Studies in European Language Diversity 25

THE VEPS LANGUAGE IN RUSSIA

ELDIA Case-Specific Report

Ulriikka PUURA, Heini KARJALAINEN,
Nina ZAJCEVA, Riho GRÜNTHAL

eldia
european language
diversity for all

Mainz • Wien • Helsinki
Tartu • Mariehamn • Oulu • Maribor

Studies in European Language Diversity is a peer-reviewed online publication series of the research project ELDIA, serving as an outlet for preliminary research findings, individual case studies, background and spin-off research.

Editor-in-Chief
Johanna Laakso (Wien)

Editorial Board
Kari Djerf (Helsinki), *Riho Grünthal* (Helsinki), *Anna Kolláth* (Maribor), *Helle Metslang* (Tartu), *Karl Pajusalu* (Tartu), *Anneli Sarhimaa* (Mainz), *Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark* (Mariehamn), *Helena Sulkala* (Oulu), *Reetta Toivanen* (Helsinki)

Publisher
Research consortium ELDIA c/o Prof. Dr. Anneli Sarhimaa
Northern European and Baltic Languages and Cultures (SNEB)
Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz
Jakob-Welder-Weg 18 (Philosophicum)
D-55099 Mainz, Germany
Contact: eldia-project@uni-mainz.de

© 2013 European Language Diversity for All (ELDIA)

EUROPEAN COMMISSION
European Research Area

SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME

Funded under Socio-economic Sciences & Humanities

Cover design: *Minna Pelkonen* & *Hajnalka Berényi-Kiss*

ELDIA is an international research project funded by the European Commission. The views expressed in the **Studies in European Language Diversity** are the sole responsibility of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

All contents of the **Studies in European Language Diversity** are subject to the Austrian copyright law. The contents may be used exclusively for private, non-commercial purposes. Regarding any further uses of the **Studies in European Language Diversity, please contact the publisher.**

ISSN 2192-2403

Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS 1

FOREWORD I

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS II

LIST OF FIGURES III

LIST OF TABLES IV

1 INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS ELDIA ABOUT? 1

2 SOCIOHISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXTS 2

2.1 INTRODUCTION 2
2.2 SOCIOHISTORY 8
2.2.1 The context of the investigated language community 8
2.2.2 Territorial and political context 14
2.2.3 Cultural context 19
2.3 DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT 23
2.3.1 Statistics and basic demographic information 23
2.3.2 The basis of existing demographic information on the Veps people 29
2.3.3 Basic shortcomings of the existing demographic data 32
2.4 LANGUAGE AND MINORITY POLICIES IN PRACTICE 33
2.4.1 General context of language-political practices 33
2.4.2 Standardisation of the Veps language 35
2.4.3 Language use in different domains 37
2.4.4 Language-political behaviour connected to identity 41
2.4.5 Gender aspects of every-day language policies 42
2.5 LANGUAGES IN CONTACT AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE 42
2.5.1 General description of Veps and Russian 42
2.5.2 Monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism 46
2.5.3 Results of language contact 50
2.5.4 Perceptions of learnability and willingness to use the language 52
2.6 CONCLUSIONS 52

3 DATA SAMPLING AND METHODS 54

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO FIELDWORK 54
3.2 SAMPLE SURVEY 55
3.2.1 Structure of the minority speakers' questionnaire 55
3.2.2 Veps Language Speakers' Survey 58
3.2.3 The structure of the Control Group questionnaire 59
3.2.4 Russian Control Group Survey 59
3.3 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS WITH VEPS SPEAKERS 60
3.3.1 Interview Descriptions 61
3.4 FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS 63
3.4.1 Focus Group Interviews with Veps speakers 63
3.4.2 Interview descriptions 63

3.4.3 Focus Group interviews with Control Group representatives *65*
3.5 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTIONS 66
3.6 PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING ELDIA DATA ANALYSES 69
3.6.1 Minority languages as part of multilingualism in modern societies *70*
3.6.2 The operational goal of ELDIA *70*
3.6.3 Defining and measuring language vitality *71*
3.6.4 Practical procedures in the data analyses *75*
3.6.5 Analyses conducted on survey questionnaire data *75*
3.6.6 Analyses conducted on interview data *76*

4 NEW DATA ON LEGISLATION, MEDIA, EDUCATION, LANGUAGE USE AND INTERACTION 79

4.1 LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS 79
4.2 MEDIA ANALYSIS 80
4.3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF SURVEY AND INTERVIEW FINDINGS 85
4.3.1 Language Use and Interaction *85*
4.3.2 Legislation *156*
4.3.3 Media *166*
4.3.4 Education *170*

5 CASE-SPECIFIC LANGUAGE VITALITY BAROMETER 178

5.1 CAPACITY 180
5.2 OPPORTUNITY 181
5.3 DESIRE 183
5.4 LANGUAGE PRODUCTS 184
5.5 THE VITALITY OF VEPS 185

6 CONCLUSIONS 187

7 REFERENCES 189

WEBSITES USED 201

ANNEX 1: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS 203

ANNEX 2: QUESTIONNAIRES 207

Foreword

This report, part of the research project ELDIA which is described in more detail in section 1, deals with the situation of the Veps language spoken in the Russian Federation. The Veps language is a seriously endangered language spoken by a couple thousand, mostly elderly people in a society that mainly favours monolingualism in the dominant language, Russian.

This report, like all the ELDIA Case-Specific Reports, was written according to a design centrally planned by the ELDIA team in Tartu. The fieldwork was planned and led by Riho Grünthal in co-operation with Nina Zajceva in Petrozavodsk, assisted by Heini Karjalainen. Heini Karjalainen and Ulriikka Puura conducted the data analyses and wrote the summaries with assistance from Santra Jantunen. These served as basis for sections 4 and 5. The final text was written jointly by Heini Karjalainen and Ulriikka Puura, with the exception of section 3/6 authored by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt, section 4/1 by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark and section 4/2 by Reetta Toivanen. Puura is also the main author of section 2, with contributions from Nina Zajceva.

After this report has been published, shortened Veps and Russian language versions for a larger non-specialist audience will be prepared and published online by October 2013.

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. Reaching the goals of the entire project including planning, fieldwork, data analysis and editing of the reports would not have been possible without the help of the following people: Lûdmila Alekseeva, Nataliâ Anhimova, Elena Bogdanova, Viktor Birin, Tatâna Boiko, Santra Jantunen, Elizaveta Haritonova, Denis Kuzmin, Olga Mironova, Irma Mullonen, Svetlana Pasûkova, Martti Penttonen, Elena Perehvalskaâ, Svetlana Plûhina, Gennadij Saraev, Zinaida Strogal'ščikova, Outi Tánczos, Tatâna Vasileva, Konstantin Zamâtin, Olga Zajceva and Olga Žukova. We would also like to thank Delingua language services and Alexandra Kellner for English language checking. The Finnish Cultural Foundation funded the language checking, which we are grateful for. Finally, we wish to thank sincerely those hundreds of anonymous respondents who made it possible to investigate the current state of the art of the Veps language community by answering the questionnaire and participating in the interviews.

List of Abbreviations

AG1 The age group of 18–29-year-olds (male and/or female)

AG2 The age group of 30–49: male

AG3 The age group of 30-49: female

AG4 The age group of 50–64 (male and/or female)

AG5 The age group of +65 (male and/or female)

CG control group

ELDIA European Language Diversity for All

F female interviewee

M male interviewee

MajLG majority language (Russian)

MinLG minority language (Veps)

NN anonymous person

Q question in the ELDIA questionnaire

RF Russian Federation

RK Republic of Karelia

RU Russian

VEP Veps

X anonymous place name

List of Figures

Figure 1: The area of use of the Veps language. 5
Figure 2: The Veps flag 20
Figure 3: Breakdown of the Veps population by age and gender in 2010 30
Figure 4: Map of Finnic languages and dialects 43
Figure 5: The share of Veps male and female respondents by their age categories 67
Figure 6: The educational level of the Veps respondents 68
Figure 7. Educational level of the control group respondents 69
Figure 8: Mother tongue of the Veps respondents, % (Q7) 86
Figure 9: Reported mother tongue according to the age of the respondent 87
Figure 10: Language used with children, female vs. men, % 96
Figure 11: Cross-generational language use, % 97
Figure 12: Cross-generational use of Veps according to the age of the respondent 97
Figure 13: Language use with siblings, % 99
Figure 14: Intra-generational language use, % 101
Figure 15: Levels of language skills for the Veps language, % 104
Figure 16: Level of understanding Veps according to age 104
Figure 17: Level of speaking Veps according to age 105
Figure 18: Level of reading Veps according to age 107
Figure 19: Level of writing Veps according to age 107
Figure 20: Levels of language skills for the Russian language, % 108
Figure 21: Levels of language skills for the English language, % 109
Figure 22: Levels of language skills for the Finnish language, % 109
Figure 23: Domain-specific use of Veps 112
Figure 24: Domain-specific use of Russian 115
Figure 25: Domain-specific use of English 116
Figure 26: Domain-specific use of Russian, CG 116
Figure 27: Domain-specific use of English, CG 117
Figure 28: Domains where Veps should be used 118
Figure 29: Domains where Veps should be used, CG 119
Figure 30: Knowledge about the use of Veps in Russia 121
Figure 31: Importance of Veps language skills in the labour market, % 122
Figure 32: Importance of Russian language skills in the labour market, % 124
Figure 33: Importance of English language skills in the labour market, % 125
Figure 34: Importance of Russian language skills in the labour market, % CG 126
Figure 35: Importance of English language skills in the labour market, % CG 127
Figure 36: Importance of Veps language skills in the labour market, % CG 127
Figure 37: Use of the Veps language in different media 166
Figure 38: Use of the Russian language in different media 168
Figure 39: Use of the Russian language in different media, CG 169
Figure 40: Active use of the Veps language in domains of culture 169
Figure 41: Active use of the Russian language in domains of culture 170
Figure 42: The Case-Specific Barometer of Veps 178
Figure 43: Legend for EuLaViBar 179

List of Tables

Table 1: Nationality and native language competence in the RK 2002 9
Table 2: Ethnic groups and competence in their languages in the Leningrad oblast 2002 9
Table 3: Ethnic diversity of Vologda oblast 9
Table 4: The Veps people and Veps language as native language in population censuses 27
Table 5: The number of Veps people in 2002 and in 2010 27
Table 6: The language competence of the Veps 28
Table 7: Veps as native language; urban and rural population 28
Table 8: The fluency of Veps speakers 28
Table 9: Age and gender breakdown, Veps of the RK and the Leningrad oblast, 2002 30
Table 10: Birth and death rates in villages during 1990–1994 31
Table 11: Veps language competence of the Veps, 2007 48
Table 12: Veps language teaching, Republic of Karelia 1997–2005 49
Table 13: Category tagging of discourse phenomena 77
Table 14: The first languages of the Veps respondents 85
Table 15: 'The sound of Russian is…', MinLG vs. CG respondents 150

1 Introduction: What is ELDIA about?

ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) is an interdisciplinary research project aiming to re-conceptualise, promote and re-evaluate individual and societal multilingualism.

