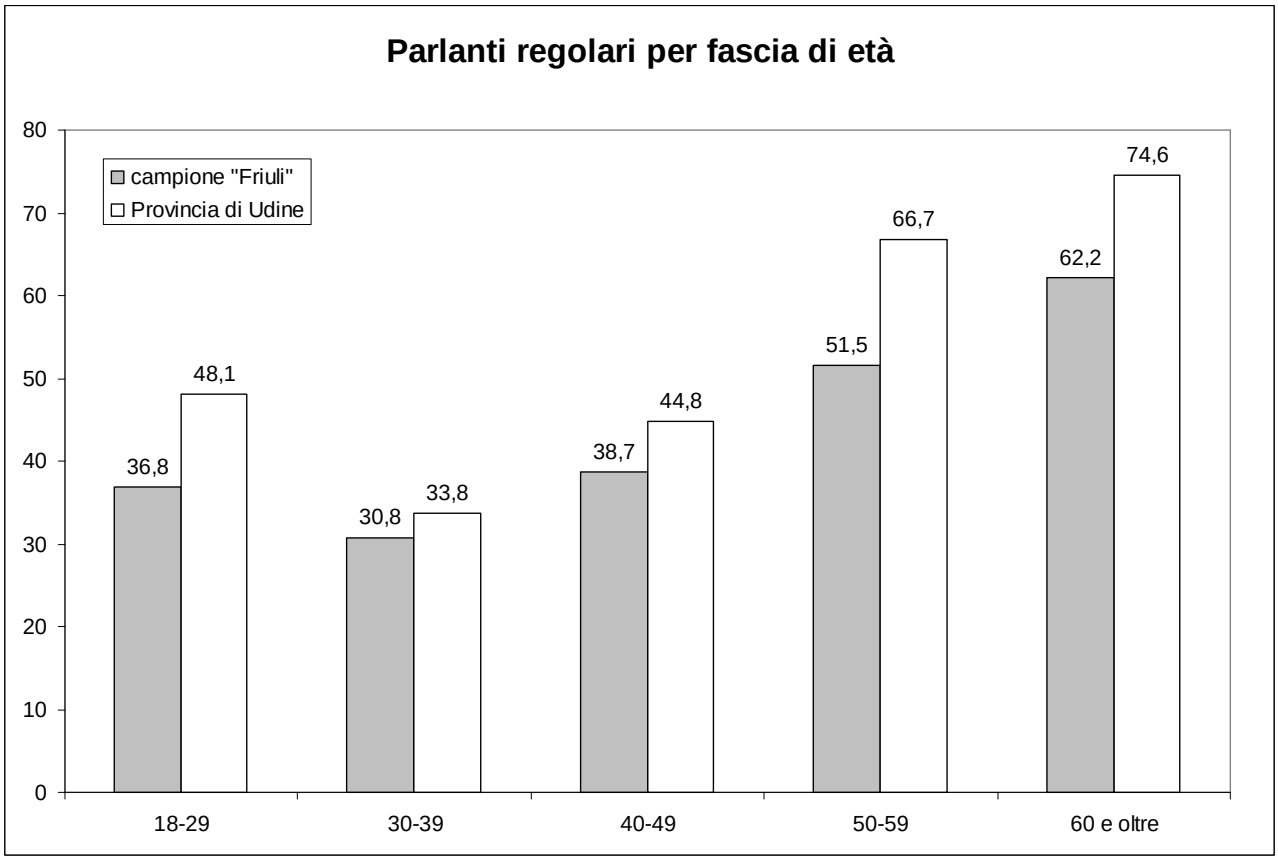
The "bounce" in the data, which indicates that younger age groups have gained some percentages in the regular use of Friulian, compared to who is immediately "less young" than them. This is shown clearly in the two most Friulian-speaking samples of our research, i.e. data related to the sample "Friuli" (which contains the most accurate estimate of the dynamics over time of the language) and even more explicitly so in the data for the province of Udine.

The "Friuli" Sample - Rates of use of the Friulian by age

	I speak regularly	I speak occasionally	I understand I do not speak	I do not understand
18-29	36.8	18.4	31.6	13.2
30-39	30.8	25.6	35.9	7.7
40-49	38.7	25.5	29.2	6.6
50-59	51.5	19.2	24.2	5.1
60 and over	62.2	14.1	19.9	3.8

The "Province of Udine" Sample - Rates of use of Friulian by age

	I speak regularly	I speak occasionally	I understand I do not speak	I do not understand
18-29	48.1	29.6	18.5	3.7
30-39	33.8	27.7	32.3	6.2
40-49	44.8	26.0	25.0	4.2
50-59	66.7	14.4	16.7	2.2
60 and over	74.6	12.3	11.5	1.5



For a discussion of this topic and for a more complete analysis of the generational trends of the Friulian language, see the report on the "Friuli" sample, the most accurate report in assessing the temporal changes of the Friulian linguistic phenomenon, in particular the parts "use of language and age" and "the language over time".

2. Level of education and active use of Friulian

In addition, the correlation with the level of education is similar to that discussed in previous research. Just by watching the overall figures, there is an inverse relationship: the increase in the level of education corresponds to a decrease in the active use rate of Friulian, and vice versa.

This trend is clear by comparing directly the level of education to the context of non-speakers. The percentages for secondary school graduates and university degrees are significantly lower in the context of speakers compared to that of non-speakers (6% less when it comes to secondary school, 8.3% less for the university). Conversely, the remaining school qualifications see higher percentages, mostly the primary school one, which has a percentage difference among the samples of more than 8.6% signaling thus the same characteristic already noted in the previous section: the close relationship of the variable "use of the Friulian" with the variable "age". It is almost too easy to acknowledge in the majority of these people who claim the primary school level an elderly portion of the population, who grew up at a time when compulsory education age had not yet been raised, and the number of people who continued their studies was small.

Level of Education - Speakers vs Non-speakers

	Speakers	*Non speakers*	*DIFF*
Primary school	15.6	7.0	*8.6*
Lower secondary school	24.2	21.3	*2.9*
Professional qualification	13.7	11.0	*2.7*
Upper secondary school	31.4	37.4	*-6*
University	15.0	23.3	*-8.3*

On the other hand, the "historic" link between the use of Friulian and comparatively lower levels of education is clear when the data related to the qualifications of the interviewee's mother and father, respectively, are seen.
Of course, it is not automatic that those who claim to be "speakers" in our survey must necessarily have parents who speak among themselves or with others, in Friulian. Nevertheless, from the observation of our data, this correlation is actually very high. Not many, as a percentage, speak Friulian today outside of a context in which Friulian was their family language. In this regard, see the table below, which compares speakers vs. non-speakers with respect to the variable "language spoken by the parents of the respondents amongst themselves".

Languages spoken by the parents of the respondents amongst themselves

	Speakers	*Non speakers*
Friulian	67.3	8.2
Both	13.0	2.3
Italian	10.4	44.4
Other languages	9.3	45.1

As it can be noticed, only about 10% of "non-speakers" had parents who were talking to each other in Friulian (that is another indirect estimate of the level of intergenerational loss of Friulian). Conversely, over 80% of the speakers had parents who spoke Friulian to each other. Therefore, as we found that the vast majority of the parents of our respondents who speak Friulian are (or were) speakers in the language, we go now on to observing the difference detected at the level of education between the parents of the speakers and non-speakers.

Father of the respondent

	Speakers	*Non speakers*	*DIFF*
Primary school	59.3	40.3	*19*
Lower secondary school	19.0	25.1	*-6.1*
Professional qualification	10.9	12.1	*-1.2*
Upper secondary school	10.0	15.9	*-5.9*
University	.9	6.7	*-5.8*

Mother of the respondent

	Speakers	*Non speakers*	*DIFF*
Primary school	67.6	46.2	*21.4*
Lower secondary school	20.0	28.2	*-8.2*
Professional qualification	5.0	6.2	*-1.2*
Upper secondary school	6.8	17.4	*-10.6*
University	.7	2.1	*-1.4*

As you see, at a "historic" level (that is, in a past that now is moving further away in time) the parents of the speakers have education level clearly lower than non-speakers, to an even larger extent than what was found at the level of the respondents themselves.

The average higher level of education in non-speakers compared to speakers, in fact, at the level of respondents is evident only in the university degrees and upper secondary school diplomas, while at the parental level is constant at every level of education, except of course for the lower level, a primary school certificate.

However, the fact that the difference in level of education was more marked at the level of the parents of the people surveyed, while it decreases the level of the respondents themselves, suggests that the passing of time is changing this aspect of the data.

The figure for the level of education, indeed, is definitely "polluted" by the effects of the age variable. As we saw earlier, there is in the overall data a correlation between the use of Friulian and a higher age on average. Since historically the average level of education has risen over time, it is clear that the sample of "speakers", who is on average older than the sample of "non-speakers", reflects this age difference at the level of education reached too.

In order to separate easily the figure for the level of education from the effects of the variable "age", we have divided the variable "level of education" according to the different age groups of the respondents, in order to highlight how the correlation "level of education/use of Friulian" changes when it is divided according to dynamics over time.

Speakers - Level of education and age groups

	Primary school	Lower secondary school	Professional qualifications	Upper secondary school	University
18-29	.0	7.1	3.6	57.1	32.1
30-39	.0	2.9	14.7	47.1	35.3
40-49	2.7	29.1	15.5	34.5	18.2
50-59	5.1	36.5	13.9	36.5	8.0
60 and over	41.7	22.6	13.1	14.9	7.7

Non-Speakers - Level of education and age groups

	Primary school	Lower secondary school	Professional qualifications	Upper secondary school	University
18-29	.0	8.7	10.9	45.7	34.8
30-39	1.5	7.6	12.1	39.4	39.4
40-49	1.9	17.6	8.3	46.3	25.9
50-59	1.1	29.2	15.7	36.0	18.0
60 and over	25.5	32.7	10.2	20.4	11.2

It is enough to scroll through the data contained in the previous tables to see how the inverse correlation between the level of education and the use of Friulian is loud and clear when it is focused on the higher age brackets, while it tends to shrink, almost to disappear, when we focus on the younger age groups.

To highlight how the time factor changes the correlation level of education/use of Friulian we shall focus, for convenience and clarity, only the university degree.

Speakers vs non-speakers - University

		Speakers	Non-speakers	DIFF
18-29		32.1	34.8	-2.7
30-39		35.3	39.4	-4.1
40-49		18.2	25.9	-7.7
50-59		8.0	18.0	-10.0
60 and over		7.7	11.2	-3.5

The difference between the age groups, which compared to having a university degree always sees the speakers characterized by a score lower than non-speakers, decreases by about 3 percentage points as the youngest age groups are considered (except the figure for the over 60s, but it has extremely small numbers in an absolute sense).

There is a difference of 10 percentage points in the university degree among speakers and non-speakers in their fifties, which drops to 7.7% in their forties, 4.1% in their thirties, and finally is reduced to 2.7% of difference in the youngest group.

We find in this analysis one of the most sought-after elements of the research: the flattening of the differences between speakers and non-speakers regarding some contextual variables, such as the level of education considered here.

Certainly, an inverse correlation between the use of Friulian and level of education existed in the past, a relation that still can be noticed from the observation of our overall data, as a significant part of the data concerns a part of the population with a high average age. However, it begins to be less and less noticeable the closer you get to today.

3. Gender differences

The comparison between speakers vs. non-speakers showed a slight predominance of males in declaring themselves to be speakers, however, the prevalence was found in all previous research, and typically similar to the data collected in research on minority languages in general.

Speakers vs non-speakers - Gender of the respondent

	Speakers	Non-speakers
Male	55.0	52.5
Female	45.0	47.5

Even here, however, we believe that this aspect of gender in the use of language (the use of Friulian is greater among males) is subject to a dynamic over time that is changing. What was true in a more or less distant past, it becomes less noticeable and it disappears when getting closer to the present day.

The table below shows the data relating to gender regarding only the speakers divided by age group:

Speakers vs non-speakers - University

	Speakers	Non-speakers	DIFF
18-29	32.1	34.8	-2.7
30-39	35.3	39.4	-4.1
40-49	18.2	25.9	-7.7
50-59	8.0	18.0	-10.0
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That was certainly true in the past, i.e. an inverse correlation between the use of Friulian and the level of education, a relation that still can be pointed out from the observation of our overall data as a significant part of the data concerns a part of the population with a high average age, however it begins to be less and less noticeable the closer you get to today.

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	Speakers	Non-speakers
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Women	45.0	47.5

Even here, however, we believe that this aspect of gender in the use of language (the use of Friulian is greater among men) is subject to a dynamic over time that is changing. What was true in a more or less distant past, becomes less noticeable and disappears when getting closer to the present day.

The table below shows the data relating to gender of the speakers only divided by age group:

Speakers by age group and gender

	Men	Women
18-29	50.0	50.0
30-39	43.7	56.3
40-49	52.3	47.7
50-59	59.0	41.0
60 and over	59.3	40.7

One can easily see that the gender difference in the speakers is very strong in the higher age brackets, while it tends to be the opposite or disappear in correspondence to the younger age groups.

An indirect confirmation of this trend of decline, over time, of the gender difference among speakers and non-speakers, comes from the data of the report "Friuli" (or "old sample"). In that occasion it was noted that, with respect to the research in 1998, in 2014 the percentage of women who have decided to conduct the interview in Friulian (and not in Italian) has grown by 25 percentage points, up to basically reaching the same percentages as the men sub-sample.

4. Profession

The comparison between speakers and non-speakers at the level of profession or activity carried out by respondents shows very small differences in percentages.

Since the differences found in the data are not particularly significant in statistical terms, we will simply show in an ordered table the main data.

In the left column there are the professions/activities that have a slight statistical prevalence among speakers. In the right column professions/activities that prevail among the non-speakers.

Prevailing professions: speakers vs. non-speakers

Speakers	**Non-speakers**
Entrepreneur	Manager
Merchant	Self-employed professional
Craftsman	Teacher
Worker	Office worker
Pensioner	Stay-at-home
	Student
	Unemployed

The differences found at the level of the type of employment contract declared by the respondents (permanent/fixed term, term employment contract and the like etc.) do not differ significantly making it possible to draw a clear prevalence in the context of the speakers vs. that of non-speakers, except for the data relating to self-employment. The latter prevails, in the data for speakers, by five percentage points compared to similar data obtained among non-speakers.

Thus, an identikit of speakers is outlined, with the prevalence of typical “non-intellectual” professions/activities (entrepreneur, merchant, craftsman, worker), there is a tendency towards self-employment, and a tendency of speakers to be more "actively working" (Stay-at-home people, students and the unemployed have the highest percentage among non-speakers).
On the contrary, in the typical intellectual professions/activities (teacher, employee, student) or in those professional and managerial ones, speakers express lower percentages than non-speakers.

Even this, however, is at least partially a more "historical" than current view. Indeed, if we isolate only the speakers/non-speakers who are less than fifty (so as to separate at least in part from the data the effects of the "age" variable) the link "speakers /non intellectual work" becomes less noticeable:

Prevailing professions: speakers vs. non-speakers under 50 years

Speakers	**Non-speakers**
Entrepreneur	Entrepreneur
Self-employed professional	Manager
Office worker	Teacher
Merchant	Stay-at-home
Craftsman	Student
Worker	
Unemployed	

Compared to the previous table, the pensioners are no longer included in the data set because we have not interviewed anyone under fifty years of age that might be retired, while the "entrepreneur" profession is provided in both columns because it shows identical percentages for speakers and non-speakers.

The self-employed and the employees, who were more frequent among non-speakers in the full sample and that we had briefly considered as intellectual professions, have moved in the left column. The condition of being unemployed follows the same dynamic.

5. "Settlement" and use of language

The active use of the Friulian language is highly correlated with the "stay" of the respondent in the region.

The strength of this relationship emerges from the answer to the question: "How many years have you been living in Friuli?" divided and compared between speakers and non-speakers.

Isolating two types of responses within the range of data collected (ie, the answer "always" and the percentage of people who claim to reside in Friuli "for 50 years or less") you can clearly see how:

- the percentage of speakers (regular or occasional) reporting to have "always" lived in Friuli is very high: 88.2%;
- among the those very speakers, the percentage of people who say they have lived in Friuli for "50 years or less" (ie people who, albeit in a fairly wide span of time, are not from the territory but came to live in Friuli from other areas) are only 8.7%. By isolating the data of who is a speaker, but is resident in Friuli for less than 30 years, one finds that only 2.9% of the speakers fall into this double category;
- These percentages change drastically isolating non-speakers (defined as the sum of those who understand but do not actively speak the language and who does not understand it at all). Among the non-speakers those who have "always" lived in Friuli are 59.6%, and the percentage of non-speakers who have come to live in Friuli "50 years ago or less" rises to 37.5%

Reside in Friuli:	*Always*	*50 years or less*
Speakers	88.2	8.7
Non speakers	59.6	37.5

The direct relationship between the variable "residence" and the use of language emerges even more clearly when data is divided in all four dimensions that our research considered concerning the use of Friulian: regular speakers/occasional speakers/only understands/does not understand.

Reside in Friuli:	*Always*	*50 years or less*
Regular speakers	92.3	5.7
Occasional speakers	79.1	15.3
I understand I do not speak	63.9	32.1
I do not understand	46.5	53.5

As you can see, the percentages of people who have "always" been a resident decrease by about 13 percentage points in each category in "linguistic scale", with up to 17 percentage points decrease in the transition between "I only understand" and "I do not understand."
Conversely, the percentage of those who came to live from another area has greatly increased in recent decades.

Particularly interesting is the detail on the data about people who claim not to understand Friulian. Here, compared with 46.5% of people who have "always" been a resident in Friuli, almost all of the remainder of the sub-sample is made up of people who came to live in Friuli "from outside" no more than thirty years ago.

In this series of data, the influx of people who came to reside in Friuli from other parts of Italy and the world, and their impact on linguistic variables, which is one of the important factors to consider when building scenarios concerning the future of the language, is highlighted.

If, instead of focusing on respondents who say they do not understand Friulian because they came to live in Friuli from other areas, we focus on that 46.5% of people who say they do not understand Friulian but they have "always" lived in Friuli, there was a small sample of 47 cases we might call the" totally reluctant" ones. This label is meant to highlight their attitude in declaring they do not understand the Friulian language although they have always had around, at least as a" neighboring" language.

6. The reluctant group

The "totally reluctant" respondents have an average age of 48 and virtually all of them reside either in the province of Pordenone (40.4%) or Gorizia (46.8%).

They come from a family situation in which Friulian was hardly ever spoken; 38.3% of their parents spoke Italian to each other, 55.3% other languages other than Friulian or Italian. Currently, 66% speak with their parents in other languages.

Their dearest languages or dialects are: Slovenian, the dialect of Bisiacaria, Gorizia, Pordenone, Rijeka, Trieste, Veneto, and Puglia.

At identity level they report feeling "Italian" (34%), "citizens of Friuli Venezia Giulia" (27.7%), "European" (19.1%). There were no respondents claiming to feel "citizens of Friuli" among the "totally reluctant" ones.

They oppose the favors towards the use of Friulian in these terms:

- declare that in their village/city Friulian is spoken little or not at all;
- they do not like to hear Friulian in a store, and even less so in an office;
- do not consider "friendly" a person speaking in Friulian, nor grant other "positive" features to the use of language or those who use it;
- have favorable opinions as to multilingualism when it is introduced in general form, much less when the opinion on multilingualism mentions the Italian/Friulano multilingualism directly, and not at all favourable when multilingualism is put forward as an advantage that Friulian might bring to those who speak it (in the form for example, as a greater language skill for children).

They reject the idea that Friulian is spoken by low-educated people, however, consider it suitable only for a friendly/family use, and regard Italian as more prestigious.

Their opposition to Friulian is not total and direct: they also believe that it should be protected "because all peoples have that right," or that two Friulian parents should speak the language to their children. But when the protection is presented actively in favor of Friulian (the presence of the language in schools, for example) their support drops significantly.

To sum up, this snapshot of those whom we have called "totally reluctant" describes a minority of the population that, although claims to "have always lived in Friuli", also say they do not understand Friulian because it comes from Italian speaking families or from families who spoke "other" languages than Italian and Friulian, and among these languages/dialects the Slovenian language, the Trieste, Rijeka and the Venetian dialects are especially mentioned.

