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KARELIAN IN RUSSIA

ELDIA Case-Specific Report

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Table of Contents

FOREWORD	I
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	II
LIST OF FIGURES	III
LIST OF TABLES	V
1 INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS ELDIA ABOUT?	1
2 SOCIOHISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXTS	3
2.1 SOCIOHISTORY	10
2.1.1 <i>The Context of the Investigated Language Community</i>	10
2.1.2 <i>Territorial and Political Context</i>	13
2.1.3 <i>Cultural Context</i>	17
2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT	20
2.2.1 <i>Statistics and Basic Demographic Information</i>	20
2.2.2 <i>Assessment of the Criteria That Form the Basis of Existing Information</i>	28
2.2.3 <i>Basic Shortcomings of the Existing Demographic Data</i>	32
2.3 LANGUAGE AND MINORITY POLICIES IN PRACTICE	33
2.3.1 <i>General Context of Language-Political Practices</i>	33
2.3.2 <i>Standardisation of the Karelian Language</i>	36
2.3.3 <i>Language Use in Different Domains</i>	38
2.3.4 <i>Identity-Connected Language-Political Behaviour</i>	46
2.3.5 <i>Gender Aspects of Every-Day Language Policies</i>	46
2.4 LANGUAGES IN CONTACT AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE	47
2.4.1 <i>Monolingualism, Bilingualism and Multilingualism</i>	51
2.4.2 <i>Results of Language Contact</i>	56
2.4.3 <i>Perception of Learnability and Willingness to use the Language</i>	57
2.5 CONCLUSIONS	58
3 DATA SAMPLING AND METHODS	60
3.1 INTRODUCTION TO FIELDWORK	60
3.2 SAMPLE SURVEY	62
3.2.1 <i>The Structure of the Minority Language Speakers' Questionnaire</i>	62
3.2.2 <i>Karelian Language Speakers' Survey</i>	64
3.2.3 <i>The Structure of the Control Group Questionnaire</i>	66
3.2.4 <i>Russian Control Group Survey</i>	67
3.3 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS WITH KARELIAN SPEAKERS	67
3.3.1 <i>Interview Descriptions</i>	68
3.4 FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS	71
3.4.1 <i>Focus Group Interviews with Karelian Speakers</i>	71

3.4.2	<i>Interview Descriptions</i>	72
3.4.3	<i>Focus Group Interviews with Control Group Representatives</i>	76
3.5	SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION	77
3.6	PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING ELDIA DATA ANALYSES	80
3.6.1	<i>Minority Languages as Part of Multilingualism in Modern Societies</i>	80
3.6.2	<i>The Operational Goal of ELDIA</i>	81
3.6.3	<i>Defining and Measuring Language Vitality</i>	81
3.6.4	<i>Practical Procedures in the Data Analyses</i>	85
3.6.5	<i>Analyses Conducted on Survey Questionnaire Data</i>	85
3.6.6	<i>Analyses Conducted on Interview Data</i>	86
4	NEW DATA ON LEGISLATION, MEDIA, EDUCATION, LANGUAGE USE AND INTERACTION	89
4.1	LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS	89
4.2	MEDIA ANALYSIS	90
4.3	SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF SURVEY AND INTERVIEW FINDINGS	95
4.3.1	<i>Language Use and Interaction</i>	95
4.3.2	<i>Legislation</i>	154
4.3.3	<i>Media</i>	168
4.3.4	<i>Education</i>	174
5	CASE-SPECIFIC LANGUAGE VITALITY BAROMETER	179
5.1	CAPACITY	181
5.2	OPPORTUNITY	183
5.3	DESIRE	186
5.4	LANGUAGE PRODUCTS	187
5.5	THE VITALITY OF THE KARELIAN LANGUAGE	189
6	CONCLUSIONS	190
	REFERENCES	191
	WEBPAGES USED	206
	LEGISLATION	207
	ANNEX 1: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS	209
	ANNEX 2: QUESTIONNAIRES	213

Foreword

This report, which forms part of the ELDIA research project (described in more detail in Section 1), deals with the situation of the Olonec Karelian language spoken in the Russian Federation. Olonec Karelian is a definitely endangered language primarily spoken by elderly people in a society that favours monolingualism in the dominant language, Russian.

Like all the ELDIA Case-Specific Reports, this report was written accordance with a design centrally planned by the ELDIA team of Tartu. The fieldwork was planned and led by Riho Grünthal in cooperation with Nina Zajceva in Petrozavodsk, with the assistance of Heini Karjalainen. Heini Karjalainen and Ulriikka Puura conducted the data analyses and wrote the summaries with assistance from Santra Jantunen. These served as the basis for Sections 4 and 5. The complete text was written jointly by Heini Karjalainen and Ulriikka Puura, with the exceptions of Section 2 by Riho Grünthal and Svetlana Kovaleva, Section 3.6 by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt, Section 4.1 by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, and Section 4.2 by Reetta Toivanen.

After this report has been published, abridged versions will be prepared and released online in the Olonec Karelian and the Russian language for a larger non-specialist audience.

Since the very beginning numerous people have contributed to our work. Networking in different environments under varying conditions has guaranteed constant progress. We are very grateful to all the organisations, institutions, and devoted people that have helped us in a number of different ways. The reaching of the goals of the entire project including planning, fieldwork, data analysis, and editing of reports would not have been possible without the help of the following people: Lûdmila Alekseeva, Natal'â Antonova, Viktor Birin, Elena Bogdanova, Tat'âna Bojko, Albion M. Butters, Elena Filippova, Natal'â Giloeva, Santra Jantunen, Evgenij Klement'ev, Svetlana Kovaleva, Denis Kuzmin, Il'â Mošnikov, Irma Mullonen, Ol'ga Ogneva, Annika Pasanen, Svetlana Pasûkova, Martti Penttonen, Elena Perehval'skaâ, Svetlana Plûhina, Aleksandra Rodionova, Gennadij Saraev, Zinaida Strogal'sikova, Outi Tânczos, Tat'âna Vasil'eva, Konstantin Zamâtin, and Ol'ga Zajceva. We would also like to thank Mr Albion Butters for English language checking; after his careful work, the technical editing, including some minor corrections and clarifications in the text, was done by Michaela Pasterk, under the supervision of Johanna Laakso. The Finnish Cultural Foundation funded the language checking, which we are grateful for. Finally, we also wish to thank those hundreds of anonymous respondents who made it possible to investigate the current situation of the Karelian language community by filling out the questionnaire and participating in the interviews.

List of Abbreviations

AG1	The age group of 18-29 (male(s) and/or female(s))
AG2	The age group of 30-49: male(s)
AG3	The age group of 30-49: female(s)
AG4	The age group of 50-64 (male(s) and/or female(s))
AG5	The age group of +65 (male(s) and/or female(s))
CG	Control group (in this study Russian speakers)
F	Female
FG	Focus group
II	Individual interview
KRL	Karelian
M	Male
MajLg	Majority language (in this study Russian)
MinLg	Minority language (in this study Olonec Karelian)
Q	Question in our questionnaire (e.g. Q7)
S	Speaker

List of Figures

Figure 1: The Republic of Karelia and the Finnish Karelian areas	3
Figure 2: Schematic map of the dialects of the Karelian language(s)	4
Figure 3: National flag of the Karelian people	18
Figure 4: National flag of the Republic of Karelia	18
Figure 5: Coat of Arms of the Republic of Karelia	18
Figure 6: Age and gender of Karelians in the 2010 census	29
Figure 7: Map of the historical distribution of the Karelian dialects (orange, green, yellow), Lude (red), and Finnish dialects in Finland’s Karelia (blue).....	49
Figure 8. Sociodemographic distributions of the Karelians in ELDIA-data	78
Figure 9. Educational level of the Karelian respondents in the ELDIA data	78
Figure 10. Educational level of the control group respondents.....	79
Figure 11. Mother tongues of the Karelian MinLg respondents.....	96
Figure 12: Reported mother tongues by age of respondents.....	97
Figure 13: Cross-generational language use, %	103
Figure 14: Cross-generational use of Karelian according to age of respondents.....	103
Figure 15: Intra-generational language use, %	105
Figure 16: Levels of language skills in the Karelian language, %.....	106
Figure 17: Reported level of understanding Karelian according to age, %	107
Figure 18: Reported level of speaking Karelian according to age, %	107
Figure 19: Reported level of reading Karelian according to age, %	109
Figure 20: Reported level of writing Karelian according to age, %	110
Figure 21: Reported level of language skills in Russian, %.....	111
Figure 22: Reported level of language skills in the Finnish language, %.....	112
Figure 23: Reported level of language skills in the English language, %	113
Figure 24: Reported level of understanding in the English language, CG, %	114
Figure 25: Knowledge of foreign languages, CG, total number of respondents	115
Figure 26: Reported level of language skills in the Finnish language, CG, %	116
Figure 27: Domain-specific use of Karelian, %	117
Figure 28: Domain-specific use of Russian, %.....	118
Figure 29: Domain-specific use of English, %.....	119
Figure 30: Domain-specific use of Russian, CG, %	120
Figure 31: Domain-specific use of English, CG, %	120
Figure 32: Domains where the Karelian language should be used	122
Figure 33: Domains where the Karelian language should be used, CG, %.....	123
Figure 34: Knowledge about the use of Karelian in Russia	124
Figure 35: Importance of the Karelian language in the labour market, %.....	126
Figure 36: Importance of Russian in the labour market, %.....	128
Figure 37: Importance of English in the labour market, %.....	128

Figure 38: Importance of Russian in the labour market, CG, %	129
Figure 39: Importance of English in the labour market, CG, %	130
Figure 40: Importance of Karelian in the labour market, CG, %	130
Figure 41: Use of the Karelian language in media	168
Figure 42: Use of the Russian language in media	171
Figure 43: Use of the Russian language in media, CG	172
Figure 44: Active use of language (text production) and cultural products in Karelian.....	173
Figure 45: Active use of language (text production) and cultural products in Russian.....	174
Figure 46: EuLaViBar for the Olonec Karelian language in Russia.....	179
Figure 47: Legend for EuLaViBar	180

List of Tables

Table 1: The Karelian population between 1835 and 1897	22
Table 2: Main ethnic groups in the Republic of Karelia	22
Table 3: Demographic changes of the Karelians in Russia; data of population censuses 1926-2010	23
Table 4: The population size and development of the proportion of native Karelian speakers in the Republic of Karelia and Tver oblast in 1926-2002	24
Table 5: Karelian as the native tongue of Karelians in different age cohorts in the Republic of Karelia, according to the Population Census of 1989	25
Table 6: Language competence by age cohorts, Karelians in rural areas	27
Table 7: Urban and rural Karelians in the 1989 census.....	30
Table 8: Share of Karelians of total population in Soviet Union and Russia	31
Table 9: Ethnic groups of the Karelian Republic in 2005 [Birin 2000: 108]	32
Table 10: Publications in Karelian in the Republic of Karelia between 1990-2006.....	40
Table 11: National schools and Karelian language teaching in the Russian Federation between 2003–2004	42
Table 12: National schools and teaching of Karelian, Veps and Finnish in the Republic of Karelia between 2003-2009.....	42
Table 13: Karelian language teaching in the Republic of Karelia in 2000–2010	43
Table 14: Gender ratios among Karelians in Russia	47

1 Introduction: What is ELDIA About?

ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) is an interdisciplinary research project for re-conceptualising, promoting and re-evaluating individual and societal multilingualism.

The empirical research was conducted with selected multilingual communities in order to effectively cover the whole spectrum of the different political and socioeconomic circumstances of linguistic minorities in Europe. The communities investigated speak endangered and often only recently literalised minority languages (e.g. Karelian, Veps, Kven, Seto) or languages with strong use of a standard variety (e.g. Hungarian). Included are both autochthonous (e.g. Meänkieli/Tornedal Finnish speakers) or indigenous minorities (e.g. Sámi), as well as more recent migrant groups (such as the Estonians in Germany and Finland). All these minority languages belong to the Finno-Ugric language family, which is seriously underrepresented in internationally accessible sociolinguistic literature. The results of the research project, however, will be generalisable beyond this internally highly diverse language group: they will contribute to the study of multilingualism and the development of language policies in other multilingual contexts as well, in and outside Europe.

The project provides

- more detailed knowledge about multilingualism and the interaction of languages in Europe, in the form of context analyses, case-specific and comparative reports, practical information, and recommendations,
- data and corpora for further research,
- means of communication and networking between researchers (workshops, publications, etc.),
- and the European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar), a checklist/handbook for policy-makers and other stakeholders.

This report investigates the Karelian language in the Russian Federation. More precisely, our focus is on the Olonec Karelian variety of the Karelian languages¹. The Olonec Karelian people are one of the autochthonous minorities of Russia. They inhabit today the same geographical area of northwestern Russia that they have for centuries, before the expansion of the Slavs, the predecessors of the present Russians. The Russian Federation is a multi-ethnic nation of 160–170 nationalities, according to the latest population census (Perepis'

¹ The relationship and definition of the Karelian language(s) will be discussed in detail in 2.5.

2010). At least a hundred different languages are spoken within the Russian Federation, according to Ethnologue².

Olonec Karelian is studied as the minority language (MinLang) of the Karelian Republic in this case study and Russian language speakers served as the control group (CG). There were several reasons why the case of Karelian in Russia focused on Olonec Karelian. The sample survey and fieldwork were coordinated by the Karelian Research Centre in Petrozavodsk that is located in the vicinity of the Olonec Karelian areas. Other variants of Karelian are spoken in a geographically more distant area; the North Karelians are scattered in a wide geographical area that is much more difficult to access. The Tver Karelians, an early migrant group, live even farther away from Petrozavodsk, outside the Republic of Karelia. Furthermore, among the varieties of Karelian, Olonec Karelian, both as a spoken and as a written language, has the strongest position

In the latest Russian population census of 2010, knowledge of the Karelian language was reported by 25,605 people. However, this number includes all the varieties of the Karelian languages: the three main varieties are not seen as separate categories. Different sources have estimated the number of Olonec Karelian speakers between 14,100 (Ethnologue) and 25,000 (Salminen 2012, with this number including the Olonec Karelian speakers in Finland; see further discussion in Section 2.5). In the light of the latest population census, however, even the lowest number seems too large.

In this report, the Romanisation of Russian has mainly been done according to ISO 9:1995, the current transliteration standard from ISO. It is a language-independent, univocal system of one-to-one character equivalents. The characters *š*, *ž*, *c*, *č*, and *š* correspond to those Cyrillic characters which in the British standard are transliterated with *sh*, *zh*, *ts*, *ch*, and *shch*, respectively. The vowels *â* and *û* stand for Cyrillic *я* and *ю*, which in the British standard are rendered by *ya* and *yu*, respectively.

The second chapter introduces the socio-historical and linguistic context of the Karelians. It is followed by a chapter on methodology, which describes the principles and processes behind ELDIA. The fourth chapter presents the findings of legal and media analyses, along with new information obtained through surveys and interviews with Karelians and the control group. The fifth chapter introduces the EuLaViBar for the Olonec Karelian language and a discussion on the results of the barometer. The report ends with conclusions and policy recommendations.

² http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=RU read 20.9.2010

2 Sociohistorical and Linguistic Contexts

The following chapter draws on desk research. Its main objectives are to **summarise the findings of existing research** and to explicitly indicate gaps in that research in order to **identify new targets of analysis for data** gathered during the ELDIA fieldwork period.

Olonec Karelian is spoken in northwestern Russia in the southern part of the Republic of Karelia. It is one of the two main variants of the Karelian language, the other being Karelian Proper, which includes several areal sub-variants. Compared to other Karelian variants in the Republic of Karelia, Olonec Karelian was traditionally spoken in a smaller area with a higher population density. The Karelian language is closely related to Finnish, most notably its eastern dialects. Many laymen in Finland are unaware of the differences between Karelian and the eastern dialects of Finnish, which are commonly also called “Karelian dialects” (see Figure 1).



Figure 1: The Republic of Karelia and the Finnish Karelian areas
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Karelian_dialects.png]

The Karelian language (*karjala, karjalan kieli*) has two or three main branches, which can be further divided into individual dialects or variants (see Figure 2):

- (1) Karelian Proper, which comprises
 - i. (1a) Northern Karelian;
 - ii. (1b) Southern Karelian;

- iii. (1b) Tver Karelian (the major variant of several Karelian language enclaves)
 (2) Olonec Karelian (*Livvi*)

Lude (see #3 in Figure 2), taxonomically an ambiguous variant between Karelian and Veps (Kettunen 1960: 1–26; Laanest 1982: 43–45; Leskinen 1998; Virtaranta 1972), is often presented in contemporary research as an independent language. However, the convention in Russia is to still consistently follow the older taxonomy and include Lude as a dialect of Karelian. The opposite ends of this dialect continuum are not mutually intelligible, and there is a long history of discussion about whether the different variants of Karelian should be treated as dialects or independent languages. For a discussion on the problem of the classification of Karelian within the Finnic languages and dialects, see Grünthal (2007a, 2007b), Kunnas (2006), Jeskanen (2003), Sarhimaa (1999), Salminen (1998), Virtaranta (1972, 1986), Laanest (1982), and Kettunen (1940, 1960).

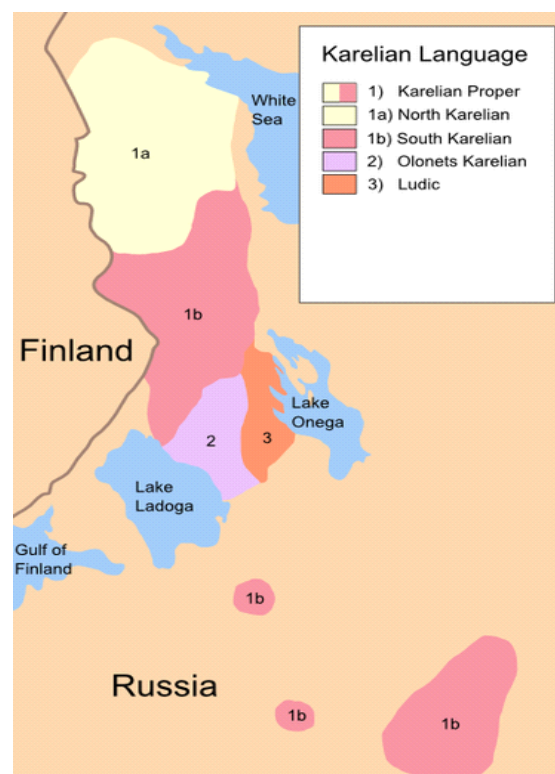


Figure 2: Schematic map of the dialects of the Karelian language(s)

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Karelia_today.png]

The focus of this report within the ELDIA project is on the status of Karelian in Russia, specifically Olonec Karelian. However, the Russian administrative system and sociological statistics often do not distinguish between various Karelian groups. Consequently, we have chosen to apply the concept of Karelian (language) broadly in this report. Leaving aside the issue of the classification of Olonec Karelian and Lude as dialects or separate languages, the term “the Karelian language” is applied in this report as a term corresponding to *Karel'skij âzyk* in Russian (including, or *mutatis mutandis* representing, all main variants unless there was a special reason to refer to Olonec Karelian, Karelian Proper or Lude separately).

Long-term contact has existed between Karelian and Slavic, that later gained more specific character in contacts between Karelian and the northwestern dialects of Russia. The Karelians became a minority in the historical settlement area in the contemporary Republic of Karelia due to the gradual influx of Slavic populations, which began already in the Middle Ages and lasted for centuries. Since the 19th century, Russian – the language of trade, politics, education, and cities – has increased its dominance over Karelian. A series of dramatic changes followed in the 20th century, including the arrival of the Bolshevik regime, collectivisation, the brief period of modernisation in the 1930s, Stalin’s terror, WWII, and post-war reconstruction. These were succeeded by accelerating urbanisation, the destruction of entire villages, and finally the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the collective economy model. All of these changes caused major movements of the population.

This report focuses on the Karelians living in the Republic of Karelia, which is referred to as their “titular republic”; in other regions of Russia, they are few and do not have any collective status. The traditional main ethnic groups (or “peoples”, both terms being typically used in Russia) inhabiting the territory of Karelia are Karelians, Veps, and Russians. In Russian public discourse, Karelians are known as the “titular people” of the Republic of Karelia. Being a titular people, they are not referred to in legislation as a national or ethnic minority, although they used to be a minority already at the time of the foundation of the Republic. Neither are Karelians officially counted in Russia as an indigenous people (unlike, for example, the Veps). Thus, the Karelians are not included in the list of indigenous “small-in-number” people of the Russian Federation; according to the legislation, this category only applies to peoples that preserve their traditional livelihoods, lead a traditional way of life, and number less than 50,000 people (Federal Law on the Guarantees of the Rights of Indigenous Numerically Small Peoples of the Russian Federation 1999; Unified List of Indigenous Small-In-Number Peoples 2006).

Officially, Karelians are an ethnic category mentioned in Russian and Soviet population censuses. The status of Karelians as a contemporary unit is formally acknowledged in legal acts (laws, decrees, etc.) and implementation programmes, and it is reflected in the data of population censuses, data on current statistics, and the documentation of national NGOs.

Research on the Karelian people and their language. Scientific interest in the Karelian language began during the second half of the 19th century in Finland. Research of Karelian language and culture gradually gained more of a foothold in the first half of the century as the research of Finnish became more systematic in Finland and many linguists and ethnographers (such as A. J. Sjögren, M. A. Castrén, Elias Lönnrot, and August Ahlqvist) travelled to Karelia. More systematic study of the Karelian language continued in the 1860s as Arvid Genetz initiated his investigations and fieldwork, which would form the basis of research on the Karelian language for decades to come (KKS 1: 8–15; Korhonen 1986: 111–125).

Karelia played a special role in Finnish culture as the birthplace of the *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic. Karelia's impressive nature and folklore tradition became a rich source of inspiration for Finnish culture. Many motifs in Finnish literature, music, and art emerged out of Karelia (Sihvo 1998, 2003). After WWII, among the Finnish scholars especially the highly esteemed linguist and dialectologist Pertti Virtaranta dedicated his life's work to the research of Karelian language and culture.

In Russia, systematic research on the history and culture of Karelia began at the beginning of the 1920s after the Russian Revolution and during the early years of the Soviet Union. The material culture, everyday life, family, and matrimonial law – as well as the customs, rites, and music – of Karelians were studied. From the second half of the 1940s on, active investigations were carried out on the structure of the Karelian language and the people's ethnogenesis, ethnic history, folklore, material culture, family structure, everyday life, and woodcutter tradition. At the end of the 1960s, study of the arts and crafts of Karelians and their linguistic and ethnocultural processes commenced in earnest. For the past twenty years, special attention has been paid to such issues as the maintenance, usage and development of the Karelian language, calendric rites, and customs and beliefs.

The following institutions in Russia have historically been in charge of the exploration of these issues (Nikol'skaâ 1976): the Commission for the Study of the Tribal Composition of the Population of the Borderlands of Russia (KIPS), the Karelian State Museum of Petrozavodsk, the Leningrad Department of the Russian Museum, the Moscow Institute of Ethnography (later named the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russia's Academy of Sciences), and the Institute of the Language, Literature, and History of the Karelian Scientific Centre of the USSR (later Russian) Academy of Sciences. Documents and other materials are still stored in the National Archive of the Republic of Karelia and the Karelian State Archives of the Newest History. Today in Finland, studies on the Karelian language are conducted in the Karelian Institute at the University of Joensuu, the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland, the Department of Finno-Ugrian Studies at the University of Helsinki, and scientific and cultural societies such as the Finnish Literary Society (founded in 1831), the Finno-Ugrian Society (founded in 1883), and Karjalan Sivistysseura (founded in 1906), a society for the promotion of Karelian civilisation. These have played an important role in publishing materials and disseminating research results and information on Karelian language and culture.

Karelians are the autochthonous population of the north coast of Lake Ladoga and the isthmus separating it from Lake Onega. It is assumed that the diffusion of the Karelian language towards the North began in the Middle Ages, presumably in the 12th and 13th centuries, and led to greater divergence between areal variants (Leskinen 1998: 357; Pöllä 1995: 33–35; Uino 1992: 608–609). In the northernmost areas, the Karelian-speaking population expanded into Saami-speaking territory (Kuzmin 2010; Saarikivi 2004).

In the 17th century, there was a wave of mass migration of Orthodox Karelians to areas of inner Russia, most notably to present-day Tver oblast (Saloheimo 1995a, 1995b). The autochtony of Karelians in Karelia is generally accepted, although it does not have further legal and political implications. While the earliest history of the Karelian language is regularly informed by current research and discussion on the topic is active, in principle the idea of a gradual diffusion and areal splitting of the Karelian varieties is accepted. In most areas, Karelian is considered as an autochthonous language. The only exceptions are Tver oblast, where Karelians migrated in the 16th and 17th centuries, and Tihvin and Valdaj, Leningrad oblast, and Novgorod oblast, where migrant groups moved during the same period.

The main authority monitoring the status of Karelian language and culture is the government of the Republic of Karelia, in particular the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Karelia (later the Ministry of Education) and the Ministry of Nationalities Policy and Relations of the Republic of Karelia (later the Ministry of Nationalities Policy). At a local level, municipal authorities are responsible. The Institute of the Language, Literature, and History of the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Chair of the Finnic Philology and Culture at Petrozavodsk State University, the Chair of the Veps and Karelian Languages at Karelian State Pedagogical University (Academy), and national non-governmental organisations (NGOs) of Karelians assist and observe the development of the Karelian language and are in charge of research on it.

Demarcation of Karelian identity. The issue of the demarcation of Karelian identity is complicated by its divergent linguistic and areal contexts. In official reports, Karelians share a common ethnic label. However, local branches display regional characteristics and local ethnonyms. In general, there is no such thing as a distinct and overall Karelian identity (Sarhimaa 2000: 237). Those Karelians who live in Northern Karelia (in Finnish *Vienan Karjala*) speak Karelian Proper, while Olonec Karelians speak Olonec Karelian (*Livvi*), Ludes speak Lude (*Lüüdi*), and a group of Proper Karelians who used to live in the central regions of Karelia (*Segozero*) call themselves Karelian *Lappi* (*Lappalaiset*) and their language *Lopar* (Grünthal 1997: 73-96). Furthermore, the concept of Karelian dialects of the Finnish language is repeatedly used in the discourse of Finns from the Karelian Isthmus and inhabitants of areas adjacent to the Russian border.

State policy in the Republic of Karelia considers all Karelians to be one people. To this end, it has sought to create a unified Karelian language; for example, a corpus was planned by a special commission of terminology and orthography at the request of the republic (see also Departmental Program 2005). In the Soviet and Russian population censuses, Olonec Karelians and Ludes are not listed among the ethnic or sub-ethnic categories. In the face of this, Olonec Karelian and Lude national elites emphasise their linguistic and cultural differences, striving for recognition of their groups as distinct from Karelians (Kolomainen 2007; note that the entirety of Issue 6 of the *Carelia* magazine (2007) is devoted to a discussion of Ludes as a separate people).

The question of identity is further complicated by contradictions of current trends in Russian politics. Corresponding to the Soviet practice, Karelians continue to be referred to as a “titular people” and a separate national community. At the beginning of the Soviet era in the 1920s, the Karelian Labour Commune (and later in 1923 the Karelian Autonomous Socialistic Soviet Republic) was established, and it formally implemented the right of the Karelian people to national self-determination. The current name, Republic of Karelia (in Russian *Respublika Kareliâ*), was accepted in 1991. More recently, the Constitution of the Republic of Karelia (2001) declares “mutual respect, voluntary and equal cooperation of all strata of society and citizens of all nationalities” (Article 4.4). It also states that “[h]istorical and national peculiarities of the Republic of Karelia are predetermined by residence of the Karelians on its territory” (Article 1.5).

Current Russian federal policy applies the terms ‘nation’ and ‘national’ to the whole population of Russia, but there is a new tendency of referring to other national groups or nationalities as ‘ethnic groups’ (Concept of the State National Education Policy 2006). The relationship of Karelian identity to multiple other identities has not been defined. Typically, ordinary people with a Karelian background have an unclear picture of their identity. There is no specific data on the different forms of identity among ethnic Karelians. However, Sarhimaa’s (1999) detailed analysis of Karelian-Russian bilingualism shows high linguistic variance in the speech of different Karelian peoples.

There are at least two main angles in terms of which the topic of the Karelian language has been approached. Firstly, the question of Karelian language and culture has had a long and significant influence on the development of Finnish culture (Karjala 1981–1983; Karjala 1998; Kirkinen 1970; Kirkinen 1976; Sihvo 2003). Secondly, the increasing attention to the endangerment of Karelian has fostered research on Karelian in Russia, especially after WWII. The following list of publications includes both perspectives:

- 1) the data of the Soviet and Russian population censuses of 1897, 1926, 1933, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989, 2002, and 2010
- 2) legal acts of the USSR, the Russian Federation, and the Republic of Karelia
- 3) articles in
 - newspapers and magazines like *Carelia* and *Северный курьер*
 - several publications and thematic volumes, such as Bubrih (1947), Taroeva (1965), *Karely* (1983), *Pribaltijsko-finskie narody* (2003), Klement’ev (1991, 2008a), Genetz (1880, 1884), Leskinen (1938), Kirkinen (1970; 1976), Virtaranta (1981), Karjala (1981–1983), Pöllä (1995), Pyöli (1996), Sarhimaa (1999), *Karjala* (1998), Sihvo (2003) and, last but not least, KKS, *Karjalan kielen sanakirja 1–6* (1968–2005)

Earlier research provides ample information on different aspects of the history, language, and material and spiritual culture of the Karelians. Calendric rites, traditional and modern

rural holidays, and sociological issues such as present-day family structures and inter-ethnic marriages have been less thoroughly studied. There are considerable gaps in the research of areas of traditional focus. Karelian grammar, for instance, is studied mostly on the level of phonetics and morphology, whereas syntax and vocabulary receive less attention (Zajkov 2007: 34-35). Nevertheless, extensive dictionaries have been published both in Russia and Finland. The largest one (KKS, *Karjalan kielen sanakirja*, Helsinki 1968–2005) is additionally available in an electronic version.³ Both practical and academic dictionaries have also been published in Russia; the latter, such as *Slovar'* (1990) and *Slovar'* (1994), are important sources for old inherited vocabulary.

The current status of Karelians as an ethnic entity in Russia is characterised by rapid linguistic and ethnic assimilation, which makes the language “definitely endangered” (UNESCO). Additionally, from the perspective of the ongoing rapid language shift and ethnic assimilation, there is a major gap in the research on the mechanisms of language shift. Statistical information on the decreasing importance of the Karelian language in younger age cohorts is available, but more detailed analysis on the mechanisms of sociological language practices and the importance of attitudes in language shift in microsociological contexts is largely lacking.

³ http://kaino.kotus.fi/cgi-bin/kks/kks_info.cgi

2.1 Sociohistory

2.1.1 The Context of the Investigated Language Community

The modern Russian Federation is a multinational state with Russian as its state language. Administratively, Russia is a federation consisting of republics with national labels, oblasts, autonomous districts (*okrug*), autonomous oblasts, and federal cities. Karelia is one of 21 republics first founded in the 1920s and 1930s, in the early years of the Soviet Union.

According to Ethnologue, there are approximately 25,000 speakers of Olonec Karelian, 300 speakers of Lude and 30,000 speakers of Karelian Proper in Russia and Finland combined. However, these numbers are only rough estimates and, unfortunately, have not been updated in recent years. Furthermore, they should be examined in the light of more concretely defined language skills and networks. The census of 2010 shows a rapid decline in the number of Karelians and people speaking the Karelian language (see Section 2.3).

Both Russian and Karelian are the vehicular languages of Karelians in the Republic of Karelia and other areas in Russia. Russian is used by all population groups, whereas vernacular Karelian is rarely used in communication and mostly only by elderly people. The Karelians are considered as the autochthonous population of the Republic of Karelia, but they are not counted as an indigenous people by the Russian legislation (see Section 4.1).

Besides their common name *karjalaini*, the various Karelian groups and Karelian-speaking people employ different ethnonyms (*Pribaltijsko-finskie narody* 2003: 159; Öispuu 1998: 39-40; Blokland/Hasselblatt 2003: 121-122). The Southern and Northern Karelians call themselves *karjalaini*; the Olonec Karelians call themselves *livviköit*, *livgiläizet*, or *livviläzet*; and the Ludes refer to themselves as *lüüdiköt*, *lüüdikot*, or *lüüdilazet*. The language and the ethnonym do not always coincide. Karelians call their land Karjala; historically, it was also called *Korela*, *Karialabotn*, *Kirjala*, *Kirjaland*, *Kirjalaland*, etc. in early medieval sources (Grünthal 1997: 73-96).

There is no shared literary language. Although the lack of a standard language with a strong tradition is, in itself, nothing exceptional, a frequently mentioned problem is that the written use of Karelian is limited by excessively great differences between individual dialects (Anttikoski 2000: 159). This has led to difficulties in promoting the use of the written language which is considered too different from the only Karelian language a typical speaker knows, viz. the diverse areal and sociolinguistic variants of oral speech. Karelian once enjoyed rising literacy rates, especially in the 1930s (see Section 2.4.4), but since then there have not been any attempts to create a single common literary language for all Karelians. Efforts to create literary standards were only resumed in the late 1980s. Karelian Proper and Olonec Karelian acquired their new written standards in 1989, and today these serve as the basis for the development of written texts. The written language is supported and enriched by new vocabulary and terminology, which is published in bulletins and dictionaries.

However, there are often considerable difficulties in the reception of these: new words, for instance, are often neither understood nor accepted by native speakers (see Section 2.5).

One issue influencing the perception of written Karelian, as well as its prestige, is that its written form was revived only in 1989. Today the written language exists in two forms: Karelian Proper and Olonec Karelian. The Karelian language is taught as a subject in either of these two written forms in areas where concentrated numbers of Karelians live: in the Republic of Karelia and in Tver oblast. Books, teaching materials, and articles in the mass media (newspapers such as *Oma mua*, *Vienan Karjala*, *Lyydilaine*, *Olonia*, and *Meijan eläigu*) are published in Karelian. There are also a modest number of TV and radio broadcasts in the language. Overall, the written use of Karelian is still fairly sparse. There is no up-to-date sociological data on the attitudes of Karelians towards the different variants of the literary language, so it is hard to evaluate their respective levels of prestige and how much they are appreciated.

Among the people that have adopted the two separate literary languages, there are no shared goals concerning language planning. This is due to the lack of a unified Karelian literary language. Russian serves as the literary language for inter-ethnic communication.

It is generally assumed that contact between the ancient Karelians and the Slavic population first took place at the beginning of the 2nd millennium A.D. as a result of political, military, and economic changes, as well as the diffusion of the Slavic population towards the North (see Kirkinen 1993; Kirkinen, Nevalainen, and Sihvo 1994/1998).

It is assumed that the Sámi (called *Lop'* in old Russian chronicles) were the first settlers of the present-day territories of Karelia and that the Sámi languages were spoken in these territories (Itkonen 1984: 88–107; Kuzmin 2010; Saarikivi 2004). The Sámi language area was pushed northwards as the Karelians started to expand into the land of the central and northern parts of the present-day Republic of Karelia. Furthermore, it has been suggested that interaction between the ancestors of the present-day Karelians and Veps resulted in the rise of Olonec Karelian and Lude as more distinct local language variants (Itkonen 1971; Salminen 1998).

Contact between Karelians and other groups can be seen in the vocabulary, phonetics, and grammar of the Karelian language (Bubrih 1947; Belâkov 1958; Sarhimaa 1991, 1995, 1999). While the intensity of Karelian-Russian language contact grew gradually during the modern era, at the beginning of the 20th century only about ten percent of Karelians (mostly men who had fulfilled their military service) knew Russian. Knowledge of Russian significantly spread among all ethnic groups during the 20th century (Pribaltijsko-finskie narody 2003: 197), and bilingualism among Karelians started to be widely propagated. Currently, considerably more than half the people reported as ethnic Karelians know only Russian, the dominant language in society and education.

The ideology of a national revival marked the dawn of the Soviet Union in the 1920s. The years of its dissolution at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s were important for the growth of national self-consciousness and a revival of national identity, particularly among the titular peoples of the Soviet Union and the autonomous republics. In comparison to the national movements of other titular peoples in Russia, the national movement of the Karelians was rather modest. Nevertheless, as was the case in the other republics, national organisations claiming to be representative bodies of ethnic Karelians were created: on the one hand the Congress of Karelians, which had a special executive council, and on the other hand, the more radical Karelian Congress. The latter organisation presented irredentist claims, which might have had a provocative effect on Russian nationalist organisations.

The Karelian national movement did not ultimately lead to a massive ethnic mobilisation, but nonetheless, as a result of the activities of Karelian national organisations, certain measures for the national revival of Karelians were undertaken. These included the creation of new ethno-cultural centres and the reestablishment of a national school system that taught Karelian and other languages (Karely 2005; *Karel'skoe nacional'noe dviženie* 2009). One of the driving forces behind the Karelian national movement was the demand to support the language, with a preference for Latin script in the standardisation of its written forms (Pain 2003a: 108).

The Karelian written language based on the Latin script was reintroduced in 1989. Despite efforts aimed at language revitalisation, however, the position of the Karelian language has continuously weakened. Today it has a lower social status than Russian and even Finnish. The low prestige of Karelian is a result of long-term development and a lack of efficient language policies in Karelia, but there are still many details to be investigated. Thus, more research is needed.

The first national awakenings in Karelia took place during the turmoil of the First World War and after the Russian Revolution in October 1917. Before that, the revolutionary activities in Russia in 1905–1906 had fuelled nationality in Karelia as well. Demands for increased political freedom in Karelia caused direct conflicts between Finnish nationalists and the Soviet Russian army in 1918–1922 (Laine 1994: 207–211), but the Karelians never organised military actions, mostly remaining passive in the conflict. The policies of *korenizaciâ* ‘nativisation’ and ‘vernacularisation’ were initiated in the early 1920s by the new Soviet authorities in order to educate minorities and change them Soviet administrative labour (Grenoble 2003: 44). Ethnic Karelians were appointed as officials and the Karelian language began to be used in the public sphere for the first time. The emerging national intelligentsia also took an active part in the promotion of Karelian. By the end of the 1930s, there were attempts to create a unified Karelian literary language on the basis of the Latin and Cyrillic scripts (see Section 4.6). But these initiatives were interrupted in 1937 during the peak of Stalin’s terror, when numerous representatives of the national intelligentsia were repressed and lost their lives (Barancev 1967; Klement’ev 2002).

With the exception of two years at the end of the 1930s (1937–1939), the Karelian language did not have a written form until 1989. It must be noted that for many minorities – such as the Veps, for instance, the other autochthonous minority in Karelia – the year 1937 marked an end to any preceding development of literary standards. For Karelian, in contrast, a new but short-lived literary standard was implemented in 1937, partly as a reaction to Finnish, which had been the dominant language until then (aside from Russian). In general, however, between the 1920s and 1950s, albeit with interruptions, the Finnish language was actively inculcated in areas with a Karelian population (Vihavainen 1998; Kangaspuro 1998; Anttikoski 1998a, 1998b; see Section 4.6).

After WWII, particularly as a consequence of the education reform of 1958, Russian became the language of new economic, educational, and social opportunities. This increase in the importance of Russian paralleled a decrease in the functional domains of Karelian (Sarhimaa 1999: 18–50). The social status of the Karelian language suffered from a number of factors, including the lack of a uniform written standard, preference by the authorities for the Finnish language during certain periods (especially in the 1930s and during the Karelian-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic of 1940–1956), downgrading of the political status of the national statehood of Karelians from a Union Republic to an Autonomous Republic of RSFSR after WWII, and bilingualism in the region with Russian as the dominant language (Klement'ev/Kožanov 2009).

2.1.2 Territorial and Political Context

Traditional geographical territory. The main areas of traditional Karelian settlements within the Russian Federation are situated in the Republic of Karelia. The largest of the migrant groups that permanently settled in the 17th century ended up in the Tver oblast, which had the largest Karelian population in the first half of the 20th century. Other primary areas of concentration were around Tolmači, Maksatiha and Ves'egonsk. Additional Karelian-speaking populations in diminishing language enclaves were located in the vicinity of Tihvin and Novgorod. Later, during the urbanisation of the 20th century, many Karelians also settled in Saint Petersburg and the Leningrad oblast, as well as in Moscow, Murmansk oblast, and the Moscow oblast. The largest group of Karelians speaking Karelian Proper currently resides in the central and northern parts of the Republic of Karelia, which has an area of 172,200 square kilometres. In terms of the present-day administrative areas, the Karelians mainly live in the Louhskij (Louhi), Kemsij, Kaleval'skij and Muezerskij districts; the western parts of the Belomorskij, Segežskij and Medvež'egorskij districts; and the southwestern part of the Kondopožskij district and the Porosozero region of the Suoârvskij (Suojärvi) district (Encyclopedia 2007: 252; Golovkin 2001; Râgoev 1993: 75).

Smaller language communities live in conjoined territories of Leningrad oblast, Murmansk oblast, and the city of Saint Petersburg. A relatively large group lives in Tver oblast, as a

result of the mass migration in the 17th century (Encyclopedia 2007: 252; Jeskanen 1994: 257–259; Râgoev 1993: 75; Virtaranta 1986).

Olonec Karelian is spoken in the Oloneckij district (except in the eastern corner), the western part of the Prâžinskij (KA Priäžä) and Pitkârantskij (KA Pitkyrandu) districts, the Veškelica (KA Veskelys) village in the Suoârvskij district, and the southwestern part of the Kondopožskij district, as well as in the Lodejnoe Pole district of the Leningrad oblast (Encyclopedia 2007: 262; Jeskanen 1994: 257–259; Râgoev 1993: 75; Virtaranta 1986).

The longest administrative border between Karelia and a neighbouring territory is the state border between the Russian Federation and Finland. In 1944, during the final stages of WWII, several thousand Karelian-speaking people were evacuated to Finland. Most present-day Karelian speakers in Finland have their roots in parishes that were occupied by the Soviet army (such as Salmi, Suojärvi, and Suistamo).

National renaissance of 1920s and 1930s. Russia's Provisional Government was overthrown as a result of the uprising in Petrograd in October 1917. The Second All-Russian Soviet Congress proclaimed the formation of the Soviet state, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was created out of the RSFSR in December 1922. The republics in RSFSR and USSR were established according to the “principle of nationalities” as an implementation of the right of peoples to national self-determination (Kilin 2000, 2001).

On 6 August 1920 the Soviet Government, All-Russia's Central Executive Committee, approved a decree on the establishment of the Karelian Labour Commune, which was established in the territories of the former Olonec province (115,000 square kilometres) with more than 85,000 Karelians (representing 59.8% of the population in that area). In 1923, the Commune became the Autonomous Karelian Soviet Socialist Republic (AKSSR), forming a national statehood within Russia and a constituent federative unit of the RSFSR. In 1926, the AKSSR was renamed as KASSR. Already at the time of the creation of the autonomous republic, Karelians were in the minority in its population (146,000 kilometres, with 100,781 Karelians comprising 37.4% in 1926) (Kilin 2000, 2001). One peculiarity of the 1920s–1930s in the newly established Autonomous Republic of Karelia was its active policy of “Finnisation” of the Karelian population (in the educational system, in particular), due to the republic being headed by “Red Finns” (participants of Finland's revolution in 1918). As a result of this policy, part of the Karelian population knew the Finnish language, although their own Karelian language remained the principal medium of communication (Vihavainen 1998; Kangaspuro 1998; Pribaltijsko-finskie narody 2003: 197-201; Klement'ev 2009; Laine 2001; Laine/Ylikangas 2002; Karelians 2001: 175-176).

It is notable that national rural administrations were established in the 1920s in the Tver area. Four national districts were created in 1931 and an additional one was added in 1935. The Karelian national *okrug* in Kalinin oblast was only in existence in 1937–1939, and Karelians composed the majority of its population (5,500 square kilometres, with 87,500

Karelians making up 53.7% of the population) (Golovkin 2001: 142-165; Kurs/Taagepera 1999: 138-139; Lallukka 1996).

Stagnation of 1940s–1980s. In 1940, KASSR was re-established as the Karelian-Finnish SSR, a Union Republic that formally ranked higher than its earlier status as a RSFSR. This elevation of the republic was part of a larger political expansion and restructuring of the Soviet Union. There were intentions to merge it with Soviet Finland, a new republic that would be formed after Stalin's plan to occupy Finland was complete (Kurs & Taagepera 1999: 109). The territory of the newly established Union Republic included the areas of Soviet conquest in Finland after the Winter War, which had been agreed upon in the truce between the two countries in 1940. In 1940–1946, however, portions of the Karelian Isthmus between Lake Ladoga and the Gulf of Finland were taken away bit by bit from the Karelian-Finnish SSR and attached to Leningrad oblast. In 1956, it was formally downgraded again; the republic resumed the status of KASSR within the RSFSR. Notably, the Republic of Karelia was the only Soviet Republic that was “demoted” from being an SSR to an ASSR (Hyytiä 2000).

In the 1950s, after the transformation of the Karelian ASSR into a multinational region, the Russian language gradually became the main tool of public cultural, social, and professional practices and the medium of communication between divergent ethnic groups. Inter-ethnic marriages became more and more frequent. The total number and share of Karelians and Veps with poor or no knowledge of their native language skyrocketed immediately. The authorities virtually ignored the issue of maintenance of national languages, instead following state policy that aimed at the construction of a united historical entity labelled “the Soviet people” (Russian *Sovetskij čelovek*). In practice, this policy meant that the Karelian and Veps languages were reduced to the private sphere (*Istoriâ Karelii* 2001).

National renaissance in 1990s. In August 1990, the KASSR Supreme Council declared the sovereignty of the Republic, establishing it as a legal, democratic, and sovereign state and a constituent part of the RSFSR and USSR (Declaration of State Sovereignty 1990). In November 1991, the Republic's Supreme Council approved its new name, the Republic of Karelia (Decree 1991). The Soviet period officially ended in 1991 with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the beginning of the new Russian statehood. As far as the Republic of Karelia was concerned, its new formal status did not differ considerably from other parts of Russia, as most republics declared sovereignty at the same time. From the viewpoint of Karelian as a minority language, however, the collapse of the Soviet Union triggered an entirely new and more open discussion of the state and the future of the Karelian language, something that happened with many other languages in other areas as well at the time.

Agenda of national revival. At the end of the Soviet era, the Karelian national intelligentsia began to publicly express concerns about the ongoing language loss and ethnic assimilation of Karelians. This claim was most concretely evidenced in the Soviet population censuses carried out every ten years. A resolution adopted at the conference “Karelians: Ethnos, Culture, Language, Economics” in May 1989 (*Karel'skoe nacional'noe dviženie* 2009: Part 1)

laid out the aims of the national activists in the new Karelian national movement, demanding the support, development, and usage of the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Karelian people.

The resolution suggested that several measures be taken: (i) authorities should define the rights and obligations of autonomy; (ii) principles of self-governance and the legal status of the Karelian language should be determined; (iii) a special foundation for culture and the language revival of the indigenous nationalities should be created; and (iv) administrative “Karelian national centres” should be created. Furthermore, the need for language planning was emphasised, as the resolution also suggested the following: (v) the immediate creation of a written standard for the Karelian language; (vi) introduction of the Karelian language as a subject in primary schools in concentrated Karelian settlement areas, (vii) mandatory establishment of chairs for the local autochthonous languages at the Karelian State Pedagogical University and in the department of Finnic languages at the Petrozavodsk State University; (viii) the publishing of alphabet primers and school dictionaries by the Institute of Language, Literature, and History in the Karelian Research Centre of Russia's Academy of Sciences, as well as the creation of a commission for terminology and orthography; and, finally, (ix) an increase of TV and radio broadcasts in the Karelian language.

Many of these demands were accepted in principle. A Karelian written standard was created, the Karelian language was introduced in schools, and new methods and materials were implemented in teaching. The public authorities of the republic took many steps to support language revitalisation. However, given the level of language shift over several decades, many measures eventually turned out to be insufficient to support efficient language revitalisation.

Karelian migrant groups. Mass migrations of Karelians from their homeland in the Karelian Isthmus in the 17th century were caused by the continuing Russo-Swedish struggle for control over Karelia, and the Swedish annexation of large parts of the Principality of Novgorod, including those areas with traditional Karelian settlements. Some Karelians migrated to Central and North Karelia, some to the areas behind Onega Lake, and some to the lands of the Tihvin, Aleksander Svirskij and Valdajskij Iverskij monasteries. In this way, Karelians settled the historical territory of the contemporary Republic of Karelia (Žerbin 1956).

The Tver Karelian settlements were established as a consequence of the biggest migration stream, which sought to escape from the peril of forced conversion to Lutheranism to the areas of the former Tver Province; tax deductions were promised there by the Czarist government. In the first half of the 17th century, at least 25,000 Karelians migrated from Karelia and Ingria to the inland areas of Russia; in the second half of the 17th century, the number was between 25,000 and 40,000 (Žerbin 1956: 38-65; Laine 1994; Klement'ev 2008a: 37-38).

In general in the 20th century, geographical stability was characteristic for Karelians in Karelia and in Russia as a whole. But there were also movements of the population. A wave of Karelians migrated to Finland in 1921–1922 after the defeat of the Whites (Vahtola 1993; Markianova 1993; Laine 1994), and another mass migration of Karelians from their homeland occurred during WWII. After the end of WWII, the Karelian population in the Soviet Union largely returned to their traditional areas of settlement. Approximately 430,000 Finnish citizens were evacuated from the Karelian Isthmus and Ladoga Karelia to Finland; 55,000 were Orthodox Karelians, who mainly spoke Karelian (Tolvanen 2008).

More recently, according to Finland's Aliens Act (1991), Ingrian Finns became eligible for automatic residence permits in Finland. While Karelians did not acquire this right of return, ongoing migration to Finland for economic reasons has nevertheless continued among young Karelians.

Sociological surveys and reports on the situation of Karelians are prepared nowadays by authorities of the Republic, particularly by the Ministry of National Policy (*Predvaritel'nye itogi* 2007; *Kareliâ – territoriâ soglasiâ* 2009). These projects are conducted by activists participating in national organisations (*Karely* 2005: 15-94; *Karel'skoe nacional'noe dvizhenie* 2009).

Some data on the Karelian people and language can be found in international sources, including EU institutions and the Council of Europe. International sources on the Karelian language are also often available online (for example, the online dictionary and other data at the website of the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland). In Russia, there are only limited materials on Karelian on the Internet. In Finland, there is increasing political interest in the status of Karelian and the need for reliable and openly accessible information concerning it (see the ELDIA report on Karelian in Finland by Anneli Sarhimaa). There are no official international reports on Karelians. Members of the Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities have not yet visited the Republic of Karelia; they are working on their statement about the implementation of the Framework Convention by the Russian Federation.

2.1.3 Cultural Context

Folklore, singing and dancing traditions, literature, music, and theatre are the main aspects of the contemporary culture of Karelians in Russia. Public cultural symbols that are generally used to characterise and demarcate Karelians in Russia include folklore, art, and handicrafts such as weaving, embroidery, and the carving and painting of wood. Folklore production consists of combinations of various expressive elements, most notably cuisine, dance, music, and clothes (Klement'ev 2008a: 81-149, 200-239; Taroeva 1965).

The three most visible public symbols of Karelia are the national flag of the Karelian people (Figure 3), the national flag of the Republic of Karelia (Figure 4), and the coats of arms

(Figure 5). In principle, the flag of the Karelian people is recognised as a national emblem. However, it does not have official status.

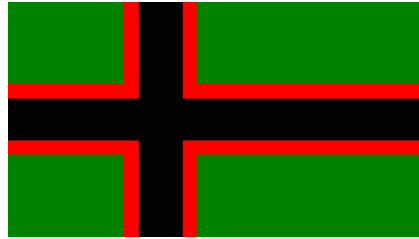


Figure 3: National flag of the Karelian people



Figure 4: National flag of the Republic of Karelia



Figure 5: Coat of Arms of the Republic of Karelia

There are no visible symbols that demarcate the Karelians in everyday life (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 200). On more special occasions, they mainly exhibit those cultural symbols that are directly connected to their traditions. Thus, the creation of modern cultural symbols and their expansion into various new activities are connected to the development of professional forms of culture. Traditional elements are integrated in theatre and music performances that frequently adopt ethnic customs and language.

Religion. As a rule, Karelians are Orthodox Christians. The Karelians were converted to the Orthodox faith as early as the 13th century (Klement'ev 2008a: 8). In Post-Soviet Russia, the growing importance of the Orthodox church can be observed among Karelians as well. The number of practising Orthodox Christians and people wearing the cross seems to be increasing. Teaching the foundations of the Orthodox culture is still part of the curriculum of one of the schools in Petrozavodsk. However, services are only occasionally and only in some parishes held in the Karelian language.

More generally speaking, religion does not differ between the investigated minority and majority. In fact, Lallukka (2001: 16-18) suggests that an early adoption of the Orthodox Catholic faith may have accelerated the assimilation of the Karelians. However, it must be noted that in the family rites of Northern Karelians (such as weddings and funeral ceremonies), some elements of pre-Christian beliefs are still preserved (Pribaltijsko-finskie narody 2003: 279-285).

Local seasonal festivals and other typical features. The seasonal festivals of Karelians combine Orthodox traditions with pre-Christian beliefs. In some places, Karelians still celebrate Christmas (*Syndy*); the Twelve Days of Christmas beginning on Christmas Day (25 December) and lasting until the Feast of Epiphany (6 January). Tobogganing is common among Southern Karelians during Pancake Week. The central religious feast is Easter. Bringing cattle to pasture for the first time is traditionally done on Georg's Day (6 May). Pre-Christian traditions could be seen in the celebration of John's Day (7 June), as the Karelians used to believe that the period between John's Day and Peter's Day is the time of the "turn", the summer version of Christmastide (Pribaltijsko-finskie narody 2003: 279-285; Klement'ev 2008a: 197-199).

At present, elder generations still maintain some knowledge of pre-Christian traditional festivals, but they are not celebrated anymore. The pre-Christian autumn feast *Kegrin päivä* or 'Hallows Eve' marks an ancient Karelian folk festivity, especially in Southern Karelia and Tver Karelia, which is connected with the completion of agricultural work in the autumn and the beginning of flax processing. In Northern Karelia, there is an old mythological figure, *Old Vierista*, who could appear at the summer or winter solstice. There also used to be ceremonies with a ritual sacrifice of animals; these took place on Saint Peter's Day and the Assumption of the Holy Virgin (28 August) (Pribaltijsko-finskie narody 2003: 279-285; Klement'ev 2008a: 157-199).

Karelian literature. The first authors labelled as Karelians actually published their works in Finnish. The first generation of writers in the Republic of Karelia (such as S. Mäkelä, H. Tihlä, E. Parras, J. Virtanen, O. Johansson, R. Rusko etc.) mainly consisted of Finnish Communists in exile, and they were repressed during the Stalin era. The next generation published their works mainly in Finnish as well, but with elements of the Karelian language; their number included F. Ivašev, N. Jakkola, I. Nikut'ev, A. Timonen, P. Perttu, F. Isakov, J. Rugoev, O. Stepanov, P. Lukin, N. Gippijev (N. Laine) (Klement'ev 2008a: 49-50, 56-58). Finally, post-war

authors (such as V. Brendoev, A. Volkov, O. Mišina, Z. Dubinina, and P. Semënov) started to publish more consistently in Karelian. During the Soviet Union, their works were translated into Russian. (Alto 1994; Letopis' literaturnoj žizni 1994; *Istoriâ literatury* 1997, 2000; Pisateli Karelii 1971, 2006; Laakso 1991: 64-65).

2.2 Demographic Context

2.2.1 Statistics and Basic Demographic Information

Official reports on the size of the Karelian population are based on regular population censuses carried out during the Soviet Union and Russia in 1897 (Russia), 1926, 1933, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989 (Soviet Union), 2002, and 2010 (Russia). These statistical data are typically based on an absolute sample. In the 1994 Microcensus, only 5% of the population were surveyed.

Since its origin, the official population census has aimed at obtaining a holistic overview of Russia's population (or, alternatively, the population of the Soviet Union). The methods for conducting the survey included centrally organised fieldwork and face-to-face contact between the census workers and respondents. Other official reporters were not used. The numbers reflect two main parameters with respect to ethnicity and identity, namely the reported nationality and language.

The ways of determining these indicators varied considerably between different censuses. In the first official census of the Russian Empire in 1897, nationality was defined on the basis of one's native tongue. In the Soviet censuses, however, separate questions were asked about nationality and native tongue. The 2002 census diverged from this tradition, as the question about native tongue was replaced by a more general question about knowledge of languages.

In the census of 2010, no more than 60,815 individuals were reported as Karelians. This marks a considerable decline from 2002, when the count was as high as 93,344 people.⁴ According to the census of 2010, the biggest group of Karelians resided in the Republic of Karelia and consisted of 45,570 individuals (74.9% of all Karelians in the Russian Federation). Furthermore, the census reported 7,394 Karelians in Tver oblast and small groups of Karelians in other regions of Russia, such as Leningrad oblast, Murmansk oblast and the city of St Petersburg (see Table 3 below).

Compared to the 2002 census and the preceding decades, the results of the 2010 census show a dramatic change: knowledge of the Karelian language in Russia was reported by

⁴ In 2010, there were 34.8% fewer Karelians than in 2002.

25,605 individuals (down from 52,880 in 2002, according to the Data of Population Census 2002 (2004), Volume 4, Book 4). Of these, 3,944 were Russians (down from 6,712 in the 2002 census, according to the Data of Population Census 2002 (2004), Volume 4, Book 5). Reported knowledge of the Karelian language declined faster than the number of those who reported themselves to be Karelian by nationality, as there were twice as many competent speakers of Karelian in 2002 than in 2010.

The data of population censuses are the basic source of general information on all nationalities and languages spoken in Russia. They are used by authorities for administration purposes, such as the assessment of sustainable or unsustainable development of peoples and national minorities, organisation of native language teaching, and other goals. Official data are available for the public in print (Federal Law on Population Census 2002), and the data of the last population census in 2010 are available online.⁵

Electoral registers, tenant lists, and some other registries of the adult population are unofficial and not published. These do not have any special significance for an assessment of the situation of national minorities, because people's nationalities are not indicated there.

The definitions of geographical borders used for population censuses include the country as a whole, the subject of the federation (that is, the federal unit, such as a republic, oblast, etc.), and the municipal unit (such as a district, town, etc.). Borders of federal units are defined by the legal acts of federal authorities. Borders of districts, towns, and rural settlements are defined by a decision of the supreme executive authority of the subject of the federation (the Government of the Republic of Karelia, for example).

The first data on the number of Karelians originate from the second half of the 16th century, as mentioned in the clerical records of the *Vod'* and the *Obonež Pâtina*. Between 1719 and 1857, ten population revisions were done in the Russian Empire. The population size of the Karelians in the 19th century is summarised in Table 1.

⁵ <http://www.perepis2010.ru>

Year	1835		1897	
	Individuals	%	Individuals	%
Total number	171,695	100%	208,101	100%
Tver Province	84,638	49.3%	117,679	56.5%
Novgorod Province	27,076	15.8%	9,980	4.8%
Olonec Province	43,810	25.5%	59,414	28.5%
Archangelsk Province	11,288	6.6%	19,522	9.4%
Other	4,883	2.8%	1,506	0.8%

Table 1: The Karelian population between 1835 and 1897

[Öispuu 2000: 136-137]

The current ethnic and linguistic situation of Karelia is considerably different in comparison to earlier centuries because the Russians are the biggest group in the Republic of Karelia. In 2010, the population of the Republic of Karelia was 643,548 people. The 45,570 Karelians constitute only 7.1% of the whole population of the republic. Other important ethnic groups include Finns, Veps, Belarusians and Ukrainians. The most important ethnic groups (indicated in Table 2) comprised 96.4% of the population of the Republic of Karelia in 2005.

Nationality	Population size	Command of languages				
		Individuals	%	Russian	Own language	%
Total population	716,281		100	71,120		
Russians	548,941		76.6	548,553		99.9
Karelians	65,651		9.2	65,546	31,794	48.3
Veps	4,870		0.7	4,869	1,849	38.0
Finns	14,292		2.0	14,156	5,770	40.3
Belarusians	37,681		5.3	37,660	7,468	19.8
Ukrainians	19,248		2.7	19,228	7,981	41.5

Table 2: Main ethnic groups in the Republic of Karelia

[National composition of Karelia 2005]

As indicated in Table 2, the Russian language is the principal medium of inter-ethnic communication between all ethnic groups. The language of one's own ethnic group is mainly used by senior family members in family life.

The changes in population size reflecting long-term demographic development are presented in Table 3, beginning with the first Soviet population census in 1926.

Territory (individuals)	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002	2010
Russian Federation	248,100	250,000	164,000	141,148	133,182	124,921	93,344	60,815
Administrative unit:								
Republic of Karelia	100,781	108,571	85,473	84,180	81,248	78,928	65,651	45,570
Tver oblast	140,567	120,000	59,113	38,064	30,387	23,169	14,633	7,394
Murmansk oblast				3,589	3,508	3,505	2,203	1,376
Saint Petersburg				2,458	3,194	3,607	2,142	
Leningrad oblast				2,163	2,902	3,371	2,057	
Moscow				938	1,067	1,245	568	
Moscow oblast				834	955	949	480	
Archangelsk oblast				697	671	700	388	
Komi Republic				688	629	580	341	
Kemerovo oblast				853	699	639	276	
Novgorod oblast				208	347	346	282	
Sverdlovsk oblast				407	449	356	201	
Perm territory				371	357	272	120	

Table 3: Demographic changes of the Karelians in Russia; data of population censuses 1926-2010

[Finno-ugorskij mir 2008: 11-12; Finno-ugorskie narody 2006: 15-17; Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 21; Perepis' 2010]

As Table 3 demonstrates, the absolute number of Karelians decreased between the population censuses of 1926 and 2002 by nearly two thirds (62%) in the whole of Russia, by a third (35%) in the Republic of Karelia, and by nine tenths (90%) in Tver (Kalinin) oblast (as observed in Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 28; Pyöli 1996: 55–56). Between the most recent censuses of 2002 and 2010, the number of ethnic Karelians decreased 34.8% in Russia. As shown above, the number of Tver Karelians was almost halved in only eight years' time.

According to the Russian Empire's population census of 1897, there were 117,700 Karelians in the Tver province, the biggest group of Karelians, compared to 78,900 Karelians in the Olonec province, the area that mainly corresponds to the present-day Republic of Karelia. In 1939, the corresponding numbers were 120,000 and 108,600 (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 21). Some researchers give 150,000 as the number of Tver Karelians in 1939 (Kurs/Taagepera 1999), based on the unrevised data of the 1939 census. The authorities proclaimed the 1937 population census as defective. Actually, it showed a decrease in the number of some peoples, including Karelians, which were not favoured in Stalinist ethnopolitics and thus not

important for Stalin's regime. Today, however, the data of the 1937 census are considered as generally reliable (Grenoble 2003: 27; Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 9).

Between 1926 and 1939, the absolute number of Karelians increased in both of the main settlement areas of the Karelians, namely the Republic of Karelia and Tver (Kalinin) oblast. One of the main reasons for this was a decrease in infant mortality. The data of the latest population census of 2010 demonstrate a continuing decrease in the absolute number of Karelians and their proportion of the population of the republic. There are no official long-term forecasts about the future demographic development of the Karelians.

The First General Population Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 did not include any direct questions about national affiliation. The number of non-Russians was estimated on the basis of native language (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 210). In the Soviet censuses, nationality was reported separately from language (Lallukka 1990: 71-82, 1996: 5; 2001), and conceivably their statistics consistently distinguished between categories of nationality and language. The latter category is consistent in those population censuses that unambiguously indicate the native tongue. The overall picture of the relationship between language and ethnicity is summarised in Table 4. As mentioned above, the questions about native tongue and general competence of languages was changed in the censuses of 2002 and 2010; accordingly, they are not fully comparable with the earlier censuses.

Territory (individuals)	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002	2010
Karelians in Karelia, ind.	100,781	108,571	85,473	84,180	81,240	78,928	65,651	45,570
% to 1926	100	106.7	84.8	83.5	80.6	78.3	65.1	45.2
Karelian as native lang.	96,028	97,470	69,129	60,361	50,221	39,925	n/a	12,369
%	100	89.8	80.9	71.7	61.6	50.6	n/a	27.1
% compared to 1926	100	101.5	72.0	62.8	52.3	41.6	n/a	12.9
Karelians in Tver oblast, ind	140,567	120,000	59,113	38,064	30,387	23,169	14,633	7,394
Karelian as native lang.			41,199	22,239			n/a	2,750
%			69.7	58.4			n/a	37.2

Table 4: The population size and development of the proportion of native Karelian speakers in the Republic of Karelia and Tver oblast in 1926-2002

[National Composition of Karelia 2005; Finno-ugorskie narody 2005: 45; 2006: 93; Perepis' 2010: pub-04-07]

Note that Table 4 does not include numbers on native language in the data of Russia's 2002 population census; instead of native tongue, only competence in a given language was surveyed. More detailed information on native speakers can be determined only indirectly

by an analysis of the data on ethnicity in combination with the reported knowledge of languages. Data on the knowledge of Russian and Karelian in urban and rural areas are also available in the statistics published in *Finno-ugorskie narody* (2005: 48-51; 2006: 93-96).

The most recent data on the native tongue of Karelians in the Republic of Karelia in conjunction with the age cohorts in rural and urban areas are available from the census of 1989 (see Table 5).

Age	Urban areas			Rural areas		
	Karelians	Karelian as native tongue		Karelians	Karelian as native tongue	
		Individuals	%		Individuals	%
0–5	3,021	205	6.8	2,226	353	15.9
6–9	1,911	145	7.6	1,395	171	12.3
10–14	2,300	218	9.5	1,534	335	21.8
15–19	2,880	494	17.2	1,008	348	34.5
20–24	3,110	796	25.6	1,490	716	48.1
25–29	4,488	1,333	29.7	2,424	1,219	50.3
30–34	5,333	1,888	35.4	2,844	1,613	56.7
35–39	4,812	1,959	40.7	2,224	1,338	60.2
40–49	4,615	2,308	50.0	2,168	1,652	76.2
50–59	7,494	4,899	65.4	5,598	4,927	88.0
60–69	5,250	3,985	75.9	4,407	4,073	92.4
70–	3,550	2,960	83.4	2,846	2,728	95.4
Total	48,764	21,190	43.3	30,164	19,473	59.9

Table 5: Karelian as the native tongue of Karelians in different age cohorts in the Republic of Karelia, according to the Population Census of 1989

In 2002, knowledge of the Karelian language was reported by 52,880 individuals in Russia, including 35,086 people in the Republic of Karelia, 11,910 in Tver oblast, 1,030 in Leningrad oblast, 893 in Saint Petersburg, and smaller groups in the other regions (*Finno-ugorskie narody* 2008: 262-263). The comparable numbers in 2010 showed 25,605 to be competent in Karelian, including 19,007 in the Republic of Karelia and 3,641 in Tver oblast.

More detailed information of the various ethnicities of the Republic of Karelia with command of Karelian in 2010 was reported as follows: 19,007 individuals said they spoke Karelian, including 16,876 Karelians, 1,764 Russians, 163 Finns, 88 Belarusians, 46 Ukrainians, and 33 Veps (*Perepis' 2010: pub-04-09*).

In 2002, it was reported that out of 65,651 ethnic Karelians in the Republic of Karelia, 31,794 knew their native language. The change between the 1989 and 2002 censuses demonstrate

a decline of Karelian native speakers from 63.5% to 48.3% (Data of Population Census 2002 (2004), Volume 1). Already then the percentage was smaller than what is typical for the other titular peoples in the national republics in Russia (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 140). In 2010, the number of Karelians able to speak Karelian declined to 16,876 (37% of all the Karelians in the republic).

Difficulties in estimating the level of language skills of Karelians. The problem between the data of the census and their analysis is that the numbers do not always show actual competence in a given language or language usage. They reflect political and social trends more than ethnicity and language practices (Grenoble 2003: 31). The level of actual proficiency in the Karelian language (including information about who can read and write it, evaluation of language skills in practice, and who understands it and can make oneself understood) has been measured in sociological research.

Only a few surveys have been conducted to assess the language shift and the impact of bilingualism in Russia (Grenoble 2003: 31; Klement'ev 1971, 1974). The most important and most detailed is Anneli Sarhima's study on code-switching and the different forms of bilingualism in the speech of Karelians (Sarhima 1999). The data was collected in the 1990s. The author convincingly pointed out that, in fact, there exists a lot of idiosyncratic variation. Furthermore, bilingualism of both Karelian and Russian is clearly based on more than two distinct codes.