Empirical research was conducted with selected multilingual communities, which are meant to cover practically the whole spectrum of different political and socioeconomic circumstances of linguistic minorities in Europe. The communities investigated speak endangered languages, written forms of which have often been established only recently (e.g. Karelian, Veps, Kven, Seto) as well as those with a vital standard variety (e.g. Hungarian). Included are both autochthonous (e.g. Meänkieli/Tornedal Finnish speakers) or indigenous minorities (e.g. Sámi) and more recent migrant groups (such as the Estonians in Germany and Finland). All of 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, both 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.)
- the European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar) – a checklist/handbook for policy-makers and other stakeholders.

ELDIA is funded by the 7th Framework Programme of the European Commission. Note that the views expressed in this research report are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

More information about ELDIA can be found on the project website www.eldia-project.org.
All our electronic publications can also be accessed directly at http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:80789.

2 Sociohistorical and Linguistic Contexts

This chapter was originally written by Ulriikka Puura and Nina Zajceva[1] in 2010 as part of Work Package 2 of ELDIA (Context Analysis), based on the template created by the ELDIA research team of the University of Helsinki under the supervision of Riho Grünthal. This version has been very slightly modified and updated by Ulriikka Puura. An abridged version of this contextual analysis has already been published as Puura (2012).

2.1 Introduction

This report investigates the Veps language in the Russian Federation (also referred to further as RF). The Veps are one of the autochthonous minorities of Russia – they have inhabited the same geographical area of northwestern Russia as they do today since centuries before the expansion of the Slavs, the predecessors of the present Russians. The Russian Federation is a multiethnic nation of 160–170 nationalities according to the latest population census (Perepis 2010). A hundred different languages are spoken within the Russian Federation, according to Ethnologue[2]. Throughout documented history the Veps have always been a tiny linguistic and ethnic minority. Bilingualism, assimilation (Russification) and language shift of the Veps have received attention since researchers first identified the Veps language and the existence of the Veps people during the first half of the 19th century. It was not until the beginning of the 21st century that the Veps were granted an official minority status in the Russian Federation. Speakers of Russian who live in the area where the Veps language is spoken serve as a control group in this report. According to the latest Russian population census of 2010 there were 5,936 people who identified Veps as their native language. The sociohistorical backgrounds of Veps and Russian languages are the complete opposites of one another. Russian is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world (the eighth largest in size, spoken as a first language in 33 countries by 144 million people according to Ethnologue and by 111 million people in the RF proper according to the census of 2010). Russian is a fully developed national language of a large nation, whereas Veps is spoken by a few thousand elderly people in the northwestern periphery of Russia and classified as a seriously endangered language by UNESCO.

The earliest possible references to the Veps people originate from the sixth century, when the historian Jordanes included a people called *Vasina*[3] in his listing of peoples conquered by

[1] In this report we have applied the ISO 9: 1995 standard for the transliteration of Cyrillic characters. Thus, the letters *c, š, ž, č* and *ŝ* stand for the characters which in the British Standard are written with *ts, sh, zh, ch* and *shch,* respectively, the affricate *x (kh* in the British Standard) is transliterated with *h,* and *j* stands for the glide sound transliterated with *y* in the British Standard. The vowel signs *â* and *û* correspond to the Cyrillic characters я and ю *(ya* and *yu* in the British Standard).

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

[3] The ethnonym *Vasina (broncas)* mentioned by Jordanes has been connected with the ethnonyms *Ves'* used in the Russian chronicles and *Witzi* mentioned by Adam of Bremen. There is, however, no consensus on the hypothesis (cf. Grünthal 1997).

the Goths. Generally more accepted written evidence on the Veps is found in the *Primary Chronicle* (*Повесть временных лет*, dating back to the 11th century), in which a people called *Ves'* are mentioned as the first inhabitants of the Belozero area.[4] In describing the history of the Veps people, Veps authors have applied the approach of Russian historiography and have generally relied on the assumption that the Veps people are descendants of the *Ves'* people mentioned in the Russian chronicles (see e.g. Strogal'ŝikova 2008a). This connection is doubted by some scholars, but the counter-evidence is not very strong either. *Čud'*[5], another ethnonym connected with the Veps, is also found in the *Primary Chronicle.* The Slavic tribes came to the Belozero area at the end of the 8th century, which presumably must also have been the starting point of the Slavic-Veps language contacts. (Grünthal 1997; Strogal'ŝikova 2005a.) From the turn of the second millennium onwards there is very little documentation about the history of the Veps or their language; what is known is mainly based on evidence from historical linguistics, toponymy and archaeology (cf. Kočkurkina 2005, Mullonen 2007: 39–56, Saarikivi 2006, Sarhimaa 1999).

Before the Veps began to attract the interest of scholars in the 18th century, it was generally believed that most of the Veps people had assimilated into the Russian population both culturally and linguistically (cf. Strogal'ŝikova 2008a: 30). A. J. Sjögren, a Finnish scholar working for the Russian Academy of Sciences, identified, partially described and brought the Veps and their language to scientists' knowledge both in and outside Russia at the beginning of 19th century. On the basis of his field trips between 1824 and 1828, Sjögren estimated that between ten and sixteen thousand Veps lived in four administrative regions of northwestern Russia: Belozero, Lodejnoe Pole, Tihvin and Vytegra. More exact numbers and an accurate outline of the residential areas of the Veps were provided in the 1840s, when the Russian academic Peter von Köppen made careful investigations into the population and Veps settlements. Sjögren's estimations on the size of the Veps people proved to be quite correct. (Branch 1973: 83–92; Grünthal 2007a: 11–15; Terûkov 2005: 25.) After Sjögren's initial findings, other Finnish scholars (Elias Lönnrot, August Ahlqvist) continued to research the Veps and their language.

The first official data regarding the Veps people – at the time referred to as the *Čud'* (cf. 2.2.1) – is provided in the first Russian population census of 1897. At this time, there were 25,820[6] people who identified *Čud'* as their native language in the Russian Empire. The estimated size of the ethnic groups of Russia in the census of 1897 was based on the native language of the respondents. Already at the end of 19th century the Veps were a tiny minority in the administrative areas they inhabited, which were spread out over a much

[4] The *Ves'* are mentioned when dealing with the years 859–862 (Grünthal 1997: 104, Kočkurkina 2005).

[5] The original denotation of the ethnonym *Čud'* is still an issue of debate: it has been used for the Veps, the Estonians and in general to denote alien tribes in northern Russia. For the Veps it was generally used in the 19th century because they lacked a common ethnonym. (Cf. Grünthal 1997.)

[6] Demoscope weekly charts, http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/rus_lan_97.php read 9.7.2010

larger territory: in the Olonec administrative district there were altogether 364,156 people, of whom 16,147 (4.4%) were Veps-speaking[7].

The definition, categorisation or demarcation of the ethnos called "Veps" can be looked at from several angles: as a Russian minority, as a European minority, from the viewpoint of the small Veps ethnic elite or intelligentsia, or that of the individual indigenous Veps themselves. The issue of demarcation of the Veps is strongly tied to the Veps language. On the one hand the demarcation of the Veps today is based on the tradition of classifying ethnic groups in the Russian and Soviet population censuses. On the other hand the demarcation of the group has been in the hands of the native Veps activists for the past two decades.

The problem considering the minority position of the Veps throughout history lies in the definition of the **geographical living area of the Veps** (see Figure 1). The area between the lakes Ladoga, Onega and Belozero has most certainly always been multinational. However, there is an important mismatch between the administrative units and the geographical core area of the Veps. The Veps villages have traditionally formed a network of villages beginning from the southwestern shores of lake Onega and spreading southward over the river Svir' between the lakes Ladoga and Belozero. The core geographic area and the population inhabiting it have been significantly smaller than the overall area and population of the three administrative areas where the Veps nowadays form a tiny minority. This makes the demographic assessment of the Veps harder in comparison with the other ethnic groups of the area. The size of the Veps population with respect to the vitality of the language communities should therefore be assessed at the level of the larger administrative areas but just as importantly also in the smaller core living areas of the Veps (villages, volosts[8], towns) (c.f. 2.2.1).

[7] Demoscope weekly charts, http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/rus_lan_97.php?reg=56 read 9.7.2010

[8] A *volost* is a small, typically rural administrative entity in Russia. In the Republic of Karelia volosts have the same status as *rajons*. In Leningrad oblast volosts are considered as subdivisions of rajons.