Thus they have a clear cultural background, which is also explicit in their distance/estrangement from the Friulian language community, they either (i) do not actually understand the language, or (ii) declare that they do not understand the language. Their answers to the overall questionnaire in fact show some features of "ideological" spurning of Friulian, a "soft and direct" opposition that perhaps leads them to claim they do not understand Friulian as a statement of identity rather than as fact.

This sample, a minority, is one of the few points on which, in our research, elements of 'refusal' towards the use of Friulian emerge. Obviously, the fact that they come from families characterized as belonging to Venezia Giulia (including Istria), the Veneto, or completely Italian speaking families is one of the characteristics that may correlate with this type of refusal.

But it would be unfair to conclude that the greatest rejection rates of Friulian are highlighted for the respondents who have the characteristics described above. This is because, in the total sample of our research, we find several other people who, when mentioning the family, cultural and territorial background completely overlap the "totally reluctant" ones described above. Nevertheless, unlike the "totally reluctant" ones, they understand Friulian, a small part also speaks it, and no rejection or prejudice of any type can be detected in any of their answers.

7. The language over time

The intergenerational transfer of language is one of the most important issues of this research, and it is analysed thoroughly in the report regarding the "Friuli sample" (or the "old sample"). In the latter, it was possible to compare the dynamics of intra-family language transfer over a period spanning several decades, thanks to the direct comparability of the "Friuli sample" with previous research in 1998 and 1977. For further details on this issue, therefore, see "Language over time" in the report related to the "Friuli" sample.

Here, we isolate the current data (2014) describing the dynamics of generational language transfer by focusing only on the total sample of speakers.

	Only speakers				
When you were a child:	Friulian	Both	*Friulian + Both*	Italian	Other languages
Your parents were **talking to each other** in	67.2	13.2	*80.4*	10.5	9.0
Your father spoke **with you** in	64.6	8.4	*73*	18.0	9.0
Your mother spoke **with you** in	62.4	9.3	*71.7*	19.6	8.7
You spoke with your siblings in	58.2	12.1	*70.3*	22.1	7.6
You spoke with your play mates in	49.1	24.2	*73.3*	18.8	7.9

Notably, with reference to the past, the fact of speaking in Friulian is closely related to the language habits of the respondent's family of origin.

80.4% of the speakers' parents speak to each other in Friulian (or "both", meaning by this term Friulian and Italian). Only 10.5% of the parents of the "speakers" spoke Italian to each other, and 9% of them spoke "other languages" instead.

This finding, which appears quite obvious, however, can also be read from the opposite point of view. Indeed, we can estimate that, as a result, about 20% of today's speakers have learned to speak Friulian differently from the linguistic habits of their parents (who spoke Italian or other languages in the family). This does not seem to be a trivial percentage, since the fact that one in five current speakers is a "new speaker" (compared to the habits of their family of origin) goes to undermine the stereotype that a local language is only learnt directly, in the family.

This figure, as mentioned quite high, emerges certainly also because our sample of speakers includes both those who said they were "a regular speaker" and those who said they were "an occasional speaker." Easyly enough, among the 20% of "new speakers" there might be several occasional speakers.

We then isolated only the regular speakers' sample, and it showed that the languages spoken in their families of origin were, in addition to Friulian, Italian 4.2%, and "other languages" 3.6%. Hence, with reference to regular speakers only, the percentage of "new speakers" is 7.8%.

We go back to analyzing the data of the total sample of the speakers. The following table contains a summary of the data for the languages spoken in the families of the respondents with reference not to the past but to the present.

	Only speakers				
Currently in your family:	Friulian	Both	*Friulian + Both*	Italian	Other languages
You speak with your parents in	56.2	16.0	*72.2*	21.3	6.5
You speak with your wife/husband/partner in	37.9	16.9	*54.8*	39.6	5.6
You speak with your children in	28.2	27.7	*55.9*	41.1	3.0
You speak with your siblings in	57.5	14.5	*72*	21.1	6.8

You speak with most of your close relatives in	58.9	19.7	*78.6*	17.4	4.1
Your wife/husband speaks with the children in	28.6	16.2	*44.8*	52.3	2.9
Your children speak to each other in	21.2	16.3	*37.5*	59.2	3.3

37.9% of speakers use Friulian with a partner in their current family; adding "both" (Italian and Friulian together) this percentage rises to 54.8%. So about half of the current speakers speak Friulian, or Friulian too, with their partner.

28.2% of respondents speak in Friulian to their children. It is a percentage ranging between a quarter and a third of the speakers: We can therefore estimate that, at present, a little more than a speaker out of four uses the Friulian language with their children. This percentage, taking into account the answers "both", increases up to 55.9%.

The percentage of answers "both languages", in this specific case regarding the language spoken with children, must be analyzed with great caution: it is impossible to accurately estimate if it corresponds to an actual multilingualism (ie an equal level in the use of Italian and Friulian) and how much it describes an "escape route", that is, a situation in which the language actually used is Italian, next to some expressions or brief moments of using Friulian.

A partial attempt to estimate can be carried out by comparing the responses to the question "you speak with your children" and "your wife/husband speaks with her children." The clear cut answers "Friulan" provided by speakers to these two questions essentially show the same percentage (28.2% versus 28.6%) while the answer "both" varies considerably, and is almost double in the case of self-certification of the interviewee compared the estimation that they provide for the behavior of the partner (27.7% versus 16.2%). Since it is likely that the "escape routes" are sought in particular to "justify" themselves (in this case, to justify themselves in front of the interviewer when stating that they have in fact "lost" the language by not speaking it, if not occasionally, with the children) more than to estimate the behavior of others, it seems plausible to think that at least 11.5 percentage points difference between the two figures is explained in this way.

Finally, 21.2% of the children of speakers speak Friulian with each other (i.e. about one in five), to which 16.3% speaking "both languages" is added coming to an overall figure of 37.5%.

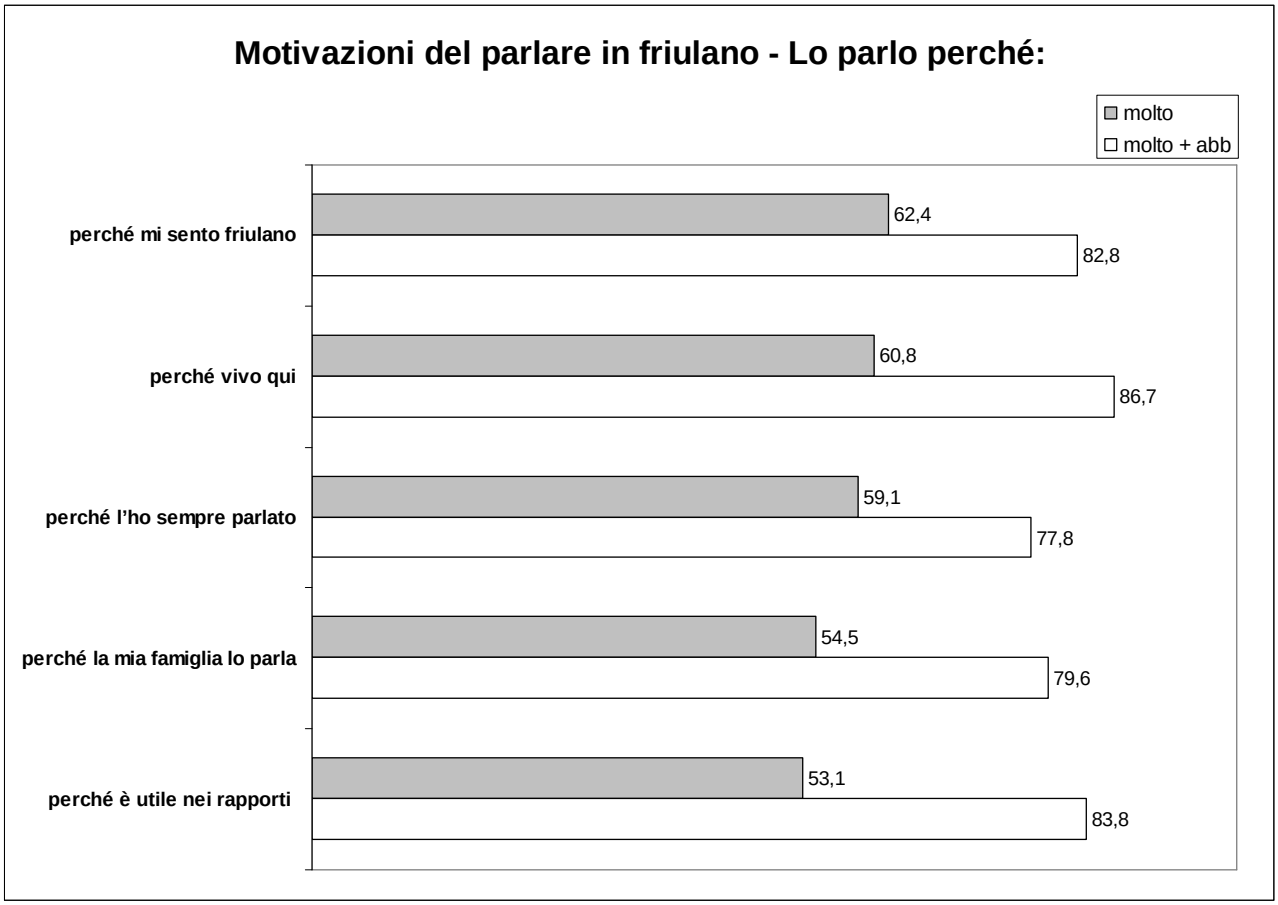
8. Motivations for speaking in Friulian

The main reason why Friulian is spoken is linked to the identity dimension, or the self-perception of one's own identity: "I speak because I feel Friulian" is a statement with which 62.4% of the speakers agree (the "very" response).

Immediately after, there is the territorial dimension (“I speak because I live here", 60.8% answer "very") and the one linked to the habitual, normal use of the language (“I speak because I have always spoke it", 59.1% reply "very").

Clearly behind regarding the percentage level are the two options related to the language spoken in the family (“I speak because my family speaks it", 54.5%) and the utility dimension of the language at the level of contacts and human relationships (“I speak because it is useful with my contacts", 53.1% of "very").

This latter dimension that of "usefulness" of language, deserves a separate discussion. On one hand it is true that, if we focus only on "very" response, is the affirmation with which speakers claim to agree the least. On the other, however, this is the size that has most increased over time (in this regard see the report on the "Friuli" sample) and, if one includes the "somewhat" responses, the degree of overall agreement of the sample of speakers with this specific statement is second only to the size of "living here".



Open-ended answers "Other: I speak it because" (speakers only)

a je la nestre identitat e facilite il tabaja cule int ancje sul lavor
I speak it sometimes, but not often, not the Friulian you mean
abituat fin di piciul
ai parints furlans
al è la me identitat, e mi covente ancje par lavor
al è tas nestres radis
al è une lenghe
al è util
at work
al mi ven plui facil che no il sloven
al pâr bon cusì
support or facilitate the conversation
ch' al è just pa tradizion
when I was young the language was Friulian
as a child I was made fun of and I wanted to take revenge by learning Friulian as an adult
I have learnt it since 1979, after I moved here
it is right to integrate with the language of the place you live in
it is important to maintain the local language
it is my language
it is my language

it is an added value to be Friulian (pride)
I took a liking to this language
fa sintì che atre int a so agio
I married a Friulian woman and have come to live here
in certes situazions il furlan al rint mior certes espresions
je la me lenghe dal cor
I learned it during my military training
I learned it by speaking
là che nol ere mi mancjave
lavôr
my roots lead me to use Friulian/the Carnia dialect
My friends speak it
I speak it when I'm abroad for business or pleasure so that I am not understood by others
lu ai tacat a fevela zuiant a palavolo
lu sai
mi adati ancje a ciertis circostan
mi è plui facil cun certis personis
I like and love this land
I like to speak it with the elderly in the village
mi plas
mi plas come lenghe
mi plas il furlan
mi plas une vore
mi plas, biele lenghe
I'm in an environment where they speak Friulian but I prefer Italian
mi ven istintif
ogni tant mi plas fevela furlan
par abitudine
par esigjencis lavorativis
par mantignì la lenga
par no pierdi le lenghe (al sares un pecjat)
par tabaia cui furlans
par tradizion
parce che al fas part dal bagaglio cultural di ognun
parce che certs concerts in furlan si capissin mior
parce che chei atis lu fevelin cun
I find great difficulty speaking Italian as was an immigrant, my languages are *french* and *friulian*
it is the "custom" and habit with friends and colleagues at work
for "convenience", because it is the language of the place where I live
to meet other people's needs if necessary but never start I
for certain customers is good for business
for cultural integration
for work (I am in contact with the elderly and with some Friuilian speaking colleagues)

for me it is natural
because it is natural
because I like it and I've learned as an adult
because it comes naturally to me
when I get angry
if they speak to me in f. I reply in f. to be polite
if they speak in Friulian I answer in Friulian
I feel I live in a border area where there are three languages
si ai di comunica cun furlans
they talk to me in Friulian
I wanted to understand my wife and know the local language

(The expressions in this table have been reported exactly as coded (1) by the interviewer, then (2) summarized in the process of data entry. No attention was paid to correct spelling or grammar, etc., so as to allow a "flow" of the data in way as close as possible to what was stated by the respondents)

9. Writing in Friulian

The Friulian language is confirmed as being more of a spoken language than a written one.

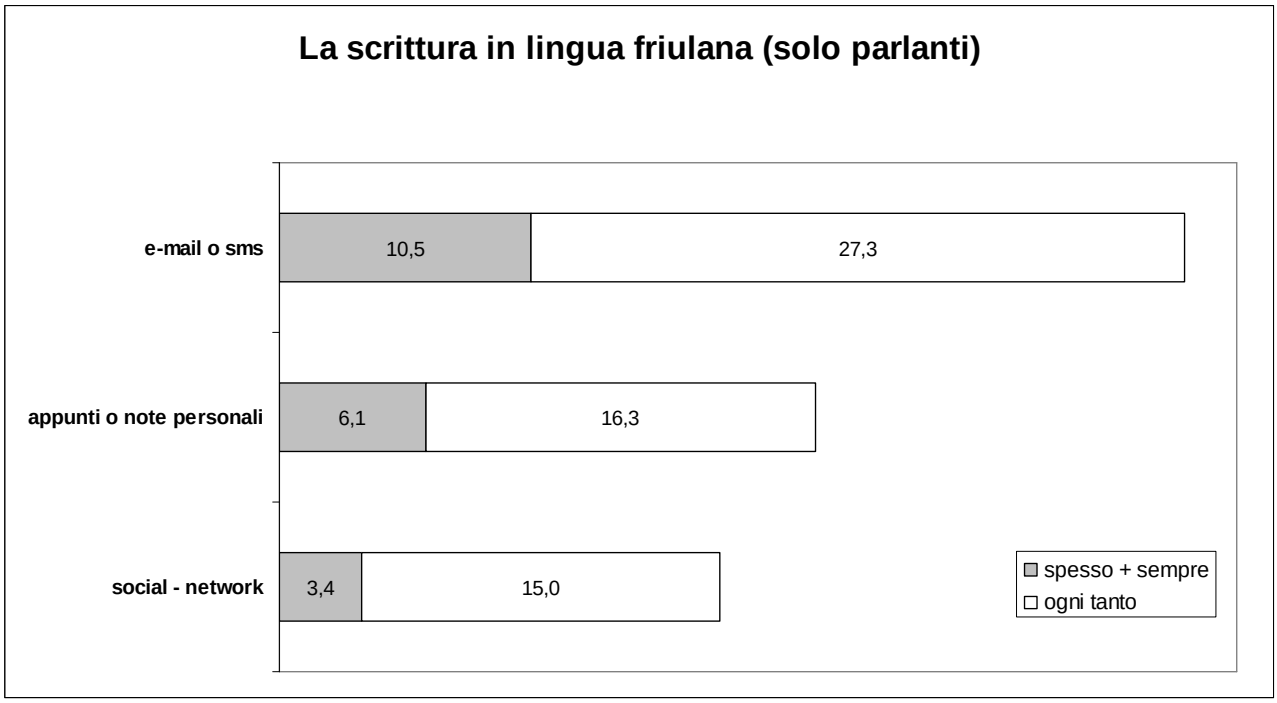
By isolating the data for the speakers, the habit of writing in Friulian is distinctly in the minority even considering, together with the answers "often" and "always", the rather weak dimension of the response "occasionally."

Writing emails and text messages in this language is the form of writing that is most in use: 37.8% of speakers use the Friulian language to communicate in this way, but to achieve this rate, 27.3% of the "sometimes" answers must also be added. Otherwise, those who answers "often" or "always" amount to 10.5% of the sub-sample.

The same dynamics are recorded for "private" writing, to take notes or personal notes. 6.1% of the speakers say they do it, which is added to 16.3% responses for "occasionally", which brings the total to 22.4%. In the report devoted to the dynamics of the language over time, this dimension had appeared substantially stable compared to the past, with a slight growth of data today compared to 1998 (see the related report to the "Friuli" sample).

Writing on social networks is the weakest of all: only 3.4% of the speakers say they use Friulian in this context, which is added to a 15% response for "occasionally" with a total of 18.4%.

Writing in Friulian:	often + always	sometimes	total
e-mail or sms	10.5	27.3	37.8
notes or personal notes	6.1	16.3	22.4
social - networks	3.4	15	18.4



All three dimensions are rather strongly influenced by the age variable, and tend to grow in the younger age groups. As for writing email/sms and on social networks this dynamic was expected due to the very nature of these forms of writing (to which, inevitably, in this moment in history, young people are more vulnerable) the same can not be said of the note taking aspect, which logically should be a practice crossing all age groups.

Writing in Friulian and age groups

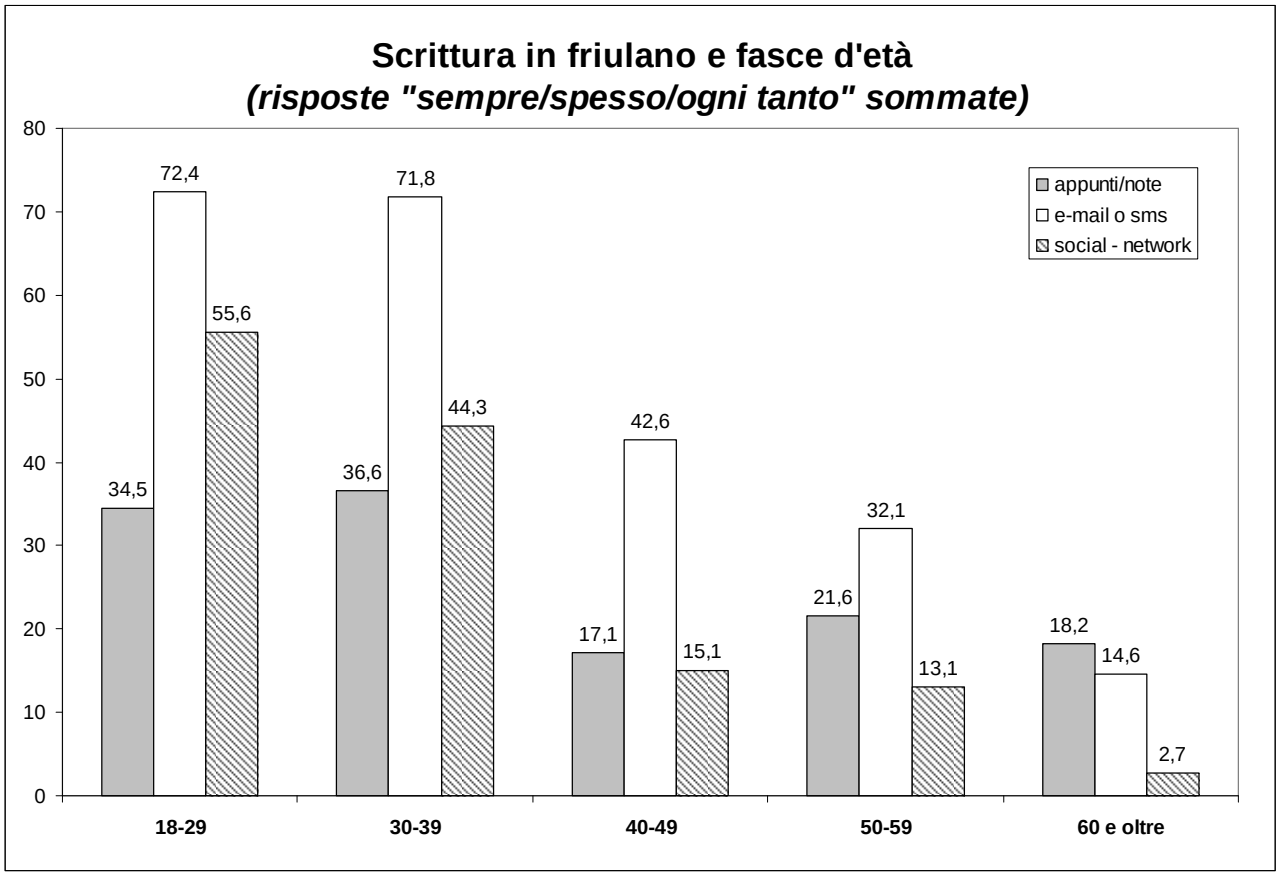
	notes /comments		**e-mail or sms**		**social - networks**	
age group	*Often/ always*	*+ occasio nally*	*Often/ always*	*+ occasio nally*	*Often/ always*	*+ occasio nally*
18-29	6.9	34.5	17.2	72.4	11.1	55.6
30-39	5.6	36.6	26.8	71.8	8.2	44.3
40-49	4.5	17.1	8.3	42.6	4.3	15.1
50-59	8.6	21.6	9.0	32.1	1.0	13.1
60 and over	4.5	18.2	3.6	14.6	.0	2.7

The writing dimension, note taking and personal notes increases from 18.2% in the older age group to about 35% in the two younger age groups (speakers who are younger than 40). The most important part in this trend (increasing with decreasing age) is carried out by dimension "occasionally" (rising from 13.6% in the older age group to about 30% in the younger age groups).