Already earlier in the 1970s, the first sociolinguistic surveys (Klement'ev 1971, 1974) showed that language shift from Karelian to Russian was taking place and it was especially fast in the urban areas. Among urban Karelians, people aged 50 and over had a very solid knowledge of their heritage language. This declined in the group aged 30–49 and dropped significantly in the youngest group in the survey, aged 16–29. Moreover, it was noticed that less than half of those aged 16–19 report Karelian as their first language. The use and the competence of Russian increases in correlation with the level of education. Less educated labourers were more likely to use Karelian. Furthermore, the use of Karelian is reported to be much stronger in rural environments and in the villages, although language shift was attested there as well" (Grenoble 2003: 79). The data of the 1974 sociological survey carried out in the Karelian Research Centre in Petrozavodsk are given in Table 6.

Age category	16–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–49	>50
Number of respondents	46	115	108	198	226	381	155
Knowledge of Karelian:							
Fluent	83.5%	72.7%	87.4%	96.2%	95.1%	96.9%	96.6%
Understand	8.9%	17.2%	9.6%	2.1%	1.8%	2.9%	2.4%
Understand, but do not speak	7.6%	10.1%	3%	1.7%	3.1%	0.2%	1%
Fluent in:							
Karelian	39.1%	31.7%	57.3%	58.8%	55.9%	75.3%	75%
Russian	40%	39.5%	20.9%	18.9%	12.8%	7.4%	13.7%
Both	20.9%	28.8%	21.8%	22.3%	21.3%	17.3%	11.3%
Native language:							
Karelian	64.2%	68.6%	84.9%	85.9%	90.3%	94.1%	96.5%
Russian	25.4%	26.4%	12.9%	10.2%	9%	4.3%	3.2%
Both	4.4%	4.2%	2.2%	3.9%	0%	0.6%	0%
Speak at home:							
Karelian only	45.3%	31.3%	46.9%	37.3%	32.3%	44.2%	56.8%
Russian only	31.9%	36.1%	23.2%	27.2%	25.2%	19.6%	14.3%
Both	22.8%	33.5%	29.9%	34.9%	42.5%	34.4%	25.6%
Speak at work:							
Karelian only	8.8%	4.5%	17.3%	12.8%	11.2%	22%	26.5%
Russian only	58.3%	67.5%	45.2%	47.1%	46.8%	34.5%	25%
Both	32.9%	26.9%	32.8%	39.3%	41.3%	42.8%	45.9%

Table 6: Language competence by age cohorts, Karelians in rural areas

[Klement'ev 1974]

The data of the more recent sociological survey carried out in 2002 with 1,000 informants in five towns, three urban settlements and more than 40 rural settlements was examined by the same scholar Evgenij Klement'ev (Klement'ev 2003a: 167-207) as the previous study. The corresponding sections of the survey showed that only 53.5% of the interviewed Karelians had a good command of the Karelian language. Approximately 29.7% of the respondents answered that they could read and write, whereas 17.5% estimated that they understood the language and could make themselves understood. Finally, 18.4% knew some words and 10.6% did not know Karelian at all. These data reflect the long-term decline in knowledge of Karelian.

The reliability of the data of population censuses has been criticised for several reasons (see Section 3.3). Nevertheless, the data are considered as a comprehensive source of information (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 8, 11).

2.2.2 Assessment of the Criteria That Form the Basis of Existing Information

The reliability of the sampling and collection methods of the population censuses concerning nationality and language has been viewed with scepticism by both Russian and foreign researchers. In principle, the official statistics provide basic information on the demographics of national minorities, such as Karelians.

However, the interpretation of ethnicity and language, the two basic parameters, requires critical evaluation. Many researchers (Tishkov 1998; Grenoble 2003; Grünthal 2011; Lallukka 1990, 2005, 2006; Malakhov/Osipov 2006) condemn a too straightforward adoption of the data, given the lack of a uniform or clear definition of 'ethnicity' and 'native tongue'. On the one hand, the Soviet practice was to use ethnicity as a predetermined category that was codified in identity documents. On the other hand, in the Soviet censuses and the two last censuses conducted in Russia in 2002 and 2010, ethnicity was reported on the basis of the respondents' self-definition (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 140).

The concept of 'native tongue' used in the Soviet censuses is rather ambiguous, too. Respondents often mentioned that their mother language is not the language used more frequently than others, but rather as the language of their ethnic affinity (Malakhov/Osipov 2006: 503-504). Consequently, "the data of the Soviet censuses referring to the language of a given ethnicity as the 'native' tongue do not directly correspond with the number of those for whom it is actually the main spoken language" (Tishkov 1997: 87, 89). It can be concluded, therefore, that the concept of native tongue mainly reflects ethnic and cultural affiliations rather than the language of actual communication (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 140).

Since the 1970 census, the question "another fluently spoken language of the peoples of USSR" was asked in addition to the question about native language. Answers were based on the respondents' own perceptions and did not necessarily reflect their actual knowledge of a given language. However, the relationship between the question on native language and the question on second language did provide a more or less reliable picture of the knowledge of the native language among the Finno-Ugric peoples (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 140-141). It is difficult to compare the data of the 2002 and 2010 censuses with those of earlier surveys because knowledge of languages was reported on a more general level. Furthermore, the follow-up and analysis of demographic changes has become less transparent.

The differences between the age cohorts (see Figure 6 below) show the basic demographic structure of Karelians, especially the disproportionately high percentage of elderly people (60 years and more in age). The relative proportion of elderly Karelians in urban surroundings was 28% in 2010 (19.8% in 2002) and 31% in rural areas (26.5% in 2002), whereas the overall average in Karelia was 29.3% (22.7% in 2002). According to the standards of the UN, a population is labelled as old if the percentage of elderly people is higher than 12%.

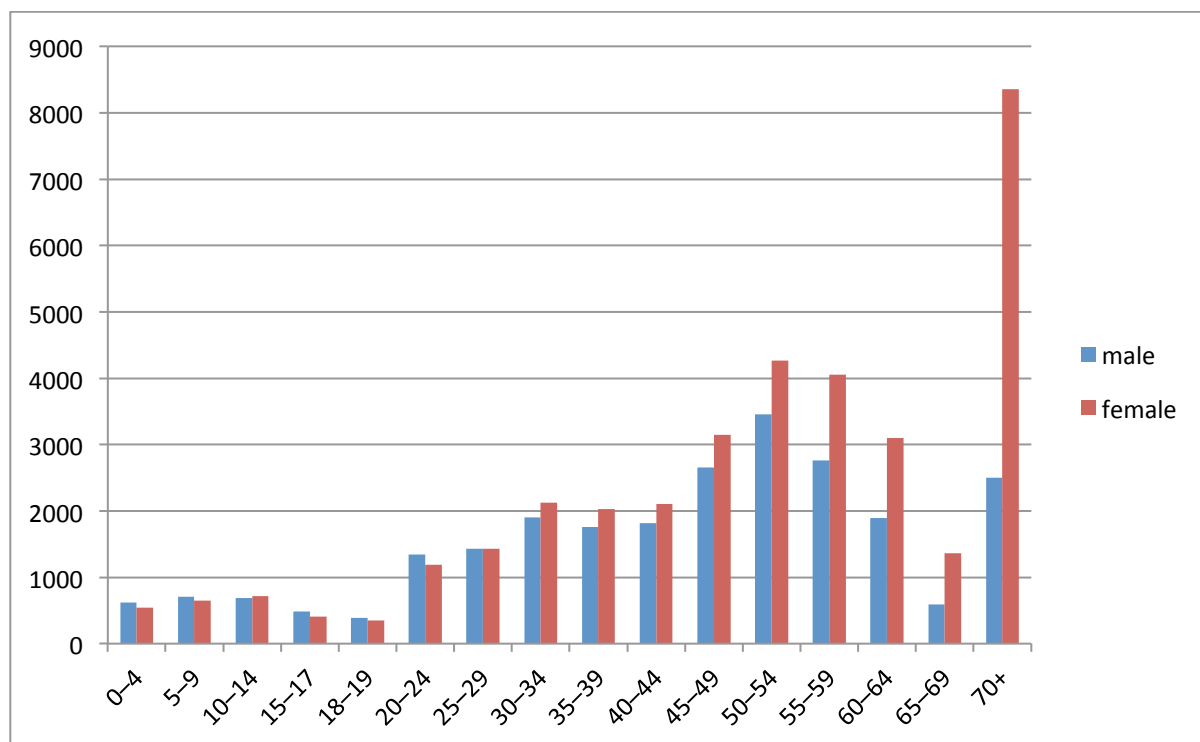


Figure 6: Age and gender of Karelians in the 2010 census

[after Perepis' 2010: pub-04-10]

As Figure 6 shows, the population censuses take into account both gender and age. The correlation between these two parameters shows a higher number of women, which is especially noteworthy in the oldest age cohorts. The major reasons for this include the repression in the 1930s, WWII, and shorter average life expectancy for men (Õispuu 2000: 141). Further information on the age and gender cohorts is available in *Finno-ugorskie narody* (2005: 22-36; 2006: 19-34).

There are no official statistics on birth rates among Karelians because only the birth rate of the whole population of Karelia is reported. Secondary information on the birth rate is based on the relationship between the number of Karelian women and children that can be compared with that of other Finno-Ugric peoples (see *Finno-ugorskie narody* 2006: 35-41 and *Finno-ugorskie narody* 2008: 37-38). The estimated average birth rate among Karelians (1,823 births per 1,000 women) is somewhat higher than the average birth rate in Russia (1,513 births per 1,000 women) (*Finno-ugorskie narody* 2006: 35-36) and the average birth rate among ethnic Russians (1,446 births per 1,000 women).

At the end of the 1980s, 50% of rural and 75% of urbanised Karelians belonged to inter-ethnic marriages. Of these, 39.1% were Karelian-Russian and 26.1% were Karelian-Belarusian marriages. The incidence of inter-ethnic marriages of Karelians and people belonging to other ethnic groups is continually on the rise (Birin 1992: 12-24; *Pribaltijsko-finskie narody* 2003: 212-219; Klement'ev 2008a: 156). The children of mixed families are generally registered as Russian and speak Russian at home (Sarhimaa 1999: 42). However, there is no

up-to-date official statistics on inter-ethnic marriages and the use of different languages in the home.

The administrative division of Karelia into districts was done in 1927 on the basis of the historical settling of Karelians. Until the beginning of the 1940s, the Karelians' numbers were concentrated, albeit in a geographically large area in Karelia. During the post-war decades, however, the population became more scattered, and spread beyond the traditional core areas. Migration into Karelia further increased the number of people belonging to other ethnic groups.

	Urban areas		Rural areas	
Urban districts	Number of Karelians	% of Karelians	Number of Karelians	% of Karelians
Petroskoi	14,236	5.3%	76	11.6%
Kostamus	2,078	6.7%	416	72.0%
Sortavala	1,060	3.6%	352	4.2%
Rural districts				
Belomorsk	1,432	5.7%	862	16.2%
Uhtua	2,868	34.4%	1,458	39.4%
Kemi	1,038	4.7%	676	14.8%
Kontupohja	2,758	7.3%	1,661	16.4%
Lahdenpohja	320	2.8%	166	2.2%
Louhi	2,979	16.1%	1,148	17.9%
Karhumäki	1,418	4.6%	2,175	13.3%
Mujejärvi	950	10.6%	1,879	16.1%
Aunus	8,438	55.7%	10,570	69.1%
Pitkäranta	2,180	8.8%	295	11.3%
Äänisranta	769	5.4%	445	3.9%
Prääsa	1,897	19.9%	6,631	48.4%
Puudosi	162	1.0%	133	0.8%
Segezha	2,090	4.1%	191	3.6%
Suojärvi	2,092	10.9%	1,030	14.2%

Table 7: Urban and rural Karelians in the 1989 census

[Öispuu 2000: 140; Klement'ev 1991: 66-67]

Currently there are 13 towns and 15 rural municipal districts with more than 660 settlement regions in the Republic of Karelia. The main areas of Karelian rural settlements are located in three municipal districts: namely, the Oloneckij, Prâžinskij and Kaleval'skij districts, where 26,900 Karelians live (comprising 90% of all rural Karelians and 41% of all Karelians in Karelia). Karelians inhabit the Oloneckij (*Anus, Aunus*; 16,402 people), Prâžinskij (*Pryazhu, Prääsä*; 6,715 people), Kaleval'skij (*Uhtua, Kalevala*; 3,820 people), Kondopožskij (*Kondupohju, Kontupohja*; 3,574 people), and Louhskij districts (*Louhi*; 3,071 people). Many

Karelians live in the towns of Petrozavodsk (*Petroskoi, Äänislinna*; 13,471 people) and Olonec (5,727 people); the latter is the only town where Karelians form a majority. On the basis of the numbers of the population census of 1989, it has been estimated that 40,000 out of the 65,000 Karelians in Karelia are Olonec Karelians, 5,000 are Ludes, and about 20,000 are North and South Karelians (Klement'ev 1988, 1991, 1998; Klement'ev/ Kožanov 1988: 15–25, 2000: 6–20; Sel'skie naselennye punkty 2000).

Information on the size and relative proportion of ethnic Karelians in comparison with the total population size of the Republic of Karelia is given in Table 8.

	1926	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002	2010
Total population	260,734	651,346	713,389	732,060	790,150	716,281	643,548
Karelians in Karelia	100,781	85,473	84,180	81,248	78,928	65,651	45,570
Share of Karelians, %	38.7	13.1	11.8	11.1	10.0	9.2	7
Urban, total, ind.	61,017	409,616	490,514	568,388	643,496	537,395	502,217
Karelians, total	4,753	26,508	37,596	44,708	48,764	35,689	25,828
Share of Karelians, %	7.8	6.5	7.7	7.9	7.6	6.6	5.1
Rural, total, ind.	208,717	241,730	222,935	163,672	146,654	178,886	141,331
Karelians, total	96,028	58,965	46,584	36,540	30,164	29,962	19,742
Share of Karelians, %	46.0	24.4	20.9	22.3	20.6	16.7	14

Table 8: Share of Karelians of total population in Soviet Union and Russia

[National Composition of Karelia 2005; adding the numbers of Perepis' 2010: pub-1-4, pub-4-10]

The share of Karelians in the total population of Karelia has decreased constantly from 38.7% in 1926 to 5.1% in 2010 (see Table 3 above). The absolute number and share of Karelians in both urban and rural settlements has decreased, too. During the 1970s, in the aftermath of the liquidation of two thousand villages, the number of Karelians living in urban areas exceeded the number of Karelians living in rural areas (Öispuu 2000: 138).

The absolute number of the other Finnic peoples – Veps and Finns – also decreased dramatically in the Republic of Karelia during the 20th century. These three groups together composed about 11.9% of the total population of the Republic in 2002. This decrease – which is seen in men, in particular – comes as a result of the Civil War and WWI, as well as the repressions of Stalin's regime in the 1930s and WWII (Birin 2000: 116).

In parallel with this, the total population of Karelia increased during the 20th century and became four times bigger (partly as a result of the migration policy). The influx of workers of

many nationalities of the USSR made the population ethnically much more multifaceted; in particular, this included the migration of Russians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians (all Slavic speaking populations). More detailed information on the size of the Russian majority and minority ethnic groups in the Republic is given in Table 9.

	1926	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002
Total population	260,734	651,346	713,389	732,060	790,150	716,281
<i>including:</i>						
Russians	153,967	412,773	486,198	522,152	581,571	548,941
Karelians	100,781	85,473	84,180	81,248	78,928	65,651
Veps	8,587	7,179	6,323	5,864	5,954	4,870
Finns	2,544	27,829	22,174	20,098	18,420	14,292
Ukrainians	708	23,569	27,440	23,757	28,242	19,248
Jews	625		1,580	1,469	1,203	719
Belarusians	555	71,900	66,410	59,378	55,530	37,681
Poles	413		5,200	4,539	4,077	3,022
Latvians	258	431	414			252
Tatars	198	2,692	2,603	2,608	2,992	2,628
Mordva	82	1,428	1,363	1,273	1,179	808
Lithuanians	73	2,936	1,945	1,464	1,458	1,074
Chuvash	22	1,578	1,791	1,726	1,763	1,298

Table 9: Ethnic groups of the Karelian Republic in 2005 [Birin 2000: 108]

More extensive information on the economic status and activities of the population of Karelia is available in *Finno-ugorskij mir* (2004, 2008).

2.2.3 Basic Shortcomings of the Existing Demographic Data

The main shortcoming of the data provided in the population censuses is that they do not reflect in an adequate way the complexity of the issues that are characteristic of Karelians, such as their changing identity and their actual knowledge of the Karelian language. In the case of the Karelians, data from the population censuses on nationality and language are not as ambiguous as data on the Veps, because the geographical core area of Karelians generally coincides with the territory of the Republic of Karelia. However, given the high number of Karelians in Tver oblast, which had the largest Karelian population at the beginning of the 20th century, more attention and a more detailed investigation should be directed at this particular group.

Statistical information basically reflects administrative divisions. Ethnicity is mainly discussed in the context of subjects that include ethnic categories, such as the federation and particularly republics that bear the name of a given people. In the case of Karelians, there is strong focus on the Republic of Karelia. By contrast, there is no corresponding information

on the adjacent oblasts. As in the case of the Veps (Grenoble 2003: 25), the exchange of passports in the 1970s in Leningrad oblast caused the registration of local Karelians as “Russians”, although it was estimated that there were about 2,000 ethnic Karelians (Õispuu 2000: 142).

In general, demographic information concerning Karelians in the Republic of Karelia is more reliable than such information from other regions where Karelians live, most notably Tver oblast.

The major problem with statistical information is that the overall number of speakers does not reflect differences of fluency between individual speakers. In eroding language communities, language competence may diverge a lot, something which can actually make small populations even more fragile. Moreover, in the long run, the change of administrative borders and units has affected the perception of language in different language communities. Consequently, the current demographic situation and changes should be projected against qualitative data, if possible.

In principle, the availability of demographic data does not constitute a problem as there is open access on the Internet to the data of the two last population censuses.⁶ The data of the earlier population censuses carried out during the Soviet Union between 1926 and 1989 can be found in printed sources. There is no need to obtain permission from authorities to access them.

2.3 Language and Minority Policies in Practice

2.3.1 General Context of Language-Political Practices

The spectrum of attitudes of Karelians towards their ethnicity is very broad. On the one hand, national revivalist ideas were widely spread among national intelligentsia and leaders of national non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the 1990s. Thus, despite Russia’s current nationalist nation-building policy, many educated Karelians still identify themselves as a separate people with their own distinct language and culture. A survey organised in 2009 by the laboratory for sociological research in the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of Petrozavodsk State University demonstrated that 80% of respondents are not ashamed of their nationality, while 68% would like to have more knowledge about the history and culture of their own people. The survey included 1,688 respondents from the Kaleval’skij, Prāžinskij, Oloneckij and Prionežskij districts, where Karelians and Veps live in concentration.

⁶ <http://www.gks.ru>

On the other hand, national apathy is a typical attitude among Karelians. Soviet policies regarding nationalities and language, especially language education, have increased voluntary and forced assimilation (Lallukka 1996: 316–318). Due to the high level of ethnic and linguistic assimilation, individuals of Karelian origin under the age of fifty often identify themselves not as Karelians, but as Russians. A typical answer to a question concerning nationality is: “My mother is a Karelian, but I am a Russian because I do not speak Karelian.” These people typically prefer the “world” of Russian language and culture to the “backward” Karelian language and culture. In many aspects, national nihilism simply reflects the majority attitude towards minorities.

The majority’s attitude towards minorities is crucial for understanding the language loss and assimilation of Karelians. Since the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the overall attitude of the majority population towards Karelians can be considered to be tolerant. Indeed, there are no ethnic conflicts nowadays between Karelians and members of other ethnic groups. However, during the period of the Soviet Union, behind the façade of the friendship of peoples, different ethnic groups were expected to merge into a homogenous “Soviet people” with Russian as its common language. After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, researchers reported an exponential growth of xenophobia in post-Soviet states. In Russia, xenophobia typically targets nationalities from the Caucasus region, but more generally non-Russians as well. According to a recent sociological enquiry, 40% of students in Karelia dislike people originating from the Caucasus region (Šabaev 2006). This type of sentiment is a major catalyst of inter-ethnic conflicts and even pogroms like the one in Kondopoga in 2006 (Markedonov 2007). It has been argued that Russian nationalism is a pendulum reaction to the national revival in the republics (Pain 2003a, 2003b).

The current state policy of nation-building and the formation of the Russian civil nation have had a considerable influence on the attitudes of the majority towards minorities and migrants (Concept of the State National Education Policy 2006). There is a new tendency in Russian public discourse to undermine the importance of ethnicity and native tongue, emphasising shared civil values instead. Consequently, researchers should critically evaluate official data on xenophobia in order to understand its impact on the public and private perception of ethnicity and language.

In the Republic of Karelia, concrete measures have been taken to overcome xenophobia and raise interest in Karelians and Veps, as well as their languages. Public events have been arranged to popularise the Karelian culture, including support by the Program on Harmonization of National Relations (2007). However, the local minority languages remain rather marginal in public debate. Both the majority and the minority populations favour Russian, as it is considered the language of opportunity and is dominant in all spheres of language usage.

In general, the attitude of the majority population of Karelia towards the Finnic languages is characterised as positive. In addition to Karelians, Veps, and Finns, children of other

nationalities study Karelian, Veps, and Finnish in schools and universities. However, the Karelian language is not considered a vehicular language. Cross-border cooperation with Finland increases the popularity of Finnish, giving it higher social prestige than Karelian and Veps.

An enquiry carried out among the non-Karelian population of the Republic of Karelia in 2003–2004 revealed interest among almost half of the respondents towards the languages of Karelia. There were altogether 160 informants of different nationalities, social status and age. Only 15% of informants considered measures aimed at the maintenance of the Karelian and Veps languages in Karelia as unnecessary. The significant majority (75%) responded that it is necessary to preserve and develop the Karelian and Veps languages. A quarter of respondents did not object to teaching children the Karelian language in school, whereas half of the respondents did not support it. More than one third considered it possible that they would learn the Karelian language personally, whereas more than half did not think that to be necessary. Preference for the local state languages were listed in the following order: 1) only Russian; 2) Russian and Finnish; 3) Finnish, Russian, and Karelian; and 4) Russian and Karelian. More than one third believed that if the Karelian language were to become a state language, it would be desirable for those without knowledge of Karelian to learn it (Kovaleva 2006: 12-13).

In a survey of 100 Karelians in the Prâžinskij district, more than 90% of respondents supported increasing the role of the Karelian language. Approximately 70% believed that the native language was important, 20% were undecided whether the native language was important for them, and only 10% responded that the Karelian language did not have any importance. The survey also showed that the Karelians in this region consider learning Karelian and revitalising the Karelian written language as positive steps in most cases. However, according to Pyöli (1996), despite this positive attitude towards the native language, young Karelians in particular do not believe that their language will be transmitted to the next generation (Ivkova 2002).

Furthermore, an ethno-sociological survey arranged in 2009 by the Ministry of National Policy as the part of the programme *Kareliâ – territoriâ soglasiâ* (2009), in cooperation with the Veps Cultural Society and the Council of the Congress of Representatives of Karelians, shows the paradox between a basically positive attitude towards the language and the present-day endangered status of the language: almost 50% of respondents believed that the Karelian language is safe, about 8% responded that the Karelian language is potentially endangered, 20% thought that the language is on the verge of extinction, and approximately 5% responded that the Karelian language is severely endangered. This strongly contradicts recent reports by UNESCO that identify Karelian as a severely endangered (or, alternatively, “definitely endangered”) language (UNESCO 2012; Wurm 2001).

The education level of Karelians in the Republic of Karelia was estimated on the basis of results of the 2002 population census and is readily available. Nevertheless, there is no detailed information on the education level of Karelians in other regions.

2.3.2 Standardisation of the Karelian Language

The literary languages used in the territory of Karelia in the 20th century are Russian and Finnish. The two autochthonous languages, Karelian and Veps, have mainly been spoken without written versions.

The first attempts to write Karelian were translations of religious texts, which appeared in the first half of the 19th century when the Orthodox Church began publishing religious literature in order to strengthen the Orthodox faith among Karelians. In 1804, the Synod published a “Translation of some prayers and shortened Catechism to the Karelian language” in Olonec Karelian. In 1820, the Gospel of Matthew (and shortly thereafter the Gospel of Mark) was translated into Karelian using the Cyrillic script. In 1870, a “Karelian-Russian Prayer-book for the Orthodox Karelians” had a similar orthography; it was published in both Russian and Karelian. In 1882, “Foundations of the Christian Doctrine” appeared in print. And in 1895–1897, the Arkhangelsk Eparchy Committee published several spiritual books for Karelians living in the northern county of Kemsij. For more information on these religious texts, see Barancev (1967: 93-94), *Pribaltijsko-finskie narody* (2003: 193-197), and Klement’ev (2008a: 24-31).

After the October Revolution in Russia, language became a central issue for nationalities policy in the 1920s (Ylikangas 2000: 424). In 1920, standard Finnish was designated as the other official language than Russian in the Karelian Labour Commune. The Karelian language was considered as a dialect of Finnish by the leadership of the Commune, which was dominated by the Communist “Red Finns”. The main aim of these language policies was Russian-Finnish bilingualism. However, the struggle for the recognition of Karelian continued, and the teaching of Karelian started in some schools already in 1924 (Afanas’eva 1989).

In 1937, Karelian was designated as the third official language (along with Russian and Finnish) in the first Constitution of the Karelian ASSR. The creation of a unified Karelian literary language was based on the southern variants of Karelian Proper and the Cyrillic script (Barancev 1967: 101-103; Anttikoski 2000: 155-156). A grammar of the Karelian language was compiled under the supervision of the Russian linguist D. Bubrih (Bubrih 1937), but the creators of the written language were accused of allegiance to Finland and the work was interrupted. In 1938, a decision was made to remove the official status of Finnish. In the same year, Karelian completely replaced Finnish in the press, administration, and schools.

A second literary standard, based on Olonec Karelian (being closest to Russian) and the Cyrillic script, was created in 1939 under the supervision of N. Anisimov (1939), an Olonec

Karelian himself. The standard was abolished in 1940, however, when the Karelian-Finnish Union Republic was established. Finnish again became the official language, along with Russian, in accord with the Constitution of the Karelian-Finnish SSR (Anttikoski 2000: 157-158, Sarhimaa 1999: 35–41).

A third literary standard, which used the Latin script, had already been created in 1930 in Tver (then Kalinin) oblast. In 1931, Karelian began to be used as the language of instruction in some schools in Kalinin and Leningrad oblasts (Barancev 1967: 99-100; Anttikoski 1998: 208-211), but this stopped in 1939 with the abolition of the Karelian national *okrug*. A detailed history of the creation of this Karelian literary language in the 1930s is available in Barancev (1967), *Pribaltijsko-finskie narody* (2003: 197-202), Strogal'sikova (2005: 270-273), Sarhimaa (1999: 35-41), and Õispuu (2000: 144-150).

After WWII, Finnish was applied as a literary language in certain areas of Northern Karelia. After the Karelian-Finnish SSR was downgraded in 1956, the use of Finnish decreased gradually and steadily, although it was formally still considered an official language on par with Russian, according to the Constitutions of the Karelian ASSR from 1957 and 1978 (Klement'ev 2005c: 252–257).

For a long time, it was prohibited to raise the issue of written Karelian and Veps (Kert 2000: 76–77). Yet the Karelian and Veps literary languages were revived in 1989. Native speakers have actively sought to develop a Karelian literary standard for two distinct variants: namely, Karelian Proper and Olonec Karelian. Aside from these, a literary standard was created for Lude as well, a variant that is closely related to Karelian and Veps. More information on the formation of the written tradition of the Karelian language can be found in Kovaleva (2006).

Language activists, national intelligentsia, and the academic community took a leading role in the revitalisation of the Karelian literary language after the conference “Karelians: Ethnos, Culture, Language, Economics: problems and perspectives of the development in the conditions of the improvement of inter-ethnic relations in USSR”, which was held in Petrozavodsk in May 1989.

By the end of the 1980s, the Karelian language was almost exclusively restricted to the private sphere. Since then, however, the functional domain of the Karelian language has notably broadened. Use of the Karelian language has gained a foothold in the education system, such as kindergartens, schools, professional and higher education institutions, and language courses. According to some estimates published in Russia at the beginning of the 21st century, continuous support by the State for language usage in these and other domains (such as media, culture, and literature) should sustain the language vitality of Karelian. That said, the same articles consider a broadening of the social functions of the language as hardly possible (Krůčkova 2000: 196; Pis'mennye âzyki 2003: 227).

Today the most important texts written in the new literary standard of the Karelian language are, first and foremost, textbooks on the Karelian language and supplemental material,

lexicographical publications, and thematic vocabularies published by the republic's terminology and orthography commission. The literary standard is also used in fiction, poetry books, and newspaper articles.

The production of textbooks, their supplements, and thematic vocabularies has been intensive (Zajkov 1992, 1994, 1999, 2002; Zajkov/Rugoeva 1999; Markianova 1990, 1992, 2002; Markianova/Bojko 1996; Kočerina 2004; Bogdanova 2004; Slovar' 1990; Obščestvenno-političeskaâ leksika (livvikovskoe narečie) 2003, 2004; Obščestvenno-političeskaâ leksika (sobstvenno-karel'skoe narečie) 2003, 2005; Lingvističeskaâ terminologiâ 2000; Pakhomov/Potashova 2003). Furthermore there are training programmes and online dictionaries of the Karelian language, also including variants other than Olonec Karelian.⁷

The Russian language has a unique historical background in the Republic of Karelia. The dialect of the local Russian population in Karelia has its own origins; it is the variant used in Russian epics (*bylina*), fairytales, and laments. The Russian dialects in Karelia belong to the dialects of Northern Russian (Sarhimaa 1999: 20–25; Saarikivi 2006). At present, this unique variant is on the verge of extinction as a vernacular, although officially the State reports that “significant work has been done to preserve, revive and develop the traditional culture of the Russian population of Pomor'e, Zaonež'e, and Pudož in Karelia” (2nd State Report FCPNM 2005: 22).

2.3.3 Language Use in Different Domains

Media and cultural activities. Regular TV and radio broadcasting in the Karelian language was introduced in the 1960s. Today the GTRK [= state-owned TV and radio company] “Kareliâ” broadcasts in Karelian, Veps, and Finnish (Eremeev 2007).

Mostly news (but also some cultural programmes in Karelian) used to be broadcast on the radio for one hour per week. The decision to subordinate all state-owned TV and radio companies, such as GTRK “Kareliâ”, directly to the main national broadcasting company VGTRK in the Russian Federation in 2004 had a negative impact on the number of hours that Kareliâ was broadcast. The overall airtime dedicated to regional issues was reduced to roughly 50 minutes per week and the broadcast length on TV to about 30–40 minutes per month, mostly featuring news and a few thematic programmes (Pis'mennye âzyki 2003: 215–216). In 2009, GTRK “Kareliâ” broadcasted 89.2 hours of information programmes and 46.5 hours of thematic programmes on “Russian television”, as well as 66 hours of information programmes and 136.9 hours of thematic programmes on “Radio of Russia” in Karelian, Veps, and Finnish (3rd State Report FCPNM 2010: Appendix 5).

⁷ <http://sanakniigu.onego.ru/> (retrieved on 30 August 2010)

Three newspapers are published in Karelian and two magazines include material in Karelian. These periodicals were founded and are published by the Republic of Karelia. The weekly newspaper is called *Oma mua* (published in Karelian Proper and Olonec Karelian with an average circulation of 900 copies) and the monthly newspaper is named *Vienan Karjala* (published in Karelian Proper with an average circulation of 500 copies).⁸ The newspaper *Lyydilaine*, which is published in Lude, was launched in June 2008. The magazine *Carelia* (with an average circulation of 860 copies) and the magazine for children *Kipinä* (with an average circulation of 990 copies) are published mostly in Finnish, but also include materials in Karelian and Veps (Pis'mennye âzyki 2003: 212-214; Rämänen 2007). Furthermore, leaflets in the Karelian language are included in several municipal newspapers (in Olonec, Kalevala, Prâža, Louhi) (Bojnič & Bogdanova 2008: 32). As for other territories than the Republic of Karelia, the monthly newspaper *Karielan Šana* (circulation of 500 copies) and the monthly journal *Karielan koivune* are published in Tver oblast (Gromova 2003).

Users of the Internet may share their opinions on the language, culture, and ethnography of Karelians in online forums. The Internet site “Ethno-world of Karelia” was created as a part of the Program on Harmonization of National Relations (2007) as a place where information about the ethnoses of Karelia (including Karelians) could be published.⁹ The website of the Ministry of National Policy provides information about events and national life in the Republic of Karelia.¹⁰ More recently, the website of the indigenous peoples of Karelia was launched by the National Library of the Republic of Karelia.¹¹ The youth organisation Nuori Karjala has its own website, as well as an account for discussion on social networks.¹² The organisation Uhut Seura also has its own site.

As regards cultural activities, plays in the Karelian language are sometimes produced by the National Theater of the Republic of Karelia. The amateur student puppet-show “Čičiliusku”, created in 2005 by the Union of the Karelian People in the Republican Center of National Cultures, has performed in Karelian Proper and Olonec Karelian, and it gives guest performances in the local districts of Karelia. The Karelian amateur theatre Tilkkuzet, created in the village of Vitele (Vidlica) in the district of Olonec, had its premiere in Petrozavodsk in April 2010. The youth organisation Nuori Karjala has produced TV releases of the plays *Kuin hukka vazikkale muamona oli?* and *Varis*. The people’s theatre in Kalevala performs in Karelian Proper in the municipality of Kalevala.

⁸ From January 2014 on, these two papers will be combined into one weekly, with more pages and larger circulation (see e.g. http://omamua.ru/issues/noumeru_30/viena_da_liygi_erikseh_vai_yhteh/).

⁹ <http://www.etnomir.onego.ru/> (retrieved on 30.8.2010)

¹⁰ <http://www.gov.karelia.ru/>; <http://www.gov.karelia.ru/gov/Power/Committee/National/index.html> (retrieved on 30.8.2010)

¹¹ <http://knk.karelia.ru/> (retrieved on 30.8.2010)

¹² <http://www.nuorikarjala.onego.ru/>; <http://www.vkontakte.ru/> (retrieved on 30.8.2010)

The Karelian language is very rarely used in cinematography. For the first time, digital technologies were used for popularisation of the Karelian language in the village of Jessoila (*Dessoilu, Essoila*) during the creation of the first Karelian cartoon.

In the 1930s, more than 300 books were published in Karelian. While more than a hundred were works of fiction, there were also dozens of textbooks and supplements, books for higher education, and dictionaries. Currently only a few books per year are published in Karelian (see Table 10). These are mostly textbooks and supplemental material, but fiction, poetry, dictionaries, and religious texts have been published as well. Between 1990–2000, 25 books appeared in Olonec Karelian and nine books appeared in Karelian Proper (*Pis'mennye âzyki* 2003: 211-212). A calendar was published twice in the Karelian language (2008, 2009).

Number of books and brochures					Edition				
1990	1995	2002	2005	2006	1990	1995	2002	2005	2006
3	2	5	2	9	11,000	8,000	11,000	1,000	11,000

Table 10: Publications in Karelian in the Republic of Karelia between 1990-2006

[Data of Russian Book Fair, cited in *Finno-ugorskiy mir* 2008: 42; *Finno-ugorskie narody* 2005: 54]

Pre-school. At the dawn of the Soviet Union, the Karelian language was not the instrument of teaching in pre-school institutions (unlike other republics with a local nominal Finno-Ugric minority language) (*Finno-ugorskie narody* 2008: 147). As a result of language revitalisation, there were 35 pre-school institutions in the republic in 2008 in which the Karelian language was taught as a second language. There continue to be very few teaching materials available, however, and teachers use material from *Kipinä* magazine to teach Karelian. Teachers of pre-school institutions are trained in the Karelian Department of the Pedagogical Professional School No 2 in Petrozavodsk (*Pis'mennye âzyki* 2003: 214–215).

There are only a few pre-school institutions in which the Karelian language is used pedagogically. Two language nests began operating in Kalevala in 1999 and 2002 (*Encyclopedia* 2007: 253). However, they were soon converted to normal kindergarten groups that used Russian. Although the kindergarten “*Lintuset*” has, in principle, worked for many years in Kalevala, oversized groups have prevented the successful use of language nest techniques, which would consistently apply Karelian as the only vehicular language from the very beginning of the children’s education. Two language nests were opened in Petrozavodsk in September 2009: one for Karelian and another for Finnish (*Žarinova* 2008: 139–142).

Upbringing and communication with children in language nests should be organised entirely in the minority language for a successful implementation of language revitalisation. Indeed, this technique has already succeeded in revitalising the Inari Sámi language in Finland and the Maori language in New Zealand. The latter was the first context in which a language nest was adopted. Language nests in Karelia have gained methodological and financial support from Finland, which seeks to replicate the positive results of the revitalisation of the Inari

Sámi language (see Pasanen 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008). However, central federal executive bodies have denied the implementation of language nest techniques and the use of the concept of language nests in Russia, labelling it a tool of “segregation of children on ethnic grounds” (3rd State Report FCPNM 2010: 103–104). Nevertheless, the importance of language nests is widely acknowledged by local authorities and the way in which new techniques might be adopted is currently under active discussion (see, for example, Filippova 2012).

The lack of systematic teaching of the native language in pre-school institutions influences perspectives of subsequent education. The implementation of Karelian as the instrument of instruction at schools is currently lacking.

School. At the end of the 19th century, there were some schools in which the Karelian language was taught. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, Karelian was banned and only Russian was used as the language of instruction (Ilûha 2001; Vituhnovskaâ 2001, 2006; Pulkin 2001). Karelian was still used as the language of instruction in some schools in the 1930s, but only in extreme cases where the authorities needed public support, and soon it was abandoned again.

In 1992, the teaching of Karelian, Veps, and Finnish was restored within the framework of the so-called national-regional component of the State’s educational standards. The teachers of these languages were given a 50% salary bonus. The principle of “mutual bilingualism (multilingualism), that is, the orientation of the Finno-Ugrian School to achieve an equal command of the Karelian (Veps/Finnish) and Russian languages” was one of the main principles of the Finno-Ugrian School. To date, there are no schools in the Republic where the Karelian language is used as the primary medium of instruction, but there are rural and urban schools where it is taught both as a compulsory and optional subject (Klement’ev 2004b, 2006a; Karmazin 2007).

As can be seen by a comparison of Tables 11 and 12, the Karelian language is taught mostly in the national schools of the Republic of Karelia. In Tver oblast, it is taught as an optional subject; in 2002, it was taught at 16 schools (Turicheva 2003).

Number of institutions where native (non-Russian) is a curriculum item (units): Karelian	Students learning Karelian as a subject				
	Grades 1-4	Grades 5-9	Grades 10-11(12)	Total	
Russian Federation	40	1186	615	32	1833
Republic of Karelia, urban schools	2	38	37	0	75
Republic of Karelia, rural schools	28	617	402	22	1041

Table 11: National schools and Karelian language teaching in the Russian Federation between 2003–2004

[2nd State Report FCPNM 2005: Annex 5, 6]

The proportion of the national schools in the total number of schools in the Republic remains stable, as seen in Table 12.

	2003/04	2004/05	2005/05	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09
Schools in total	295	279	264	254	247	242
Schools with Karelian	49	53	50	47	40	37
Students	1,824	2,237	1,751	1,737	1,559	1,581
Schools with Veps	4	5		5	4	
Students	286	331		326	233	
Schools with Finnish	64	66		60	53	
Students	7,177	7,315		6,129	5,892	

Table 12: National schools and teaching of Karelian, Veps and Finnish in the Republic of Karelia between 2003-2009

[Data of the Ministry of Education]

Between 1989 and 2002, the share of ethnic Karelian children learning their native language increased from 3.4% to 17.6% (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 150). The number of students learning the Karelian language was greatest in the academic year 2001–2002 (see Table 13).

However, after the positive change of the 1990s, more recent reports have shown a continuing decrease in the number of students of Karelian after 2002. This can be explained by the demographic gap in Russia rather than a consequence of the language-in-education policy. However, even ethnic Karelian schoolchildren often prefer learning the Finnish language to learning Karelian (Table 12), mainly because it has a higher social status and allows further education in Finland (Birin 1999). As is noted in Table 12, there were almost four times as many students learning Finnish compared to Karelian. In 1990, the number of

students of Finnish was 2.6 times higher than the number of ethnic Finnish students; in 2002, this increased to 4.1 times higher (Finno-ugorskie narody 2008: 150).

Academic year	Number of schools	Number of students
2000–2001	52	2,149
2001–2002	58	2,884
2002–2003	52	1,816
2003–2004	49	1,824
2004–2005	53	2,237
2005–2006	50	1,751
2006–2007	47	1,737
2007–2008	40	1,559
2008–2009	37	1,581
2009–2010	33	1,657

Table 13: Karelian language teaching in the Republic of Karelia in 2000–2010

[Data of Ministry of National Policy]

One of the recent positive developments is the fact that teaching of the Karelian language from the 1st until the 11th grade was initiated in the 2009–2010 academic year in some schools of the Oloneckij district. For the first time, Karelian became a compulsory and not an optional subject. Through cooperation between the administration, library and centre of Karelian language in the village of Jessoila, children learn the language at school and then continue instruction together with their parents in language courses.

Nevertheless, Table 12 and Table 13 unambiguously demonstrate that the number of the national schools continues to decrease, and the number of students learning the Karelian language is slowly declining. Despite the formal consistency of the language education policy, in practice, only 26.7% of Karelian school children had the possibility to learn Karelian in 2005–2006 in the Republic of Karelia, according to the 2002 population census. This number ranges from 12.6% in the Kondopožskij district up to 64% in the Medvež’egorskij district (Klement’ev 2006a, based on National Composition in Karelia 2005: 3–4, 30, 33–34).

The official Action plan / List (2009) intends to maintain the current number of schools teaching these languages and the number of students learning them. However, it was admitted that given the current level of language instruction, the principle of “mutual bilingualism” is too ambitious and unrealistic. In theory, the teaching load consists of three hours per week, but in reality it is only one or two hours. Research conducted in 2005 by E. Klement’ev among native language teachers showed that less than 5% of students could fluently speak Karelian. Outside of native language lessons, almost nobody spoke it in school, at home, or elsewhere. Less than 15% of teachers considered the importance of schools for language maintenance to be high. The rest claimed that during the last 15 years, there have either been no major changes in the schools (over 40% of the respondents), potential is limited (more than 35%), or the potential of schools has become worse (around 9%). Approximately 63% of the teachers believed that without an increase in native language teaching, the ability of schools to assist in language maintenance will be limited in the future

as well and linguistic assimilation will be unpreventable (Klement'ev 2006a; Klement'ev/Varlamova 2007).

Higher education and research. Higher education and research are mostly conducted in Russian. Nevertheless, primary school teachers of the Karelian language are trained in the Faculty of Preschool and Social Pedagogics of Karelian State Pedagogical University. Secondary school teachers of Karelian are trained in the Faculty of Finnic Philology and Culture of Petrozavodsk State University. The standard definition of the subject is “Karelian and Finnish languages and literatures” (2nd State Report FCPNM 2005: 27). Actors in the National Theater and other theatres are educated at the Glazunov Petrozavodsk State Conservatory, and the entrance exam is organised in cooperation with the National Theater (Bogdanov 2007: 16). Primary school teachers are also educated in the Lihoslavl Teacher Training College in the Faculty of Philology of Tver State University (Turicheva 2003).

Dissertations are defended at the Council for the Defense of the Candidate Dissertations KM 212.190.05 at Petrozavodsk State University. Research on different aspects of the Karelian language is conducted in the Institute of the Language, Literature, and History of the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which is also the publisher of several dictionaries, such as *Slovar'* (1990, 1994, 2000, 2007, 2009).

Administrative language. While Karelian used to be the language of the administration for a short period in the 1930s, currently it is not used as the working language of federal and republican authorities (such as the Legislative Assembly and the Government of the Republic of Karelia) because Karelian is not a state language in the Republic. The use of Karelian by municipal authorities is very limited. Road signs in the Karelian and Veps languages are installed in some concentrated settlements. This reflects the fact that many ethnic Karelians speak Russian better than Karelian and, accordingly, it is functionally not developed enough to be used in public domains (Pis'mennye âzyki 2003: 216–217). Introduction of the Karelian language into the domain of state and municipal administration became one of the long-term tasks in the Action plan / List (2009).

Court and other public institutions. There are no court cases in which the Karelian language has been used. Nor are there reports concerning language rights in terms of Karelian (Pis'mennye âzyki 2003: 217).

Karelian is very rarely used in public institutions in villages, population centres or towns. It is sometimes used in traditional activities and consumer services in rural areas (Pis'mennye âzyki 2003: 217), but otherwise it is not employed in industry, communications, transport, power engineering, or agriculture. Furthermore, one does not find Karelian as the language of public services, commercial activities, audio-visual information, or advertisements.

Language of work. Communication in the Karelian language mainly takes place in mono-ethnic environments in rural areas where Karelians form the vast majority. For example, a survey carried out in 1993–1994 consisted of 200 Karelians, both rural and urban,

representing different age cohorts. The results clearly demonstrated that the Karelian language is rarely used at work. Nevertheless, 30% of the informants aged 30–50 used the Karelian language in mono-ethnic working environments, and as many as 60% of informants aged 50–60 used the Karelian language in mono-ethnic work environments (Kovaleva 2006).

Language of religion. Already at the beginning of the 20th century, the Orthodox Church used Russian as the language of religious services (see Section 2.2.3; Vituhnovskaâ 2001: 14, 2006). Today services are sometimes carried out in Karelian in certain parishes. In Krošnozero, for instance, a priest from Finland celebrated the festive service in the Karelian language in August 2009. In the Kinerma village, the Gospel was said in Karelian during a service in 2008. Priest Pavel Pugovkin, prior of George’s church in the village of Vidlica in the Oloneckij district, holds services in the Karelian language. Archbishop Manuil favours the Karelian language being used in sermons and confession. Short fragments of the Orthodox service are read and sung in the Karelian language at large festive services in the Petrozavodsk Cathedral.

In 1995, *Bible for Children* was translated into Olonec Karelian. In 2003, the New Testament (*Uuzi Sana*) was translated into Olonec Karelian, followed in 2006 by the Psalms. A translation of the New Testament into Karelian Proper was published in 2011.

Intra-group communication. In one example of sociological research carried out at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century, consisting of a sample of 200 informants (Karelians of different ages and social groups, both rural and urban), 90% of the respondents aged 50 or more used both Russian and Karelian in communication with relatives. Approximately 20% of people aged 17–30 responded that they sometimes used the Karelian language, whereas 30% of people aged 30–50 answered that they used Karelian in communication with relatives. These numbers show continuing decline in the use of the Karelian language among younger generations. However, their language behaviour is clearly still different than communication with friends and acquaintances, with whom young people use exclusively Russian. Only 30% of elderly people use the Karelian language in communication with friends and acquaintances (Kovaleva 2006).

Communication between ethnic groups. Communication between ethnic groups occurs mostly in Russian. However, some cases have been reported in which people belonging to other ethnic groups, such as Belarusians, have learnt Karelian for personal reasons. (Kovaleva 2006.)

2.3.4 Identity-Connected Language-Political Behaviour

There are some pop-music groups that use the Karelian language in their performances. For example, the pop group Anna Tulla,¹³ the ethno-rock group Santtu Karhu & Talvisovat, and the youth group Rock&Roses from Kondopoga perform in Karelian.

The youth organisation Nuori Karjala titled the first album of the pop group *Anna Tulla* as *Onnen tähti* ('Star of Happiness'). The newest album of the ethno-rock group *Santtu Karhu & Talvisovat* was entitled *E.L.O.S.*¹⁴ A CD with songs by the Karelian national chorus *Oma pajo* and the CD *Fairytales in Karelian Proper* were released in 2009. Songs in Karelian appear on YouTube.

New Internet forums on learning the Karelian language learning have been created, such as "We are the Karelians and we are proud of this!", "Onko karjala siun oma kieli?" ("Is Karelian your language?"), and others found on the VKontakte social network.¹⁵ Furthermore, the website of Nuori Karjala¹⁶ provides a forum for the Karelian people.¹⁷

Occasionally, Karelian-speaking local politicians and officials address the Karelian public in Karelian at congresses of Karelians and scientific conferences. E. Bogdanova, the Minister of Culture, for instance, often gives plenary reports at conferences held in the Republic of Karelia and makes salutatory addresses in the Karelian language (Bogdanova 2007: 17–18).

In an academic context, Karelian is mainly used in course books and articles focusing on the Karelian language (Zajkov 1999, 2000; Fedotova 1985, 1990, 2000). Accordingly, presentations are given in Karelian at conferences and literary events devoted to the issues of Karelian philology. However, presentations in Karelian are exceptions to the rule, with most being predominantly prepared in Russian.

Supplemental materials for institutions of higher education are available in Karelian, and lectures are given in the Karelian language at Petrozavodsk State University for students specialising in "Karelian and Finnish languages and literatures".

2.3.5 Gender Aspects of Every-Day Language Policies

There is a striking gender disproportion among Karelians in Russia. This is reflected in the data of the 2002 and the 2010 population censuses, which show many more women than men (see Table 14).

¹³ http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_tulla (retrieved on 30.8.2010)

¹⁴ http://mariuver.files.wordpress.com/2009/05/santtu_karhu.jpg (retrieved on 30.8.2010)

¹⁵ <http://vk.com/> (retrieved on 26.4.2013)

¹⁶ <http://nuorikarjala.onego.ru/forum/viewtopic.php?id=14> (retrieved on 30.8.2010)

¹⁷ <http://www.karelov.net/> (retrieved on 30.8.2010)

	Urban and Rural population			Urban population			Rural population		
	M&F	M	F	M&F	M	F	M&F	M	F
2002	93,344	39,871	53,473	52,205	21,350	30,855	41,139	18,521	22,618
2010	60,815	24,994	35,821	35,211	13,886	21,325	25,604	11,108	14,496

Table 14: Gender ratios among Karelians in Russia

[Finno-ugorskie narody 2006: 20-22; Perepis' 2010]

Information on the marriages of Karelians by age cohorts in urban and rural areas, in comparison with the data of the population censuses and with other Finno-Ugric peoples, is available in Finno-ugorskie narody (2005: 37–44; 2006: 42–59). However, there are no current data on mixed marriages or language usage in mixed marriages, gender patterns in mobility, or gender balance in minority representation.

Data on mixed marriages from the 1989 population census have revealed every second marriage in rural areas and three out of four marriages in towns to be mixed marriages (Birin 1992; Pribaltijsko-finskie narody 2003: 212-219, 262-263; Lallukka 1990: 219).

2.4 Languages in Contact and Language Maintenance

General description of the languages under discussion. The Karelian language belongs to the Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric (alternatively labelled as the Uralic) language family, whose northwestern branches are comprised by the Finnic languages and the Saamic languages. Traditionally the list of the Finnic languages consists of mutually closely related variants, such as Livonian, South Estonian (Võro language), (North) Estonian, Votic, Ingrian, Veps, Lude, Karelian, and Finnish (Grünthal 2007a; Laakso 2001; Viitso 1998, 2000). Contemporary sociological research on language sometimes emphasises the position of Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish) and Kven as independent variants, both of which are spoken outside of the Finnish language area. Among the Finnic languages, the most viable are Finnish and Estonian. Historically speaking, Karelian is closely related to Ingrian, Veps, and the eastern dialects of Finnish, whereas Lude has often been called a Karelian dialect (KKS; Sarhimaa 1999: 13; Virtaranta 1972).

Researchers in Russia traditionally distinguish between three main branches of the Karelian language: Karelian Proper, Olonec Karelian, and Lude. In Finland, the division is made between Karelian Proper (also called North Karelian), South Karelian, and the dialects of Inner Russia (Anttikoski 1998b, 2009; Virtaranta 1972); Lude is most frequently considered as an independent language between Karelian and Veps. Those Karelians (*karjalaizet*) who live in Central and Northern Karelia and outside the Republic (including the Valdaj (Novgorod), Tver, and Tihvin Karelians) speak Karelian Proper. The Olonec Karelians (*livviköit*, *livgiläzet*) speak Olonec Karelian and occupy the larger part of the Olonec Isthmus on the eastern and northeastern shore of Lake Ladoga.

It is assumed that, historically, Olonec Karelian and Lude gradually evolved at the beginning of the 2nd millennium A.D. as a result of language contact between the ancestors of the Veps and the Karelians on the Olonec Isthmus: Olonec Karelian, Lude, and Veps share certain features, such as a gradual decrease of consonant gradation and the grammaticalisation of secondary ablative cases that are not attested in other Finnic languages. Itkonen (1971) suggests that certain important phonological features – as well as the similarities and dissimilarities in the consonant gradation of Olonec Karelian, Lude and Veps – should be accounted for on the basis of language contact.

Moreover, it must be noted that in Finnish dialectology, the easternmost variants of the Savo dialect are labelled as North Karelian dialects of the Finnish language (Grünthal 2007a, 2007b), and the Southeastern dialects of the Finnish language are or were spoken in the Finnish parts of South Karelia and on the Karelian Isthmus in the area that was annexed to the Soviet Union after World War II. However, despite terminological inconsistencies, they should not be confused with the Karelian language, the subject of this report.

Figure 7 (see below) demonstrates the geographical distribution of the “Karelian” (Eastern Savo, Southeastern) dialects of the Finnish language (blue), dialects of the Karelian language in the present-day Republic of Karelia (orange, green, yellow), and Lude (red) before WWII.

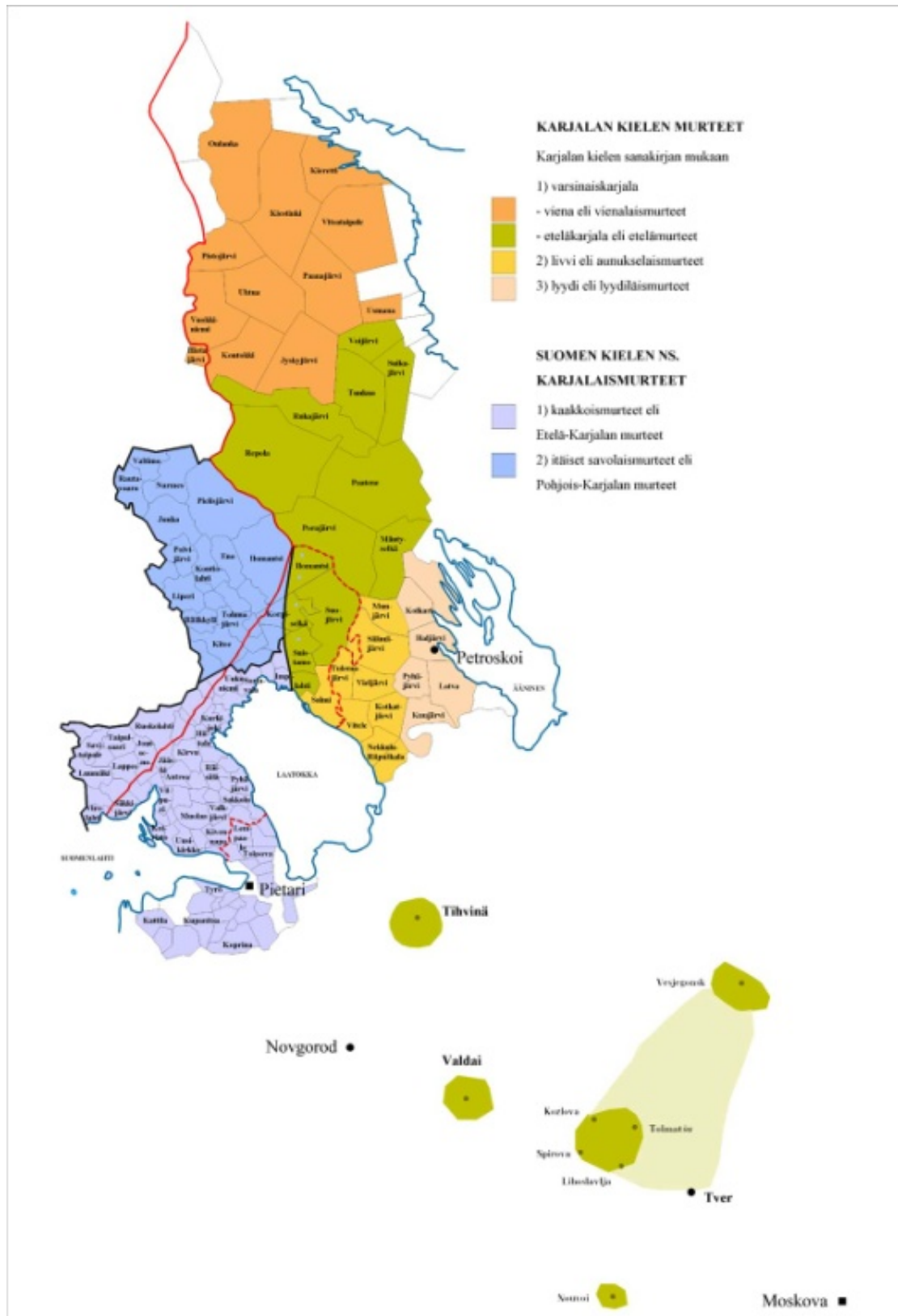


Figure 7: Map of the historical distribution of the Karelian dialects (orange, green, yellow), Lude (red), and Finnish dialects in Finland's Karelia (blue)

<http://www.kotus.fi/index.phtml?s=343>

As regards Lude, it shares many characteristics with Olonec Karelian on the one hand, and with Veps on the other. Given their closer connection with Russian cities, Olonec Karelian

and Lude have been influenced by Russian more than the other Karelian dialects, and the language shift to Russian was greatest among Ludes. By contrast, the language of the Northern Karelians has much in common with the eastern dialects of the Finnish language (Zajkov 2000: 3-30, 2008: 9-23; Bubrih 1948: 42-50).

The differences between Karelian dialects do not in general prevent mutual communication, because their lexicons and grammar systems are common to a large extent. Karelian Proper and Olonec Karelian mainly differ from one another in certain aspects of morphology and phonetics. Further discussion on the differences of the Karelian dialects can be found in Leskinen (1998) and Virtaranta (1972).

Russian is the language of inter-ethnic communication in Russia and the functionally dominant language in Karelia. It is enormously different from Karelian; having had a written form for a long time, it is a multifunctional literary language. According to estimations, Russian is spoken by 145–160 million native speakers and a total number of 255–285 million speakers, mostly in Russia, but also in the adjacent states of the former Soviet Union. Russian is the state language of the Russian Federation, and it is a coofficial language in Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. It is one of the six official languages of the United Nations.

Genetically Russian belongs to the East Slavic group of the Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family. Typologically, it is a fusional/inflecting language. Its grammar and basic lexicon are entirely different from those of Karelian, a Finno-Ugric language. It is assumed that the northwestern dialects of Russian have been influenced to some extent in the past by the Finnic languages, such as Karelian. In fact, these northwestern dialects did historically have a considerable number of words of Finno-Ugric origin (Mihajlova 2004).

Unlike Russian, Karelian has only recently acquired a written form; its current written tradition has existed for only twenty years. There were attempts to create a literary standard for a very short period at the end of the 1930s, but these were interrupted for more than fifty years and only renewed in 1989. Typologically, Karelian is an agglutinative language that displays rich suffixal morphology and shares its basic grammar and lexicon with other Finnic languages. Like other Finno-Ugric languages, Karelian lacks grammatical gender. UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* cites Karelian (Proper) and Olonec Karelian as definitely endangered languages, whereas Lude is labelled as a severely endangered language (Encyclopedia 2007: 253, 257, 263). These languages are characterised by a constant decline in the number of children speaking them. Furthermore, their total number of speakers is less than one million people.

The functional domain of the Karelian language is much narrower than that of Russian. An area of special usage for the Karelian language is its private sphere of everyday communication, which was the primary source of Karelian's natural development for many decades. Conceivably, Karelian vocabulary and terminology were mainly limited to domestic contexts. Nevertheless, some thematic word lists have existed for a long time. There is a rich

vocabulary in the Karelian language of thematic groups of flora, fauna, different businesses, rites, traditions, kinship terms, and anatomical terms (KKS; Kovaleva 2006: 13-14).

Since the resurgence of the Karelian literary language in the late 1980s, two distinct standards have been developed: namely, Olonec Karelian and Karelian Proper. More recently, a separate standard was created for Lude, which is structurally an intermediate variant between Karelian and Veps. In principle, the strategy to create new lexicons and expand the domains of language usage has involved the active planning of new lexemes on the basis of language-internal means, such as derivation and lexical calques (Punžina 1991; Kovaleva 2006: 14–17). The Finnish language was repeatedly consulted, and the new lexicon includes both Finnish and Russian borrowings (Markianova 2003), although direct borrowing of new lexicons from other languages was not favoured.

The terminology and orthography commission of the Republic of Karelia used to be the main authority in charge of language planning (as a “language board”) until it was disbanded in 2011. The new lexicon was published in special bulletins that were actively distributed in schools, institutions of higher education, mass media and other organisations (Obšestvenno-političeskaâ leksika (livvikovskoe narečie) (2003, 2004); Obšestvenno-političeskaâ leksika (sobstvenno-karel’skoe narečie) (2003, 2005); Lingvističeskaâ terminologiâ (2000)). It is estimated that eight thousand words belonging to social and political lexicons were included, along with more than one and a half thousand words for nature (most notably names of species) and more than seven hundred linguistic terms. Overall, about twelve thousand words were introduced by 2005 (Departmental Program 2005).

2.4.1 Monolingualism, Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Increasing language shift among Karelians has influenced the Karelian speech community for several decades, and the number of speakers has decreased in parallel with an increase in bilingualism (Sarhimaa 1999: 27-50). In the Soviet Union, this used to be a major path to language shift (Grenoble 2003; Lallukka 1990). Indeed, the population decline of the Karelians has taken place in parallel with linguistic assimilation (Lallukka 1996; cf. Section 2.3). Currently, only very few monolingual Karelian speakers remain among the elder generations, who primarily live in rural areas. It is estimated – based on the evidence of the last population censuses carried out in 1989, 2002, and 2010 – that considerably less than half of all Karelians are Karelian-Russian bilinguals. The rest are typically monolinguals, like the vast majority of Russians.

The surveys show that the dominant type of bilingualism among the younger segment of the Karelian population is passive bilingualism (Klement’ev 2003a): children understand Karelian speech, but even if their parents speak Karelian to them, they answer and communicate in Russian. The children are typically socialised in Russian and, consequently, speak Russian as their first language. Russian is the vehicular language for children in kindergarten and at

school. Even those children who have learnt Karelian speak Russian during their breaks and free time.

Over the past few years, some young Karelian parents (aged 20–30) who learned the Karelian language in educational institutions have tried to revitalise communication and functional language usage in Karelian with their children. These parents have noted that children naturally communicate with their parents in Karelian in Russian-language contexts, such as public places and towns, while the parents themselves, belonging to the generation that was brought up in a monolingual culture, experience more severe psychological discomfort. The main difficulty in these speech situations is overcoming feelings of alienation in a predominantly Russian-speaking environment.

A special characteristic of Karelian multilingualism is knowledge of the Finnish language by many Karelians, in addition to Karelian and Russian. University graduates of the Karelian and Veps languages of the Faculty of the Finnic Philology and Culture of Petrozavodsk State University can claim proficiency in Karelian, Russian, and Finnish; thus, they have two closely related Finnic variants besides Russian.

Russian was the dominant language in most functional domains and the social hierarchy during the second half of the 20th century. It continues to be dominant at the beginning of the 21st century, despite the still unsuccessful attempts at raising the official status and social prestige of Karelian. Draft laws intended to designate the Karelian language as the state language were advanced in the Republic's parliament in 1998 and 2001, but they did not pass (Karely 2005: 123-128). One of the arguments against these draft laws was the lack of a uniform written standard.

The sociopolitical changes in Russia during the past twenty years have had little effect on the imbalance between minority and majority languages in the Republic of Karelia. Russian continues to count as the higher prestige language, whereas Karelian represents a considerably lower prestige.

Contact between the Karelian and Russian languages existed for several centuries. In the past, the Orthodox Church played an important role in the spread of the Russian language. Nevertheless, language contact did not cause significant deterioration in the Karelian language until the 20th century. Historically, the Russian language (and, most notably, its northwestern dialects) was influenced by the Karelian language, too; the lexicons of these dialects contain substrate elements of Karelian, Veps, Finnish, and Saami (Barancev 1967; Mamontova 1994; Mihajlova 2004; Saarikivi 2006; Sarhimaa 1999).

Until the late 19th century, contact was characterised by fairly equal coexistence of the peoples inhabiting Karelia and extensive multidirectional borrowing between their languages. The rise of Russian nationalism in the 1860s marked the beginning of a new period and an intensive type of language contact in which all languages were maintained,

but the culturally dominant language determined the non-nativisation of the languages of culturally subordinated populations. (Sarhimaa 1999: 311)

The political situation in Karelia was very fragile at the end of 1910s, due to the turmoil of WWI, Finland gaining its independence (1917), and the Russian Revolution (1917–1918) leading to the establishment of the Soviet Union. The future of Karelia was at first obscure, and military uprisings were supported there by troops of Finnish volunteers (1918–1920). Although Karelia became a part of the Soviet Union in the Russian-Finnish Treaty of Tartu, which confirmed the border between Soviet Russia and Finland, there was an uprising in Soviet Karelia already in 1921–22. This political tension cast a shadow over Karelia for several decades. (Niinistö 2005; Vahtola 1989, 1997)

The first years of the Bolshevik regime in the 1920s brought some favorable changes for minority languages such as Karelian in terms of the policy of *korenizaciâ* (cf. Section 2.2 above), although minority language speakers were forced to follow the same political and social reforms as the rest of the population of the Soviet Union.

The conditions were ultimately too unstable, and the period of more systematic language planning in the 1930s was too short to create constructive change. The culmination of Stalinist repression ended all endeavors to strengthen the minority languages. After WWII, an education reform was launched, and between the late 1950s and 1970, an influx of Russian speakers and other factors led to the stigmatisation of Karelian and its subordinate status, as well as a near total break in its natural transmission to younger generations (Sarhimaa 1999: 43–50). Soviet social, political, cultural, and technical terminology would be adopted entirely from the Russian language over the following decades. A new surge in national revitalisation in the early 1990s focused on the importance of language planning, but it faced difficulties in practice and was not enough to reverse the language shift.

It is maintained that at the beginning of the 20th century, most Karelians were monolingual speakers of Karelian. The transformations of the 20th century conclusively included a massive increase of bilingualism among Karelian speakers, which was followed by accelerating language shift to Russian (Grünthal 2007a). At present, practically all Karelians know Russian (with the exception of very few individuals in the elder generations). This has led to the emergence of a whole variety of mixed codes, which Sarhimaa (1999) labels as Neo-Karelian, Russian Karelian, and Karussian.

Karelian is still a dominant language among some Karelians (mostly the elder generation), who can be considered as balanced bilinguals. However, the majority are not balanced bilinguals: Russian is their dominant language, whereas Karelian is used only in informal speech situations (Pyöli 1996).

The current written form of Karelian was created only in 1989. In fact, there are two distinct forms, namely Olonec Karelian and Karelian Proper. A peculiarity of the Karelian orthography is that, unlike most other languages in Russia, it is based on the Latin script, whereas

orthographies used in Russia are typically based on the Cyrillic script. Both written forms are taught at school, used in publishing, and employed in mass media.

In 2007, a shared alphabet was accepted for both written variants of the Karelian language by decree of the Head of the Republic. This standard replaced the separate alphabetic standards of Olonec Karelian and Karelian Proper. However, the literary language was not unified. The lack of a common spoken form supports the attitude of seeing literary variants as a consequence of the artificial creation of the literary form.

There have been a few attempts to introduce the Karelian language in new domains. In particular, officialese has been supported by translations of draft laws in Karelian (published in the *Oma Mua* newspaper, for example). The Karelian language has also been gradually introduced in the academic world, as students of Petrozavodsk State University and the Pedagogical Academy defend their seminar papers and theses in Karelian, thereby developing linguistic and other academic terminology. Distance courses in the Karelian language have been offered as well. Some attempts have been made to implement Karelian at conferences, in seminars, and on the Internet. Books in Karelian are published both in traditional and electronic formats. In 2009, for instance, ten publications and two CDs were published in Karelian. Road signs and billboards in Karelian have been installed in some traditional Karelian areas. Furthermore, names of settlements based on the written standard promise to support the eventual adoption of the written language. Finally, the emerging Karelian youth culture is having a big influence on the language (Kovaleva/Rodionova 2008: 26–29, 2009: 176–180).