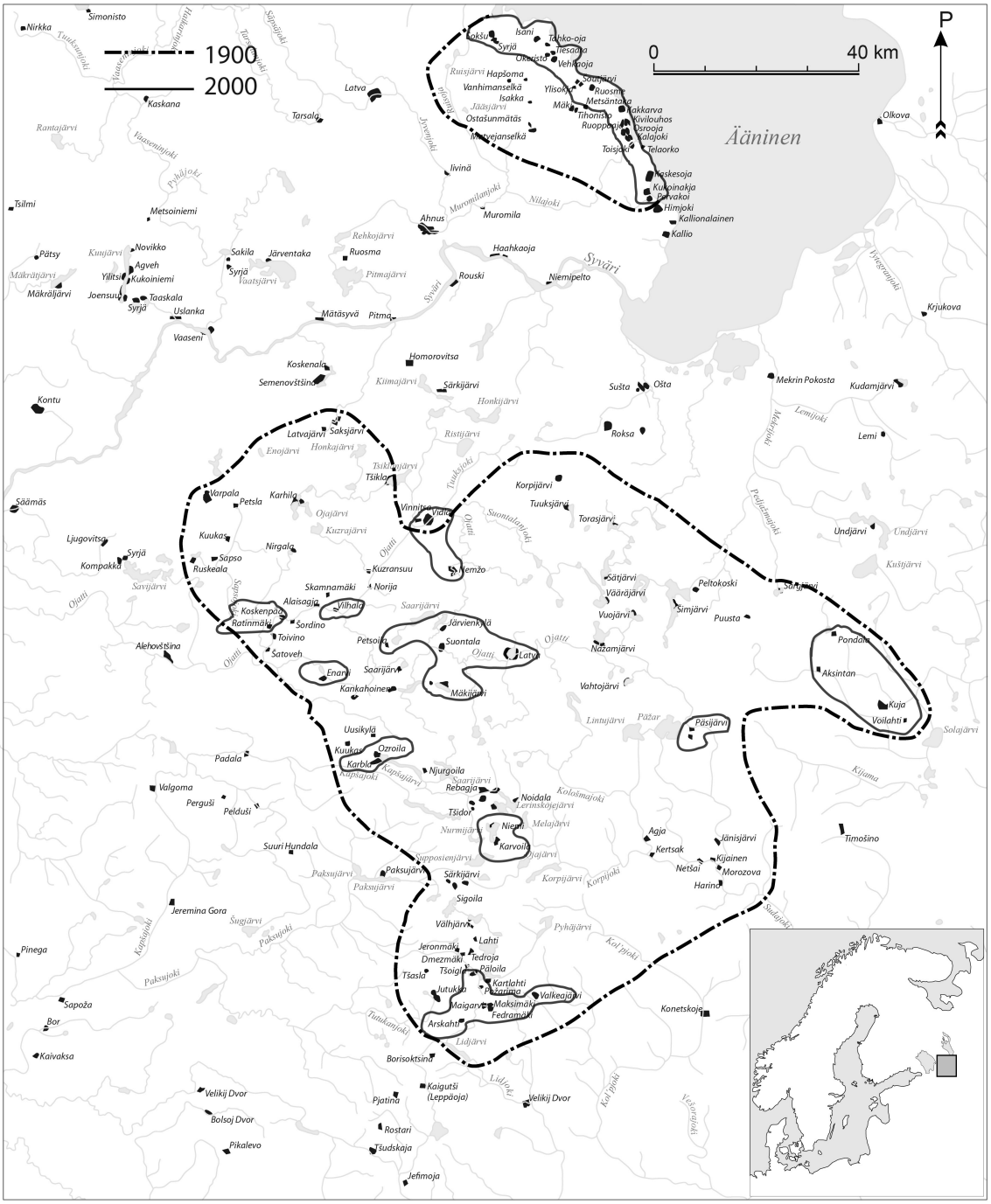


Figure 1: The area of use of the Veps language. [9]
(Grünthal 2011: 269)

It was not until the beginning of the 21st century that the Veps were officially granted official minority status in the Russian Federation. In 2000, they were added to the list of "Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation" (Коренные малочисленные народы Российской Федерации; the Veps in Vologda oblast were added in 2009) and in 2006 they received the status of "Indigenous Small-Numbered People of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation" (Коренные малочисленные народы Севера, Сибири и Дальнего Востока Российской Федерации). The socioeconomic

[9] 1900 based on the appendix of Tunkelo (1946) with place names in Finnish, and 2000.

support connected to the status granted in 2006 is supervised by the Ministry of Areal Development of the RF.

In the Soviet era, ethnicity (in Soviet terms 'nationality') was a mandatory category in the official papers and domestic passports of every Soviet citizen. However, until the end of the 1970s most of the Veps lived in such areas where the inhabitants were not given domestic passports at all – therefore they were not allowed to move out of the area. In addition, the Veps were initially marked as Russians in passports at the turn of the 1980s because the current listing of peoples did not recognise the Veps as a separate ethnos. After the 1980s, ethnicity was marked in passports until the passport reform in 1997. To this day, ethnicity has been optional in official personal records. (Malakhov & Osipov 2006: 505.) Consequently, the existence of the Veps people has scarcely been visible in these kinds of official documents and reports, both in the past and today.

Research on the Veps and their language. At the beginning of 20th century, research on the Veps language was minimal in Russia as the focus was on ethnological studies. Native Veps researchers began researching the Veps language in the 1930s. Since then, the Institute of Linguistics, History and Literature at the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Институт языка, литературы и истории Карельского научного центра РАН) in Petrozavodsk has been the centre of Veps research in Russia. During the 1940s and 1950s language material was collected in several Veps villages previously unvisited by scholars. In the 1960s, Mullonen and Zajceva collected up-to-date material for the first and still the most comprehensive Veps dictionary (Zajceva & Mullonen 1972); their field investigations covered almost the whole known Veps area. (Mullonen 2007: 31-34.)

At the end of the Soviet era the Veps intelligentsia took the observation of language and minority policies into their own hands and began to act to improve the status of the Veps language (see e.g. Pimenova, Strogal'ŝikova, Surhasko 1989; Klement'ev, Kožanov, Strogal'ŝikova 2007). At the end of the 1980s, the Veps Culture Society (Общество вепсской культуры) was founded and has since been the exponent organisation for improved rights and better policies for the Veps people and their language. The Society's initiatives on schooling, higher education, development of terminology, etc. have served as the starting point for research and development of Veps in recent decades in Russia. (Zajceva 2007: 137-138.) For a compact overview on the history and ethnography of the Veps see Strogal'ŝikova (2008a).

In addition to Petrozavodsk, the Veps people and language are researched in Vologda oblast at a local institution of higher education. Veps ethnography and anthropology are researched at St. Petersburg University and the Museum of Ethnography. (Terûkov 2005: 28.) Veps language and culture is taught in St. Petersburg at the Institute of the People of the North at Herzen University. Outside Russia, Finland has been a centre for Veps studies (e.g. Saressalo (2005); Sinisalo-Katajisto and Hämäläinen (2007)). Recent research on the

Veps language community and linguistic networks[10] has been conducted at the University of Helsinki. Also a fieldwork dictionary[11] originating from 1930s was published on the Internet in 2008 in Helsinki. In Estonia (institutionalised mainly at the University of Tartu), the focus has been on Veps cultural traits but also on language. This tradition of Estonian research is of particular importance, as from WWII until 1989 scholars from Sovietised Estonia were practically the only non-Russian researchers who could conduct field research among the Veps.

There have also been official observers and local authorities that have examined and reported on the language and minority policies concerning the Veps during the last decades. The most important of these are the Government of the Republic of Karelia and especially the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Karelia and the Ministry of National Politics and Relations to Religious Associations (Министерство Республики Карелия по вопросам национальной политики и связям с религиозными объединениями); the Institute of Linguistics, History and Literature in Karelian Research Centre in Petrozavodsk; the Faculty of Finnic philology and culture in Petrozavodsk University; and the Faculty of Veps and Karelian languages in Petrozavodsk Pedagogical University.

The most relevant published sources that deal with the Veps can be listed as follows: The data of population censuses between 1897 and 2010; The legal acts of the USSR, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Karelia; Articles in newspapers (in *Carelia*, *Северный курьер* and *Kodima*); several publications and thematic volumes, such as Pimenov (1965), Zajceva & Mullonen (1972), Zajceva (1981), Pimenova, Strogal'ŝikova & Surhasko (1989), Saressalo (2005a) Klement'ev, Kožanov, Strogal'ŝikova (2007), Sinisalo-Katajisto and Hämäläinen (2007), Strogal'ŝikova (2008d).

Unpublished linguistic material is archived in the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk. There are also some linguistic data in Finnish and Estonian archives, such as the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Helsinki) and the Institute of the Estonian Language (Tallinn). The Veps Culture Society has its own archives of documents and other materials concerning the Veps.

Gaps in the research. There are several relevant gaps in the research on the Veps people and their language**.** The effects of the centuries-long language contact situation remain underrepresented in research. There is only marginal research on bilingualism, code-switching and language shift. The linguistic identity of the Veps has not been researched – we lack information on the everyday interaction between the minority and the majority and the linguistic choices of the Veps. Grünthal (2009; 2011) has been the first to draw a picture of the Veps linguistic networks. However, as his studies concern the rural population, we lack knowledge on the linguistic networks of the (usually younger) populations in towns. Do they continue to use Veps after leaving the immediate Veps surroundings and with whom do

[10] http://www.helsinki.fi/hum/sugl/vepsaproj/eng_index.html
[11] http://kaino.kotus.fi/sanat/vepsa

they use the language? How do Veps language and identity adapt to modern Russian society?

The sense of a common Veps ethnos has not been studied thoroughly, although Heikkinen (1998) and Salve (1998) have written about the identity of the Veps. How well aware are the Veps laymen of the situation of their people and their number? Are they familiar with the new literary standard or the recently granted official minority status? Do the Veps feel they belong to the Russian majority, but with some special features (Veps language, cultural heritage, etc.) or do they have a specific minority identity? Each researcher on the field must have an idea of these issues (see, for example Salve 2004).

Linguistically speaking, the biggest gaps in research start with the fact that the grammar still has yet to be completely described. The most thoroughly researched areas of the Veps language are the historical phonology and morphology. According to Laakso (2001: 179), views on Veps historical morphosyntax might also need refreshing. After the classic study by Tunkelo (1946), Veps language history has hardly been researched, nor is there a systematic study of Veps etymology. There also is an areal bias concerning the research. The focus of research in recent decades has been in the area of the Republic of Karelia and many generalisations have been made leaving out the Veps of Leningrad and Vologda oblasts. Gender issues related to the Veps language and people have also been left out of the scope of research.