The dynamic between generations in writing using email/sms is clearer and more consistent, because it is detectable even without taking into account the response "occasionally': (from 3.6% for the older age group to about 20% for the lower groups under 40) or social networks (zero percent in the sixty-year old age group to 11.1% for the under thirty year olds).

The main leap in the data occurs in all three dimensions of writing when transitioning between the forty-year olds and the thirty year olds. Those who are younger than 40 year write in Friulian more than their predecessors. This becomes clear in the email/sms and social networks dimension, and it was a given due to different digital media habits according to age, while it is a more nuanced concept when we focus on writing in the private life, when taking notes for personal use.

The question on the matter is: do "young people" actually write more in Friulian, or they claim to do so, because they overestimate its use? An indicator for this interpretation could be the very strong increase of semantically weak responses "occasionally", which for example in the case of mail/sms brings the writing rate to exceed 70% in the two younger age groups, compared with about 20% of "often" and "always" answers.



The relationship between the different ways of writing and the level of education follows, quite closely, the dynamics already detected at the level of age groups, which has to be expected since there is a close relationship between the age of the respondents and their average level of education (which increases with decreasing age). Accordingly, the percentage of those who write email/sms or post on social networks in Friulian increases quite clearly at the same level with an increasing level of education. Same dynamics, but with smaller differences in percentages also as regards the habit of note-taking or personal notes in the language.

The questionnaire also proposed an open question, for who claimed to write at least a few times in Friulian on the "spelling" used. For all the open responses from the sample, see the appendices.

Trying to sum up the register of the responses obtained through content analysis, the following "typical" answers were identified: "as I speak it", "in the correct spelling," "in my local variant" and "in the Italian manner." All the answers stating "I do not know", or that are in some way either meaningless or out of context (for example, the answer "in capital letters" or "italics") were merged into the "I do not know" section.

More than 50% of the answers are in the "I write it as I speak" section. These are flanked by a 10% of responses that emphasize they "write a local variant" of Friulian: those who express themselves in this way reproduce at least partially the same meaning of "as I speak", but with a sense that somehow seems more aware of the overall linguistic context. 7% of the responses point to the fact they write in Friulian in an "Italian" way (ie, "by translating the sounds" of the spoken Friulian according to Italian spelling conventions). Only 16% of the responses are aware and use a spelling defined as "correct" or "official".

10. Media exposure

Turning to media exposure with content in Friulian, the practice of watching or listening to radio/tv broadcasts in Friulian involves, "often" and "always", 13.6% of the speakers. Considering the very high percentage of respondents who do so "occasionally" (over 50%) we reach a total of 67.5% of speakers who declare to have contact with programs of this kind to some extent. In the report of the sample "Friuli" pretty strong dynamics over time for this figure is highlighted, which has increased by about 20 percentage points compared to 1998 (see the report on the "Friuli sample").

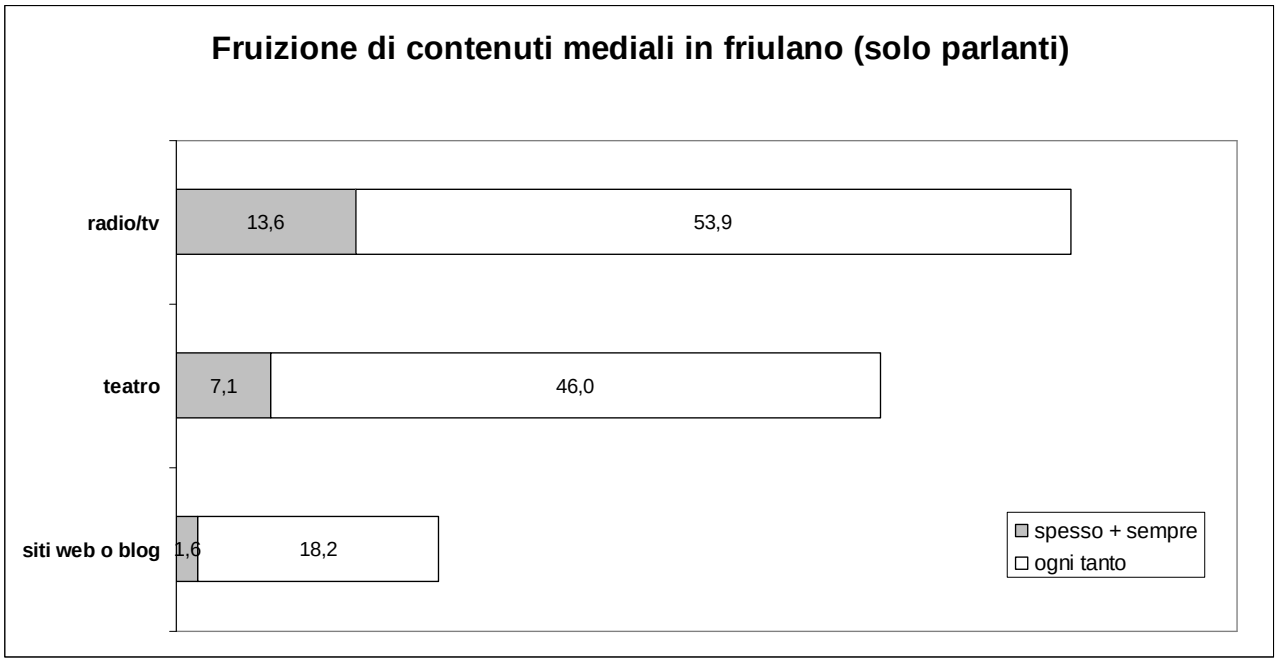
The data on theater-going in the language follow the same dynamics, starting from 7.1% of those who do so "often" and "always", up to 53.1% overall. The type of situation the theater entails, more sporadic and related to the event itself as opposed to the radio and TV (which normally provide repeated and series-based programs) makes, in this specific case, the answer "occasionally" semantically less weak.

The internet use in Friulian is very low: 1.6% of answers are "often" and "always", which is something that speaks for itself, with no need to note that even the nuanced answers of "occasionally" in this case are limited to approximately 18%.

Using Friulian for:	*often + always*	*occasionally*	*total*
radio / tv	13.6	53.9	67.5
theater	7.1	46	53.1
websites or blogs	1.6	18.2	19.8

Of course, this data should be read by reflecting on the actual content offered in Friulian on the radio/television, in theater and on the internet, because it is obvious that a person cannot use content that is not available, and that the use also depends on the quality of the offer and its ability to spark the interest of the user. And this is a subject regarding (1) the amount of content and (2) its quality, regardless of the language used to present them.

We can not identify how much of the data (in particular, the low percentage of use found by not adding also the weak semantic dimension of "occasionally" responses) come from the absence of content in Friulian, or the absence of quality content, or they depend on the media habits of the respondents at the level of personal choices. In any case, scrolling through the data contained in the Annexes of this report a fine grained analysis can be carried out, which lists all the open answers provided by respondents regarding what the radio/tv programs, theater performances and websites or blogs are actually followed or used in Friulian.

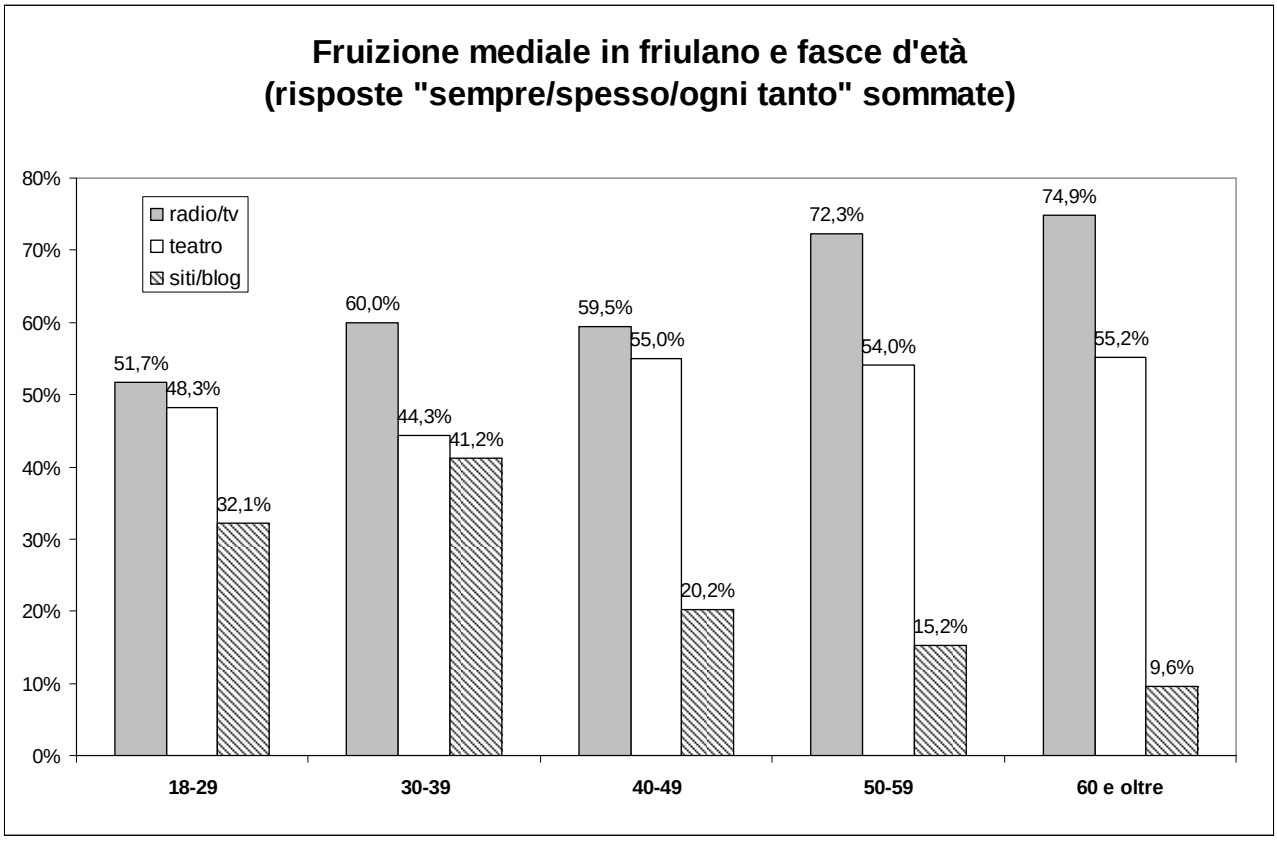


The use of media in language is affected by the age variable, however, inversely compared to the writing habits described beforehand. The use of radio and television programs in Friulian tends to shrink as you consider the younger age groups (from 16% of the older groups to 6.9% of the younger) and accordingly the use of the theater (from 9.2% to 3.4%).

Data relating to the use of content in language on the internet, however, are so low that only by joining the group of "occasionally" a proportional increase can be identified between the groups. Here, of course, the young are those who register higher figures compared to the elderly, in a dynamic relationship between the generations which resembles what has already been mentioned regarding the writing in language on social networks, with a clear greater tendency of use below 40 years. However, in this context, even more so than for the previous data on the social networks, the use the conditional is a must, because virtually all of the positive feedback of use fall under the feeble response "occasionally"

	radio / tv		**theater**		**sites / blogs**	
age group	*Often/ always*	*+ occasio nally*	*Often/ always*	*+ occasio nally*	*Often/ always*	*+ occasio nally*
18-29	6.9	51.7	3.4	48.3	.0	32.1
30-39	7.1	60.0	7.1	44.3	2.9	41.2
40-49	10.8	59.5	5.5	55.0	1.9	20.2
50-59	17.5	72.3	6.6	54.0	2.4	15.2
60 and over	16.0	74.9	9.2	55.2	.0	9.6

The level of education variable correlates positively to visiting sites/blogs in Friulian, which increases with a higher level of education until about 35% for the University graduate level. The relationship between the use of radio/TV content, however, has the reverse correlation: the lowest percentage of users is found among graduates (59.7%) compared to 75.6% recorded among speakers with a primary school certificate.



It is worth remembering that the media consumption in Friulian is not "reserved" for the speakers only. Unlike the previously analyzed writing in Friulian (which obviously regarded only the speakers) the data in this case also recorded a non negligible percentage of users among non-speakers too (which, it needs to be pointed out, in almost all cases claim to understand the language passively). This is particularly true in the case of radio/tv (35.4% of total use among non-speakers, with a 2.8% of "often") and theater (16.9% of total use among non-speakers, with 1.3% of "often" and "always").

Blurred, but present, the percentage of use of websites or blogs in Friulian: among non-speakers, 1.1% say they do it often, for a total of 11.8% including the answers "occasionally."

11. Reading in Friulian

43.4% of speakers declare they "sometimes read magazines, newspapers or books in Friulian". In this case the question was formulated in clear-cut format (yes/no) and therefore it does not allow an internal discussion as to the meaning, the frequency, of the data.

This estimate can be obtained from the statement on time dedicated, per week, to reading in Friulian. Three-quarters of the sample (those who said they read in language) indicates the response of one hour per week; beyond the clear psychological anchor ("1" is the smallest possible undivided answer) it is clear that the figure for the reading, just as in media use and writing in language analysed beforehand, results from an occasional and non-continuous exposure. The answer "one hour a week", analyzed literally, is in fact an average of just over 8 minutes a day.

The overall figure regarding reading (as mentioned, 43.4% are readers among the speakers) should be read as a decreased figure compared to the past. In the report devoted to the dynamics over time it has emerged that, compared to 1998, the current data about the reading in language decreased by approximately 15 percentage points (see the report on the "Friuli" sample).

Even here, reading is not limited only to speakers. Among the non-speakers there is an 11.9% of readers (with an average of time spent even lower than what was found among the speakers).

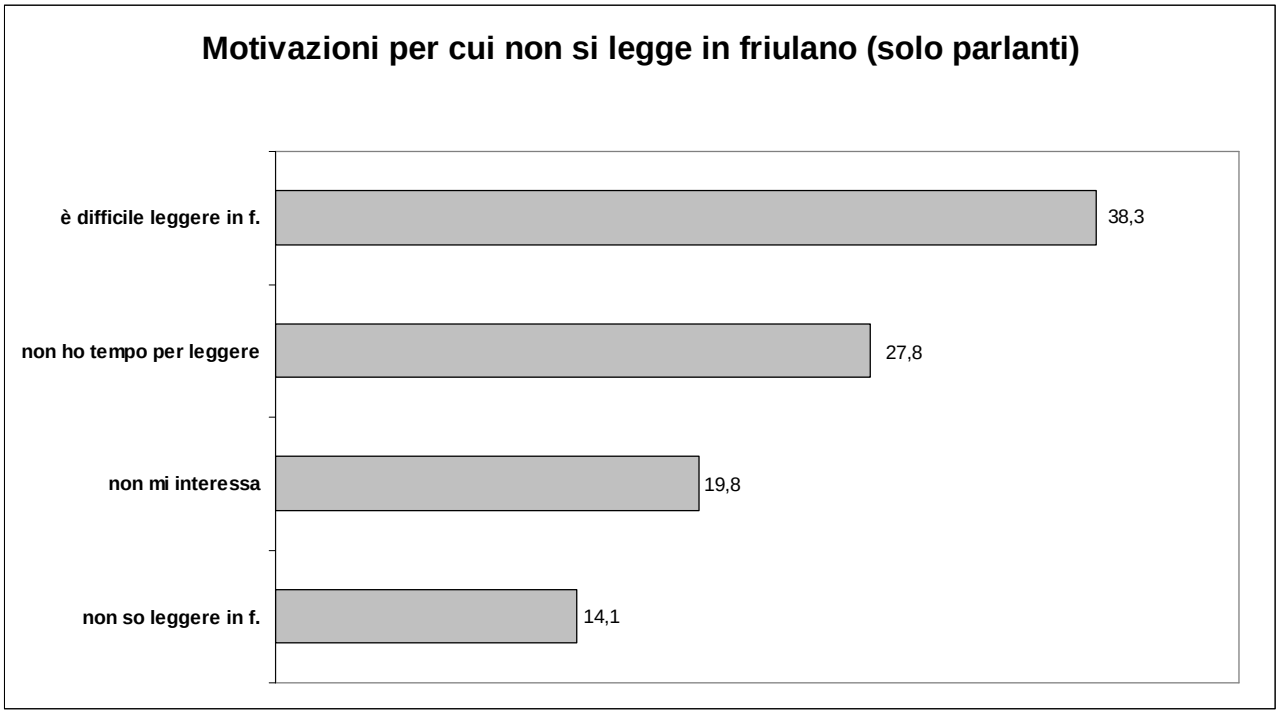
The age of the respondents influences the reading habits less compared to the figure recorded on writing and media use. The lowest percentages of readers in Friulian are found in the younger age group, the one under the age of 30: 31% of readers).

As for the level of education, however, the relationship with the "reading" variable is clear: the habit of reading at least sometimes printed texts in Friulian increases with a higher level of education, reaching its highest percentage (about 50%) among speakers with a university degree.