Karelian is not a language of instruction, nor is the majority population obliged to learn it (see Section 4.3.4). Mostly Karelian children learn it in school, as do some children of other ethnic origins. The Karelian language is taught within the ethno-cultural component of some variants of the basic study plan. Only some schools take this variant as the basis for their study plan.

The maximum number of schools with Karelian language teaching was reached in the 1995-1996 academic year (60 schools), the 1997-1998 academic year (57 schools), and the 2001-2002 academic year (58 schools). In the 2009-2010 academic year, the language was taught in only 33 schools. However, the number of students of Karelian language rose somewhat in comparison to the 2007-2008 and 2008-2009 academic years (currently 1,657 students) (data from the current archives of the Ministry of National Policy).

It is assumed that only one out of four Karelian children has the possibility to learn the language, while the rest do not have access to the “ethno-cultural component” (as it is labeled in the official curricula), because it is not introduced in the school that areally corresponds to their place of residence. Despite the proclaimed goal of bilingualism, the majority of schoolchildren learning Karelian do not acquire actual competence in the language. On the contrary, those who were used to speaking the language before kindergarten and school stop speaking it.

This failure of language acquisition demonstrates the need to pay more careful attention to the actual language situation and the adoption of new teaching methods, because the current practices do not ensure language competence of children and cross-generational transmission. As noted above, the current breadth of teaching is not enough for language maintenance. Recent attempts to introduce the technique of language nests to guarantee the cross-generational transmission of the Karelian language have faced some problems. Consequently, it has been implemented only to a very limited extent.

As mentioned above, there are considerable differences between the spoken varieties and the written standard. Most notably, contemporary Karelian displays ample code-switching (Sarhimaa 1999), whereas the written standard is entirely without it and applies standard lexical and grammatical forms. The diglossia of Karelian speakers consists of a spoken, typically rural variant and a literary standard that has often been learnt in an urban context. Students who learned the Karelian language only in school tend to adopt many features of the written language in their speech (Kovaleva 2006).

Those young people who have learnt either of the two Karelian standard variants, Olonec Karelian or Karelian Proper, in higher educational institutions communicate in this form with relatives and speakers of the other variant. Consequently, the standards are occasionally mixed with one another. Theoretically, this contact between mutually intelligible variants of the language could lead to a colloquial *koiné* above the dialects. However, this is quite exceptional and appears only in some families. (Kovaleva 2006.)

Pyöli (1996: 122–179) has analysed usage of the Karelian language in six main domains, showing that the use of Russian has risen significantly even in Karelian families. Parents in her sample confessed that they have practically stopped speaking Karelian with their children, whereas only some grandparents continued to do it. According to Pyöli, Russian is the only language of instruction. Karelian is rarely suitable for that working environment, but many Karelians still use the language there. Communication with friends and neighbours is the domain in which Karelian is most common. As regards leisure time, Karelians rarely read in Karelian; moreover, they generally cannot write it. Russian is unconditionally the language for official situations. The private sphere – and, to a lesser degree, education, mass media, and culture – remain the prior domains of Karelian language usage (cf. Section 4.3 below). However, Sarhimaa (1999: 249) argues that the choice of the codes is not straightforwardly defined by the domains. In her data, the level of Russian interference in Karelian is defined by the language dominance of speakers. Elder generations typically consider Karelian as their dominant language (in its contact variety), whereas young Karelians use Russian as their dominant language. Children who learn Karelian in school acquire its standard form.

The predominant type of bilingualism in the Republic of Karelia is distributive dominant bilingualism. Russian is the multifunctional language, whereas the functions of Karelian are restricted to only some domains of language usage (Krysin 2000). The distribution is conditioned by the different functional loading of the Karelian and Russian languages.

Conceivably, the main trend in the present situation is a rapid language shift from Karelian to Russian monolingualism.

2.4.2 Results of Language Contact

The influence of intensive language contact with Russian is manifested in the Karelian language as morpho-syntactic changes in case government and possessive constructions. It has also increased the number of deviations from the norm and incorrect constructions (Markianova 2003; Kovaleva 2009).

A striking indication of language contact is code-switching. In this case, both individual Russian words and entire phrases and sentences are included in speech that is based on Karelian. Unlike established loanwords, they are not adapted to the rules of Karelian grammar and word inflection. In particular, young people apply code-switching as a communication strategy (Kovaleva 2009; Markianova 2003; Ojanen 1988; Pyöli 1996).

The long-term bilingualism and multilingualism of Karelians has given birth to several new mixed codes. These codes differ from each other in the way that they combine Russian grammatical elements with Karelian ones. The present-day Karelians employ the new codes much in the same way as monolinguals use the registers of their native tongue. For a more detailed discussion of the types of codes and multilingual strategies, see Sarhimaa (1999).

The need to adopt new loanwords is partially motivated by considerable gaps in the terminology of some specific domains (Pyöli 1996). However, in the case of loanwords that do have a corresponding version in Karelian, Russian is still preferred. The wide use of Russian elements in speech has come to be accepted as a kind of social norm.

The massive language shift of Karelians has been caused by three types of social choices based on pragmatic convenience, expectations of the environment, and self-identification. Furthermore, the reluctance of the public to use the Karelian language, its low prestige, and a deliberate decision to use the dominant language have accelerated language shift. Speaking Karelian still bears a major stigma, making Russian a more convenient choice (Encyclopedia 2007: 253).

In sociolinguistic surveys, self-evaluation by members of a speech community can often be biased: language is claimed to be in active use by families when this is not really the case. This is a typical attitude for minority language speakers (Encyclopedia 2007: 253; Sarhimaa 1999: 83; Pyöli 1996). Nevertheless, there are also individuals who have dedicated themselves to language maintenance and try to use Karelian as much as possible. One finds graduate students, for instance, who have learnt the Karelian language and have started speaking Karelian to their children, thus reviving the bilingualism of the youngest members of the community.

The language-in-education policy in the 1960s strongly contributed to the change from Karelian-Russian bilingualism to Russian monolingualism. Karelian was not taught in schools for several decades. Consequently, people under the age of thirty characteristically have only a weak command of Karelian, whereas those between 30 and 70 years of age generally have a passive command of the language, but prefer to use Russian in most contexts. Recently it has been maintained that only people who are seventy years and older still use Karelian in all its traditional functions (Encyclopedia 2007: 253).

According to the 1989 census, about 55% of Karelians aged 30–40 and 46% of Karelians aged 40–50 (the generation that was most strongly influenced by the school reform in the 1960s) do not know the Karelian language. As a result, their children do not know the language either. Most Karelian speakers automatically switch to Russian when addressing young people. The only exception is institutional language learning, which seeks to apply bilingual methods (Kovaleva 2006).

Language shift has typically taken place through migration of the Karelian population from villages to towns. The consequence of urbanisation is a merely passive knowledge of Karelian or a complete loss of language skills. The language has lost its relevance in social functions, to the extent that communication in it tends to be sporadic or stops completely. Only an insignificant percentage of urbanised speakers use their native language in working environments. The Karelian language has survived better in villages than in towns.

The data of the 2007 survey “Present situation, development and use of the Karelian language in the Republic of Karelia”, conducted by the Ministry of National Policy, was drawn from 2,400 respondents (including municipal authorities; heads and employees of educational, research and cultural institutions, and mass media; teachers; and other key figures in the language’s revival). The results demonstrated that the role of the family in the cross-generational transmission of the language is being lost. The elderly generations remain the only bearers of the language (Predvaritel’nye itogi 2007).

To date, no separate research has been conducted on the lack of the transmission of Karelian to younger generations. As a rule, young people with Karelian roots seem to think “if I do not know the Karelian language, then I am not a Karelian”. This principle defines their ethnicity. Language loss leads to deethnisation and loss of ethnic identity – that is, to linguistic and ethnic assimilation (Klement’ev 1971a, 1971b, 1974, 1976).

2.4.3 Perception of Learnability and Willingness to use the Language

The Karelian and Russian languages have influenced each other to some extent over centuries of contact, but due to their different genealogical backgrounds they are not mutually intelligible. Accordingly, Karelian is often perceived by the majority population as a language that is difficult to learn.

On paper, the current official language ideology favours linguistic pluralism. The Constitution of the Russian Federation and the Constitution of the Republic of Karelia, the Laws on Education and the Laws on Culture of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Karelia, and the Law on Support of Languages in Karelia recognise the right to learn the Karelian language and even to have it as the medium of instruction.

However, these laws are often not fully implemented at the regional and local levels. In general, Russian monolingualism seems to be the norm. Karelian is learnt by roughly one fourth of children of ethnic Karelian origin and only by a few children of other ethnic origins. Instruction of the Karelian language in educational institutions, steps aimed at formation of urban language space, opening of national centres in the countryside, and introduction of the language into contemporary information spaces naturally increase the number of speakers and willingness to use the language, at least to some degree.

Certain opportunities have been created for the use of Karelian in public. And among the national intelligentsia, there is a common desire to promote the language. The core problem lies not only in language policy itself, but in the low status of the minority language formed as a result of Soviet assimilationist practices (Klement'ev 2001, 2003b, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008b, 2008c).

2.5 Conclusions

According to the data of the 2002 and 2010 population censuses, less than half of ethnic Karelians living in the Republic of Karelia (and even fewer living outside the borders of the Republic) know their native language. A rapid language shift to monolingualism in Russian is currently the main trend.

Among other things, the present situation of language loss is a result of an intensive policy of assimilation, the historical location of Karelia between Russia and Finland, mixed marriages, and long-term stigmatisation of the Karelian language. The situation is further pronounced by the relatively low share of ethnic Karelians in the total population of the Republic of Karelia (9.2% in 2002); comparatively speaking, they represent the lowest level of local minority titular peoples in all the republics of the Russian Federation.

According to the 2002 census, there were around 53,000 people in Russia (including 35,000 people in the Republic of Karelia and about 12,000 in Tver oblast) who claimed to know the Karelian language. These were mostly elderly people. In 2010, only 25,605 were officially reported to have knowledge of Karelian. The change has been dramatic and fast.

The Karelian language is typically used in the private sphere by families, mostly in rural areas. Primarily elderly generations use it, in communication among each other, while it is rarely spoken by younger generations (and only occasionally between young parents and their children). The cross-generational transmission of language has largely ceased.

In addition to the private sphere, the Karelian language has been reintroduced in educational institutions such as kindergartens, schools, professional and higher education institutions, and language courses during the past two decades, although the system still needs further developing. Karelian is occasionally used in the domains of culture, mass media, science, and literature. The permanent public support of its usage in these domains would strongly promote the language vitality of Karelian. However, the increased use of Karelian in social networks demands an entirely new approach.

By the end of the Soviet era, which represented a major political turning point in the early 1990s, Karelian had a considerably lower social status than the Russian language. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, however, some measures were taken to revive the language. There was vigorous public discussion, which sought to support the revitalisation process (Karely 2005). At a higher political level, the Constitution of the Russian Federation recognised the right to learn and use the languages of the peoples of Russia, including Karelian.

However, unlike the titular languages in the other former autonomous republics of Russia, the Karelian language did not become the state language of the Republic of Karelia. The creation of a legislative framework for language revival in Karelia was postponed. The Law on Support of Languages was passed only in 2004.

Today the Karelian language is not the state language of the Republic. Thus, the law does not list the domains in which it would be obligatory to use Karelian. The law mainly names possible domains for the usage of Karelian, along with Veps and Finnish, in the public sphere. Its main implementation tool is the Program on Support of Languages (2005), which provides funding for measures that support the Karelian language in different fields. The Program of Harmonization of National Relations (2007) also includes certain measures that support the Karelian language (mostly in the field of mass media).

Implementation does not always follow the spirit of legislation. Quite often the guarantee of constitutional language rights for citizens and peoples is missing on regional and local levels. For example, while Karelian is taught at some schools, the scope and methods of its instruction do not effectively provide children with real language competence. Pre-school education in Karelian is done in a very limited fashion, and there is no continuity in the educational process. In practice, everyday language policy is based on monolingualism in Russian, even among ethnic Karelians, and tolerates only symbolic multilingualism in some public contexts.

Nevertheless, the existence of the Republic and the modest support by the State for language revitalisation have probably prevented even greater language loss and ethnic assimilation. Compared to the Republic of Karelia, for instance, linguistic and ethnic assimilation in Tver oblast have been faster and more severe between the last two censuses.

3 Data Sampling and Methods

As an EU research project, ELDIA is obliged to carefully protect all personal data. The questionnaire data were anonymised and the original lists of names and addresses were destroyed. Under no circumstances are the names or addresses of informants disclosed to any outsiders. If parts of the interviews are published, all names and identifying information will be deleted. The interview recordings can only be used for research purposes, and researchers who use them must commit to the same principles of data protection.

In the following chapter, the principles and methods behind the ELDIA data collection, processing, and analysis are explained. In addition, an attempt is made to elaborate on the specific features of data collection in the Russian Federation.

3.1 Introduction to Fieldwork

This section describes the design and the practicalities of gathering new empirical data. Designing the data sampling was originally the task of Jarmo Lainio (University of Stockholm), who participated in ELDIA in 2010; the problems which finally led to the University of Stockholm leaving the project delayed this work phase, and the survey questionnaire was finalised under heavy time pressure by Kari Djerf and Ulriikka Puura (University of Helsinki). The fieldwork was conducted following the ELDIA Fieldwork Manual, which was prepared by Jarmo Lainio in cooperation with Karl Pajusalu, Kadri Koreinik, and Kristiina Praakli (all from the University of Tartu).

The fieldwork concerning the two minority groups in Russia, Olonec Karelians and Veps, was initiated in January 2011. **The ELDIA fieldwork data consists of quantitative questionnaire survey data and qualitative interview data.** Two different types of interviews were done: individual interviews were conducted with one or two Karelian-speaking interviewees at a time; and so-called focus group interviews were conducted in separate groups of Karelian speakers belonging to the same age category or Russian-speaking policy-makers and media representatives.

At the very beginning of the ELDIA project, it was agreed that the questionnaire survey in Russia would have to be conducted in connection with the interviews. Sending questionnaires by mail, which was the method used in most other ELDIA case studies, would not have worked given the circumstances of this location. According to the original plan, the fieldwork should have started in September, which would have been a more appropriate time for travelling to remote villages. However, the problems that led to the withdrawal of the University of Stockholm, which was originally in charge of the survey questionnaire, caused a severe delay in the preparation of the questionnaire. Accordingly, the fieldwork was only able to begin in mid-winter. Furthermore, as the EU funding of the project did not

allow for sub-contracting, the questionnaires had to be printed in Helsinki and transported to Russia, which caused additional problems: at first, the blank questionnaires were not allowed to pass through Russian customs, and they had to be transported over the border, package by package.

The survey sampling took place in January and February during the coldest part of the winter under challenging conditions. Heavy snowfall and cold weather made travelling between villages more difficult than it would have been earlier in the autumn, as was originally planned. However, the questionnaire survey and the individual interviews were successfully completed between the last week of January and the end of February 2011. The survey sampling was followed by the focus group interviews, which were carried out in March 2011. It was a very intense time of work for all participants, demanding a physical presence in the investigated sample areas.

The main coordinator of the survey sampling was Natal'â Antonova, who worked under the supervision of Nina Zajceva. The Karelian Research Centre in Petrozavodsk was the central base of operations during this stage of the project. Fieldwork was carried out by native Karelian or fluent second-language speakers, most of them experienced fieldworkers and researchers (Natal'â Antonova, Tat'âna Bojko, Svetlana Kovaleva and Aleksandra Rodionova). **The minority group sample was limited to speakers of Olonec Karelian and its traditional geographical area in the Republic of Karelia.** The Karelian language was used consistently during data sampling. This turned out to be an efficient way of disseminating information about the project and raising people's interest in minority language issues.

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The individual interviews and focus group interviews were jointly carried out in Petrozavodsk in March 2011 by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva – both of whom are young, active, and skilful native speakers of Karelian. Antonova had been working as the leader of the Young Karelia organisation. Ol'ga Ogneva is a journalist, on maternal leave at the time of the interviews. The leader of the Helsinki team, Riho Grünthal, and researcher Heini Karjalainen were also present as observers during the interviews. Heini Karjalainen was responsible for taking care of technical matters, such as the equipment and initial processing of data. The interviews were later transcribed by Santra Jantunen and Il'â Mošnikov.

All fieldworkers were fluent in Karelian and Russian, and all fieldworkers were women. The ages of the fieldworkers ranged between 30 and 60. As a rule, the interviews took place in Karelian, although Russian was frequently used to clarify the questions. The questionnaires included a lot of terminology which the informants did not previously know.

The survey interviews and face-to-face meetings were done in places that were chosen in deliberations between Riho Grünthal, Nina Zajceva, and Natal'â Antonova at the end of 2010. Rural locations included traditional Olonec villages (e.g. Priäžä/Präža, Vieljärvi/Vedlozero, Videle/Vidlica) in the Republic of Karelia and Leningradskaâ oblast, while comparative data were gathered in the cities of Olonec and Petrozavodsk. The control group was interviewed in Petrozavodsk. The same control group was also used in the ELDIA case study on Veps in Russia.

The delivery back to Finland of the completed paperwork, including all of the sample surveys, did not encounter any further problems. The leader of the Helsinki team and a junior researcher personally brought all the questionnaires (Veps, Karelian (in Russia) and the control group questionnaires) from Petrozavodsk to Finland after concluding the focus group and the individual interviews in the middle of March.

3.2 Sample Survey

3.2.1 The Structure of the Minority Language Speakers' Questionnaire

The ELDIA survey questionnaires were centrally planned for all case studies (and only slightly modified for the case studies conducted by the ELDIA team at the University of Oulu). Unfortunately, due to the withdrawal of the University of Stockholm from the project and the resulting severe time pressure, the questionnaires could not be properly tested before use: some minor technical errors remained, and the questionnaire as a whole was often experienced as too lengthy and challenging. Nevertheless, it fulfilled its main purpose and provided the data for this case-specific report. (A revised version of the MinLg questionnaire, developed on the basis of the experiences from the ELDIA case studies, will be published as an attachment to the EuLaViBar toolkit, which will be published together with the ELDIA comparative report.)

The Karelian-language questionnaire was translated from the Finnish and English master versions by Natal'â Antonova; the Russian-language version of the control group questionnaire was translated by Nina Zajceva. (As it turned out that not all respondents knew Karelian well enough to understand the questionnaire, an “unofficial” Russian-language version of the minority questionnaire was prepared and used as supporting material when conducting the survey.)

Two survey questionnaires were used: one for the target group (Karelian speakers) and one for the control group (Russian speakers). The target group survey questionnaire consisted of 63 questions. More precisely, there were question sets: many questions had a number of sub-questions which increased the actual number of questions to 373. These included 31 open-ended questions, with some of them being alternatives. The control group survey questionnaire consisted of 47 question sets, while the total number of questions was 305 and the number of open-ended questions was 20.

The questions for the target group were divided into the following thematic categories:

1. Basic information about the informant (1–6)

This section covered the personal information of the anonymous respondents: age, birthplace (country, rural, or urban), education, and profession. These sociological basic variables were compared to other variables in the data analysis.

2. Background of language usage (7–27)

This extensive section mapped the stage during which the informant had learnt the minority and majority language(s) in question, as well as information about language usage with family members and relatives (such as spouses, children, parents and grandparents, sisters and brothers, and other family members). Language usage during school was inquired about separately.

3. Language skills (28–32)

This section outlined the informants' skills in the minority language, majority language, English, and additional languages. The questions included variables in the private and public spheres (such as home, work, school, the street, shopping, library, church, with authorities, and local activities).

4. Attitudes towards different languages and desire to use them (33–59)

This was the largest and most complex section in the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to evaluate various statements about the usage and mixed usage of the minority and majority languages. Furthermore, several variables were used to cover the informants' attitudes towards language usage in various contexts. The respondents had to characterise the relevant languages by means of various adjectives and comment on their usefulness. The last part of this section dealt with the role of language planning and ideas of correct language usage.

5. Language usage in the public and private spheres (60–61)

This brief section supplemented the two preceding sections by asking more detailed questions about the existence of the minority language in the public sphere.

6. Culture, media, and social media in different languages (62–63)

The last section sought to find out how the informants use media in different languages. The same selection that was applied earlier was repeated here: minority language, majority language, English, and another language. Both sets of questions focused on reading and writing.

The applicability of the questionnaire to Karelian language speakers. The main obstacle for the respondents to provide all the necessary information was the exhaustive length of the questionnaire. However, this potential problem may have been mitigated by the fact that the questionnaires were mostly filled out together with the fieldworker during face-to-face interviews. As the decision was made to provide the respondents only with the Karelian language questionnaire, the concepts and terminology used were more or less alien to most of the respondents. Therefore, one may deduce from several comments on the questionnaires that the questions were not understood correctly, despite the help and translations provided by the fieldworkers. In addition, answers to several questions were lacking in the Karelian questionnaires. Finally, the repetition of certain questions seemed to bother some of the respondents.

The planning of the ELDIA survey departed from past research experiences with mainly Western European multilingual communities, and it turned out that the background assumptions behind the research design were not always compatible with the actual life experiences of minorities in the Russian countryside. The perspective of a person living in a society such as Finland, for example, where citizens are typically very aware of their rights and individual standing in society, differs heavily from that of a minority language speaker in Russia. The building of linguistic awareness of a marginal group is based on different conventions than in an organised and highly educated community.

Because of the assistance given in completing the questionnaires, there were probably less incomplete questionnaires than would have been the case if they were mailed or electronic. The response rate was most typically lowest in questions concerning the use of English or other foreign languages – many questions concerning English were left unanswered by over a third of the respondents. Not many additional comments were made on the questionnaires. In addition to the actual information required, open-ended questions gave hints about whether respondents understood the Karelian language questions correctly. This was not always the case, despite help from the fieldworkers.

3.2.2 Karelian Language Speakers' Survey

Data collecting modes. In the case of linguistic and ethnic minorities in Russia such as the Karelians, there are no alternative sample survey methods than face-to-face interviews. Mailing surveys to randomly selected addresses and Web surveys are out of the question for multiple reasons. The advantage of face-to-face interviews was that, if necessary, the

fieldworkers could explain the questions, either in the minority or majority language. As a matter of fact, the questions that were presented in Karelian (following the new literary standard language) frequently had to be rephrased in Russian. Nevertheless, the fieldworkers were able to rigorously adhere to the statistical aim of 300 respondents per each minority group.

Two methods were used to fill in the questionnaires. Firstly, a group of people was invited to a common place, such as a library, if there was one. Secondly, the fieldworkers visited individual houses to obtain the total sample size of 300. In general, this is the main sampling method used in Russia, and the informants were willing to collaborate with the fieldworkers. Bureaucratic obstacles were encountered during the transportation of the blank questionnaires from Helsinki to Petrozavodsk, but the fieldwork itself went very smoothly, thanks to a very committed fieldwork team that was able to operate in a high professional manner under very challenging conditions.

The main disadvantage of this data collection method was that, in comparison to most other ELDIA case studies, the sample was not based on an equally random sampling.¹⁸ As a result, the sample is areally more uniform than it would have been if an electronic database or registry of informants were available. Furthermore, there is a clear imbalance between genders, which was known in advance. There are far fewer men than women in all age groups (see further discussion in Section 3.5). One fieldworker reported that she had interviewed one hundred informants, of whom 30% were men and 70% women.

Target population, sampling frame, and sample size. The biggest difference between this minority group and most of the others investigated within ELDIA is that there were no official registries or databases from which a random selection could be made. **The selection of the minority group representatives was, in principle, based on a simple question: “Are you a Karelian?”** This question did not concern practical knowledge of the Karelian language. Consequently, some informants could not effectively speak Karelian and had to use the Russian translation of the questionnaire. The definition of ethnicity has long served as the basis of population censuses carried out in Russia and the Soviet Union since 1897. The latest official population census took place in 2010 and was carried out by fieldworkers making face-to-face interviews.

Two sampling methods were used. Firstly, the rural inhabitants were interviewed face-to-face; either the informant or the interviewer filled in the questionnaire. Secondly, the urban inhabitants (in the control group) were similarly interviewed face-to-face. In the latter case, some informants claimed that the questionnaire was too long and answering some questions was too difficult and time-consuming.

¹⁸ This problem was not completely unique to the Russian case studies. In some other countries, too, random sampling from a statistically representative frame was not possible, and thus the informants had to be selected with the help of cultural organisations or other NGOs, which led to a certain “activist bias” in the sample.

Response rate and survey outcome. As the questionnaires were not mailed but completed in situ, the response rate directly corresponds to the sample size (301). For the distribution data, 299 questionnaires were counted. For technical reasons, two questionnaires were rejected.

The fieldworkers shared their individual reports orally on 10 March at a team meeting in Petrozavodsk. Generally speaking, the group had succeeded well in their efforts. The face-to-face method chosen due to the circumstances had a positive effect on the energy of informants, who often had mutual acquaintances. It also increased the motivation of the fieldworkers to use their minority language.

Questionnaire. The questionnaire was translated into Karelian from the English master version and its Finnish translation; in addition, a version of the questionnaire was prepared in Russian to support those informants who did not clearly understand the Karelian questionnaire. No structural changes or adjustments were made to this questionnaire. Q24 (concerning the prohibition or support for the use of the Karelian language with children) proved unsuccessful, as its wording was unclear: the informants did not understand whether the question referred to negative or positive opinions.

3.2.3 The Structure of the Control Group Questionnaire

The ELDIA control group survey questionnaire was based on the content and structure of the MinLG survey. However, several parts of the questionnaire were shortened, especially with respect to the use of the minority language. The major differences from the minority language survey are the following: a detailed section about cross-generational language use was reduced to a few focused questions, and questions concerning attitudes were either changed or replaced (e.g. in the case of Russian, questions were asked about both the Karelian and Veps languages).

Structurally speaking, the control group questionnaire consisted of the following parts: basic information about the respondent (1-6), background of language usage (7-11), language skills (14-18), attitudes towards different languages (Q12-13, 19-46), and use of culture, media and social media in different languages (Q47).

The applicability of the questionnaire. In the case of the Russian control group, the applicability of the questionnaire was somewhat different than that of the Karelian respondents. As the questionnaires were filled out over the telephone, no additional comments were made on them by the respondents. In addition, many respondents' comments were so similar that one might suspect that they were provoked by the interviewers.

Similar to the case with the Karelian respondents, questions concerning the English language and other foreign languages were the most often left unanswered. This only highlights the strong position of the Russian language as the main medium of communication in Russia.

3.2.4 Russian Control Group Survey

Data collecting modes, target population, sampling frame, and sample size. The control group survey was carried out by face-to-face interviews made in three suburbs of Petrozavodsk (Drevlânka, Kukovka, and Zareka). This part of the fieldwork was done by Svetlana Pasûkova, Svetlana Plûhina and Lûdmila Alekseeva. This method was chosen under the surveillance of Nina Zajceva, the local fieldwork coordinator in Petrozavodsk, as it appeared to be the most reasonable way to achieve a more or less random sample of 300 control group respondents.

As expected, some of the control group respondents had Karelian roots. This represents the actual situation in the Republic of Karelia.

Response rate and survey outcome. There were 302 questionnaires processed for the control group data. In total, 305 questionnaires were filled out during the interviews. However, probably for technical reasons, three questionnaires were left unprocessed.

Ms Svetlana Pasûkova, the fieldworker who assumed primary responsibility for this survey, had earlier worked in the Ministry of Culture and was used to challenging negotiations. She claimed that on several occasions, it was necessary to persuade the participants to continue the discussion in spite of its length. No extra questions were added to the original control group questionnaire.

The processing of the control group data failed due to some technical reason in Q14-Q17 where the respondents were asked to evaluate their language skills. The names of the languages got mixed up while analyzing the data, but the information presented in Section 4.3.1 is probably correct, based on the order of the languages in the data. In addition, there was a translation error in Q15-Q17, due to which skills in Swedish were asked instead of English.

3.3 Individual Interviews with Karelian Speakers

Target population. The individual interviews were conducted in Petrozavodsk on 13–15 March 2011. The selection of interviewees was based on existing contacts and connections with known native Karelian speakers, of whom there were not many. Moreover, the sample survey was based on face-to-face interviews, and the fieldworkers had a complete overview of informants that should be interviewed individually.

Selecting and contacting interviewees. The interviews were made in the office of the Young Karelia organisation, at the University of Petrozavodsk, and for a large part in the House of Cultures. No external factors (such as the presence of other people) influenced the outcome of the interviews. The interviews were conducted by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva. The interviewers knew most of the interviewees in advance. The overall atmosphere was good, often due to earlier acquaintance with the participants.

Most of the interviewees were very aware of the endangered status of the Karelian language and the constant decline of the Karelian-speaking population. Many had been actively involved in promoting the Karelian language and culture, having personally experienced the decline of the Karelian population and language change in the Karelian community. In general, most of the interviewees had previously discussed several times the same issues concerning the fate and future of the Karelian language and culture. In some discussions, the informants emphasised efforts such as consistent language planning and the fight for minority rights over the years. The results were as good as one could hope for.

Background information form. A background information form was not used because the interviewees were not chosen from previously unknown questionnaire respondents. Background information was gathered during the interviews, but because of this practical choice, the information on the different interviewees varies in its extensiveness.

Recording devices. All interviews were captured in parallel on two digital recording devices (Olympus: LS-5) with high-quality sound playback. Focus group discussions were also filmed using Panasonic HDC-SD700 video cameras.

Interview template. The interviews were semi-structured and loosely based on the template included in the ELDIA fieldwork manual. The questions, covering those themes that were considered the most relevant, were selected by Nina Zajceva and Riho Grünthal for each interview.

3.3.1 Interview Descriptions

Below we briefly describe the nature of the individual interviews conducted with the Karelian speakers. Personal information that could reveal the identities of the interviewees has been removed or modified.

Interview with female Karelian speaker aged 18-29 (Identification code: RU-KRL-IIAG1F)

The interview was conducted on 14 March by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva. Prof. Riho Grünthal and researcher Heini Karjalainen were also present. The interviewers did not notice any external factors that could have disturbed the interview. The atmosphere was nice and relaxed. The interview was conducted in Karelian. The interviewee had learnt Karelian in her childhood, first and foremost from her grandparents. Her parents also spoke Karelian with each other, but not fluently. At present, the interviewee said that she speaks both Karelian and Russian with her parents. The interviewee named both Karelian and Russian as her mother tongues. The interviewee had a higher education and in her work she uses the Karelian language. She also said that she reads Karelian literature regularly and sometimes uses social media in Karelian. She was well aware of the fact that young people her age do not really speak Karelian and that fluent Karelian speakers are older people. She felt that the majority of Russian-speaking officials have a negative attitude towards the Karelian language. She thought that education of the Karelian language needs to be developed: for

example, its vocabulary is not modern enough. She believed that if children and young people were to learn Karelian and the state-supported minority languages, Karelian would have a future as well.

Interview with male Karelian speaker aged 18-29 (Identification code: RU-KRL-IIAG1M)

The interview was conducted on 15 March by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva. Riho Grünthal and Heini Karjalainen were also present. The atmosphere was congenial and relaxed. The interview took place mostly in Karelian. The interviewers spoke Karelian and the interviewee replied in Karelian and Finnish. Russian was also used to clarify individual words. In his work, the interviewee is used to speaking Finnish and he said that this tends to influence his spoken Karelian. At the time of the interview, the interviewee was in the army, entirely a Russian-speaking environment. He learned to speak Karelian as a child from his parents and grandparents. The family spoke both Karelian and Russian. At present, he said that he tries to speak Karelian with his family, but he also speaks Russian with them. The interviewee named both Karelian and Russian as his mother tongues. Besides his family he did not know many people to speak Karelian with. In his place of employment, people speak Finnish and Russian. He said that he consumes Karelian media and listens to Karelian music. The interviewee felt that Karelian has a better chance of being maintained in rural villages than in towns. He predicted that the number of Karelian speakers will diminish. He also felt that it would be important to teach Karelian to children: education in Karelian would help to maintain the language. The interviewee wanted to believe that the Karelian language still has a hope of surviving.

Interview with male Karelian speaker aged 30-49 and female Karelian speaker aged 30-49 (Identification codes: RU-KRL-IIAG2m and RU-KRL-IIAG3f)

The interview was conducted on 14 March by Natal'â Antonova. Riho Grünthal and Heini Karjalainen were also present. The atmosphere was nice and relaxed because the interviewees and the interviewer knew each other in advance. The interview was conducted in Karelian.

The female interviewee had a higher education. She learned Karelian in her childhood home in a Karelian village, so Karelian was her mother tongue and first language. She also learned Russian as a child. At the time of the interview, she was on maternity leave and spoke Karelian at home, as well as with relatives and any acquaintances who were able to speak it.

The male interviewee was born in in a non-Karelian-speaking environment. His first language was Russian, but he also learned Karelian from his grandmother as a child. Today he speaks Karelian to his children and Russian to his wife. He thought that Russian is the dominant language for him, but he uses Karelian actively in his work.

Both interviewees said that they use media and the Internet in Karelian. Both are well aware of the present situation of the Karelian language. The male interviewee was quite pessimistic about the future of Karelian, although he felt a personal responsibility to try to maintain it.

The female interviewee was more optimistic. She felt that the future of the Karelian language is in the hands of the Karelians themselves; however, the Russian state could help to maintain it as well. Both interviewees seemed to think that the best days of the Karelian language have passed.

Interview with female Karelian speaker aged 30-49 (Identification code: RU-KRL-IIAG3f)

The interview was conducted on 15 March by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva. Riho Grünthal and Heini Karjalainen were also present. The atmosphere was good. The interview took place in Karelian, but at the end of the interview, the interviewee and Riho Grünthal spoke in Karelian and Finnish.

The interviewee learned Karelian from her parents in her childhood home in a Karelian-speaking village. Her mother was Russian, but learned Karelian after moving to a Karelian village: later on she spoke Karelian to her younger children. Karelian was the mother tongue of the interviewee, while she learned Russian in school. The interviewee speaks Karelian daily with her husband, parents, siblings, and most of her friends (who are Karelians). The interviewee had a higher education. In her work, she mostly uses Russian. She said she uses Karelian very actively, follows the Karelian media, and writes in Karelian. She thought that to maintain the Karelian language, the most important thing is to teach children and young people and to get support from the state.

Interview with male Karelian speaker aged 50-64 and female Karelian speaker aged 50-64 (Identification codes: RU-KRL-IIAG4m and RU-KRL-IIAG4f)

The interview was conducted on 15 March by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva. Riho Grünthal and Heini Karjalainen were also present. The atmosphere was good. The interview took place in Karelian. Both interviewees had a higher education. They both had Karelian as their mother tongue, and both learned Russian at school. They considered Russian to be a working language, a language that they have to know when living in Russia. Both interviewees use Karelian at home, but not with all their relatives. Both also use Karelian at work. The female interviewee said she also uses Russian at home. She was very interested in teaching her grandchildren Karelian with her daughter-in-law. Both interviewees thought that maintaining the Karelian language is up to Karelians themselves and that Karelians should keep speaking Karelian, but state support is also needed. The female interviewee was quite uncertain about the future of the Karelian language, and she thought that the situation would not improve in the future.

Interview with male Karelian speaker aged 65+ and female Karelian speaker aged 65+ (Identification codes: RU-KRL-IIAG5m and RU-KRL-IIAG5f)

The interview was conducted in March 15th by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva. Riho Grünthal and Heini Karjalainen were also present. The atmosphere was confident. The interview took place in Karelian. The female interviewee had a higher education. Both interviewees had Karelian as their mother tongue and they used it regularly, speaking it with

family and friends and for reading. Both interviewees were active in Karelian community. The male interviewee thought that in order to maintain Karelian language it should be appointed as the second official language of the Republic of Karelia; in addition a common standard Karelian language is needed. The female interviewee was cautiously optimistic about the future of the Karelian language but emphasized that maintaining Karelian needs lots of work. According to her education is the main medium for maintaining the language. They both thought that it is up to Karelians themselves to keep their language alive by speaking it.

3.4 Focus Group Interviews

3.4.1 Focus Group Interviews with Karelian Speakers

Target population. All Karelian focus group interviews were conducted in Petrozavodsk on 14–15 March 2011. In principle, there were enough Karelian-speaking people in the town to form the groups. The focus groups were recruited by local fieldworkers who had participated in the sample survey. The fieldworkers used their own networks of Karelian speakers. The guiding principle of selecting participants for the interviews was, first and foremost, competence in the Karelian language. This is especially apparent in the youngest age group, consisting mainly of university students of Karelian. The fieldworkers were also advised to search for different kinds of interviewees. In practice, the required skill in Karelian led to the youngest age group being comprised of university students of Karelian language.

Selecting and contacting interviewees. The face-to-face method used during the sample survey provided a picture of the local population, on the basis of which the participants of the focus group interviews were invited. However, it turned out that in a couple of cases, some urbanised people who played a dominant role in the focus group interviews had been strongly influenced by the Finnish culture and language; this led them to frequently switch into the Finnish language. This was probably caused by the presence of Finnish-speaking researchers. It might have been avoided in a rural environment, resulting in a more consistent discussion in Karelian.

Similar to the Veps focus groups (and generally in Russia), the gender balance of the Karelian sample is biased in all age groups. As mentioned above, there are far fewer males than females. No separate male groups were formed; both genders were represented in all age groups, except the youngest one, which consisted of female students. This solution had some problems: in the 65+ and 30–49 age groups, it gave too active of a role to two males with a weak command of Karelian and a tendency to shift into Finnish. During the discussion, this repeatedly caused a shift from Karelian to Finnish. In general, however, the attitude of the focus groups towards the interviews was positive. Some informants emphasised that there should be more meetings like these.

The youngest group (18–29 years) consisted of university students. Although it was agreed in advance that the students should be responsible for the discussion themselves, the presence of their teacher had some influence on the behaviour of the students. Given that many of this age group had not spoken Karelian since their early childhood, some students occasionally asked for the teacher’s assistance in the discussion. The 30–49 age group consisted of active people who had their roots in the rural society, but had moved to town and, as a rule, were very fluent in Karelian. Some participants in the 50–64 age group had contrasting views about promoting the Karelian language. The idea of sitting together and talking Karelian was received with great enthusiasm and instigated further meetings between the participants.

3.4.2 Interview Descriptions

In the following section, we briefly describe the nature of the focus group interviews conducted with the Karelian speakers. Personal information that could reveal the identities of the interviewees has been removed or modified.

Interview with young Karelian women (AG1, women aged 18-29)

The interview was conducted on 14 March by Natal’â Antonova and Natal’â Giloeva in the Faculty of Finnic Philology and Culture at Petrozavodsk State University. Riho Grünthal and Heini Karjalainen were also present. The group consisted of six female students studying Karelian and Finnish and two older females (one working as a journalist, the other on maternity leave at the time of interview). The interview was held during a lecture, due to which the teacher was also present. The atmosphere was slightly anxious, since the presence of cameras and recording devices seems to have made the young women nervous. Although the interviewees were told that they were allowed to speak normally and that mistakes were allowed, the interview was used as a learning situation for the Karelian language students.

The questions were asked in Karelian and a few times in Russian as well for the sake of clarification. All of the interviewees spoke Karelian during the interview, but some Russian words and expressions were also used. Two interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG1-02f, RU-KRL-FGAG1-05f) also used a few Finnish words because their parents spoke Finnish. All of the interviewees learned Karelian at home from their parents or grandparents, except for one interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG1-04f) who started learning Karelian only at the university. She did not speak a lot during the interview, but still she spoke only in Karelian. Three interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG1-01f, RU-KRL-FGAG1-05f, RU-KRL-FGAG1-06f) claimed that Karelian was their mother tongue, while one (RU-KRL-FGAG1-07f) described it as her own language. Some (RU-KRL-FGAG1-01f, RU-KRL-FGAG1-02f, RU-KRL-FGAG1-05f) also told that they speak Karelian with their family and friends. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG1-05f) also writes fiction in Karelian.

The interviewees thought that the number of speakers of Karelian will diminish, but it was possible to pass the language on to children and young people through education. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG1-05f) also thought that state support and the fact that Karelian had only one written standard language could help maintain the language. Although the interviewees generally believed that the situation of the Karelian language is not very good, they were all very keen on working to ensure that the Karelian language would survive.

Interview with AG2 and AG3 (men and women aged 30-49)

The interview was conducted on 14 March by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva in the Karelian Research Centre. Riho Grünthal and Heini Karjalainen were also present. The group consisted of four women and three men, of whom one (RU-KRL-FGAG2-07m) came later. The atmosphere was good and quite relaxed until the last interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG2-07m) arrived. This could possibly be explained by the fact that he spoke Finnish and had a more negative, pessimistic attitude than the others about speaking and maintaining the Karelian language. Nevertheless, the atmosphere got better towards the end.

The questions were asked in Karelian. The interviewees spoke Karelian, except for one male interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG2-07m) who spoke in Finnish and also used some expressions in English and Russian. Other two male interviewees also used some Finnish and Russian words. Two female interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG3-03f, RU-KRL-FGAG3-04f) had a higher education and two male interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG2-01m, RU-KRL-FGAG2-05m) were firefighters. Most of the interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG2-01m, RU-KRL-FGAG3-02f, RU-KRL-FGAG3-03f, RU-KRL-FGAG3-04f, RU-KRL-FGAG2-05m) learned Karelian as children at home and Russian only in kindergarten and at school. One female interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG3-06f) had Karelian-speaking parents, but they spoke Russian with her as a child. She heard Karelian from her grandparents and learned it properly at work in the Karelian radio. She nevertheless considered Karelian to be her mother tongue. One male interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG2-07m) who heard Karelian from his grandparents said that he understands it and sings in Karelian, but prefers to speak Finnish (although he considered Karelian as his own language).

All interviewees said that they use at least some Karelian at home and, except for one male interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG2-07m), with some relatives and friends. All female interviewees use Karelian at work, three of them being journalists in the minority media and one a researcher. Two male interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG2-01m, RU-KRL-FGAG2-05m) were brothers, both working as firefighters who use Karelian with each other at work. Three other interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG3-02f, RU-KRL-FGAG3-03f, RU-KRL-FGAG3-04f) said that they use Karelian also on the Internet. One female interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG3-03f) said she speaks Karelian to her younger child, while her older child and her Russian-speaking husband also speak a little bit of Karelian. Another female interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG3-06f) had one child who understands Karelian. One female interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG3-02f) did not teach Karelian to her son, who now keeps blaming her for that.

The interviewees thought that the number of Karelian-speaking people is going to diminish, but also that maintaining the Karelian language is important. Most of them believed that it is up to Karelians themselves to do it, and that to do this they should keep speaking Karelian and teach their children the language as well. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG2-07m) said that the state should maintain Karelian, but another (RU-KRL-FGAG3-04f) argued that Karelians cannot trust the state to do that. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG3-03f) said that the state should be reminded that the Karelians exist, or else getting support from the state will be impossible. She and another interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG3-06f) also thought that getting federal status for the Karelian language would help preserve it. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG3-03f) added that the Russians think that Karelian is already extinct, even though it is a living language, and that to get the majority to understand that Karelian is not dead could also help to maintain it.

Interview with AG4 (men and women aged 50-64)

The interview was conducted on 15 March by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva in the Centre of National Cultures of the Republic of Karelia. Riho Grünthal and Heini Karjalainen were also present. The group consisted of four women and a man. The questions were asked in Karelian. All interviewees spoke Karelian. Three interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG4-02m, RU-KRL-FGAG4-03f, RU-KRL-FGAG4-04f) used some Russian words and expressions, and one (RU-KRL-FGAG4-05f) used some Finnish words during the interview.

All interviewees learned Karelian in their childhood homes and Russian in school. All interviewees, except for one (RU-KRL-FGAG4-05f) who speaks Karelian very seldom, said that they speak Karelian with their relatives and friends and when visiting their home villages. The interviewees have taught Karelian to their children to varying degrees: two interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG4-01f, RU-KRL-FGAG4-04f) have been speaking Karelian to their children, but they answer in Russian. These interviewees were very interested in teaching Karelian to their grandchildren, though. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG4-03f) said she speaks Karelian with her children and grandchildren, and one interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG4-05f) has not taught her child Karelian at all. All female interviewees use or have used Karelian in their work, although one (RU-KRL-FGAG4-05f) only reads it. Three interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG4-01f, RU-KRL-FGAG4-02m, RU-KRL-FGAG4-04f) said that they use Karelian actively, reading Karelian newspapers and writing in Karelian.

All other interviewees except for one (RU-KRL-FGAG4-05f) thought that Karelian is still a living language, and they hoped that Karelian would survive. Two interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG4-01f, RU-KRL-FGAG4-02m) said that the future of the Karelian language depends on politics, and one of them (RU-KRL-FGAG4-02m) thought that Karelian should be an official national language. All four expressed the importance of speaking and teaching Karelian to children in order to maintain it. One female interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG4-04f) had a very positive attitude towards Karelian and maintaining it. She was very interested in it; she thought that Karelian is a language that one can use everywhere and in every walk of life.

She believed that maintaining Karelian is important, as is maintaining Karelian villages. Two interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG4-01f, RU-KRL-FGAG4-02m) had a more pessimistic attitude. A female interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG4-01f) with a more positive attitude nonetheless thought that nowadays Karelian is not a useful language, since relevant vocabulary is missing and statistics about the Karelian language do not look good. A male interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG4-02m) believed that the number of Karelians would decrease. One female Interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG4-05f) had a positive attitude towards Karelian as her own language (she thought that Karelian is her mother tongue), but still she felt that Karelian was a kind of memory of her childhood and relatives. She stated that there is no use for society to maintain Karelian or to develop and teach it; for example, there is not and there also cannot be enough vocabulary in Karelian. Everybody can speak Karelian at home if they want, she added, but it has no social significance.

Interview with AG5 (men and women aged 65+)

The interview was conducted on 15 March by Natal'â Antonova and Ol'ga Ogneva in the Centre of National Cultures of the Republic of Karelia. Riho Grünthal and Heini Karjalainen were also present. The group consisted of three women and three men. The questions were asked in Karelian. The interviewees spoke Karelian, except for one (RU-KRL-FGAG5-03m) who spoke mainly Finnish. He somewhat dominated the interview by taking up a lot of discussion time. Another interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG5-05f) mixed Karelian, Finnish, and Russian. Two female interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG5-02f, RU-KRL-FGAG5-06f) also used some Russian words, especially when speaking about time, and one male interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG5-04m) used Finnish a few times. Four interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG5-01m, RU-KRL-FGAG5-02f, RU-KRL-FGAG5-03m, RU-KRL-FGAG5-06f) had a higher education.

All interviewees learned Karelian at home during childhood, and only one interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG5-05f) also learned Russian at home. Two interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG5-04m, RU-KRL-FGAG5-06f) learned Finnish at school, while one (RU-KRL-FGAG5-05f) had her whole education in Finnish at school. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG5-03m) studied Finnish later and uses it regularly at work. The interviewees said that they speak Karelian mostly with their relatives. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG5-01m) had a Russian wife, who has learnt Karelian a little; his children could understand Karelian. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG5-03m) used to speak Karelian with his deceased siblings. He said he also speaks it with his wife, but Finnish and Russian with his children. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG5-04m) said he speaks Karelian with his son, and another (RU-KRL-FGAG5-06f) with her sisters. Two interviewees (RU-KRL-FGAG5-05f, RU-KRL-FGAG5-06f) said they use Karelian in their choir.

The interviewees were quite worried about the future of the Karelian language, knowing that young people do not really use Karelian. One of them (RU-KRL-FGAG5-06f) thought that the Karelian language is disappearing because young people are not interested in learning Karelian, a language which does not seem to be of any use for them. The interviewees believed that there should be more Karelian lessons (RU-KRL-FGAG5-02f) in schools, and one

interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG5-01m) suggested that a common written standard language would help to maintain Karelian. One interviewee (RU-KRL-FGAG5-04m) also thought that keeping Karelian alive depends on Karelians themselves, and that they just have to keep speaking Karelian and thus spread it.

3.4.3 Focus Group Interviews with Control Group Representatives

Target population. Joint control group focus groups were used to analyse the position of the Karelian and Veps languages in Russia, especially in the Republic of Karelia. There were no special expectations for the outcome of these discussions, which caused a somewhat insecure feeling for the local moderator of the discussions. The interviews took place in Petrozavodsk on 12 March 2011.

Selecting and contacting interviewees. A local fieldworker, Svetlana Pasûkova, who had previously worked in the Ministry of Culture and had good networks, invited and formed the control group focus groups. She contacted the Ministry of Education, which sent a group of politicians for the discussion. There were two moderators (Riho Grünthal and Nina Zajceva) also present in the interviews, both with the media group and the politicians. Heini Karjalainen was also present and worked as an assistant. The discussions were held entirely in Russian. The media group consisted of nine interviewees. Ten people had been invited to the meeting; one did not show up, and one came late and left early. One of the local journalists asked for permission to record the discussion simultaneously for her own professional purposes. As the nature of the meeting was not quite clear for all invited guests, some arrived late and left early without saying a word. This caused a few technical problems with the sound, but did not otherwise disrupt the discussion. The group of politicians consisted of five interviewees.

In general, the attitude of the two control group focus groups towards the investigated minorities was positive. No negative comments were made during the interviews. In the media group, the discussion was more balanced than in the group of politicians, in which a couple of participants were more passive. The interview with the politicians was done in the office of the Vice Minister of Education of the Republic of Karelia.

Both genders were quite equally represented in the control group interviews. The interviews were recorded in parallel on two video recorders and two digital recording devices. In both groups, the participants in the interviews seemed to be more or less acquainted with one another. However, the participants were not asked how well they knew one another. No background information forms were used.

Recording devices. All interviews were recorded in parallel on two digital recorders (Olympus: LS-5) with high-quality sound playback. The discussions were also filmed using Panasonic HDC-SD700 video cameras.

Interview descriptions

In general, both of the interviews gave the impression that from the viewpoint of the control group, the investigated minority groups (i.e. Karelian and Veps in Russia) inseparably belong to the ethnic and cultural composition of the Republic of Karelia. However, despite a basically positive attitude, there seemed to be less knowledge about the exact status and ongoing language shift of Karelian. Participants who had recently attended seminars on bilingualism and reversing language shift were more informed about the demands and difficulties of the current situation of fighting against complete language loss.

Concluding remarks on fieldwork in Russia. The fieldwork in Russia initially faced many obstacles: the delay of the planning phase, the hard weather conditions in the middle of the winter, and the practical problems in delivering the questionnaires and conducting the survey by means of face-to-face interviews, as described above. However, despite all these difficulties, the fieldwork went very well and proceeded smoothly, thanks to a very committed and professionally competent team. Most members of the team were native Karelian speakers themselves, and on several occasions they were known to the respondents. Although the questionnaire was clearly too long, for the most part people very patiently answered the questions and in some cases even enjoyed having a discussion about topics related to their language and identity. On the other hand, there were far more women in the sample and relatively more older people than young people, which shows the degree of language and cultural change. From a purely statistical viewpoint, therefore, the data are biased by these factors.

In sum, the achieved results can be considered as successfully fulfilling the aims of the fieldwork, and they are in alignment with the goals of the ELDIA project.

3.5 Sociodemographic Distribution

Our Karelian survey sample was inherently biased, if one had wished to obtain information on those who considered themselves as Karelians by ethnicity. As our survey respondents were selected from among those who possessed some level of knowledge in the Karelian language, it was expected that elderly women would be overrepresented in the sample. As seen in Figure 8 below, **there were a lot more females than males among our Karelian respondents** (27.7% male, 72.3% female). This, however, represents the actual situation among the Karelian speakers fairly well in general, as can be seen when comparing our sample to the actual demographics presented in Figure 6 in Section 2.3.2. The share of female respondents was the largest in age groups 30-49 and 50-64.

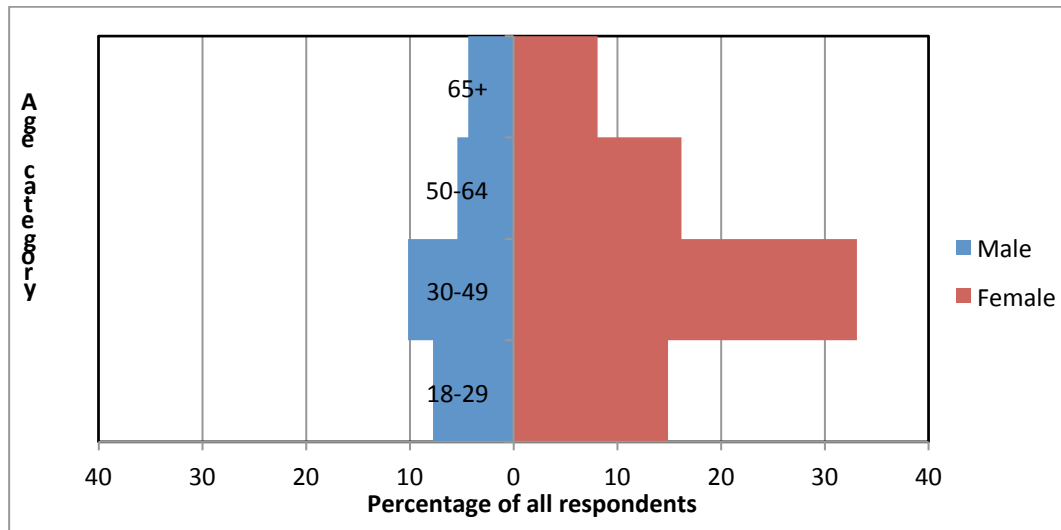


Figure 8. Sociodemographic distributions of the Karelians in ELDIA-data

The biggest flaw in the representativeness of our MinLg data is that the two youngest age groups are too large to represent the actual age of the language community. In our data, 22.6% belonged to the youngest age group (18-29) and 43.2% to the second youngest (30-49). The oldest age group (over 65-year-olds) forms only 12.5% of our sample. As is clearly visible in Table 5, for example, the Karelian demographic pyramid “stands on its peak” (i.e. the number of Karelians is decreasing and there are less Karelians among the younger generations). When it comes to our interview data, however, there is a heavy bias towards highly educated Karelian activists. Included are researchers and teachers of Karelian language, journalists, and people who are otherwise closely connected with Karelian language and culture. The youngest age group of interviewees is comprised wholly of students of Karelian language in the university.

As seen in Figure 9 below, **the Karelian questionnaire respondents were highly educated.** Approximately half (48.3%) of our Karelian respondents had a tertiary education.

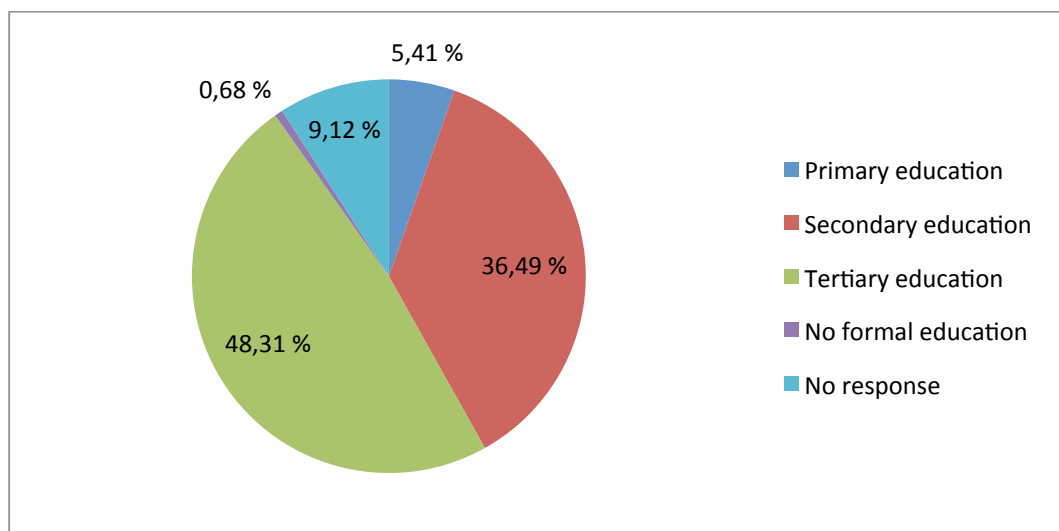


Figure 9. Educational level of the Karelian respondents in the ELDIA data

Most of our Karelian respondents lived in towns. More than 100 respondents lived in Petrozavodsk, almost 60 in Priäzä, and more than 30 in Olonec. According to the 2010 census, 42.1% of the Karelians in Russia live in villages, and therefore our sample is somewhat biased towards urban residents.

The control group data of Russian speakers resemble our MinLg data sociodemographically. Approximately three quarters of the control group respondents were women: 76.5% of the respondents were female and 23.5% were male. The biggest share of the control group respondents (41.5%) belonged to the 30-49 age category. Respondents belonging to the 18-29 age category form 22.9% of our sample and 50-64 age category makes up 30.6%. The oldest age category (over 65 years of age) forms only 5.0% of our sample. In that category, only 20% of respondents were male.

The control group respondents were as highly educated as our Karelian respondents: approximately half of the respondents had a tertiary education. This means that compared to the average level of education in the Republic of Karelia, our respondents were very highly educated. This is most probably due to the sampling methods used. According to the census of 2010, 61.7% of people over 15 years of age in the Republic of Karelia had a secondary education and 19.8% had a tertiary education.¹⁹ As shown in Figure 10, most control group respondents (49.0%) answered that they have a tertiary education, while 42.4% had a secondary education and only 5.3% merely a primary education.

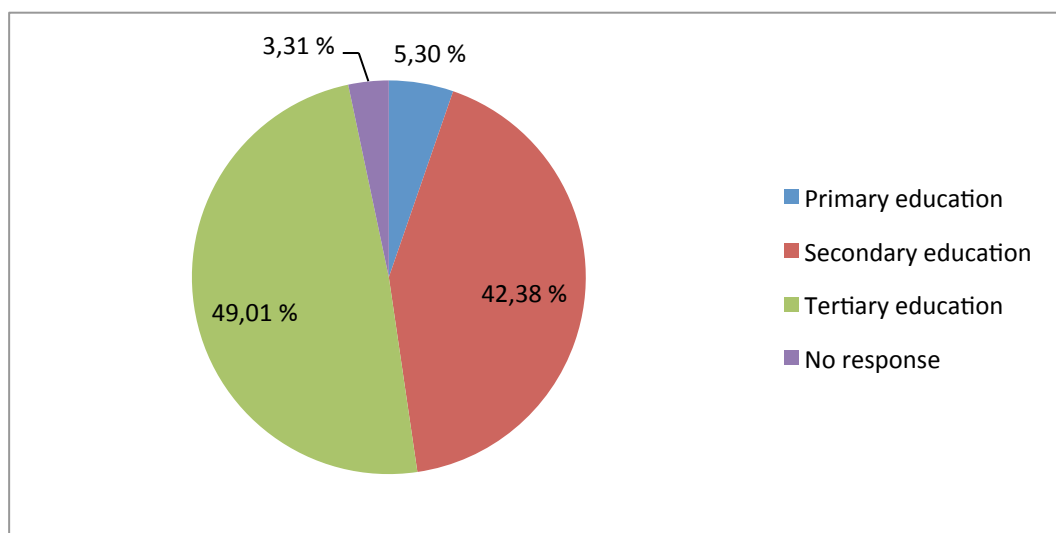


Figure 10. Educational level of the control group respondents

¹⁹ Perepis 2010: pub-03-01. Last accessed on 22.2.2013.

3.6 Principles Underlying ELDIA Data Analyses

By Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt

The new materials that were collected by means of the questionnaire survey and the interviews were systematically analysed within ELDIA Work Package 5 (WP5). In order to enhance the comparability of the results obtained in the different case studies the analyses of all datasets, including that which is discussed in this report, were conducted in the same way. The analyses followed the ELDIA WP5 Manual and the WP5 Manual Sequel, which were compiled by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt (University of Mainz, Germany) with the support of Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark (Åland Islands Peace Institute) and the project researchers involved in the various case studies. The instructions were confirmed by the ELDIA Steering Committee.

3.6.1 Minority Languages as Part of Multilingualism in Modern Societies

At its most general level, the goal of the data analyses was to provide new information on a selection of central sociolinguistic, legal and sociological aspects of modern European multilingualism. In contrast to most other studies concerned with (European) minority languages, the ELDIA research agenda stresses the necessity of assessing minority language vitality in relation to a much wider multilingual context than that of a particular minority language and the local majority language. Like speakers of majority languages, speakers of minority languages in Europe use different languages in different contexts, although there are also cases where members of an economically disprivileged minority do not have equal access to the entire range of languages, e.g. by way of education. It is our belief that the vitality of a minority language depends not only on its relationship with the local majority language but also on the position which it occupies within the matrix of all the languages that are used in that particular society, and sometimes even of languages spoken in the neighbouring countries, as is the case with, for example, Northern Sami, Meänkieli, Karelian and Seto.

In ELDIA, new data were methodically collected from minority-language speakers and control group respondents, relating not only to the use of and attitudes towards the minority language in question but also to the use of and attitudes towards the relevant national languages and international languages (English, German, French, and, in some cases, Russian). Thus, one of the aims of the data analyses was to identify patterns of multilingualism and try to determine whether local multilingualism patterns favour or threaten the maintenance of a particular minority language. Instructions on how to analyse and report on the central issues pertaining to multilingualism were developed jointly under the supervision of Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, the leader of the ELDIA Work Package within which the Comparative Report of all the case studies will be produced. The observations on

the patterns of multilingualism in Russia and especially among the Karelians in the Republic of Karelia are summarised below in chapter 4.3.2.

3.6.2 The Operational Goal of ELDIA

As stated in the Introduction of this report, the operational goal of the ELDIA-project is to create a European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar). This will be a concrete tool, easily usable for measuring the degree of vitality of a particular minority language or indeed any other type of language.

The EuLaViBar will be created in two steps. First, the analyses conducted on the data gathered during the project will be summarised in case-specific language vitality barometers, i.e. individual vitality barometers will be created for each of the minority languages investigated. The Language Vitality Barometer for Karelian in Russia is presented in chapter 5 of this Case-Specific Report. Then, during WP7 (Comparative Report), a generalisable EuLaViBar based on the comparison of these individual-language barometers will be created by an interdisciplinary group of senior researchers from the fields of linguistics, sociology and law.

The EuLaViBar will be the main product of ELDIA. It will be submitted to the European Council and made public at the end of the project in August 2013. Consequently, the specific methodological steps involved in creating a vitality barometer for any particular language cannot be spelled out in the current report. The full rationale behind the preparation of the survey questionnaire data by the linguists for the statistical analyses, as well as the instructions on classifying the questionnaire data in a manner which allows for calculating the case-specific barometer, will be discussed in detail in the Comparative Report.²⁰ Instructions for creating a language vitality barometer will be given in the EuLaViBar Handbook. They will be available as open-access documents on the ELDIA Website (www.eldia-project.org) from the autumn of 2013 onwards.²¹

The following chapter briefly introduces the ELDIA concept of language vitality and how it can be measured. The other chapters then describe the scope and aims of the data analyses and how they were made.

3.6.3 Defining and Measuring Language Vitality

According to the ELDIA research agenda, the vitality of a language is reflected in and should be measurable in terms of its speakers being willing and able to use it, having the opportunity to use it in a wide variety of public and private contexts, and being able to

²⁰ Abridged version downloadable at <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:304815> .

²¹ Direct download link: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:301101> .

develop it further and transfer it to the following generation. The definition is solidly based on what is currently known about the factors that promote or restrict language vitality and/or ethnolinguistic vitality in general. In this respect, the ELDIA approach has significantly benefited from work by Joshua Fishman, Leena Huss, Christopher Stroud and Anna-Riitta Lindgren. It also draws greatly on UNESCO reports on language vitality and endangerment (2003; 2009).

ELDIA aims at studying and gaining access to the full range of critical aspects of language diversity, use and maintenance in the language communities investigated, including economic aspects. Consequently, the methodological approach, which has been developed gradually during the different project phases, combines revitalisation, ethnolinguistic vitality research and the findings of diversity maintenance research and economic-linguistic studies. In brief, the EuLaViBar is the result of a novel practical application of ideas by two prominent language-economists, viz. François Grin and Miquel Strubell. In our analyses we have systematically operationalised, firstly, Grin's concepts of "capacity", "opportunity" and "desire" (cf., e.g. Grin 2006, Gazzola & Grin 2007), and, secondly, Strubell's idea of language speakers as consumers of "language products" (cf., especially, Strubell 1996; 2001). We have also developed a language vitality scale and operationalised it over the entire ELDIA survey questionnaire data. As can be seen further below in this chapter, our scale draws on, but is not identical with, Joshua Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) which, since the 1990s, has served as the foundational conceptual model for assessing language vitality (Fishman 1991).

On the basis of the operationalisations described above, all the information that was gathered via the ELDIA survey questionnaire was analysed for each case study individually. The results are summarised in the case-specific Language Vitality Barometer (cf. chapter 5). As mentioned, the principles of the operationalisations and the underlying theoretical and methodological considerations will be discussed and explained in detail in the Comparative Report. In sum, the EuLaViBar, and thus the data analyses, involve constitutive components on four different levels: Focus Areas (level 1) which each comprise several Dimensions (level 2), the Dimensions being split into variables (level 3) and the variables into variants (level 4).

The four Focus Areas of the EuLaViBar are Capacity, Opportunity, Desire and Language Products. In the ELDIA terminology, these are defined as follows (the ELDIA definitions are not fully identical with those by Grin and Strubell):

- **Capacity** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar is restricted by definition to the subjective capacity to use the language in question and refers to the speakers' self-confidence in using it. The objective abilities to use a language are related to factors such as education and patterns of language use in the family, which are difficult to measure and impossible to assess reliably within ELDIA; they are thus excluded from the definition.

- **Opportunity** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to those institutional arrangements (legislation, education etc.) that allow for, support or inhibit the use of languages. The term refers to actually existing regulations and does not, therefore, cover the desire to have such regulations. Opportunities to use a given language outside institutional arrangements are also excluded from the Focus Area *Opportunity*: the opportunities for using a given language in private life do not count as “opportunity” for the EuLaViBar, neither does the opportunity to use it in contexts where institutional and private language use intertwine or overlap (e.g. “private” conversations with fellow employees during the coffee break).
- **Desire** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to the wish and readiness of people to use the language in question; desire is also reflected via attitudes and emotions relating to the (forms of) use of a given language.
- **Language Products** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to the presence of or demand for language products (printed, electronic, “experiential”, e.g. concerts, plays, performances, etc.) and to the wish to have products and services in and through the language in question.

In addition to the Focus Areas, the ELDIA methodological toolkit consists of four main Dimensions along which each of the four Focus Areas is described and evaluated with regard to language vitality. These are Legislation, Education, Media, and Language Use & Interaction, and they are defined as follows:

- **Legislation** as a Dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to the existence or non-existence of legislation (supporting or inhibiting language use and language diversity) and to public knowledge about and attitudes towards such legislation.
- **Education** as a Dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to all questions concerning formal and informal education (level of education, language acquisition, the language of instruction, opinions/feelings/attitude towards education, etc.).
- **Media** as a Dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to all questions regarding media, including media use, the existence of minority media, language in media production, language in media consumption, majority issues in minority media and minority issues in majority media.
- **Language Use and Interaction** as a Dimension of the EuLaViBar includes all aspects of language use (e.g. in different situations / with different people, etc.).

In the case-specific data analyses, the Dimensions were described in terms of pre-defined sets of language-sociological variables which were used, survey question by survey question, to describe and explain the statistical data. The variables include, in alphabetical order:

- Community members’ attitudes towards their language and its speakers
- Community members’ attitudes towards other languages and their speakers
- Domain-specific language use

- The existence of legal texts in the minority language in question
- The existence of media
- Cross-generational language use
- Intra-generational language use
- Language acquisition
- Language maintenance
- The language of teaching in schools
- Legislation concerning education
- Media use & consumption
- The mother tongue
- The role of languages in the labour market
- Self-reported language competence
- Support/prohibition of language use.