2.2 Sociohistory

2.2.1 The context of the investigated language community

Linguistic and ethnic diversity in the Veps area. The exact number of ethnic groups and languages of the Russian Federation is somewhat uncertain, because the nationalities listed in the Russian population censuses are given on the basis of the self-reported identification of the respondents (cf. 2.3.2; 2.3.3). Reporting of one's own identification may have been affected by several political and other reasons varying from census to census. In any case, according to the 2010 census, 80.9% of the inhabitants of the Russian Federation were Russians by nationality (in the 2002 census, 79.9%).

The largest linguistic and ethnic groups in the core administrative areas where the Veps live in northwestern Russia – the Republic of Karelia, Leningrad oblast and Vologda oblast[12] – are presented in the following Tables 1, 2 and 3 according to the data from the 2002 census. The geographical coverage is extensive, as almost 90% of the Veps of the RF live in these areas. The competence of Russian is included in the table because it is emblematic that in the 2002 census the Russian language competence was the only specified language competence

[12] Republics and oblasts are so-called federal subjects, members of the federation. The Russian Federation consists of 83 federal subjects, which each have their own representatives in the Federation council. Their degree of autonomy differs: concerning the Veps areas, a republic has more autonomy than an oblast.

inquired. And as can be seen below, there were only a couple of Veps incompetent in Russian.

Nationality	Persons	Percentage of all inhabitants of Karelia	Competent in Russian	Competent in the language of one's own nationality	Percentage of the whole native group
All 115 nationalities	716,281	100%	711,201		
Russian	548,941	76.6%	548,553	54,8553	99.9%
Karelian	65,651	9.2%	65,546	31,794	48.3%
Belarusian	37,681	5.3%	37,660	7,468	19.8%
Ukrainian	19,248	2.7%	19,228	7,981	41.5%
Finnish	14,156	2.0%	14,292	5,770	40.3%
Veps	**4,870**	**0.7%**	**4,869**	**1,849**	**38.0%**

Table 1: Nationality and native language competence in the RK 2002

(*National composition of Karelia.* 2005.)

Nationality	Persons	Percentage of all inhabitants of Leningr. obl.	Competence in languages of the groups independent of the nationality of the respondent		
			Language	Persons	% of all inhabitants
All 155 nationalities	1,669,205	**100%**			
Russian	1,495,293	89.6	**Russian**	1,636,671	98
Ukrainian	41,842	2.5	**Ukrainian**	28,296	1.6
Belarusian	26,104	1.6	**Belarusian**	10,495	0.6
Tatar	9,395	0.6	**Tatar**	4,853	0.3
Finnish	7,894	0.5	**Finnish**	8,484	0.5
Veps	**2,019**	**0.1**	**Veps**	**2,386**	**0.14**

Table 2: Ethnic groups and competence in their languages in the Leningrad oblast 2002

(National Composition... 2007: 9–14; 20–21.)

Nationality	Total	Competent in Russian
All 112 nationalities	1,269,568	1,264,491
1. Russian	1,225,957	1,224,645
2. Ukrainian	12,297	12,284
3. Belarusian	4,918	4,913
4.– 13. Azeri, Armenian, Romany, Tatar, Moldovan, Georgian, German, Chuvash, Jew, Mordvin	2,665 – 432	
14. Veps	426	426

Table 3: Ethnic diversity of Vologda oblast

(Source: Data of Perepis 2002)

As seen in Table 1, over one tenth of the population of the Republic[13] of Karelia speaks a Finnic language (Karelian, Veps or Finnish). As the numbers above illustrate, one cannot form conclusions about the relationship between the size of the communities and the vitality of the languages at the federal level, as the three administrative areas are home to hundreds of thousands of people. The communities may, however, be more vital than the numbers indicate, as many Veps speakers reside in compact villages. For this reason, the situation should be examined at the municipal level, as Grünthal (2011) has done for the Central Veps areas – the rajons[14] of Lodejnoe Pole and Podporož'e – in Leningrad oblast. At the level of certain rajons and individual villages recent fieldwork in Central Veps villages has shown that the small communities of less than a hundred, or just a few hundred people can have populations with a vast Veps majority. Grünthal points out that the official numbers of permanent residents of these areas are bound to be too high as a rule – there are contemporary residents (especially during summer time) and socially displaced individuals that make the calculation of population challenging. Therefore it is quite hard to give precise numbers of Veps speakers at that level either based on the official information.

Native language competence. In the 2010 census there were 3,613 individuals in the RF who reported having some kind of competence in the Veps language. Of these, 2,362 were registered as ethnic Veps. The rest (1,182) were mostly registered as Russians. As seen in more detail in 2.3.1, the 2010 population census shows, as expected, a fast decline in numbers of those identifying as Veps, those competent in the Veps language and those reporting Veps as their native language.

All Veps today know the Russian language at least at some level. Russian is used as the vehicular language of everyday life. Russian is the language of education, majority media and culture and official society. Not all of those identifying themselves as Veps are able to speak the Veps language. Other language skills besides Russian and Veps among the Veps are presumably untypical. According to the observations of numerous field researchers so far, Veps is used merely as a vernacular language: it is usually used in everyday conversations by middle-aged people and older village residents.

Self-identification. There are different names the Veps have used to call themselves. According to Grünthal (1997: 97) they have not had very precise or fixed names for their neighbouring peoples either. The Veps have several **ethnonyms** for themselves: *vepsläine*[15] 'Veps', *lüdinik*[16] or *lüdilaine* 'Lude' and *tähine or tägalaine* 'local'. In the first Russian population census of 1897, the ethnonym denoting the Veps and their language was *Čud'*, which still is used in certain Veps areas. According to Grünthal (1997: 98) there has not been

[13] In the Russian Federation the republics are nominally autonomous unlike the oblasts: a republic has its own constitution, president and parliament and it is meant to be home to a specific ethnic minority (a so-called titular people), in this case the Karelians.
[14] A rajon is an administrative division of a federal subject; it could be translated as 'district'.
[15] In the modern Veps literary language; for dialectal variants of this ethnonym, see Grünthal 1997: 98.
[16] The Northern Veps, the Lude and the Olonets Karelians have used the same ethnonym for themselves (Grünthal 1997: 97).

any specific endonym used in the areas east of the river Oât' – there, the Veps have identified themselves only through speaking the language: *meide kartte pagižeb* 'speaks in our way' or *töu kelū pagižeb* 'speaks this language'. At present all the Veps know and use the common ethnonym *vepsläine* in official connections, but in everyday language they frequently use other ethnonyms. The common ethnonym was actually officially launched as late as in the population census of 1926. It is interesting to note that even fluent Veps speakers when speaking Veps often choose to use the Russian form of this ethnonym, the adjective *vepsskij.* This probably underlines the understanding of the ethnonym as given exonym, as used by outsiders to define the group earlier.

The situation with the definition and name of the Veps language is quite similar to the ethnonym – it depends on the dialect area. In eastern Veps dialects most speak in 'our way' (*miide kartte*), 'local way' (*tähiižeks*) or 'in the home language' (*kodikelel*). Some Northern Veps speakers speak 'in Lude' (*pagišta lidikš*), as do some Oât' area Veps (*pagišta lüdikš*). Many also 'speak Veps', *basibad bepśaks*.

The ethnonym *Vepsä* (or *Vepsa, Vepsu, Vepso*) is found in place names in the present Veps areas as well as in Finland (Grünthal 1997: 99). Despite this, the Veps do not seem to have a special term for their living areas – the names of the administrative areas or the villages or towns are used instead. There is a concept of a common *Vepsän ma* ('the Veps land') used mostly in poetry, but what it means in a geographical sense for ordinary Veps speakers has not been investigated.

Literary language. The literary Veps language has seen development in two historical periods. The development of the current literary standard began in the late 1980s; the predecessor of the current variant in the 1930s was short-lived and quickly banished in Stalinist era (for more detail see 2.4.3 below). Although there are minor differences both between the three main dialects themselves (see e.g. Zajceva 2005: 152-153) and between them and the literary language, all varieties are basically mutually intelligible without significant difficulties. Nevertheless, the newly developed vocabulary and use of different synonyms from different dialects in the literary language cause some difficulties in understanding the literary language. In Leningrad and Vologda oblasts the Veps have been in a weaker position because they have not had the possibility to receive Veps radio or television broadcasts. The newspaper *Kodima*, however, from which new features of the literary language can be acquired, is distributed in those areas as well (see 2.4.5, 4.2 and 4.3.3 for more discussion).

The present Veps literary standard was developed by native Veps researchers (cf. 2.4.3). Nevertheless, "ordinary" Veps people not belonging to the small Veps intelligentsia are not that familiar with the literary standard (or even a common "Veps identity", for that matter). Naturally, the speakers of different dialects tend to favour their own variety over the Veps literary standard. An important technical factor hindering especially elder Veps speakers from using written Veps is the use of the Latin orthography instead of Cyrillic letters: as Myznikov (2007: 159) points out, only the younger and more educated population is fluent

in the Latin alphabet, but usually they are not the ones who would be fluent enough to understand written Veps. Usually those who have learnt German or other foreign languages at school are able to read the Latin script, but there are many elderly native Veps speakers that are illiterate in their own language (our data suggest the same, see 4.3.1.3). There is no research on the attitudes of the Veps towards the literary language nor has the perception of the literary language among different generations been researched. According to the views of Zajceva, the younger generation does not feel ashamed of their language unlike their parents or grandparents in the Soviet era. Instead, many youngsters are proud of their bilingualism and mastery of the two languages, Russian and Veps. However, employment opportunities where young intellectuals could use Veps are very few, which does not support the wider use of Veps among the educated young population.

Background of the contact situation between Veps and Russian speakers. The Veps and Karelian people have lived on the shores of lakes Ladoga and Onega ever since their ancestors settled there as early as the second half of the first millennium – the previous inhabitants of the area were the Sámi people. According to Bubrih (1947) the Veps inhabited the Volhov and Svir' deltas southeast of Lake Ladoga in the ninth century. The same or a similar area has also been home to other Finnic and Slavic language varieties: throughout its history, the Veps language has evolved in constant interaction with the other languages of the area (see e.g. Itkonen 1971).