% of readers in Friulian by level of education (speakers only)

Primary school	38.8%;
lower secondary school	39.5%;
professional qualification	34.8%;
upper secondary schools	47.8%;
university	50.6%;

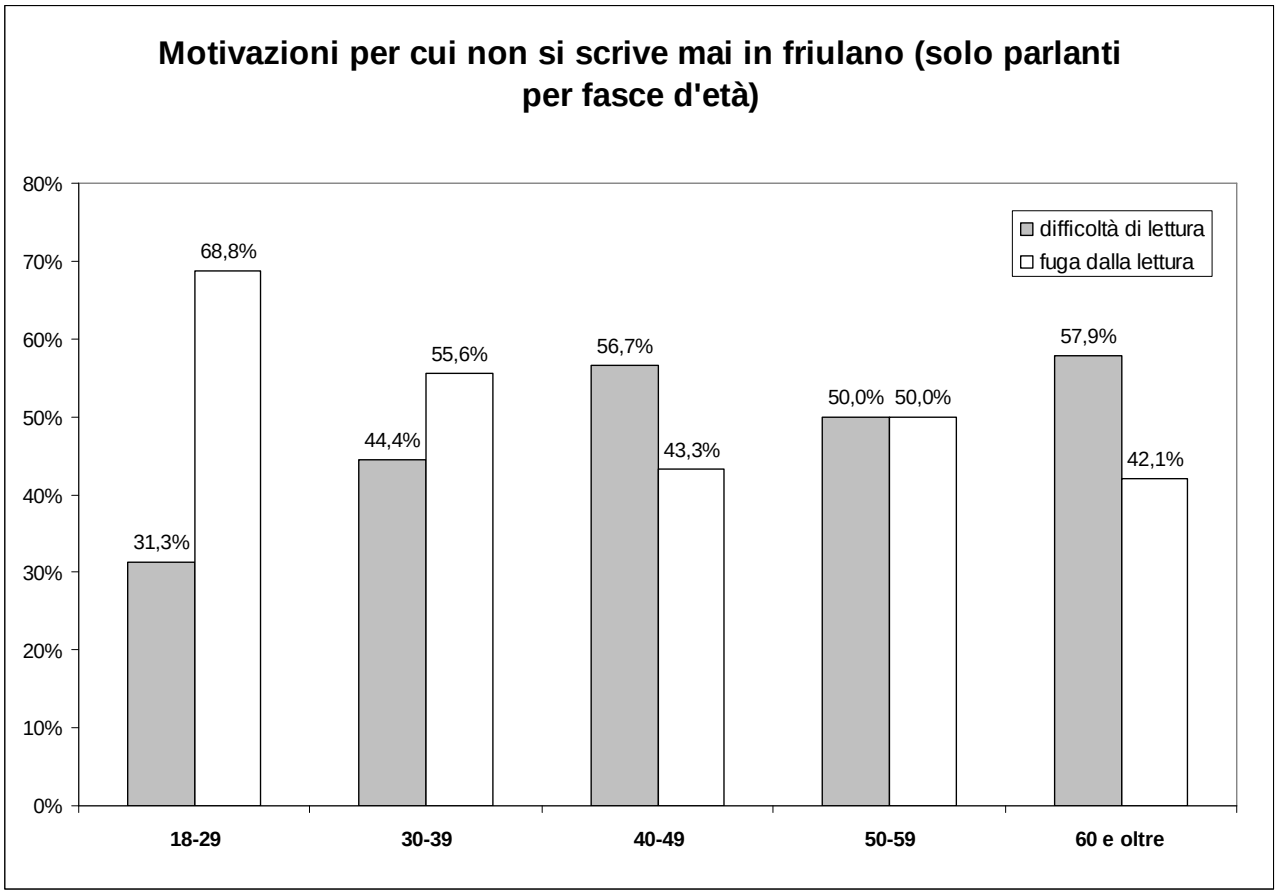
Focusing now on speakers who said they never read in Friulian, when asked about the reasons, the following results are obtained.



Only 14.1% of the speakers admit to not knowing how to read in Friulian. Most of them emphasize the difficulties encountered: "It is difficult" 38.3%.

The area encompassing of "the flight from reading" (“I do not have time" and "I am not interested") together total 47.6% of answers.

If the data are broken down by age group, and the two areas of "the flight from reading" and the "difficult to read" are compared (including the answers "I cannot read" and "It is difficult") it can be observed that younger age groups tend to have fewer answers that focus on the difficulty of reading in Friulian, and conversely, more answers regarding "the flight from reading”, which clearly increase.



Same dynamic for the level of education. Nearly 60% of graduates respond they are not interested in reading in Friulian, or, alternatively, they do not have the time to do so. Opposite situation among respondents with a primary school certificate: here the views to prevail, with more or less with the same percentages, are those that emphasize the response “It is difficult to read".

12. Language Learning and the "ideal" teaching of the language to children

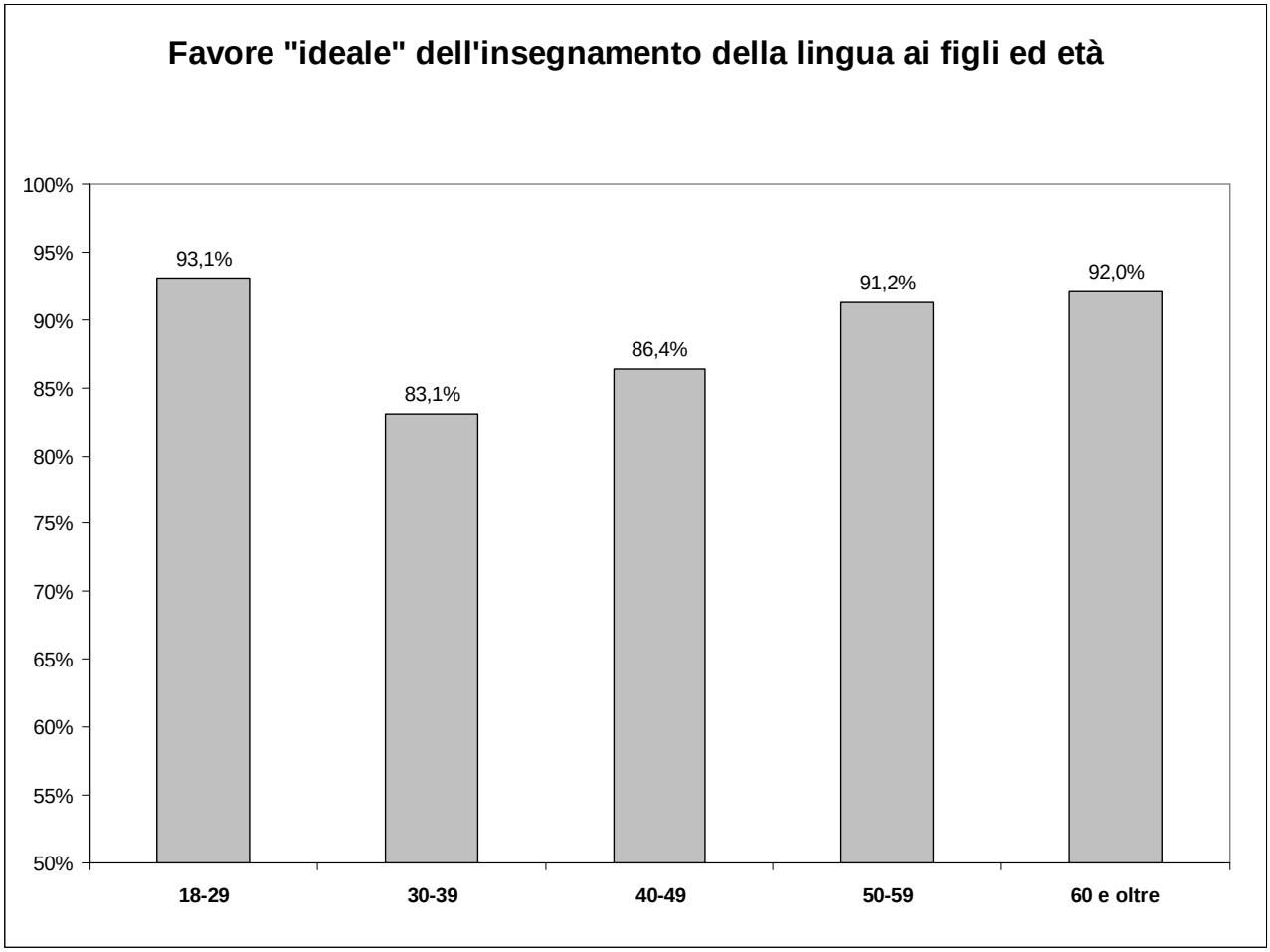
All the different samples that make up this research express a general favorable attitude with regard to the fact that it is right for parents to use Friulian with their children, and thus transfer it directly to them, when both parents speak the language.

Even in the less Friulian speaking areas, respondents who say they agree with the statement "In your opinion, two parents who both speak Friulian should use it with their children?" are an overwhelming majority. Indeed, in the province of Udine 85.9% of respondents (compared to 57.6% of regular speakers) in the province of Pordenone 87.9% (compared to less than 30% of regular speakers) and in the province of Gorizia 87.2% (against 21.5% of regular speakers) agree. That is, in the provinces where Friulian is less spoken, the figure for (ideal) teaching of Friulian to the children is even higher than in the highly Friulian speaking province of Udine.

Clearly, therefore, the agreement with this input is extremely high, even when isolating the sample of speakers: nearly 90% of the speakers (89.5% to be exact) believe that two parents who both speak Friulian should use Friulian with their children. The percentage, however, is not unlike that found in the "control" sample of non-speakers, where the same datum, however, comes to 84.2%.

Among the speakers, the men prove to be more in favor (90.9%, against 87.7% of the women subsample). Isolating the different age groups, we find a trend worthy of note: the oldest age group (60 years and up) is conducive to the "ideal" teaching of the language to the children in a very high proportion: 92%. Then the percentage of support decreases gradually in age groups up to the thirty-year olds, which has the lowest value of this series (83.1%), to go increase then very clearly among the youngest, those among 18 and 29

years, where the support to teaching the language to children even surpasses the values expressed by the older age groups: 93.1% are in favour.



Clearly, such strong support shown towards the "ideal" teaching of the language to children "clashes" with the observation of reality and the actual behavior of people. In this document, in fact, we have already addressed the issue of the actual intergenerational transfer of language to new generations, and found much lower values.

With reference to the intentional learning of the language, 7.5% of the speakers say they have attended, or are attending, Friulian courses. This figure among non-speakers is close to zero, with only 2.1% of non-speakers who claim to have attended them.

The youngest speakers are those who claim a higher percentage of participation in Friulian courses: 16.7% for the under 30 year-olds, 15.6% for the thirty-year olds. In other age groups the percentages are stable at around 5%.

Taking part in Friulian courses is strongly influenced by the level of education. Among the higher education graduates speakers, 20% said they had participated in a course of Friulian. This percentage drops to 12.8% among the secondary school graduates, and is close to zero at lower educational qualifications.

The data are clearly different in relation to the gender of respondents. Among men speakers, only 4.7% of respondents attended (or is attending) Friulian courses. This percentage rises to 11.1% among the women speakers.

13. Friulian in schools

85.5% of the speakers declared that it is "right" that Friulian is protected by specific laws. Overall, a very high support, but still clearly too low, is highlighted when the presence of the Friulian language in schools is the focus. 75.1% of speakers considered "fair" that Friulian is taught or used in schools. This percentage, between the non-speakers, drops to 60%.

In your opinion, do you think it is "fair" that Friulian is taught or used in schools? ("Yes" answers only)

Speakers	Non speakers
75.1%	60%

In between these two percentages the responses to this input in all the various samples that make up our research are summed up. Where there is a higher percentage of regular speakers, we get the higher percentages in support of the presence of Friulian in schools (although the correlation is less than proportional) in the province of Udine the figure is 70.6%, in Pordenone 67.8%, in Gorizia 66.9%. The figure for the "Friuli sample" is 70.4%.

These are very high percentages, well above those for the number of regular and occasional speakers, and this indicates that the generic case in favor of the presence of the language in schools is high, spread over the territory and even shared by many non-speakers.

This does not mean however that the trend is not clearly decreasing compared to the past. Before 2000, this question obtained responses with favorable rates higher by at least 10 percentage points compared to the figure recorded in the present study (see the "Friuli sample" report).

It is likely that the context in which the question was asked nowadays (in 2014) is to be considered dramatically changed since 1998 and before it, because of the actual (albeit highly incomplete) implementation of courses for the teaching of the Friulian language that have been designed, planned and in some cases put into practice in schools in recent years.

Thus, the simple fact of expressing an opinion on the one hand (in the past) on a future possibility and on the other (today) on something that to some extent has some concrete aspects, makes it a question with a very different meaning and consequently, a different meaning in the answers obtained.

Focusing only on the speakers, the case in favor of the Friulian presence in schools is clearly not influenced by the respondent's gender: women and men provide similar percentages compared to this input (76.2% women in favor, against 74.1% of men). Instead, there is a strong relationship with age-related, and especially with the level of education variables. The lowest percentage of support for the presence of the language in schools is obtained in the youngest age group, the one under thirty years-old (62.1%), and this reinforces the feeling that those data, so high in an absolute sense, are shrinking over time. The relationship with the level of education is even stronger: the percentage in favor is consistently above 80% among those with a primary school diploma, a lower secondary school diploma or a professional qualification; then there is a dip of more than ten percentage points for upper secondary school graduates (69.8%) up to 62.3% in favor expressed by higher education graduates.

We isolated the sub-sample of all respondents who said they did not find the presence of Friulian in schools to be "correct", regardless of whether they declared themselves speakers or not. A quarter of the rejection of the presence of Friulian in schools comes from people who have a family past connected to other languages, which are neither Friulian nor Italian. In this 25% approximately, those who had parents who were talking to each other in the Bisiacco and Veneto dialects and in Slovenian language stand out, ordered by decreasing percentage, and of course numerous other languages and dialects found in small percentages. The rest of the "against" group is equally divided between those who have a linguistic family past linked to Italian and Friulian. The rejection of the Friulian presence in schools seems particularly linked to the emotional aspect of the language: 60% of this group says Italian is the "language close to their heart", while only 15% of them place Friulian as a language close to their heart. Those who are part of this group express lower-than-average percentages also regarding the support for the protection of the language, the fact that Friulian is

spoken in shops or public offices, and the fact that the local language is important in terms of human relations.

If we focus only on the 25% of language speakers who have said they are not favorable to the presence of Friulian in schools, we observe that these are primarily men, and are characterized by a generally higher level of education. More than half of them, despite being speakers, says Italian and not Friulian is the language closest to their heart, and at the level of perception of identity three-quarters of them say they are "Italian" or "European" or "European citizens." Only 25% out of this 25% of speakers, in other words, states they feel mainly "Friulian".

D. 27: As you may know, the Friulian language is expected to be taught an hour a week of in schools, for a maximum of 30 hours during the school year. In your opinion it is:

	Speakers	Non speakers
too much	15.1	31.6
fair	43.7	47.9
little	41.2	20.4

The analysis of the responses to question 27 of the questionnaire should always start with a basic question: are the respondents actually aware of what it means, in educational terms, an annual teaching course of 30 hours? Likely, most of the answers are not supported by a form of direct experience, nor particularly knowledgeable reasoning.

In this sense, the fact that the answer "is fair" prevails among both speakers and non-speakers, and with a quite similar percentage between the two sub-samples, could be an indirect confirmation of the consideration outlined above. Considering it "fair" certainly means admitting that the presence of Friulian in schools is positive (otherwise the respondent would probably have declared that they are "too many") but at the same time it is also a "escape" response, a rather easy to avoid taking a position.

The most clear-cut answers, "too much" and "little", however, show quite clearly some underlying trends that strongly oppose the speakers against the non-speakers of a "hot" issue such as that of the school. Except for that 15.1% of them who believe that 30 hours are too many, the remaining 84.9% of the speakers believe that the training course provided is fair or too little, altogether siding very clearly on the issue. For the speakers of Friulian, in other words, the 30 hours need to be kept and possibly increased. Almost a mirror image, although less pronounced, the picture that emerges from the responses of non-speakers: only one in five of them believe that the planned training offer should be increased, and one in three is clearly defining it too much. Needless to say, in this 31.6% of non-speakers, we find many of the respondents who, in the previous question, had declared not to consider "fair" the presence of Friulian in schools, However, the figure was higher: 40% of non speakers, and this could again suggest that maybe the question about the number of hours is not fully understood and evaluated by the majority of the respondents).

D. 29: In your opinion, should Friulian be a subject of study in its own right or should it be used as the language of teaching other subjects?

	Speakers	Non speakers
subject	58.5	78.3
Used as a language to teach content	9.5	5.9
Both	32.0	15.8

The input linked to Friulian as a simple subject at school as opposed to Friulian as a language to teach content is a fairly "technical" question, perhaps not entirely suited to probe the real opinions of a large and somehow undifferentiated segment of the population who in many cases does not have specific didactic knowledge or experience.

In any case, the difference in the data between speakers and non-speakers is quite significant. More than half of the speakers clearly indicate that Friulian should be a subject of study. We do not know how many did so being fully aware that this response in some way is a "minus" when it comes to supporting the presence of the language in schools, which would obviously be much more comprehensive and profound if it would be used to teach other subjects. The fact is that this percentage rises to 78.3% among non-speakers. The approximately 20 percentage points of difference between the two sub-samples are from a small difference on the short answer "a language to teach" (3.6 percentage points difference) and a rather significant overestimation of the answer "both" among speakers (32% versus 15.8%).

Adding the response "a language to teach" to the answer "both" (which arguably contains the first) we see that 41.5% of the speakers declare that Friulian should also be used as a language to teach other subjects. This percentage, among non-speakers, is 21.7%.

Part II - Specific Analysis

1. The teachers

Given the importance teachers have for the effective presence of the Friulian language in schools, and in general due to their influence on the younger generation and the crucial nature of the educational and training role played by them, we tried to isolate the teachers from the whole sample, so that we can describe their linguistic habits and their specific opinions on issues related to language and its teaching.

A small sample of 40 teachers, equally divided between speakers and non-speakers emerges. A third of teachers regularly speaks Friulian, and if you add those who declare to be occasional speakers, the rate of active language usage reaches 50%.

A third of the teachers have answered the survey in Friulian, so basically all teachers who speak Friulian regularly decided to support the interview in language.

They are 46 years of age on average, and the presence of males is, as it was to be expected, rather marginal: 80% are women.

We have found in their group a strong presence in percentages of teachers from different, and distant, Italian regions. Two out of three had parents who spoke Friulian to one another or "both languages", by "both" meaning Friulian and Italian. The remaining third had parents who spoke Italian, or spoke in other languages or dialects which do not come from "far away" except for a small percentage: the other languages or dialects most spoken in the families of origin of these teachers are in fact, in order, Slovenian, Venetian and Bisiacco.

If their linguistic/cultural family origin does not appear to be very different from the average percentages that we have detected in the total sample, their current use of the Friulian language within the family is clearly lower than the average recorded: in their current families, only 15% of them talk Friulian (or "both languages") with their partner. As for the crucial question on the language spoken by the teachers with their children, about one in five speaks Friulian to their children, although this overall figure is from a small percentage of short answers of " Friulian", 7.1%, to which a 14% of "both languages" is added.

Their general or ideal opinion regarding the Friulian language seems to be a highly positive one. Almost all teachers believe that two Friulian parents should talk to their children in Friulian (87%), consider Friulian an important factor in human relationships, 4 out of 5 find it normal if a stranger starts a conversation with them in Friulian, 8 out of 10 happily accept the idea that someone speaks to them in Friulian in a shop or office, and three quarters of them clearly reject the idea that Friulian can be belittling for those who speak it. In particular, they totally reject the idea that Friulian is spoken by people with very little education (80% of answers "not at all", and none of them expresses a totally opposing view).

Their attitude towards multilingualism with children is also highly in favor. Almost all of their opinions on the matter appear more favorable than those we found in larger samples:

- the use of multiple languages worsens educational outcomes: 82% answered with a clear "not at all";
- the use of multiple languages facilitates the integration of the child in the community: 70% answered "very much";

- the use of Friulian with children leads to isolation and incomprehension towards different linguistic and cultural realities: 70% "not at all" answers;
- the use of Friulian promotes cultural awareness regarding Friulian: 65% answered "very much";
- Friulian increases the ability to learn new languages in the future: 57% "very much", 25% "pretty much."

There is a noticeable difference however between the opinions relating to a generic multilingualism (without specifying the languages) and those expressed on multilingualism that expressly includes Friulian, which tend to drop sharply as a percentage.

This suggests an underlying trend that seems to characterize this specific sample. Teachers are largely in favor when they express themselves on the ideal opinion on language, on its abstract cultural value, on the normality of its use on the territory. But when the percentages of actual use of the language is taken into consideration, or their exposure to Friulian in the media is assessed, or other more personal emotional aspects, we can clearly see how their responses are below the average of other samples analyzed.

Less than 20% use Friulian for note taking or personal notes (and almost all only "occasionally") one in four uses it for email/sms, 10% say they use it on the social networks, and 30% "occasionally" browses sites or blogs in Friulian. More than 50% never follows radio/television broadcasts in Friulian.

Only the percentages of people going to the theater in language (more than half of them declares to go) and reading in language (45% say they read magazines or other forms of Friulian press) are slightly above average. Probably here the data are affected by an outright higher exposure of the sample to theater shows (teachers are one of the most assiduous theater-goers, as noted by other specific research) and reading practices. The indication that comes from those who say they do not read in language is very clear in this regard: two-thirds of them say they do not read in the language simply because they cannot do that, the rest because "They are not interested": the answer "I do not have time to read" is non-existent in this group.

Only one in four states that Friulian is a "language of the heart"; if at a meeting in which Friulian is used there is only one person who does not understand it, three-quarters of teachers say that you have to switch to Italian, and hardly anyone says to continue in Friulian (some, but they are very few, take refuge in the response that you can continue speaking in Friulian, but "slowly"); 2 out of 3 believe that people find speaking Italian more prestigious, and on whether Friulian is language suitable only for communication with friends, the data supplied by them are characterized by a particularly wide degree of dispersion of the answers.