The variants of the variables were defined in the above-mentioned WP5 Manuals. They were chosen so that they allowed for scaling each possible type of survey response along the following ELDIA language maintenance scale:

- 0 **Language maintenance is severely and critically endangered.** The language is "remembered" but not used spontaneously or in active communication. Its use and transmission are not protected or supported institutionally. Children and young people are not encouraged to learn or use the language.
→ Urgent and effective revitalisation measures are needed to prevent the complete extinction of the language and to restore its use.
- 1 **Language maintenance is acutely endangered.** The language is used in active communication at least in some contexts, but there are serious problems with its use, support and/or transmission, to such an extent that the use of the language can be expected to cease completely in the foreseeable future.
→ Immediate effective measures to support and promote the language in its maintenance and revitalisation are needed.
- 2 **Language maintenance is threatened.** Language use and transmission are diminishing or seem to be ceasing at least in some contexts or with some speaker groups. If this trend continues, the use of the language may cease completely in the more distant future.
→ Effective measures to support and encourage the use and transmission of the language must be taken.
- 3 **Language maintenance is achieved to some extent.** The language is supported institutionally and used in various contexts and functions (also beyond its ultimate core area such as the family sphere). It is often transmitted to the next generation, and many of its speakers seem to be able and willing to develop sustainable patterns of multilingualism.

→ The measures to support language maintenance appear to have been successful and must be upheld and continued.

- 4 **The language is maintained at the moment.** The language is used and promoted in a wide range of contexts. The language does not appear to be threatened: nothing indicates that (significant amounts of) speakers would give up using the language and transmitting it to the next generation, as long as its social and institutional support remains at the present level.
→ The language needs to be monitored and supported in a long-term perspective.

As pointed out earlier, in the same way as with the Focus Areas, the scale was systematically operationalised all through the ELDIA survey questionnaire data. A systematic scale of all the possible types of answers to a certain question in the ELDIA survey questionnaire was developed, so that, on the basis of the statistical results, it is possible to draw conclusions concerning the current language-vitality state of affairs with regard to what was asked. As will be shown in the ELDIA Comparative Report, by employing this knowledge it is ultimately possible to draw conclusions about the relative language-maintaining effect of such matters as the language-educational policies implemented in the society in question.

3.6.4 Practical Procedures in the Data Analyses

The analyses of the survey questionnaire data and the interview data were conducted by linguists. In order to achieve the ultimate operational goal, the analyses focused on those features that are fundamental for the EuLaViBar in general. Consequently, they concentrated on a relatively restricted selection of the dimensions of the gathered data, and it was often not possible to include in the unified analysis method every feature that might have been deemed relevant in the individual cases.

3.6.5 Analyses Conducted on Survey Questionnaire Data

The ELDIA statisticians provided the linguists with one-way tables (frequencies and percentages of the different types of responses for each item, i.e. response options for each question) and with scaled barometer scores for each individual question. The linguists then analysed all the statistical data and wrote a response summary of each question. The summaries consisted of a verbal summary (i.e. a heading which expresses the main outcome of the question) and a verbal explanation presenting and discussing the main results that can be read from the tables. As part of their data analyses, the linguists also created the graphic illustrations inserted in chapter 4.

Both the minority survey questionnaire and the control group questionnaire contained many open-ended questions and other questions that could not be analysed automatically with statistical analysis programmes. All such questions were analysed questionnaire by

questionnaire, in order to document how often each particular open-ended question was answered and how often it was answered in a particular way. In the open-ended questions, and in many of the closed questions, the respondents were given the option of commenting on their answer or adding something, e.g. the name of another language. When going through the questionnaires manually, the researchers made notes on such additions and comments, summaries of which have been used in writing chapter 5 of the current report. In order to make the open-ended questions suitable for the required statistical analyses, the results of the manual analyses were manually entered in tables provided in the WP5 Manual Sequel, which offered options for categorising the answers along the language vitality scale in the required, unified manner.

3.6.6 Analyses Conducted on Interview Data

The interviews conducted in WP4 were transcribed and analysed in WP5 as well. The transcriptions of the audio and the video files were prepared with Transcriber, which is a computer software designed for segmenting, labeling and transcribing speech signals. Transcriber is free and runs on several platforms (Windows XP/2k, Mac OS X and various versions of Linux). In ELDIA, the software was used to create orthographic interview transcriptions with basic and speech-turn segmentations. The transcription principles were jointly developed by researchers involved in the data analyses of the various case studies; the set of transcription symbols was discussed and confirmed at an ELDIA workshop in Oulu in August 2010. The transcription principles are summarised in Annex 2.

In the next step, the orthographic transcriptions were imported into the ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) software which is a multimedia annotation tool developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (<http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/>). In the ELDIA analyses, ELAN was used for coding the interview data for content and, to a modest extent, linguistic analyses. ELAN, too, is available as freeware and runs on Windows, Mac OS X and Linux. The user can select different languages for the interface (e.g. English, French, German, Spanish or Swedish). In ELDIA, the same ELAN settings were used throughout all the data sets: the transcription tier(s) are followed by three main (= parent = independent) tiers, viz. Status of Language (StL), Discourse Topics (DT) and Linguistic Phenomena (LP).

When conducting the ELAN analyses, the researchers examined all their interview transcriptions and marked the places where the language or discourse topic changed. Tagging the discourse was conducted at the level of so-called “general” category tags for the discourse theme. Due to the tight project schedule, a clear focus was kept on the central issues; the researchers who did the tagging had the possibility of creating new tags for coding other phenomena for their own use.

The scheme tagging the discourse topics is shown in the following table:

Category tag for discourse theme	Description of the phenomena which will be tagged with the category tag in question
Language use	Mother tongue, interaction, language skills (comprehension, speaking, reading, writing), level of language proficiency, support for language use, MajLG/MinLG, language competition, secondary language
Language learning	Language acquisition, mode of learning language X/Y/other languages; mother tongue, MinLG/MajLG, transmission
Education	Level of education, labour market, occupation, language of instruction, mother tongue
Mobility	Level of mobility (highly mobile, mobile, non-mobile), commuting, translocalism
Attitude	Pressure (pressure, non-pressure, indifferent), language mixing, mother tongue, language learning, multilingualism, societal responsibility, nationalism, minority activism, ethnicity, correctness, identity, conflicts, historical awareness/ experiences, legislation
Legislation	Level of knowledge (knowledge/non-knowledge), attitude towards legislation, quality and efficiency of legislation, language policy, labour market, support/prohibition of language use, language policy
Media	Use of media, sort of media (social, local, national, cross-border, MajLG, MinLG, multi/bilingual)
Sphere	Public, semi-public, private
Dialogue partner(s)	Self, father, mother, grandparents, children, spouse, relatives, friends, co-worker, neighbours, boss, public officials, others
Place	School, home, work place, shops, street, library, church, public authorities, community events
Stage of life	Childhood, adolescence, adulthood, seniority; pre-school, school, university/higher education, professional life, retirement, today
Gender	male, female
Mother tongue	Competition, communicative value, attachment (social/cultural), visions of normativity/correctness, maintenance, identity, importance on labour market, current state, historical awareness, conflicts

Table 15: Category tagging of discourse phenomena

Having coded the discourse topics with the respective tags, the researchers analysed each interview, discourse topic by discourse topic. In order to make the interview data maximally usable in the Case-Specific Reports, they were asked to write brief half-page descriptions of each interview, paying attention to the following variables: e.g. age, gender, level of education (if known), profession/occupation (if known), first-acquired language, mobility, language use in the childhood home, language use with parents and siblings today, language

use with spouse, language use with their children, language use with their grandchildren. The researchers were also asked to provide a fairly general discourse description of each interview, summarising their observations on the following issues:

- how the information obtained from the interviews relates to the results of the questionnaires, i.e. to what extent what the informant(s) say supports them and when/to what extent it contradicts them;
- any new problems, attitudes, or viewpoints which come up in the interviews
- comments on what still remains unexplained
- comments on the fruitfulness of the interview data, i.e. make a note of well-expressed views which gave you an 'aha'-experience when you were working on the interviews

The results of all the data analyses described above were submitted to the Steering Committee in the form of a project-internal WP5 Report. These were saved on the internal project website; they will not be published as such or made available to the public after the project ends but their authors will use them for post-ELDIA publications. Alongside the Case-Specific Reports, WP5 reports also will feed into the Comparative Report.

4 New Data on Legislation, Media, Education, Language Use and Interaction

This chapter includes three sections: the first section, Legal and Institutional Analysis, analyses the legal institutions in their political context; the second section, Media Analysis, concentrates on three ninety-day periods in 1998, 2004/2005, and 2010/2011; and the last section, Sociolinguistic Analysis of Survey and Interview Findings, draws on analyses of the survey data and interviews conducted in the field in 2011.

4.1 Legal and Institutional Analysis

By Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark

As a multi-ethnic state with one dominant language, the legal framework for the Karelian and Veps languages in the Russian Federation is rather complex and characterised by perpetual and sometimes unpredictable changes. The Russian language has an important position in law, as well as in the Russian Federation. Language legislation is found at the federal, regional, and local levels, often presenting a complex pattern of contradictory regulations.²²

As a result of the national awakening in the various regions of Russia after the collapse of the USSR, Federal Law No. 1807 “On the Languages of the Nationalities of the Russian Federation” (1991) gives the republics the power to adopt their own state languages aside from Russian. Another important legislative act is the Federal Law “On the State Language of the Russian Federation”, ratified in June 2005. This law determines the mandatory use of the language in federal, regional, and municipal institutions in the Russian Federation. Language diversity at the societal and individual levels is, in principle, guaranteed by the 1993 Constitution (Art. 26). Furthermore, according to Articles 68.3 and 69, smaller minority languages such as Veps enjoy special protection. These provisions further detailed in the Law “On guarantees of rights of indigenous minority Nationalities of the Russian Federation” (1999).

According to the Karelian Constitution, only the Russian language is the official language of Karelia. Consequently, the Karelian language is theoretically (but not actually) protected by

²² The information in this section is based on the ELDIA study by Anders Fogelklou, entitled *Legal and Institutional Framework Analysis: Karelian, Vepsian and Seto in Russia* (forthcoming as a WPELD).

the federal structure of the Russian Federation and its regional method of language protection (ethnic federalism).

In Karelia, one finds the so-called Law on Support, “On the State Support of the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages in the Republic of Karelia”, which was set forth in 2004. As regards its practical implementation, the explanatory note to the order of 28 May 2009 – adopted by the Karelian Ministries of Nationalities Policy and contact with religious associations, of Education, and of Culture – expresses strong concern for the loss of the mother tongue (Karelian) among citizens living in Karelia. The note observes the decline in the ability of Karelians to speak their (former) “mother tongue”, attributing this to urbanisation and globalisation. In the same order, a list of “comprehensive measures” to implement the Plan entitled “Development of the Karelian Language in the Republic of Karelia for the Years 2009–2020” was adopted; countermeasures to the declining use of the Karelian language were introduced. In other words, both the problems and possible solutions are known, at least at the level of the republics. However, at the same time, changes (already in 2002) brought by the 1991 Law “On Languages of the Nationalities of the Russian Federation”, which determined that the Cyrillic alphabet must be used with regard to the regional state languages, can be seen as a significant obstacle for Karelian to become an official language in Karelia and a cause for the Veps language to become even more marginal.

The rather modest aim of continuing support for cultural and linguistic activities such as radio broadcasts, seminars, festivals, books, and programmes of the Karelian legislation may, in principle, be regarded as positive. But in terms of the more ambitious goal of preventing or even reversing almost total assimilation, the Karelian Law of Education and the Law on Support can be deemed deficient in their lack of incentives and opportunities. Overall, while the present legal situation may appear fairly good on paper, its actual implementation and level of support is limited in practice. Indeed, the present legal situation is characterised by ambiguity and uncertainty for Karelian language speakers. Whether it will remain stable over the long term is difficult to say.

4.2 Media Analysis

By Reetta Toivanen

The aim of the analysis²³ of media discourse in Russia was to find out how minority languages, language maintenance, language loss, and revitalisation are discussed in majority

²³ The actual research was carried out at the University of Helsinki by Santra Jantunen and Outi Táncoz, who were trained to use a manual for media discourse analysis. The manual included questions and advice on how the researchers should parse the vast amount of material in order to come up with illustrative examples and answers concerning legislation, education, media, and language use and interaction.

versus minority language media. Furthermore, the research was intended to provide further information on developments in the area of inter-ethnic relations in the studied countries. The underlying assumption for this analysis of separate countries was that media comments on language minorities inevitably reveal the context in which those minorities are trying to maintain and revitalise their mother tongues. Attitudes shared by the majority media explain, at least to a certain extent, the attitudes of the majority society towards minority language communities. The opinions and attitudes of the minority media reflect the challenges and opportunities shared by the minority community with its own members.

The key questions of media discourse analysis can be summarised as follows: 1) How are minorities discussed in the majority and minority media? 2) How are the majority and minority media positioned or how are they positioning themselves and each other in the field of media? 3) How do the majority and minority media inform the public about current events in the field of inter-group relations? 4) Is the maintenance of languages a topic and how it is discussed? 5) What kinds of roles and functions are assigned to majority and minority languages in the media?

In order to gain a longitudinal approach on the material and also address issues concerning the changing status and situations of the studied minority language communities, three different periods were chosen for the actual analysis. The time periods chosen for a closer analysis of media discourse in Russia were: February – April 1998, when the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities entered into force; spring of 2004, marking the proposal of the language law in the Republic of Karelia; and November 2010 – January 2011, providing a view of recent developments.

The media discourse on two small Finno-Ugric minority languages in Russia was studied: the Veps and the Karelian language, both of which are spoken near the Finnish border in Russian Karelia. Both languages are mainly used today by elderly people, and efforts are being made together with Finnish Karelian speakers to revitalise Karelian in Russia.

In the Republic of Karelia, there are three newspapers and two magazines with material in Karelian. The *Oma Maa* ("Own Land") newspaper is published in Olonec Karelian and the *Vienan Karjala* ("White Sea Karelia") newspaper is published in Viena or White Sea Karelian (the Northern dialect of Karelian proper). The printing of the newspaper *Lyydilaine* (in Lude) started in June 2008. *Kodima* ("Homeland") is the only newspaper that uses Veps, and it is written in both Veps and Russian. The magazine *Carelia* and the children's magazine *Kipinä* are published mostly in Finnish, but also contain material in Karelian and Veps. Additionally, one finds pages in Karelian in municipal newspapers such as in Olonec, Kalevala, Prâža, and Louhi.

GTRK Kareliâ broadcasts programmes in Karelian, Veps, and Finnish (Eremeev 2007; Pis'mennye Âzyki 2003: 215-216). These broadcasts do not reach all areas of the Republic, however, and television and radio broadcasts in the Veps language are available only in the

Republic of Karelia. There are two weekly cultural radio programmes in Karelian Proper and one in Olonec Karelian, as well as a daily news broadcast by Radio Karelii. Some programmes from 2009 and 2010 are archived and can be accessed on the Internet.²⁴ On the Rossiâ 1 channel there is also one weekly 55-minute TV programme, *Omin Silmin*, which presents Karelian, Finnish, and Veps cultural activities. *GTRK Kareliâ* broadcasts Veps language news and other programmes for 15 minutes two times a week.²⁵ Once a month, *GTRK* broadcasts a Veps literature programme (Puura & Zayceva 2010: 65).

New digital media published in Karelian and Veps is very scarce. There are no real news portals, blogs, forums, etc. to speak of. There seem to be at least a couple of groups on Facebook and VKontakte connected to the Veps people (e.g. “Republic of Vepsia”) (Bojnič & Bogdanova 2008; Puura & Zayceva 2010: 72). Partially because of the old age of fluent Karelian and Veps speakers and partially because of the limited access to the Internet in the countryside, the role of new media in Karelian and Veps remains marginal. Russian media are very diverse and regionalised. The most read newspapers in the Republic of Karelia are the regional weeklies *Karel’skaâ Guberniâ*, *TVR-Panorama*, *Kurier Karelij*, and *Petrozavodsk* (a local paper of Petrozavodsk). The others have more readers in rural areas. The most popular national papers are *Argumenty i fakty* and *Komsomol’skaâ Pravda* (Puura & Zayceva 2010: 102).

According to one study from 1997, almost 90% of respondents²⁶ said they follow programmes in minority languages at least once a week (Skön & Torkkola 1997: 71). Almost everybody said that they follow local programmes in Russian at least once a week. Programmes in minority languages were less popular among the young. This was explained by a lack of language skills, as well as less interest in or identification with the national minority (Skön & Torkkola 1997: 73 and 97). There is no up-to-date research on the subject before ELDIA, but it was assumed beforehand that interest among the young is still in decline (see Section 4.3.3). According to this same survey (Skön & Torkkola 1997: 153), the most important roles assigned to the minority media were to maintain and revive the language and to advocate national culture and folklore. This is affirmed by the active participation of minority language media in all-Russian competitions and festivals (Rämänen 2007: 66). It was not possible to find sources describing the popularity of newspapers among the different language communities. In general, however, it can be said that the readership of minority media is greatest among the elderly, language activists, and students learning Karelian and Veps. Television and radio are the most important sources of information about national (all-Russian) issues, whereas for local issues the newspapers play a central role.

²⁴ See www.karjalanradio.narod.ru/finnish.html, last visited in February 2012.

²⁵ See <http://petrozavodsk.rfn.ru>, last visited in February 2012.

²⁶ The sample included 136 respondents, of whom 52 were Finnish, 34 Karelian, 9 Russian, and 4 Veps. Because the results were not cross-tabulated according to the ethnicity of the respondents, they can only be considered as general.

Television is the only major national media, and it is also the most regularly consumed (Pietiläinen 2005: 99-100, 110). Radio is more popular in cities than in the countryside, and it is also more popular among the young and the well-to-do. The role of the Internet varies greatly (Pietiläinen, Fomicheva, and Resnianskaia 2010: 50-51).

Karelian media discourse in Russia presents folklore, history, and ethnic traditions as the essence of being Karelian. These are given more attention than the language, as language is seen as an aspect of them. The importance of maintaining the Karelian language is addressed and usually the Karelians themselves are presented as responsible for its survival, but by and large it is not clearly stated who should take action. The discourse remains on a very general level, and concrete advice or actionable proposals are rare. Most commonly, the Karelians as a group are addressed and urged to use the language more in all domains of life. They are not encouraged to engage in political action, although the research shows that the resources for language survival depend on figures in authority.

Such authorities are often blamed for the poor standing of the language, and lack of resources is a constant source of criticism. While the nationality of the authorities themselves is not underlined, those of ethnic Karelian origin tend to have more sympathy among Karelians than those of other origins. Karelian language speakers are presented by the media as if they basically live in villages, and the presence of Karelian in city life is almost completely ignored. This results in a very narrow sphere of use for the Karelian language.

The younger and the older generations predominate in articles. Many articles focus on nostalgia and the old way of life in the villages. There are also many stories about elderly people and their lives. On the other hand, one frequently finds news about children and students learning and using Karelian. This subject matter may reflect the constituency of the readership, with the elderly being fluent speakers of Karelian and the young as students of it. It may also reflect an effort to promote the transmission of the language from the older generations to the young. Especially in the earlier periods, it may have worked as a way of encouraging people to send their writing to the paper and providing a sense of a republic-wide community. The middle-aged are less of a core group, probably because many of them are not fluent speakers, or not regarded as potential students of the language. In this segment, however, particularly active individuals, teachers, and cultural workers are featured the most.

It appears that the content of the Karelian newspaper *Oma Mua* (and also to some extent *Vienan Karjala*) went through a change between 2004 and 2010. In 2010, one finds a more critical tone and direct questions towards the government of the Karelian Republic, Moscow, and other authorities. Furthermore, more attention is given to language teaching and the future of the language.

The Karelian and Veps newspapers analysed here do not really provide an alternative to Russian-language media, even though their contents are clearly oriented towards minorities. They work for the strengthening of Karelian and Veps, as well as Finno-Ugric identity, and

they also serve as a channel for language development. In comparison to the Russian local papers, their news content is more one-sided; that said, they tend to deal with issues of language rights more often than their Russian counterparts. One should note that media in the Karelian and Veps languages in the Republic of Karelia is government-owned, which may explain the similarity of content across different media. For example, some of the same discourses can be found in both Karelian and Russian media. These include rather vague descriptions of the linguistic situation with few concrete proposals for action, the affectionate way of describing traditional village life, and the connection of minority language survival and the maintaining of traditions.

In the case of Veps (but also all Karelian discourse), maintaining the language is believed to be important. Responsibility is usually given to speakers of Veps, with journalists urging them to use their language. Teaching the Veps language to children is also considered important, and students studying Veps at the university are revered as young people with interest in their mother tongue. On the other hand, journalists often lament that students studying Finnic philology are generally not as interested in Veps as they are in Karelian and especially Finnish. Events where the Veps language is still used, such as festivals and national competitions, are covered in detail. Occasions where Veps have been present, such as various kinds of congresses and so forth, are also presented with great pride. This marks a change from the past: being Veps and speaking the Veps language are not things to be ashamed of anymore.

The Finnic minorities of Karelia are dealt with quite regularly in the Russian press, but in a superficial way. Problems are not tackled in depth, if at all. In the media, the Finno-Ugric peoples of Karelia, especially the Karelians and the Veps, are given a role in preserving their local traditions and colour. Their cultures are connected with traditional village life, which is highly nostalgised. The decline of villages and the battle against that trend have been frequent narratives in the Karelian newspapers, and the same applies to the Russian media. In general, the tone is positive and encouraging, as the focus is on individuals acting for a brighter future, albeit against the social tendencies towards urbanisation. Thus the Karelians, Veps, and Finns are presented as a part of the Karelian Republic. When references are made in regard to the importance of the preservation of culture, it is usually framed from the point of view of maintaining the special character of the Republic. One also finds ideas of folklorisation, underlining the importance of visible culture such as dance, clothing, food, and so forth.

The minority languages are often neglected or considered to be only an insignificant aspect of tradition. The other elements of Karelian culture seem to be closer to the hearts of the Russian authors and their intended readers, while the maintenance of language is left for the Karelian, Veps, and Finns to address. In fact, it is presented as a central task of Karelian organisations. Criticism towards authorities in regard to language and cultural maintenance is practically absent from Russian texts, and no one is explicitly blamed for the present level of decline (although problems of the past are dealt with quite often).

The Russian-language media analysed here do not discuss phenomena of language maintenance, minority rights, or the consequences of legislative changes regarding the minorities. There seems to be a certain distribution of attention, such that these topics tend to be addressed in the government minority media. However, considering the pace of language shift among Karelian, Veps, and Finnish speakers in Karelia, it is obvious that the media published in these languages are not accessible to all members of the minority. This essentially reduces the visibility of minority issues. The minority media may reach the elderly, language activists, and perhaps students, but the younger and middle-aged generations, including the parents of young children who would form the target group of language revitalisation efforts, are disregarded. They and the majority population receive very little information about minority issues from the majority media. Minority issues play a marginal role in the majority media, as they do not serve as a diversified source of information on these topics. The Veps and Karelian media are even owned by majority printing houses, which to some extent may explain their inability to appear as claim-makers in the area of minority politics.

4.3 Sociolinguistic Analysis of Survey and Interview Findings

Sections 4.3.1-4.3.4 summarise the main findings of our questionnaire surveys (MinLg and control group). This data is complemented with data from the response summaries of individual and focus group interviews and the issues are highlighted with original citations from the interviews and questionnaires. The specific question numbers (e.g. Q7) refer to the questionnaires, which are attached as Annexes 2 and 3.

4.3.1 Language Use and Interaction

4.3.1.1 Mother Tongue

The respondents of our study were asked to indicate their mother tongue(s) in Q7 in the questionnaire for minorities (Karelian MinLg) and Q9 in the questionnaire for the control group. The Karelian respondents were not offered a Russian translation of the questionnaire, but they were given assistance by the fieldworkers in understanding the Karelian language questions. In the Karelian questionnaire, the definition of *mother tongue* was further clarified in parentheses as the “language or languages first acquired”.

The Karelian minority respondents equally reported Russian and Karelian as their first language. Karelian was named the first language (the sole mother tongue or one of two mother tongues) by 52.4% of minority respondents, and Russian (the sole or one of two) by 60.8%. One respondent had learnt Finnish as her first language. Only 13.9% of respondents reported having two first languages, which – with the exception of one mention of Finnish and Russian – were Russian and Karelian. Accordingly, 38.9% of respondents reported having

plain Karelian as their mother tongue. The Karelian language was called either *karjal* (in Karelian), *karelskij* (in Russian), or *karjala* (in Finnish) by the respondents. Interestingly, no one called their mother tongue *livvi* (Olonec Karelian), the variant which all the respondents were supposed to speak (for a detailed overview of the Karelian variants, see section 2.5). A specific Karelian dialect was named as first language only twice: the dialects of the villages Poan (Padany, in Russian) and Segozero.

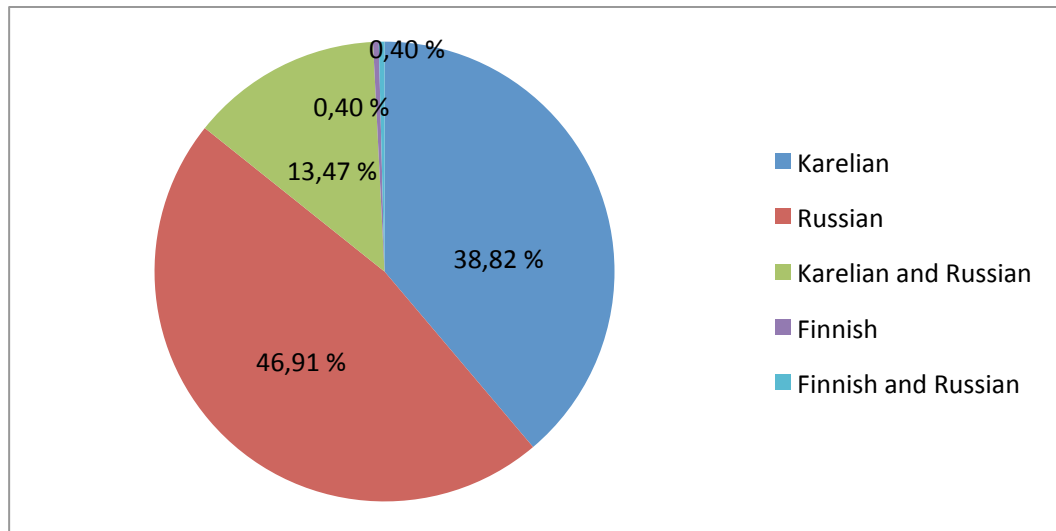


Figure 11. Mother tongues of the Karelian MinLg respondents

Deviating from the questionnaire data referred to above, our interviewees most typically named Karelian as their sole mother tongue. However, not everybody was asked to define their mother tongue. Only two interviewees (in the youngest age group) named both Russian and Karelian as their mother tongues. No one claimed Russian as their sole mother tongue. This deviates from the questionnaire data, probably because most of the selected interviewees were Karelian activists. However, defining the mother tongue was not easy for every interviewee. Social pressures felt in the presence of the interviewers – and, in the case of group interviews, other interviewees – may also have had an effect. Overall, however, such differences seem reliable, as the Karelian language skills of the interviewees were generally better than those of the questionnaire respondents (according to their own estimations).

According to our practical experience, also confirmed by Malakhov & Osipov (2006: 503–504), the widely understood interpretation of *rodnoj âzyk* in Russia is not exactly the same as *mother tongue* (or *first language*) in Western discourse. Rather than the “first/dominant language” or “the language mastered perfectly”, *rodnoj âzyk* is the heritage language, the language of the ethnic group that one feels connected to. Ethnicity or nationality is inherited, and language affiliation comes with it regardless of actual language skills (cf. Section 2.3.2). A mismatch may thus exist between one’s ability to use Karelian and the willingness to appear as belonging to the Karelian ethnic group by naming Karelian as one’s first language. This type of demonstration of “Karelianness”, being an ethnic Karelian, should be compared to the actual desire to use the Karelian language in different domains, which

will be discussed later. As earlier research by Sarhimaa (1999) and Pasanen (2006) has shown, there is also a tendency to overestimate the amount of use of the Karelian language in oral communication in general.

However, the self-reported language competence of the ELDIA respondents in Karelian implies that those who have named Karelian as their mother tongue have also mastered the language. Half of the respondents estimated (in Q28A-Q31A) their spoken Karelian as “fluent” or “good”. Fluency in the Karelian language and the reported mother tongue are most clearly tied to the age of the respondent. **As predicted, the older the respondents, the more developed their oral Karelian skills tend to be** (see 4.3.1.3) and **the more often they named Karelian as their sole mother tongue.** As seen in Figure 12 below, almost 90% of the eldest age group reported only Karelian as their mother tongue. In the youngest age group, only 4.5% named only Karelian as their mother tongue; instead almost 80% said they speak only Russian as their first language (cf. Section 4.3.1.3).

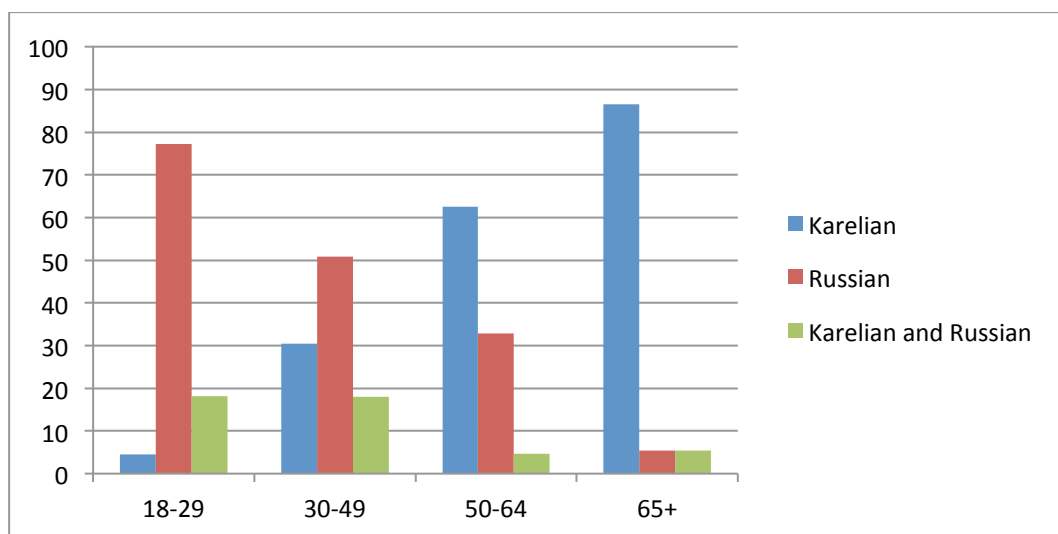


Figure 12: Reported mother tongues by age of respondents

Knowledge of the Karelian language was seen by most of our interviewees as the most central feature of being Karelian. While none of the interviewees felt that one could not be Karelian without knowledge of the Karelian language, the question whether one can be Karelian without knowing the Karelian language was hard for many to answer:

(1) RU-KRL-IIAG1F:

kudamis rodnil oli karjalastu, ket kunnivoija omii juurii, omaa kultuuraa, omii perindölöi, hos hūö ei malteta paista karjalaksi, no ellendetäh karjalan kieldü, minä voinusin sanuo gu hūö ollah tozikarjalazet - - se rippuu ičes ristikanzas gu tahtonou häi ollah karjalaizen. no häi rodiou Karjalas no ei tahto, no sit midäbö luajit?

‘Those who are born Karelian, who respect their roots, culture and heritage, but do not master the Karelian language but understand it – I could say they are true Karelians. It depends on the person whether he wants to be Karelian. If he was born in Karelia but does not want to be [Karelian], what can you do?’

(2) RU-KRL-IIAG2M:

pagizou ga sit se on karjalaine, ei pagize ga sit on venä jo

'If one speaks, then he is Karelian; if one does not, then he is a Russian already.'

RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

minus voibi jogahine sanoa ičedä karjalaizekse, no kieli se on piällimäine. erähil karjalaizis nügöi on passiivine kieli, erähil karjalaizis nügöi, no hüö ičedä pietäh karjalaizennu

'I feel that everybody can call themselves Karelian, but language is the main thing. Nowadays some Karelians have passive language skills, but they consider themselves Karelians.'

In general, the Karelian language has become less important in defining Karelian identity:

(3) RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

pahakse mielekse meile müö jo olemmo roinnuh gu olen karjalaine a omaa kieldü en hallivoiče. mindäh, sendäh guu voi olla gu vieravuimmo kieles.

'Sadly we have become such: "I am Karelian but I do not master my own language". Why? Because we maybe were alienated from the language.'

The young middle-aged interviewees (30-49 years) were the most tolerant towards those Karelians that do not speak the language: they understood that people do not speak Karelian for many different reasons and that Karelian roots are what define Karelian people.

As shown in the following section, the respondents' reported mother tongue does not necessarily correspond with the language used with their parents. Instead, grandparents have generally been the main users of the Karelian language. For example, while only 13.9% of respondents named both Karelian and Russian as their mother tongues, a significantly larger share answered that they used both Karelian and Russian with their parents in childhood. Approximately 28.1% of respondents reported having used both languages with their mother and 20.1% with their father during childhood. Literally speaking, the mother tongue – the language used with one's mother – has been only Karelian in just 28.8% of cases. Altogether 56.9% of respondents replied that their mother spoke Karelian to them during childhood. Alternatively, the Karelian language has been the language spoken by approximately three quarters of the respondents' grandparents (cf. Section 4.3.1.2). As seen below, the interview data also reveals that the concept of *rodnoj âzyk* is clearly perceived as different from the "first language", the actual language of the mother or one's most fluent language:

(4) RU-KRL-IIAG1F:

minun oma muamankieli on karjalan kieli, sendäh gu minä, perhes kasvoin karjalases perhes i ja lapsusajas olen kuullu karjalan kieldü omis buabas buabas da died'ois omis vahnembis.

'My mother tongue is Karelian because I grew up in a Karelian family, and since childhood I have heard Karelian language from my grandmother and grandfather, (and) my parents.'

This interviewee's parents did not speak very fluent Karelian:

(5) RU-KRL-IIAG1F:

muamo da tuatto sežo ollah karjalazet, ga hüö ei muga hüvin paistu karjalakse. minä kuulin enimööl'eh kieldü omas buabas da died'ois.

'My mother and father are Karelians and they did not speak well in Karelian. Mostly I heard the language from my grandparents.'

Many interviewees spoke about their ‘own language’ (*oma kieli*) being Russian versus their Karelian ‘mother tongue’ (*muamankieli*). The interviewees predominantly cited Karelian as their mother tongue, even those that began learning Karelian only at the university. The Karelian interviewer describes the difference between these:

(6) Interviewer (in RU-KRL-FGAG1):

kuulkua, a vot sanotah što on olemas muamankieli da libo on olemas oma kieli. ezimerkikse minul muamankieli on karjalan kieli, livvin kieli, a minun omat kielet ollah livvi, ven'a
 ‘Listen, you know it is said that there is a mother tongue and there is one’s own language; for example, my mother tongue is Karelian, Olonec Karelian, but my own languages are Olonec Karelian and Russian.’

As predicted, the Russian control group was mainly monolingual. Out of the total of 305 completed questionnaires, 293 control group respondents reported Russian as their mother tongue. Karelian was the native language of nine respondents (of these, five said it was their sole mother tongue). However, as will be seen in the following section *Self-reported language competence*, among the control group there were more with Karelian or Veps roots. Veps was mentioned twice, with one having Veps as his sole mother tongue. Having only Finnish as one’s mother tongue was claimed once, as was Belarusian, while having solely Ukrainian and Armenian was mentioned twice. Finally, one respondent named English as their second native language besides Russian.

4.3.1.2 Cross- and Intra-generational Language Use

Cross-generational transmission, or the passing of native language to the next generation inside the family, is usually seen as the most important factor for the survival of a minority language (Fishman 1991; UNESCO 2003). Disruptions in this transmission often lead to language shift. In the case of Olonec Karelian, the transmission of the native language to the next generation has been severely disrupted.

The vast majority of the Karelian respondents’ grandparents did speak or still speak Karelian to their grandchildren. Their parents used more Karelian with them in their childhood than at present. Today the share of parents using Karelian with their children is rapidly diminishing. In Q10 and Q11, the respondents were asked what language their grandparents use or used with them. The great majority of respondents reported that their grandparents used or still use Karelian with them. This applied to maternal grandparents (81.6%) as well as paternal grandparents (75.3%). The questionnaire data imply that Karelian is somewhat more commonly used by mothers with their children than by fathers. There were more respondents (56.9%) who recalled that their mother spoke Karelian to them than respondents (48.4%) who recalled that their father spoke Karelian to them. However, as one approaches the present day, the share of respondents using Karelian with their parents diminishes. This is especially true of fathers. Fewer than half of respondents (48.1%) reported that their mothers still use Karelian with them today, while only a bit more than a quarter of respondents (29.4%) reported that their fathers use it with them.

Less than 40% of the respondents' grandparents were reported to have used Russian with them. According to the respondents, only 35.5% of the maternal and 38.0% of the paternal grandparents spoke or still speak Russian to them. Furthermore, several of our interviewees learned Karelian from their grandparents:

(7) RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

perehes minä elin, küläs, buabo da died'oi keskenäh paistih karjalaks, sit minägi harjavuin pagizemah karjalakse, hos huö ühtel aigua minul lugettih kniigoi lapsien kniigoi ven'akse da opastettih kuda-midä pajoi da runoo ven'akse dai suomekse, no minä pien omannu muamankielennü omannu enzimäizennü kielennü karjalan kieldü

'In my family, in the village, grandparents spoke Karelian between themselves. I grew accustomed to speaking in Karelian. In addition, they read me children's books in Russian and taught me songs and poems in Russian and in Finnish. But I consider my mother tongue, my first language, the Karelian language.'

Russian is and was much more typically used with the parents. In Q15-Q18, the respondents were asked which language their mother and father use or have used when speaking to them. In the respondents' childhoods, the share of mothers and the share of fathers using Russian with the children were very even: 71.7% of respondents reported that their father spoke Russian and 71.5% that their mother spoke Russian to them. When comparing these percentages with the previous ones concerning the use of Karelian, it can be seen that even in the respondents' childhoods, their parents spoke more Russian than Karelian to them. However, as one approaches the present day, the share of parents speaking Russian to their children has still increased. This holds especially true of fathers. As many as 87.4% of respondents reported that their mothers currently speak Russian to them. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority of respondents (92.2%) replied that their fathers nowadays use Russian when speaking to them.

At present, the respondents most commonly use both Karelian and Russian with their mothers. Using both Karelian and Russian with fathers or grandparents is not as typical. Only approximately one fifth of the respondents said that they use or have used both Karelian and Russian with their grandparents: 20.9% with maternal grandparents and 18.6% with paternal grandparents. The use of both languages was most typical with mothers. According to the respondents, the share of mothers using both languages is presently even higher (36.6%) than during childhood (28.1%). In the respondents' childhoods, both Russian and Karelian were used by fathers, according to 20.1% of respondents. The share of fathers using both languages with the respondents has slightly increased to 21.6% at present.

(8) RU-KRL-IIAG4F:

muamo kudai minul oli ven'alaine -- häi oli opastunu karjalan kielen mindäh sendäh tuli umbiven'alaine karjalaizeh küläh i oli o- opastunu jo karjalaks pagizemah. sikse muamo pagizi jo minunkel karjalakse -- vahnembien veljilöinkel da sizarienkel häi pagizi ven'ua -- häi tuli silloi se ei malttanuh vie karjalakse

'My mother, who was Russian, had learnt the Karelian language. She came as a Russian to a Karelian village and had learnt the Karelian language; therefore, she spoke Karelian with me. With my older siblings she spoke Russian, as when she came she did not know Karelian yet.'

Very few parents of respondents presently use only Karelian. We can also calculate the share of parents using solely Karelian by subtracting the number of parents using more than one language from the total frequency of parents using Karelian. In the respondents' childhoods, a bit more than one fourth of the respondents' mothers (28.8%) and fathers (28.3%) have solely used Karelian with them. When the survey was conducted, only 11.5% of their mothers and 7.8% of their fathers solely used Karelian with them.

Some grandparents have used Finnish and other languages with the respondents. According to the data, some grandparents have used or still use Russian and Finnish or Karelian and Finnish with the respondents. Other languages than Karelian, Russian, or Finnish were used by 2.5% of the maternal grandparents and 1.8% of the paternal grandparents. These languages were Lithuanian, Belarusian, Polish, Ukrainian, Chuvash, and Veps. There were also two fathers who have been using three languages – Russian, Karelian, and Finnish – with the respondents, and a language “other than Karelian, Russian, or Finnish” was still used by one respondent's mother.

The respondents most typically speak Russian with their children, especially in the case of an only child. Approximately one quarter of the respondents said that they speak Karelian with their children. First, it must be noted that in the Karelian questionnaire the formulation of Q21 concerning language choice with children differed from questionnaires of many other investigated minority languages within ELDIA. The original question concerned the language used with dependent children, whereas in the Karelian questionnaire the question concerned the language used with children in general. Because the frequency in this case also includes the language used with grown-up descendants, the numbers do not reflect the present situation in families with small children and are probably too high.

Less than one third of the respondents (28.7%) reported using Karelian with their children. Slightly more respondents said that they speak Karelian to their younger children (29.7%) than their older children (24.3%) or a single child (22.9%). As few as 6.5% of the respondents said that they use only Karelian and no other languages.

(9) RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

toizekse voin sanoa karjalan kieli minul täs vot vuuvves on vägevembi, minä kois istun lapsenkel, sit minul mittumat paginat ollah lapsenkel da perehes sit hänenkel enimät aijan bärbätän karjalaks

'Secondly, I can say this year Karelian is the stronger language for me. I stay at home with my child and have conversations with her. With her I mostly speak Karelian.'

The overwhelming majority of the respondents use Russian with their children. The most typical language used when speaking with children was Russian. As many as 93.5% of the respondents replied that they use Russian with their children. It did not make any significant difference whether the children were older (87.2%) or younger (86.9%). However, if there was only one child in the family, the share of parents (98.6%) who said that they use Russian with the children was particularly high.

Speaking more than just one language was most typical in the case of an only child. There was a difference between older (14.3%) and younger (19.3%) children when parents reported speaking more than just one language. However, if there was only one child in the family, a greater number of parents (22.9%) chose to use more than just one language than if there were more children. The language besides Russian most typically tended to be Karelian, but there were also a few respondents who reported using Finnish (3.7%) or English (1.4%). Some of the respondents even said that they use three languages with their children: Karelian, Russian, and Finnish. One of the interviewees taught his younger children Karelian so that they will be able to speak it with him when he is old:

(10) RU-KRL-IIAG4M:

minä nuoremban lapsen opastin pagizemah karjalan kielel, mindäh sendäh iče vahnenen
 'I taught my younger child to speak in Karelian because I am getting old.'

In fact, the son even refused to speak Russian with the interviewee and he was obviously proud of this. Different language choices in families also have been made in the opposite direction, however. When an older sibling had difficulties at school because Karelian was the stronger language, the parents decided to speak Russian to the younger child:

(11) RU-KRL-FG -AG2AG3-09F:

minun vanhembat paistih keskenäh karjalakse a minun ker mällättih ven'ua, sildu gu ellendettih gu vahnin velli pahembi opastui školah, häi oli umbikarjalaine konzu lähti školah, häi oli ylen äijy vaigevustu oppijes, i hyö piätettih gu pidää minun ker paista ven'akse, sit opastus menöy kebjiembäh
 'My parents spoke Karelian with each other but with me they spoke Russian, because they understood that my eldest brother had difficulties at school. He was monolingual in Karelian when entering school; he had a lot of difficulties in studying. They thought they have to speak Russian with me in order for my studies to be easier.'

In light of all this information on cross-generational language use, it becomes clear that the share of parents using Karelian with the children is rapidly diminishing. According to respondents, the great majority of the maternal (81.6%) and the paternal (75.3%) grandparents do or did speak Karelian to their grandchildren, but the share of parents using Karelian is much lower. This is especially true of the present situation: only 48.1% of the respondents reported that their mothers use Karelian with them and as few as 29.4% reported that their fathers still use Karelian with them (see Figure 13 below).

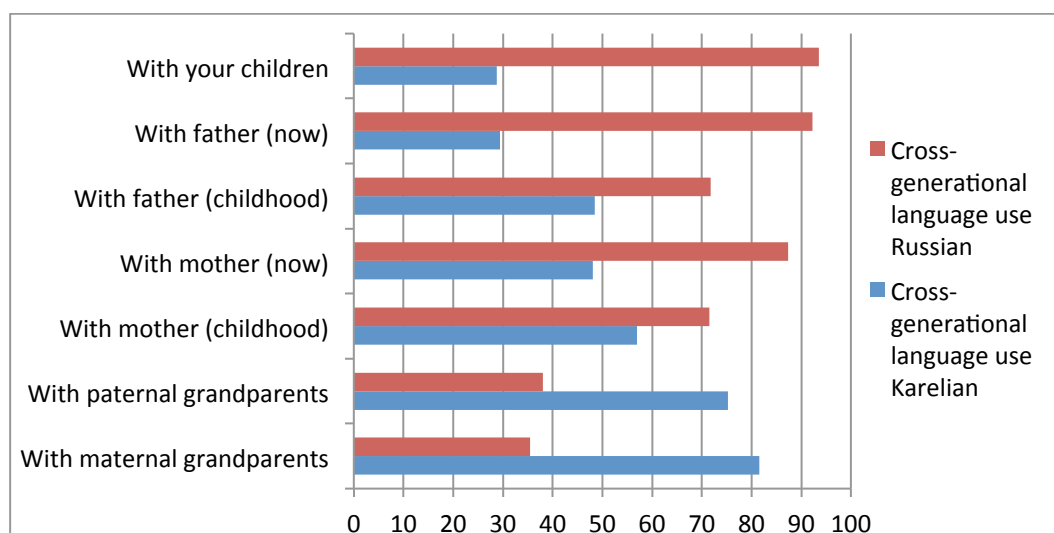


Figure 13: Cross-generational language use, %

As shown in Figure 14, the share of family members using Karelian (solely or in addition to Russian) rapidly diminishes in the youngest age groups.

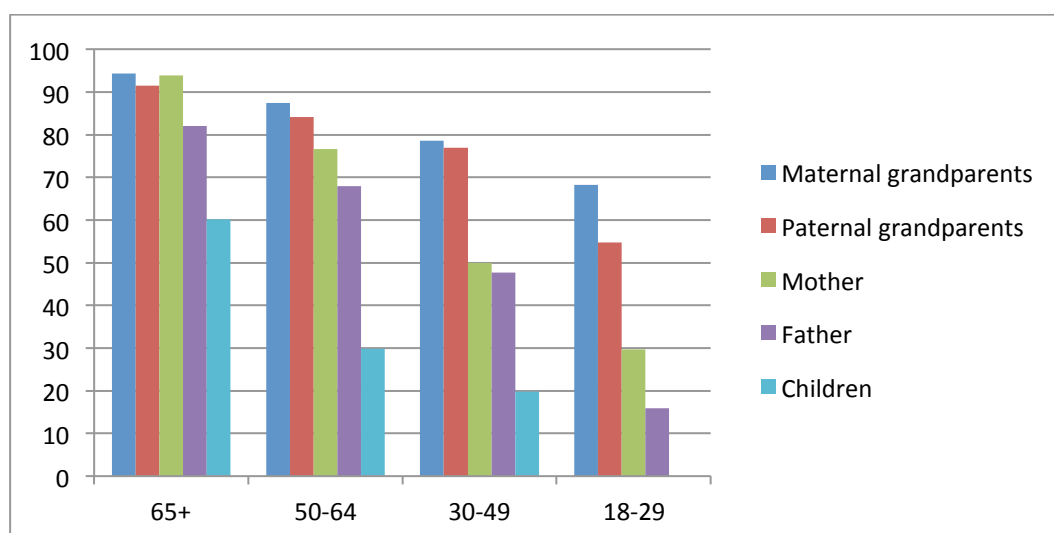


Figure 14: Cross-generational use of Karelian according to age of respondents

A similar trend is evident in almost all of our interviews. Karelian has been spoken by and with grandparents. The parents of the older interviewees have spoken Karelian. However, some have only used Karelian among themselves, and spoken Russian to their children. The younger the generation, the more common it is for Russian to be spoken to children. It seems that at present many try to use Karelian with their children, but despite a few exceptions, most typically the children are not able to answer back in Karelian.

(12) RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-05F:

pahakse mielekse en omale pojjal opastannuh karjalua, sit toiči häi minuu moittiu nygöi - - sanou no miksebo sinä et paissuh minunkel. nygöi ku mama lähti penziel kois istuu a häi ainos nygöi pagizou karjalakse ku tulemmo sinne kyläh, sit mama vai karjalua karjalua, häi ellendä ei midän, sit čakkuau minuu: miksebo miksebo minuu et opastannuh. a mama sanou što

nygöi pidäy alloittua davai vähäizel sanat panemmo piäh, sit erähät sanot mustau da ei pagize.

'Sadly I did not teach my son Karelian, and sometimes today he blames me for it. He says, why did you not speak with me? Now that my mother is retired and at home, she only speaks Karelian when we come to visit her. Mother only speaks Karelian and he does not understand anything and then he blames me: why did you not teach me? But mother says, now we must begin; let us put some words in his head. Then he knows some words, but does not speak.'

The parents of the respondents have equally spoken Karelian or Russian to each other. In Q14, the respondents were asked which language their parents spoke with each other. There was not much difference between the number of parents speaking Karelian (67.5%) or Russian (61.3%) to each other. More than a quarter of parents (27.4%) used both Karelian and Russian in their communication. Only a few (1.5%) also used Finnish.

The language most typically used with siblings is Russian. Q19 concerned the language or languages used with siblings. The vast majority of respondents (85.4%) replied that Russian is the language that they use with their siblings. Far fewer (44.8%) use Karelian with their siblings. Slightly less than one third of respondents (31.8%) replied that they use more than just one language with their siblings. For a few respondents, the second language used with siblings was Finnish (1.9%) or English (0.4%).

The language most typically used with spouses is Russian. Q20 concerned the language or languages spoken with spouses. The vast majority of respondents (88.4%) replied that they use Russian with their spouses. Slightly less than one third of respondents (29.8%) reported using Karelian with their spouses. The share of respondents using two or more languages with spouses was 22.3%. Most typically those languages were Russian and Karelian. Some of the respondents who use both languages said that they alternate between languages in different environments or situations. Furthermore, 5.1% of respondents answered that they use Finnish with their spouses, while 1.4% use English.

Cross-generationally, the number of couples using Karelian with each other has fallen by half, while the number using Russian has significantly increased. Comparing language use between the respondents' parents and the respondents with their own partners, it can be clearly seen that the share of couples using Karelian is diminishing and the share using Russian is rapidly increasing. When looking at these statistics cross-generationally, the share of couples using Russian with each other has increased from 61.3% to 88.4% and the share of couples using Karelian has dropped by half from 67.5% to 29.8%.

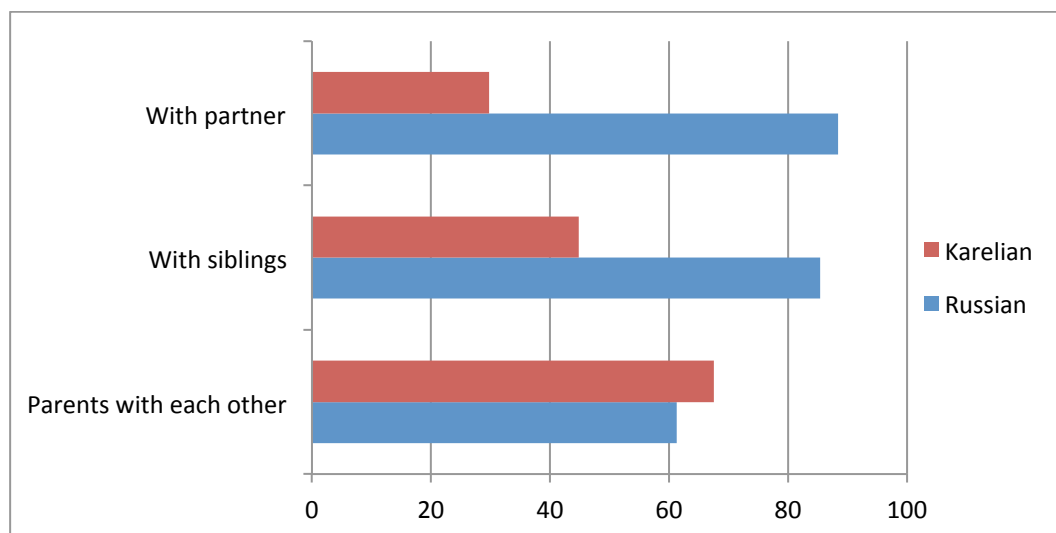


Figure 15: Intra-generational language use, %

Quite many control group respondents have used Karelian, Veps, or Finnish with their parents or grandparents. In Q10, the control group respondents were also asked whether they had used other languages than Russian with their grandparents or parents in their childhood. According to their answers, the control group was seen to actually consist of some minority respondents. Out of 302 respondents, as many as 31 respondents answered that they had used Karelian with their parents or grandparents, 21 had used Veps, and 14 had used Finnish. This means that at least 10.3% of the respondents in the control group had Karelian origins, while 6.9% had Veps and 4.6% had Finnish origins. Other languages cited by respondents in the control group were Ukrainian (5 respondents), Belarusian (7), Polish (2), Armenian (1), Azeri (1), Chuvash (1), Komi (1), Bulgarian (1), and English (1). In some families, there were two languages other than Russian: Karelian and Finnish (3 respondents), Veps and Belarusian, Ukrainian and Polish, and Chuvash and Komi. In one family, three languages other than Russian were used: Veps, Karelian, and Finnish.

A vast majority of the respondents in the control group use Russian with their spouses, but there were also a few couples using other languages, such as Karelian and Veps. The control group respondents were also asked (in Q11) about the language or languages used with their spouses. A great majority of them (175 respondents, 94.1%) replied that the language was Russian, while 5.9% reported using some other language with their spouses: Karelian (4 respondents), Veps (2), Azeri (1), Armenian (2), Ukrainian (1), and English (1). One respondent reported using two languages with the spouse, Azeri and English.

4.3.1.3 Self-Reported Language Competence

In Q28A–Q31A, the respondents were asked to evaluate their competence in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing the Karelian language. **Due to the sampling method used, almost all minority respondents in our study have at least a passive knowledge of the Karelian language.** This deviates clearly from the implications of the overall Karelian

population in the latest population census: according to the census of 2010, roughly 42% of those who identified themselves as Karelians were able to speak Karelian at some level. In our data, nearly everyone understood Karelian at some level, but 13% of respondents did not speak it at all. Three out of four respondents were able to read Karelian – most said they could read well, according to their own estimations. However, over a third of the respondents were not able to write in Karelian at all. **The older the respondents, the more fluent they typically are in spoken Karelian. Literary skills, especially writing skills, are estimated to be weakest in adults aged 30-49.**

Almost two thirds of the respondents reported understanding Olonec Karelian fluently or well. Approximately one in five (20.9%) answered that they understand Olonec Karelian fairly and 13.0% poorly. Only 14 respondents (4.8%) answered that they do not understand it at all. Almost half of the respondents spoke Karelian fluently or well: a fifth of respondents (21.1%) reported speaking it fluently and more than a fourth (28.6%) said they could speak well. The share of those who reported Karelian as their first language (52.4%) is a little larger, but it is uncertain whether all the fluent speakers were those who reported Karelian as their first language. Approximately 16.7% reported speaking fairly and 20.4% poorly, while 39 persons (13.2%) reported that they could not speak Olonec Karelian at all.

The passive knowledge of Karelian is even more visible when focusing on literary language. Almost a half of the respondents read Olonec Karelian either fluently (22.6%) or well (24.3%). In comparison, a third of the respondents answered that they write Olonec Karelian either fluently (13.1%) or well (17.6%). Almost 40% of the respondents said that they could read Olonec Karelian fairly (20.9%) or only poorly (17.8%). A third answered that they write Karelian fairly (15.5%) or poorly (19.7%), while 42 respondents (14.4%) reported not being able to read Karelian at all and a little more than one third of the respondents (99 persons, or 34.1%) answered that they could not write it at all.

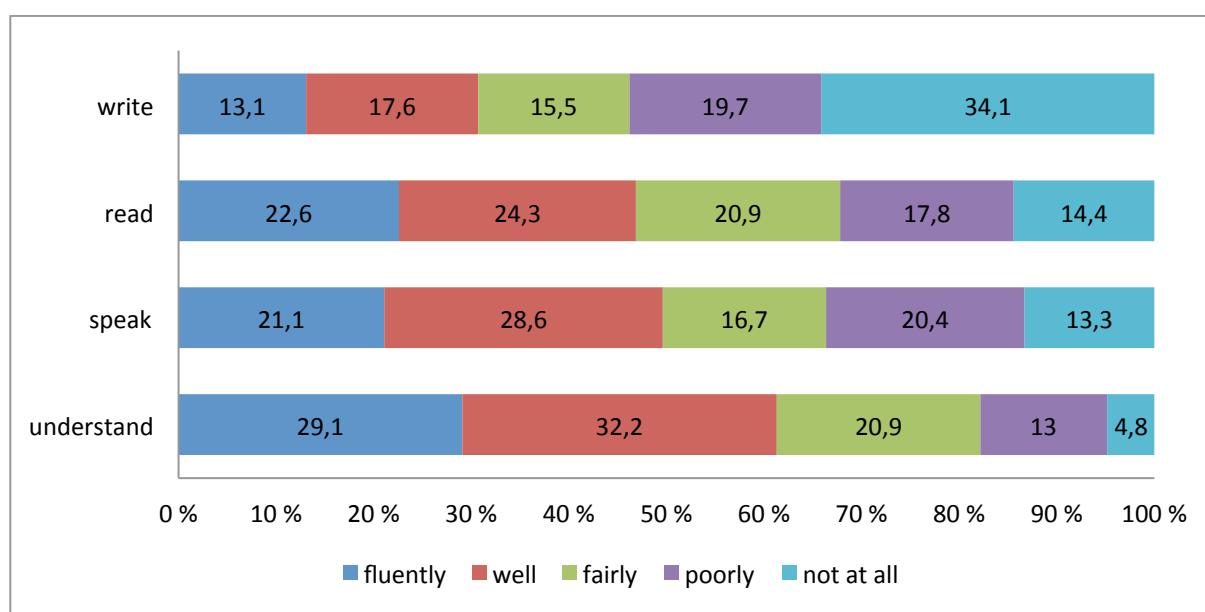


Figure 16: Levels of language skills in the Karelian language, %

In the evaluation of language skills in Karelian, the age of the respondents plays a significant role; this fully corresponds with what has been noted above about the current state of the Karelian language (cf. Section 2.3.2). **The older the respondents, the more fluent they estimate their spoken Karelian skills to be. Literary skills, especially writing skills, are estimated to be weakest in adults aged 30-49.** As seen in the following Figure 17, the respondents belonging to the oldest age group most typically estimate their understanding and speaking of Karelian as fluent; they are followed by the second oldest group.

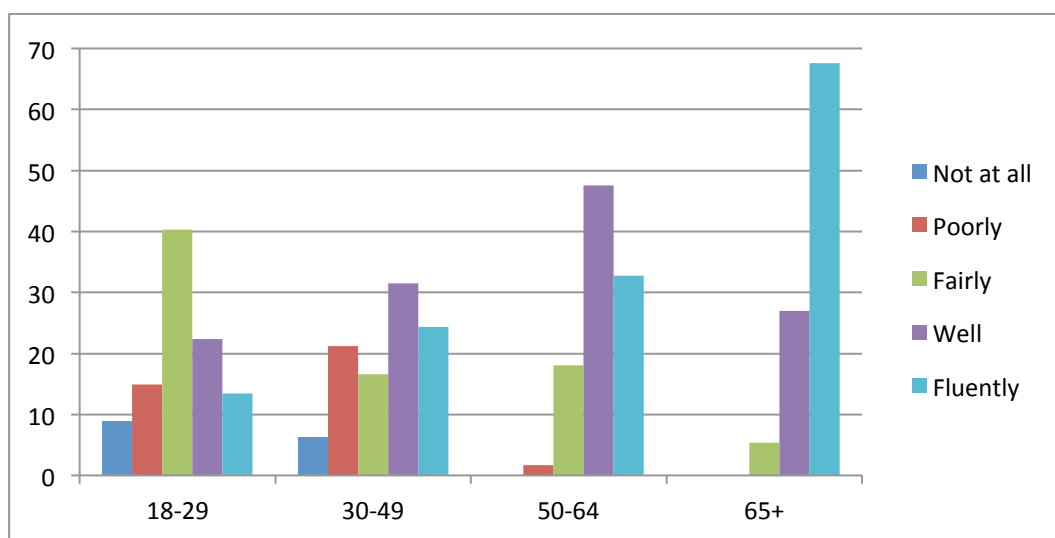


Figure 17: Reported level of understanding Karelian according to age, %

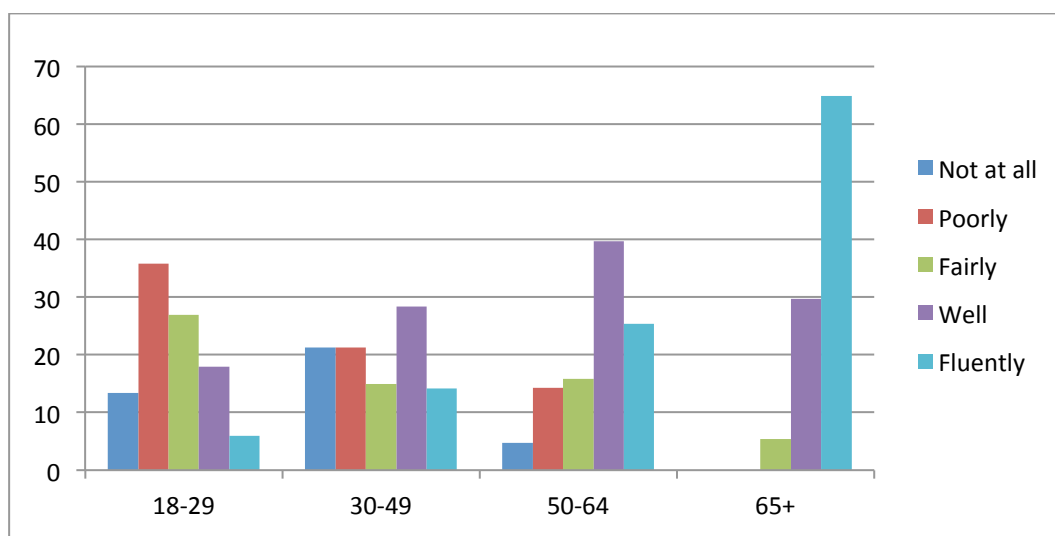


Figure 18: Reported level of speaking Karelian according to age, %

As the figures above show, there is a notable difference between the two eldest age groups in their self-estimated fluency of oral Karelian. This great of a difference in self-reported fluency reflects the dramatic decline in the cross-generational transmission of the Karelian language in the 1960s, which began already in the 1950s during the Soviet oppression of the minority peoples (see Sarhimaa 1999:49). Forced collectivisation (e.g. emergence of state farms, *sovhozy*, and large logging villages) drove many Karelians to move from their (Karelian) villages to multi-ethnic central villages. At the same time, the influx of a Russian

and Belarusian migrant labour force changed the linguistic landscape of the surrounding areas and significantly increased the use of Russian in the 1950s and 1960s (see Laine 2001: 58-59). The oldest respondents were born at least by 1946 and, accordingly, they represent the last people who grew up in predominantly monolingual Karelian speech communities.

The two youngest age groups in our data do not fall nicely into the expected diminishing fluency of Karelian, despite the general knowledge (see Section 2.3) and the attitudes attested in the latter chapters (see 4.3.1.8 *Language attitudes*):

(13) RU-KRL-IIAG4M:

harvah vähän löüdүү semmostu nuortu ristikanzuokudai vois paista karjalan kielel eri azijolois

‘Rarely one can find a young person who is able to speak about different things in Karelian.’

This may be due to several reasons. Firstly, our sample is biased: the youngest age group consists of 63 respondents that were probably more carefully selected (because of the rarity of Karelian language skills among the young). There are also almost twice as many respondents in the second youngest group (119 respondents), which did not end up consisting of such outstanding Karelian speakers. Secondly, the self-estimation of fluency in Karelian probably depends on the people with whom the respondents compared themselves. These youngsters were able to speak and understand Karelian better than the vast majority of those their age, and there may not even be any fully competent native speakers of Karelian among their acquaintances. The following extract between a Karelian language student, her teacher, and the interviewer shows the incompetent language skills of the young student, who considered Karelian to be her mother tongue but had only a few acquaintances to speak Karelian with.

(14) RU-KRL-FGAG 1-08F:

minun oma kieli da muamankieli on karjalan kieli

‘My own language and mother tongue is the Karelian language.’

Interviewer:

a mibo sit sinul on ven'an kieli, mibo se on sinun elaijas?

‘But what is the Russian language for you, what role does it play in your life?’

RU-KRL-FGAG 1-08F:

nu tiettäväine minä enembi paistan – ven'aks pagizen

‘Well of course I fry [*paistan*] – speak [self-correction: *pagizen*] more in Russian.’

Karelian language teacher:

pagizen tijät kui sanoa oigei

‘I speak, you know how to say it right!’

RU-KRL-FGAG 1-08F:

minä pagizen enembi ven'akse kui karjalakse, muga sendäh gu ülen vähän rahvastu on kuduat ellendetäh karjalan kieldü da maltetah da nu se on

‘I speak more in Russian than in Karelian, because there are very few people who understand or master the Karelian language.’

Interviewer:

no üksikai sinun muamankieli oma kieli on karjalan kieli

‘But anyway your mother tongue, your own language, is Karelian.’

RU-KRL-FGAG 1-08F:

muga, vaigu maamankieli tiettäväine minä pais- pagizen karjalaloi ven'a
 'Yes, only mother tongue of course I fr- speak Karelian Russian.'

As the following figures show, literary skills were reported more heterogeneously among the different age groups. There are a few notable issues. The age group of 30-49 stands out with the largest number of those who were illiterate in Karelian: almost half were not able to write in Karelian at all. Interestingly, the youngest age group reported themselves as being a lot more fluent in written Karelian than in the spoken language. Note that, on average, the youngest respondents claimed that they could read better than they could understand and write better than they could speak. This makes one wonder how the ability to read or write fluently or well is interpreted, and it suggests different interpretations. It is even possible that the younger generation considered themselves to be fully literate, able to read and write Karelian fluently when they know the Latin alphabet, and are thus able to produce (reminiscent) and read simple or familiar texts in Karelian. This may partly be due to the sample bias mentioned above, but it may also reflect the effects of Karelian language revitalisation, the positive publicity it has gained recently, language teaching, and the publishing of literary materials over the last three decades.