The Slavic tribes began to spread into the area at the end of the eighth century. Relations between the Finnic and Slavic populations until the turn of the 20th century seem to have been peaceful; at least there is no sociohistorical evidence of violent inter-ethnic conflicts. The Russians slowly became the politically and economically dominant group in the area between 13th and 18th centuries, but the Russifying measures in the area truly began at the end of the 19th century. Before the turn of the 20th century the Slavs and Finnic populations typically had their own living areas in this scarcely populated region. They shared a common religion, which brought them closer to one another, as both the Karelians and the Veps were converted to the Greek Orthodox faith as early as in the 13th century. (Sarhimaa 1999: 27–33.)

Interrelations and social statuses of the Veps and the Russians. Due to the lack of information relating the ethnic affiliation to social factors we cannot draw an overall picture on the present socioeconomic status of people of Veps ancestry in Russia based on official statistics and reports. The available information is based on estimations of individual researchers of the Veps language and language community and on studies of micro-communities. When talking about current, living Veps language communities, we are mostly dealing with rural village habitations, but one may perhaps also find distinct individual Veps communities in cities and centres such as Petrozavodsk and Podporož'e. In the light of current evidence, the Russian-speaking population in the villages does not differ socioeconomically from their Veps neighbours.

The Veps have thus been a minority among the Russians and their predecessors since the northwestern expansion of the Slavic tribes in the beginning of the second millennium. The Veps were one of the first Finno-Ugric peoples to come under Russian power during the first centuries of the early Russian state. There has been active mutual communication between Russians and the Veps for centuries, and some level of bilingualism has presumably been widespread for almost as long. The changes in the status or prestige of the Veps language are connected with the organisation and development of Russian and especially Soviet society; the language of power and official society has always been Russian, but the decline in the use of Veps in other spheres of life was accelerated by the changes in Soviet society and the falling apart of Veps rural language communities (cf. Grünthal 2011: 273-273). Gradual language shift has been going on for a long time, but the pace has accelerated during the past 80 years. In the 1960s there were still some elderly people with practically no knowledge of Russian and there were children using Veps as their first language in the Oât' area (Mullonen 2007: 33), but at present in the same Oât' area villages there are no children using Veps as their first language.

The Veps national renaissance. On a larger scale, scientific interest in the social status of the Veps or the prestige of their language is only some decades old. The Veps people and language have been researched since the 1940s in Petrozavodsk, but the emancipatory movement did not truly begin until 1988, when a conference was held in Petrozavodsk under the theme "The Veps: problems in the development of economics and culture during the perestroika". One year later, The Veps Culture Society was founded in Petrozavodsk by linguists and ethnologists in order to improve the status of the Veps language and the socioeconomic situation of the Veps themselves. (Zajceva 2007: 137–138.) This movement at the turn of the 1990s brought about the second stage of the Veps literary language (cf. 2.4.3).

Today, the Veps language has official status as a minority language of the Russian Federation for the first time in its history (cf. 4.1). In the case of Veps, there was no national awakening similar to those which occurred with many other ethnic groups of the Soviet Union. The glasnost and perestroika[17] gave rise to several national awakenings in the Soviet Union, of which the biggest led to the Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, regaining their independence. Almost at the same time, the native Russians of the Soviet Union also experienced a national awakening – some wanted to form a smaller and ethnically more homogenous Slavic Russia, while others were convinced that Russia should remain the empire it had been for centuries (cf. 2.2.2). Simultaneously with these awakenings arose the Veps movement. However, the initiative to register the Veps in the listing of the peoples of the North was supported only in the Republic of Karelia, and eventually neglected

[17] *Glasnost (glasnost')* refers to 'openness', the new policy of maximal publicity and transparency of the government institutions of the late USSR in the second half of the 1980s: less censorship and greater freedom of speech were acquired at the time. *Perestroika (perestrojka)* refers to the major economic and political reforms of the same era which eventually led to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the rise of nationalism and ethnic emancipation among the peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as social fragmentation.

altogether. The Veps of the Republic of Karelia and Leningrad oblast were only added to the listing in 2000, the Vologda oblast Veps in 2009. (Strogal'ŝikova 2008b: 24–28, 41–44; Klement'ev, Kožanov, Strogal'ŝikova 2007).

2.2.2 Territorial and political context

Traditional geographical territory. In Russia, the administrative power is divided between the national level and the regional governments. Although there are Veps people dispersed throughout northern Russia and even in Siberia (see *Habitation patterns* later in this chapter), the main population of the Veps inhabits the old, historically known and documented Veps-speaking geographic area. (See e.g. Grünthal 2011.) The main Veps area is located in three adjacent administrative units: the southern part of the Republic of Karelia (mainly Prionež'e district/rajon), Leningrad oblast[18] (Podporož'e, Lodejnoe Pole, Tihvin and Boksitogorsk rajons) and eastern Vologda oblast (Babaevo and Vytegra rajons). These administrative areas together form a 404 000 km² area, of which the Republic of Karelia consitutes 180 500 km², Vologda oblast' 144 500 km² and Leningrad oblast' 83 900 km² (Rosstat). The Veps inhabit just a small part of this area.

The main geographical varieties of the Veps language are the following: Northern Veps is spoken in the Republic of Karelia on the southwestern shores of lake Onega; Central Veps (Oât'-Veps) is spoken in several municipalities: Babaevo and Vytegra rajons in Vologda oblast and Podporož'e, Tihvin and Lodejnoe Pole rajons in Leningrad oblast; and finally Southern Veps is spoken in Boksitogorsk rajon of Leningrad oblast. (Grünthal 2009.)

From the 20th century onwards the Veps area has been under influence of Russian centres and cities such as St. Petersburg, Petrozavodsk, Podporož'e, Vytegra, Vologda and Tihvin. Before the Soviet era the Veps area was isolated from big urban cities, cut off from the main traffic routes. Even St. Petersburg, founded in 1703, began to have a more serious influence on the Veps territory only after the industrialisation, urbanisation and deruralisation of the Soviet era. Agriculture and rural economy were the main sources of living of the Veps for centuries. Drastic cultural, economic and political changes during the 20th century rapidly converted the distant villages to a resource that fulfilled the needs of accelerating urbanisation and growing cities. (cf. Grünthal 2011.)

The Veps are quite unaware of the size and locations of the Veps area. Strogal'ŝikova (2002: 172–173) shows that in 1983 only a tenth of the Veps could outline the whole Veps area and over 15% had not heard of any Veps inhabitation outside their own area. Today the situation is largely the same: when we asked the ordinary Veps people from the Central Veps villages

[18] The Russian Federation is divided into 83 constitutional entities (federal subjects) according to the constitution of 2008: 21 republics, 9 krais (territories), 46 oblasts (provinces), 2 federal cities, 1 autonomous oblast and 4 autonomous okrugs (districts). The republics, autononomous oblast and okrugs are considered "ethnic" in nature – they are seen as the "home" of a certain ethnic group. (Malakhov & Osipov 2006: 505-506.)

in 2006–2009 to estimate the size of the Veps people, the most common answer was that "half of the inhabitants of St. Petersburg [i.e. some 2.5 million people] are Veps".

The position of language communities in Russia throughout history. Russian language policy has mainly favoured monolingualism in Russian, with the exception of brief periods when multilingualism was supported to some extent. According to Malakhov & Osipov (2006: 505) the general perception of ethnicity in Russia is tied to anthropological heredity: ethnicity is something people are born into, not a self-constructed identity. At least three main periods in Russian language policies can be identified. Tsarist Russia (until 1917) was a multiethnic and multilingual empire and was the starting point for later development in the language policies and ethnic relations in a larger scale; the Soviet Union (1918–1991) caused major social and political changes in the whole country; and finally modern Russia can be characterised as partly maintaining the traditions and attitudes adopted in the preceding decades and partly searching to develop the country into a modern society. An understanding of the drastic changes that took place in the Soviet era is crucial in order to understand the later developments and attitudes towards multilingualism in present Russia. (cf. Malakhov & Osipov 2006.)

Russia did not have consistent language or minority policies until the 18th century. In the times of Tsarist Russian Empire 1721–1917, the citizens mainly were not classified on the basis of ethnicity or language but according to their religion. Russification of the non-Slavic population was enforced by converting them to the Orthodox Christian faith. The Veps, having not differed in their religion from the Russian majority for centuries, did not fall under the scope of these actions. Following the fairly liberal ethnic and language policies of Peter the Great in the 18th century and an increasing academic interest towards various languages spoken in Russia during Catherine the Great in the end of 18th century, the mid-19th century brought about heavy curtailing of the linguistic liberties of minorities and the development of new Russification policies. The goal was to unify the empire through several measures, one of which was the spread of the Russian language. Minority language schools were closed and local languages were replaced with Russian. A more tolerant language policy was, however, introduced after the revolution of 1905. (Alpatov 1997: 27–29; Pavlenko 2006: 79–80.) The idea of a Nation-State had reached the Russian Empire at the end of the 19th century, and for the first time in 1897, the whole population of Russia was listed in the population censuses and their ethnic affiliation became marked – the category of ethnicity became institutionalised.

Ethnicity was given more significance at the beginning of the Soviet era in the early 20th century. Ethnicity was marked in passports and on official papers, and more importantly it was used to divide the population into territorial administrative units. There were three different levels of status for different minorities: the first were given the status of nations and appointed as the titular people of a specific area (e.g. the Karelians in the Republic of Karelia), the second were grouped together with one or several other ethnic groups and given an areal status (one could interpret the Veps in the Republic of Karelia as belonging to

this category) and the third were denied any territory of their own (e.g. the Veps as a unified ethnos) and in a way made invisible administratively. (Malakhov & Osipov 2006: 504-506.)

After the October Revolution of 1917, the entire Soviet Union was expected to gain literacy quickly in order to fulfil the standards of a modern state. The question about the different languages of literacy was firstly received favourably by Stalin, who was at the time responsible for the language politics: in 1918 he declared that no compulsory state language should exist, but instead every administrative area should consider their own choice of language based on its national composition. The zeitgeist was in favour of equal rights for peoples and their languages, and the goals of enlightenment and stabilisation of the Soviet power demanded that literary languages be created for minority peoples lacking command of the Russian language. (Kazakevitch 2002; Pyykkö 2005.) In spite of these noble ideas, all ethnic activism was in practice evaluated and accepted or denounced in the light of Bolshevist politics, that is depending on whether they were considered negative and anti-Soviet or positively proletarian in essence (Musaev 2007: 77).