A prime example is the difference between these percentages: 80% of teachers believe that it is right that Friulian is protected by specific laws, but when they are asked if Friulian should be taught at school, the percentage drops to 63% in favor, which it is a majority percentage, but substantially below the average of the findings of the other samples.

The fact that that there is an hour a week to teach the Friulian language in schools, for a maximum of 30 hours during the school year, is considered "too much" by 35% of teachers, and "little" by a lower percentage, which is around 28%. The remaining one out of three states it is "fair."

More than 60% of them believe that Friulian should be taught as a subject, and not used as a language to teach other subjects (only 21% express themselves clearly in favor indicating it as a language for subjects).

In fact, the percentages shown in this chapter are from the joining (and the average) of two rather different points of view, characterizing the teachers speakers of Friulian on the one hand, and the non-speakers on the other. This division of our subsample of teachers in two parts (speakers and non-speakers) brings the total number of cases in the two sub-groups to be too small to draw a precise description of both. However, the views expressed by the two subgroups regarding the "school" are arranged in an orderly way, which is significant in that it shows a trend clearly divided and that has its own internal coherence.

63% of teachers who are in favor of the teaching of Friulian at school are in fact coming from the average of 68.4% found among the teachers who are speakers (and this figure already appears more in line with the average recorded in the overall research) and from the significantly lower 57.9% recorded with the non-speaking teachers.

The opinion whether the present training provided in schools is fair or not derives from the mean of the following sets of data, which characterize the teachers who are speakers and non-speakers differently:

As you may know, the Friulian language is expected to be taught an hour a week in schools, for a maximum of 30 hours during the school year. In your opinion:

Teachers:	too much	fair	little
Speakers	36.8	26.3	36.8
Non speakers	35.0	45.0	20.0

The series related to the fact that the Friulian in schools should be only a subject of study, and not a language to teach other subjects, are still the most emblematic in showing the sensitivity difference between speaker and non-speaker teachers, with the latter refusing very clearly Friulian as a language to teach other subjects:

In your opinion, should Friulian be a subject of study in its own right or should it be used as the language of teaching other subjects?

Teachers:	subject	Used as a language to teach content	Both
Speakers	41.2	29.4	29.4
Non speakers	87.5	0.0	12.5

Even the question about whether they had ever attended a Friulian course or not clearly distinguishes the two sub-groups: on average, a teacher in five (20%) reports having attended courses on the subject, but this figure comes from the about 42% of the speakers who claim to have attended, against the figure recorded among non-speakers: in this subgroup no one has ever attended a course of Friulian.

2. The young speakers

We have already had the occasion to highlight at the beginning of the report and in several other sections of this research that the so-called "young people", in particular the youngest age considered by us, the respondents between 18 and 29, show greater percentage of use of Friulian compared to those who are immediately after them age-wise (the thirty- and forty-year old respondents) and how this dynamic appears in contrast to the phenomenon of progressive loss of speakers over time. In particular, the twenty-year olds tend to state more easily that they are regular speakers (rather than occasional) and show particular characteristics when expressing their views on language, on its cultural value and on the identity context of reference.

In our current society, the perception of the "youth" concept has changed dramatically compared to some decades ago, and the label of "young" is more usually used to identify also people in their thirties. In other words one is "young" to all intents and purposes until the 39 year-old mark. For this reason, in this study we focus on the speakers in age group between 18-39 years, by isolating their data in order to describe the characteristics that may be associated with two conditions of (1) speaking in Friulian and (2) being "young".

Personal data and the composition of the sub-sample

The data shows a sub-sample of about one hundred cases, characterized by a slight female predominance (approximately 54% are women). 62% of our "young speakers" are residing in the province of Udine, 24% in the province of Pordenone and the remaining 14% in the province of Gorizia. Half of the sample has an upper secondary school diploma, 11.5% have a professional qualification, and 34.4% is a University graduate.

At the time of data collection, one in ten turned out to be a student, 34% work as an employee, more than 20% as a worker. About 60% of those who work have a permanent contract, 17% are self-employed.

28.6% of the "young speakers" are married; 6%, despite their young age, are already separated. Four out of ten "young speakers" live together with someone (we include in this figure 28% of married people discussed above). One in three have children.

15.9% of them attended Friulian courses. 71% speak other languages, besides Italian and Friulian: for the great majority, the other spoken language seems to be English.

Use and language generational transfer

The "young speakers" who declare they are regular speakers are 57% of the sub-sample. An indirect confirmation of the soundness of this data is the percentage of surveys actually conducted in Friulian, which in this group amounted to 54%.

Virtually all have "always" resided in Friuli (92.9%), only 5% of them say they have lived here "for less than twenty years". 83.2% of their parents spoke Friulian (62.1% Friulian, 21.1% "both languages"). 53.7% of their fathers and 48.4% of their mothers spoke to them in Friulian (plus 14.7% and 17.9%, respectively, of "both languages"). 39% of them talked with their brothers and sisters in Friulian, plus 20.8% in both languages. With playmates, Friulian was used by about a quarter of the sample (27.1%) with a significant 37.5% of "both languages".

(In the past) Language spoken by:	Friulian	Both	Friulian + Both
Parents with each other	62.1	21.1	83.2
Father with the respondent	53.7	14.7	68.4
Mother with the respondent	48.4	17.9	66.3
Respondent with brothers and sisters	39	20.8	59.8
Respondent with playmates	27.1	37.5	64.6

This snapshot, regarding the past use of the language within the family, changes significantly when the use of Friulian in the current family is observed in the data. Of those who are married, or living with someone (about 40% of the sample), 24.5% speak in Friulian with their partner, which is added to an identical percentage of answers for "both languages."

A rather low proportion of "young speakers" with children (which are, as mentioned, about a third of the sub-sample) say they talk to their children in Friulian: 11.4%. But we must remember that almost half of them (45.7%) say they talk to their children in "both" languages, by "both" meaning Italian and Friulian. The doubt that the respondents, in this regard, tend to overestimate the actual use of the Friulian with children, in particular by using the nuanced "both" as an escape mechanism, arises from the difference between that figure and the figure for the language spoken by their partners with their children: in this case, the short answer "Friulian" remains substantially stable (12.5%) while the answer "both" is down to 28.1%. We seem to be able to say, then, that the most solid estimate of how much the "young" parents speak to their children in Friulian is to be around 40%, taking into account the answer "both", and is slightly higher than 10% if you isolate only the clear-cut reply "Friulian". Finally, just 17 respondents, in this sub-sample, have more than one child; 17.7% of these children, between them, speak Friulian or "both languages."

(In the preset) Language spoken by:	Friulian	Both	Friulian + Both
Respondent with the partner	24.5	24.5	49
Respondent with their children	11.4	45.7	57.1
Respondent with brothers and sisters	38.2	23.7	61.9
Int. with close relatives	44.9	29.6	74.5
Partner of respondent with their children	12.5	28.1	40.6
Children of respondent with each other	5.9	11.8	17.7

Use of language, motivation and identity

The use of language data, broken down by the different contexts of use, provide results in line with those of the total sample of speakers. In particular, the numbers regarding the use of Friulian to communicate a phone number, numeracy, thinking and dreaming are slightly lower compared to the figure recorded in the sample of speakers, about 1-3 percentage points less, while interestingly the numbers regarding praying in the language are slightly higher. However, the use of the language "in moments of particular emotional turmoil" is well above the figure for the total sample of the speakers: 75% of the "young speakers" declares to do so, against 69.2% recorded among speakers.

Contexts of use	Yes	Sometimes
tell someone a phone number in F	46	21
mental calculations in F	43	14
thinking (to oneself) in F	55	24
dreaming in F	23	13
speaking in F in in moments of particular emotional turmoil	75	17
praying in F	27	12

The main motivation behind speaking in Friulian concerns the identity dimension: 55.6% speak it because "they feel Friulian". It is closely followed by the territorial dimension: 54% of responses are "because I live here". Quite apart percentage-wise there are habit ("I have always spoken it") and especially the family aspect. Last, in order of importance, the use of the language because it is useful.

Reasons given to speaking in F	%
I speak it because I feel Friulian	55.6
I speak it because I live here	54
I speak because I always have	48
I speak it because my family does	45
I speak because it is useful in relationships	42

("Strongly agree" responses only)

This characterization of identity and affection (and not utilitarian or due to habit) of language use emerges even with the figure for the self-perception of their identity: 43% of young speakers say they feel "Friulian", compared with 22% of "Italian" responses. The answers "citizen of the Friuli Venezia Giulia region", 13%, and "European", 10% are rather lagging behind. In addition, 53% of "young speakers" feel that the language of the heart is Friulian, versus 35% of those who answered "Italian" to this question.

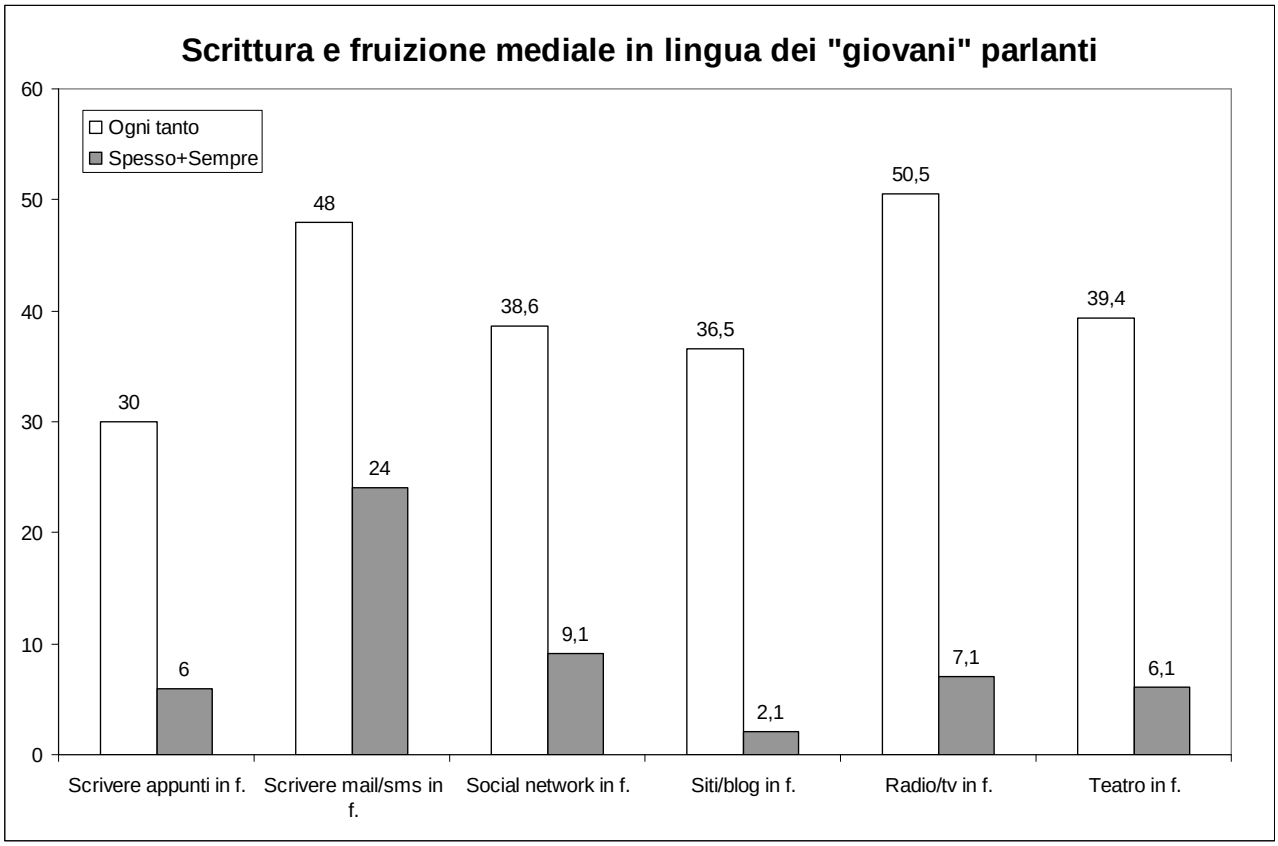
Writing, reading, and media use in Friulian

If only the answers "often" and "always" are isolated, the use of written language provides data matching the overall sample of the speakers with respect to writing private notes; on the contrary, writing emails and text messages in language and posting, in the language, on the social network provides significantly higher data between the "young" than among the speakers as a whole.

At the level of the media use, the "young" speakers watch significantly less radio/TV broadcasts and theater performances in language. The percentage of young speakers who say they read at least occasionally printed publications in Friulian is also perfectly in line with the overall sample of the speakers.

	Occasionally	*Often*	*Always*	*Often + Always*
Write notes in F.	30	4	2	6
Writing email/sms in F.	48	20	4	24
Social networks in F.	38.6	8	1.1	9.1

Sites/blogs in F.	36.5	2.1	0	2.1
Radio/TV in F.	50.5	5.1	2	7.1
Theatre in F.	39.4	5.1	1	6.1
Reading in F.	43% answered "yes";		average hours: 1.7 a week	



Opinions on the language, its protection and its presence in schools

The "young" speakers refuse the negative connotations associated with the use of the Friulian language. They consider it suitable to be used in public situations, in stores or offices. They find it normal that a stranger can start speaking to them in Friulian, and reject the idea that talking in Friulian can be interpreted as a form of closed-mindedness and lack of openness to other cultures. On the other hand, most of them consider that people coming "from other places" to live on the territory is a positive aspect.

They have positive views on the protection of language: 87% are in favor of laws to that effect. The great majority believes that the language should be protected in order not to lose the Friulian culture, and even more because "all peoples have the right to the protection of their language and culture."

86% think that two parents, both from Friuli, should speak the language to their children. Even the presence of the Friulian language in schools is appreciated by most of the "young" speakers: 75%. 41% of them consider the teaching of 30 hours per year of Friulian in schools to be too little, and more than one in three believes the language is suitable to be used also to teach other subjects, and not only as a subject of study.

These positive opinions about the language, its protection and its presence in schools, are opposed to the dimensions in which, however, a "secular" and "de-ideologized" vision emerges. Only 5.3% of the "young" speakers, in a meeting in which a single person does not speak Friulian, would continue the meeting in the language. Even the idea that Friulian is connected to "positive characteristics" (e.g., "being a friendly person") is not substantially agreed upon by the "young" speakers.

In summary, it seems that this sub-sample, that is self-described as the bearer of a quite strong cultural, identity and emotional connection with the idea of "Friuli" and its language, is distinguished by:

- a clear refusal of all the negative connotations associated with the use of the Friulian language;
- appreciation of the protection of language, its value and its presence in the schools;
- a refusal of the input that would link the use of Friulian to advantages, to some benefits, or in any way represent a form of "ideologization" of the language, even more than it does in the total sample of speakers.

3. The four sub-samples of identity and Friulian

A study worthy of attention is what separates self-declaration (or self-perception) on the prevailing identity of respondents, divided into feeling "Friuli citizen", "Italian citizen", "citizen of the Friuli Venezia Giulia" and finally "European citizen ".

We have therefore isolated from the overall sample the four sub-samples of identity so that we can observe and describe the specific features and suggest a synthetic comparison that can provide insight into what are the links between the self-declaration of identity and (1) the use of the language, (2) the views on its protection/use/status/future/etc., and (3) the important link between the different "identities" perceived and the case in favor of autonomy.

You feel:	UD. PROV.	PN. PROV.	GO. PROV.
Friuli citizen	41.8	29.5	18.2
Italian citizen	35.9	35.9	38.6
European citizen	14.7	10.5	18.6
Citizen of FVG	7.6	24.1	24.6

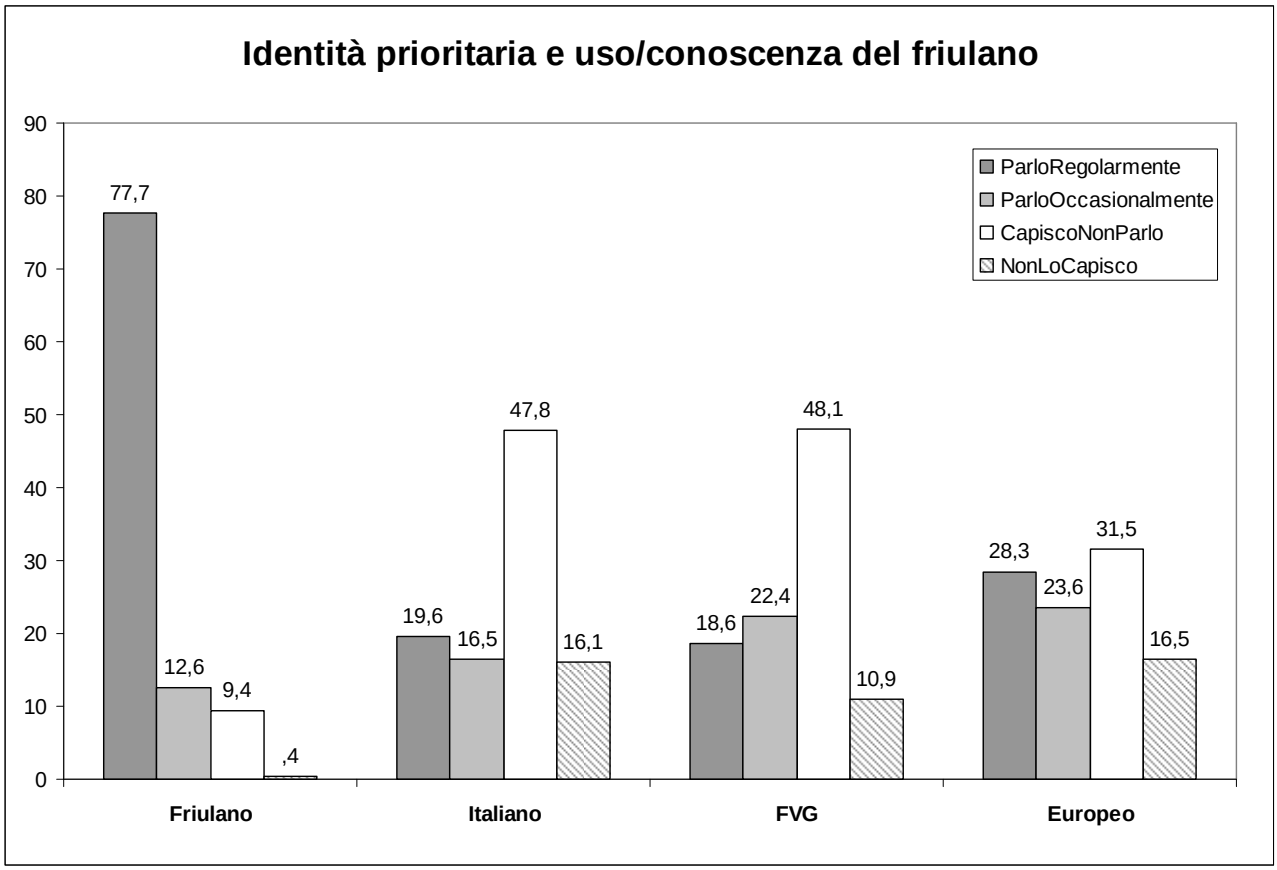
First, the analysis of the total sample divided into the three provinces of reference allows us to see, as expected, that the vast majority of those who feel "Friulian" reside in the province of Udine. In the other two provinces, the "lost" percentages for the Friulian identity in the province of Udine, are compensated primarily from the identity of "citizen of the Friuli Venezia Giulia" (a section which instead is almost non-existent in the province of Udine): in Pordenone and in Gorizia the statement of feeling "a FVG citizen" goes up to account for about a quarter of respondents. Instead, the fact of feeling primarily Italian is a given across the three provinces: about a third of respondents say they are "Italian citizens" in a uniform manner throughout the territory concerned. The "European" identity oscillates between 10 and 18%, increasing in relative importance in percentages as the eastern border is approached.

The use of the Friulian language, as expected, is significantly correlated with the identity statement.