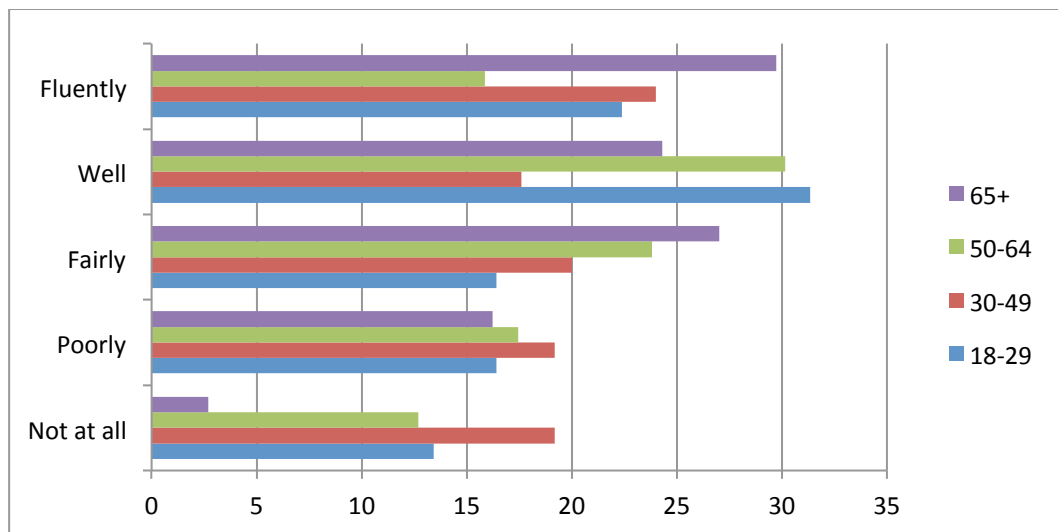


Figure 19: Reported level of reading Karelian according to age, %

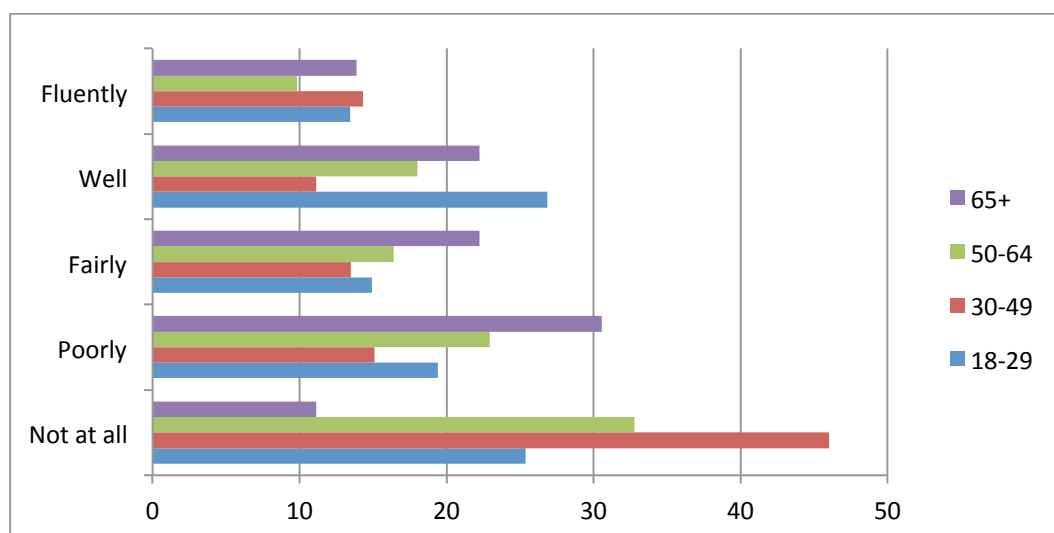


Figure 20: Reported level of writing Karelian according to age, %

As the following citation highlights, these kind of fluency differences in Karelian and Veps by age were also taken for granted among the control group interviewees:

(15) RU-RU-FG-CG-P:

Старшее поколение да конечно же двуязычно, молодые люди конечно же язык плохо знают. И в свою время вот когда я училась, то есть когда учились мои дети не преподавался ни финский ни карельский ни вепсский языки в школах да, то есть вот поэтому к сожалению выбора не было и говорили только на одном русском языке да, ну и иностранном языке, который, был в программе.

‘The older generation naturally is bilingual. Younger people of course know the language badly. When I learned – or actually when my children studied [at school] – Finnish, Karelian, and Veps were not taught at schools. That is why unfortunately there was no choice and people spoke only Russian well, and a foreign language that was in the programme.’

When comparing the self-reported Karelian language skills of our minority respondents to the general perception (cf. Section 2.3.1) of the language skills of all Karelians, it seems evident that not only the interviewees but also the questionnaire respondents represent a select and more fluent group of Karelians. This is due to the sampling method (see Section 3.2). One of the major differences between the official censuses and the sample survey of ELDIA is that the official census of Russia takes into account the whole country (both urban and rural populations), whereas in ELDIA the sample was exclusively drawn from villages located in the traditional core area of the Karelian speech community. Although there are no exact numbers of Karelian language competence among those identifying themselves as Karelians, population census data from 2010 suggests that 42% (at the highest) had some kind of knowledge of the Karelian language. In our data, only 13.2% reported not speaking Karelian at all.

Considering the other language skills of our Karelian minority respondents, Russian is clearly the strongest language, not Karelian. Almost all the respondents knew the Russian language at least well. The vast majority said that they understand and speak, read, and write Russian at least well, according to their own estimations. In Q28B–Q31B, the Karelian

minority respondents were asked to evaluate their competence in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing the Russian language. The great majority answered that they understand Russian fluently (73.2%) or well (24.7%). There were only five respondents who said that they had but a fair understanding of Russian and one respondent with a poor understanding.

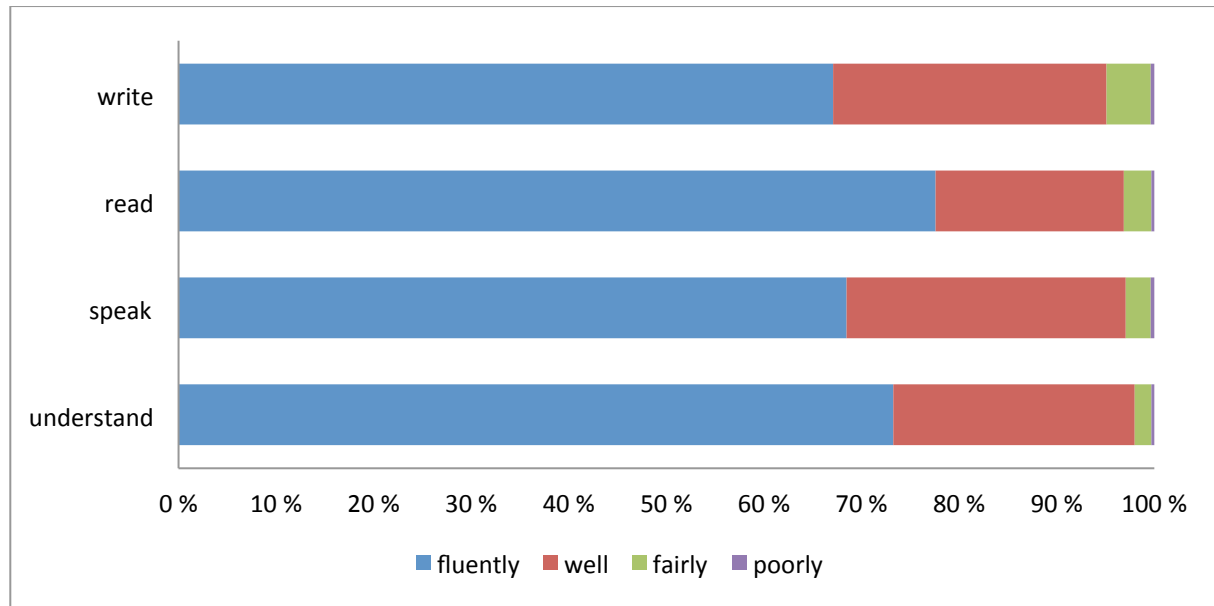


Figure 21: Reported level of language skills in Russian, %

When contrasting the age of the respondents, one might suppose that the younger the respondents, the more fluent they were in Russian. **As predicted, the eldest age group reported having the weakest skills in Russian.** All other age groups generally reported their oral Russian skills as fluent, including those over 65 years of age. Written skills in Russian were also estimated as “good” by the largest share of respondents, but almost 30% estimated their writing skills to be only fair. The 30-49 age group estimated their Russian skills to be the most fluent.

Finnish is the most mastered foreign language among the minority respondents. In Q28C-G to Q31C-G, the Karelian respondents were asked whether they had skills in English, Finnish, German, French, or some other language. One out of four respondents said that they understand and speak Finnish at least well. However, nearly an equal amount of four confessed that they do not know Finnish at any level. The literary skills in Finnish seem quite fluent when contrasted against literacy in Karelian. Whether those individuals who master written Finnish also have good written skills in Karelian begs further investigation.

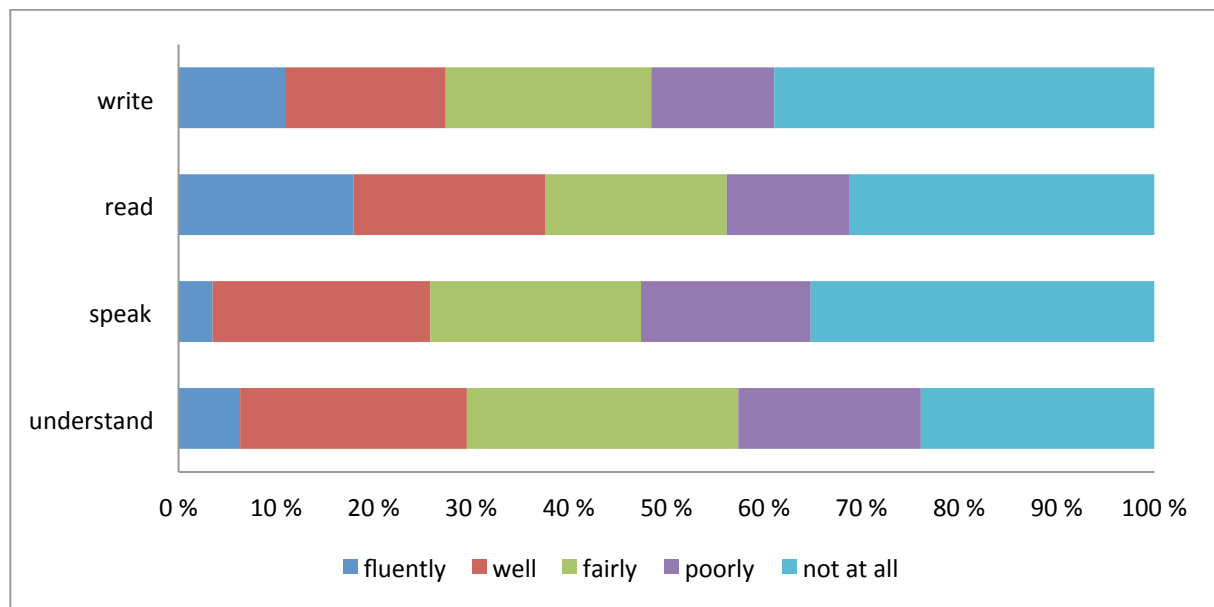


Figure 22: Reported level of language skills in the Finnish language, %

The level of knowledge of Finnish shown here can be explained by the education policies of Russian Karelia during the early Soviet decades (cf. Section 2.2.2) and the relatedness of Karelian and Finnish (cf. Section 2.4.1). Finnish was used as the language of instruction in Karelian schools until 1954 (also during WWII in the schools maintained by the Finnish occupation forces) and as a compulsory subject for Karelian and Finnish children for two more years until 1956. All schools turned to Russian as the medium of instruction in 1958 (see Sarhimaa 1999: 40-41; Laine 2001). Accordingly, the two eldest age groups probably include many of those who studied in Finnish then. In addition, the proximity of the Finnish border and the work opportunities there today maintain interest in Finnish studies. The following interviewee has had part of his education in Finnish:

(16) RU_KRL_II_MinLg_AG5M:

sit oli moine aigu, müö opastimmo suomen kielel kai zavodiimmo, da
 'Then there was such a time we studied in Finnish, we all began.'

RU_KRL_II_MinLg_AG5F:

ka hyvä oli se aigu, no vähä minä

'Yes, it was a good time, but I [studied] just a little.'

RU_KRL_II_MinLg_AG5M:

sete sanottih što se on paha, pidäü yhtel kielelä opastuo, siis opastuimmo

'Then it was said to be bad. One must learn in one language, so we studied.'

Interviewer:

ken sanoi ken nenga sanoi?

'Who told you so?'

RU_KRL_II_MinLg_AG5M:

nu ken, sanottih viijenkümnenen -- kuvven vuuvven aigua -- meijän suomi heitettih, jäi vai karjala

'Well who, around '56 it was said. Our Finnish was cast out, and only Karelian remained.'

Some of the interviewees were asked whether their command of Finnish helps them to maintain the Karelian language. Many were of the opinion that Finnish might pose a threat

to learning Karelian, as it may replace the Karelian language (see also Kunnas & Arola 2010: 128 on the attitudes of Viena Karelians towards Finnish). The following narrative is an example of this theme:

(17) RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

Pientü bunukkua ruvettih puijoittamah päivükodih. - - Häi rubieu opastumah suomen kieldü. Mie sanoin: mittumuo suomen kieldü, oletgo sie talkus vie. Sinä karjalainehäi olet, karjalaine, minä sanoin, opastakkaa karjalan kieldü lapsele älgää tūö nečidä. Gu suomen kielen häi oppii jällespäi sinähäi hänenkel pagizet kenbo rubieu suomeks pagizemah.

‘A small grandchild was about to enter day care. She will start studying Finnish. I said, what Finnish language? Are you sane still? You are Karelian, Karelian! I said, teach Karelian to the child, not that [Finnish]. Because she will learn Finnish afterwards. It is you that speaks with her, but who would speak Finnish with her?’

As seen in this last fragment, the interviewee felt that learning Finnish would not necessarily help in the maintenance of Karelian, as is sometimes claimed:

(18) RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

Gu müö tahtonemmo säilüä Karjalan tazavallaks, tahtonemmo säilüttiä karjalaizii, i se on meijän vastus. Minä sanon gu sidä pidäü ga käüttiä kui sanotah suomen kieldü sidä meile pidäü opastua kelle se on muamankieli.

‘If we wish to remain as the Karelian Republic, we ought to preserve the Karelians and that is our responsibility. I say that it must also be used, how do you put it, Finnish language. We must learn the language that is our mother tongue.’

Among the minority respondents, fair comprehension of English was most typical. A third of the minority respondents did not know English at any level. A good understanding of English was not very common among the respondents, as only 13.2% answered (in Q28C-Q31C) that they understood English well and only 8 persons (2.9%) that they understood English fluently. Most respondents answered that they understood English fairly (31.0%) or poorly (22.8%), while 30.3% of respondents did not understand English at all.

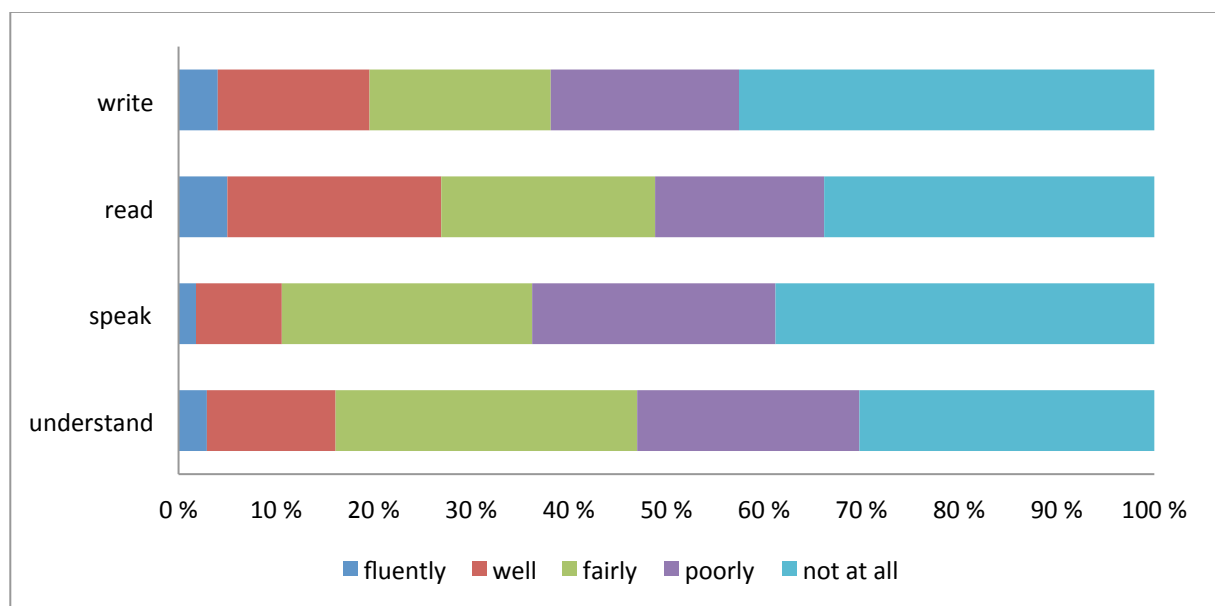


Figure 23: Reported level of language skills in the English language, %

Approximately 90% of the minority respondents reported having no skills in German, French, or any other language. Only 28 respondents reported (in Q28E-G to Q31E-G) that they knew some German, while 22 knew some French. In terms of other languages, Veps was mentioned most often. A few respondents also mentioned North Karelian as a separate language, and one respondent mentioned speaking fluent Lude. Other languages cited were Estonian, Italian, Latvian, Japanese, and Latin. Three respondents answered that they understood Swedish poorly.

Among the control group, naturally there is fluency in the Russian language. Q14–Q17 concerned the self-reported language competence of respondents in the control group in relation to Russian, English, Karelian, Veps, Finnish, German, and other languages. As noted above, 293 respondents out of the total of 305 in the control group reported Russian as their mother tongue. Correspondingly, there were less than ten respondents who reported understanding, speaking, and reading Russian only well (instead of fluently). In addition, there were two respondents who estimated their writing skills to be just fair.

Because of problems with the translation of the questionnaire for the Russian control group, we lack information about their English skills (except for the respondents' level of understanding). The existing data suggest, however, that the respondents in the control group are a bit more fluent in English; this is probably only due to the age difference between the groups.

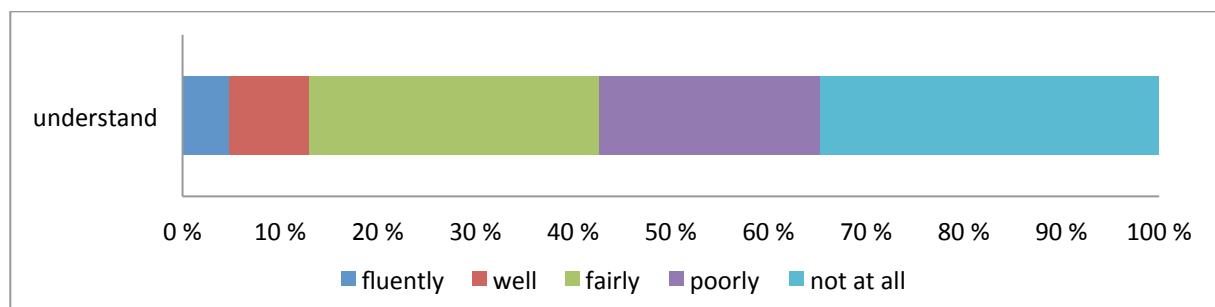


Figure 24: Reported level of understanding in the English language, CG, %

In addition, problems with the technical processing of the control group data has led to uncertainty about whether or not the numbers presented below concern the right languages. However, the received information about language skills reflects a clear correlation with the respective skills of the Karelian speakers presented in the tables above, and thus seem quite reliable.

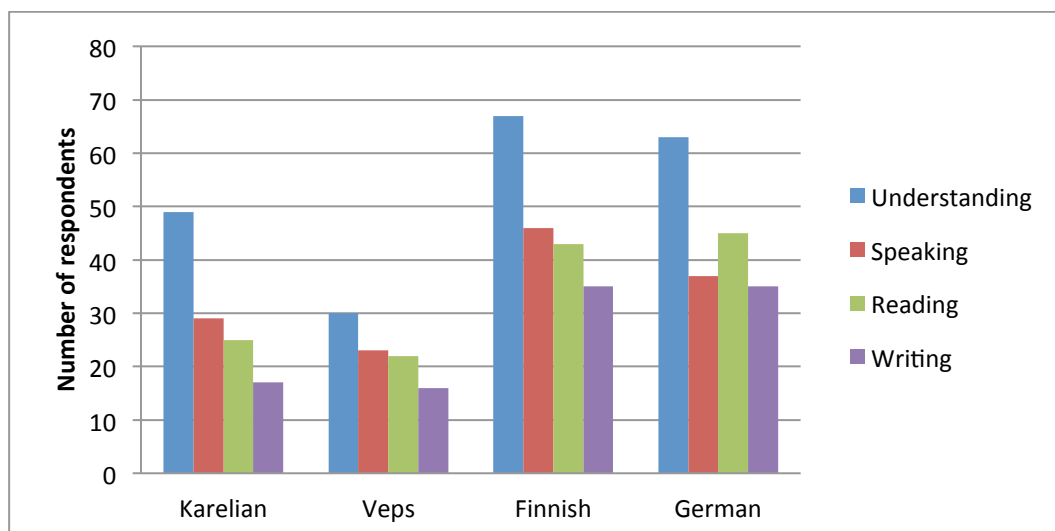


Figure 25: Knowledge of foreign languages, CG, total number of respondents

The control group data shows that the Karelian language is also present in the lives of some of the Russian-speaking majority in the Karelian Republic. One out of six respondents reported some level of understanding of Karelian. As noted earlier, nine control group respondents reported Karelian as their mother tongue. Veps was also understood by one out of ten control group respondents (30 persons), and it was reported as the mother tongue of two of the control group respondents. As the most well-known of the three Finnic languages used in the Republic, Finnish is in second place after English in terms foreign language skills.

There were also people with Karelian roots among the control group interviewees:

(19) RU-RU-FG-CG-P:

Я с раннего детства узнал, у меня мать карелка и я все детство слышал карельскую речь, потому что она общалась на карельском языке со своими сестрами братьями.
 'I learned in my early childhood that my mother is a Karelian and through my childhood I heard the Karelian language, because she talked the Karelian language with her sisters and brothers.'

(20) RU-RU-FG-CG-P:

Ну я тоже, вот получается третий человек у нас здесь присутствует, я калининская карелька вот из мои родители были с лихославского района вот такая деревня Станки, то есть вот...
 'So it turns out that I'm the third person of us; I'm a Karelian from Tver oblast and my parents were from the rayon of Lihoslavl...'

The biggest difference in language skills between the Karelians and the control group respondents is their skill in Finnish. While over 75% of the Karelian respondents reported skills in Finnish, only a little more than 20% of the control group could report the same. However, the proximity of the Finnish border and the importance of Finnish are reflected among the control group respondents: after English, Finnish is in second place as the most mastered foreign language (see also Section 2.5).

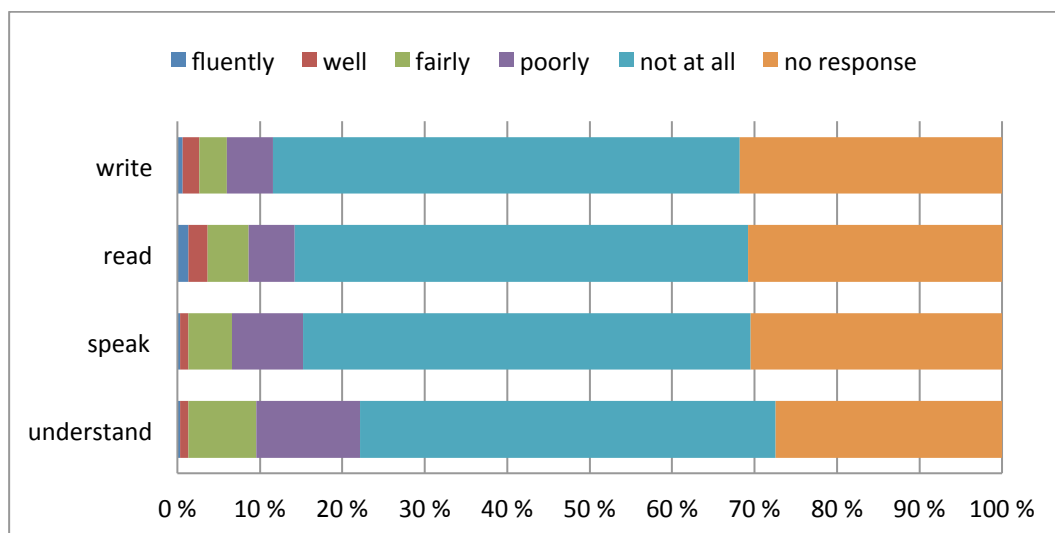


Figure 26: Reported level of language skills in the Finnish language, CG, %

As shown in the figure above, almost every third respondent in the control group did not indicate any competence in Finnish. The importance of different foreign languages was rated by one of the control group interviewees as follows:

(21) RU-RU-FG-CG-P:

Я просто показал насколько какие языки распространены у нас на территории Республики Карелия. Вот на втором месте идет английский язык.

'I simply showed which languages have spread in our territory. In the Republic of Karelia, English is in second place.'

S1:

Английский да и по анкетам это видно

'English, the questionnaires show it as well.'

S2:

Так ведь.

'So it is.'

S1:

Вот финский тоже у нас популярен. Но при этом финны из всех знающих финский язык финны...

'Finnish is also popular here. Moreover, those who know Finnish language are Finns.'

S2:

...сами финны. Среди карелов, особенно северных, финский язык он тоже так сказать не то, чтобы второй родной почти. Так вот да для северных карелов, поэтому вот видите. А дальше кто какой язык изучает, кому какой нужно вот те же белорусы, украинцы изучают финский язык за милую душу.

'Finns themselves. Among Karelians, especially in the North, Finnish is, so to say, almost a second native tongue for Northern Karelians. That is, you see, for Northern Karelians, for that reason, you see... furthermore who learns which language, who needs what; there are Belarusians and Ukrainians who learn Finnish with pleasure.'

4.3.1.4 Domain Specific Language Use

Self-reported language use.

Olonec Karelian is mainly used in the private sphere: with relatives, at home, with friends, and with neighbours. In Q32A, the Karelian respondents were asked to report their Karelian language use in different spheres of life. As is already known, the Karelian language is mostly used in informal spheres of life. As Figure 27 below shows, the most common places where Karelian is used are: at home (32.1% often or always), with relatives (32.0% often or always), with friends (18.7% often or always), and with neighbours (14.1% often or always). Karelian is also used at least seldom by approximately half of the respondents in their work environment, on the street, and at community events. These are places where it is easy to meet fellow Karelians, of course. The official spheres of life do not encourage the use of Karelian. The vast majority (roughly 80%) of the respondents never use Karelian at church, at the library, or with public authorities. It is hard to tell how the respondents interpreted the use of Karelian at school, because obviously many of them do not have anything to do with school in their everyday life. Perhaps it should be noted instead that as many as 24.8% of the respondents reported seldom using Karelian at school.

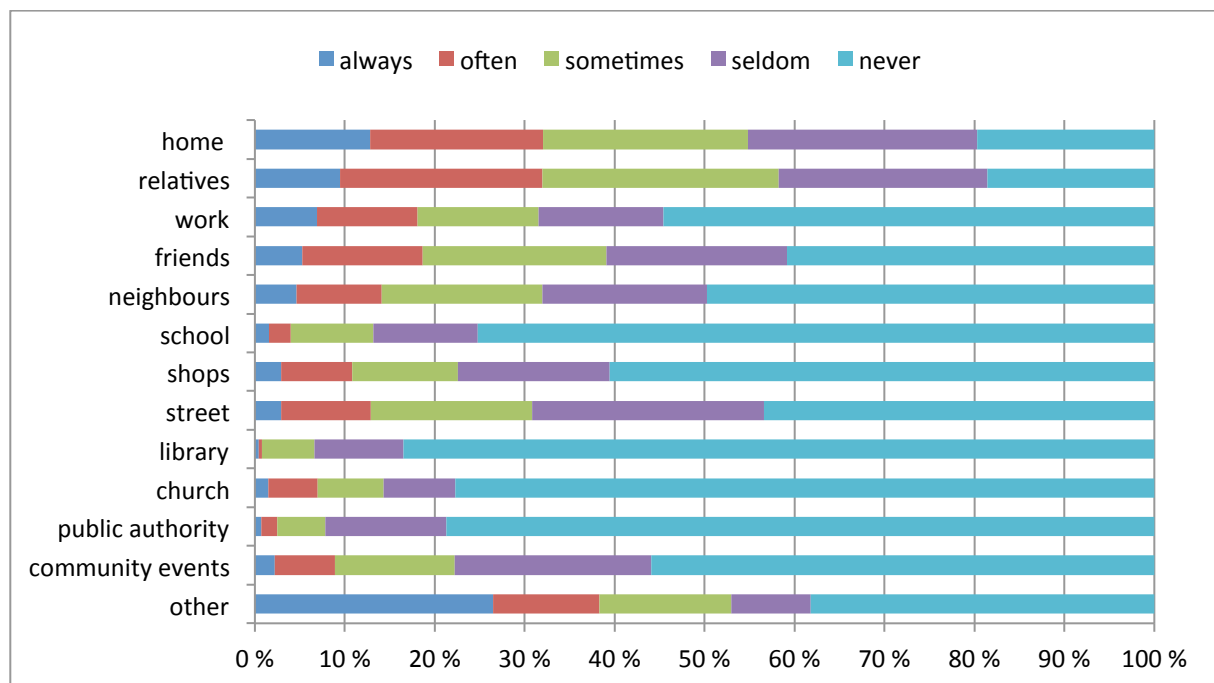


Figure 27: Domain-specific use of Karelian, %

According to general perceptions, the Karelian language has suffered because it first became just the language used at home, and then when speakers left their homes in Karelian villages, the language community was lost and the language shifted:

(22) RU-KRL-IIAG4M:

kuitah se kieli jäi ükskai perhes kodikielennü - - no konzu perhespäi muutti täh suurembih kohtih elää sie libo opastumah kunne lähtettih - - tiettäväine linnah tulduu pakko oli paista ven'an kielel

'The language remained as a home language. But when you moved away from home to bigger places or to study, of course you had to speak Russian when coming into town.'

Interviewer:

a ongo Petroskois kebjei vai vaigei püzüö karjalazennu, ongo küläs kebiembi ?

'But is it easy or hard to remain Karelian in Petrozavodsk? Is it easier in the village?'

RU-KRL-IIAG4M:

küläs on äjjän kebiembi. täs on vaigiembi olla, sidä ümbäristöö kieliümbäristöö, niilöi ristikanzoi kuduat on kazvettu sit kieles

'It is a lot easier [in the village]. Here [in Petrozavodsk] it is harder. The surroundings, the linguistic environment of those people who have grown up in that language [are in the village].'

The Russian language dominates every sphere of life of the minority group respondents.

Q32B concerned the use of the Russian language in different spheres of life. As seen in Figure 28 below, an overwhelming majority of the respondents always use Russian in the different domains listed. Corresponding to the use of Karelian, the Russian language is used least with relatives. However, every respondent obviously has Russian-speaking relatives, as there were no respondents who never spoke Russian with their relatives. There is a slight mismatch between those respondents who reported always using Karelian at home (12.8%) and the fact that no respondents reported that they never speak Russian at home. The respondents might have meant that they always use Karelian as well as Russian at home; in other words, their homes are multilingual. Probably this shows the tendency to overestimate the use of Karelian in spheres where mostly Russian is used (see Sarhimaa 1999; Pasanen 2006, 2010).

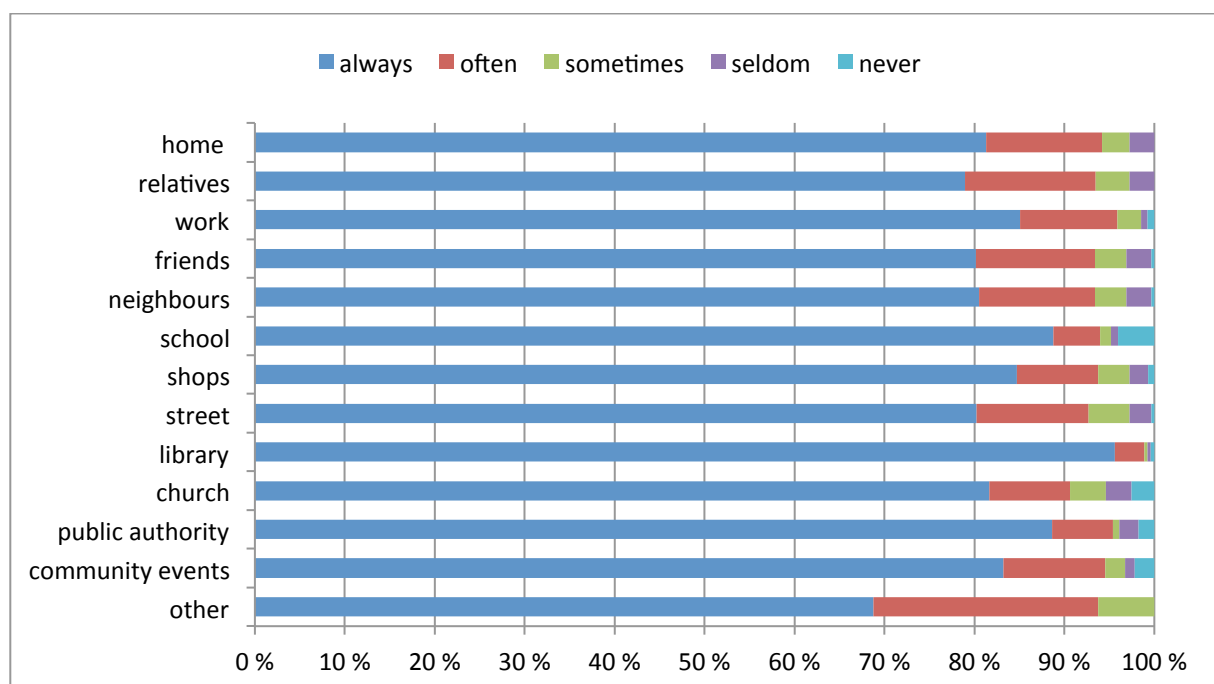


Figure 28: Domain-specific use of Russian, %

English does not play an important role in the life of the minority group respondents.

Furthermore, the minority group respondents were asked in Q32C about their use of the English language in different spheres of life. As Figure 29 below shows, more than four out of

five respondents never use English in any spheres of life. The opportunities for using English in villages, towns, or even in the city of Petrozavodsk are supposedly very few, unless one studies or has an international post at work. In contrast to many European countries where English is the lingua franca, Russian serves as the lingua franca between different ethnic groups throughout Russia. In addition, it must be noted that the response rate was very low: more than 40% of the respondents did not answer the questions concerning English skills at all.

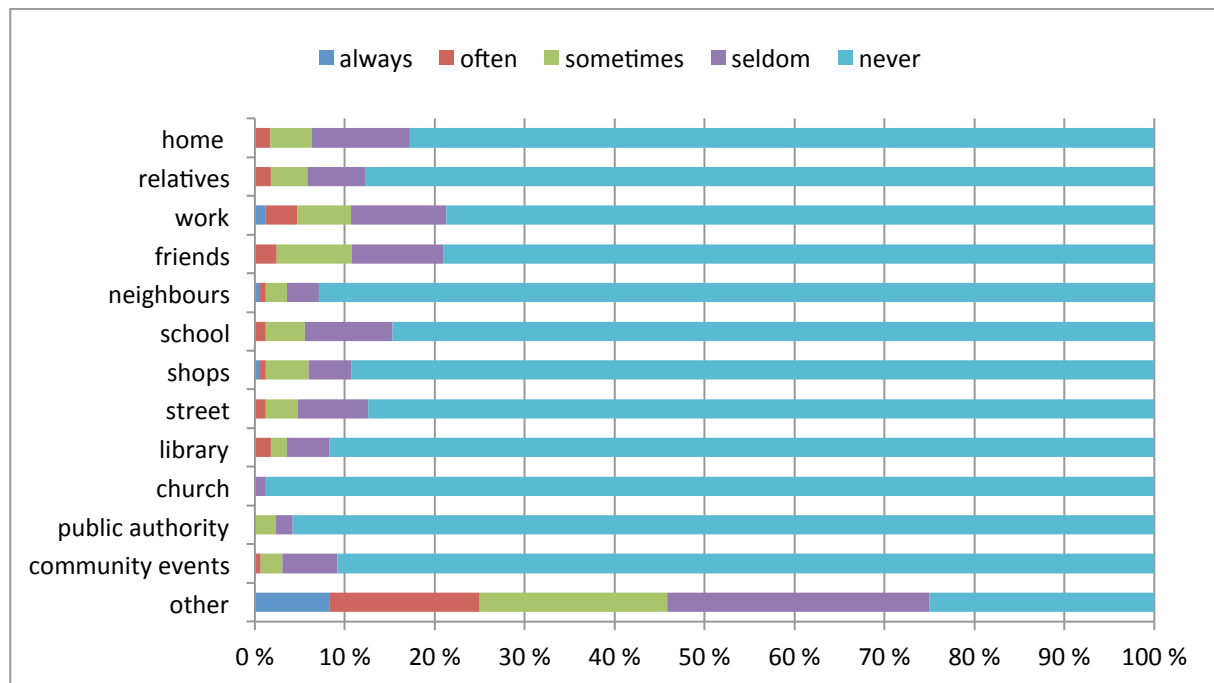


Figure 29: Domain-specific use of English, %

The Russian language dominates in every sphere of life of the control group respondents. The same questions about the language use of Russian and English in different spheres of life were also presented to the control group respondents (Q18A-B). The differences between the replies of the two groups, the minority and control group respondents, were not significant. The great majority of both groups reported always using Russian in different domains. The share of minority group respondents always using Russian in the domains varied from 79.0% (with relatives) to 92.7% (at the library), while the share of control group respondents varied from 93.4% (at church) to 99.0% (on the street). (We do not have data about the religious practices of our respondents, but we can assume that the relatively large number of control group respondents who reported not always using Russian in church probably consisted of people who do not go to church.)

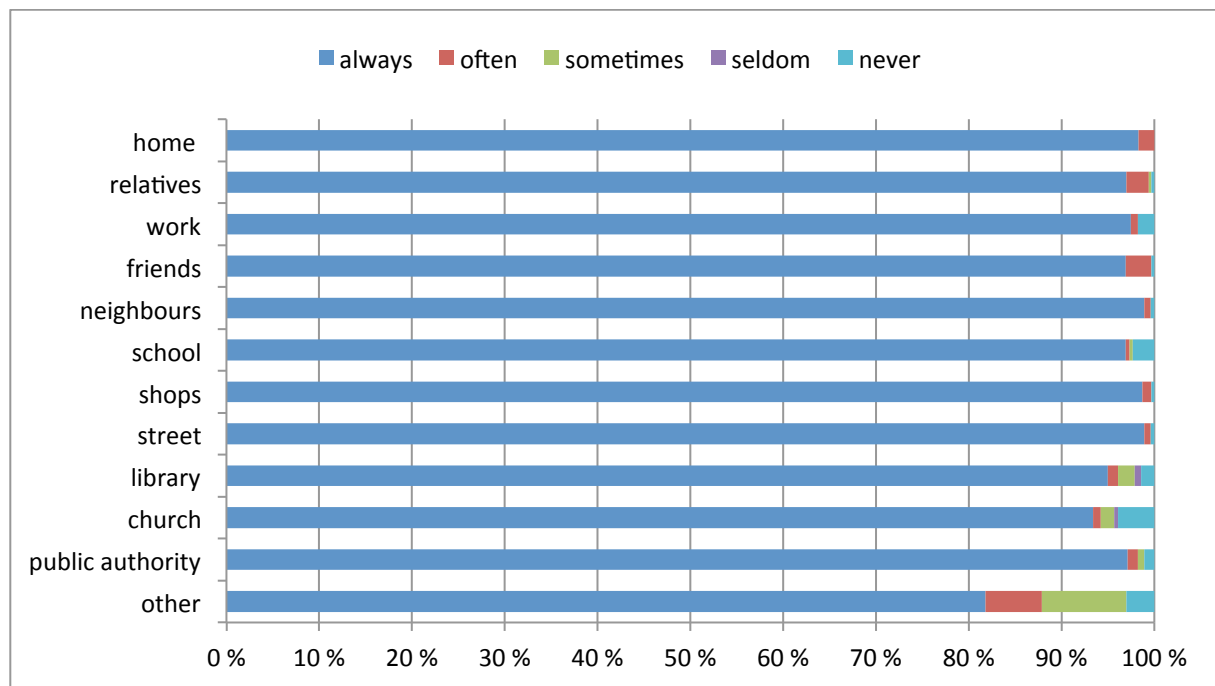


Figure 30: Domain-specific use of Russian, CG, %

English does not play an important role in the life of the control group respondents either. Similar to the minority group respondents, the majority of the control group respondents said that they never use English in any of their spheres of life, though it appears that the share of control group respondents using English is slightly greater. The response rate to this particular question was again very low: more than 60% of the control group respondents did not answer the questions concerning English skills at all.

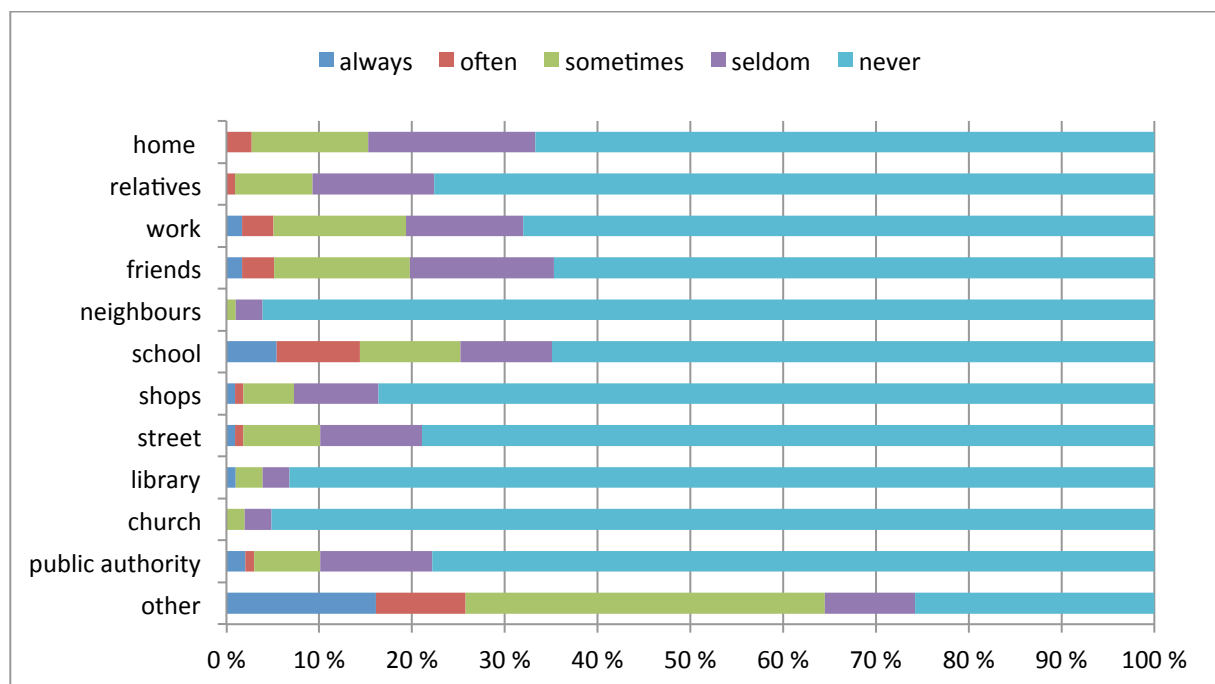


Figure 31: Domain-specific use of English, CG, %

Opinions and knowledge about language use across domains

Our minority group respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed with statements concerning the use of Karelian in the public sphere in Russia. Firstly, it must be noted that the translation of Q39 in the Karelian questionnaire allows for two different interpretations: in the preamble it is asked whether the Karelian language *is used* in the following forums (*kui livvinkielydy käytetäh*), but the assertions are translated in relation to the original purpose of whether the Karelian language *should be used* in these areas (*livvinkieli on käytettävvy*).

According to our minority respondents, the Olonec Karelian language should be used on TV, on the Internet, in the education system, and in the hospital; they did not find it necessary to use the language in parliament, in court, or at the police station. The respondents were most unanimous about Karelian language being used on TV: 90.8% of respondents agreed or partly agreed with the statement. The education system (87.1%), the Internet (61.9%), and hospitals (56.8%) were also environments where a majority of respondents agreed or partly agreed about the importance of using the Karelian language. Use of Karelian in more formal and governmental institutions gave cause for hesitation: 41.5% of respondents could not answer whether Karelian ought to be used in the parliament, in court (39.7%), or at the police station (47.6%). Further, it is worth noting that the number of minority group respondents who disagreed or partly disagreed with the necessity of using Karelian in these more formal institutions was fairly high. As many as 29.9% of the minority group respondents were against the use of Karelian at the police station, 21.2% in court, 19.7% in parliament, 16.4% in hospitals, and 12.5% on the Internet. In particular, the police station was an environment where more respondents were against the use of Karelian (29.9%) than for it (22.5%).

One of the interviewees (AG4) pointed out that there is no use in developing Karelian to fit with different spheres, since those working in different public domains are anyways youngsters with no competence in Karelian.

(23) Interviewer:

a kuibo sinä ajattelet ongo karjalan kieleles sen verdua sanua gu paista ihan kaikki kaikis dielolois

‘What do you think, is there enough vocabulary in Karelian to speak about everything?’

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-08F:

ei ole, ei voi olla. a miksebo pidäy, kunnebo myö menemmö sen karjalan kielenker, laukkah, bol'niččah? nuoret ei paišta, a nygöi bol'ničois da školis da joga paikas on nuoret ruavos kolmekymmenviiživuodiaat. kusbo, kenenkerbo sit pagižemmo?

‘No, there is not. There cannot be. Why should there be? Where would we go with our Karelian language, to the shop or the hospital? The young do not speak Karelian and today in hospitals and at school there are young people working, 35-year-olds. Where and with whom should we speak?’

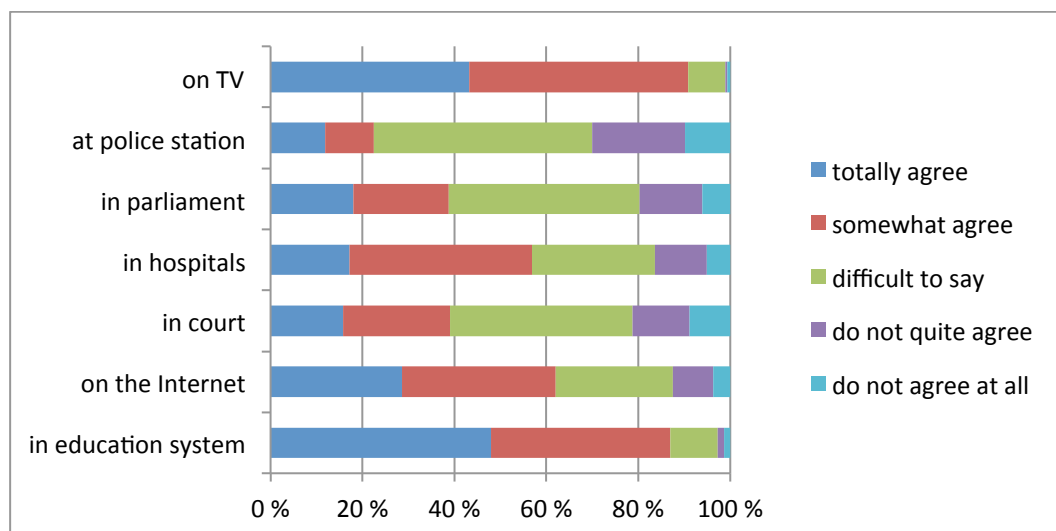


Figure 32: Domains where the Karelian language should be used

The control group respondents were similarly asked to indicate how much they agree with statements concerning the use of Karelian in the public sphere in Russia (Q23). The respondents did not find the use of Karelian necessary in most of the domains. Only television and the education system were seen important. The majority of the control group respondents agreed or partly agreed about only two of the domains: television (73.2% of respondents) and the education system (61.8%). The Internet was seen as an important domain by 32.7% of respondents. Use of Karelian in more formal and governmental institutions gave rise to hesitation or was seen as unnecessary. Most respondents were undecided on these questions. Furthermore, they tended to be more often against the use of Karelian in these domains than for it. For example, 37.1% of respondents disagreed or partly disagreed (and only 18.4% agreed or partly agreed) with the statement that Karelian should be used in hospitals.

The replies of the control group respondents followed the same overall tendencies as the replies of the minority group respondents: television, the Internet, and the education system were seen as important, and the rest of the domains were seen as non-important. However, the share of control group respondents who agreed with the statements was in every case lower and the share of control group respondents who disagreed with them higher. For instance, 87.1% of minority group respondents were of the opinion that Karelian should be used in the education system, whereas only 61.8% of control group respondents agreed with that.

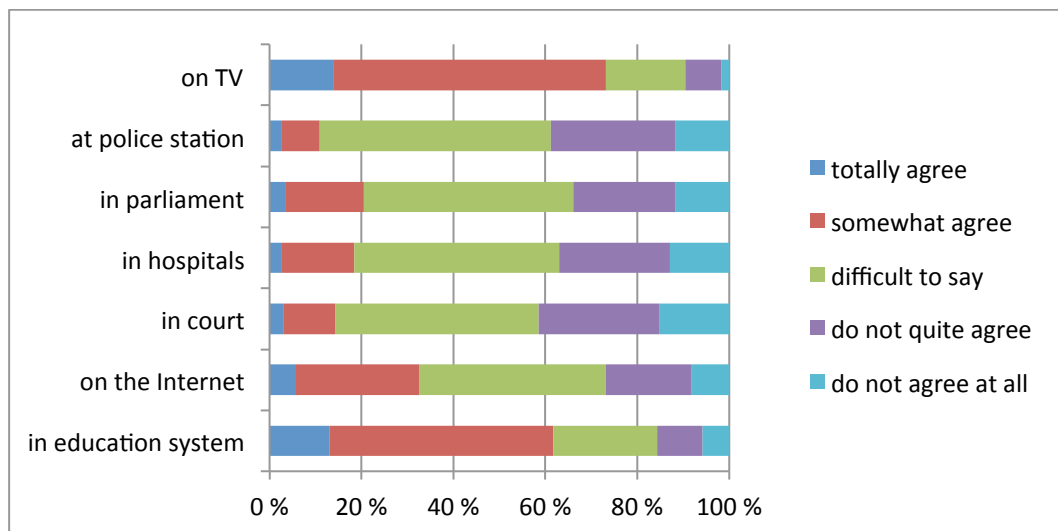


Figure 33: Domains where the Karelian language should be used, CG, %

The respondents were next asked (Q59) whether Olonec Karelian is easy to use in most situations of daily life in Russia. Most respondents replied that it is not easy to use, but not all respondents were of the opinion that Karelian should even be used in such situations. The clear majority of respondents (60.8%) replied (in Q59) that Olonec Karelian is not easy to use in most situations. Therefore, the share of respondents who regarded the use of Karelian as easy was only 39.2%. In general, according to respondents, the situations where Karelian is used and where it should be used (Q39) are more private than public: on TV, on the Internet, and in education.

(24) RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-07F:

erähii dieloloi ylen helpoh sanot karjalakse i maltat parembi karjalakse sanuo. a ven'akse tiettäväine midä koskou sidä nennii politiikka da kaikkii nennii aloi on tiettäväine helpombi paista ven'akse. a joga päiviä tiettäväine kebjiembi on paista karjalakse.

'Some things are very easy to say in Karelian and you can better say in Karelian. But in Russian, of course, subjects about politics and all those areas are easier to speak in Russian. Everyday matters are, of course, easier in Karelian.'

Interviewer:

a mittumis dielolois on karjalakse kebjiembi paista?

'But what things are easier to speak about in Karelian?'

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-07F:

perehdielolois, ruadodielolois

'Family matters, work-related issues.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-09F:

no ruadodielolois on tiettäväine kebjiembi

'But work-related things of course are easier.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-06F:

no sen kielensäilyttämizes dielolois - -

'But those language maintenance issues.'

Finally, the minority group respondents were asked about their knowledge about the use of Olonec Karelian in public domains (Q61). The great majority of respondents reported that Karelian is used on television, on the radio, in printed media and in education.

According to them, the use of Karelian in public offices, in court, or in politics is extremely rare. The respondents were asked (in Q61) whether Karelian is used in different public domains (such as media, education, offices, etc.). An overwhelming majority of the respondents were aware of the use of Karelian on television (94.5%), on the radio (93.2%), in printed media (91.2%), and in education (86.7%). Furthermore, 38.4% of respondents reported that Olonec Karelian is used in advertisements in printed media and 34.1% said that it is used in advertisements in public places. Less than a fifth of the respondents were of the opinion that it is used in regional and municipal offices (19.2%). Furthermore, the reported use of Karelian in other domains was much less. The share of respondents who reported that Karelian is used in the remaining public domains were: 12.3% in hospitals, 11.0% in ministries, 6.5% in the parliament, 6.2% in employment offices, 5.1% at the police station, 4.4% in courts, 3.7% in health insurance offices, and 2.0% in the tax office.

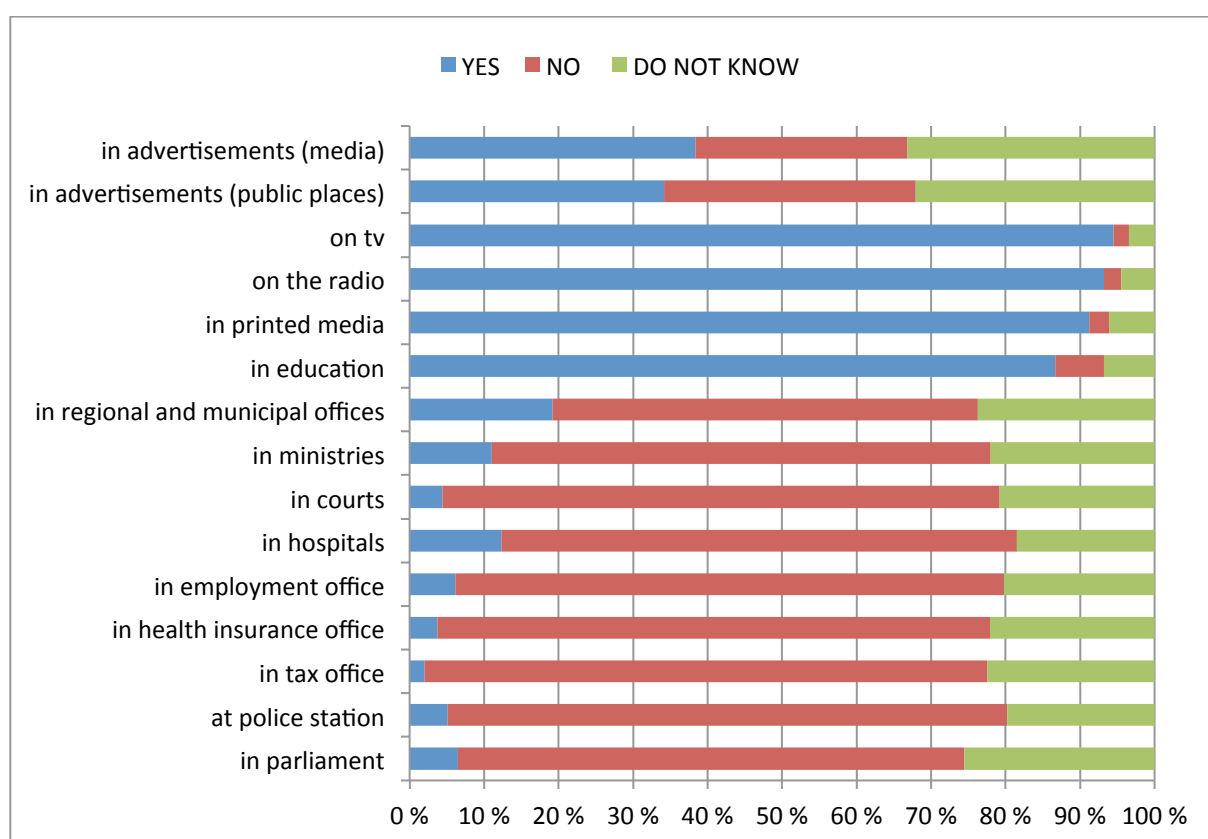


Figure 34: Knowledge about the use of Karelian in Russia

When contrasting the results of the two questions about the domains where Karelian should be used (Q39) and where it is used (Q61), we can see a uniform pattern. According to respondents, Karelian is used on television, on the radio, in printed media, and in education; furthermore, the general opinion was that it also should be used in these domains. It seems that the respondents actually regarded the use of Karelian as necessary in areas where it is already in use. It may be supposed that the respondents found it difficult to imagine situations where officials at the police station or in court would speak Karelian. However, in one important domain (namely hospitals), a majority of respondents (56.8%) were of the opinion that Karelian should be used there, but only a tiny minority (12.3%) reported actual

use. Elderly people, in particular, might find it important to use their mother tongue in situations where they are vulnerable, such as when ill. It is also not uncommon for people to forget a learnt second language when they get old.

(25) RU-KRL-FG -AG4-07F:

bol'niččah minä tulin mamanan linnah. konzmu mama oli elos häi nikonzu vračoiilluo ei ollut. pideli v respublikanskoih bol'niččah tulla. myö tulimmo, häin vai bäl'bättäy karjalakse pagizou. häin ven'akse ei paissut. i sit minä sanon "mama sano kai minä sanon minä sit kiännän". a vračal san minä san prostikkua rauku minä san häi häi parembi sanou kai karjalakse gu ven'akse sit minä hänen käi kai kiännin

'I took my mum to the hospital in the city. When mum was alive, she had never seen a doctor. We had to go to the Republic hospital. When we came, she only speaks in Karelian; she did not speak Russian. And then I said, mum, I translate. To the doctor I said, forgive the poor woman, she speaks Karelian better than Russian. And then I translated everything.'

4.3.1.5 Languages and the Labour Market

It is not surprising that knowledge of the Russian language was seen as compulsory in the Russian labour market. English was seen as an asset, but not everybody found it inherently positive. Knowledge of Karelian was not seen useful in spheres of work by the Karelian minority respondents. In addition, it seems somewhat hard to connect the Karelian language to working life, even at the level of theory, as a significant number of respondents found the questions concerning the use of Karelian in the labour market too hard to answer. Jobs that are especially tied to Karelian language and culture, at the university or in the minority media, proved to be the exception.

In general, the minority respondents did not see competence in Karelian as an asset in the labour market. In Q52, the minority respondents were asked whether skill in the Karelian language facilitates finding a first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one's career, or changing jobs. Only roughly every tenth respondent agreed with claims that knowing Karelian would facilitate finding a first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one's career, or changing jobs. Roughly every fourth respondent was completely opposed to claims that one could benefit in the labour market from knowledge of Karelian. More than one out of three respondents found these questions hard to answer, which may imply that use of Karelian in such spheres of work did not sound realistic to a large group of respondents.

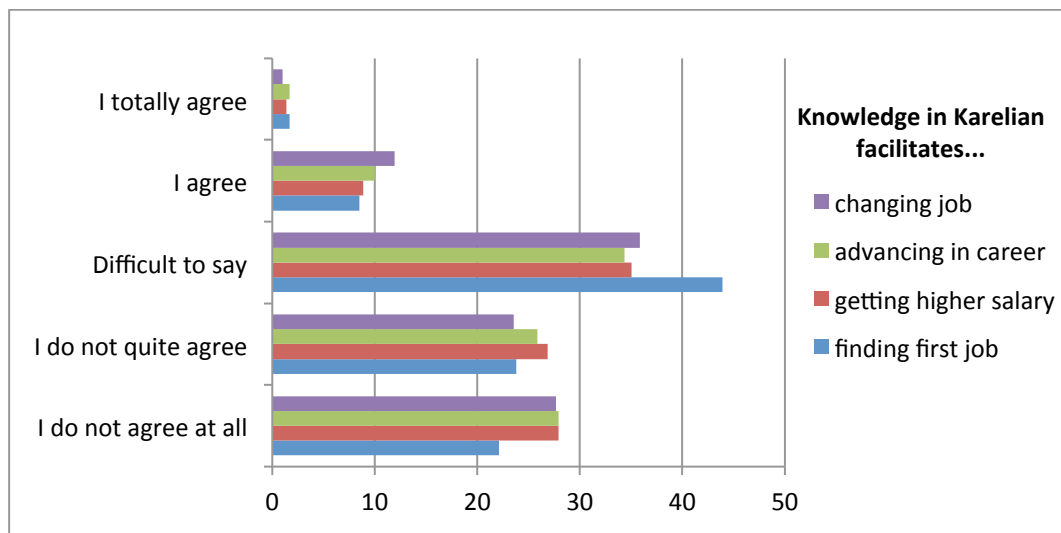


Figure 35: Importance of the Karelian language in the labour market, %

A couple of the respondents commented on this issue on their questionnaires:

(26) KAR-64334073:

Ku tahtonet puuttuo ruadoh sinne, kus livvin kiely pidäy maltua, sit ihan tottu. A kaikkih toizih kohtih pyrgies se on yksikai.

‘When you wish to end up working where the Karelian language is needed, then it is [useful]. But when aiming at any other work place, it is in vain.’

(female, 30-49 years)

(27) KAR-64344355:

Ylen harvah voi olla ku meijän kieli auttau piästä suurembah virgah (kuulin Suuren Mäin tyttö piäzi ministrakse ku hyvin tiedäy karjalan kielen), enämbiä en ole kuulluh.

‘Very rarely our language facilitates a higher post. I heard that a girl from Suuri Mägi got to be a minister because she knows Karelian so well; that is all I have heard.’

(male, +65 years)

According to the interviewees, these are the same reasons why Karelian language studies are not attracting young people at the University of Petrozavodsk. At the University, there were only 10 new students in the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages in 2011. In the autumn of 2012, the faculty of Finnic Languages and Cultures was closed, and in April 2013 the Department of Karelian and Veps Languages was joined with the Department of Finnish Language. In our data, the students were seen to be worried about finding work as specialists of Karelian:

(28) RU-KRL-FG-AG1:

Teacher:

minä duumaičen gu äijät lähtiettä ruadamah kielialal gu löüdüs sidä ruadoo. gu olis enämbi sidä aloa kus käütettä kieldü. sen tiijän varmah.

‘I think that many would work in the area of language if there were such jobs available, if there was more of that area where language would be used. This I know for sure.’

RU-KRL-FG-AG1-05F:

ei ole ruadoa

‘There are no jobs.’

The interviews underline the generally known issue about job opportunities having a serious effect on shattering Karelian language communities. As there are no opportunities in Karelian villages or jobs in the Karelian language, young people tend to move to larger habitation centres to work in Russian-speaking environments. There are no apparent financial benefits to be had from knowledge of Karelian; it may be easier to find a job if one knows several languages, but nobody pays for knowledge of Karelian:

(29) RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

sit parembi voibi ruadoh puuttua libo kunne a toine dielo on meijän kielen tijjändäs tiä emmo äijä dengua sua sendäh da ei ni rebois kahtu nahkoa oteta ei ni meile kahtu palkkua sit makseta

‘Maybe it is easier to find a job, but another thing is that nobody gets paid for knowing our language. As one cannot skin the fox twice, we do not get paid double wages.’

In addition, speaking Karelian was seen in the past as a hindrance to proper education and finding a successful job (see further discussion in Section 4.3.1.8).

Many interviewees represent an exception to the rule among Karelians, as they are able to use Karelian at work. For example, the journalists of *Oma Mua* magazine use three languages at their editorial office: Karelian, Russian, and Finnish.

On the contrary, though it is not surprising, knowledge of Russian was seen as a compulsory skill in the Russian labour market, as shown below:

(30) Interviewer:

a minnü teile on ven'an kieli

‘What then the Russian language is for you?’

RU-KRL-II-AG4M:

ven'an kieli on ezimerkiksegi ruadokieli, ven'an kieli on ümbäri meis kaikkii - -se on meile minä sanozin toizennu kielennü no ülen tärgiennü kielennü meijän tämämpäiväizes elaijas

‘The Russian language is, for example, a working language. Russian is everywhere around us. It is for us a second language, but a very important language in our lives today.’

In Q53, the minority respondents were asked whether the Russian language facilitates finding a first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one’s career, or changing jobs. Over 90% agreed that competence in Russian facilitates finding a first job. Over 80% of respondents agreed that competence in Russian facilitates changing jobs. Only a few disagreed with these claims. Approximately three quarters of respondents thought that competence in Russian helps to get a higher salary and advance in one’s career. Less than 10% of respondents disagreed with these two latter claims, while roughly 17% found it difficult to say.

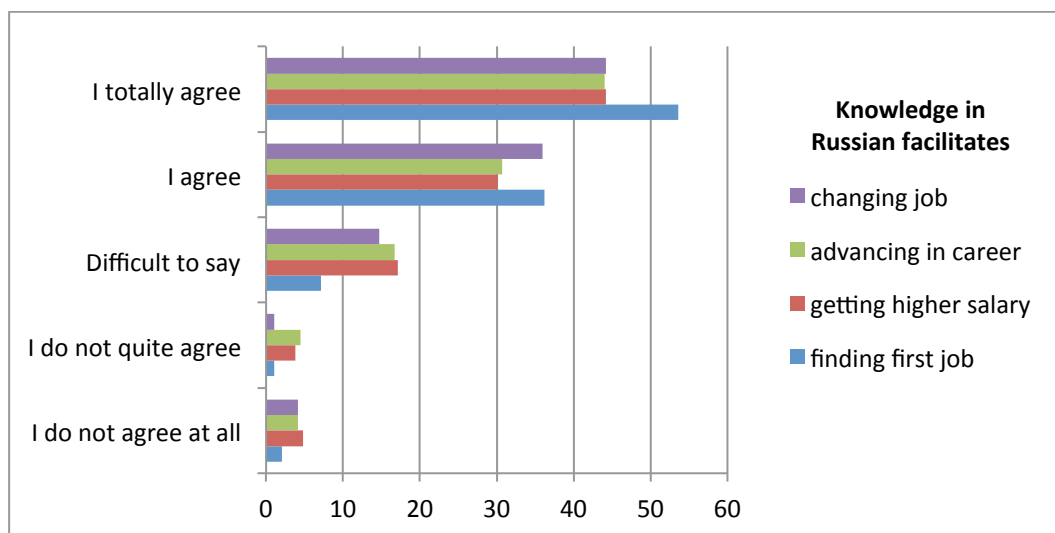


Figure 36: Importance of Russian in the labour market, %

Competence in English is definitely seen as an asset in the labour market. Q54 concerned the importance of competence in English in terms of finding a first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one's career, or changing jobs. It seems that English skills are appreciated a lot, even though English is not known or used widely. Only one out of ten minority respondents disagreed about English helping to find a first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one's career, or changing jobs. Knowledge in English was seen as most important when it came to changing jobs.

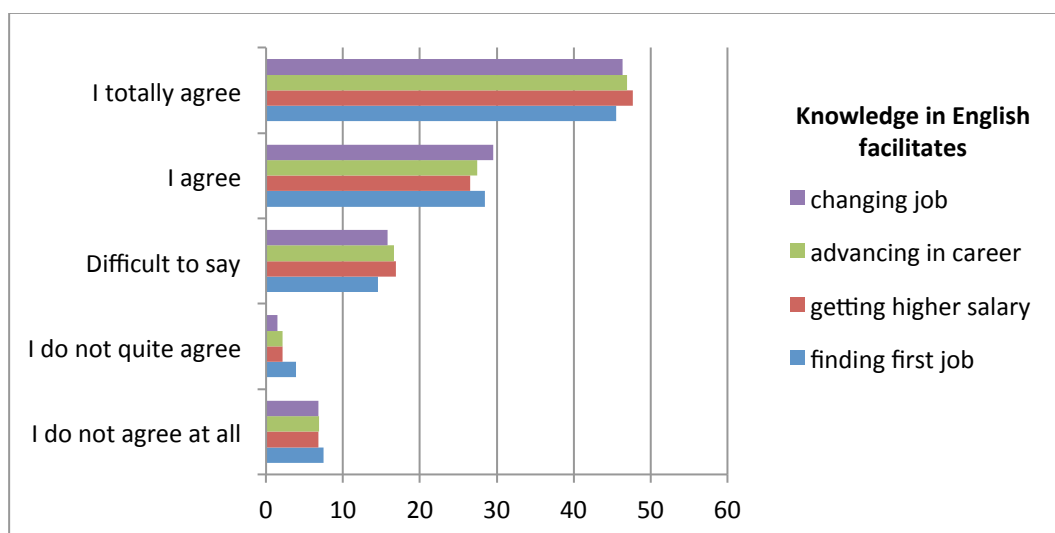


Figure 37: Importance of English in the labour market, %

In the interviews, the other important languages to know besides Russian were said to be English (which is needed globally) and Finnish (which is needed especially in the Karelian Republic).

- (31) RU-KRL-IIAG2M:
anglian kielen ga pidäü kaikil pidäü tiedeä
 'Everybody needs the English language.'

RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

no Suomi on täs lähel suomen kieli pidäu tiedeä, a muite gu nämii Jeuropan kielii
 ‘Well, Finland is nearby. The Finnish language is needed, but otherwise these European languages [are needed].’