In the 1920s, literary standards were created for minority languages and the overall goal of language policies was the process of 'indigenisation' or 'nativisation' (коренизация). In order to establish legitimate power throughout the former empire, regional administrative units were constructed and representatives of ethnic minorities were put in leadership positions. Attempts were made to eradicate the long-term effects of previous Russification measures. The use of minority languages was promoted in local administration, courts, education and the mass media – Russian was used as a lingua franca in central government and the army. Ethnic minorities were supposed to take part in the Communist Party's socialist project to build a uniform Soviet society. They were also expected to have active participation and their own leadership, and to operate primarily in the local languages. (Pavlenko 2006: 81; Musaev 2007: 78–80.) The indigenisation processes reached the Veps quite late, which was at least partly due to the lack of a previous literary tradition in the Veps language. It was not until 1932 that the first Veps literary standard was created. In 1932, 37 schools in Leningrad oblast began giving instruction in Veps, and in 1937 the schools of the Veps rajon of Šoutjärv (Шёлтозеро) in the Republic of Karelia changed their language of instruction from Finnish to Veps. (Musaev 2007: 80–83.)

The situation began to change shortly after the turn of the 1930s. Anti-nationalist policies, the rise of Soviet patriotism and changes in Soviet society resulted in collectivisation, industrialisation and mass migrations. As pointed out by Sarhimaa (1999: 38) it is paradoxical that the widest range of functions of the newly created minority languages was reached in the second half of the 1930s, simultaneously with the most devastating acts of Soviet terror. At the end of the 1930s, all traits of conjectural cultural autonomy were liquidated. A significant dualism was brought up between the categories of "titular" and "non-titular" peoples, of which the Veps belong to the latter. The titular languages had the right to autonomy, but not the right to equal status with Russian. (Pavlenko 2006: 81–83; Musaev 2007: 91.)

After the 1930s, the Russification policies were further intensified. The Veps had lost their native language education at the end of 1930s. Gradually, all over the Soviet Union, education given in other languages than Russian diminished rapidly. According to Pavlenko (2006: 83), there were 47 languages used in Soviet secondary schools in 1960, 30 languages in 1970 and by 1982 only 17. After the eradication of linguistic rights, other centralist oppression policies continued. The traditional contacts between Veps villages were broken as new roads were built from centres to villages and old roads connecting villages abandoned (cf. Grünthal 2011: 277). Many school children lost their contact to their language community when placed in boarding schools. During the 1950s and 1960s, several villages of the USSR were declared "perspectiveless" in order to force their population to move to bigger central villages and participate in more efficient rural collectives. One tragic example of a liquidated village is the Veps village of Šimjärv (Шимозеро) in the western corner of present Vologda oblast, which was emptied completely at the end of the 1950s. A language community of 5,000 Veps people was shattered and the linguistic networks broken when a large number of especially young Veps people moved to towns after the liquidation. (Strogal'šikova 2005b: 225–233; Lapin 2007.)

After the 1970s and 1980s, the situation of minorities in the USSR changed temporarily for the better. The new politics of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, which led to the collapse of the USSR in 1991, brought about several national awakenings among the numerous ethnic groups of the Soviet Union. The short era inspired many groups to develop and preserve their cultural identities. Language politics together with other ethnic issues were no longer the sole right of the nation and the Communist party, which allowed the ethnic groups to take action. The most successful examples were the Baltic countries, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, regaining their independence. The Veps were one of the first minorities to speak out about their maltreatment during the Soviet years and claim the status of "Indigenous Small-Numbered People of the North" in order to get support and protection for the Veps language and culture in their traditional living areas in the Republic of Karelia and Leningrad and Vologda oblasts (see also chapter 4.5). The languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation were given nominal legal protection in the 1990s, paradoxically the same time when Russian was named the official language of the Russian Federation for the first time in history. In practice, of course, Russian had been the *de facto* official language of the country for decades. (See Alpatov 1997; Pyykkö 2005.)

Today, after the enthusiasm of the early 1990s, the ethnic movements in the Russian Federation have leveled down. It has proven difficult for minority intelligentsias to gain both financial and moral support, and to gain true actorship in ethnopolicies. The Russian Federation has once again been moving towards centralising and homogenising the nation and this does not favor the development of native cultures. Nominal rights are granted to minorities that are small enough. Peculiarly, the official Russian definition of indigenous minorities currently limits the size of the population to 50,000. This means, for example, that the Karelians are denied this status. There are no explanations as to why the number is set at 50,000. Other criteria include living in one's traditional territories, preserving the traditional

lifestyle and awareness of a common ethnos.[19] (Kazakevitch 2002; Popov & Kuznetsov 2008; RAIPON.) In general, the current ethnic or minority policies operate mainly on the regional level and are realised through different declarations and in cooperation with the minorities, which means that such groups as the Veps, who live dispersed in different administrative areas, face unequal rights depending on the area in which they live: in the Republic of Karelia, the Finnic minorities – the Karelians, Veps and Finnish – enjoy at least nominal support in a different way than in other areas. It seems that linguistic and cultural rights are being replaced by the "folklorisation" of native peoples, or, as Malakhov & Osipov put it, "symbolic and rhetorical (re)production of multi-ethnicity in Russia". (cf. Malakhov & Osipov 2006: 507–508.) The present language policies in light of legislation are covered in further detail in chapter 4.

Habitation patterns. The Veps can well be described as a geographically stable ethnic group. The historically documented Veps habitation covers mainly the same area where the fragments of Veps people live today – the compact area between the lakes Onega, Ladoga and Belozero. According to Strogal'ŝikova (2005b: 171–172), the Veps have lived in continuous chains of Veps villages until very recently. Despite their stable habitation pattern for over a millennium, the Veps have never been seen administratively as a compact group significant to the division of the area they inhabit.

The Veps have never had large titular ethnic administrative areas comparable to that of some other ethnic groups in Russia, for example the Karelians. In the Karelian ASNT, in 1927, the village of Šoutjärv was granted the status of Veps national area. In addition, 15 rural Veps councils received national status. All over the Soviet Union, the administrative structure was reorganised and several units were formed on the basis of ethnic territories. In the 1930s there were titular areas of the Veps also in Leningrad oblast: in 1931 there were 9 Veps village councils. At the same time a national Veps district was founded in the village of Vidl (VEP: also *Vingl*; RU: Винницы) in the Podporož'e rajon. These structures were abolished as fast as they were created during Stalin's terror in 1937. In 1937, the Vidl national area and the rural councils lost their status. The Šoutjärv national area was disestablished in 1956. After the dawn of the national renaissance, a Veps national area (*Vepsän rahvahaline volost,* Вепсская национальная волость*)* existed from 1994 to 2005 in the Republic of Karelia; its centre was the village Šoutjärv. Since 2006 the same area has been divided into three Veps rural municipalities (вепсское сельское поселение): Šoutjärv (Шёлтозеро), Kaleig **(**Рыбрека) and Šokš (Шокш). Historically, this area includes several smaller Veps villages. (Grünthal 2009; Joalaid 1998; Kurs 2001: 70; Strogal'ŝikova 2005a: 219.)

Nowadays most of the Veps live in cities such as Petrozavodsk and St. Petersburg, as well as in Veps villages. According to the census of 2010, 43.6% of the Veps population lived in

[19] 1999: О гарантиях прав коренных малочисленных народов Российской Федерации; Единый перечень коренных малочисленных народов Российской федерации. There are currently 45 peoples who fall under the scope of this definition.

villages. In the Stalinist era, the networks of village communities were weakened by the administrative divisions and the liquidations of "perspectiveless" villages. The current picture of habitation is diffuse and scattered. Although the main core area has remained stable, similarly to other peoples of Russia and the USSR there has been some migration inside the country. At the beginning of the 20th century small groups of Veps migrated to Siberia, to Kemerovo and Irkutsk oblasts. The first Veps left for Irkutsk because of the agrarian reforms of the years 1907–1917; the second wave of migration between 1927 and the end of the 1940s was caused by hunger and collectivisation. The latter gave birth to a Veps ethnic enclave of 300 people in the 1940s, of which a small community still remains. (cf. Strogal'ŝikova and Zajceva 2007.) Concerning migration within the Veps area, probably the most important and tragic event of the 20th century was the above-mentioned abolishment of the village of Šimjärv in 1956–1957.

Observation and recognition of minority status. The indigenous minorities of Russia were defined in a listing[20] made by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the beginning of the 1990s. Despite the effort and claims of Veps intelligentsia for official recognition, the Veps were not included in the first listings. It was not until the year 2000 that the Veps of the Republic of Karelia and Leningrad oblast were added to the listing of "Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the RF", while the Veps of Vologda oblast were not included until 2009. The other official report of the Veps being recognised as a national minority is the listing of the" Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the RF" of 2006. As the third form of official recognition we can mention the inclusion of the Veps language in the Red Book of Languages of the Peoples of Russia (1994).

2.2.3 Cultural context

Symbols of Veps culture. The Veps do not differ notably from the surrounding Russian society in terms of their physical cultural traits (see e.g. Salve 1998). In fact, in traditional Veps areas the seemingly Russian villages are often Russified Veps villages and many of their inhabitants often have Veps roots. It can be assumed that already before the Soviet assimilation of ethnic and local cultural differences, the Veps farm workers (first serfs, later sharecroppers) were not particularly distinct in their culture from other groups in the area. The following can, however, be considered cultural symbols that somewhat characterise the Veps nowadays: Veps provincial festivals, Veps folklore, arts and crafts (weaving, embroidery, carpentry), folk dancing and singing, lamentation tradition, Veps architecture, family rituals and different rituals of life cycle. These are shared cultural activities among a wider group of Veps people and they usually have specific "Veps" features, although fundamentally they belong to a larger areal cultural heritage of northwestern Russia. (cf. Salve 2004: 117–120; Saressalo 2005: 16–19.)