You feel, as citizen, to be:	Friulian	Italian	FVG	European
I speak regularly	77.7	19.6	18.6	28.3
I speak occasionally	12.6	16.5	22.4	23.6
I understand I do not speak	9.4	47.8	48.1	31.5
I do not understand it	.4	16.1	10.9	16.5

Regular use of Friulian covers more than three quarters of those who feel "Friulian", and if you also add the data of occasional speakers, the total is over 90%. These very high percentages are reversed at the Italian and FVG identities, where they mark the lowest number of language speakers. The European identity (which, as we will see later, is declared by people with peculiar characteristics and ideas) has, however, a similar organization in all the levels of our "linguistic scale."

This content is reinforced by the analysis of the number of interviews conducted in Friulian in four different samples of identity. 72.5% of the "Friulian citizens" responded to the questionnaire in Friulian: 17.1% of those who claim to be "Italian"; 25% of those who feel "citizens of FVG" and finally 28.6% of "European citizens."



By isolating the most significant dimensions (1) of the linguistic background of the respondents' family, and (2) of the language currently spoken by them with the children, we see that the language spoken by parents influences very clearly both which identity is declared as the first one and the generational language transfer practices. More than 90% of those who say they feel "Friulian" had Friulian-speaking parents. This percentage drops to 64.6% among those who claim to be European, to 51.6% among the "citizens of FVG" to a significantly lower 42.8% of those who, nowadays, declare themselves to be Italian.

This same dynamic of relationships between the four samples is observed in the data on the language currently spoken by respondents with their children, even if the percentage of use of Friulian is significantly lower. The difference between the sample who claims to be "Friulian" and the other three regarding the language spoken to the children is noteworthy: 69.4% of those who declares to be Friulian, in fact speaks to the children in Friulian (the answers "both languages" have also been considered) a percentage that plummets, in a range between 15% and 20%, in the other three samples. Identity thus appears to be a highly correlated factor to the language transfer habits of Friulian between generations.

Identity and language spoken by the respondent's parents

	Friulian Citizen	Italian Citizen	FVG Citizen	European Citizen
Italian	7.8	57.2	48.5	35.4
Friulian	81.3	33.1	42.3	50.0
Both	10.9	9.7	9.3	14.6
Friulian + Both	*92.2*	*42.8*	*51.6*	*64.6*

Identity and the language spoken by the respondent with the children

	Friulian Citizen	Italian Citizen	FVG Citizen	European Citizen
Italian	30.6	84.4	83.3	80.0
Friulian	37.8	7.6	4.9	9.2

Both	31.6	8.1	11.8	10.8
Friulian + Both	*69.4*	*15.6*	*16.7*	*20.0*

The link between identity and affection for language is, if anything, even higher. For 76.3% of the "citizens of Friuli" the language of the heart is Friulian. This percentage drops to 19% among those who claim to be European, to 17.4% among the "citizens of FVG" and to 11.8%, the lowest figure, those who nowadays declare themselves to be Italian.

The different sub-identities are characterized by four rather clear and opposing profiles with respect to the opinions on the Friulian language. Those who claim to be "Friulian" inevitably have the highest degree of favor for the fact that the language is spoken in public settings such as shops and offices, and is taught to the children in schools, and is protected in all surveyed dimensions on the status and value of Friulian culture.

The observations relating to the other three sub-samples are less obvious. Those who are most opposed in relation to the value of the Friulian language and its use are the respondents who say they are "Italian." After that, the "citizens of FVG", while the sample of those who declare themselves "European" has its unique characteristics: when it comes to positively emphasize the cultural value of the language, its status, or use it themselves, they provide higher percentages than the "citizens of FVG". But when it comes to "impose" in any way the use of Friulian (active protection of the language, the presence of the language in schools, the "ideal" decision to speak in the language to their children, "imposition" of the language to a non-speaker) then this support falls below that expressed by "citizens of FVG" (and sometimes, even in the data expressed by "Italian citizens").

In the following tables we have isolated some particularly significant dimensions of responses to illustrate these basic features that characterize the different samples.

I do not like to hear Friulian in a store:

	Friulian Citizen	Italian Citizen	FVG Citizen	European Citizen
Not at all	80.1	40.4	56.1	50.8
A little	12.6	20.1	19.4	27.0
Quite a lot	3.2	17.2	11.0	8.7
A lot	4.0	22.3	13.5	13.5

I do not like to hear Friulian in a public office:

	Friulian Citizen	Italian Citizen	FVG Citizen	European Citizen
Not at all	75.4	29.5	39.4	43.5
A little	14.1	26.1	27.1	21.8
Quite a lot	4.7	22.7	12.9	13.7
A lot	5.8	21.7	20.6	21.0

If you start speaking to a stranger in Italian, and they answer in Friulian, what do you think?

	Friulian Citizen	Italian Citizen	FVG Citizen	European Citizen
It is normal	86.5	50.7	64	69.7
It is rude	0.8	12.2	9.6	3.7

If at a meeting in which you discuss local issues and talk Friulian, there is one person who does not understand Friulian, what solution seems more correct?

	Friulian Citizen	Italian Citizen	FVG Citizen	European Citizen

Continue speaking in Friulian	8.1	3.5	2.0	1.7
Speaking in Italian	53.3	77.3	73.7	87.6

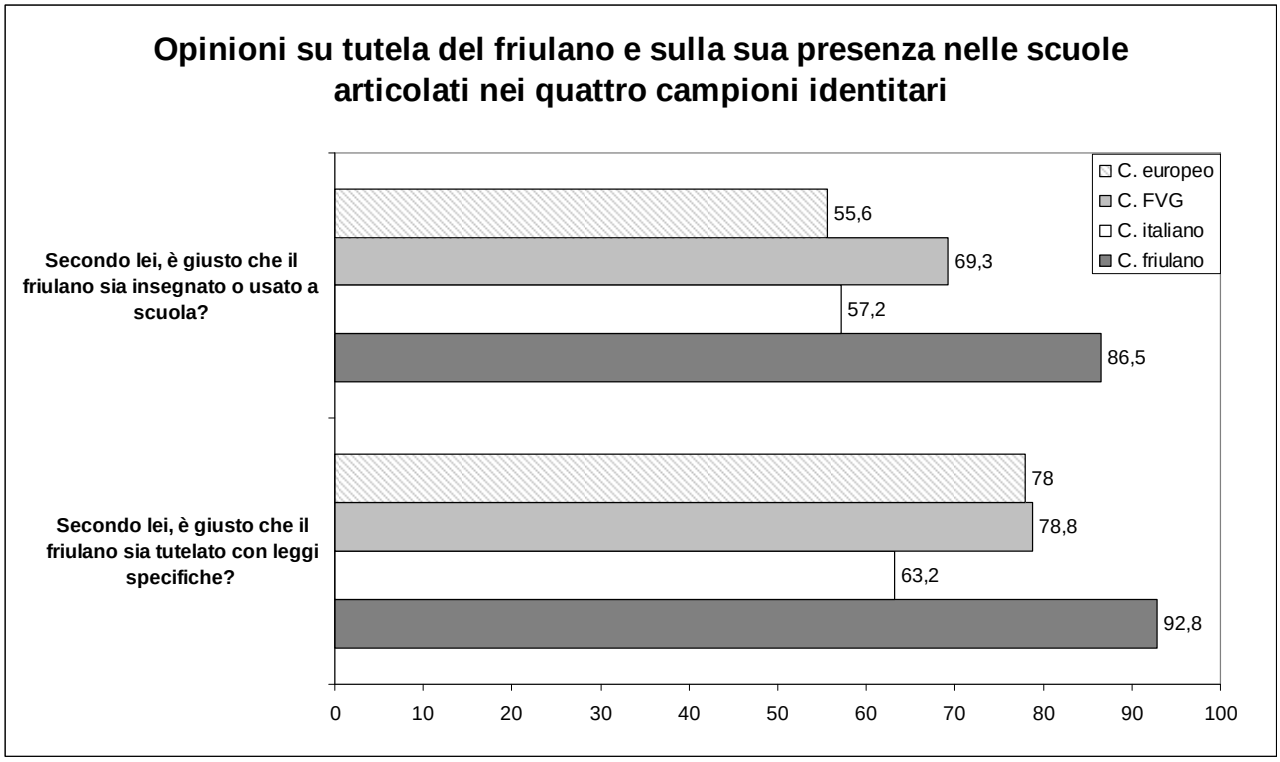
The idea that two parents, who both speak Friulian, should talk in the language to their children is shared by 93.5% of those who claim to be "Friuli citizen". The percentage drops to a (still high) 79.2% of the "Italian citizens."

In your opinion, two parents who both speak Friulian should use it with their children?

	Friulian Citizen	Italian Citizen	FVG Citizen	European Citizen
Answers "yes"	93.5	79.2	87.8	84.9

Also the answers regarding the issue of the protection of the language show a similar trend, and the same ratio among the data is found, with much more accentuated dynamics, in the answers concerning the presence of Friulian in schools (where the "European citizens" are, not coincidentally, the lowest figure encountered, even lower than the figure provided by the "Italian citizens").

("Yes" answers only)	*Friulian Citizen*	*Italian Citizen*	*FVG Citizen*	*European Citizen*
In your opinion, do you think it is fair that Friulian is protected by specific laws?	*92.8*	*63.2*	*78.8*	*78.0*
In your opinion, do you think it is fair that Friulian is taught or used in schools?	*86.5*	*57.2*	*69.3*	*55.6*



The concept of identity is particularly important in the definition of views related to the concepts of autonomy. The following tables show the data compared between the four different sub-samples, on autonomy as a development factor on the territory at an (1) economic, (2) cultural and (3) promotion and protection of the

Friulian language level. As you can see, the case in favor of the usefulness of autonomy has a broad perspective. The difference in focus that unites the "citizens of Friuli" and "the citizens of FVG" on the one hand, much more strongly in favor, and the "Italian" and "Europeans" ones on the other, who are significantly "less favorable" on the concept of autonomy, is well visible too.

Autonomy - economic development of the territory	Friulian	Italian	FVG	European
Not at all	3.3	8.3	2.6	10.2
A little	12.8	16.2	11.0	22.8
Quite a lot	36.1	41.7	32.9	29.1
A lot	47.8	33.8	53.5	37.8
Quite a lot + A lot	*83.9*	*75.5*	*86.5*	*66.9*

Autonomy - cultural development of the territory	Friulian	Italian	FVG	European
Not at all	1.4	6.0	1.9	10.2
A little	10.1	22.5	9.7	19.7
Quite a lot	33.3	39.9	42.6	40.2
A lot	55.1	31.6	45.8	29.9
Quite a lot + A lot	*88.4*	*71.5*	*88.4*	*70.1*

Autonomy - the promotion and protection of Friulian	Friulian	Italian	FVG	European
Not at all	1.4	4.8	3.9	4.7
A little	8.0	19.4	9.7	16.5
Quite a lot	33.0	42.0	39.4	44.1
A lot	57.6	33.8	47.1	34.6
Quite a lot + A lot	*90.6*	*75.8*	*86.5*	*78.7*

After having discussed the most significant direct comparison data, at the end of the chapter let us now summarize the most peculiar characteristics of each group, correlated to the four different identity statements.

"Friulian Citizens" generally have the most positive values on the use, transfer, and active protection of Friulian. In particular, this identity seems strongly anchored to the opinions and practices related to the transfer of the language between generations, to favoring its presence in schools and the refusal to give in linguistically in front of Italian. This is the sub-sample with the highest average age, the level of education is clearly the lowest of the four analyzed sub-samples, and there is an equitable balance between males and females. They come in large part from Friulian-speaking families. They are the most favorable sample to concepts of autonomy, expressed in all its forms (autonomy for the development of the territory, for cultural development, and for the promotion and protection of the language), a characteristic they share with the "citizens of FVG".

"Italian citizens": they are the most distant and opposed sample in relation to the use of the Friulian language, and show the least positive opinions on its cultural status. 42.8% of those who claim to be "Italian" had parents who spoke Friulian with each other, and this is largely the lowest percentage recorded in the four sub-samples. Only 15.6% currently use Friulian with their children (the "both languages" response is also included here). The genders are balanced, and they have a significantly higher level of education compared to the "Friulian citizens" and the "FVG citizens", although still far from the very high figures of upper secondary school diplomas and University degrees in the "European citizens" sample. They share with the "European citizens" a lesser degree of support for autonomy-related concepts.

"Friuli Venezia Giulia Citizens": this sample expresses similar data, or even higher, on the value of autonomy compared to the "Friulian citizens". They are also the sample showing a greater degree of "closure" with respect to the arrival of "people from other places" on the territory, even more so than the

"Friulian citizens" sample, which in this follows them closely. Furthermore, this group shows data of language usage and favorable data about the language and its protection which are intermediate between the most favorable positions expressed by “citizens from Friuli" and those more opposed expressed by the "Italians”. They are the only sample in which there is a certain prevalence of women compared to men, and their lower secondary school diploma is higher only compared to the similar figure of the "Friulian citizens" sample.

"European Citizens" are the sub-sample with the lowest average age, and with a significantly higher level of education. The sample is heavily characterized at the level of gender, with a clear relative prevalence of men compared to women. They express high levels of support regarding multilingualism, understood in the generic sense; they do not display an "ideological" opposition against the Friulian language, which they speak and teach to their children much more than what happens in the "Italian" and "citizen of FVG" samples, and are the most optimistic about the future of Friulian. Their "acceptance" of the language in public situations is also high, and they recognize that talking to children in Friulian is helpful to encourage their future acquisition of other languages. Faced with any question that emphasizes an active commitment to Friulian (active protection, presence in schools, etc.) their support falls significantly, sometimes at even lower levels than the "Italian" and "citizen of FVG" samples.

Part III - The estimate of the absolute number of speakers

1. The data summary

Below we illustrate four different methods of estimating the absolute number of speakers, and the results obtained with each method. Before carrying out these arguments, however, we indicate the end result that emerges from the summary of the various methods of estimation used: including also the minimum forms of rounding to get "round" digits (as explained in detail later in this chapter), and considering only the speakers residing in the provinces of Udine, Gorizia and Pordenone. Our number of speakers at the 2014 summary estimate is 420,000 regular speakers, 180,000 occasional speakers, totaling about 600,000 people who make active use of Friulian.

Estimate summary of the number of speakers in Friulian (2014)

Regular speakers	420000
Occasional speakers	180000
Total speakers (active use)	600000

2. Introduction and warnings

Our research is focused on four main samples which represent, respectively:

- the province of Udine;
- the province of Pordenone;
- the province of Gorizia;
- the "old sample" (or otherwise referred to as the "Friuli" sample for convenience), built with the same Municipalities and weights in the number of interviews that had been used in the research of 1998 (which, in turn, had been constructed with the Municipalities and research weights of 1977, in which a study was conducted to determine what was the Friulian-speaking area at the time, so that a precise area can be sampled).

The provincial sample, of course, show the data for the speakers in these provinces.

The "old sample", or the "Friuli" sample, is valid and solid information as it allows us to estimate the changes in the use of the language over time, but it can no longer be considered a useful standard to provide absolute numbers, as in almost forty year gap between the first and the last research, the map of Friulian-speaking has changed considerably. In other words, the "old sample" represents nothing but itself, nowadays, that is a sample useful to be compared with the data of similar samples of the past, but no longer able to provide absolute figures on how many Friulian speakers there are in 2014.

Obviously, each of these samples provides a certain percentage of regular and occasional speakers, which varies from sample to sample. Estimating how many the absolute numbers of speakers are is an operation

that is affected by unavoidable logical steps that affect the result, and that are not indisputable as they inevitably contain various operational decisions.

3. The estimate on a provincial basis

The most logically simple, and probably the most robust method to determine an estimate of the absolute number of speakers in Friulian in our region is to use percentages of speakers (regular and occasional) observed in the three Friulian-speaking provinces, and set parameters these percentages to the total number of inhabitants of these provinces.

The table below contains the official data provided by the Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia on the resident population in the three provinces covered by our research. The data were updated on 31.12.2013.

Resident population by province 31.12.2013	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Gorizia	68,775	72,301	**141,076**
Pordenone	154,007	160,637	**314,644**
Udine	260,177	277,766	**537,943**

The following table represents the summary of the percentage data relating to speakers found in the three provincial samples of our research.

Degree of knowledge of F.	UD. PROV.	PN. PROV.	GO. PROV.
I speak regularly	57.6%;	25.9%;	21.5%;
I speak occasionally	19.6%;	15%;	18.5%;
I understand I do not speak	19.6%;	42.2%;	44%;
I do not understand it	3.2%;	16.9%;	16%;

Applying the percentages found in the samples to the total of the officially resident population over the same period of the research carried out, you get the following absolute data.

	Resident Pop.	% Regular Speakers	**Regular speakers**
UD	537943	57.6%;	309855
PN	314644	25.9%;	81493
GO	141076	21.5%;	30331
TOTAL	993663		**421679**

	Resident Pop.	% Occasional speakers	**Occasional speakers**
UD	537943	19.6%;	105437
PN	314644	15%;	47197
GO	141076	18.5%;	26099
TOTAL	993663		**178733**

	Resident Pop.	% Understanding rate	**People who claim they understand Friulian**
UD	537943	96.8%;	520729
PN	314644	83.1%;	261469
GO	141076	84%;	118504
TOTAL	993663		**900702**

(These tables are approximate to a unit, the figures after the decimal point have been eliminated for easier reading; this can generate a slight discrepancy in the intersection of total sums, discrepancy not exceeding a unit)

The "regular speakers" amount to 421,679. The "occasional speakers" to 178,733.

The total obtained by adding regular and occasional speakers (active use of the language) brings the estimated number of Friulian-speakers on 31/12/2013 to 600,412.

The understanding rate (in addition to the speakers, those claiming to understand the Friulian language, even if they do not speak it) is however high. Particularly, in the province of Udine, where the figure is close to 100% of the sample, and where the number of people who claim to at least understand Friulian approximates the absolute data of population involved in the three provinces. According to these calculations, more than 900,000 people, in the three provinces of Udine, Pordenone and Gorizia alone, understand the Friulian language.

We summarize the main figures of this estimate in the table below.

Province	**Regular speakers**	**Occasional speakers**	**Total speakers (active use)**	**Rate of understanding**
UD	309855	105437	415292	520729
PN	81493	47197	128690	261469
GO	30331	26099	56430	118504
TOTAL	**421679**	**178733**	**600412**	**900702**

4. The estimate on the basis of (i) gender and (ii) province

A more structured method of determining an estimate of the absolute number of speakers of Friulian in our region is to use the official figures that the region of Friuli Venezia Giulia provides us at the level of the provincial population divided by gender.

In the following table, we will use for the calculation not the total of the population by province, but the list of the percentages for men and women in the same province. To these absolute figures we shall apply the percentages of speakers found from our research in the three provinces, also divided by gender.

Resident population by province on 31.12.2013	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Gorizia	**68,775**	**72,301**	141,076
Pordenone	**154,007**	**160,637**	314,644
Udine	**260,177**	**277,766**	537,943

Province of Udine	**Men**	**Women**
I speak regularly	61.7%;	53.1%;
I speak occasionally	18.2%	21.1%
I understand I do not speak	16.8%	22.7%
I do not understand it	3.3%	3.1%

Province of Pordenone	**Men**	**Women**
I speak regularly	27.4%	23.1%
I speak occasionally	14.3%	16.1%
I understand I do not speak	41.1%	44.1%
I do not understand it	17.1%	16.8%

Province of Gorizia	Men	Women
I speak regularly	22.4%	20.3%
I speak occasionally	20.5%	16.1%
I understand I do not speak	43.6%	44.9%
I do not understand it	13.5%	18.6%

By applying the percentage of use of the language according to gender to data regarding the provincial population divided by gender, the following absolute figures are obtained:

Province of Udine	Men	Women	Absolute n° of men	Absolute n° of women
I speak regularly	61.7%	53.1%	160529	147494
I speak occasionally	18.2%	21.1%	47352	58609
Rate of active use			207881	206102

Province of Pordenone	Men	Women	Absolute n° of men	Absolute n° of women
I speak regularly	27.4%	23.1%	42198	37107
I speak occasionally	14.3%	16.1%	22023	25863
Rate of active use			64221	62970

Province of Gorizia	Men	Women	Absolute n° of men	Absolute n° of women
I speak regularly	22.4%	20.3%	15406	14677
I speak occasionally	20.5%	16.1%	14099	11640
Rate of active use			29504	26318

(These tables are approximate to a unit, the figures after the decimal point have been eliminated for easier reading; this can generate a slight discrepancy in the intersection of total sums, discrepancy not exceeding a unit)

This brings the estimated regular, occasional use and the active usage rate (i.e. the total of speakers) to what is presented in the following table:

Province of Udine	Absolute n° of men	Absolute n° of women	Total Province
I speak regularly	160529	147494	308023
I speak occasionally	47352	58609	105961
Rate of active use	207881	206102	413984

Province of Pordenone	Absolute n° of men	Absolute n° of women	Total Province
I speak regularly	42198	37107	79305
I speak occasionally	22023	25863	47886
Rate of active use	64221	62970	127191

Province of Gorizia	Absolute n° of men	Absolute n° of women	Total Province
I speak regularly	15406	14677	30083
I speak occasionally	14099	11640	25739
Rate of active use	29504	26318	55822

(These tables are approximate to a unit, the figures after the decimal point have been eliminated for easier reading; this can generate a slight discrepancy in the intersection of total sums, discrepancy not exceeding a unit)

By adding at this point the total speakers from the gender data in each province, the resulting estimate of all the speakers of Friulian in the three provinces is as follows:

	Province of Udine	**Province of Pordenone**	**Province of Gorizia**	**TOTAL**
I speak regularly	308023	79305	30083	**417411**
I speak occasionally	105961	47886	25739	**179586**
Rate of active use	413984	127191	55822	**596997**

As it can be seen, the absolute number of speakers, according to this estimation method divided by gender, stands at a slightly lower figure than what was found with the previous method: 596 997 absolute speakers (regular and occasional altogether, or the active usage rate) against 600,412 estimated by calculating only according to the province. There is a minimum difference of about 3,500 people, almost all resulting from less data on regular speakers, 417 411 following this method of calculation, compared to 421 679 estimated with the previous method.