The control group respondents differed from the minority respondents in their perception of knowledge of Russian helping to get a higher salary. In Q38, the control group respondents were asked whether being a native speaker of Russian facilitates finding a first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one’s career, or changing jobs. **Compared to three out of four Karelian respondents, only a little over 40% of control group respondents agreed that competence in Russian facilitates getting a higher salary.** Another 40% found it hard to say whether skill in Russian has an effect on salary. In general, the control group respondents were more hesitant concerning the benefits in the labour market of being a native speaker of Russian, except when it came to finding one’s first job. This hesitant attitude may reflect the experiences of the respondents themselves in the labour market, that knowledge of Russian does not inherently guarantee higher wages or better job opportunities. If one has no experience as a job applicant who is non-native or a non-fluent speaker of Russian, it may be hard to understand the degree of importance of having skill in Russian.

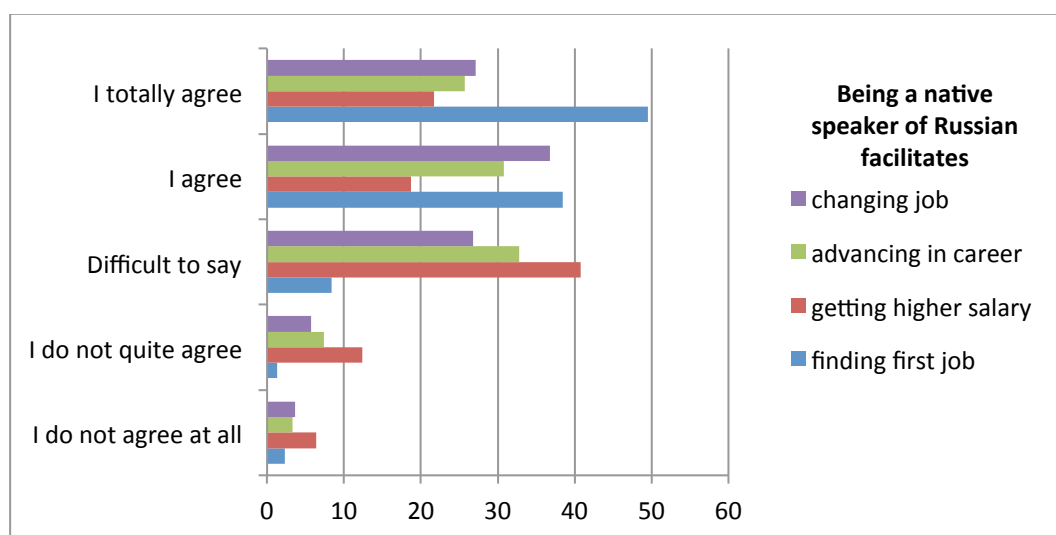


Figure 38: Importance of Russian in the labour market, CG, %

In addition, among the control group a comparatively greater number thought that the Russian language is overvalued in the labour market. Approximately 36.6% of the control group respondents at least somewhat agreed with the claim that the Russian language is overvalued in the labour market, while 25% disagreed.

Q39 concerned competence in English as an asset in the labour market. Similar to the minority respondents, the majority of control group respondents agreed that being competent in English facilitates finding a first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one’s career, and changing jobs. Only 5% disagreed about the advantages of knowing English.

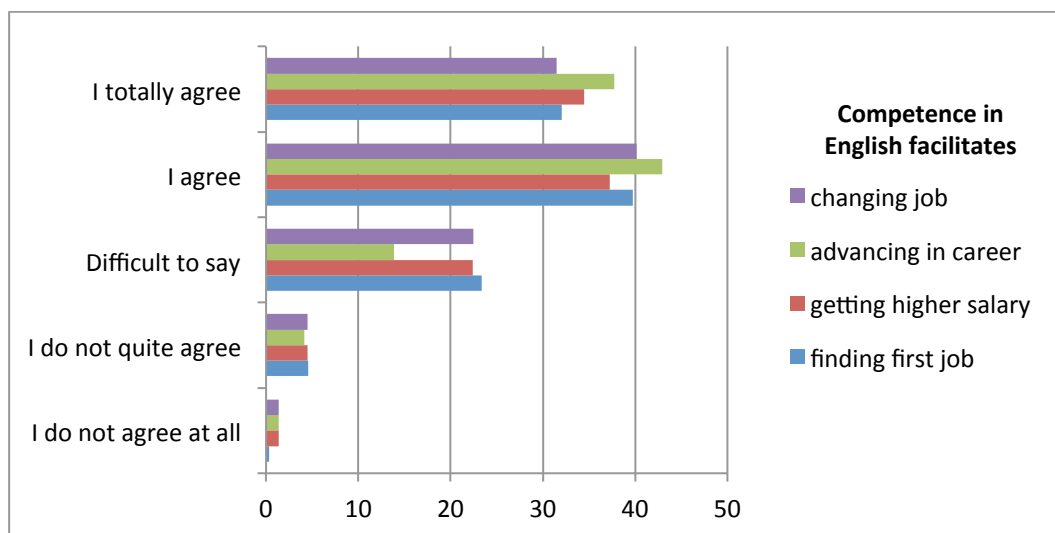


Figure 39: Importance of English in the labour market, CG, %

Q41 concerned competence in Karelian as an asset in the labour market. As seen in the figure below, over 50% of the control group respondents found it hard to say whether competence in Karelian is an asset in the labour market. Those who did have an opinion were somewhat more inclined to say that knowing Karelian does not offer any advantages in the labour market.

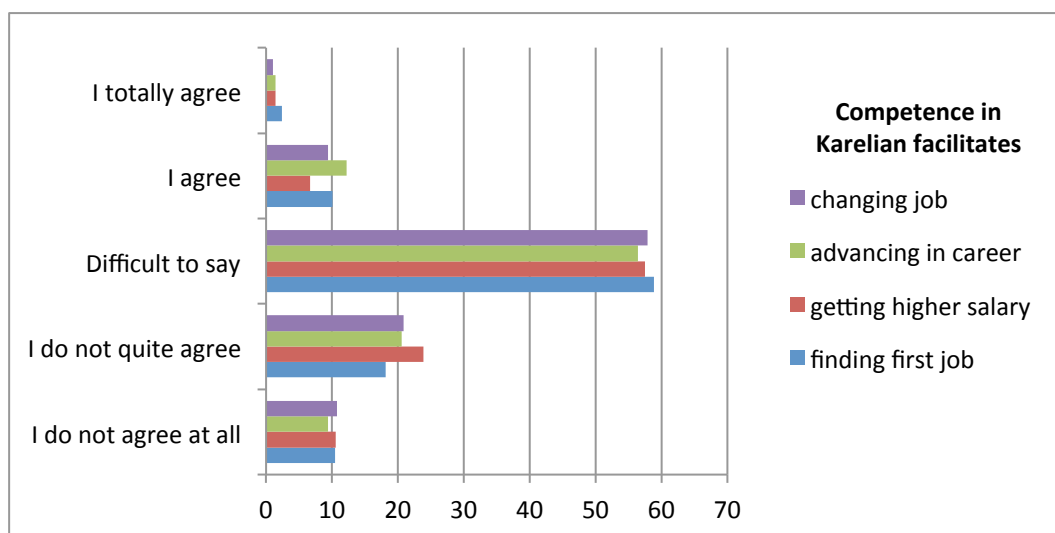


Figure 40: Importance of Karelian in the labour market, CG, %

In the case of the Karelian minority respondents, it would have been interesting to know how important the minority and the control group respondents found competence in Finnish to be in the labour market in the Karelian Republic.

4.3.1.6 Language Maintenance

Perceptions on the advancement of the Karelian and Russian languages

Our Karelian respondents seemed to be aware that there are individuals, organisations and governmental bodies working towards advancement of the Karelian language. However, a significant number were indifferent and doubted whether there is need for such development at all.

According to most of our Karelian respondents, there is a need to advance the Karelian language. The more educated the respondents, the more certain they were about the need for language development. Nearly two thirds (59.4%) of respondents agreed about the need to develop Karelian to fit social needs (Q58). Only 5.8% of respondents believed that there is no need to develop Olonec Karelian. However, as many as 34.8% were not sure whether the Karelian language ought to be developed.²⁷ The higher the educational level of respondents, the more aware they were of the need for language development: 67.9% of those with a tertiary education saw a need for development, whereas 56.3% of those with only a primary education were not able to answer the question.

The following shows how some of our interviewees described the responsibilities for developing the language: the language community should be active on their part, but state support was seen as vital for the Karelian language to survive.

(32) Interviewer:

a kuibo työ ajatteletto kenen se on vastus, kenen se olgupiälöil on tämä dielo
‘But how do you feel, who is responsible? Whose responsibility is this?’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-10M:

gosudarstvo, mutta se ei hoida yhtään mitään

‘The society, but it does not take care of anything.’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-06F:

meijän olgupiälöil

‘On our shoulders.’

Interviewer:

mindäh se ei hoija?

‘Why does it not take care of anything?’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-08M:

se on meijän dielo, se on se on

‘It is our business, it is, it is.’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-09F:

yhtehine ruado, valdivon da meijän

‘Shared business of the state and ours.’

Interviewer:

²⁷ The data from Kovaleva and Rodionova’s study (2008) suggests that more than 90% of the Karelians in the Prâžinskij district would consider increasing the role of the Karelian language as important. Although asked differently, our data suggests that the attitudes towards developing the Karelian language are not as optimistic as suggested.

voibigo kanzu rahvas ilmai gosudarstvua tallendua omua kielyd
 'Is it possible for the people to maintain their language without the society?'
 RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-03M
keskenäh pagize vai karjalakse
 'With each other [you should] speak only in Karelian.'
 RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-05F:
voibi da pagize vai
 'It is possible to only speak.'
 RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-08M:
ne dak meijän Ven'al
 'Not in our Russia.'

According to one of our interviewees working in the media, Karelian-speaking laymen typically think that it would be better to use Russian loanwords and conjugate them like native Karelian words instead of making up new vocabulary or borrowing from Finnish:

- (33) RU-KRL-IIAG1F:
minä puaksuh küzün rahvahal, ellendättegö tūö paginuo. hūö sanotah parembi ven'aks sanuo. ven'alaizia sanoi kiännä karjalakse muga gu se olis gu karjalaine sana.
 'I often ask the people whether they understand my speech. They say it is better to say in Russian. Conjugate the Russian word in Karelian as if it was a Karelian word.'

Another interviewee, herself involved in language planning, brought up the controversial role of Finnish as a model language in vocabulary development:

- (34) RU-KRL-II-AG4F:
nämä uuvvet sanat kudat müö keksimmö, erähii gu iče keksimmö, erähät otammo toizis kielispäi. enziks Suomen kielispäi i dai ven'an kielispäi. ven'alaizet ollah meijän ümbäri, elämmö ičegi ven'alaizienkel. no nämii sanoi, uuzii sanoi, neologizmoi vähät rahvas tietäh, vai tietäh dai tuntietah net ken tiedäü hūöhän sen kielen, vot Suomen enziks kielen.
 'These new words we invent ourselves: some we make up and others we take from other languages. Firstly from Finnish and Russian languages. The Russians are all around us. We live with the Russians. But these words, new words, neologisms are scarcely known by laymen. Or only those know who already know the other language, well, firstly Finnish.'

A majority of the minority language respondents (72.1%) were aware that there are organisations or individuals working on advancing the Olonec Karelian language. In Q55, the minority group respondents were asked whether there are any organisations or individuals advancing the Karelian language in Russia. A quarter of respondents (25.2%) were uncertain and did not know whether such institutions or persons exist. Only a tiny minority of the respondents (2.7%) answered that there are no such institutions or persons.

More than half of the respondents were able to name individuals and organisations who participate in the language planning of Karelian. Altogether 56.8% of respondents also commented on their answers and named individuals or organisations participating in the language planning of Olonec Karelian. The respondents were aware, for example, that teachers, activists, and the intelligentsia do participate in the advancement of the language. Only two individuals were named: Tat'âna Bojko and Alisa Petrovna Gubareva. It should be

noted that Bojko was one of the fieldworkers, which may have resulted in her being mentioned here.

The most cited organisations working on Karelian language planning were the different universities in Petrozavodsk. The organisations working on language planning were better known than the individuals, with the most cited organisations being the different academic institutions in Petrozavodsk: the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Karelian State Pedagogical Academy and Petrozavodsk State University. The next most cited organisations were schools and kindergartens. One school and one kindergarten were named: the Finno-Ugrian School and Kindergarten Number 56 in Petrozavodsk. A few respondents replied that there are some committees which participate in language planning (for instance, the Committee on National Issues and the Committee on Terminology). The role of mass media (such as TV, radio, and print media) was also well recognised, and two individual publications were named: the newspaper *Oma Mua* and the journal *Kipinä*. Furthermore, some respondents were aware of organisations such as Nuori Karjala, Trias, and Karjalan Rahvahan Liitto, as well as folklore collectives such as the choir Aldoine. Cultural institutions were also mentioned, such as the State National Theatre of Karelia in Petrozavodsk, museums, clubs, and libraries.

(35) Interviewer:

ongo teijän mielä müöte karjalan kieli hüvin kehitännüh kieli, pättöügo se nügüelaigah
‘Do you think Karelian is a well-developed language? Is it modern enough?’

RU-KRL-II-AG2M:

gu pagizijoi gu olis ga pädenüs - - -
‘If there were speakers, it would be.’

Interviewer:

a vot juuri sanastoa müöte, kuibo sinä ajattelet pättöügo se no?
‘But thinking about the vocabulary, is it comprehensive?’

RU-KRL-II-AG2M:

- - voibihäi ainu keksiä i nenga gu rahvastu olis vai
‘You can always invent and so on, if there were only enough people.’

RU-KRL-II-AG3F:

karjalan kielel moizet ollah sananluendumahdot, kai voibi uuttu sanua panna i vot tämän karjalan kielen normujen mugah luadia - - minul oli diplomuruado kirjutettu uuzih sanoih näh vie viizitostu vuotta tagaperin, sit toine dielo on, pättägo net sanat vai ei. a se on jo rippuu kirjuttajis, pagizijois, lugijois gu sidä enämbäl ruvettanneh niilöi sanoi kuulemah, sanommo raadios libo kustahto, sit net sanat jähäh

‘The Karelian language has such possibilities in vocabulary planning, it is possible to create new words according to the norms of the Karelian language. I wrote my thesis about neologisms fifteen years ago. Another thing is whether the words are adequate or not. It depends on the writers, speakers, and readers whether those words are heard on the radio or wherever. Then those words will be preserved.’

Almost the same question was asked in Q60 due to a slight translation error. Similar to Q55, nearly three quarters of the minority language respondents were aware of the recent attempts to develop Olonec Karelian. The original question about language revitalisation measures was translated as language development (*elavuttua* ‘make better, develop’). A majority of respondents (74.2%) replied that there have been recent attempts to revitalise

Olonec Karelian (Q60). A bit less than one quarter of respondents (23.0%) were uncertain whether there had been such attempts and as few as 2.8% of respondents replied that such attempts did not exist. Education and different forms of Karelian language media were mentioned most often. Language nests were also mentioned several times.

The control group respondents were surprisingly aware of the individuals and organisations working on the advancement of the Olonec Karelian language. More than one third of the control group respondents were aware of the institutions, organisations, or individuals in Russia promoting the use of the Karelian language, and many respondents were able to name certain active promoters of the language. The control group respondents were also asked (in Q46) if they knew any organisations or individuals working to advance Karelian. Although most control group respondents (57.8%) replied that they did not know whether such organisations or individuals exist, as many as 36.2% were aware that such bodies did exist. Only 6.1% of respondents were of the opinion that such bodies did not exist.

In addition, as many as 21.6% of the control group respondents also commented on their answers concerning the language planning of Olonec Karelian. These respondents named two individuals working on the advancement of Olonec Karelian: again, the Minister of Culture Elena Bogdanova and Anatoli Grigor'ev, an active participant in the discussion on the state of affairs of the Karelian language and a political activist. The Ministry of Education, the Ministry of National Politics, and the Committee for National Affairs were mentioned by a few respondents. Quite a few respondents mentioned universities and schools as taking part in Olonec Karelian language planning. One university and one school were named: the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Finno-Ugrian School in Petrozavodsk. The control group respondents also mentioned quite a few cultural bodies and organisations, such as the Centre of National Cultures, Karjalan Rahvahan Liitto, Nuori Karjala, and Trias. The role of mass media (such as TV, radio (*Radio GTRK Kareliâ*), and newspapers) was also recognised. Furthermore, two folklore collectives were named: the ensemble Kantele and the ensemble Koivuine.

Advancement of the Russian language was taken as a fact by over 80% of our Karelian language respondents. According to the comments of these minority respondents, the Russian language is being cultivated throughout society. According to the great majority of Karelian respondents (80.7%), there are organisations and individuals who cultivate the Russian language (Q56). Less than a fifth of respondents (18.0%) were uncertain whether such organisations or individuals do exist and only a tiny minority (1.4%) replied that there are no such institutions or persons participating in Russian language planning. Altogether 36.9% of respondents commented on their answers and named organisations participating in the language planning of Russian. The most common bodies cited were 'everybody' or 'all over'. No individuals were named. The most cited organisations working on language planning were schools, kindergartens, universities, and the education system in general. The different universities and faculties named were the Karelian State Pedagogical Academy, the

Petrozavodsk State University, and the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. A few respondents replied that mass media (such as TV, radio, and print media) are partly responsible for the advancement of Russian. The roles of the state and the government – as well as two specific acts, the Education Act and the Language Act – were also recognised by a few respondents.

Most of our Karelian respondents found it difficult to say whether there exists a correct or developed version of the Karelian language. The original Q57 concerned a pure or correct version of a minority language. Due to a translation discrepancy, Q57 in the Olonec Karelian case study asked whether there exists a correct or developed version of the Karelian language (*livvinkielen tovelline/hyvin kehitynyh luadu*). Approximately 62.2% of respondents replied that they did not know whether such a language exists, 27.6% were of the opinion that there is such a version of Karelian, and 10.2% replied that such a form of Karelian does not exist. Teachers, students, and other educated people (scientists, reporters, and writers) were mentioned as speaking correct Karelian. All these represent the normative use of the Karelian language. It is interesting that the question has been interpreted this way, as the pure Karelians (*tozikarjalased*) are otherwise said to be elderly villagers.

4.3.1.7 Support and Prohibition of Language Use

In Q22 and Q23, the minority respondents were asked to share what kind of attitudes and actions they have faced supporting or prohibiting the use of different languages. They were also asked about whether they had supported the use of minority or majority languages (Q24) by their children. In the following, this information is contrasted with the attitudes of the surrounding society, reflected in the attitudes of the control group, who were asked in Q19 about the importance of teaching minority languages.

A majority of the Karelian respondents reported no attempts to prevent the use of the Karelian language with children during their own childhoods. When this did occur, it happened most often at school. In Q22, the respondents were asked whether there were attempts to prevent their parents from using Karelian with children. The largest number (83.9%) answered that they had not experienced any attempts to prevent the use of the Karelian language. Just 41 persons (16.1%) said that they had faced attempts to prevent the use of Karelian. Of those 32 respondents who cited occasions when their parents were asked not to speak Karelian, in the majority of cases (20 respondents) such demands were made either at home or at school. The following are examples of comments heard in school by our respondents.

(36) 64330327:

Školas: karjalakse ei annettu paista ka se mešaičči ven'an opastumizen.

'At school: one was not allowed to speak in Karelian as it interfered with learning Russian.'

(Female, 50-64 years)

- (37) 64334004:
Opastajat sanottih ku pidäy parembi opastua ven'ua.
 'The teachers said it is better to learn Russian.'
 (Female, 30-49 years)
- (38) 64334035:
Sanottih kieli häiriččoy opastujes.
 'We were told language interferes with learning.'
 (Female, 30-49 years)
- (39) 64334769:
sanottih: ei pia školas pagista karjalakse, pagiskoo kodis...
 'It was said that one must not speak in Karelian at school: let them speak at home.'
 (Female, 30-49 years)

It seems that the parents were not explicitly directed not to speak Karelian with their children, but it was made clear that fluent knowledge of the Russian language was the prerequisite for further studies and success. The number of respondents reporting some prohibition of Karelian language use seems peculiarly small in light of general knowledge on the prohibition of use of the Finno-Ugric languages in Soviet schools (see Grünthal 2007: 90). These results may be due to the formulation of the question. Firstly, children are probably not told about such kinds of pressure faced by their parents in different circumstances. Secondly, we should probably have asked instead whether the respondents themselves were told not to speak Karelian in different environments.

Adding the information from the interviews, the picture is more in line with the aforementioned prerequisites. The age of the respondent is an important factor. As shown by our control group data below, the attitudes towards using Karelian in public are not as negative anymore. Although every tenth respondent in the youngest age group (18-29) answering questionnaires reported having faced negative attitudes about the use of Karelian, the interviewees their age did not tell of such prohibitions. One also has to bear in mind that the younger generation has almost stopped speaking Karelian. All other age groups of the interviewees had experiences of the use of Karelian language being forbidden at school. Some told examples of Karelian children themselves teasing other Karelians for speaking Karelian at school. However, the eldest interviewees recalled that they were allowed to use Karelian in school at the time of the Finnish regime, during World War II in the beginning of the 1940s. Mentions of Karelian language use being prohibited were most common among among the middle age groups of 50-64 (23.6%) and 30-49 (19.1%).

The following narrative highlights a typical situation of Karelian language prohibition at school. The male interviewee was told in school that speaking Karelian in the presence of a Russian would cause negative reactions:

- (40) RU-KRL-IIAG4M:
kaksi meidü karjalastu keskenäh ruvennemmo pagizemah karjalan kielel, toizet sanotah toizet možet ei ni sanotah no pahal silmäi kačotah mikse tūö pagizetto keskenäh karjalan karjalan kielel sil kielel midä müö emmo ellendä

‘Two of us Karelians start talking in Karelian. Others say [something aloud], maybe the others do not say but give an evil eye. Why do you speak in Karelian with each other, a language we do not understand?’

This pattern of refusing to use the minority language in the presence of non-speakers is common in many minority language communities, where there is strong social pressure to speak Russian at school. One interviewee reminisces about making fun of other Karelians for speaking Karelian at school, although Karelian was at that time still widely used in other spheres of life:

(41) RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-05F:

ylen äijä äijän paistih karjalakse joga kohtas, laukas, bol'ničois, postal, joga kohtas. ei huigei olluh. toiči vie erähän sanan sie välih panet, duumaijah avoivoi mittuine tyttö on, ellendäy da malttau paista. no školas emmo paissuh. sit vie nämmii Heččulan lapsii sie kuundelemmo, hyö duumaijah nämmä ollah ven'alazet, a myö sie korvat kuundelemmo heidy, midä hyö paistah, hyö paistih keskenäh.

‘Karelian was spoken very much in all places: stores, hospitals, post offices, everywhere. It was not bad. Sometimes you could say something and everybody thought, what a girl. [She] understands and speaks [Karelian]. But at school we did not speak. Then we listened to these children from Heččula. They thought we were Russians, but we listened to them, what they were talking with each other.’

Interviewer:

a midäbo työ duumaičitto heis silloi konzu hyö tuldih?

‘But what did you think about them when they came?’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-05F:

hyö paistih a myö emmo paissuh no en minä musta možet i daže nagroimme pienete sie možet nagroimme no iče keskenäh emmo paissuh nikonzu

‘They spoke, but we did not. I do not remember. Maybe we laughed a little, maybe we laughed. But we never spoke with each other.’

Many of the older interviewees had Karelian as their stronger or even their only language before entering school. As a result, many had problems in school when learning Russian. One of the interviewees even nearly dropped out of school due to difficulties learning Russian. At the same time, these interviewees were told not to speak Karelian at all in order to succeed in their studies. Therefore, it is easy to understand why a reluctance to speak Karelian and pass on the language to the next generation has evolved.

(42) RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

minä tulin kerran kodih, muama ainos musteli, minä sanon, školah en lähte, anna minule sumku, minä lähten ruadoh. se oli suuri hommu, uskokkua libo älgeä, no se oli minukse suuri hädä. se on se on minul jäänüh kaikse vie tänne peah. kaikkial minä olin jälgimäine - -

‘I once came home, my mother remembers, and I said: I will not go to school. Give me a bag, and I will get a job. It was a big deal, believe it or not. It was a great distress for me. It has remained here in my head forever. I was the last in everything.’

While in school, the interviewee was told not to speak Karelian, as those speaking the language would not get into the university but end up in unrespectable jobs:

(43) RU-KRL-IIAG3F:

et puutu ni üliopistoh nikun sinä nikun S2 sinä vaigu sinä lähtenet serofirmal ruadoh da kun

da et sinä karjalan kielenkel nikunne puutu

'You will not get into the university. You will only go work at the cheese farm. You will not get anywhere with the Karelian language.'

Old attitudes seem slow to change. When talking about language nests, a student of the youngest Karelian age group expressed the typical attitude of Russian laymen towards them, fear that children will suffer from learning only Karelian in a society in which Russian is compulsory. Even after the principles of language nests were explained, another student expressed the same attitude again:

(44) RU-KRL-FGAG1F:

no ihan karjalakse vaigu karjalakse ei sua paista sendäh gu školah konzu menöü sit pidäü ven'akse paista

'But one cannot speak only in Karelian because when entering school one must speak Russian.'

In contrast to the lack of reported childhood experiences of Karelian language use being prohibited, every third respondent answered (in Q24) that today there is still debate whether the Karelian language ought to be used with children. Those who clarified this answer with comments reported mostly supportive views for this practice. There were 80 comments on this issue, of which only 9 were clearly negative. In light of previous research and our interview data, we know that prohibitions against speaking Karelian were typical at school during the Soviet decades and that today such negative views are supposedly not expressed as often. The change in attitudes over the past decades is visible in the following comments. When the respondent was a child, negative attitudes were prevailing:

(45) 64334073 (Q23)

[Karjalan kiieldy] ei äijäl suvaittu, konzu minun igäzien kel vahnemat paistih karjalakse. Karjalakse pagizendua piettih huigiekse dielokse.

'The Karelian language was not very well approved of when parents used it with people my age. Speaking Karelian was considered a negative thing.'

(Female, 30-49 years)

Today, however, more supportive attitudes are expressed:

(46) 64334073: (Q24)

[[Kiellä pidäy käyttie] lče karjalaset sanotah (nuoret perehet dai ?) dai ven'alazet dai tulolazret (migrantat). Sidä paistah joukkoviestimis, rahvahallizis liittolois. (Q24)

'The Karelians themselves say [that you should use the language], and the Russian and the newcomers (migrants). It is told in the mass media, national organisations.'

(Female, 30-49 years)

Similar comments were made by another female respondent:

(47) 64334455: (Q23)

Buabo da died'öi muamon puoles oldih venäläzet da kiieldih paista karjalakse.

'Grandmother and grandfather from mother's side were Russians and they forbade speaking Karelian.'

(Female, 18-29 years)

- (48) 64334455: (Q24)
Minun tuatto ainos saneli da minun karjalaizet omahizet tahtotah da paistah lapsienke livvinkielydy.
 ‘My father always said. And my Karelian relatives want and speak Olonec Karelian with the children.’
 (Female, 18-29 years)

Bodies mentioned by respondents as being supportive of Karelian language use included young parents, language nests and other kindergartens, grandparents, organisations such as Nuori Karjala, the mass media, and the university. The few mentions of negative attitudes were heard from the Russian majority, as well as from inside Karelian families:

- (49) 64344232:
Erähät vahnemat ei tahtota, gu lapset paistah karjalaksi.
 ‘Some parents do not want their children to speak Karelian.’
 (Female, 50-64 years)
- (50) 64334097:
Ven'alazet erähät dai erähät karjalazet sanotah "Nimikse ei pie karjalan kieli"
 ‘Russians and some Karelians say there is no use for the Karelian language.’
 (Female, 30-49 years)

The following discussion reveals that, despite the rather permissive attitudes presented today by the majority, there are difficulties in passing Karelian to the next generation.

- (51) RU-KRL-FG- AG2AG3-03M:
meile ei opastettu, nygöi myö emmo opasta. muga pidäy sanuo potomu što oli aigu konzu
 ‘Nobody taught us, [so] now we do not teach. I must say there was a time when...’
 Interviewer:
olemmo harjavunnuh jo nenga elämäh, vai kui?
 ‘We are used to live like this, or how?’
 RU-KRL-FG- AG2AG3-03M:
oli aigu konzu kaheksäkymmen da yheksäkymmen vuottu, myö olimmo nuoret sit kačo ei annettu paista, se aigu nygöi kačo, nygöi annetah paista, no myö jo emmo
 ‘There was a time in the eighties and nineties. We were young then, you see. It was not allowed to speak. Now they let us speak, but we do not.’
 RU-KRL-FG- AG2AG3-05F:
eule kel paista
 ‘There is nobody to talk to.’
 Interviewer:
emmo malta
 ‘We are not able to speak.’
 RU-KRL-FG- AG2AG3-03M:
emmo malta, vot se on moine nygöi, pidäy kymmene libo kaksikymmen vuottu vie menöy, sit moužet myö rodiemmo parembi vie pagizemah myö keskenäh perehis
 ‘We cannot. Well, it is like this today. Ten or twenty years will pass, then maybe we will start to speak in our families.’

The respondents reported receiving more support from their parents for using Russian rather than Olonec Karelian, but most were supported in their use of both languages. In most of the cases, this support was described as speaking the language at home. In Q34,

the respondents were asked if their parents had supported them in using Olonec Karelian. A majority of respondents (70.7%) answered that their parents tried to support their use of Karelian. Q35 concerned the parents' support of Russian language use: 79.7% of respondents reported that their parents did try to support their use of Russian, while 20.3% answered that their parents did not try to support the use of Russian. Comparatively speaking, 29.3% did not recall getting support from their parents to use Karelian. The parents of the respondents seem to have been in favour of using Russian. However, most respondents had experiences of their parents' also appreciating knowledge of Karelian.

The speaking of either Karelian or Russian at home with the children was cited as the most common type of support of their use. Nobody mentioned formal support environments, such as school, kindergarten, or language clubs or camps. Grandparents were mentioned several times as the support of the Karelian language at home, compared to parents who supported the learning of Russian by speaking that language instead to respondents.

The number of respondents supporting their own children to use Karelian was somewhat smaller than those who got support from their parents. In Q36, the respondents were asked whether they had taught their children that they should learn and speak Karelian. Of those 216 respondents who said that they had children, 61.5% answered that they had been trying to urge their children to learn Olonec Karelian. Most often, the respondents commented that they have themselves been speaking Olonec Karelian with their children or grandchildren. They have also been reading to their children in Olonec Karelian and have urged their children to learn Olonec Karelian in school or in different kinds of groups, courses, or clubs. However, 38.5% replied that they were not trying to support their children to learn Karelian.

Most interviewees said that they speak some Karelian to their children, but none of the children speak Karelian back to their parents. Interestingly, according to their own accounts, none of the interviewees started speaking Karelian to their children at birth. Most said that they are now sorry about that. It seems that most of the interviewees have realised the importance of speaking Karelian to their children too late. One interviewee says she needed time to get used to the idea of speaking Karelian to her child. Another interviewee describes the situation as follows:

(52) RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG30-5F:

no minul oldih omat syyt mikse minä en paissuh karjalakse oman lapsenkel. muudu oli piäs, tostu pidi leibiä suaha, ei olluh aigua duumaija, pagizengo karjalakse vai ven'akse
'Well, I had my own reasons for not speaking in Karelian with my child. I had other things in mind. I had to get bread. There was no time to think whether to speak in Karelian or in Russian.'

It seems that if the language choice between minority and majority language use demands conscious decision and will, circumstances must be favourable in order for people to have enough energy to dedicate to the issue. In the case of the interviewee above, everyday life itself demands too much attention.

In addition, it seems that the Karelian language used by the interviewees today with their children features linguistic examples, anecdotes, poems and so forth, rather than actual communication. One of the interviewees noted that her children were not spoken to in Karelian because their parents had experienced the same thing when children, growing accustomed to a situation in which only Russian was used. Some of the interviewees said that they try to use Karelian with family members who at least understand the language:

(53) RU-KRL-FG-AG4F4:

nu a kois minul ollah laškat lapset, minä jo sanoin i nevesky i tytär tietäh karjalan kieli, no vastatah ven'akse. i sit buitegu minä unohtan i heijänkel jo ven'akse pagizen, a voidas paista minunkel karjalakse. ukko minul on karjalaine, sil toiči sanon karjalakse, sit ei kaikkie ellendä, no yksikai oppiu vastata libo kyzyy, midäbo sit sanoit. nygöi vot opin paista no vot, moine on elaigu

'Well, at home I have lazy children, as I already said. My daughter-in-law and daughter know the Karelian language, but they answer in Russian. And then I forget and start speaking in Russian with them, even though they could speak Karelian with me. My husband is Karelian, and now and then I say something in Karelian and he does not understand everything.

Anyways, [he] tries to answer questions or asks, what did you say. Nowadays I try to speak, but times are like this.'

In light of our Russian control group data, the attitudes towards teaching of minority languages such as Karelian seem permissive. A great majority of the control group respondents considered the teaching of native language at school as important. Approximately 89.3% answered (in Q12) that it is important to teach native language at school. Only nine respondents replied that it is not important. In addition, when asked whether it is important to teach Karelian to children whose parents are speakers of Karelian origin (Q19), almost 80% of the control group respondents agreed at least somewhat on the importance of teaching the language. Teaching Karelian was considered more important than teaching Veps, which was considered important by roughly 70% of the control group respondents.

A fifth of the control group respondents had come across opinions on the choice of language used with children. Approximately 20.8% of respondents reported hearing comments about whether parents should or should not use a certain language with children (Q13), while 45.6% told that they had not faced such attitudes. Although it was not clearly asked whether the comments regarding using different languages with children were positive or negative, all 24 comments on the issue were supportive of this practice. Several mentioned teachers of foreign languages as also being supportive. In addition, there were respondents who had speakers of different languages in their families or as friends, who were encouraged to speak different languages.

As explained by one of our interviewees, the negative attitudes of the common people towards other languages may be caused by the present tendency in Russian society towards a uniform *Rossiyan* people (i.e. the idea that all Russian citizens, both ethnic Russians [*russkie*] and others, form a distinct nation of *rossiyane*):

(54) RU-KRL-IIAG5F:

ven'alazet ei suvaija muudu kieldü nimidä kui vai omuo ven'uo
 'The Russians do not tolerate other languages than their own.'

Interviewer:

ven'alazet vai net rahvas kudamat eletäh Ven'al paiči ven'alazii muutgi ezimerkikse tulolazet rahvas naprimer

'The Russians or those who live in Russia, in addition to Russians, for example, the migrants?'

RU-KRL-IIAG5F:

kai tulolazetgi naverno no minä duumaičen no toinah on ven'alastu putillistu ristikanzuo eihäi sua sanuo što kai ollah ühtenjüttömät on ülen hüviä ristikanzoi

'Well, the newcomers also. Well, of course there are decent Russians. One ought not to say everyone is similar. There are very good people.'

Interviewer:

hei no ongo se vot meijän muan moine poliitiekku vai on se kui sanoa kuspäi se lähtöü vastustus

'Is it the politics of our country or where does the resistance come from?'

RU-KRL-IIAG5F:

tiettäväine se vois sanoa tiettäväine meil pidäs luadie putilline poliitiekku pidäs luadie vot da no müöhäi opimmo sidä ruadoa no ei mih tulimmo ihan tühjäh nollah

'Of course we should make up a decent policy. We did try to come up with this kind of policy and we ended up with zero results.'

RU-KRL-IIAG5M:

rahvaspoliitikku minä mietin - - meijän Ven'as nügöi - - tahtotah azuo nügöi uuzi Ven'an rahvas da, a jesli azuo uuzi Ven'an rahvas sete se ei ga rodie, se ei Ven'an rahvas a sanotah no Ven'a Rossija Rossija russkie Rossija ven'an rahvas, da da rossijska- rossijanka, se ku Nevvostoliitos tahtotah azuo uuzii Nevvostoliiton rahvas da se no sanotah što vot se pidäü kui Amerikas on da amerikkalaizet muute nikedä ei ole da muga meil nügöi rossijanin muute nikedä eule. se rodiau kaikil paha minun mieles segi ven'alaizil ičel rodiau paha se meile vie pahembi rodiau i kaikil paha

'National policies, I'm thinking. In our Russia today. A new Russian people is being built. Not a new Russian people, but a Rossian people. Like in the Soviet Union, the Soviet people were to be like in the USA where there are only Americans, no others. Just like that here, only Rossians, no others. It will become bad for everybody, I feel, the Russians themselves and for us even worse. Bad for everybody.'

4.3.1.8 Language Attitudes

The minority group respondents were given six different statements concerning multilingualism and then asked whether they agree or disagree with these statements. The respondents were asked to give their opinions on language mixing (Q33); the characteristics (age and gender) of a typical Karelian speaker (Q37); attitudes towards Karelian speakers (Q38); whether the Karelian language should be used in different spheres of life (Q39); the future prospects of different languages (Q40); and the characteristics of different languages (Q41-43).

Language mixing

Mixing languages is seen as typical for Olonec Karelian speakers. Mixing is not seen as tied to education level, but rather to the age of the speaker. Old people are seen as speaking the correct version of Karelian. In Q33, the minority group respondents were given six different statements concerning mixing languages and asked whether they agree or disagree with these statements. As many as 58.7% of respondents either agreed or partly agreed with the statement that mixing languages is typical for those who speak Karelian with each other. In addition, the respondents found it hard to say whether mixing languages shows high competence in languages, or whether it is acceptable or not.

Attitudes towards language mixing also varied among our interviewees. Some were critical of mixing languages. According to the following interviewees, Karelian has been ruined by the addition of too much Russian in the language:

(55) RU-KRL-IIAG5F:

unikalnoi kieli se oli ülen rikas kieli ülen rikas sit müö naverno vai sen kielen rikoimma ihan ven'an kielen segazin sinne

‘A unique language, it was a very rich language, very rich, and then we probably spoil the language, mixing Russian into it.’

RU-KRL-IIAG5M:

ei se üks sana, et riko da jogah kieleh tullah sanat toizes kielespäi, jogah kieleh, eule ühtü kieldü kus eule sanoi toizen kielenkel. kui ven'an kieles, kui suomen, kui sit Anglian, kaikkiepäi ližätäh. nügöi ven'an kieles muga ližättih kaikki sanoi, et tijä jo kui ongo se ven'an vai mi on se tože muga i meile

‘It is not one word that ruins the language. Every language receives words from other languages: there are no languages that do not have words from other languages. Words are borrowed by Russian, Finnish, English, everywhere. Now in the Russian language, all words have been added to it that way, you don’t know any more whether it is Russian or... that’s the same with us.’

Young people are seen as mixing languages more often. Approximately 38.2% of respondents agreed or partly agreed with the statement that young people often mix Karelian. In reality, as explained by the following interviewee (who seems to have a positive attitude towards language mixing), older people also add Russian into Karelian:

(56) RU-KRL-IIAG1F:

Jogahine ristikanzu pagizou omah luaduh - - hairahduksii kaiken mostu no emmü emmo müö ole kui sanuo jumalat. paista puhtastu karjalan kieldü, no on hüvin pagizijua ristikanzoi minä tiiän, buabat sežo, paistah karjalan kieldü. no jos ven'alaizii sanoi puaksumbi on paginas, sendäh minä sanon gu muailma kehittüü, uuzii sanoi tulee, hūö eletäh ühtes ven'alaizenke, heil pidäü paista ven'aksegä, buabat da d'iedot hūö sežo ven'akse paistah i sih segai tulla voi karjalankielistu sanoi, ven'ankielistu sanoi.

‘Everybody speaks their own way. Errors of many kinds. We are not godlike, to speak pure Karelian language. But there are good speakers, I know. The grandmothers speak Karelian, but if there are more Russian words in the spoken language, I say the world keeps developing. New vocabulary will come. They live together with the Russians and they have to speak Russian also. Grandmothers and grandfathers speak also in Russian, and therefore there can be mixed Karelian and Russian words.’

Mixing languages is not seen as tied to the level of education. Approximately 35.4% of respondents disagreed or partly disagreed with the statement that only people with a poor education mix Karelian. However, many still could not say whether the young age or education level affects language mixing.

Older people were quite unanimously seen as speaking correct Karelian. As many as 72.9% of respondents agreed or partly agreed with the statement that old people speak Karelian correctly (Q33D). This can be seen as a form of linguistic purism, in which the language of the past is considered to be the better form of a certain language. The following interviewee is amazed by the fact that there still are elderly villagers who seem not to mix Russian into the Karelian language:

(57) RU-KRL-II-AG1F:

üksi külä on moine piži külä sie Mägrän puolel, Mägränčupul. i konzu minä sinne ajelen, ainos siin buabas vaigu karjalan kieldü paista i ni ühtü sanuo ven'akse. on vie moizii külii, minuu se kummastuttah, no se on muga. (Interviewee: female aged 18-29)

'There is such a small village nearby Mägrä village. When I visit there, the grandmothers only speak Karelian and not a word in Russian. There still are such villages. I found it peculiar, but it is true.'

A commonly expressed opinion is that "pure" or "true" Karelian language is not spoken by the young or the middle-aged: one of the very fluent middle-aged interviewees did not see herself speaking "true" Karelian because she did not know all the proverbs known by the elderly people.

(58) RU-KRL-II-AG3F:

sendäh gu vot sanon he ovat ne tovellizet karjalazet, kduat ei paista, pajatetah, sanotah nenga heile kieli lirittäy ka da i - - hūö nikonzu ei sanota kohti, heil on ainos joga sanah löödüü sananpolvi, sananlasku libo mitah moine sanondu

'Because I say those are the true Karelians who do not speak but "sing", it is said that their language flows. They never say anything straight, but they have a proverb for every word or any such saying.'

It is commonly perceived that pure Karelian is spoken by the elderly who have learnt Karelian as their first language in a Karelian-speaking family:

(59) RU-KRL-II-AG4M:

minun mieles a puhtastu karjalan kieldü paistah rahvas ket ollah vahnembah, ken on kazvanuh sit perehes, kus händü jöngöi lapsusaijas opastettih karjalan kieleh. kus voi olla sanuo nügöi enzimäine sana kudai oli tulluh korvih da kudai oli lähtenüh suuspäi, oli karjalankieline

'I think that pure Karelian language is spoken by the elderly who have grown up in a family where they have been taught in Karelian since childhood, where it can be said that the first word that came into one's ears and that came out of one's mouth was Karelian.'

Many interviewees regard villages as the natural environment for speaking Karelian, and that it is easier to maintain Karelian identity in a traditional language community:

(60) RU-KRL-IIAG4M:

küläs on äjjän kebiembi, täs on vaigiembi olla. sidä ümbäristöö, kieliümbäristöö niilöi ristikanzoi, kuduat on kazvettu sit kielel da sit kul'tuuras, küläkul'tuuras, karjalaizen kul'tuuras. täs on suurembas linnas eri kul'tuuroi rahvahat erimielizii ili erikielizii. sendäh on vaigiembi püzüö.

'In villages, it is a lot easier. Here it is harder to be. The surroundings, language community, those people who have grown up in that culture, village culture, the Karelian culture. Here in the bigger town, there are people with different cultures, different ideas, or different languages. Therefore, it is a lot harder to maintain [oneself as Karelian].'

Who speaks Karelian?

Similar to attitudes about old people being the most fluent speakers, the use of the Olonec Karelian language in general is linked to elderly people. The attitude of linking the use of Karelian more clearly to elderly people became apparent when respondents were asked if they expected young men or women to use Karelian (Q37). Over half of the respondents found it difficult to say. The rest equally agreed or disagreed with the claim. Greater unanimity was reached, however, when respondents were asked about the elderly generation: 56.4% of the respondents expected that elderly women could speak Karelian and 54.3% believed the same of elderly men. This does not necessarily support the desire of the younger generations to use the Karelian language.

Some interviewees lamented that the Karelian language skills of the young generation are quite hopeless. The following interviewee criticised the Karelian intonation by young reporters as bad and affected by Russian. He even stated that it is better not to speak Karelian at all than speak it in the way that the young do:

(61) RU-KRL-IIAG2M:

ennevahnas minä mustan gu nämä babaizet paistih keskenäh, kuulletgo alahpäi tämä intonacii menöü. ainos nämä kehnot vai pajatetah sie televizoras, ven'alaizeks mennäh nämä. parembi ei nimittustu gu mostu kieldua.

'In the old times, I remember when the grandmothers spoke with each other. Do you hear the intonation going downwards? These poor bastards speak on television so Russian-like. It is better not to speak at all than to speak like that.'

Interestingly, when asked whether there exists 'a true, well-developed variety' (*livvinkielen tovelline/hyvin kehittynehy luadu*) of Karelian (cf. Section 4.3.1.6), nobody mentioned elderly people but rather teachers, researchers, authors, and students of the Karelian language. On the one hand, Karelian should be used in the form in which the grandparents use it. On the other hand, it has to be developed in order to be used in all spheres of life. And yet, a couple of interviewees said that there is no such thing as pure Karelian. Although correct Karelian was generally perceived by the interviewees as the language of elderly villagers, it was also seen by many as spoken and written by highly educated people, such as teachers and researchers:

(62) Interviewer:

erovuugo se kyläläzien kielel nygöine karjalan kieli

‘Does the present Karelian language differ from the language of the villagers?’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-09F:

vähäzel eravuu tiettäväine, kudamua kiely luvemmo lehtis, Oma Mua -lehtes ezimerkikse. minä ajattelen gu sidä pidäy paista enimmite, gu kaikin sidä ellendetäh hyvin, se on kebjei ellendettävvy

‘Of course. The language we read, for example, in the *Oma Mua* newspaper. I feel that we mostly should speak that way, because everybody understands it easily. It is easy to understand.’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-06F:

no minun mieles ei kai kyläläzet paista oigiedu kiely puaksuh suau kuulta pol'as traktorat di mitähgi mostugi sanua on uuzii sanoi da

‘Well, I think that all the villagers do not speak the correct language. Often you hear “tractors in the field” [*pol'as traktorat*: Russian words with Karelian inflections] and whatever. There are new words and...’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-07F:

sendäh ku ei ole nennii, ei tietä nennii uuzii sanoi, sendäh

‘Because they are not familiar with the new vocabulary, that is why.’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-06F:

sendäh meile täs täs pidäy paista tiettäväine sidä kiely kudamua myö kehitämmö nygöi

‘That is why we here must, of course, speak the language we are developing at present.’

Many interviewees felt that the Karelian language will survive only if the Karelian villages and the traditional communities live on.

The most important thing that is not clearly visible in the questionnaire data is that the “pure” Karelian language and the Karelian way of life are strongly tied to the Karelian village. The issue of linguistic purism is, of course, more poignant for a language community that does not have an established standard language. The village as the home of pure Karelian and true Karelians came up in almost every interview. The immobility of villagers, the fact that users of the language have lived in their Karelian-speaking home village all their lives, is an important factor as well. These issues are centrally featured in the Karelian language media, as shown in Section 4.2.

The following discussion highlights the importance of the Karelian language community in contrast to the predominantly Russian-speaking city of Petrozavodsk:

(63) RU-KRL-II-AG5M:

no kuuskümmen procentu on karjalaizii Anukses sendäh sie on parembi

‘Well, there are 60 percent Karelians in Olonec, and therefore it is better there.’

RU-KRL-II-AG5F:

no sinne ku tulet sit tiettäväine minä ülen harvah vastavun kenentahto ven'alazenkel ainos nenne karjalazet tullah vastah

‘When you come there, naturally I very rarely come across any Russians. I only come across Karelians.’

RU-KRL-II-AG5M:

sie enämbät ven'alaizet paistah karjalakse

‘Most of the Russians speak Karelian there.’

One interviewee told of having a double-identity, which stemmed from differences between the Karelian village and the Russian city:

(64) RU-KRL-II-AG2M:

no minä sit terväh üksikai lapsien joukos opastuin pagizemah ven'akse. no konzu minä tuli Jürgiläh minä üksikai opin paista karjalakse i se minul oli jo pienete moine ero küläs minä olen karjalaine a linnas minä olen ven'alaine

'Well, then I quickly learned to speak Russian among the children. But when I came to the village of J., I anyway tried to speak Karelian. And since I was small, I had this difference: in the village I am Karelian and in town I am Russian.'

Many were certain that if the villages do not survive, the Karelian language will become extinct:

(65) RU-KRL-FG-AG4-07F:

nu kylis nygöihäi vähembi jäi kuoltah nämmä

'There are fewer people in the villages and they die.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-05M:

da kyläs kaikin lähtittih linnah nuorembat

'And all the youngsters have left for towns.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-07F:

prestareloit kyläs eule. meile nygöi kyläs jäi kolmetostu da kaksitostu hengie vai talvel eläy, ga ongo se sit elavy. oli ylen suuri kylä, nygöi nikedä eule- - olis gu ruado, minä istuizun kois, en nikunne lähtenys. daže ku olis ferma, minä lähtizin sinne lehmii lypsämäh, no kai ved nämät rikottih kai, pideli ajettih kylispäi. iäres mengiä, dai kai a nygöi elaigua nimit- laukkua, poštua nimidä ei ole. nimidä ei ole, ristikanzat muga eletäh, sendäh vähenöy meidy

'There are no youngsters in the village. There are thirteen people left in our village during the winter. Is it then a living village? It was very big village, [but] today there is no one. If there only was work, I would stay at home. I would have not left anywhere. If there was a farm, I would go there to milk the cows, but they were all liquidated and everybody was forced to leave the villages. Go away. And now there is no shop, no post office, nothing. There is nothing, the people live like that. That is why our people are diminishing.'

Attitudes towards Karelian speakers

Collaborating and spending leisure time with Olonec Karelians were considered easy by a majority of the minority group respondents, yet marrying a Karelian speaker was not regarded as easy. In question Q38, the respondents were presented with five statements on the subject of socialising with Olonec Karelian speakers. Roughly a third of the respondents found all the statements difficult to answer. Finding friends among Karelian speakers was regarded as easy by 40.7% of respondents, while 44.4% thought it was easy to get acquainted with speakers. Collaborating with Olonec Karelians is easy, according to 52.4% of respondents, and 59.3% said that spending time with Olonec Karelians is easy. The most surprising finding pertained to the statement 'It is easy to marry an Olonec Karelian speaker'. Nearly one third of the respondents (30.7%) disagreed or partly disagreed with it, and the rest were mostly (45.2%) undecided. This finding could be due to the fact that, on the whole, Olonec Karelian speakers of marriageable age are not numerous.

The same statements were also presented to the control group in Q22. More than half of the respondents found all the statements hard to evaluate. Marrying a Karelian was also

considered hardest by the control group respondents, but only slightly more than 10% found the idea hard.

Where should the Karelian language be used?

A majority of the respondents expressed a positive attitude about whether Karelian ought to be used in different spheres of life. According to the respondents, the Olonec Karelian language should be used on TV, on the Internet, in the education system, and in the hospital, while they don't find it necessary to use the language in the parliament, in court, or at the police station. As pointed out earlier (see discussion of domain-specific language use in Section 4.3.1.4), the respondents were fairly unanimous about the Karelian language being used on TV (90.8%), in the education system (87.1%) and on the Internet (61.9%). The use of Karelian in more formal and governmental institutions, however, gave cause for hesitation. Furthermore, when contrasting the results of Q39 and Q61, it was revealed that the use of Karelian was believed to be important by respondents in areas where it is already in use.

Future prospects of different languages

The future prospects of the Olonec Karelian language were regarded with great uncertainty by the minority group respondents. Rather, most believed that both Russian and English will be more widely used in the next ten years. In Q40, the minority group respondents were asked about their opinions on the future prospects of different languages. The Karelian minority group respondents were fairly uncertain about the future prospects of the Olonec Karelian language: most of them (48.3%) found it difficult to say whether Karelian will be more widely used during the next ten years. The shares of respondents regarding the future positively (26.5%) or negatively (25.2%) were equally split.

Many interviewees recalled the Karelian revitalisation period during the 1990s (cf. Section 2.2.2), saying that there was hope for a renaissance of the language then, but that efforts mostly failed. At present, not many were positive about the future:

(66) RU-KRL-II-AG4F:

parembua minä en voi vuottua, vot parahat aijat jiidih jällel - - kakskümnen vuottu konzu müö algaimmo tämän ruavon, konzu rubiemmo opastamah školas karjaloa, opastamah üliopistos, konzu meil äijü vägie, hommua, himuo, toivoo. a jälgimäizil nügöi - - kai jo sammu, ülen se hüvin nägüi. minä voin sanuo ka oman kivistüksen, sen kirjutin nengoman kniigan, sanakniigan, kuduadu ei voitu piästä ilmumah. karjal-ven'a, ven'an-karjalaine sanakniigu - - annettih se painettavakse individuaalazel ürittäjäl kudai ei voinuh sidä dieloa loppia, loppussah vediä. häi andoi vai minul ühten kappalehen, se on minun kois stolal.

'I cannot expect better times. Those are already gone. Twenty years [ago] when we started this work, when we started to teach Karelian, teaching at the university, then we had strength, work, desire, hope. But today, all hope is gone. It is clearly visible. I can tell you about a personal grief. I wrote a dictionary that was never published. Karelian-Russian, Russian-Karelian. It was given to an individual entrepreneur to be printed, who could not finish the job. He gave me the only copy and it is at home on my table.'

The following interviewee saw the whole Russian language situation as hopeless, as far as all the minority languages of the Russian Federation are concerned:

(67) RU-KRL-II-AG2M:

ihan nügöi sil alal, kielien alal. kogo Ven'an mual genociidah päi on asiat vot menemäs. sit ei täs nimidä ližättäviä ole, ongo vägev eigo ole

'At present, all the languages in Russia are heading towards genocide. Then it hardly matters whether [the Karelian] language is viable.'

The control group interviewees also said that the attitude of the Karelians tends to be pessimistic:

(68) RU-RU-FG-CG-P:

Ну мы спросили там вопрос один, все-таки отношение как вы считаете, нужно ли передать его детям, какое будущее у этого языка. Ну скажу одним словом достаточно пессимистично настроены люди в отношении будущего своего языка. Спасибо, не буду больше время занимать.

'So there was a question about the relationship, do you consider as important transmitting the language to the children and the future of the language. I must say briefly that the attitude of the people is relatively pessimistic with respect to the future of their language. Thank you, I will not use up more of your time.'

Instead, the outlook for Russian and English languages was regarded a lot more positively. According to 84.4% of the minority group respondents Russian will be more widely used in the next ten years. The usage of English language will widen in the next ten years according to 74.7% of the respondents.

The outlook for the Russian and English languages was viewed much more positively. According to 84.4% of the minority group respondents, Russian will be more widely used in the next ten years. The use of the English language will also grow in the next ten years, according to 74.7% of respondents.

The future prospects of different languages were viewed by the control group respondents in a very similar way as the minority group respondents. However, the future role of the English language was seen as even more pronounced. The replies of the control group respondents (in Q24) did not differ significantly from the minority group replies. The majority of control group respondents (56.6%) found it difficult to say whether Olonec Karelian will be more widely used in the next ten years, but 76.7% thought the use of Russian will grow and 84.3% predicted an increase in the use of English. In other words, the control group respondents believed even more than the minority group respondents that English will be more important in the future.

According to the following interviewee's report on the attitudes of the majority people towards the Karelian language and its future prospects, Karelian has no future and so it is better to speak Russian.

(69) RU-KRL-II-AG1F:

iče pagizen rahvahanke ven'alaizenke, esimerkiksi hän sanotah, mibo se neče kieli on. erähät

verratah suomen kielenke, vot i sanotah, mikse tūö karjalaks pagižette ei ole nimittumua tuleduo aigua täl kielel, paiskoa parembi ven'ua, i moit'itah tädä kieldü, sanotah mindäs ne on gui ne on kummakkahaine kieli. midä tūö pagižetto täl kielel

'I myself speak with the Russian people and they say, for example, what is that language? Some make comparisons with Finnish and say, why do you speak Karelian? There is no future for that language. You better speak Russian. And they blame our language, and say it is a strange language. Why do you speak that language?'

Interviewer:

a ketbo nenga sanotah, virgumiehet vai prostoimbat rahvaz

'But who says this, officials or laymen?'

RU-KRL-II-AG1F:

no virgomiehet sanotah puaksumbi muga ket ei maltetah. i karjalan kieldü, sanotah ei pidä ei pie meile mostu kieldü, nügöi gu on ven'alastunut rahvaz - -

'Well, officials say it more often, and those who do not know the Karelian language. And they say we do not need such language nowadays as the people have been russified.'

Characteristics of Karelian, Russian and English

Questions Q41-Q43 employed a Likert scale, which consisted of 18 five-level Likert items. In each question, the minority group respondents were presented with one language (either Karelian, Russian, or English) and asked to evaluate that particular language in relation to 18 different statements (i.e. adjective pairs, such as traditional-modern, feminine-masculine, etc.).

The minority group respondents generally regarded the sound of Russian in a more positive manner than the sound of Karelian. According to them, Russian is a dynamic and powerful language, while Karelian was regarded as softer, kinder, and more traditional. It was interesting to see how the Karelian minority group respondents considered the minority language (Karelian) in relation to the majority language (Russian). The sound of Karelian was perceived as softer, kinder, more traditional, and more feminine than the sound of Russian. The sound of Russian was perceived differently as more brave, reliable, decisive, modern, powerful, wealthy, successful, intelligent, considerate, educated, and active than the sound of Karelian. Both Karelian and Russian were considered as old, fun, and pretty languages. A notably greater share of minority group respondents regarded the sound of Russian (62.2%) as very 'close' (being the opposite of 'remote') than the sound of Karelian (49.0%).

According to the following interviewee, Karelian is softer than Finnish and is a very pretty language.

(70) RU-KRL-II-AG1M:

tämän minun kieli oma livvin kieli on nu kakoi pa mjagtše pehmiemi on, čomemi - - se on ülen čoma kieli

'My own language, Olonec Karelian, is somewhat softer and more beautiful. It is a very beautiful language.'

Less than half of the respondents commented on the statements concerning English. The sound of English was regarded as modern, intelligent, and educated. However, in every pair of characteristics Russian was rated more positively.

The control group respondents regarded the sound of Russian as the most positive of all the languages in question. Q25-Q28 in the control group questionnaire involved the Likert scale, similar to Q41-Q43 in the minority group questionnaire. The same 18 pairs of characteristics were presented to the control group respondents, who were asked to evaluate the sound of four different languages: the minority languages Karelian and Veps, the majority language Russian, and finally English. The control group respondents judged that the Russian language has only positive, powerful, and dynamic features. According to them, the sound of Russian is softer, safer, closer, funnier, prettier, kinder, wealthier, older, and more reliable, decisive, successful, powerful, male, intelligent, considerate, educated, and active than any of the other languages.

When the control group respondents were asked to evaluate the sound of two minority languages, Karelian and Veps, neutral answers were most common. Most of the characterisations made by the control group respondents concerning the two minority languages Karelian and Veps were neutral. However, the adjective pair ‘modern-traditional’ was an exception: according to 57.3% of the control group respondents, the sound of Karelian was traditional. The control group respondents regarded the sound of Karelian to be neither soft nor hard, neither reliable nor unreliable, neither powerless nor powerful, and neither fun nor boring. When attitudes towards Karelian did exist, they were more often positive than negative. For instance, 41.8% reported that Karelian sounds pretty and 15.9% said that it is ugly; alternatively, 38.5% of the control group respondents said it sounds kind and 9.4% said it sounds mean.

According to the control group respondents, the sound of English was regarded fairly positively (but not as positively as the sound of Russian). The sound of the English language was regarded as modern, powerful, wealthy, successful, intelligent, educated, and active by a majority of the control group respondents. However, in every case Russian was judged more positively than English. Only one pair of characteristics was an exception: 53.6% of respondents replied that English is very modern, while only 42.2% said that Russian is very modern. However, if the ‘quite modern’ answers are included in the percentages, the results are fairly even: 65.3% for English and 63.3% for Russian.

The control group respondents seemed to be a bit more familiar with the English language than the Karelian minority group respondents. In addition, the control group respondents seemed to be more familiar with English than with the local minority languages Karelian and Veps. Only the adjective pair ‘old-young’ was an exception: the frequency was higher for minority languages than for English.

The control group respondents evaluated Russian and English more positively overall than the minority languages Veps and Karelian. When the answers concerning the two minority languages were compared to the answers concerning English and especially Russian, the different attitudes towards the minority and majority languages were revealed. The minority languages were not regarded as positively as Russian and English. According to the control

group respondents, the sound of Karelian is not as safe, reliable, decisive, modern, powerful, fun, pretty, kind, wealthy, successful, intelligent, considerate, educated, or active as that of Russian.

4.3.1.9 Multilingualism Issues

Language competence and use

As a result of our sampling method, almost all of the Karelian respondents and interviewees in our data may be seen as multilinguals. In addition to the Russian language, everybody knew the Karelian language at least at some level. Speaking fluent Karelian was typical of the elderly people; according to their own estimations, those over 65 years of age are the most fluent speakers. Conversely, skills in Russian are not as developed among the eldest group as among the younger generations. (See Section 4.3.1.1 *Mother tongue.*)

However, what may appear like bilingualism from the outside was not seen as such by the speakers themselves. As revealed by the low number of those who said that they have two first languages, most wanted to make a clear statement about their first language.

In the control group data, there are more monolinguals. Despite their different linguistic situations, however, the attitudes or awareness of these two groups towards multilingualism issues did not seem to differ significantly. (See Section 4.3.1.1 *Mother tongue.*)

The Karelian language is mostly used in informal spheres of life. However, no respondents reported never speaking Russian at home, which implies that even the domestic domains are bilingual or monolingually Russian. In addition, an overwhelming majority of our Karelian respondents indicated that they always use Russian in the different domains listed. (See Section 4.3.1.4 *Domain-specific language use.*)

The vast majority of both the minority and majority respondents stated that they never use English in any sphere of life. Although skills in English are seen as important in working life and the importance of English is estimated to grow in coming years, Russian is the lingua franca between different ethnic groups all over Russia today. (See Section 4.3.1.4 *Domain-specific language use.*)

Attitudes and perceptions concerning languages and multilingualism

Over half of the minority respondents thought that mixing languages is widespread among Karelian speakers. However, our data does not show clear attitudes – either pro or con – about mixing languages. In addition, the respondents did not really see education level or young age as affecting the mixing of languages. Instead, a majority thought that older people speak a pure version of Karelian (see Section 4.3.1.8 *Language attitudes*) and that a correct version of Karelian is spoken by educated people.

The minority respondents are most uncertain about the future of the Karelian language. Most clearly they predicted an increase in the use of the Russian language in the next ten years. English was considered almost as positively, and the Finnish language was also seen (by over half of the respondents) as increasing in use. In contrast, almost half of the respondents found it difficult to say whether the use of Karelian will increase; most of the remaining respondents guessed that it will decrease in the near future. The control group data shows similar opinions, but an increase in the use of English is perceived as more likely than an increase of Russian. (cf. Section 4.3.1.8 *Language attitudes*.)

Both minority and control group respondents regarded Russian as the most positive of all languages compared, proving that Russian is truly a prestigious language in the society. Q41-Q43 in the minority group questionnaire and Q25-Q28 in the control group questionnaire involved an 18-item Likert scale (cf. Section 4.3.1.8 *Language attitudes*). As pointed out earlier, the minority group respondents found the sound of Russian to be generally more positive than the sound of Karelian. Less than half of them commented on the statements concerning English. The control group respondents valued the sound of Russian most highly of all the languages in question. The characterisations made by the control group respondents concerning the two minority languages Karelian and Veps were neither negative nor positive, but mainly neutral. According to this group, the sound of English was mainly seen as very positive, but not as positive as the sound of Russian. To conclude, the control group respondents did not really have an opinion of the sound of Karelian, whereas Karelians themselves, when they answered the question, considered the sound of Karelian as positive, but the sound of Russian as even more positive.

The control group respondents seemed to have fairly permissive attitudes toward linguistic diversity and the Veps and Karelian minorities. In Q44, the control group respondents were asked about their different opinions on diversity and multiple languages in the society. In all the questions, the majority of the respondents seemed to be fairly tolerant toward diversity and multilingualism. However, in most cases a notable share of the respondents also found it difficult to answer. When presented with the claim that it would be good if Russian society was more diversified, most respondents (59.5%) either agreed or partly agreed. Only 9.5% disagreed or partly disagreed with the claim. Most of the respondents (57.6%) also said that they would find it pleasant to hear different languages spoken in their home area. Again, only 9.5% of the respondents were uncomfortable with the idea of a multilingual neighbourhood. The majority of the control group respondents found it pleasant to have Karelian and Veps language speakers living in their neighbourhood. As many as 55.4% said that they would like to have speakers of Karelian living nearby, and 51.2% said the same about speakers of Veps. Again, only a tiny minority (less than 7%) were of an opposite opinion and fairly many (approximately 40%) were undecided. The majority of respondents (approximately 50%) did not agree with the statement that the Russian state is spending too much of the taxpayers' money on supporting the Karelian or Veps languages. A considerable number (42.1% in both cases) found it difficult to answer. Quite surprisingly, only approximately 7% were of the opinion that the state support is too generous.

Perceptions regarding multilingualism as officially endorsed

Distrust towards local government is a typical attitude in Russia, as local administrations are generally seen only as intermediaries of the central power. Most laymen feel that local officials do not care about the common people, but are there only to please the central government in Moscow. Ordinary people are not used to defending their own rights. In addition, NGOs are typically not seen as real actors in the field; the true financial powers are located in Moscow and the local level has finances only for immediate costs. Shortcomings are typically explained by lack of finances, not by a lack of civic activism.

Our data reveals a very similar picture of passive attitudes towards the local level of legislation. Both the minority and the control group respondents tended to be unaware whether multilingualism is officially supported in the Republic of Karelia. In both groups, the largest share of the respondents answered that they did not know if legislation supports the use of many languages. The rest were more in favour of support; however, the answers of the minority respondents were almost even, unlike the clear difference in the answers of the control group (cf. Section 4.3.2).

Respondents were even more undecided when it came to the equal support of different language users in Karelia. As many as 61.1% of the minority respondents could not decide, and 43.9% of the control group respondents were undecided. Almost 40% of the latter believed that treatment is at least somewhat equal. Approximately 18% of both groups thought that the different groups are not treated the same way, and the same opinion was held regarding the support of legislation in the labour market. Three quarters of the minority respondents and over 70% of the control group respondents could not answer whether there is legislation promoting the use of different languages in the labour market. Only 6% of the minority respondents and 13.7% of the control group respondents thought such legislation exists (cf. Section 4.3.2).

The attested patterns of multilingualism presented above show that the attitudes of both the minority respondents and the control group respondents on legislation are in principle neutral or even supportive towards the Karelian language. However, in practice the Karelian language is not perceived as a modern language fit for every sphere of life or even worth developing outside the traditional language community. The majority did not express any need to be afraid of the passive, assimilated Karelians, who mainly constitute a nice ethnocultural component in the Karelian Republic that is nominally Karelian but a de facto part of Russia.

4.3.2 Legislation

Given the complex and partially contradictory nature of the language legislation of the Russian Federation (see Section 4.1 for details), it comes as no surprise that general

knowledge among both the minority and the control group respondents about legislation or other regulations was rather vague (see also Section 2.4.1).

The law-related questions (Q44–Q51) turned out to be difficult to answer for most of the respondents. This question set was aimed at revealing attitudes towards language legislation and knowledge about it. In the case of Karelian speakers, the goal was not completely achieved. Their comments reveal that the respondents usually did not separate actual legislation from institutional frameworks, policies, and practices (such as the publishing of Karelian newspapers, instruction in school, and Karelian language media). However, one must consider how unaware ordinary people in any society or language community are about legislation in general.

According to the questionnaire data, the Karelians did not believe that the use of the Karelian language was either supported or prohibited at the level of legislation. In addition, those who were aware of the existing legislation thought that it does not have any real effect on language use. The most well-known sphere of legislation seemed to be that in support of the use of the Karelian language in the Russian Federation. A majority of respondents did not know if there is legislation available *in* the Karelian language, while most of the rest correctly said that such translations of legal acts do not exist. Most respondents did not know whether there is any legislation supporting the use of Olonec Karelian as a language of instruction or otherwise regulating instruction of Karelian in schools. Roughly 30% answered that such legislation exists. Practically no one thought that support of different languages exists in the labour market.

4.3.2.1 Support and Prohibition of Language Use

Existence of supportive and preventive legislation on language use

Over half of the minority respondents did not know if the Russian legislation supports or prevents the use of the Karelian language. Approximately 55.0% answered that they did not know if legislation supports the use of Olonec Karelian (Q44).²⁸ Accordingly, a similar number (57.3%) answered that they also did not know if legislation prevents the use of Olonec Karelian (Q45). Of those who had an opinion about legislation on the use of languages, a majority correctly thought that the legislation is supportive, not preventive. One third of the respondents believed or knew that there is supportive legislation: 27.0% replied that legislation somewhat supports the use of Karelian, and 6.0% thought that there is extensive support. A small minority (12.1%) answered that legislation does not support the use of the Karelian language. Similarly, 29.4% answered that legislation does not prevent the use of

²⁸ Interestingly, more than 60% of the Veps respondents in the ELDIA data were of the opinion that legislation of the Russian Federation or the Karelian Republic does support at least somewhat the use of Veps. Even 22% of the Veps respondents saw that there is extensive legal support for the Veps language.