[20] Единый перечень коренных малочисленных народов

The most important feature in identifying the Veps as an ethnic entity is the Veps language (see, e.g. Heikkinen 1998; Salve 1998). The cultural symbols listed above probably do not characterise the everyday lives of ordinary Veps people that much – the symbols tend to be museal or folkloristic in nature, and are typically practiced or used only during festivities. The Veps flag, the national symbols and the national costumes do not have an official status or standardisation. National clothing and traditional cookware are stored in museums and can therefore be used in rural festivals.

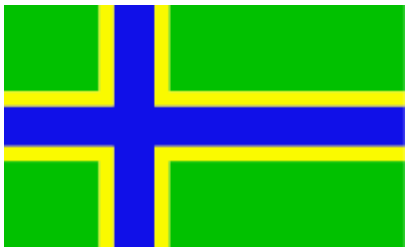


Figure 2: The Veps flag
(Wikimedia Commons)

Most cultural symbols of the Veps are essentially connected to the traditional form of living. Modern features arise from more professionalised forms of culture. Competitions of Veps language knowledge and pop groups and singers that mix modern music with Veps language lyrics can be considered new cultural symbols. The Veps Cultural Society arranges an annual quiz or competition about the knowledge of the Veps language called "Grandmothers and grandchildren" (*Бабушки и внуки*). (See Saressalo 2005.)

Religion. According to the Russian research tradition, the ancestors of the Veps were baptised to Christianity at the turn of 10th and 11th centuries – that is, a lot earlier than most Finno-Ugric peoples. The Veps were baptised simultaneously with their neighbouring Slavs, but most Veps could not understand the Church Slavic language used in ceremonies of the church; therefore the acceptance of the doctrines of Christianity took time (cf. Vinokurova 2005b: 136–137). According to Heikkinen (2006: 36–37; 236) the older Russian and also in some extent the Western research tradition tend to overemphasise the meaning of Christianity and on the other hand view the original pagan folk religion as a separate entity. Salve (1998: 122) recalls that the public manifestation of Orthodox Christianity, Russian-language worship and pilgrimages have in any event tied the Veps firmly to Russian society.

The religious conceptions of the Veps can be said to have formed on the basis of Orthodox Christianity, the local peasant view of Christianity and the Veps pre-Christian worldview. Vinokurova (2005b: 138–151) writes about the nature worship of the Veps in the past tense: the spirits of nature (especially the forest) were present everywhere; several beliefs were attached to different important buildings and to animals; and there were witches and healers among the people. Heikkinen (2006: 237) shows that these beliefs and traditions have not vanished completely. According to her, the belief in spirits was still vital in Central Veps communities at least in the 1990s.

On the surface, the Veps share quite a similar religious history with their neighbouring Russians. In Soviet times, religious life and practice was forbidden for all ethnic groups of the USSR. As a result, there is no research on different patterns of religious practices under the Soviet oppression of the Veps and the Russians. (Salve 2003: 119.) Today, Orthodox worship is once again allowed and it need not be practised in secrecy. Important religious holidays of the Veps people are the period of *Sündum* ('Birth') between Christmas (*Raštvad*) and Epiphany (*Vederistmäd*), and most importantly Easter (*Äipäiv*) (cf. Vinokurova 2003: 437–448; 2005a). Today, religious traditions are increasingly popular and their importance has grown along with a generally increasing interest in religion in Russia.

According to Heikkinen (2006), the Veps language is used in religious rituals at least by the Central Veps in the Oât' area – there is no reason to doubt that it would not be used in other rural communities as well. These rituals are not institutionalised, but are instead led by ordinary members of the village communities, usually women. Heikkinen (ibid. 231–249) and Vinokurova (2005a: 85) describe these festivities as offering or promising celebrations in which partakers ask for protection from saints or God for family, or nowadays more scarcely, for cattle. There are no official church services in the Veps language, but there are at least some new *chasovns* (chapels) in areas where they were destroyed in Soviet times.

The first complete biblical Veps translation, the Gospel of Mark (*Markan evangelii)* translated by Nina Zajceva, came out in 1992. In 1995 a shortened Bible for Children (*Lapsiden biblii*) was translated into Veps, also by Nina Zajceva. A year later she published a translation of the New Testament (*Uz' Zavet*, 2006). At the moment, Zajceva is preparing a translation of the Book of Psalms. The translations are used in higher education and read in schools. It is also known that the Veps-language New Testament is read in homes. (cf. Pekkanen 2005.) As Pekkanen notes, the translation of biblical texts into the Veps language is valuable in at least two different ways: a translation of familiar texts into one's own mother tongue may strengthen the understanding of the value and use of the minority language itself, and on the other hand the translation process allows the translator to develop a lot of new vocabulary in the language. (Pekkanen 2005: 165–167, 170.)

Religion or religious symbols do not characterise the Veps nor distinguish them from the Russian majority. The Russian and the Veps population have shared the Orthodox religion for centuries. A common faith is probably one of the historical key factors that have contributed to Veps assimilation by facilitating inter-ethnic marriages. However, it must be noted that the translation of the New Testament and other religious texts into the Veps language comes from the Western tradition and institutions (operating in Finland and other Western countries) which actively support the implementation of the native language in a religious context. In the Orthodox Church the most important traditions are connected to the use of Russian and Church Slavonic texts.

So far there has been no research into whether the Veps understand their cultural symbols and characteristics in a different way than the Russian majority. The importance of the

minority language as the most important cultural marker of the Veps identity is probably not understood in the same way among groups of Russians and the Veps themselves.

Local seasonal festivals and other typical features. Previously, the calendar festivals had an important role in the life of the Veps. Nowadays the Veps ethnicity is reconstructed in such yearly festivals as *Elon pu* ('the tree of life'), organised in different locations in the Veps area, for example in Vidl in Leningrad oblast. The *Elon pu* festivals bring together Veps people and other interested people all around the Veps area. The *Elon pu* festival in Vidl attracts some hundreds of people every year. The programme is mainly folkloristic: traditional singing, dancing and crafts. In addition to traditional elements more modern features can be included: for example a beauty contest for girls of Veps ancestry has been arranged a couple of times during the festival in Vidl. The first *Elon pu* festival was held in 1987, around the same time as the Veps ethnic revival. Heikkinen (1998: 148-151) describes the importance of these yearly festivals as giving a sense of common identity to the Veps living in three different administrative areas.

Veps literature. Few authors write in the Veps language. Igor Brodski has written the only Veps-language novel (*Kalarand* 'The fishing shore'); Nikolaj Abramov writes poetry and works as a journalist for the only Veps language newspaper, *Kodima* ('Homeland'). Nina Zajceva has published original poetry and translated a shortened version of the Finnish epics *Kalevala* into Veps, as well as the aforementioned Gospel of Mark and the New Testament, to name the most important. Anatolij Petuhov writes prose in Russian. The first anthology of poetry by Nikolaj Abramov, *Koumekümne koum* ('Thirty three', 1994) is probably still the best known original piece of Veps literature. (Mišin 2005.)

Popular literature in the Veps language most often consists of poetry. Well-known and popular non-professional poets among the Veps are Alevtina Andreeva, Viktor Ersov, Gulâ Polivanova, Mariâ Abramova and Valentina Lebedeeva. Their poetry is mainly published in the newspaper *Kodima* and to some extent in the children's journal *Kipinä* and the magazine *Carelia*. (cf. Mišin 2005: 194–210.) A major problem concerning Veps language literature is of course its modest volume. There is too little reading material available to motivate the fluent, elderly speakers to learn the Latin alphabet. (cf. Romanova 2007: 51).

Prominent members of the Veps community. A few prominent members of the Veps community have a symbolic value as public examples and occupy a key position in the community. The chairperson of The Veps Culture Society, Zinaida Strogal'šikova is considered one of the most renowned Veps public figures. Her field of expertise is the legal status of the Veps and other small-numbered peoples and she has conducted several studies concerning the demographic situation of the Veps. The linguist Nina Zajceva has had a leading role in developing the new Veps literary language from the late 1980s onwards. She has published research on the Veps language, school books for both children and higher education and translations of important texts, as well as poetry. Also well-known are the late leader of the Museum of Veps culture Rûrik Lonin, the poet Nikolaj Abramov and the writer Anatolij Petuhov.

Two Veps cultural associations must also be mentioned. The Veps Culture Society was formed in 1989 in Petrozavodsk with the aim of building a common ethnic identity for the Veps and increasing the Veps' knowledge of their language, history and culture. (cf. Klement'ev, Kožanov, Strogal'ŝikova 2007: 261–321.) The Society has firm ties to the Institute of Linguistics, History and Literature and they together constitute the most active players in Veps matters. The other association, *Vepsän sebr* ('the Veps Society') is located in St. Petersburg. There is less knowledge of the activities of the association, but some information can be reached through their website[21], which does not, however, appear to be actively maintained.

2.3 Demographic context

2.3.1 Statistics and basic demographic information

Official demographic information. In principle it is possible to follow the development of the Veps population in official reports, most notably the population censuses carried out in the Russian Federation and the Soviet Union. However, from the viewpoint of more detailed information concerning major demographic changes such as migration, birth rate and age cohorts, the official reports show only the tip of the iceberg. Consequently, up-to-date information must often be searched for in individual case studies based on a smaller sample.

According to the latest Russian population census of 2010[22], there were 5,936 Veps living in the Russian Federation. Most of them (87.8%) lived in three administrative areas of northwestern Russia: the Republic of Karelia (3,423 persons), Leningrad oblast (1,380 persons) and Vologda oblast (412 persons). When compared geographically, the number of the Veps population in Leningrad oblast has diminished the most between the censuses of 2002 and 2010. In Karelia, most Veps (67.7%) lived in towns. In contrast, in Leningrad oblast 75.3% of the Veps live in villages and in Vologda oblast the vast majority, 87.4%, are villagers as well.