5. The estimate based on the "old sample"

The "old sample" (or otherwise referred to as the "Friuli" sample) is a sample constructed with the same Municipalities and weights in the number of surveys that had been used in the 1998 research (which, in turn, had been built with the same municipalities and weights of the 1977 research).

As mentioned, the "old sample", or "Friuli" sample, is an excellent source in allowing us to estimate the changes in the use of the language over time, but it can no longer be considered a valid sample to provide absolute numbers. In other words, the "old sample" represents nothing but itself nowadays, that is, a useful sample to be compared with the data of similar samples of the past, but no longer able to provide absolute figures on how many Friulian speakers there are in 2014.

That said, in the past, the old sample was used to estimate the number of speakers. Hence let us use a further method of estimation, from the data we have obtained from the "old sample". This estimate should be read with caution, in the light of the observations mentioned above, but can be an attractive alternative and, at least partially, directly comparable with the estimates carried out in the past, in particular those printed in the 1998 research.

The "old sample", or the "Friuli" sample is included in this current research, exactly as in the 1998 and 1977 research, obtained from the interviews in the following municipalities: Arta Terme, Attimis, Bagnaria Arsa, Basiliano, Bicinicco, Casarsa, Cassacco, Cavazzo, Cervignano, Chiopris Viscone, Coseano, Gorizia, Latisana, Majano, Maniago, Manzano, Moggio Udinese, Pagnacco, Palazzolo dello Stella, Palmanova, Pozzuolo del Friuli, Remanzacco, Ronchis, San Giorgio di Nogaro, San Vito al Tagliamento, Santa Maria la Longa, Sequals, Sesto al Reghena, Tolmezzo. Tricesimo, Udine, Villa Vicentina.

Using as basic data the latest official figures on 31/12/2013 relating to the resident population provided by the Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia based on the municipality, the following table is obtained:

Municipality	Men	Women	Total
ARTA TERME	1,099	1,128	2,227
ATTIMIS	884	952	1,836
BAGNARIA ARSA	1,740	1,849	3,589
BASILIANO	2,663	2,736	5,399
BICINICCO	938	971	1,909

CASARSA DELLA DELIZIA	4,326	4,280	8,606
CASSACCO	1,428	1,487	2,915
CAVAZZO CARNICO	513	578	1,091
CERVIGNANO DEL FRIULI	6,789	7,066	13,855
CHIOPRIS-VISCONE	313	323	636
COSEANO	1,079	1,156	2,235
GORIZIA	16,978	18,370	35,348
LATISANA	6,671	7,182	13,853
MAJANO	2,890	3,102	5,992
MANIAGO	5,845	6,037	11,882
MANZANO	3,194	3,414	6,608
MOGGIO UDINESE	867	903	1,770
PAGNACCO	2,490	2,579	5,069
PALAZZOLO DELLO STELLA	1,485	1,542	3,027
PALMANOVA	2,657	2,807	5,464
POZZUOLO DEL FRIULI	3,370	3,550	6,920
REMANZACCO	3,077	3,167	6,244
RONCHIS	1,036	1,083	2,119
SAN GIORGIO DI NOGARO	3,769	3,863	7,632
SAN VITO AL TAGLIAMENTO	7,334	7,795	15,129
SANTA MARIA LA LONGA	1,152	1,260	2,412
SEQUALS	1,083	1,154	2,237
SESTO AL REGHENA	3,197	3,162	6,359
TOLMEZZO	5,107	5,473	10,580
TRICESIMO	3,628	4,045	7,673
UDINE	46,111	53,420	99,531
VILLA VICENTINA	689	682	1,371
TOTAL	144,402	157,116	301,518

That means that the population directly involved in the survey (that is, the total resident population in the municipalities of the sample) amounted to 301,518 units.

Now we shall carry out the following tasks:

1. we apply to this total population in absolute numbers, the percentage of use of the Friulian language obtained in the "Friuli sample", 47.6% (regular use) and 19.9% (occasional use);
2. We calculate how much "weight" the population obtained has in percentage (representative of the "old sample") compared to the total population of the three target provinces;
3. We fix a parameter therefore for the absolute number of the inhabitants and the speakers estimates obtained in step 1.

That is, within the territory of the representative municipalities of the "old sample" alone, (or the "Friuli" sample) the estimate on the actual number of speakers registered amounts to the figures given in the table below (obtained by applying the percentage of 47.6% - regular use and 19.9% - occasional use to the population actually residing in the municipalities polled):

Only in the "old sample"	Absolute n°
I speak regularly	143,523
I speak occasionally	60,002
Active use	203,525

At this point, we calculate the weight of the population surveyed directly, compared to the overall population residing in the three provinces on which our research is based. The population directly represented by the "old sample" is of 301,518 units, while the total population of the three provinces of reference is 993,663 units (FVG Region data at 31/12/2013).

This means that the population directly represented by the "old standard" accounts for 30.3% compared to the total population of the three provinces.

Let us now apply this percentage to normalize to 100 the absolute number of speakers on a provincial basis, starting from the figure recorded in the "Friuli" sample. We obtain the estimates contained in the following table:

	Only in the "old sample"	**Normalized to the tot. population**
I speak regularly	143,523	**473,672**
I speak occasionally	60,002	**198,027**
Active use	203,525	**671,699**

As you can see, the estimate obtained according to this methodology starting from the "old sample" data is higher, compared to the other two methods. About 50,000 regular speakers more (while the figure for the occasional speakers remains substantially in line with that estimated by the other two methods).

This is a result that could be expected, as the "old sample", although over time has lost its characteristic of being fully representative of the Friulian area, was built on the basis of a historically Friulian-speaking area. Since the sample is built on the basis of the original territorial distribution of the speakers, an area which in our estimation method is "stretched" to include the whole three provinces, the absolute number is overestimated.

6. The estimate based on the "old sample" - method compared to the one used in 1998

The research in 1998 was entirely based on a sample similar to our "old standard" or "Friuli sample". On that occasion, the estimated number of speakers had been calculated by a method which, with hindsight, we can safely declare "all too honest" (i.e. underestimated):

- It was calculated that the Friuli-speaking area of reference was made up of about 715,000 people. This estimate was based on the sum of the inhabitants of all the 172 municipalities that were included in the Friuli-speaking area in 1977 (from which, then, the 32 municipalities were chosen where to actually carry out the survey);
- The percentage of regular speakers that was obtained in the 1998 study was 57.2%, the percentage of occasional speakers was 20.3%;
- It was focused only on the regular speakers, as the majority of those who had declared to be "occasional" speakers were mainly part of the "lost speakers" category: people who had effectively abandoned the use of language;
- the percentage of 57.2% was rounded off to 60% (this was accomplished based on the idea that, in any case, at least a small part of occasional speakers could be accounted for as effective speakers, and also as a result of the argument that, in any case, the attempt here is to estimate the total number of users considering only the three provinces of Udine, Gorizia and Pordenone, while it is obvious that in small percentages, there are speakers even in parts of the Veneto, in the province of Trieste, and not only);
- this 60% was applied to the population (715,000 reference people);
- The resulting estimate was 429,000 speakers, rounded off to the round figure of 430,000 (Picco, 2001).

Now we retrace the same steps, to update them with current data.

In the 172 municipalities included in the Friuli-speaking area, at 31/12/2014 724,630 people reside (FVG Region data).

The percentage of regular speakers that we got in our "Friuli" sample in 2014 is 47.6% (with 19.9% of occasional speakers).

We focus, as did in 1998, only on the percentage of regular speakers, and we round off to 50% the original 47.6%.

At this point, we apply 50% to the reference figure (724,630 people) and we get an estimate of 362,315 speakers.

In our opinion, this number does not make much sense as an absolute estimate (as well as, for opposite reasons, the figure obtained in the first method we have applied starting from the data in the "Friuli" sample): it was obtained on a sample which is no longer fully representative of the phenomenon, and performing the same operations as in 1998, without trying to change its underestimating logic.

Therefore, the figure we obtained in 2014 using this method, i.e. 362,315 speakers, should be read especially in comparison with the figure of 430,000 speakers that had been estimated in the same way in 1998, rather than being used as an estimate of the actual number of speakers today.

7. Final comments

To sum up, we have conducted four different methods of estimating the absolute number of speakers.

We summarize in the following table the absolute figures obtained depending on the method used.

	Regular speakers	**Occasional speakers**	**Total speakers**
The estimate on a provincial basis	**421,679**	**178,733**	**600,412**
The estimate on the basis of (i) gender and (ii) province	**417,411**	**179,586**	**596,997**
*Estimate based on the *"old sample" - new method*	*473,672	*198,027	*671,699
*Estimate based on the *"old sample" - old method from 1998*	* 362,315 (in 1998, in the same way, 430,000 were estimated)		

** (Note: the estimates based on the "old sample", are to be considered overestimated in the first case, underestimated in the second)*

Both methods of calculation carried out from the "old sample" or the "Friuli" sample start from a sample that fails to fully reflect the area, and also are based on partially arbitrary logical steps.

The method we proposed (Estimate based on the "old sample" - new method) definitely tends to overestimate the number of speakers; the 1998 method (Estimate based on the "old standard" - old method, the one used in 1998) tends to underestimate it.

If, however, making one last arbitrary action "just to try it out", we calculate the average of the two data (bearing in mind the old method did not consider the occasional speakers and thus that sample will be compared only against the regular speakers of the new method) the balance figure you get is 417,993, i.e. an outcome absolutely consistent with the findings at the level of regular speakers in the two provincial estimates.

In conclusion, we consider the two methods based on provincial projections definitely more reliable, due to the logical clarity of the method and the consistency of the data, which as we have seen, have very similar values to one another, comprised in the following ranges:

	from:	to:
Regular speakers	417,411	421,679
Occasional speakers	179,586	178,733
Total speakers	596,997	600,412

If we find the average value of these ranges, and extremely slightly round it off, our estimate of the absolute number of speakers, divided into regular, occasional and total speakers, brings us to what has been reported briefly at the beginning of this chapter. We estimate that in 2014, limited to the population of the three provinces of Udine, Gorizia and Pordenone, the number of regular speakers is 420,000 people; this figure is summed up to other 180,000 occasional speakers; which brings the total figure of the universe of people who make active use of the Friulian to approximately 600,000 people.

Estimate summary of the number of speakers in Friulian (2014)

Regular speakers	420,000
Occasional speakers	180,000
Total speakers (active use)	600,000

Part IV - The phone survey

1.1 Objectives and Methodology

At the end of the survey and collection of the main research data procedures, a new research with different methodologies was carried out, which had the aim to:

- check the consistency of the data collected in the main research comparing them with data obtained with different methods and interviewers;
- play an indirect control function in relation to the correctness of the data collection procedures of the main research;
- try to estimate the percentage of the interview rejections caused by the very topic of the research (i.e. estimate the percentage of people who tend to refuse their consent to do the interview precisely because the topic is the Friulian language).

For this purpose a short questionnaire was designed, consisting of three demographic variables (age, gender and town of residence of the respondent) to cross-reference with five content questions.

The first question asked was identical to the questionnaire of the main research, and obviously concerns the answer regarding the degree of knowledge of Friulian (“Can you please indicate the degree of knowledge of Friulian?" It was accompanied by the same answer options of the main questionnaire). On the other hand, the remaining four questions regarded, in a summarized way, some of the issues that had seemed of decisive importance in relation to the data obtained in the main survey:

- the language spoken by the respondent as a child with his parents;
- if the respondent had children, which language is used with them now;
- if the respondent had no children, which language should two parents use with their children, if they both speak in Friulian;
- finally, a synthetic degree of agreement/disagreement with the "protection and development policies" of the Friulian language.

At the end of the questionnaire, a variable was present to allow the interviewer to state, in case of refusal to answer the survey, whether the rejection seemed to have been dictated by the topic of the research itself (i.e. due to the fact that the focus of the questions concerned the Friulian language) or it falls under any other category of reasons (lack of time, total unavailability to be interviewed or other generic or not declared

reasons). The interviewer was instructed to attempt, before hanging up the phone in front of a rejection, to probe/understand if the reason for the rejection was or appeared to be related to the subject of the survey or not.

Within the so-called "old sample" or "Friuli" sample, six municipalities were identified, to have the greatest possible comparability of these data with the findings in the relevant sample of the main research, on the basis of these criteria:

- the main municipalities were excluded because they presented a varied situation, and in some way an eccentric one, regarding the spread of the Friulian language, and therefore did not seemed suited to the objectives of this control phone survey;
- therefore we concentrated on six medium-sized municipalities, including two in the south to cover the east-west axis of the region (Latisana and Cervignano), two more to "the center" of the territory following the same logic (San Vito al Tagliamento and Tricesimo), and two that represented the mountainous area better, covering again the east-west axis (i.e. Maniago and Tolmezzo).

The names of the respondents were identified using as a database the telephone directory, with a sampling procedure with a constant distance. The interviewer was instructed to reach a total figure of 300 units of survey, between interviews carried out and motivated/explainable refusals, as much as possible an equal measure between the 6 targeted municipalities.

1.2 The results obtained from the telephone survey and comparison with the main research

At the end of the telephone survey operations, 231 interviews were carried out on the short questionnaire, and 69 motivated/explainable interview refusals were recorded (i.e., only the refusals where it was possible to estimate the reasons; overall the refusals were more numerous, but only the not motivated/explainable ones were of interest to us, and thus were recorded and contributed to reaching the 300 survey units).

The basic hypothesis from which we started was that the telephone interview results would have to be similar to the "Friuli" sample data in the main research, in particular as regards the most important aspect, i.e. the degree of knowledge of Friulian, despite the different methodology used for data collection. In other words, the aim was to be able to compare the data of the telephone survey to the data obtained in the "Friuli" sample, in order to verify the robustness of the data emerging from the main research.

The results for the first question of the short questionnaire, compared with the results in the "Friuli" sample are summarized in the following table:

Degree of knowledge of F.	**Phone Survey**	"Friuli" Sample
I speak regularly	**48.9**	47.6
I speak occasionally	**16.0**	19.9
I understand I do not speak	**28.1**	26.4
I do not understand it	**6.9**	6.1

As you see, there is a substantial "solidity" of the data collected in the "Friuli" sample of the main research compared with what was found through the telephone method. In particular, the percentage of regular speakers, which is of course the most important data to detect and assess because it indicates a clear self-declaration of the interviewee who, by responding in this way, "chooses" openly to be on the side of the speakers, differs by only 1.3 percentage points.

This difference appears to be contained within the confidence interval of the data collected with the telephone method. It is a positive difference (that is, a higher figure in the telephone survey compared to the main research) as was expected given that the "Friuli" sample, on the phone, was further sampled by a method which had partially "focused" the investigation lens towards an area considered to be Friulian-speaking.

The main difference in the two data series seems to be the one regarding those who declared themselves occasional speakers: in the case of the telephone survey differs by less than 3.9 percentage points

compared to the "Friuli" sample. A third of this difference is attributable to the 1.3 already mentioned related to the figure of the regular speakers (the statistical series are "zero-sum" games), the remaining two-thirds (2.6%) are distributed in the not-understanding area and, above all, in the area of just understanding the language.

This leads us to think that the telephone interview method, characterized by greater impersonality of the interview itself, makes it easier for a person to decide to state they are "non-speakers" when their answer might be between occasional speakers and simple understanding without active use of the language. This, among other things, would support the opinion of those who believe that the "occasional speakers" detected in the main research are, in a significant proportion, '"lost speakers", i.e. people who overestimate their own use of the Friulian language and/or prefer to declare themselves occasional speakers because they do not want to admit that they have lost the use of the local language of the area, as part of their own personal and family history. This "psychological" difficulty to admitting the loss of the language, which is a known fact as already found in other studies, is predictably higher in the case of a long and complex face to face interview (as in the main research) compared with a short interview mediated by a means of distance communication such as the telephone.

The second question of the short questionnaire investigated the language spoken by the parents of the interviewed person, asking briefly whether the parents "usually" speak in Friulian or not. The telephone interview provides in this respect a percentage of 52.6% of use of Friulian between the parents of the respondents. This figure does not differ greatly from the percentage of regular speakers observed in the first question, corroborating the idea, which emerged clearly in main research (and in past research) of the strong link between the language spoken by parents in the family and respondents declaring to be regular speakers. This figure is not directly comparable with findings in the main research because of the different wording of questions (here, on the phone, focuses only on Friulian with a dichotomous "yes/no" answer, rather than allow for "Italian/Friulian/both/other" as the main research does) but it seems an answer which goes to support the main research, as in the "Friuli" sample the clear "Friulan" answers amounted to 49.4% (a 3.2 percentage points difference).

Very similar data between the telephone research and the findings in the "Friuli" sample of the main research also emerge from the third and fourth question of the short questionnaire.

Q. 3: If you have children, do you speak in Friulian with your children?

Not at all	56.6
A little	7.5
Quite a lot	13.2
A lot	22.6

This figure is to be compared with the answers to question 8.3 of the main questionnaire: "You speak with your children in" (Response options: Italian, Friulian, both, other). In the "Friuli" sample the distribution of answers was as follows:

Italian	57.4
Friulian	19.8
Both	20.1
Other	2.7

By removing the answer "other", which is not present on the phone, and by normalizing the number of remaining answers to 100, the normalized answers to question 8.3 of the main questionnaire (the "Friuli" sample) are as follows:

Italian	59.0
Friulian	20.3
Both	20.7

At this point, the different wording of the questions between the main and telephone survey makes a semantic "transformation" necessary, for the purpose of comparing the data. In the telephone survey consider the answer "A lot" to the question "do you speak Friulian with your children?" as a synonym for the

clear answer “Friulian” to the "Do you speak with your children in" question in the main research. The "Quite a lot" and "A little" answers, the weakest from the semantic point of view, as being equivalent to the answer "both languages". The answer in the telephone survey "not at all" as a synonym for the clear answer "Italian" provided in the "Friuli" sample. After carrying out this semantic transformation, the comparison between the data obtained is the following:

The language spoken by the respondent with the children

	telephone	"Friuli" sample
Italian	**56.6**	59.0
Friulian	**22.6**	20.3
Both	**20.7**	20.7

Question 4 of the telephone short questionnaire was addressed only to the respondents who reported not to have any children. The results are contained in the following table (in addition to the clear "yes/no" answers, the answer "other" is broken down, i.e. the remaining 19.6% of the total, in the three main dimensions of "open questions" declared by respondents):

Q. 4: (If you do have no children) Then I'll ask: In your opinion, two parents who both speak in Friulian should use it with their children or not?