Karelian, whereas 13.3% of the respondents thought that there is legislation preventing the use of the Karelian language.

The question about the support of legislation (Q44) was commented on by every sixth minority respondent. The nominal nature of legal acts was criticised:

(71) 64334530: (Q44)

Annetah valdu käyttöä, ga ei avvuteta.

'We are given the right to use [the language], but not helped.'

(Female, 30-49 years)

(72) 64334097: (Q44)

Zakonad ollah keksitty, ga ei ruata rahvahan hyväkse.

'The laws are invented, but they do not work for the benefit of the people.'

(Female, 30-49 years)

(73) 64330013: (Q44)

Zakonad ollah, vaigu ei toimita.

'The laws exist, but they do not work.'

(Female, 30-49 years)

Specific legal acts mentioned by a couple of respondents were the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Constitution of the Republic of Karelia, and the "On the State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages in the Republic of Karelia" from 31 March 2004 (The Law On Support).²⁹

(74) 64334073: (Q44)

Ven'an konstitutsies on kirjutettu joga rahvahan oigevus oman kielen käytändäh.

'The right of every people to use their own language is stated in the Constitution of the Russian Federation.'

(Female, 30-49 years)

However, in terms of how Karelian is supported, most respondents did not cite actual legal acts, but rather the spheres of use of the language in public domains (e.g. education, mass media). Such comments can be seen as indicative of the thought of legislation *allowing* instead of *forbidding* the use of Karelian in these areas.

While the laws per se do not prevent the use of Karelian, there is little support for its use:

(75) 64334004: (Q45)

täs ei ole sanottu selgiesti, ga yksikai ven'an kieli on piäkieli kaikis tärgiembis da suurembis kohtis

'It is not stated clearly, but only the Russian language is the main language in every important sphere.'

(Female, 30-49 years)

²⁹ 19.03.2004 (<http://www.gov.karelia.ru/Karelia/1162/15.html>), later approved by the Decree of the Government of the Republic of Karelia, on 17 May 2005.

- (76) 64334073: (Q45)
pagizemas kieltä ei, ka ei rakkahal ni potakoija pagizemah, opastundua emmo ni mainice, libo kielen käytön levendämisty
 ‘Speaking the language is not [prohibited], but speaking is not eagerly supported, not to mention teaching or widening the spheres of use of the language.’
 (Female, 30-49 years)

In addition, many pointed out the inconsistency that the Karelian language is not an official language of the titular republic:

- (77) 64334011: (Q45)
ei ole hyväksytty valdivon kielekse
 ‘[Karelian] is not accepted as a state language.’
 (Male, 50-64 years)

Q29 and Q31 concerned the control group’s perceptions of the legislation of the Karelian language in Russia, and whether the language laws have a supportive or preventative nature. Interestingly, in contrast to the Karelian respondents, almost half of the control group respondents answered that the Karelian language is at least somehow supported by the Russian legislation. In addition, half of these respondents did not believe that Russian legislation would prevent the use of the Karelian language. **It seems that the Russian-speaking control group respondents assumed the titular position of the Karelians in the republic to have more significance than the Karelians themselves.** Approximately 18.9% of the control group respondents agreed that Karelian is supported, and 30.3% thought that the Karelian language is partly supported. Correspondingly, 49.7% answered that legislation does not prevent the use of Karelian, 38.4% of the respondents did not know whether the legislation supports the Karelian language or not, and only 12.5% thought that Karelian is not supported by the legislation. The wide variety of answers and vague knowledge of the situation is probably due to a lack of information: as shown in Section 4.2, the majority media of the republic does not cover legal issues on the minority languages such as Karelian and Veps.

The issue was commented on somewhat similarly as by the minority respondents. Many listed the spheres of use of the Karelian language, as if these proved that the language is supported by legislation. However, some were also familiar with the programmes intended to support the minority languages:

- (78) 64351124: (Q29)
На уровне правительство Карелии есть программы на поддержание и развитие кар. и вепского языков.
 ‘At the level of legislation of the Karelian Republic, there is a programme for maintenance and development of the Karelian and Veps languages.’
 (Female, 30-49 years)

A couple of majority respondents also mentioned the lack of the official status of Karelian and that Karelian is not used in official domains. Karelians were thought to belong to the list of small ethnic minorities protected by the Federal Law “On the guarantees of the rights of

indigenous small nationalities within the Russian Federation” from 30 April 1999.³⁰ This, of course, is not the case.

Legislation supporting multilingualism

Most minority respondents could not answer whether legislation supports the use of many languages in the area where they live. The control group respondents again had a slightly more positive feeling about legislation supporting languages. Most respondents (66.2%) answered that they did not know if legislation supports the use of many languages in their area (Q46). This is probably mostly due to the unclear formulation of the original question. Of the rest, the largest share (22.3%) thought that there is legislation supporting the use of many languages.

Only one of the respondents commented on actual legislation. Some respondents and interviewees instead brought up the fact that a lack of financial support has hindered the opportunities provided by legislation. Especially during the past couple decades, there have been different projects to improve the status of Karelian, but they have not succeeded because of a lack of money. This is also a typical discourse among the minority media (cf. Section 4.2).

(79) 64334073: (Q46)

Konstitutsieshäi on kirjutettu oigevus omah kieleh. Karjalas on zakon paikallizihe kielihe valdivollises kannatukses, ga jengukannatustu vai pienendetäh.

‘The right to one’s own language is written in the constitution. There is the law on state support for local languages in the Republic of Karelia, but they are still cutting down support money.’

(Female, 30-49 years)

Many felt that legislation itself is not the problem, but that socioeconomical conditions hinder the survival of the language:

(80) RU-KRL-IIAG4M:

minun mieles ühtennü suurennu vijannu on mejän talous ekonomiekku - -. da tansuija da pajattoa kielel voibi vai silloi konzu on vačču täüzi, se on üksi enzimmäine suuri dielo. toine dielo tiettäväine pidäü auttoa uskuo ristikanzal rahvahal karjalaizel rahvahal heijän tullii aiga. kolmas dielo on se gu iče valdivo kiändüs enämbäh, pidäis huoldu nämis mejän pieniluguizis rahvahis, kuduale kuulummo minun mieles müögi karjalaizet. müö vai kehitämmö suurdu kehittäünnü, piendü kehittäünnü emmo rubie, se on dengoin tuhluamine
 ‘I feel that one of the big problems is our economy. One can dance and sing in the language only with a full stomach. That is the first big issue. Another thing is that we must help the people, the Karelian people, to believe in their future. The third thing is that the state should turn to us, should take care of our small-numbered peoples, in which we Karelians belong too, in my opinion. We only develop the great developed [language], but the one underdeveloped we will not develop, [as people think] it is a waste of money.’

³⁰*Sobranie zakonodateľstva RF*, 1999 No. 18, item 12208 (with changes and amendments).

The control group respondents were more optimistic that the Russian legislation is somewhat supportive of the use of several languages. The control group respondents were also asked (in Q33) whether the legislation supports the use of many languages. Approximately 43.5% answered that legislation somehow supports the knowledge and use of several languages in the area where they live. Only 13% answered that the legislation does not support different languages in their area. However, the share of uncertain answerers was also significant among the control group respondents: 43.5% answered that they did not know whether the legislation supports different languages.

Equal treatment of users of different languages

A majority of the Karelian respondents could not say whether different language users in their area are treated equally. Again, there were more control group respondents who answered that treatment is equal. Q50 in the minority questionnaire concerned the equal treatment of different languages in the minority respondent's home area or in Russia. Most minority respondents (61.1%) answered that they did not know if different language users are treated in the same way. The rest were somewhat more of the opinion that treatment is at least equal to some extent: 14.8% agreed that treatment is equal and 6.7% partly agreed. Only 17.3% answered that treatment is not equal. The few who commented on this issue focused on the discrimination of migrants, especially the Caucasians. The following interviewee found it positive that everyone (i.e. the original peoples and the newcomers) spoke their own language in public. However, it was felt that those coming from elsewhere should also appreciate the original residents:

(81) RU-KRL-IIAG1F:

no müö elämme Ven'an federacijas se monikanzalline monirahvahalline mua ja meil pidäü kunnivoija toine toistu gu müö emmo ruvenne kunnivoimah toine toistu set midä rodieu set rodieu voinu - - no tiettävaine ku konzu müö tulemmo toizeh muah meile pidäü kunnivoija hiän kulttuuru, hiiän perintölöi meil pidäü sežo kui tahto sobivu keskenäh
 'Well, we live in the Russian Federation, which is a multinational country, and we should respect each other. If we do not start to respect others, there will be a war. But naturally when we come to another land we must respect their culture and heritage, if we wish to somehow get along.'

In Q36, the control group respondents were presented with a similar question on the equal treatment of different languages and language users in Russia. Approximately 43.9% of the control group respondents did not know whether these are treated in the same way. The rest tended to believe that treatment is equal: 30.2% thought that the languages and their users are treated in the same way, and 8% thought that the treatment is partly equal. Only 17.9% answered that the languages and their users are not treated in the same way. With this in mind, it may be suggested by our data that not much xenophobia exists among the Karelians and the Russians in the Republic of Karelia. However, as our questionnaires primarily focused on the Karelian and Veps languages, many respondents were probably not thinking about newcomers in the area like the Caucasians (see Section 2.4.1), as can be seen in the following interview:

(82) RU-RU-FG-CG-P:

И вот смотрите, что двадцать лет назад что сейчас, вот везде называли кого угодно так вот ну в девяностые годы, там выскочили там прибалты, там евреи были. Сейчас чаще называют кавказцев среднюю азию, цыган сейчас называют.

'Look, twenty years ago, now everywhere people were called randomly in the nineties, they mocked the Balts, there were the Jews, at the moment more frequently the Caucasians, those from Central Asia and Gypsies are mentioned currently and'

S1:

Понимаете, никогда здесь в Карелии не называли ни карелов ни вепсов в числе национальностей к которым люди испытывают некое.

'You understand, here in Karelia the Karelians and the Veps never were among those nationalities whose people caused...'

S2:

какую-то напряженность

'...some kind of tension.'

S1:

негативное

'Negative.'

S4:

неуважение

'Lack of respect.'

Languages in the labour market

Both the minority and the control group respondents could not say if there is legislation promoting the use of different languages in the labour market: almost three quarters of the respondents did not know if there is such legislation. In Q51, the minority group respondents were asked whether there is legislation which promotes the use of different languages in the labour market. Approximately 75.7% of the Karelian respondents answered that they did not know if there is legislation promoting the use of different languages in the labour market, while 18.3% replied that there is no such legislation. Only 6.0% thought such legislation exists.

It was also unclear to the Russian control group whether there exists legislation promoting the use of different languages in the labour market. The control group respondents were similarly asked (Q37) whether there is legislation which promotes the use of different languages in the labour market. A vast majority (71.2%) answered that they did not know whether such legislation exists, while 15.1% thought such legislation does not exist. Compared to the minority group, more control group respondents (13.7%) thought there is such legislation.

Perceptions of the legislation versus actual legislation

The uncertainty of the Karelian respondents about legislative support for the Karelian language proves that contradictory legislation can be hard for the common person to understand. As shown by the more positive views of the control group respondents, the identical legislation can be interpreted as more supportive by a different set of people. As shown in Section 4.1, the constitution declares the right for indigenous ethnic groups to

have their own vernacular language and support for it. The fact remains, however, that the legislation does not define any spheres of mandatory use of the Karelian language in the Russian Federation or any specific region.

According to our interviewees, the most important problem concerning the legal status of the Karelian language was the lack of its status as the other official language of their titular republic. It was also mentioned that the Karelian language ought to enjoy the nominal status of the “Indigenous Small-numbered People of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation” as well as the “Indigenous Small-numbered People of the Russian Federation”. Many also mentioned the passive attitude of the Karelians towards the revival of their language and culture.

It is argued that the normative legal acts of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Karelia ensure the creation of general conditions for the maintenance of the languages of the peoples of the Republic of Karelia (Klement’ev 2003b; Strogaľšikova 2005; Karely 2005). However, as stated by many of our interviewees and respondents, “in most cases the relevant norms lack mechanisms that would guarantee their implementation, leaving too much discretion at the hands of the executive authorities.” (2nd Opinion AC FCPNM 2006: Para 8, 311.) Nevertheless, the constitutional position of the languages of the peoples of Russia, including the Karelian language, is defined by the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993). The Constitution guarantees the right of all peoples of Russia to preserve their native language and to create conditions for its study and development (Article 68). Russia’s language law (Law of the Russian Federation on the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation, 1991) declares equality for the languages of the peoples of Russia. But the Russian language is designated by the Constitution as the state language of the Russian Federation. The republics have the right to designate their own state languages.

Karelia is the only republic where the language of the titular people is not designated as the state language of the republic along with Russian. Nevertheless, in Russian public discourse, Karelian is referred as a “titular language” of Karelia (Neroznak 2002: 12-13). When the Constitution of 1978 was amended in 1993, it did not designate the state language; it recognised the right of the republic to designate its own languages through republican law (Law on Amendment of Constitution, 1993). This means that the amended version of the Constitution did not preserve the official status of the Finnish language, which it used to have.

The Constitution of the Republic of Karelia (2001) designated Russian as the sole state language of the republic (Article 11), whereas the other state languages can be designated by referendum. After the amendment in 2002 to Russia’s language law, the status of the state language can be defined as ordinary for languages with a written form based on the Cyrillic script and only extraordinary for languages with a written form based on other scripts. This condition complicates the designation of the official status of a language based on Latin script. The Finnic languages, including Karelian and Veps, fall in this category.

The desire for the Karelian language to achieve the status of the state language of the Republic of Karelia came up several times in the interviews:

(83) Interviewer:

pidäügö seh niškoi valdivolline staatus karjalan kielel

'Does the Karelian language need official status?'

RU-KRL-II-AG3F:

pidäü, no sidä minä uskon ei anneta meijän kielel, sendäh gu meijän Ven'an zakonat ollah moizet gu valdivon kielet voijah olla vai ven'alaizil kirjaimil kirjutetut. a meile karjalakse kirjutammo müö latinalaizil kirjaimil, sit tämä dorogu meile on salvas, kuni ei zakonoi muutetah. a meijän muas minä duumaičen niilöi ei konzu nikonzu ei muuteta. meile ühtes čuras varatah sidä separatizmua, a toizes gu olizimmo müö vot kui NN nügöi sanoi pračkata joga kerdua sit meile annettus hos midä. müö olemmo sih niškoi liijan vagavat tolerantnoit hil'l'aizet

'Yes, it does, but I do not believe that we will be given it, because the Russian laws demand that the official languages be written in the Russian alphabet but we use the Latin alphabet in Karelian. Therefore, this road is a dead end for us unless the laws are amended. But in our country, I think the laws will never be changed. On the one hand, separatism is feared and on the other, if we had, you see, as NN just said, said it out loud every time, then we would have been given whatever (we wanted). We are too meek and tolerant and quiet to do so.'

The discourse of possible separatistic aims can be seen one of the factors behind the stigmatisation and assimilation of the minority peoples in Russia. Language policy in Russia is considered to be a part of the nationalities policy. However, the main policy document, the Concept of the State Nationalities Policy (1996), only contains a few statements on language.

As seen already in the example above, some of the interviewees seemed to think that the only way a minority people can become visible in Russia is through negative publicity:

(84) RU-KRL-II-AG2M:

meile muite vähä ülen tietäh Karjalas karjalaizis. müö emmo ole mitahto muzein eksponuattu, müö olemmo elävü rahvas. no meile enämbi tietäh, en tiijä, kes azerbaidžanzois, kudamat meile täs eletäh ili gruzinois, a ei karjalaizis. - -

'Karelians are not well known in Karelia. We are no museum pieces; we are a living people. But instead of us, the Azeri who live here or the Georgians are generally known, not us Karelians.'

RU-KRL-II-AG3F:

karjalaizet Kondupohjua ei luajitah, sendäh ei varata - -

'The Karelians will not make [a riot as in] Kondopoga;³¹ therefore, we are not feared.'

All the republics except Dagestan and Karelia have passed their own language laws. Despite numerous drafts of language laws and moves to pass language legislation, for a long time language issues were not regulated in Karelia. One of the reasons for this situation could be low minority political representation. Our interviewees also brought up the lack of Karelian

³¹ In 2006 in the town of Kondopoga north of Petrozavodsk, two people were killed and many injured in a brutal pub fight which involved local residents of Chechen origin. This caught the attention of Russian nationalists and resulted in violent riots.

experts at the official level. However, the Minister of Culture elected in 2010, the Karelian Elena Bogdanova, was seen as a prominent actor in the maintenance of Karelian language and culture:

(85) RU-KRL-II-AG3F:

meile gu on nügöi uuzi ministru iče karjalaine kul'tuuruministru ga no vähän aigua no voibi siepäi vuotta midätah

'We now have a new minister, herself a Karelian, the Minister of Culture. Only for a short time yet, but we can await something from her.'

RU-KRL-II-AG2M:

ja vähän aigua vie ei sua vie arvata

'And for a short time yet. We must not guess yet.'

RU-KRL-II-AG3F:

da no midä olemmo hänes kuulluh häi on karjalan kielen puoleh, karjalaizien puoleh on karjalaizen kul'tuurin puolistai on.

'But what we have heard about her, she is pro-Karelian language, pro-Karelians, and she is a defender of the Karelian culture.'

It can be argued that republican parliamentarians blocked the adoption of the law, inter alia, because they feared further political demands (Šabaev 2008: 8). A skeptical attitude and the reluctance of officials to take any steps were also named among the reasons for Karelian's lack of status as a state language in the republic (Bogdanov 2007: 16). As described by the following interviewee, there has not been enough courage to claim official status for the Karelian language:

(86) RU-KRL-FG-AG4-04F:

tahton sanuo gu politiekas kai rippuu. enzimäizikse vot minä konzu ruavoin kui sanotah minä uskoin gu karjalan kieli rubieu elämäh kogo ijän - - yheksäkymmenviijendel-kuvvendel vuvvel täs nostettih meijän herrat i meijän rahvahallizien kul'tuuroin ruadajat i Karjalan liitto opittih nostua tädä kyzymysty, voibigo karjalan kieli azuo toizennu tazavallan kielenny ven'an kielen rinnal kui sanotah. no minä sit kačoin i mustelen gu herrat varattih tädä kyzymysty vediä loppussah. nenga minä sanon erähät buitegu opittih midäto ruadua, opittih kirjuttua kaikenmoizii dokumentoi, ohjelmoi, no konzu pidi kui sanotah kovašti sanuo tämä sana i vediä loppussah sit en tiije kunne kaikin hävittih

'I want to say that everything depends on the politics. When I worked, I believed my whole life that the Karelian language will begin to flourish. In 1995-1996, our leaders and the workers of native peoples and the Union of the Karelian People tried to raise the question of whether the Karelian language could become the second official language of the republic, besides Russian. And I observed the situation and remember how the leaders were afraid of seeing this question through. Some tried to do a lot, writing many kinds of documents and programmes, but when it was the time to say the final word and finalise this, then I do not know where everybody disappeared.'

In addition, there is a sense of the national nihilism and passivity of the Karelians:

(87) RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-09F:

rubiet muga sanomah nimidä ei rodei

'If you only try to say something, nothing will happen.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-06F:

käskie pidäy

'One must command.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-09F:

käskie meidy käskie pidäy

'We must be commanded.'

Interviewer:

no a gu sit ven'alazet ei tahtota omii lapsii opastua karjalan kieleh

'But when the Russians do not want their children to learn Karelian...'

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-06F:

a pidäy heile mostu luadie kui on saamelazil - - sie annetah jengua konzu kui sinä opastut täh kieleh da menet iellehpäi stipendiet kai nenne. sit jogahizel himoittashäi olla bohatannu

'But it should be similar to the Sami people. They are given money when you learn the language and grants when you proceed. Then everybody would like to be rich.'

In 2010, there was talk about the Karelian Republic merging with Leningrad oblast or the city of St Petersburg. According to the interviewees, it would have made the situation even worse for the Karelians, as the Karelians are underrepresented in the official level in the Republic of Karelia. In a bigger administrative unit, there would probably be even fewer officials who know the Karelian language or culture:

(88) RU-KRL-II-AG3F:

a sit gu olemmo Karjalan tazavallas sit pidäü mei- meijän vullanpidäjil luadia kudemidä karjalan kieli olis enämbäl nägüvis anna kuulus karjalastu pajua enämbi anna oldas nenne nimet kai sanommo školien libo nenien laitoksien nimet karjalakse üksikai anna mustettas enämbäl što tämä on karjalaizien mua ei kerran vuuvves konzu on Karjalan tazavallan päivü

'But as we are in the Karelian Republic, then our leaders should take care of the visibility of the Karelian language. More Karelian singing should be heard; those names of schools and other institutes should be in Karelian. Make them remember more often that this is the land of the Karelians, not just once a year when it is Karelian Republic day.'

The lack of local specialists would seem to be in contrast with the implications of recent developments towards the federal state withdrawing from ethnic politics. However, it remains to be seen whether the newly elected head of the republic, Aleksandr Hudilainen, will make changes in national policies. His Ingrian Finnish background has raised positive expectations among the Finnic minorities of the Republic of Karelia.

It seems that most of the interviewees were at least somewhat aware of the situation among the other minorities of Russia and in the neighbouring countries. The status of the Karelian language was compared to the situation of the Swedish in Finland: one interviewee noted that there are proportionately more Karelians in the republic than there are Finnish Swedes in Finland, and yet Karelian still does not have similar status.

(89) RU-KRL-FG-AG4-05M:

miksebo Suomes annetah, seiččie protsentua on ruoččilastu sie, a so statusom gosudarstvennogo jazika. a meidy on kaheksa protsentua

'Why is it granted in Finland, there are seven per cent of Swedes there, but with the status of a state language. But there are eight percent of us.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-08F:

da se on histourii

'And it is history.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-05M:

histourii no komu

'History, but for whom?'

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-04F:

yksi on histourii toine on politiekku vot politiekku se on

'One is history, another is politics. Well, politics it is.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-08F:

valdivon kieli, ruočin kieli

'State language, Swedish language.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-05M:

sidähäi minägi sanon valdivon kieli pidäy Karjalal olla karjalan kieli tože gu on nygöi myöhä on

'That is what I keep saying. The state language of Karelia must be Karelian, but now it is very late.'

4.3.2.2 Existence of Legal Texts

A majority of the Karelian respondents could not answer whether legislation is available in Olonec Karelian. In Q47, the minority group respondents were asked whether the legislation (which promotes the use of languages) is translated into Olonec Karelian. Most respondents (61.2%) answered that they did not know if such legislation exists. Nearly one third of the respondents (31.5%) knew that Karelian language legislation is not available. Approximately 7.3% believed that Karelian legal texts do exist.

The Law on Support provides the opportunity for laws to be published in Karelian, Veps, and Finnish according to the decision of the lawmakers. Again, because translations are not mandatory, they do not exist. The following two interviewees discuss the fact that giving the Karelian language official status would have an effect on the language use of the officials of the republic. In their view, this is also preventing Karelian from receiving official status:

(90) RU-KRL-FG-AG4-08F:

herrat ei anneta karjalan kielele nimittumua valdua sendäh gu tulou piä- jos gu piämies on ven'alaine

'The leaders will not give any powers to the Karelian language because the leader [of the republic] is probably Russian.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-04F:

opastua häin ei tahto

'He will not want to learn.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG4-08F:

valdivon kielet pidäy hänen maltua sit pidäy opastuo ven'a dai karjal eihäi olla uruat

'He must know the languages of the state. Then he must learn. Russian and Karelian are not alike.'

4.3.2.3 Education and Law

A majority of the Karelian respondents did not know if there is any legislation supporting the use of Olonec Karelian in teaching. Neither did they know of legislation regulating the

instruction of Olonec Karelian at school. A majority (60.2%) replied in Q48 that they did not know if there is any legislation supporting the use of Olonec Karelian in teaching. Approximately 30% of the respondents thought that there is at least some legislation: 20.1% answered that there is some kind of legislation, while 9.9% thought there is significant legislation. In all, 9.9% thought that there is no such legislation. Similarly, a majority of the respondents (59.7%) did not know if there is any legislation regulating the instruction of Olonec Karelian in school (Q49). Still, nearly one fifth of the respondents (19.4%) replied that there is such legislation and 11.9% answered there is some kind of legislation. Only 9.0% thought there is no such legislation.

(91) 64334004: (Q48)

Ven'an Federatsien opastuszakon kannattau etnokul'tuuristu komponentua opastundas 1-2 čuasuu nedälis

'The Law on Education of the Russian Federation supports the ethnocultural component for 1-2 hours per week.'

(Female, 30-49 years)

(92) 64334011: (Q48)

закон о поддержке языков в РК

'The Law on Maintenance of Languages of the Russian Federation.'

(Male, 50-64 years)

Similar to the Karelian respondents, most of the control group respondents did not know whether there is legislation regulating the teaching of the Karelian language as a subject in schools. The control group respondents were also asked (in Q34) whether there is any legislation regulating the instruction of the Karelian language in school. Approximately 62.7% answered that they did not know whether such legislation exists. Of the rest, more thought that there is legislation for this: 16.0% answered that there is such legislation and 8.0% thought that there is some kind of legislation. Only 13.3% answered that such legislation does not exist. The comments reveal further that the respondents suppose legislation on education to exist because they know that the Karelian language is taught in some schools and at university. Some also thought that the regional component (ethnocultural component) is written in the law.

Some interviewees brought up a common attitude towards the local legislative organs and the administration in Karelia. They felt that the local officials are just puppets of the central power, which is located in Moscow. For example, they said it is not possible to teach in Karelian because the standards of education are nationwide and do not allow for regional prerogatives. The interviewees felt that local conditions ought to be taken into account more widely in legislation in Russia in general. It was also discussed whether or not basic education should require fees from parents; if this was the case, if it was necessary to pay for Karelian language teaching, many interviewees thought that nobody would learn it.

Perceptions about the legislation versus actual legislation

The education law of the Republic of Karelia (1994) used to contain similar language provisions as the education laws of other republics in the Russian Federation. It promised that the Republic of Karelia would create conditions for representatives of indigenous peoples (Karelians and Veps) to receive general education in native languages and for representatives of other nationalities to choose their language of education from among the possibilities provided by the education system. However, this provision was changed already in 1997. In the present law on education implemented in 2005, most of the language provisions of the previous law were excluded. The law only establishes the obligation of the republic to support learning of the national languages and other ethnocultural subjects in schools (the so-called ethnocultural component) (see Article 3). Russian as the state language of the Russian Federation has to be studied in all educational institutions. The languages of instruction are defined by the founders of educational institutions in their own statutes.

In addition to the Law on Education, the Law on Support (2004) states that the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages can be studied as subjects in educational institutions, according to federal and republican legislation (Article 4). Citizens have the right to freely choose their language of education and upbringing. They have the right to learn the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages and to receive general education in these languages. The republic ensures these rights by the creation of the necessary number of classes, groups, and conditions for their functioning (Article 5). These rights are ensured also by the approval of implementation programmes, containing among others (in Article 3) the following measures: 3) establishing the system of learning the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages in general education institutions; 4) support of educational institutions, where the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages are taught and (or) where there is the potentiality to learn these languages; 5) publishing teaching and supply materials, academic literature, fiction, children's books, dictionaries in the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages, and supplying educational, cultural, research, and other public institutions with books and materials; 7) support of those specialists in the fields of culture, education, research, and mass media who use in their activities the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages; 8) improvement of the system of specialist training in the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages; and 9) assistance in the development of international and interregional relationships that enhance the maintenance, learning, development, and usage of the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages.

The regional target programme "State Support of the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages in 2006-2010", known later as the Program on Support of Languages (2005),³² was approved the following year after the adoption of the law. This programme aims at ensuring the rights

³² Text available at <http://www.gov.karelia.ru/Power/Committee/National/Lang/program.html>.

of Karelians, Veps, and Finns for the maintenance, development, study, and implementation of their native languages. It is interesting that not one (as in the other republics), but three authorities are the main implementers of the programme: the State Committee on Nationalities Policy Affairs, the Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs, and the Ministry of Culture and Public Relations.

One aspect of the programme contains measures in the fields of education, culture, science, information, and administrative activities. The first section in this area is on national education and it is intended to increase the number of public services in the field. The task is to improve the language knowledge of students and to expand the number of schools with an ethnocultural component. The plan is to measure satisfaction levels regarding the needs of citizens by the number of their requests to executive authorities.

4.3.3 Media

4.3.3.1 Existence of Media

As discussed already in Section 4.3.1.4, the Karelian language is used most often in traditional media: television, radio and newspapers. The use of Karelian in electronic media seems very rare. In Q62A, our minority respondents were asked about their personal use of the Karelian language in different media. As shown in Figure 41 below, Karelian is used mostly in traditional media. The share of respondents using these most popular media in Karelian on a monthly basis or more often was still less than 40%.

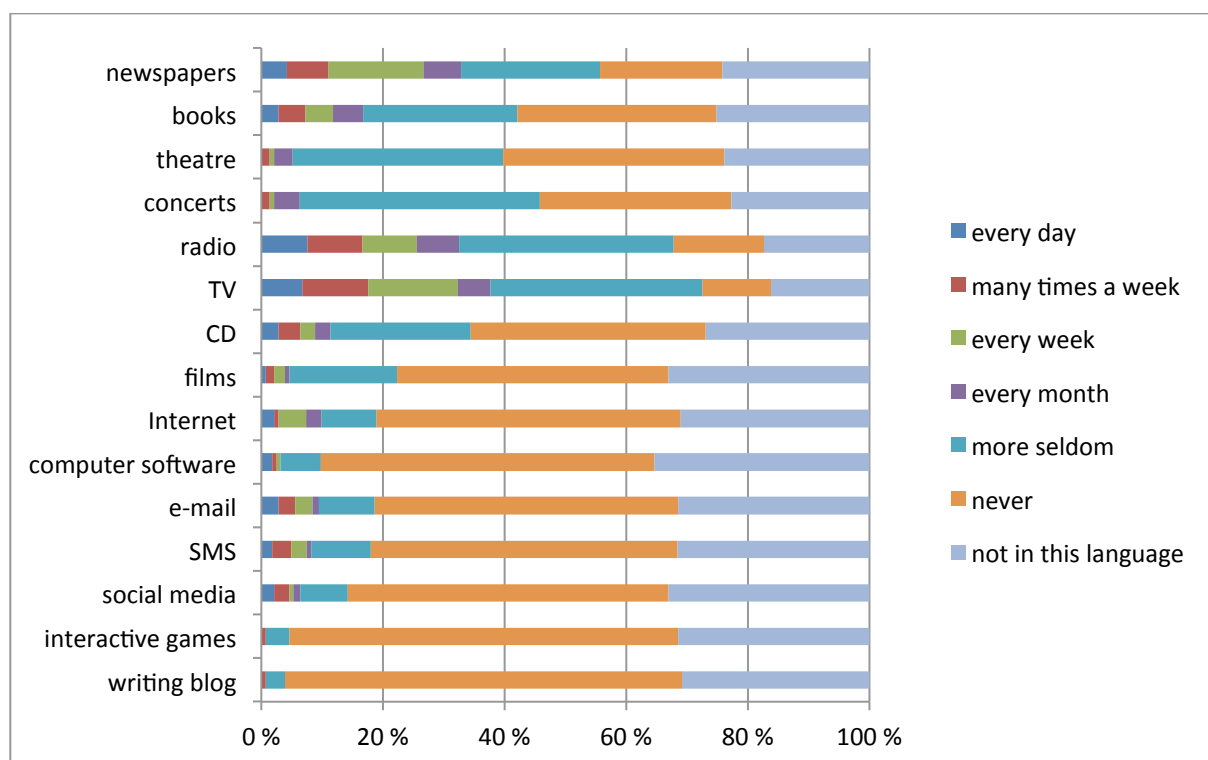


Figure 41: Use of the Karelian language in media

Nearly a third of the respondents (32.4%) reported watching Karelian television broadcasts weekly, many times a day, or every day. A quarter (25.6%) said that they listen to the radio in Karelian at least on a weekly basis.³³ As shown by earlier research (e.g. Viinikka-Kallinen 2010), native language radio and television are of special importance for minority language speakers for many reasons: although the speakers may not be fluent in literary language, they are able to follow spoken media, which are usually free of charge and do not require registration or a subscription. When taking into account the age of the respondents using different media, television and radio are clearly most used by the elderly: 45.7% of the eldest age group said that they watch television and 51.4% listen to the radio many times a week or daily. Of the youngest age group, 34.8% replied that they never watch Karelian broadcasts and 43.9% never listen to the radio in Karelian.

As discussed in Section 4.2, only a small amount of Karelian is used on television. The interviewees brought up another problem: the broadcasting time of the Karelian programmes during working hours was considered inappropriate:

(93) RU-KRL-FG-AG4-07F:

televizoras sežo pidäs enämbi, da ei huondeksel aijoi konzu kaikin ollah ruavos. -- moizet pereduačat ollah ylen hyvät ved' lapset i kačottas dai kai

'There should be more television programmes, but not early in the morning when everybody is at work. Those programmes are very good and the children should watch them, and everybody.'

Slightly more than a quarter (26.6%) of respondents replied that they read Karelian newspapers on a weekly basis. Newspapers are read more evenly by Karelians of all ages, although the oldest respondents again reported more frequent use than the younger generations. Not many respondents were familiar with reading books in Karelian: only 11.9% reported reading them on a weekly basis or more often.

Our control group interviewees have received negative feedback about publishing in minority languages, but polls have shown that the minority media is used:

(94) RU-RU-FG-CG-P:

S1:

Раз исследования, нам многие говорили зачем вот вы выпускаете газеты, вот такие на языке на карельском на вепском их, никто не читает это мукулатура, деньги тратите, зачем вы передачи на языках радио, теле? А нам ответили в соответствии вот с ответами. Мы опросы проводили как среди вот городских вепсов так и вепсов Шелтозера, Шокши и Рыбреки.

'[There have been] investigations, many have said to us: why do you publish papers, such things, in Karelian or Veps, nobody reads them, it's rubbish, you're wasting money, why do you... broadcast in languages [on] radio and TV? But they answered us. Corresponding to the

³³ There is a striking contrast between our data and the study of Skön and Torkkola (1997), according to which almost 90% of Karelian respondents follow television or radio broadcasts in Karelian at least on a weekly basis (cf. Section 4.2).

answers, we made surveys among urban Veps and also among the Veps in [the villages of] Šëltozero, Šokša, and Rybreka.’

S2:

Вот где-то около ста человек в итоге получилось по тридцать оттуда и где-то вот отсюда из города дак вот три четверты.

‘Of some hundred people, we got thirty from there and from the city here about three out of four.’

S1:

Слушают радио, смотрят телевизор на языке те передачи которые и читают газеты да, семдесятъпять процентов, три четверты.

‘They do listen to the radio and watch TV in the language of the broadcasts, those who also read the papers, seventy-five percent, three quarters.’

In addition, the respondents reported using electronic media very seldom in Karelian. One must note, of course, that Internet content or interactive games, etc. barely exist in Olonec Karelian or in any other variety of the Karelian language (cf. Section 2.4.3). The use of the Internet in Karelian is, of course, more typical for the younger age groups: of the youngest age group (18-29 years), 27.3% said that they use the Karelian language on the Internet sometimes.

(95) Interviewer:

käytättögö työ karjalan kielder internetas kuitahto?

‘Do you use the Karelian language on the Internet somehow?’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-05F:

viestii kirjutammo toiči

‘We occasionally write messages.’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-07F:

kirjutammo kirjazii karjalakse da vie konzu nennih kaikkih foorumoile rubiet

‘We write e-mails in Karelian and in addition when you participate in all those forums.’

Interviewer:

sotsializih verkkoloh nennih

‘In those social networks.’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-07F:

sinne kirjutammo

‘There we write.’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-06F:

meile on kaksi - - ryhmiä facebookissa da kontaktissa on. Oma Mua –lehten ga eule

We have two groups on Facebook and on VKontakte.³⁴ *Oma Mua* does not have a forum.

Interviewer:

ongo karjalan kielder kebeji käyttöä internetas

‘Is the Karelian language easy to use on the Internet?’

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-06F:

eule äijäl äijä jygei vaigevustu

‘There are no big difficulties.’

Interviewer2:

a kuibo lövvättö nenne hattupiähizet kirjaimet sie

‘But how do you find those letters with hats in there?’

³⁴ VKontakte is a Russian social media platform that is often called ‘the Russian equivalent to Facebook’.

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-07F:

suomen kieles

'From Finnish.'

interviewer2:

a konzu nennii viestilöi kirjutatto vot tekstuviestilöi nennis kobraččulois, kudamalbo kielel on kebjiembi kirjuttua

'When you write those text messages in those cellphones, which language is easier to use?'

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-07F:

ken ellendäy karjalakse sille karjalakse kirjutammog.i nennii tekstuviestilöi on kebjiembi tiettäväine kirjuttua.

'To those who understand Karelian, we write in Karelian. And of course it is easier to write those text messages.'

RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-06F:

ne ollah pienet pienembät sanat ollah

'The words are shorter.'

The Karelian respondents preferred using Russian in all media platforms. Furthermore, the minority group respondents were asked (in Q62B) about using Russian in different media. The contrast between the use of Karelian and Russian is clearly visible when Figures 41 and 42 are compared. For example, while only 26.6% of respondents reported reading newspapers in Karelian at least on a weekly basis, as many as 90.8% of respondents said that they do the same in Russian. Similarly, the share of respondents watching television broadcasts in Russian at least on a weekly basis was 93.5% and in Karelian only 32.4%. By a significant margin, in the society where the respondents are living, such language choices are to be expected: the availability of Russian books, newspapers, television and radio programmes, Internet content, CDs, and so forth is overwhelming, compared to Karelian.

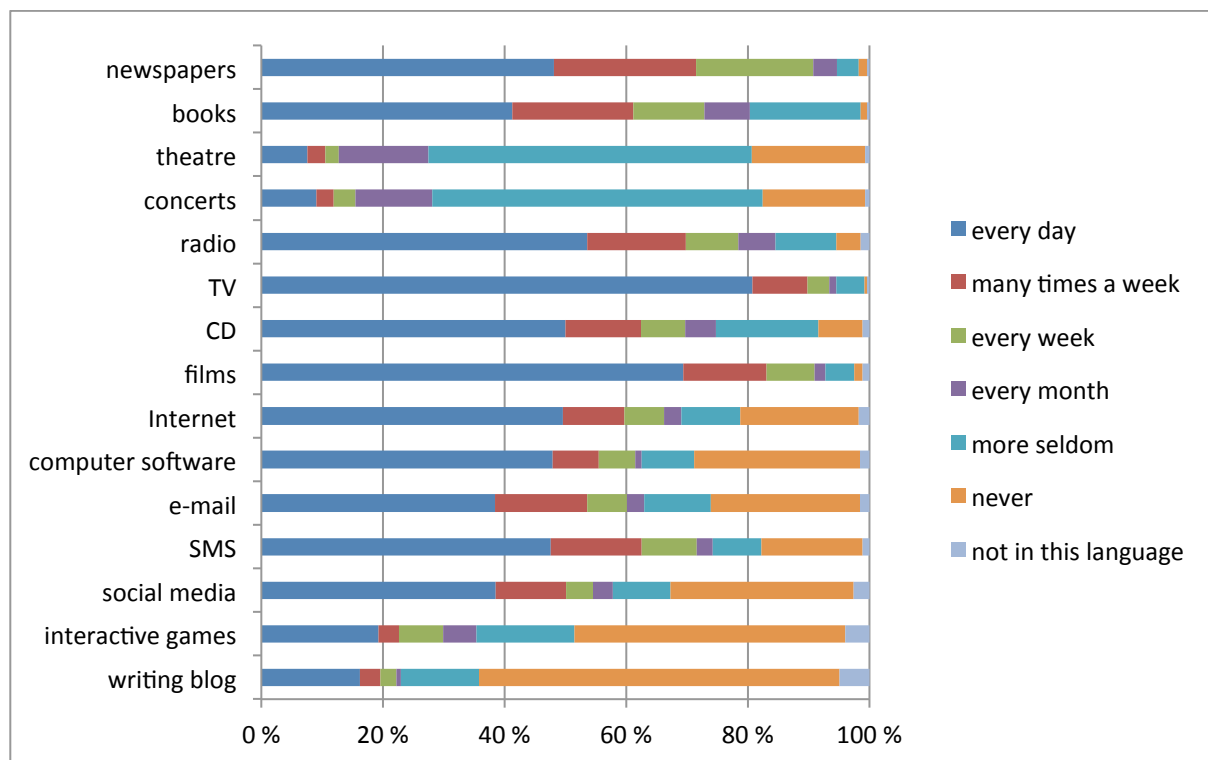


Figure 42: Use of the Russian language in media

The use of Russian in different media platforms reported by the control group respondents did not differ much from the minority group respondents. There were no significant differences in the use of Russian in different media platforms between the Olonec Karelian and control group respondents. One must keep in mind that the formulation of Q62 in the Olonec Karelian case study and Q37 in the control group study do not necessarily tell us about the language choices of the respondents as much as the use of certain media themselves. However, the control group respondents reported using new media (such as the Internet, computer software, and CDs) slightly more often than the Karelian minority group respondents. However, the control group survey was conducted in a city, whereas the minority group survey was mainly carried out in villages. Further, the control group consisted of slightly younger respondents than the Karelian minority group. Therefore, age distribution and place of residence partly explain the differences.

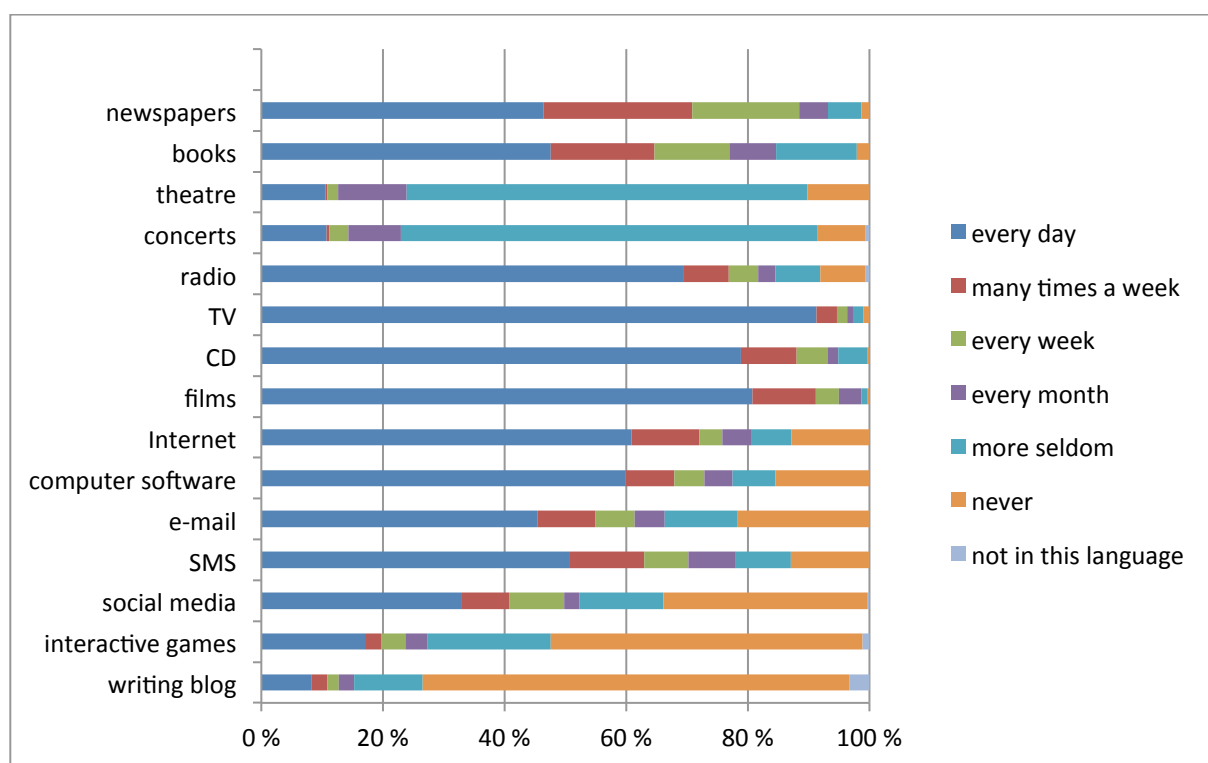


Figure 43: Use of the Russian language in media, CG

4.3.3.2 Active Use of Languages (Text Production) and Cultural Products

Olonec Karelian may be used when singing songs or reciting poetry, but usually not when producing text. The respondents were asked (in Q63A) about the active use of the Karelian language for text production and cultural products. Using Karelian for traditional text production was by no means very common. As shown below in Figure 44, only a small minority of the respondents said that they use Karelian for writing letters (4.8%), writing in a diary (8.3%), writing texts (5.5%), composing songs (2.6%), or performing in theatre (8.1%) at least on a monthly basis. Alternatively, the share of respondents who said that they would

use Karelian for singing songs (18.9%) or reciting poetry (16.7%) at least on a monthly basis was somewhat higher.

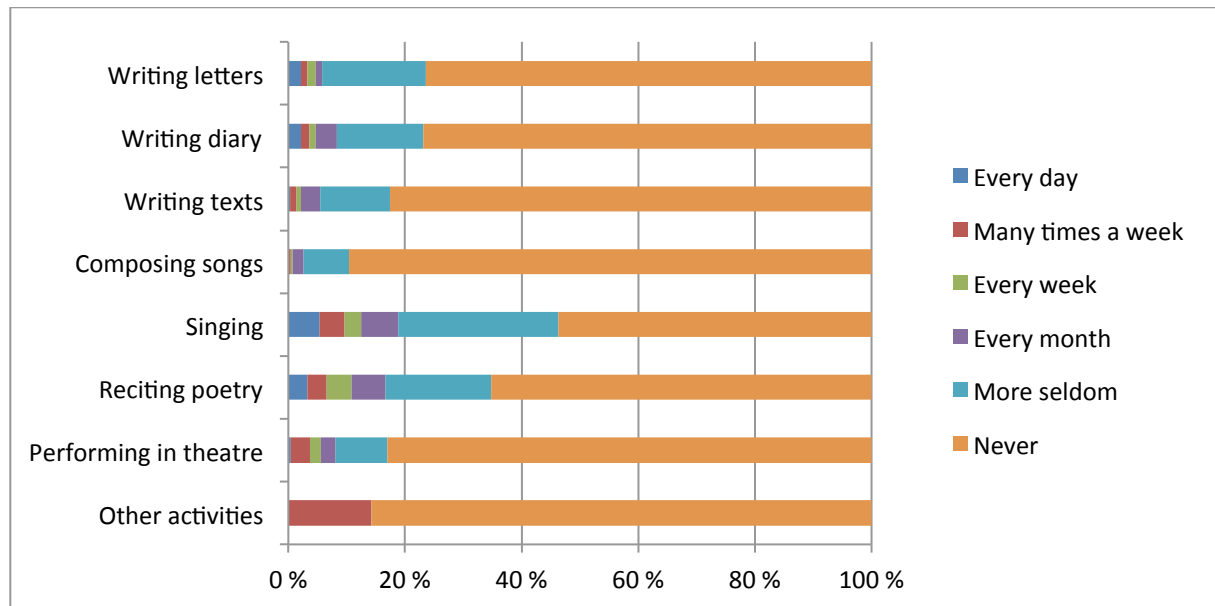


Figure 44: Active use of language (text production) and cultural products in Karelian

Instead, the Karelian minority group respondents said that they prefer using Russian when **writing texts, singing, or reciting poetry**. It is obvious that activities such as producing texts or composing songs are not extremely common on the whole. Therefore, to get a better picture of the active use of the two languages, we need to make comparisons between the use of Russian and the use of Karelian. As Figures 44 and 45 show, the minority group respondents said that they prefer to use Russian for all activities (Q63B). For instance, only 4.8% of the respondents reported using Karelian at least on a monthly basis when writing letters, while the share of respondents using Russian was as high as 32.4%. Similarly, only 18.9% of the respondents said that they would use Karelian at least monthly when singing, compared to 49.1% who would use Russian.

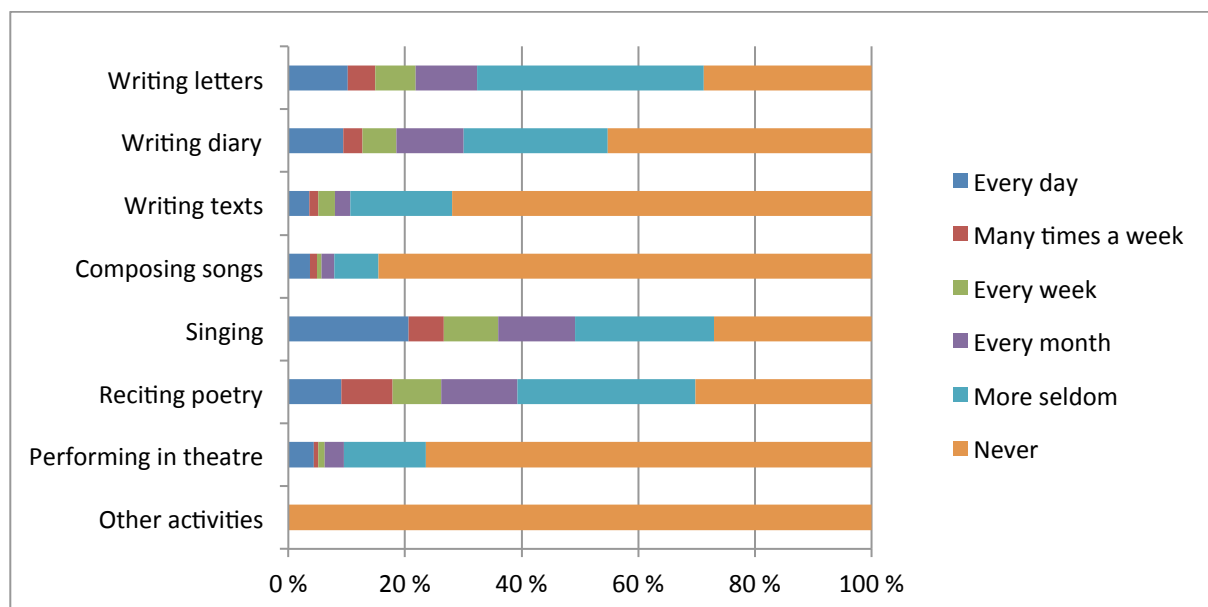


Figure 45: Active use of language (text production) and cultural products in Russian

4.3.4 Education

4.3.4.1 Language Acquisition

The formal educational system in Russia has not been a support in acquiring the Karelian language. The vast majority of our minority respondents have learnt Karelian solely at home. In Q08, the respondents were asked where and by whom they were taught Karelian. Furthermore, their answers were added up according to whether the respondents had learnt the language at home with their relatives or formally (at school, for instance). Only five respondents (1.8%) reported having learnt Karelian both formally and at home. The majority, 223 out of 272 respondents (82.0%), answered that they learned Karelian at home. An exceptional 21 respondents (7.7%) learned Karelian only formally. The share of respondents who learned Karelian both informally and formally was as low as 1.8%.

Altogether, only 9.5% of the Karelian respondents reported having learnt some Karelian through formal education. This should be self-evident in light of the age-distribution of the respondents, of course, because except for the short period in the 1930s, the Karelian language has been taught at school only for the past two decades (cf. Section 2.4.3.). It is equally important to note that it has not been the medium of instruction, but merely one subject among others with a very limited number of weekly hours. As education would probably be the most important opportunity provided by the state to support learning of the Karelian language, these numbers are not encouraging at all.

Similar to the questionnaire respondents, all interviewees except for one of the university students learned Karelian at home. The elder generations learned it from their parents, but the younger the interviewee, more common it is that Karelian was learnt from grandparents.

(96) RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3-05F:

minä kois duumaičen što opastuin pagizemah karjalakse. i kai oldih karjalazet, buaboi ni sanua ei malttanuh ven'akse, hänenkel olimmo kois. minä olin nuorembi lapsi, meidy oli nelli, häi minuu kačoi. ga sit mama gu toizet jo mendih školah häi nägi gu jygei on menn umbikarjalaizennu školah, sit häi minuu sinne detsaduh vedi vuvvekse, sie minä opastuin ven'an kiely. en minä musta, ei olluh jygei sidä opastuo. možet kuulin kois midäto vahnembat paistih keskenäh, sie vahnembat školah käydih tämä sizäret da vellet. nenga mina harjavuin ven'akse pagizemah.

'I think I learned to speak Karelian at home. Everybody was Karelian; grandmother did not know a word in Russian. I stayed at home with her. I was the youngest of four children. She stayed at home with me. Then my mother saw when the others went to school that it was hard to study as a monolingual Karelian and then she took me to kindergarten for a year. There I learned Russian. I do not remember it being hard to learn. Probably I heard at home how the elder siblings who already went to school spoke. So I grew accustomed to speaking Russian.'

A tiny minority of the respondents (7.7%) and one of the interviewees replied that they had learnt Karelian only formally. An even smaller share of the respondents (1.8%) reported having learnt Karelian both formally and at home. The formal institutions mentioned were the university, school, the Culture Institute, and the Vedlozero Pedagogic Institute.

Furthermore, many interviewees criticised the lack of available finances for teaching. They believed that if there was money, teaching of the Karelian language teaching should be developed and that the continuity of teaching should be improved:

(97) RU-KRL-IIAG1F:

karjalan kieldü erähis školis opastetah vai alguklassois a gu - - lapsi ei ruvennu opastamah ielleh karjalan kieldü se kogonah unohtuu

'The Karelian language is taught at some schools only in the lower classes. But when the child does not learn the Karelian language further, it will be forgotten completely.'

According to the same interviewee, the teaching methodology at the university at present is based on teaching Finnish, not Karelian.

(98) RU-KRL-IIAG1F:

meilägi üliopistos putilistu moistu metoodiekkua karjalan kielen metoodiekkua ei olluh, opastettih suomen kielen metoodiekkua, mutta vai gu a karjalan kielestü metoodiekkua putilistu ei olluh

'There was no proper methodology of teaching Karelian at our university. We were taught Finnish methodology, but there was no proper Karelian methodology.'

As seen earlier, the representatives of our Russian-speaking control group tended to view the situation of the minority languages more positively than the speakers themselves. According to the following interviewee, the faculty of Finnic languages at the University of Petrozavodsk achieves outstanding results:

(99) RU-RU-FG-CG-P:

Представьте себе младописьменные языки и там защищаются на пишут работы на вепском языке на карельском и говорят и дискутируют, то есть у нас появилось масса молодых людей которые прекрасно говорят на своем языке.

‘Think about the languages that have a young literary standard: there they defend and write their academic dissertations in the Veps language and the Karelian language and talk and discuss. That means that we have a mass of young people who speak outstandingly in their language.’

Approximately one quarter of the Karelian minority respondents (26.6%) did not learn any Russian at home. Next, the respondents were asked where and by whom they were taught to speak Russian. There was a considerable share of respondents who did not learn Russian at home, but only formally (Q9), such as the following interviewee:

(100) RU-KRL-FG-AG5-01M:

karjalan kiel,i muudu ei ole muailmal. a sit konzu školah lähtin, sit jo vähäizel tiijustin ongi toizii kielii Karjalas. - - kaikin pagizimmo tiettäväine karjalakse ku ven'akse ei moni malttanu.
 ‘[Besides] the Karelian language there are no other languages in the world. But when I went to school, then I realised there are other languages in Karelia. We all spoke Karelian, of course, because not many of us knew Russian.’

Only a few respondents (15.9%) reported having learnt Russian both at home and formally. The share of respondents who replied that they learned Russian at home was as large as 57.1%. This would point towards simultaneous bilingualism for a significant part of our respondents. However, this percentage should not be interpreted as if respondents learned Russian only at home and nowhere else. When presented with a question like this, respondents usually think about the place where they first learned the language. An ordinary respondent does not think about learning a language as a process which also continues during the school years. Russian is and has been predominantly the language of instruction in Russia. Therefore, there might also have been respondents who did not find it worth mentioning that they also studied in Russian.

4.3.4.2 Language of Instruction

Russian is and has been almost exclusively the sole language of instruction of every school. In Q25, the respondents were asked whether they were taught in just one language when they went to school. An overwhelming majority (93.5%, or 273 respondents) replied that they had only one language of instruction at school. As expected, in the majority of cases it was Russian. There was one respondent (over 65 years old) who reported Finnish as her only language of instruction.

Very few respondents (0.7%-2.4%) reported having had Karelian as one of their languages of instruction at school. Respondents were asked in Q26 if they were taught in more than one language. Obviously, the most common language of instruction was Russian. The Karelian language has not been officially used as the language of instruction since the 1930s (see Section 2.4.3). Very few respondents reported having been taught in Karelian: seven respondents (2.4%) in pre-school, seven respondents (2.4%) in primary school, and two respondents (0.7%) in secondary school.

A tiny minority of respondents reported having had Finnish or English as one of their languages of instruction. In Q26C and Q26D, the respondents were asked whether they had had some other languages of instruction besides Russian and Karelian. Only three respondents reported having been taught in some other language (Q26C, Q26D) in pre-school: this language was Finnish and the age-group of the respondents was 18-29. The number of respondents having been taught in some other language in primary school was again low (17 respondents). The language mentioned was again Finnish and the respondents were more than 65 years old; this is natural, as during the 1920s and 1930s Finnish was used as the language of instruction in many Karelian schools (see Section 2.2.1). One respondent (aged 18-29) replied having had instruction in Finnish and English. There were also nine respondents who reported having been taught in some other language in secondary school. Most of these respondents mentioned Finnish as the language of instruction, but English was also brought up. Some of the respondents probably did not differentiate between the language of instruction and the language being studied.

Similarly, there were several interviewees who reported in face-to-face interviews that they had Finnish as a language of instruction in their childhood. The following interviewee actually spoke mostly in Finnish during the interview:

(101) RU-KRL-FG-AG5-08F8:

ja siinä mie elin Paadenella lopetin seitsemän luokkaa - - siellä oli kaikki suomen kielellä.

'And there I lived in Paadene. I finished seven classes. All instruction was in Finnish.'

More than 90% of the respondents have had no instruction of Karelian at school. In Q27, the respondents were asked whether they had any Karelian education in pre-school, primary school, or secondary school. The vast majority of respondents reported that they had no Karelian education in pre-school (96.4%), in primary school (91.3%), or in secondary school (93.5%). Therefore, very few respondents (3.6%, or ten respondents) had learnt Karelian in pre-school. The shares of respondents who reported that they received a Karelian education in primary school (8.7%, or 24 respondents) or secondary school (6.5%, or 18 respondents) were a bit higher. Some of the respondents belonging to the 18-29 age category were taught Karelian at school, as the instruction was continued at the end of the 1980s. Some respondents who were over 65 years of age were taught Karelian in school in the 1930s (see Section 2.2.2).

In fact, some of our interviewees criticised the school system in the Karelian Republic for not giving correct information to students about the Karelian people in the area :

(102) RU-KRL-FG-AG2AG3- 05F:

a konzu hyö mendih yhten kerran matkah en en musta Karjalas sie avtobusas ajajes sanottih što vot täs ennen elettih karjalaizet myö jo elimmö meidy jo ei ole elämäs sit lapsi tuli ja sanou elettiho karjalaizet vai oletgo sinä vie karjalaine elävy karjalaine vot nenga on meil dielo školas se on itkusilmis voibi kuunnella nengomii midä meile školas on.

'When they once made a trip, I don't remember, in Karelia, during the bus ride it was said that once the Karelians lived here. We once lived... [as if] we do not exist any more. Then my child came and asked, are there any Karelians left, are you still Karelian, a living Karelian?'

This is the situation at school. With tears in [your] eyes, you can listen what it is like at school.'

5 Case-Specific Language Vitality Barometer

The final product of the ELDIA project, the *European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar)*, will be created on the basis of the Case-Specific Reports and analyses. For this purpose, the vitality of the language at issue in each case study is illustrated by a radar chart. The idea and design of the barometer and the radar chart are the result of a series of discussions and collective efforts involving many members of the ELDIA consortium. The barometer planning was initiated by Jarmo Lainio, while the design of the radar chart was first suggested and sketched by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark and then developed by Katharina Zeller. The radar charts in their present form (in particular, the quantification of the questionnaire survey results) are largely based on the data analysis design developed by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt.

The main findings of our study are analysed and summarised below in terms of the four Focus Areas (Capacity, Opportunity, Desire, and Language Products); for the principles of ELDIA data analysis, see Section 3.6. The visual presentation of the results, the vitality barometer for Karelian in Russia, is given before this in a radar chart (the calculations and this chart were prepared by Kari Djerf and Eva Kühhirt).

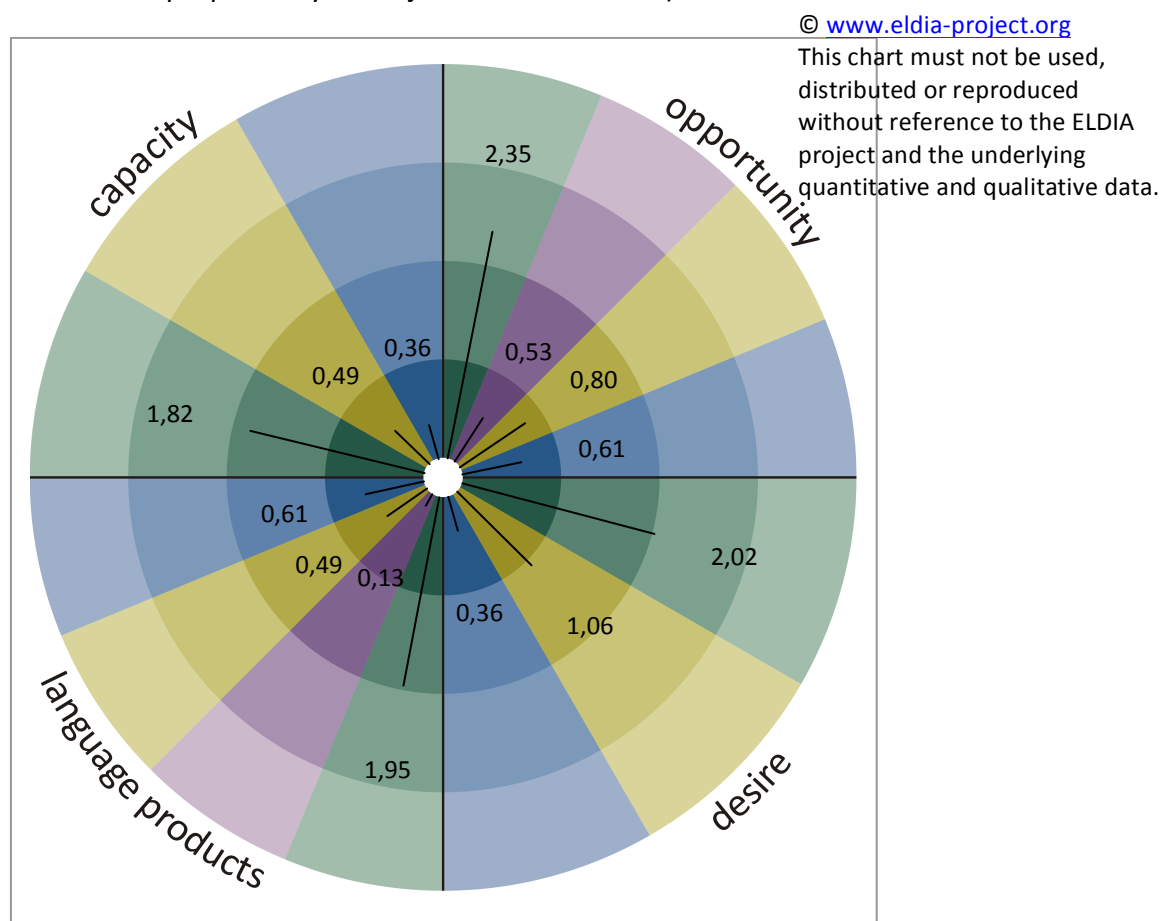


Figure 46: EuLaViBar for the Olonec Karelian language in Russia

Four different colours are used to depict the four Dimensions: *Language Use and Interaction*, *Education*, *Legislation*, and *Media*. Note that only three Dimensions (not *Education*) are found in the ‘Capacity’ and ‘Desire’ quadrants. As some values proved very low, to improve the readability of the graphs it was decided to start the lines from an inner circle instead of the centre.

The following legend indicates the colours used for each Dimension and the colours used for the grade.

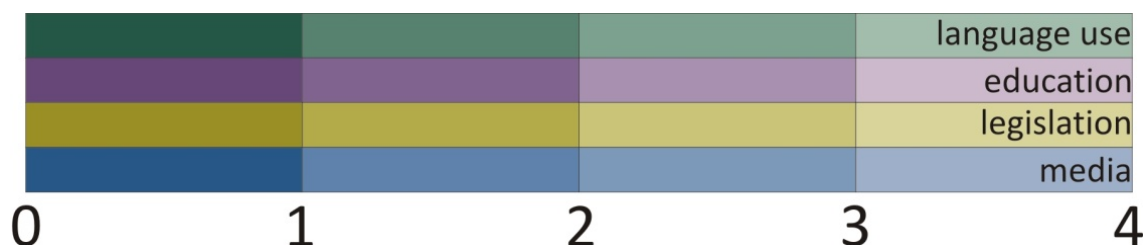


Figure 47: Legend for EuLaViBar

The European Language Vitality Barometer will serve as an instrument for measuring the prospects of the vitality of minority languages. This will be done by identifying conditions that threaten the maintenance of the language in question, those that promote it, and those that need to be improved in order to promote the maintenance of the language. The Barometer involves constitutive components at four different levels: Focus Areas (level 1) which comprise several Dimensions (level 2) each. The Dimensions that were analysed employ carefully constructed sets of variables (level 3). The variants (level 4) of the variables are defined by using the following scaling system (cf. Section 3.6 above):

Grade	Description
0	<p>Language maintenance is severely and critically endangered. The language is "remembered" but not used spontaneously or in active communication. Its use and transmission are not protected or supported institutionally. Children and young people are not encouraged to learn or use the language.</p> <p>→Urgent and effective revitalisation measures are needed to prevent the complete extinction of the language and to restore its use.</p>
1	<p>Language maintenance is acutely endangered. The language is used in active communication at least in some contexts, but there are serious problems with its use, support and/or transmission, to such an extent that the use of the language can be expected to cease completely in the foreseeable future.</p> <p>→Immediate effective measures to support and promote the language in its maintenance and revitalisation are needed.</p>

- 2 **Language maintenance is threatened.** Language use and transmission are diminishing or seem to be ceasing at least in some contexts or with some speaker groups. If this trend continues, the use of the language may cease completely in the more distant future.
→Effective measures to support and encourage the use and transmission of the language must be taken.
- 3 **Language maintenance is achieved to some extent.** The language is supported institutionally and used in various contexts and functions (also beyond its ultimate core area such as the family sphere). It is often transmitted to the next generation, and many of its speakers seem to be able and willing to develop sustainable patterns of multilingualism.
→The measures to support language maintenance appear to have been successful and must be upheld and continued.
- 4 **The language is maintained at the moment.** The language is used and promoted in a wide range of contexts. The language does not appear to be threatened: nothing indicates that (significant amounts of) speakers would give up using the language and transmitting it to the next generation, as long as its social and institutional support remains at the present level.
→The language needs to be monitored and supported in a long-term perspective.

5.1 Capacity

The EuLaViBar Focus Area of **Capacity** refers to the subjects' capacity to use the Karelian language and the self-confidence of the speakers in their use of Karelian (cf. Section 3.6.3). The total mean score of this Focus Area is the second weakest of all the Focus Areas. As seen clearly in the radar chart, the strongest Dimension of the Focus Area Capacity is *Language Use and Interaction*. Nonetheless, the capacity to use Karelian even among our selected respondents (see discussion in Section 3.2) indicates advanced language shift (reflecting a total score of 1.82). In fact, this is the lowest score for this Dimension in the whole barometer.