Yes	69.4	69.4
No	11.1	11.1
Other	19.6	19.6
both Italian and Friulian	*8.4*	
it depends	*5.6*	
I do not know	*5.6*	

In order to compare these data with those obtained in the "Friuli" sample, we remove the open-ended "other" answer, which in the questionnaire of the main search was not planned, and we normalize the series to 100 to highlight only the clear-cut "yes/no" answers. The following set of data is obtained which, as it can clearly be seen, here too follows very closely on the similar series detected in the main research:

Two parents who both speak Friulian should use it with their children or not?

	telephone	"Friuli" sample
Yes	**86.2**	87.2
No	**13.8**	12.8

Even more similar data are obtained if, before removing the answer "other" and normalizing to 100 the remaining answers of the telephone interview we group together the answer "yes" to the open-ended responses that contain it logically, or 8.4% of open answers: both Italian and Friulian

In this case, the comparison is:

Two parents who both speak Friulian should use it with their children or not?

	telephone	"Friuli" sample
Yes	**87.5**	87.2
No	**12.5**	12.8

The last question submitted in the telephone survey covered a summary evaluation regarding the degree of agreement with the "policies of protection and development of the Friulian language". In this case the question has not been asked only in order to compare data of the telephone survey to the main research data, so as to check the soundness of the findings in the latter, but also for the purpose of simply understanding the orientation of the people interviewed. In the main questionnaire a synthetic question of this type does not exist; the answer to this question, in the main research, emerges from the intersection of many different stimuli that tackle the subject from different points of view. The results obtained in the telephone survey are as follows:

Q. 5: Policies of protection and development of the Friulian language are being carried. How much do you agree with these policies?

Not at all	7.7
A little	17.7
Quite a lot	30.6
A lot	44.0

If an attempt is made to try to verify the consistency of the findings from the telephone survey with those of the main research, the most similar question asked to the "Friuli" sample is: "In your opinion, do you think it is fair that Friulian is protected by specific laws?" To this question the "Friuli" sample responded with 79.9% of "yes" (and a corresponding 20.1% of negative responses).
If we take the responses obtained in the telephone interview and divide them into the two "positive/negative" fields (i.e. with the answers "Quite a lot" and "A lot" added up to mean "yes", and the answers "A little" and "Not at all" to mean "no"), we obtain the following comparison that, despite the logical operations necessary to create it, also in this case provides very similar data:

"Policies of protection and development of the Friulian language are being carried out. How much do you agree with these policies?" Vs "Do you think it is right that Friulian is protected by specific laws?"

	telephone	"Friuli" sample
No	**25.4**	20.1
Yes	**74.6**	79.9

1.3 The analysis of the reasons for rejecting the interview

The total of 300 units of analysis reached by telephone search are divided in this way:
- 231 filled-in short telephone questionnaires;
- 69 "motivated" refusals of the interview.

We would like to point out that by "motivated" refusals of the interview we mean the refusal in which the interviewer has felt able to estimate with a reasonable degree of accuracy, whether the refusal was due to the subject of the research or, conversely, whether the refusal was not in any way related to the subject of research, but arising from "other" causes.

All the "motivated" refusals were counted, and have contributed to achieving the objective of a total of 300 research units. All "not motivated" refusals, that is where the interviewer has decided they were not able to provide an indication of the reason for refusal, were not counted as those are not interesting for our purpose.

The concern that has prompted us to include an indication of the reason for refusal of the interview was that, if the rate of refusals due to the very subject of the research, the Friulian language, was significantly high in percentage terms, this could affect the results thereof. Indeed, it is quite easy to assume that, if a person refuses the interview after having discovered the topic, it is probably because their opinion about the Friulian

language, its protection, and the studies dedicated to it would have been negative. The refusals due to the subject are, to some extent, to be considered natural, but if their percentage rate were particularly high, this would have significantly decreased the presence of negative opinions in our overall sample, negative opinions existing in the area but not detectable, in fact, due to refusing the interview.

Several times in various research reports, we wrote of how both positive opinions and the strongest ideological oppositions against Friulian have proved to be clearly suffering from a downward compared to the past, in favor of a "flat" or "neutral" reading of this linguistic/cultural phenomenon. At a time when the telephone survey was conducted, however, we had not yet studied the results and had not analysed the data collected in the main research, and so we had not yet observed that the "dislike" on the topic of Friulian had clearly diminished. The interest in checking somehow the "ideological" refusal aspect had derived from here.

The data obtained seem to confirm that also in the telephone research, in 2014, there is not a high rate of "ideological" refusal on the issue of language on the territory. Out of 69 "motivated refusals", only 13 have been considered by the interviewer as connected to the fact that the subject of the research was Friulian, compared with 56 refusals obtained for reasons considered or judged as not related to the topic of the interview (and compared to, as it must be remembered, an even higher rate of general refusals altogether expressed by potential respondents).

Comparing these figures to the telephone surveys which were actually carried out, i.e. 231 collected interviews, we conclude that the weight of refusals related to the topic of the Friulian language compared to the amount of collected questionnaires is substantially low. The phenomenon, therefore, falls into the "natural" dynamics of a sampling survey.

1.4 Conclusions

With reference to the objectives set at the beginning of the chapter, we can conclude that the telephone research allowed for a positive verification of the "consistency" and "solidity" of the data collected in the main research.

This "Control Research", conducted by different interviewers, with a different methodology, and made by further sampling the "Friuli" sample containing it, has provided absolutely comparable results to those recorded in the main research. This very strong similarity of results, in addition to consolidating the data obtained, has also provided an indirect verification of the work done by the interviewers of the overall research.

Part V - Methodology and research phases

The "Survey and statistical analysis on the habits, behaviors, opinions, knowledge and use referred to the Friulian language", or briefly "Sociolinguistic research on the Friulian language" has been entrusted to the University of Udine by ARLeF - Regional agency for the Friulian language with special agreement signed on 11/12/2012.

The main objective of the research, understood as a whole, is to give continuity to the surveys carried out historically from the late 70s to date on these issues, and focused in particular on the task of monitoring the changes in the use and opinions on the Friulian language, also as a result of legislative measures for the protection and promotion of the language adopted at regional and national level.

The main baseline surveys that have represented the background against which the current data were set were:

- the survey carried out between 1998 and 1999, commissioned by the Regional Observatory of the Friulian language and culture (OLF) and carried out within the Department of Economics, Society and Territory of the University of Udine, whose main findings are reported in the book "Research on the sociolinguistics situation of Friulian", Picco L., Forum, 2001;
- the even earlier research conducted between 1977 and 1978 by ISIG (Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia) commissioned by the Regional Commission for the Study of Linguistic Situation of the Friuli Venezia Giulia Region;

- the intermediate survey conducted in 1986 again by ISIG referring only to the territory of the province of Udine.

This "Survey and statistical analysis on the habits, attitudes, opinions, knowledge and use referred to the Friulian language" identified, with a two-stage sampling procedure (municipalities/respondents), a representative sample of the population living in the three provinces of Gorizia, Pordenone and Udine, sample consisting of randomly extracted names from the primary source of the registry lists provided by the 72 municipalities which were the object of the research. The 72 municipalities, in turn, resulted from the intersection of:

- the 32 municipalities already selected in the 1977 research, then re-proposed as the basis of the sample for the research in 1998, included yet again in ours order to obtain a better comparability over time of this research with past analysis;
- a further sampling of the first stage, carried out with random criteria, on the territory of the three provinces taken into consideration, in order to allow a representative analysis of the population also at each province level.

The analysis:

- examined the issues connected to the spread of the Friulian language, its current use and its protection;
- has investigated and explored the use of different linguistic codes in different social situations (from the most informal and private one to the instrumental, public and official ones);
- attitudes towards the Friulian culture and language have been investigated;
- opinions and assessments about the future of the Friulian language and culture were collected;
- the attitudes and opinions with respect to the introduction of the Friulian language and culture in schools were investigated;
- the spread of the use of the Friulian language and culture in the media, with attention paid to both the traditional media and the innovative digital ones was investigated.

The ultimate objective of the collection of this data, and the main point of reference during its analysis, has been providing information that may be relevant to the effective and more conscious design of specific language policy plans, created according to the specific situation of the parts of the territory under consideration. To this end, the survey has focused on the questions related to the Friulian culture and language in three representative samples of each of the three Friualian-speaking provinces (see the three reports relating to the provinces of Gorizia, Pordenone and Udine) as well as data regarding the sample made by the same municipalities in the 1977 and 1998 studies (which we refer to as the "Friuli sample" or even "old sample"; in this respect see the report on the "Friuli sample") in order to obtain information on specific areas of the territory and on Friuli taken as a whole, to be compared with the previous information in order to verify the changes and evolution of the language and opinions concerning it.

For this purpose four different representative samples were created, respectively,

- the Friuli territory, considered as a whole, in order to compare correctly the current results with those of previous surveys, and thus evaluate the transformations that have occurred over time in attitudes towards the Friulian culture and language and in the use of Friulian in the different life contexts. For creating this sample, the starting point and the reference point have been the study of 1998 (the results of which are contained in the book: Picco L., 2001, "Research on the sociolinguistics situation of Friulian", Forum, Udine). In order to compare data in the best possible way, the current survey with reference to the "Friuli sample" was carried out in the 32 municipalities already identified in the 1998 research (which, in turn, had borrowed the list of the same 32 municipalities from the research of 1977. To obtain the original list in 1977, a stratification of part of the regional territory then identified as "Friulian-speaking" based on altitude, rate of Friulian use and the percentage of people employed in agriculture was carried. The 32 municipalities that make up the "Friuli" sample, identical to those of 1977 and 1998 are therefore: Arta Terme, Attimis, Bagnaria Arsa, Basiliano, Bicinicco, Casarsa della Delizia, Cassacco, Cavazzo Carnico, Cervignano, Chiopris-Viscone, Coseano, Gorizia, Latisana, Majano, Maniago, Manzano, Moggio Udinese, Pagnacco, Palazzolo dello Stella, Palmanova, Pozzuolo del Friuli, Remanzacco, Ronchis, San Giorgio di Nogaro, San Vito al Tagliamento, Santa Maria la Longa, Sequals, Sesto al Reghena, Tolmezzo, Tricesimo, Udine, Villa Vicentina.
- three other samples for the three provinces of Gorizia, Pordenone and Udine. The provincial samples were made first by including the municipalities (and hence the names) already included in the "Friuli sample" or "old sample" indicated above, and more municipalities (and therefore names) chosen through random procedures to ensure statistical representativeness at the provincial level. In particular, in the province of Udine a further 6 municipalities were extracted, taking into account

demographic size, (to be added to the 26 municipalities of the province of Udine already in the "Friuli sample") for a total of 32 municipalities affected by the survey. In the province of Pordenone, in addition to the five municipalities already in the "Friuli" sample, 15 other one were included, taking into account their demographic size. In the province of Gorizia, where only the main city was already part of the "Friuli sample", 19 more municipalities were included.

The search results are provided in the following reports under the ARLeF/University of Udine Convention:

- The report for the "province of Gorizia" sample;
- The report for the "province of Pordenone" sample;
- The report for the "province of Udine" sample;
- The report for the "Friuli sample" (also called the "old sample" in order to emphasize its direct comparability with the studies in 1977 and 1998) made up as previously described;

In addition to these four reports, a further report was also provided, containing:

- the analysis of a fifth sample, consisting of all respondents who said they were "speakers" (regular or occasional) that we called "identikit of speakers", in order to describe in a more accurate and complete way, starting from the widest data base at our disposal, the fundamental characteristics of the universe of speakers, in terms of language use habits, motivations and ways of use, opinions on the protection and presence in schools, media consumption, and so on. This sub-sample was analyzed independently and in comparison with "the area of non-speakers" (the remaining part of the total sample) in order to highlight "structural" differences in opinions, habits etc., which may be somehow due or related to the active use of the language;
- The results of the telephone survey, conducted in parallel with the main research, in order to (1) verify the consistency of the data collected in the main research comparing them with data obtained with different methods and interviewers; (2) play a monitoring function in relation to the correctness of the data collection procedures of the main research; (3) try to estimate the percentage of the interview refusal caused by the very topic of the research (i.e. estimate the percentage of people who have refused consent to the interview just because it concerned the subject of the Friulian language);
- the estimated number of regular and occasional Friulian-speakers (and how many people just understand the language) broken down for the three provinces involved and calculated globally for the entire sample considered;
- the additional materials requested by the ARLeF management after the reading and the following discussion on the first draft of the four research reports mentioned above, delivered by the University of Udine to ARLeF on 30/06/2014. The issues related to these in-depth studies include:
    - the isolation and analysis of the sample of the "young" speakers and a description of their particular characteristics;
    - the isolation and analysis of the sample of teachers, the description of their specific characteristics, as well as a more detailed discussion on the overall theme of the Friulian language in schools;
    - the isolation and analysis of the sample of "immigrants" (understood in a broad and narrow sense) and the description of their peculiar characteristics regarding the knowledge, opinions, attitudes and use of the Friulian language;
    - the isolation of the "totally reluctant" sample, or those who, despite having always lived in Friuli, say they do not understand the Friulian language;
    - the analysis of the four sub-samples of identity (respectively, respondents who say they feel "Italian/Friulian/FVG/European citizens) at the level of knowledge, opinions, attitudes and language use.

Stages of research

- *Technical Scientific Committee (CTS)*. The first phase of the research consisted in setting-up the Technical Scientific Committee comprising the scientific coordinator, the coordinator of the survey and the members appointed for this purpose by ARLeF. Throughout the course of the works various CTS meetings have taken place aiming at: 1) the formulation of the main research hypotheses and identifying the objectives of the survey; (2) the design of the survey tool, i.e. the questionnaire, which was built from the questionnaire used for the survey in 1998 in order to maintain comparability over time of the research, which was then submitted to a joint review with the CTS that it has led to some changes like adding new questions which were considered useful, eliminating others which were deemed unnecessary or no longer relevant, and other jointly decided changes; (3) the monitoring of the implementation phase and the first

presentation/evaluation of results; (4) the indication and formulation of thematic in-depth studies to be applied to the data analysis.

- *Collection and analysis of bibliographical materials*. The materials of past studies (in particular the data from 1998 and 1977) and other publications in order to enable comparability over time and overall analysis merits were collected and analyzed. Part of this data/information have been presented in the various research reports (in particular, in the report regarding the "Friuli sample").
- *Formulation of hypotheses, identifying objectives and preparation of the survey tool.* In agreement with the CTS the research hypotheses were formulated, the objectives of the survey were identified and the survey questionnaire was prepared, in the Friulian and Italian language, which was approved by the CTS, then printed by the university in an adequate number of copies, equally divided in the two Friulian/Italian versions, and finally distributed to interviewers to be administered.
- *Statistical sampling and selection of the sample to be interviewed.* The first sampling phase consisted in contacting and writing a request to the 72 municipalities involved in the survey, including the description of the research and its objectives, along with asking for the municipal registry data to perform statistical sampling. Some municipalities have carried out an autonomous sampling, on the basis of the technical/scientific specifications provided by the University; in other cases, they have provided complete lists, on which constant sampling has been carried out. A sample of 1200 people was created thus, plus a back-up sample of another 1200 people.
- *Pre-test.* The questionnaire was submitted to a pre-test stage of 40 extra-sample interviews (these results have not been entered in the total database) in order to test the timing and method of administration, as well as verify the reliability, understanding and consistency with regarding the objectives. Following this stage, the final questionnaire was approved by the CTS and, as previously mentioned, printed in a suitable number of copies.
- *Communication to the sample via letter.* The respondents in the main sample of 1200 people have been notified of the survey, its objectives and its means of implementation through a bilingual letter sent by the university, at its own expense, at the respondents residence address. To this end, 1200 letters have been sent.
- *Recruitment and training of interviewers.* A public tender procedure based on qualifications and an interview was carried out, aimed at collecting available potential interviewers and their curriculum. For this purpose was created an ad hoc committee composed of the people responsible for the survey and a member indicated by ARLeF with the specific task of evaluating the linguistic competence of the Friulian language of the candidates, important selection criteria as the interviewers had to be able to administer the questionnaire in both Italian and Friulian with equal competence. Approximately 120 requests have arrived that were initially subjected to a selection procedure based on academic titles. Based on this selection procedure 80 candidates to be admitted to the oral exam have been identified. At the end of the interview procedures 40 interviewers have been identified. The importance of the linguistic variable in the criteria used for this selection has created an ambivalent situation: on the one hand, in a positive sense, the 40 selected interviewers were all perfectly bilingual and perfectly adequate to the task; on the other, among the selected interviewers there were those who, despite being adequate according to the sought after criteria, due to other work commitments or various incompatible factors were not in fact active, or fully available at the time of the survey itself. Even before entrusting the task officially, an interviewer had to refuse due to a work incompatibility, bringing down the number of interviewers recruited from 40 to 39. During the actual administration of the questionnaires, then, there were other total or partial abandonment because of (1) the difficulty and great amount of time necessary to find the respondents at home and administer the questionnaire and (2) the distance between the interviewer's home and that of the respondents. There was no reimbursement for expenses, they were to be covered by the interviewers themselves. The failure to provide for a form of reimbursement for the transport expenses was decided during the research organization stage since it was expected that the interviewers would have originated, given their number, from the whole area of the three provinces considered. It would then have been possible to assign to various interviewers interviews in neighboring municipalities. It was not so. Almost all interviewers were in fact resident in the province of Udine (which is understandable in hindsight, given that the research data have confirmed that the vast majority of regular speakers reside precisely in this province, but in the organization stage it was not known), making it difficult to cover completely the entire territory without long commutes. Even the assignment phase of the municipalities and the names of the respondents to interviewers, carried out due to its complexity in collaboration with the ARLeF staff, represented a complex step, since the various possible distributions were going to benefit or disadvantage an

interviewer compared to another, in terms of time, cost and ease of the task. Since the public tender envisaged that, ideally, each of the 40 interviewers carried out 30 interviews (40 x 30 = 1,200 total interviews) interviewers who had abandoned the task fully or partially thus left a part of the sample uncovered. It was dealt with this situation by asking active and willing interviewers to carry out a greater number of interviews compared to the 30 planned, in order to cover the missing interviews. After these procedures, we have received 1005 interviews, collected and recorded in the overall database. The 39 interviewers who started the survey procedures were trained regarding data collection procedures as a group, then individually to meet the required specifications, and have been equipped with (1) reference material and instructions to be followed for the survey; (2) identification badge and cover letter, both personal and for the research; (3) questionnaires in both languages; (4) the names (only those specific ones assigned to each interviewer) of people to interview, both the main sample and the back-up, resulting from statistical sampling procedures described above.

- *Survey campaign*. The interview procedures were carried out through a personal interview at the respondent's home, in Italian or Friulian as the respondent chose, in the period between November 2013 and March 2014, and were held continuously, however, making it necessary to (1) monitor progress, in the case of some interviewer who was too slow, (2) recalibrate the distribution of the interviews because of the dropouts of some interviewers and (3) adapt to some "real" emerging situations during the procedures (for example, in the town of Grado, in the sample of the province of Gorizia, it was impossible to collect the set out interviews as the residents chosen in the sample could not be found; in most cases these were names of people who were residents in the municpality registry, but they were not actually, at least not in periods which were not the summer. After several attempts, it was decided to give up, and concentrate the missing interviews in other municipalities in which gaps were recorded as a result of the interviewers' dropout.
- *Verification of the data*. The collected data is checked immediately upon receipt of the questionnaires. Random control procedures were then implemented by telephone and other forms of indirect controls, also based on the phone method, with the purpose of checking the validity and overall robustness of the data collected. For details regarding indirect controls, see the section of the report dedicated to the "phone survey."
- *Data base and data processing*. The collected data was entered into a comprehensive data-base, and then processed in the various sub-samples that make up the research, using a statistical processing software for the social sciences. A first analysis of the data was carried, which was discussed in meetings with the ARLeF management and in report materials. Then, on the basis of these comparisons, a more detailed analysis was made, in order to highlight the most statistically significant connections, the basic trends, and any other information deemed useful in detail.
- *First draft of research reports*. The first draft of the research reports, broken down in the four reports for the Udine, Gorizia, Pordenone provinces and "Friuli sample" was delivered to ARLeF on 30/06/2014.
- *Discussion, further study and final reports*. Following the delivery of the first reports, there was a presentation of the CTS data at ARLeF, that allowed for a discussion and an exchange of views and that led to a request for some specific insights from the CTS and ARLeF. The results of these insights are contained in this report. The final reports delivered as a whole, of which this report is a part, are therefore five. For their detailed description, see the first part of this chapter on research methodology.