Language Use and Interaction

The weakest scores for using Karelian concerned present language use. Our respondents declared that they currently use Karelian least with their fathers, children, spouses, and mothers.³⁵ Note that our rating does not take into account the mortality rate of the

³⁵ The order of relatives indicates the degree of Karelian language use (least first).

fathers,³⁶ but contrasts the numbers as such. Conversely, Karelian has been used the most in the childhoods of the respondents with their maternal grandparents, paternal grandparents, parents speaking with each other, mothers (as their mother tongue, or the first language learnt), and again least with fathers.³⁷ The mean score for language use intra- and cross-generationally was 1.61; according to ELDIA definitions, this suggests acute endangerment.

The self-estimated capacity of our Karelian ELDIA respondents to use the Karelian language proved to be better than expected on the basis of earlier research and population censuses (see 4.3.1.3 *Self-reported language competence*). In fact, the self-reported language competence of our respondents received rates such as 1.56 (writing in Karelian) at the lowest and 2.68 (understanding Karelian) at the highest. However, when the age of the respondents is taken into account – which was not the case when the figures behind the radar chart were calculated – the severe nature of the language shift is clearly visible. Only elderly people over 65 years of age estimated their oral Karelian skills to be fluent. Karelian is first and foremost a spoken language, as can be seen in Figures 11-15 in Section 4.3.

Although the Karelian respondents seem to have mastered the Karelian language better than expected, the spheres of language use are very restricted. The weakest mean score (0.81) was seen when evaluating the spheres and frequency of present Karelian language use. As shown in Section 4.3.1.4, Karelian is a domestic language rarely used outside the home or Karelian villages. However, as many as 39.2% of respondents still thought that Karelian is easy to use in most walks of life (see Section 4.3.1.4), and thus was rated as 1.57 in our scale. This once again points to the indifferent attitude towards developing Karelian to fit all social needs: these results can be interpreted as showing that the Karelian language is considered easy to use in such situations where it normally is used (i.e. at home and with relatives).

The highest scores of this Dimension were seen when respondents were asked about receiving support from their parents to use the Karelian language in their childhood. Today the situation seems less promising, however, as the scores have fallen from 2.8 to 2.5. As the difference is not that great, it would indicate a severe change in support during the lifespan of our respondents (see also 4.3.1.7 *Support and prohibition*).

Legislation

For the Capacity Focus Area, the Dimension of *Legislation* was only assessed in terms of relevant legislation being available for the language in question. Whether and to what extent this is connected to the speakers' own proficiency in Karelian begs further investigation. As discussed in Section 4.1, there are no legal texts available in the Karelian language. And as

³⁶ As known, the average life expectancy of men in the Karelian Republic is very low; in 2008, it was only 55 (see Laatikainen 2009).

³⁷ The order indicates the degree of Karelian language use (most first).

shown in Section 4.3.2, most minority respondents were uncertain about the issue. Despite this, the Dimension of *Legislation* was rated over zero in the EuLaViBar calculations. This score is calculated based on those respondents who thought that Karelian language legislation exists. The erroneous belief of just a few (21) of our minority respondents in the existence of such translations of legislation is interpreted as self-confidence.

Media

As seen in the barometer, the *Media* Dimension rated the lowest of the three Dimensions under Capacity. The use and consumption of different media (e.g. old and new, printed and electronic) was rated very low (0.61). The production of different kinds of language products was rated even lower (0.35). It is true, of course, that the Karelian language is scarcely used in media. However, the frequency of the use of traditional media (e.g. books, newspapers, radio, television) was given the same weight as the consumption of theatre, concerts, or interactive games, which are not used every day by most people. Although the share of respondents using traditional media on a monthly basis or more often was less than 40% (cf. Section 4.3.3), the situation should probably not be rated as hopeless as the score suggests.

5.2 Opportunity

In light of the EuLaViBar, **Opportunity** seems to be the second strongest Focus Area of the Olonec Karelian language. In this case study, all Dimensions (except for *Legislation*) scored highest in this Focus Area.” Opportunity refers to those “factually existing” “institutional arrangements that allow for, support to or inhibit the use of” Karelian (cf. Section 3.6.3). The Dimension of *Language Use and Interaction* in the Focus Area of Opportunity scored highest of all in our Karelian case study. However, even the highest score of 2.35 does not come close to indicating that the Karelian language would be properly maintained or protected.

Language Use and Interaction

The support and prohibition of language use in our respondents’s childhoods and at present (Q22, Q23, and Q24) scored quite positively in the calculations of the EuLaViBar. These questions, however, contained clear problems. Firstly, the question concerning present attitudes towards the language choices with children (Q24) ought not to have been taken into account at all in the barometer, as the question was ill-defined and reveals only whether any attitudes towards using any languages with children are presented. (For details, see *Support and Prohibition* in Section 4.3). Secondly, in the question about Karelian language use being prohibited in the childhoods of the respondents (Q22), it was quite misleading to ask whether the *parents* of the respondents were told not to use the language with their children. The actual problem would have been a direct order *to the children themselves* not to speak Karelian, or the attitudes of our respondents’ parents towards using the Karelian language expressed to them directly.

The maintenance of the Karelian language was considered optimistically among our respondents, and therefore also rated relatively high in the barometer. Attempts to save the Karelian language (Q60) were reported very commonly, being rated as high as 3.86 in the barometer. Almost as positive was the perceived existence (Q55) of institutions and persons cultivating the Karelian language (3.82). The need to develop Karelian to fit social needs (Q58) was rated high (3.59) in the EuLaViBar, although over a third of the respondents could not answer this question (cf. 4.3.1.6 *Language Maintenance*). According to the ELDIA definitions, numbers this high indicate that “[t]he language is supported institutionally and used in various contexts and functions (also beyond its ultimate core area such as the family sphere).”

However, in contrast to the optimistic views on language maintenance above, the results of questions concerning the use of Karelian in different domains resulted in low mean scores in the EuLaViBar calculations. Firstly, over 60% of our respondents felt that Olonec Karelian is not easy to use in most situations in life (rated 1.57 in the EuLaViBar). Secondly, when asked whether the Karelian language is used in certain central forums in Russian society, the mean score was even lower at 1.32 (cf. 4.3.1.4 *Domain-specific language use*). These numbers point to the Karelian language being severely threatened, according to our scaling.

Despite the flaws mentioned above, the overall mean score of 2.35 (which indicates that “the language use and transmission are diminishing or seem to be ceasing at least in some contexts or with some speaker groups”) seems quite correct in describing the present situation of the Karelian speakers using their language. What the barometer does not show is the gradual decline in revitalisation and language maintenance measures after the peak of the 1990s. Our data also fails to describe the importance of direct or implicit prohibitions to use the Karelian language in the Soviet Union before the upheavals of the late 1980s. Instead, it clearly shows the restricted domains of use of Karelian, which are mostly tied to domestic life and, moreover, to the Karelian village communities.

Education

The lowest scores in the whole EuLaViBar suggest that *Education* is the weakest of all Dimensions concerning the Karelian language. However, *Education* in the Focus Area of Opportunity is not the lowest score in the barometer, as it is still higher than the score of *Education* in the Focus Area of Language products. The difference between those two scores can be explained by the higher scores received by Karelian language acquisition of the respondents. The ways of calculating the mean score for *Education* are otherwise similar to those in Language Products.

The mean score for the acquisition of Karelian is calculated as 1.72. This figure represents the situation where Karelian has mostly (82% of the cases) been learnt *at home or formally*. However, even a mean score this low is misleadingly high, as the home and school as learning environments have been combined in the EuLaViBar calculations. As a more careful inspection of our data reveals, the vast majority of our respondents learned Karelian solely

at home. In reality, only 9.5% of the respondents had a formal education in Karelian. If the options of learning Karelian at home or through formal education had been weighed separately, the mean score would be even lower than what one finds now. In conclusion, it is clear that Karelian is very rarely learnt through formal education.

Since the 1930s, Karelian has not been used as a language of instruction (cf. Section 2.4.3). Therefore, Karelian was the language of instruction for almost none of our respondents. Russian officially remains the sole language of instruction at all levels of education, although some courses at the university may rarely be taught in Karelian. These facts, of course, are rated very close to zero in the barometer.

However, there are still some possibilities of learning the Karelian language through formal education (cf. Section 2.4.3). The Karelian language is and has been taught as a subject in some schools in the Republic of Karelia. **Still, more than 90% of the respondents had no Karelian education at school.**

To conclude, the Karelian language is very weakly supported in the education system. Despite the possibilities provided by the laws and promised support for Karelian and the other minor Finnic languages in the republic, the Karelian language is not used as a medium of instruction. In addition, it is rarely taught as a subject.

Legislation

There are opportunities provided by the legislation concerning the use of Karelian, or at least there is no prohibitive legislation. However, as shown in Sections 4.1 and 4.3.2, there is little actual support at the official level. As the barometer and our analysis show, the legal status of the Karelian language has only weak support despite the nominal status of the Karelian language as the titular language of the Karelian Republic. This is clearly highlighted in the barometer by the low mean score (less than 1).

The mean score for the knowledge of our respondents concerning the supporting legislation was 1.73. However, the estimated lack of any prohibitive legislation scored quite highly (3.09). As shown in Sections 4.1 and 4.3.2, the laws do not forbid the use of the Karelian language. However, the status of the Russian language as the sole official language of the republic is highlighted in the laws.

The legislation regarding education in and about the Karelian language received mean scores of 2 and 2.52. The scores do not reveal the actual existence of such laws, but the knowledge of our respondents about such legislation.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there are no legal texts available in the Karelian language. The estimation of our respondents concerning the existence of those hardly seem relevant in evaluating their actual existence. See further discussion on legislation in Section 5.1.

Media

The existence of Karelian language media can be estimated to some degree through the reported use of different media in our questionnaire (Q62). The mean score of 0.61 points to very little use and existence of Karelian language media. However, as discussed in the previous section, the frequency of using traditional media (e.g. books, newspapers, radio, television) was given the same weight as consumption of theatre, concerts, or interactive games, which are used every day by most people. Although the share of respondents using traditional media on a monthly basis or more often was less than 40% (cf. Section 4.3.3), the more rarely used platforms of new media such as blogs or interactive games drag the mean score of the use of Karelian media lower than it would be if only traditional media were included. But one needs only look at Figures 42 and 43 in order to see how dominant the role of Russian is in all the media consumption.

5.3 Desire

Desire as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to “the wish and the readiness of people to use” the Karelian language. The definition continues, “desire is also reflected via attitudes to and emotions over the (forms of) use of” the Karelian language (cf. Section 3.6.3). The overall mean score of all the Dimensions of Desire is the highest of all four Focus Areas.

Language Use and Interaction

The same variables included in the Dimension of *Language Use and Interaction* under the Capacity Focus Area were taken into account when calculating the mean scores for *Language Use and Interaction* under the category of Desire. Therefore, the areas creating the more positive outcome of this Dimension under Desire mainly concern the attitudes of our respondents towards their own language and people and their perceptions of the importance of Karelian language maintenance. (For discussion of mother tongue, language competence, and cross- and intra-generational language use, refer to Capacity. Here we focus on the questions not discussed under Capacity.)

The attempts and the need to develop and revitalise Karelian were actively recognised and therefore scored over 3 (see the discussion above under Opportunity). In addition, the lack of any reported prohibition of the use of the Karelian language in the childhoods of our respondents is rated quite positively in the barometer. However, as suggested earlier in Section 4.3, figures this positive do not seem quite reliable. Instead, the comments of both the survey respondents and our interviewees on current attitudes reveal that the situation is far better today, as mostly positive attitudes towards speaking Karelian were reported.

The attitudes towards the spheres of use of Karelian correspond with the reported use of the language. In other words, according to our respondents, the Karelian language should mostly be used in those areas where it has most commonly been used (see 4.3.1.4 *Domain-*

specific language use). However, the will to widen the spheres of use of Karelian is rated higher (3.59) than the spheres of actual use (2.61). This would suggest a demand to develop Karelian to fit all social needs.

The attitudes of our respondents towards other Karelians did not result in very positive scores in terms of language vitality. It was expected that mostly elderly people would use Karelian, not the younger generations. This led to a mean score of 2.31. Even worse scores (1.77) were received when evaluating the attractiveness of fellow Karelians as acquaintances. However, as discussed already in Section 4.3.1.8, the formulation of these questions has allowed for many different interpretations.

The Karelian language was really not seen as having much importance in the labour market. Therefore, the mean score in the Barometer was low (1.34). Whether this really is a matter of Desire is a problematic question, however. The fact is that the Karelian language does not play a significant role in the Russian labour market; we did not ask whether it should.

Legislation

Legislation was rated the highest (although still as low as 1.06) in the Focus Area of Desire. This score reflects the reported support and prohibition by the Russian legislation for use of the Karelian language. As shown in Sections 4.1 and 4.3.2 (and above under Opportunity), the laws are supportive in nature, but knowledge about them is vague and actual support from the legislation is weak.

Media

The desire to use the Karelian language in media was evaluated by reported use of different media. Therefore, the value of *Media* under Desire is similar to *Media* under Capacity. However, we lack information on whether our respondents would like to have more broadcasts and publications, both old and new media, in Karelian.

5.4 Language Products

Language Products as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers “to the presence or the demand of language products (printed, electronic, “experiential”, e.g., concerts, plays, performances, etc.) as well as to the wish of having products and services in and through” the Karelian language (cf. Section 3.6.3). In line with our media analysis in Section 4.1 and in light of earlier research, it was expected that the total mean score of all the Dimensions of Language Products would be the weakest of the four Focus Areas, as it was.

Language Use and Interaction

Language Products refer to the domains where Karelian language is used and, according to our respondents, where it should be used (Q39) and (Q61) (see Section 4.3.1.4). As shown

already under the Focus Area of Desire, these two correspond to some point, but there is more demand for the use of Karelian than there are actual public spheres of use. Therefore, the mean score is as low as 1.95.

Education

The role of the Karelian language in the education system of the Karelian Republic is marginal. Instruction on the Karelian language and culture tends to focus on cultural heritage, such as singing and dancing, as the “ethnocultural component”. Among our respondents, very few received education about the Karelian language, not to mention studying *in* Karelian. Therefore, the score of Language Products of *Education* is as low as below zero, indicating the severe lack of Karelian language in formal education.

Legislation

Similar to the Dimension of *Legislation* under the Focus Area of Capacity, the mean score for *Legislation* within the Focus Area of Language Products was based on the existence or non-existence of legal texts on multilingualism translated into the minority language (Q47). The score was calculated on the basis of the “linguistic self-confidence” of the respondents (in other words, on the amount of respondents who were of the opinion that such legislation is available, whether this opinion is based on reality or not). In our case study, the mean score for *Legislation* was very low (0.49).

However, this low mean score can be interpreted from two different points of view. On the one hand, the respondents were not directly asked about their wishes to have legislative language products or services in the Karelian language. Therefore, the score should not be interpreted as the respondents not wishing for such products or services. On the other hand, the score represents the prevailing situation quite well: the legislative language products translated into Karelian are non-existent.

Media

The Dimension of *Media* within the Focus Area of Language Products scored also very low (0.61). The mean score was based on the presence of different kind of media in the Karelian language. Even traditional media are not widely available in Karelian. The broadcasting time of TV and radio programmes is not sufficient and the printed media is not published daily but weekly, compared to the printed media in the majority language. The electronic media in Karelian are fairly scarce and mainly available to the educated youth. The low score should not be interpreted as the respondents not wishing to have such products or services in Karelian, since the score was only based on the actual presence of media in Karelian. Karelian language speakers do not have a real chance to choose between Karelian and Russian media.

5.5 The Vitality of the Karelian Language

Olonec Karelian – along with other Karelian variants – spoken in Russia is without doubt a severely endangered language. As the barometer shows, the values of different Dimensions of the four Focus Areas never exceed the score of 3 (which would reflect a safer level of minority language maintenance and status in the society).

The fact that the area of *Language Use and Interaction* is the most vital of all the Focus Areas of the EuLaViBar highlights the fact that societal support for Olonec Karelian in forms of legislation, education, or (state-supported) media is very weak. When the selected nature of our sample is taken into account, the picture concerning the abilities and willingness to use the Karelian language grows even more dire. As shown by the data from the latest population census of 2010, the number of those who identify themselves as Karelians and those with some competence in the Karelian language have decreased significantly in just eight years. There are now 34.8% fewer people reporting Karelian nationality. Less than half of these report competence in Karelian.

* * *

The ELDIA consortium stresses that the language vitality barometer must never be used to conclude that some language is not “worth” institutional and/or financial support. The barometer cannot and should not be used for predicting the fate of an individual language.

The barometer helps policy-makers and stakeholders in identifying conditions that threaten the maintenance of a given language, those that promote its maintenance, and those that need to be improved in order to support the maintenance of language diversity. With the help of the barometer, special support can be directed to areas indicated by low vitality scores.

6 Conclusions

- Karelian is mainly a spoken language used in domestic environments among elderly people. The continuity of the Karelian village lifestyle is seen as vital for language maintenance.
- The Russian language dominates in every sphere of life of the Karelians; English does not play an important role.
- The mother tongue is not always the language used by the respondents' parents. The generation of grandparents has formed the main mediator group for the Karelian language.
- The share of parents using Karelian with their children is rapidly diminishing. The number of respondents supporting the use of Karelian by their own children is somewhat smaller than those getting support from their parents.
- The vast majority of the respondents have learnt Karelian solely at home. Russian is and has been almost exclusively the sole language of instruction in schools.
- Karelian is used most often in traditional media: television, radio, and newspapers. The use of electronic media in Karelian is very rare. Karelians prefer Russian in all media platforms.
- Knowledge of Russian is seen as a compulsory skill in the labour market. There is little use for Karelian in the working life.
- The attitudes of the minority, the majority, and legislation are, in principle, neutral or even supportive of the Karelian language. However, Karelian is not perceived as modern or even worth developing outside of the traditional language community. The more educated the respondent, the stronger their opinion that language development is needed.
- Mixing languages is seen as typical for Olonec Karelian speakers. Mixing is not seen as tied to the level of education as much as to the age of the speaker. Old people are perceived as speaking the correct version of Karelian.
- The future prospects of the Olonec Karelian language are regarded with great uncertainty.
- While the laws per se do not prevent the use of Karelian, there is little support for its use either. The majority respondents were more optimistic that the Russian legislation is somewhat supportive of the use of several languages.
- The most important problem concerning the legal status of the Karelian language discussed with our interviewees was the lack of status of Karelian as the other official language of their titular republic.

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Annex 1: Policy Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on the results of the case-specific study of Olonec Karelian (Russia) as a minority language. The data and analysis of the current study carried out within the ELDIA project provide up-to-date information on the present needs of Karelian language maintenance and revitalisation. Three hundred Olonec Karelians participated in the survey, that showed that the Karelian language is currently used only in certain contexts and the number of speakers has decreased dramatically over the past several decades.

The recommendations seek to point out measures that could and should be taken to support Karelian language usage and adoption today. Given that the list merely encourages new initiatives and long-term support of Karelian language usage, means of funding the proposed measures will not be discussed here. However, both public and private funding would be needed to ensure success.

Support of Karelian language learning

- (1) Special attention should be paid to **Karelian language learning by small children**. A major problem for the Karelian community is that children no longer learn the Karelian language at home. Language nests with small groups and close contact between children and teachers have proven to be the most efficient way of addressing this problem. Children could also be supported by immersion courses and language camps for families.
- (2) After successful early language learning, the Karelian language and teaching in **Karelian should be introduced in schools**. Aside from the Karelian language itself as a subject, some other subjects could be taught in Karelian, most notably ones that do not require much literary educational material.
- (3) For the successful promotion of Veps and Karelian early language learning, in principle there should be two types of special **kindergartens** in the Republic of Karelia: (a) bilingual kindergartens in which Russian and Karelian or Russian and Veps are used concurrently; and (b) Karelian or Veps kindergartens or language nests, in which the language for all activities is Karelian or Veps.
- (4) Early language learning in Karelian would be more successful if **specialised teacher education** were promoted as well. Special emphasis should be put on supporting teachers' language skills and their adoption of appropriate pedagogical methods.

Support of Karelian language usage

- (5) The support of **joint activities in Karelian for adults and children** (such as clubs and events) is recommended to connect Karelian speakers. Activities that use Karelian will encourage those with a weaker active command of the language to practice their passive

language skills. Joint activities promote language learning and provide participants with new, practical models of language. Young people should be invited to groups that actively use the Karelian language.

(6) Special measures and targeted projects are recommended to **increase young people's interest in the Karelian language**. Youth culture (such as music, games, and films) in the Karelian language is needed to encourage a broadening of the cultural sphere of the language.

(7) New Internet pages and discussion forums in the Karelian language are needed to promote **communication in Karelian**.

(8) A **Karelian language course on the Internet for adults** would support the language skills of the Karelian community.

Enhancing the visibility and position of the Karelian language

(9) **New audio content** is needed to make the language more commonly heard when few people are speaking it. Stories, broadcasts, and music in Karelian can create an auditory space for the Karelian language.

(10) **A specialist of the Veps and Karelian languages in the Ministry of Education** in the Republic of Karelia is recommended in order to support the education and use of Veps and Karelian.

(11) The Karelian and Veps languages could be a part of the **brand of the Republic of Karelia**. These languages could be made more visible on signs and in public texts. Place names and guides could be written in Karelian and Veps.

(12) **Companies** are encouraged to create a brand of northwestern Russia by publicly advertising the Veps and Karelian languages in their sites and brochures. The visibility of local languages enriches the local profile and may increase tourism.

(13) It is recommended that **child health and maternity clinics, as well as kindergartens**, spread up-to-date information on the advantages of the parallel learning of Karelian and Russian and supporting bilingualism in the upbringing of children.

(14) **A centre for Finnic languages and cultures** in Petrozavodsk could help connect scattered small groups and people. There could be a special building in which activities take place.

(15) **The distribution of Karelian books** and other publications in bookshops would increase their visibility and accessibility.

The legal position of the Karelian language

(16) In Russia **the law in support of small-numbered peoples** should also include the Karelian language. The **law on the Republic of Karelia on the state support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish language** in the Republic and Karelia embraces the Karelian

language. Application of the law in practice would be more successful if there was a special authority monitoring the implementation of the rights of the minorities and their legal position.

Recommendations for the media in the Republic of Karelia to support the Karelian and Veps languages

(17) Articles by the Karelian **newspapers**, most notably *Oma mua*, provide a good basis for discussion **on the Internet**. Online articles could encourage readers to comment and discuss them.

(18) Accessibility of the **Karelian language on the radio and television** strengthens its public image. Old radio and television broadcasts could be repeated. There could also be a freely accessible Internet archive of earlier radio and television broadcasts.

(19) Both electronic and printed media drive **new areas of language usage** and are applicable in an urban and modern context. Many readers live in towns and environments that differ significantly from traditional ones. The media plays an important role in creating new platforms of language usage for the speech community.

(20) **The media should situate Karelian and Veps in an international context**. Like other Finnic languages, Karelian and Veps share a lot with other minority languages in Russia and various Finno-Ugric languages and peoples in Europe. On the one hand, a broader context would shed new light on the current situation of Karelian and Veps; on the other hand, it would empower cultural identity and the adoption of ideas from other minority language communities. Furthermore, editors may get new ideas by following the media of other communities.

(21) Awareness of **the actual sociolinguistic and legal position of the Karelian and Veps languages** can be raised by the media when presented in an understandable form. Changes in legislation and their influence should be reported to the audience. The societal role of Karelian and Veps increases the status of these languages and the language identity of individual speakers. Important topics include multilingualism of individuals, families, and communities; reintroducing the inherited language; language shift; and children's language learning.

(22) Editors-in-chief should encourage editors to consider the impact of their articles on **the perception of the current and future situation of the Karelian and Veps languages**.

(23) The media has a great responsibility to support the **transmission of language and language identity**. In the present situation, Karelian and Veps are not being transmitted to the next generation. The Karelian and Veps media may strengthen the bridge between those who have learnt the language in their early childhood and those who are at the stage of language learning. Special issues and targeted materials would support this connection. For instance, grandparents and grandchildren could participate together in a writing competition.

(24) **Young people should be attracted** by selected topics to become consumers of media. Content should vary, according to the language competence of the readership and cover a range of proficiency levels.

(25) The Karelian and Veps media **interact with their audience**. Encouraging the audience to participate in generating topics and content will in turn support language maintenance. Language variation, such as areal divergence, will enhance means of communication in a positive way. In the best-case scenario, the number of people able to use the language publicly will increase.

The recommendations of the World Congress of the Finno-Ugrian Peoples

(26) The World Congress of the Finno-Ugrian Peoples has convened every fourth year since 1992. The recommendations of this international platform should be discussed in detail by the local authorities of the Republic of Karelia, with special emphasis on the two last congresses in Hanty-Mansijsk (2008) and Siófok (2012).

Annex 2: Questionnaires

The minority and majority (control-group) questionnaires of the ELDIA survey were developed jointly for the whole ELDIA project and translated from the master versions into the minority and majority languages of each case study (with some further modifications for the questionnaires used in the multilingual Northern Calotte area, i.e. the case studies on Meänkieli, Kven, and North Sámi). This central research design required the use of the same questionnaire across all the ELDIA case studies, despite the fact that not all questions were equally meaningful for all target groups; some questions may have seemed strange or irrelevant to the respondents of a certain target group, although the same questions have retrieved important information in some other ELDIA case study.

As mentioned above in chapter 3.1, the planning of the ELDIA fieldwork suffered from various problems which finally led to the partner in charge, the University of Stockholm, withdrawing from the project. The planning of the questionnaire was severely delayed due to problems in the organisation and leadership of this work phase and in the information flow between project partners; the pilot versions of the questionnaires could not be properly tested, and both the master questionnaire and its translations had to be finalised under extreme time pressure. Thus, the final versions of the questionnaires, while excessively long and generally experienced as complicated and challenging, still contained some flaws, errors and misleading formulations.

Learning from these experiences, the ELDIA consortium is working on a new, amended version of the master questionnaire. The new questionnaire is included in the *EuLaViBar Toolkit*, which has been published on the ELDIA project website (www.eldia-project.org; direct download link: <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:301101>).

The following questionnaires are translations of the English and Finnish master versions of the MinLg and CG questionnaires. The Karelian questionnaire was translated by Natal'â Antonova, the Russian questionnaires by Nina Zajceva. The final layout was created by Katharina Zeller (University of Mainz).

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5 Kus olet opastunnuh

- En ole opastunnuh školas
- Minul on loppiettu alguškola, _____vuottu
- Olen loppenuh keskiškolan/tehniekuman/ sain ičelleni spetsial`nostin _____vuottu
- Olen loppenuh yliopiston/universitietan/ minä opastuin akadeemiekakse: _____vuottu. Tazo/kvalifikatsii _____

6 A) Mittuine on Sinulles ammatti/professii: _____

B) Midä ruat tälle aigua:

- Ruan/opastun
- Ruan koditalois (ezimerkikse: koinemändänny/fermerannu)
- Olen penziel/eläkkehel
- Ečin ruaduo/ilmai ruavota)
- Mitah muu, ole hyvä, merkiče: _____

C) Vastatah net, kudamat ruatah loitomba kois 50 (viittykymmen) kilometrii: koispäi ruadokohtah ajelen

- Joga päiviä
- Kerran nedälis
- Kerran kuus
- Mitah muu, ole hyvä, merkiče: _____

B. TIIJOT KIELEN KÄYTTÖH NIŠKOIH

7 Sinun oma kieli (kielet), kudamua (kudamii) rubeit pagizemah enzimäzikse

8 Kusbo da kembo opasti pagizemah livvinkieleh?

9 Kusbo da kembo opasti pagizemah venankieleh?

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Sinun buaboi da died`oi (oldaneh hengis/elettih sinun aigua):

10 Mittumua kielder (kielii) Sinun buaboi da died`oi muaman puoles paistih/paistah nygöi Sinun aigua?

11 Mittumua kielder (kielii) Sinun buaboi da died`oi tuatan puoles paistih/paistah nygöi Sinun aigua?

Tijot Sinun vahnembih niškoih

12 Mittuman opastuksen on suannuh sinun tuatto (korgiemban):

- Školas ei ole opastunnuh
- Alguopastus: algukluasat _____vuottu
- On loppenuh keskiškolan/tehniekuman _____vuottu
- On loppenuh yliopiston/universitietan. Opastui akadeemiekakse _____vuottu. Tazo/kvalifikatsii _____
- En tiije

13 Mittuman opastuksen on suannuh sinun muamo (korgiemban):

- Školas ei ole opastunnuh
- Alguopastus: algukluasat _____vuottu
- On loppenuh keskiškolan/tehniekuman _____vuottu
- On loppenuh yliopiston/universitietan. Opastui akadeemiekakse _____vuottu. Tazo/kvalifikatsii _____
- En tiije

Mittumua kiieldy vahnembat paistih sinunke:

Ku se ei päenne, toizin sanojen ku yksi vahnembis on kuolluh libo ei elänyh perehenke yhtes, pane, ole hyvä, merkiče: «ei päe»:

14 Mittumal kielel vahnembat pastih keskenäh?

- Ei päe
- Pädöy, merkiče, ole hyvä:

Ižä pagizi muamanke: _____

Muamo pagizi ižänke: _____

15 Mittumal kielel (kielil) muamo pagizi Sinunke lapsennu olles?

- Ei päe
- Pädöy. Ole hyvä, merkiče, mittumua kiieldy (kielii) da mittumis dielolois (sit konzu paistih enämbäh kieleh):

16 Mittumal kielel (kielil) muamo pagizou Sinunke nygöi:

- Ei päe
- Pädöy. Ole hyvä, merkiče, mittumua kiieldy (kielii) da mittumis dielolois (sit konzu paistih enämbäh kieleh):

17 Mittumal kielel (kielil) tuatto pagizi Sinunke lapsennu olles?

- Ei päe
- Pädöy. Ole hyvä, merkiče, mittumua kiieldy (kielii) da mittumis dielolois (sit konzu paistih enämbäh kieleh):

18 Mittumal kielel (kielil) tuatto pagizou Sinunke nygöi:

- Ei päe
- Pädöy. Ole hyvä, merkiče, mittumua kiely (kielii) da mittumis dielolois (sit konzu paistih enämbäh kieleh):

Mittumal kielel (kielil) sinä pagizet vellien da sizärienke:

Ku Sinul ei ole omii sizärii da vellii, eisty kyzymykseh 20.

19 Mittumal kielel (kielil) pagizit/pagizet vellien da sizärienke enimytteh:

a. Niilöinke, kudamat ollah vahnembat Sinuu:

lapsennu olles _____

nygöi _____

b. Niilöinke, kudamat ollah nuorembat Sinuu:

lapsennu olles _____

nygöi _____

Mittumal kielel Sinä pagizet akanke/miehenke/mielespiettävänke

Ku sinä et ole miehel/naizis, eisty kyzymykseh 21.

20 Mittumal kielel/kielil Sinä pagizet oman akanke/miehenke/mielespiettävänke.

Ku pagizet enämbäl kui yhtel kielel, sano, konzu käytät niidy kiely.

Mittumua kiieldy (kielii) käytät lapsienke:

Ku Sinul ei ole lastu, ole hyvä, esity kyzymykseh 22.

21 Mittumua kiieldy Sinä pagizet lapsienke?

Minul on _____ lastu.

Ole hyvä, sano, mittumal kielel Sinä pagizet vahnemban da nuoremaban lapsenke:

a. vahnembanke lapsenke: _____

b. nuoremaban lapsenke: _____

Kui käytetäh kiieldy lapsien kazvattajes

22 Konzu Sinä olit lapsennu, kieltihgo ken Sinun vahnembii pagizemah lapsienke livvinkieleh?

En tiije

Ei

Muga

Ku Sinun vastavus ollou "Ei" libo "En tiije", ole hyvä, eisty kyzymykseh 24.

23 Ku Sinun vastavus ollou "Muga", merkiče, kus sidä oli (täs vojii merkitä enämbi kohtua):

kois (sano, kuibo) _____

Školas (sano, kuibo) _____

Toizis kohtis, ken da kui kiieldi: _____

24 Paistahgo tänäpäisidä, pidäy vai ei pie käyttöä livvinkiieldy lapsienke paistes?

En tiije

Ei

Muga. Ole hyvä, sano ken ninga sanou da kui sanou:

Kui kielyd käytetäh školass

Mittumii kielii käytettih/käytetäh opastuskielenny (mittumal kielel Sinuu opastettih/opastetah?)

Ota huomivoh: tarkoitammo ei kieliuokkoi, a muite kaikkii urokkoi/ainehii

25 Kaikis školis opastettih yhteh kieleh

Muga, sano, mittumah kieleh _____

Eisty kyzymykseh 27

Ei, minuu opastettih eri kielil. Eisty kyzymykseh 26.

26 Mittumua kielyd (kielii) käytettih opastuskielenny (paiči kieliuokkoi)

	Livvinkieli	Venankieli	Muut kielet	
			_____	_____
Školassah, detsavus/päivykois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alguškolass	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Keskiškolass/ tehniekumas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27 Opastettihgo Sinule muamankielyd/omua kielyd školass?

Školassah, detsavus/päivykois Ei Muga, äijygo čuassuu nedälis? _____ č.

Alguškolass: Ei Muga, äijygo čuassuu nedälis? _____ č.

Keskiškolass/ tehniekumas Ei Muga, äijygo čuassuu nedälis? _____ č.

C. KIELENKÄYTTÖ

Ole hyvä, sano, kui Sinä maltat kiieldy (kirjutandu da pagizendu). Sit jogahizeh riädyh pujoita merkinē – se, kudai enämbäl Sinuh koskehes.

28 Minä ellendän erähii kielii:

	Ylen hyvin	Hyvin	Kudakui	Pahoi	En niyhty
Livvinkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Venankieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anglien kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suomenkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nemsankieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsiinkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu/eräs: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29 Minä pagizen mostu kiieldy:

	Ylen hyvin	Hyvin	Kudakui	Pahoi	En niyhty
Livvinkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Venankieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anglien kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suomenkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nemsankieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsiinkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu/eräs: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

30 Minä maltan lugie moizil kielil:

	Ylen hyvin	Hyvin	Kudakui	Pahoi	En niyhty
Livvinkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Venankieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anglien kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suomenkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nemsankieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsiinkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu/eräs: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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31 Minä maltan kirjuttua moizil kielil:

	Ylen hyvin	Hyvin	Kudakui	Pahoi	En niyhty
Livvinkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Venankieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anglien kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suomenkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nemsankieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsiinkieli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu/eräs: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. KIELEN KÄYTÄNDY

32 Ole hyvä, sano, kui Sinä käytät kielyda mittumis kohtis. Sit jogahizeh riädyh pujoita merkine – se, kudai enämbäl Sinuh koskehes.

A. Livvinkieli

	Ainos	Puaksuh	Toiči	Harvazeh	Nikonzu
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Omienke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dovarišoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Susiedoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laukois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pihal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjastos/bibliotiekas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Paikallizien virguniekoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Linnan da kylän pidolois *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muus kohtas ku ollou** _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Pidoloil tarkoitetah niilöi, konzu kyläs libo linnas pietäh pruazniekkoi, festivaliloi, illaččuloi, kluubuviettoloj, konseroi da m.i.

** Sinä voit iče vallita kohtan.

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B. Venankieli

	Ainos	Puaksuh	Toiči	Harvazeh	Nikonzu
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Omienke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dovarišoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Susiedoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laukois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pihal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjastos/bibliotiekas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Paikallizien virguniekoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Linnan da kylän pidolois *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muus kohtas ku ollou**	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Pidoloil tarkoitetah niilöi, konzu kyläs libo linnas pietäh pruazniekkoi, festivaliloi, illaččuloi, kluubuviettoloj, konseroi da m.i.

** Sinä voit iče vallita kohtan.

Ku et käytä omas paginas toizii kelii, eisty kyzymykseh 33!

C. Anglien kieli: _____

	Ainos	Puaksuh	Toiči	Harvazeh	Nikonzu
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Omienke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dovarišoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Susiedoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laukois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pihal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjastos/bibliotiekas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Paikallizien virguniekoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Linnan da kylän pidolois *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muus kohtas ku ollou**	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Pidoloil tarkoitetah niilöi, konzu kyläs libo linnas pietäh pruazniekkoi, festivaliloi, illaččuloi, kluubuviettoloj, konseroi da m.i.

** Sinä voit iče vallita kohtan.

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D. Kieli: _____

	Ainos	Puaksuh	Toiči	Harvazeh	Nikonzu
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Omienke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dovarišoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Susiedoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laukois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pihal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjastos/bibliotiekas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Paikallizien virguniekoinke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Linnan da kylän pidolois *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muus kohtas ku ollou**	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Pidoloil tarkoitetah niilöi, konzu kyläs libo linnas pietäh pruazniekkoi, festivaliloi, illaččuloi, kluubuviettoloi, konseroi da m.i.

** Sinä voit iče vallita kohtan.

E. MIDÄ MIELDY SINÄ OLET KIELIH NIŠKOIH DA KUI TAHTOT KÄYTTIÄ NIIDY

Kielien sevoitus

33 Midä mieldy Sinä olet kielien sevoitukseh niškoih? Ole hyvä, pujoita merkine pädeväh riädyh.

	Olen tottu ihan sidä mieldy	Olen sidä mieldy	On vaigei sanuo	En ole sidä mieldy	Ihan tottu en ole sidä mieldy
Kielien sevoitus nägyy enämbäl niilöin keskes, ken pagizou livvinkieleh .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vai vähäl opastunnuot ristikanzat sevoitetah livvinkieldy erähien kielienke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nuorižo puaksuh sevoitetah livvinkieldy erähien kielienke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vahnemat rahvas paistah livvinkieldy oigeih.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kielien sevoitus ozuttau ku ristikanzu hyvin maltau enämbiä kieldy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kielet voibi segavuttua keskenäh.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Livvinkieli da venankieli – kielien kannatus

34 Opiteldihgo vahnembat auttua Sinuudas livvinkielen käytändäs?

- Ei Muga

Ližävykset

35 Opiteldihgo vahnembat auttua Sinuudas venankielen käytändäs?

- Ei Muga

Ližävykset

36 Ollou Sinul lastu, opitgo heidy potakoija opastua da paista toizil kielil?

- Ku lastu ei ole, eisty kyzymykseh 37
- Minul on lastu. Ole hyvä, kerro, opitgo Sinä potakoija opastua da käyttiä livvinkieldy:
- Ei
- Muga. Sano kui:
-
-

Kui eri rahvas paistah livvinkielen käytändäh niškoih

37 Enembyölleh eri-igähizet da eri-sugupuolehizet rahvas suvajah tietäväzen kielen käytändiä enämbäl mi gu tostu. Sano, midä mielä olet da puijoita merkine.

	Olen tottu sidä mielä	Olen sidä mielä	On vaigei sanuo	En ole sidä mielä	Ihan tottu en ole sidä mielä
Vuotetah ku nuorel rahvahal (miehil) livvinkieli on käytettävvy .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vuotetah ku nuorel rahvahal (neidizil) livvinkieli on käytettävvy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vuotetah ku miehil vahnembua polvie livvinkieli on käytettävvy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vuotetah ku naizil vahnembua polvie livvinkieli on käytettävvy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38 Ozitakkua, midä mielä oletto livvinkielädy käyttäjien kohta:

	Olen tottu sidä mielä	Olen sidä mielä	On vaigei sanuo	En ole sidä mielä	Ihan tottu en ole sidä mielä
On kebjei löydiä dovariššoi livvinkielädy pagizijoin keskes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On kebjei tuttavuo livvinkielädy pagizijanke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On kebjei mennä miehel/naija livvinkielädy pagizijal.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On kebjei ruadua livvinkielädy pagizijanke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On mieleh viettiä joudavua aigua livvinkielädy pagizijanke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Livvinkielen käyttämine

39 Midä mieldy olet, kui livvinkieldy käytetäh teijän muan elaijas? Pujoita merkine pädeväh kodazeh.

	Olen tottu sidä mieldy	Olen sidä mieldy	On vaigei sanuo	En ole sidä mieldy	Ihan tottu en ole sidä mieldy
Livvinkieli on käytettävvy TV:s .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Livvinkieli on käytettävvy politsies.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Livvinkieli on käytettävvy parluamentas.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Livvinkieli on käytettävvy bol`ničois .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Livvinkieli on käytettävvy suvvos .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Livvinkieli on käytettävvy internetas .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Livvinkieli on käytettävvy opastussistiemas .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Erähien kielien tulii aigu

40 Kui sie ajattelet, milleh tiettäväzien kielien dielot/tilandeh roijah kymmenen vuvven aigah?

	Olen tottu sidä mieldy	Olen sidä mieldy	On vaigei sanuo	En ole sidä mieldy	Ihan tottu en ole sidä mieldy
Tulien kymmenen vuvven aigah livvinkieli roih enämbäl käytettävvy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tulien kymmenen vuvven aigah venankieli roih enämbäl käytettävvy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tulien kymmenen vuvven aigah anglien kieli roih enämbäl käytettävvy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tulien kymmenen vuvven aigah suomenkieli roih enämbäl käytettävvy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tulien kymmenen vuvven aigah _____ kieli roih enämbäl käytettävvy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Mittumat kielet ollah

lelleh opi sanuo midä mielyd olet joga kieleh näh. Käytä nämä kielipuarat. Arbua vastavukset 1-5 porrastu myöte.

	1	2	3	4	5	
čoma	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tuhmu

41 Livvinkieli kuuluu Sinun korvah kui:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kova
valeh/puolistamatoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	luja/rohkei
lähine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittoine
kädehpättävy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kädehpädemätöi
uskoju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	uskomatoi
nygyaigahine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	perindölline
väetöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vägevy
vessel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igävy
tuhmu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	čoma
miespuoline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naispuoline
vihažu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hyvántahoine
bohattu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	keyhy
kunnekergiemätöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kaikkielkergiejy
vahnu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuori
intelligentnoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	töhlö/tolkutoi
hyväluaduine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	liijaksetungevuiju
opastumatoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	opastunnuh
passiivine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivine

42 Venankieli kuuluu Sinun korvah kui:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kova
valeh/puolistamatoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	luja/rohkei
lähine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittoine
kädehpättävy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kädehpädemätöi
uskoju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	uskomatoi
nygyaigahine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	perindölline
väetöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vägevy
vessel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igävy
tuhmu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	čoma
miespuoline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naispuoline
vihažu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hyvántahoine
bohattu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	keyhy

kunnekergeimätöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kaikkielkergeiey
vahnu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuori
intelligentnoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	töhlö/tolkutoi
hyväluaduine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	liijaksetungevuiju
opastumatoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	opastunnuh
passiivine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivine

43 Anglien kieli kuuluu Sinun korvah kui:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kova
valeh/puolistamatoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	luja/rohkei
lähine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittoine
kädehpättävy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kädehpädemätöi
uskoju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	uskomatoi
nygyaigahine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	perindölline
väetöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vägevy
vessel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igävy
tuhmu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	čoma
miespuoline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naispuoline
vihažu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hyväntahoine
bohattu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	keyhy
kunnekergeimätöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kaikkielkergeiey
vahnu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuori
intelligentnoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	töhlö/tolkutoi
hyväluaduine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	liijaksetungevuiju
opastumatoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	opastunnuh
passiivine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivine

Kielii koskijat zakonat

Kui rahvas ellendetäh zakonoii

44 Kui Sinä ajattelet, zakonat kannatetahgo livvinkielen käytändiä teijän muas?

Ei Muga Vähäzel En tiije

Ku vastuat "muga" libo "vähäzel", ole hyvä, vastua:

45 Kui Sinä ajattelet , vastustetahgo zakonat livvinkielen käytändiä teijän muas?

Ei Muga Vähäzel En tiije

Ku vastuat "muga" libo "vähäzel", ole hyvä, vastua:

46 Kui Sinä ajattelet, teijän zakonat kannatetahgo monien kielten maltandua da käytändiä Sinun eländykohtas?

Ei Muga Vähäzel En tiije

Ku vastuat "muga" libo "vähäzel", ole hyvä, vastua:

47 Ollahgo livvinkielizet zakonat olemas da käytändäs?

Ei Muga Vähäzel En tiije

Ku vastuat "muga" libo "vähäzel", ole hyvä, vastua:

48 Ollahgo olemas zakonat, kuduat puolistettas livvinkielen käytändiä opastundas?

Ei Muga Vähäzel En tiije

Ku vastuat "muga" libo "vähäzel", ole hyvä, vastua:

49 Ollahgo olemas zakonat sih niškoih, midä livvin kieleh näh opastetah školas?

Ei Muga Vähäzel En tiije

Ku vastuat "muga" libo "vähäzel", ole hyvä, vastua:

50 Yhtengonytyi teijän muas kačotah kaikkih äijjä kiöldy pagizijoih ristikanzoih?

Ei Muga Vähäzel En tiije

Ku vastuat "muga" libo "vähäzel", ole hyvä, vastua:

Kieli da ruado

51 Ongo olemas zakonoi, kudamat puolistettas erähien kielien maltandua ruavon ečos?

Ei Muga En tiije

Gu ollou "muga", ole hyvä, kerro:

52 Kui Sinä kačot livvin kielen olendua ruavon kohtas? Ozuta, midä miöldy olet:

	Ihan tottu olen sidä miöldy	Olen sidä miöldy	On vaigei sanuo	En ole juuri sidä miöldy	Ihan tottu en ole sidä miöldy
Livvinkielen malto auttau enzi kerdua ruavon ečos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Livvinkielen malto auttau suaja suuremban palkan ruavos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Livvinkielen malto auttau suaja suuremban virgan.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Livvinkielen malto auttau uvven ruavon ečos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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53 Kui Sinä kačot venankielen olendua ruavon kohtas? Ozuta, midä mieldy olet:

	Ihan tottu olen sidä mieldy	Olen sidä mieldy	On vaigei sanuo	En ole juuri sidä mieldy	Ihan tottu en ole sidä mieldy
Venankielen malto auttau enzi kerdua ruavon ečos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Venankielen malto auttau suaja suuremban palkan ruavos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Venankielen kielen malto auttau suaja suuremban virgan.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Venankielen malto auttau uvven ruavon ečos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

54 Nygöi sano, kui Sinä kačot anglien kielen olendua ruavon kohtas. Ozuta, midä mieldy olet:

	Ihan tottu olen sidä mieldy	Olen sidä mieldy	On vaigei sanuo	En ole juuri sidä mieldy	Ihan tottu en ole sidä mieldy
Anglien kielen malto auttau enzi kerdua ruavon ečos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anglien kielen malto auttau suaja suuremban palkan ruavos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anglien kielen malto auttau suaja suuremban virgan.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anglien kielen malto auttau uvven ruavon ečos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Huoli kieles da oigevus

55 Ongo olemas instituuttoi/laitoksii/ristittyzii, kuduat kannatetah (kehitetäh, eistetäh da normiiruijah) livvinkiely teijän muas?

- Ei Muga En tiije

Ku ollou "muga", sit kerro – ken da kui?

56 Ongo olemas instituuttoi/laitoksii/ristittyzii, kuduat kannatetah (kehitetäh, eistetäh da normiiruijah)venankiely teijän muas?

- Ei Muga En tiije

Ku ollou "muga", sit kerro – ken da kui?

57 Ongo olemas livvinkielen tovelline/hyvin kehitynyh luadu?

- Ei Muga En tiije

Ku ollou "muga" – ken pagizzou sille da konzu? _____

58 Pidäygo kehittä livvinkiely sissäh, ku se vastuas sotsialistu elaijan puoldu?

- Ei Muga En tiije

59 Ongo livvinkiely kebjei käyttöä elaijan enämbis kohtis?:

- Muga
 Ei. Ole hyvä da sano, mittumal aigua livvinkielel ei sua sanuo midä sinä tahtot?

F. KIELEN KÄYTÄNDY RAHVAHAN KESKES – YKSINÄH KÄYTÄNDY

Kielen käytänty da elavuttamizen nero

60 Opittihgo elavuttua livvinkieldy jälgimäzel aigua?

- En tiije Ei Muga, ole hyvä, sano: voitgo sinä kerduo erähii kohtii?

61 Käytetähgo livvinkieldy teijän muas ielellizis alois?

	Muga	Ei	En tiije
Parluamentu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politsii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Veropalvelu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tervehyksen strahovanii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ruadobiržu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bol`ničat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suvvot	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ministerstvat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Regionualizet da paikallizet vallat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Opastus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lehtet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Raadivo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ilmoitukset rahvahan käyndykohtis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ilmoitukset lehtilöis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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G. SMI (MEDIAN) KÄYTÄNDY DA KIELEN AKTIIVINE KÄYTÄNDY NYGYAIGALLIZES MEDIAS

62 Kui puaksuh Sinä käytät (elektrounistu) media ielembäzil kielil?

A. Livvinkielel

	Joga päiviä	Äjgin kerroin nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvemba	Nikonzu	Ei täl kielel
Luven lehtilöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luven kniigo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käyn teatrah	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käyn konsertoih	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen raadivuo (uudizii, tokshou da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon Tv:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelean CD:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon fil`moi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luven/kaçon/kuunde n Internettua (luven kodisivuloi,uudizii, bloogoi da m.i)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehprogrammoi täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähkökirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sotsializii verkoiloi (Fasebook, Tvitteer, Internet- fourumat da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizii kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan bloogoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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B. Venankielet

	Joga päiviä	Äijin kerroin nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvemba	Nikonzu	Ei täl kielel
Luvon lehtilöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvon kniigo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käyn teatrah	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käyn konsertoih	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen raadivuo (uudizii, tokshou da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon Tv:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelean CD:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon fil`moi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvon/kaçon/kuunde- n Internettua (luvon kodisivuloi, uudizii, bloogoi da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehprogrammoi täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähkökirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sotsializii verkoiloi (Fasebook, Tvitteer, Internet- fourumat da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizii kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan bloogoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Ku Sinä et käytä toizii kielii, eisty kyzymykseh 63!

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C. Anglien kielel / Kielel _____

	Joga päiviä	Äijin kerroin nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvemba	Nikonzu	Ei täl kielel
Luven lehtilöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luven kniigo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käyn teatrah	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käyn konsertoih	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen raadivuo (uudizii, tokshou da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon Tv:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelean CD:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon fil`moi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luven/kaçon/kuunde n Internettua (luven kodisivuloi,uudizii, bloogoi da m.i)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehprogrammoi täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähkökirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sotsializii verkoiloi (Fasebook, Tvitteer, Internet- fourumat da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizii kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan bloogoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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D. Kielet _____

	Joga päiviä	Äijin kerroin nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvemba	Nikonzu	Ei täl kielel
Luvon lehtilöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvon kniigo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käyn teatrah	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käyn konsertoih	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen raadivuo (uudizii, tokshou da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon Tv:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelean CD:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon fil`moi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvon/kaçon/kuunde- n Internettua (luvon kodisivuloi, uudizii, bloogoi da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehprogrammoi täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähkökirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sotsializii verkoiloi (Fasebook, Tvitteer, Internet- fourumat da m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizii kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan bloogoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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63 Kielien aktiivine käyttö (tekstan kirjuttamine) da muut kohtat

A. Livvinkielel

	Joga päiviä	Äijin kerroin nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvemba	Nikonzu
Kirjutan kirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pienii kirjutuksii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan kaunotekstoi (runoloi, kerdomuksii...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan omii pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan pajuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvun runuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatrujoukkoh	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu:						
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. Venankielel

	Joga päiviä	Äijin kerroin nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvemba	Nikonzu
Kirjutan kirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pienii kirjutuksii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan kaunotekstoi (runoloi, kerdomuksii...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan omii pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan pajuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvun runuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatrujoukkoh	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu:						
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Ku Sinä et käyttäne toizii kielii, tutkimus lopeh täh. Passiboičemo avus!

C. Anglien kielel/ kielel _____

	Joga päiviä	Äijin kerroin nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvemba	Nikonzu
Kirjutan kirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pienii kirjutuksii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan kaunotekstoi (runoloi, kerdomuksii...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan omii pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan pajuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvun runuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatrujoukkoh	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. Kielel _____

	Joga päiviä	Äijin kerroin nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvemba	Nikonzu
Kirjutan kirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pienii kirjutuksii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan kaunotekstoi (runoloi, kerdomuksii...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan omii pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan pajuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvun runuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatrujoukkoh	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Passibo! Ylen äijäl kiitämmö Sinuudas autandas!

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6 А) Кто Вы по профессии? _____

В) Ваш основной вид деятельности в данный момент:

- работаю или учусь вне дома
- работаю дома (например, домохозяйка, фермер)
- пенсионер
- ищу работу или безработный
- другое, уточните: _____

7 Назовите, пожалуйста, уровень образования Вашего отца:

- образование отсутствует/в школу не ходил
- основное образование: _____ лет
- профессиональное/среднее: _____ лет
- высшее образование: _____ лет. _____ ученая степень
- не знаю

8 Назовите, пожалуйста, уровень образования Вашей матери:

- образование отсутствует/в школу не ходила
- основное образование: _____ лет
- профессиональное/среднее: _____ лет
- высшее образование: _____ лет. _____ ученая степень
- не знаю

В. ОБЩАЯ ИНФОРМАЦИЯ ОБ УПОТРЕБЛЕНИИ ЯЗЫКА

9 Ваш родной язык/языки или язык/диалект, который Вы выучили первым?

10 Использовался ли в Вашей семье, кроме русского, какой-либо другой язык или диалект в общении с родителями, бабушкой и дедушкой?

- Не знаю Нет Да.

Назовите, пожалуйста, этот язык/эти языки

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На каком языке вы говорите с супругом/супругой (сожителем/сожительницей):

Если у Вас нет супруга/супруги (сожителя/сожительницы), переходите, пожалуйста, к вопросу 12.

- 11** Каким языком/какими языками Вы пользуетесь при общении со своим нынешним супругом/супругой (сожителем/сожительницей)? Если Вы употребляете более одного языка, уточните, пожалуйста, в каких ситуациях Вы употребляете разные языки?

Точки зрения относительно воспитания и употребления языка маленькими детьми

- 12** Считаете ли Вы важным, чтобы все дети изучали свой родной язык в школе?

Да Нет Не знаю

- 13** Сталкивались ли Вы с мнениями, что с детьми следовало бы/не следовало бы разговаривать на каких-либо иных языках?

Да Нет Не знаю. Если Вы ответили утвердительно, уточните, пожалуйста, кто и как выражает такое мнение.

С. ЗНАНИЕ ЯЗЫКОВ

В этом разделе мы просим Вас оценить Ваше знание языков. Отметьте после каждого языка, как Вы оцениваете Ваше владение языком и конкретные навыки (понимание, разговорная речь, чтение, письменная речь).

- 14** Я понимаю/знаю следующие языки:

	свободно	хорошо	умеренно	плохо	совсем не понимаю
русский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
карельский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
вепсский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
английский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
финский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
немецкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
другое: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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15 Я говорю на следующих языках:

	свободно	хорошо	умеренно	плохо	совсем не понимаю
русский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
карельский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
вепсский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
финский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
немецкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
шведский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
другое: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16 Я читаю на следующих языках:

	свободно	хорошо	умеренно	плохо	совсем не понимаю
русский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
карельский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
вепсский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
финский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
немецкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
шведский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
другое: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17 Я пишу на следующих языках:

	свободно	хорошо	умеренно	плохо	совсем не понимаю
русский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
карельский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
вепсский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
финский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
немецкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
шведский	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
другое: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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D. УПОТРЕБЛЕНИЕ ЯЗЫКА

18 Отметьте, в какой степени Вы употребляете языки в следующих ситуациях. Отметьте соответствующую клетку крестиком.

A) русский

	всегда	часто	иногда	редко	никогда
дома	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с родственниками	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
на работе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с друзьями	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с соседями	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в школе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в магазине	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
на улице	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в библиотеке	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в церкви	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в учреждениях	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в других ситуациях, уточните*					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Можете добавить по своему усмотрению.

Если Вы никогда не употребляете другие языки, переходите, пожалуйста, к вопросу 19

B) английский

	всегда	часто	иногда	редко	никогда
дома	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с родственниками	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
на работе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с друзьями	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с соседями	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в школе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в магазине	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
на улице	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в библиотеке	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в церкви	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в учреждениях	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в других ситуациях, уточните*					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Можете добавить по своему усмотрению.

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С) _____ язык

	всегда	часто	иногда	редко	никогда
дома	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с родственниками	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
на работе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с друзьями	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с соседями	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в школе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в магазине	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
на улице	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в библиотеке	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в церкви	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в учреждениях	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в других ситуациях, уточните*					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Можете добавить по своему усмотрению.

Д) _____ язык

	всегда	часто	иногда	редко	никогда
дома	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с родственниками	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
на работе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с друзьями	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
с соседями	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в школе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в магазине	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
на улице	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в библиотеке	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в церкви	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в учреждениях	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в других ситуациях, уточните*					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Можете добавить по своему усмотрению.

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Е. ЯЗЫКОВЫЕ УСТАНОВКИ И ЖЕЛАНИЕ ПОЛЬЗОВАТЬСЯ ЯЗЫКАМИ

19 Здесь приведены некоторые точки зрения, связанные с языками. Отметьте, пожалуйста, какая из них соответствует Вашему мнению.

	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Вполне ли приемлемо, что люди, проживающие в России, говорят по-русски с ошибками.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Для детей, с которыми родители говорят на карельском языке, важно, чтобы они изучали язык также через систему образования.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Для детей, с которыми родители говорят на вепском языке, важно ли, чтобы они изучали язык также через систему образования.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
В России от ищущих работу требуют ли слишком хорошего владения русским языком.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Осознание ценности и поддержка карельского, вепского и русского языков

20 Говорили ли Ваши родители Вам о важности знания карельского, вепского и русского языков?

Нет

Да, уточните, пожалуйста, как именно (относительно всех трех языков/диалектов):

a. карельский язык _____

b. вепский язык _____

c. русский язык _____

Мнения об употреблении карельского и вепского языков различными группами

21 Я могу по внешним признакам различить носителей различных языков в России.

Нет

Да, укажите, пожалуйста, как вы узнали бы носителей этих языков?

a. карельский язык _____

b. вепский язык _____

c. русский язык _____

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22 Некоторые мнения о носителях карельского и вепсского языков. Отметьте, в какой степени вы согласны со следующими утверждениями:

a)	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
С носителем карельского языка легко подружиться.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
С носителем карельского языка легко познакомиться.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
С носителем карельского языка легко пожениться.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
С носителем карельского языка легко вместе работать.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
С носителем карельского языка легко вместе проводить время.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b)	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
С носителем вепсского языка легко подружиться.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
С носителем вепсского языка легко познакомиться.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
С носителем вепсского языка легко пожениться.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
С носителем вепсского языка легко вместе работать.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
С носителем вепсского языка легко вместе проводить время.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Употребление карельского и вепсского языков

23 Некоторые мнения о карельском и вепсском языках. Отметьте, в какой степени вы согласны со следующими утверждениями:

а)	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать на телевидении.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Карельским язык следовало бы использовать в милиции/полиции.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в парламенте/в законодательном собрании.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в лечебных учреждениях.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в работе судов.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в Интернете.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в системе образования.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

б)	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать на телевидении.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в милиции/полиции .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в парламенте/законодательном собрании.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в лечебных учреждениях.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в суде.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в Интернете.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в системе образования.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Будущее разных языков

24 Как, по-вашему, изменится значение следующих языков в течение следующих 10 лет? Отметьте, в какой степени вы согласны со следующими утверждениями:

	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Значение русского языка в течение 10 следующих лет возрастет.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Значение английского языка в течение 10 следующих лет возрастет.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Значение карельского языка в течение 10 следующих лет возрастет.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Значение весского языка в течение 10 следующих лет возрастет.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Значение финского языка в течение 10 следующих лет возрастет.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Характеристика языков

Постарайтесь охарактеризовать при помощи следующих словесных пар, что Вы чувствуете или думаете о следующих языках. Дайте ответы на шкале 1...5, например

	1	2	3	4	5	
красивый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	некрасивый

25 Мне кажется, что русский язык:

	1	2	3	4	5	
мягкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	жесткий
опасный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	безопасный
близкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	далекий
надежный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ненадежный
решительный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	неуверенный
современный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	традиционный
бессильный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	сильный
веселый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	скучный
некрасивый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	красивый
мужественный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	женственный
злобный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	приветливый
богатый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	бедный
безуспешный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	успешный

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старый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	молодой
разумный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	глупый
заботливый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	небрежный
необразованный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	образованный
пассивный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	активный

26 Мне кажется, что английский язык:

	1	2	3	4	5	
мягкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	жесткий
опасный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	безопасный
близкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	далекий
надежный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ненадежный
решительный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	неуверенный
современный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	традиционный
бессильный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	сильный
веселый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	скучный
некрасивый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	красивый
мужественный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	женственный
злобный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	приветливый
богатый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	бедный
безуспешный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	успешный
старый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	молодой
разумный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	глупый
заботливый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	небрежный
необразованный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	образованный
пассивный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	активный

27 Мне кажется, что карельский язык:

	1	2	3	4	5	
мягкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	жесткий
опасный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	безопасный
близкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	далекий
надежный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ненадежный
решительный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	неуверенный
современный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	традиционный
бессильный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	сильный
веселый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	скучный
некрасивый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	красивый
мужественный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	женственный
злобный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	приветливый
богатый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	бедный
безуспешный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	успешный
старый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	молодой
разумный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	глупый
заботливый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	небрежный
необразованный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	образованный
пассивный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	активный

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28 Мне кажется, что вепсский язык:

	1	2	3	4	5	
мягкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	жесткий
опасный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	безопасный
близкий	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	далекий
надежный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ненадежный
решительный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	неуверенный
современный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	традиционный
бессильный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	сильный
веселый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	скучный
некрасивый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	красивый
мужественный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	женственный
злобный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	приветливый
богатый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	бедный
безуспешный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	успешный
старый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	молодой
разумный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	глупый
заботливый	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	небрежный
необразованный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	образованный
пассивный	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	активный

Языковое законодательство

29 Как Вы считаете, законодательство России поддерживает ли употребление карельского языка?

- Нет Да Частично Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да» или «частично», уточните, пожалуйста:

30 Как Вы считаете, законодательство России поддерживает ли употребление вепсского языка?

- Нет Да Частично Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да» или «частично», уточните, пожалуйста:

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31 Как Вы считаете, законодательство России препятствует употреблению карельского языка?

- Нет Да Частично Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да» или «частично», уточните, пожалуйста:

32 Как Вы считаете, законодательство России препятствует употреблению вепского языка?

- Нет Да Частично Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да» или «частично», уточните, пожалуйста:

33 Как Вы считаете, законодательство России поддерживает знание и употребление нескольких языков в регионе, где Вы проживаете?

- Нет Да Частично Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да» или «частично», уточните, пожалуйста:

34 Существуют ли законы, регулирующие изучение карельского языка как учебного предмета в школах?

- Нет Да Частично Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да» или «частично», уточните, пожалуйста:

35 Существуют ли законы, регулирующие изучение вепского языка как учебного предмета в школах?

- Нет Да Частично Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да» или «частично», уточните, пожалуйста:

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36 Относятся ли в Вашем регионе одинаково к носителям разных языков и к разным языкам/диалектам?

Нет

Да

Частично

Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да» или «частично», уточните, пожалуйста:

Язык и рынок труда

37 Существуют ли в России законы или другие нормативно-правовые акты, поддерживающие на рынке труда владение разными языками?

Нет

Да

Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да», уточните, пожалуйста:

38 Какова, по-вашему, роль русского языка на рынке труда? Отметьте, в какой степени вы согласны со следующими утверждениями:

	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Владение русским языком в качестве родного языка облегчает ли нахождение первого места работы.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение русским языком в качестве родного языка позволяет получить более высокую заработную плату.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение русским языком в качестве родного языка содействует карьере.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение русским языком в качестве родного языка упрощает смену места работы.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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39 Какова, по-вашему, роль английского языка на рынке труда? Отметьте, в какой степени вы согласны со следующими утверждениями:

	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Владение английским языком облегчает нахождение первого места работы.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение английским языком позволяет получить более высокую заработную плату.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение английским языком содействует карьере.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение английским языком упрощает смену места работы.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40 Какова, по-вашему, роль карельского языка на рынке труда? Отметьте, в какой степени вы согласны со следующими утверждениями:

	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Владение карельским языком облегчает нахождение первого места работы.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение карельским языком позволяет получить более высокую заработную плату.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение карельским языком содействует карьере.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение карельским языком упрощает смену места работы.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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41 Какова, по-вашему, роль вепского языка на рынке труда? Отметьте, в какой степени вы согласны со следующими утверждениями:

	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Владение вепским языком облегчает нахождение первого места работы.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение вепским языком позволяет получить более высокую заработную плату.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение вепским языком содействует карьере.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Владение вепским языком упрощает смену места работы.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Мнения о языках

42 Существует ли какой-либо язык или языки, которые особенно легко выучить?

- Нет Да, особенно легко выучить следующие языки

43 Существует ли какой-либо язык или языки, которые особенно сложно выучить?

- Нет Да, особенно сложно выучить следующие языки

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44 Выскажите свое мнение относительно разнообразия общества:

	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Было бы хорошо, если бы русское общество было разнообразнее.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Приятно слышать различные языки в моем родном городе или деревне.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я хотел бы, чтобы рядом со мной жили носители карельского языка.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я хотел бы, чтобы рядом со мной жили носители вепсского языка.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я считаю, что государство тратит слишком много денег налогоплательщика на поддержку карельского языка.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я считаю, что государство тратит слишком много денег налогоплательщика на поддержку вепсского языка.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Культивирование языка и культура речи

45 Есть ли в России учреждения/организации или лица, активно заботящиеся о карельском языке (развитие, содействие использованию, организация)?

Нет Да Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да», уточните, пожалуйста: кто или какие организации?

46 Есть ли в России учреждения/организации или лица, активно заботящиеся о вепсском языке (развитие, содействие использованию, организация)?

Нет Да Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да», уточните, пожалуйста: кто или какие организации?

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F. АКТИВНОЕ УПОТРЕБЛЕНИЕ ЯЗЫКА В СОВРЕМЕННЫХ СМИ

47 Как часто Вы употребляете/активно используете электронные средства массовой информации на указанных языках?

A) Русский язык

	каждый день	несколько раз в неделю	каждую неделю	каждый месяц	реже	никогда	на русском языке такие возможности отсутствуют
Я читаю газеты	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я читаю книги	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я хожу в театр	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я хожу на концерты	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я слушаю радио (новости, разговорные передачи и т. д.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я смотрю телевизор	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я слушаю музыку	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я смотрю фильмы	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пользуюсь Интернетом – посещаю сайты, читаю новости, блоги, и т. д.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Пользуюсь программным обеспечением для компьютера на русском языке	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пишу электронные письма	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пишу текстовые сообщения (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пользуюсь социальными сетями (Facebook, Twitter, чаты, форумы)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я играю в интерактивные игры	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пишу блог	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Иное: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Если Вы не разговариваете на других языках, опрос для Вас заканчивается здесь. Спасибо за Ваше участие!

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В) Английский язык

	каждый день	несколько раз в неделю	каждую неделю	каждый месяц	реже	никогда	на английском языке такие возможности отсутствуют
Я читаю газеты	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я читаю книги	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я хожу в театр	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я хожу на концерты	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я слушаю радио (новости, разговорные передачи и т. д.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я смотрю телевизор	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я слушаю музыку	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я смотрю фильмы	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пользуюсь Интернетом – посещаю сайты, читаю новости, блоги, слушаю музыку и т. д.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Пользуюсь программным обеспечением для компьютера на английском языке	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пишу электронные письма	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пишу текстовые сообщения (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пользуюсь социальными сетями (Facebook, Twitter, чаты, форумы)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я играю в интерактивные игры	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пишу блог	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Иное: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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С) _____ язык

	каждый день	несколько раз в неделю	каждую неделю	каждый месяц	реже	никогда	на _____ языке такие возможности отсутствуют
Я читаю газеты	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я читаю книги	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я хожу в театр	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я хожу на концерты	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я слушаю радио (новости, разговорные передачи и т. д.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я смотрю телевизор	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я слушаю музыку	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я смотрю фильмы	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пользуюсь Интернетом – посещаю сайты, читаю новости, блоги, слушаю музыку и т. д.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Пользуюсь программным обеспечением для компьютера на _____ языке	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пишу э-письма	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пишу текстовые сообщения (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пользуюсь социальными сетями (Facebook, Twitter, чаты, форумы)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я играю в интерактивные игры	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Я пишу блог	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Иное: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Большое спасибо! Мы очень благодарны, что Вы согласились участвовать в исследовании.

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