The development of the Veps population can be observed in the population censuses of both pre-revolution and present-day Russia and the former USSR from the first Russian census conducted in 1897 onwards. However, the definitions of nationality or ethnicity have been far from uniform and clear; there are problems with reliability concerning the reported nationality of the respondents in all of the Soviet-era and Russian censuses. In the censuses the nationality has been asked based on the respondent's own view, which may have led to declared nationality being in fact a demonstration of a feeling of cultural cohesion with a certain ethnic group or, on the other hand, an intentional refusal of one's true ethnic identity because of several reasons. The same problem of the censuses is faced while estimating the number of native speakers of Veps (and any other language of Russia of

[21] http://www.veps.de/
[22] http://www.perepis-2010.ru

course) – there have been no definitions for native language and the respondents could either emphasise or hide their minority identity by stating a certain language being their native language. (cf. Kazakevich 2002; Lallukka 2001, 2006; Strogal'ŝikova 2005b.) In fact, according to Malakhov and Osipov (2006: 503–504), the widely understood interpretation of native language in this context is not the mother tongue (or first language spoken) but rather the language of the ethnic group one feels connected to.

In 2006, the Veps were included in the listing of "Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the RF". Since this decision, the authorities of the traditional living areas of the Veps (the Republic of Karelia and Leningrad and Vologda oblasts) have been obliged to deliver requested information annually concerning the traditional domiciles of the Veps including inter alia demographic information to the Ministry of Regional Development (*Министерство регионального развития РФ*). The list of the traditional residential areas was accepted by the Russian Government in 2009. (cf. Strogal'ŝikova a 2008b: 46-47.)

The official population censuses of Russia and the former USSR are the basic sources concerning the size of any ethnic population in Russia. Selected data from the 2002 and 2010 censuses are available on the Internet[23]. The census data of 2002 concerning Finno-Ugric peoples has also been published in *Finno-ugorskie i samodijskie narody Rossii*, 2006. During the Soviet era, Western scholars' access to census data was dependent on personal relations and the good will of the authorities. Lallukka (e.g. 1990; 2000; 2001; 2006) has been able to gather information on Finno-Ugric peoples in the Soviet censuses, even during Soviet times. Schwarz (2009) has recently gathered data on Finnic minority demographic development and accessed the Soviet data by visiting the Petrozavodsk National Library (personal communication, 25 May 2010). The data specifically concerning the Veps from older censuses has been collected and presented by Strogal'ŝikova in several publications (cf. e.g. Strogal'ŝikova 1989, 2005 and 2008).

The Russian Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat)[24] offers more recent information on population statistics for the different administrative areas free of charge on the web. The data regarding to ethnicity of the residents of these areas is from 2002, but statistical information on overall demography of all ethnic groups, prevailing standard of living and employment in 1990–2008 in the Republic of Karelia and Leningrad and Vologda oblasts are available. Information on town and village residents is also available, which may be useful in evaluating the situation of the Veps in these areas.

Other sources of demographic data. The predecessor[25] of the present Institute of Linguistics, History and Literature in Karelian Research Centre in Petrozavodsk conducted a study on present day ethnic processes of the Veps living in villages during 1980–1985. The

[23] Available in http://www.perepis2002.ru and http://www.perepis-2010.ru
[24] *Федеральная служба государственной статистики; Росстат*; http://www.gks.ru
[25] Institute of language, literature and arts of Karelian Filial of the Science Academy of the USSR, *ИЯЛИ Карельского филиала Академии наук СССР*

research was conducted because of the unreliable numbers obtained in the 1970 census, which made the Veps villages of Leningrad and Vologda oblasts seem almost completely Russified: in fact, most residents were simply reported being Russian, as it later came out. During the research of 1980–1985 all residents of the Veps villages of the three administrative areas were put on record. The records include name, age, sex, marital status, education and ethnicity. (Strogal'ŝikova 1989: 29.) Nowadays the records are stored in the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. This information served as the basis for different reports and descriptions of the present state of the Veps which were presented to authorities during 1987 and 1988 in order to give rise to a renaissance of the Veps people (Strogal'ŝikova 2009: 59, 79). In 1987, the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) ordered a report about the demographic, socioeconomic and cultural development of the Veps people from the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. It was conducted by Strogal'ŝikova in 1989 and published in 1989. Many of the recommendations of the report were supported by the authorities in the Republic of Karelia but not much was done afterwards. Since the beginning of the 21st century some research has also been conducted from Petrozavodsk (see e.g. Strogal'ŝikova 2008c).

Smaller municipal registers would probably be the most useful source for evaluating the demographics of the Veps. Grünthal (2011) has compared demographic data on the Central Veps population to the total number of households and inhabitants in reality. It seems that the numbers may differ notably in rural areas where the death rate is high. Presumably there are also other more or less private and unofficial registers collected by individual scholars or research groups for various purposes which might be accessed via personal contacts. Also the members of the Veps Culture Society, the pupils of Finno-Ugric school in Petrozavodsk and some readers of the *Kodima* newspaper could be listed and reached for research purposes.

Fieldwork in Central Veps villages during 2006–2009 has shown that at least village-dwellers and elderly people only have a very vague idea of the total numbers of the Veps people. Consequently, the official or unofficial reports of the size or the social factors of the Veps people do not seem to play any specific role for the ordinary people living in Veps communities in rural areas.

Administrative areas discussed. The geographical area covered in the latest population census covers the whole area of the Russian Federation. Almost 90% of the Veps live in the three administrative areas already mentioned – the Republic of Karelia, Leningrad oblast and Vologda oblast. The rest of the people officially registered as Veps live all over the Russian Federation. However, it must be noted that during the Soviet years many Veps people migrated to other parts of the country, such as Estonia, Latvia, Belarus and Ukraine, which later regained their independence. These people are no longer taken into account in the official reports concerning the number of Veps in Russia.

To date, the population census of 2002 offers more detailed data concerning the Veps in the Republic of Karelia and Leningrad oblast. Of the inhabitants of the traditional Veps areas, the

Vologda oblast Veps are not separated in the statistics because they were at the time not registered in the listing of "Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation" of 2000 (cf. chapter 4.1). In the 2010 census the data concerning the Vologda Veps are also available.

The traditional Veps areas are defined officially in the "Listing of traditional living areas of the Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation" of 2009 as follows:

- Republic of Karelia: Prionež'e municipal rajon (the Veps rural settlements of Šokšu (Шокша), Šoutjärv (Шёлтозеро) and Kaleig (Рыбрека).
- Vologda oblast: Babaevo municipal rajon (national Veps settlement Kuja (Куя), Pažar (Пяжозеро) Veps rural settlement); Vytegra municipal rajon (Ošta (Ошта) village settlement)
- Leningrad oblast: Podporož'e municipal rajon (Voznesene town settlement, Vidl [RU Винницы] village settlement); Boksitogorsk municipal rajon (Arškaht [RU Радогощина] village settlement); Lodejnoe Pole municipal rajon (RU Alehovŝina [no Veps name] village settlement); Tihvin municipal rajon (Pažar [RU Пашозера] village settlement).

(After Strogal'ŝikova 2008d, Document no. 3, pg. 236.)

In addition to the above, the cities of St. Petersburg and Petrozavodsk are important settlements of the Veps.

Long-term demographic development. The demographic development of the Veps people can be observed from the first Russian population census of 1897 onwards. The censuses have been carried out at intervals varying between two and twenty years: after the first, pre-revolution all-Russian census of 1897, censuses were carried out in the Soviet Union in 1926, 1937, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989, and in the Russian Federation in 2002 and 2010. In a micro-census held in 1994, data was collected for only five percent of the population. Especially Strogal'ŝikova (e.g. 1989; 2005a; 2006) has gathered and presented census information that illustrate the demographic development of the Veps.

The most promising decades for growth of the Veps population were between the end of the 19th century and the first third of the 20th century. According to censuses, the population grew from 25.8 thousand to 32.8 thousand between 1897 and 1926. The highest recorded numbers of the Veps population were reached in the first half of 1930s (Strogal'ŝikova 2005a: 218). At the same time, the whole population of Russia grew faster than that of any other country in Europe. Since the end of 1930s and the Second World War, the number of Veps speakers has been decreasing constantly. The most dramatic decline took place between 1937 and 1959. During the second half of the 20th century, the spread of bilingualism and the rejection of the Veps language pushed its everyday usage to a more marginal role. The change in the sociological context of the Veps language occurred simultaneously with devastating cultural changes and amidst political turmoil and wars. (after Grünthal 2011; cf. Strogal'ŝikova 2008c; Klement'ev, Kožanov, Strogal'ŝikova 2007.)

The earlier statistics in the Russian and Soviet Union population censuses distinguish between speakers of a given language and members of an ethnic group. By contrast, the 2002 census of the Russian Federation was criticised especially for not asking the people their native language. The questions concerning language competence covered two questions: firstly, the ability to speak Russian (*Владеете ли Вы русским языком?* 'Do you master the Russian language?'*)* and secondly, whether the asked knew some other language(s) (*Какими иными языками Вы владеете?* 'What other languages do you master?') – no alternatives or suggestions were given, just three empty lines for answers. In the 2002 census, 5,753 persons reported knowing the Veps[26] language. However, in the following table, we present the frequently presented estimation of the number of native speakers, which drops to under 4,000. In the 2010 census, the native language, *родной язык*, was once again asked separately from other language skills. In 2010 there were fewer than 2,000 native Veps speakers and altogether 3,613 people who know the Veps language.

	1897	**1926**	**1939**	**1959**	**1979**	**1989**	**2002**	**2010**
Total ethnic Veps in Russia	2,607	32,773	31,449	16,170	7,550	12,142	8,284	5,936
Reported number of native speakers	[25,000]	31,000 (94.7%)	??????	7,600 (46.1%)	2,730 [!] (36.1%)	6,350 (50.8%)	[< 4,000]	1,821

Table 4: The Veps people and Veps language as native language in population censuses
(After Grünthal 2011 adding the numbers of the 2010 census)

For more detailed numbers from past decades see Joalaid (n.d.). As shown below, the number of Veps has declined by almost 30% in only eight years.

	Nationality Veps 2002	**Nationality Veps 2010**	**2010 vs. 2002 in percentages**
Russian Federation	8,284	5,936	71.7%
Republic of Karelia	4,870	3,423	70.3%
Leningrad oblast	2,019	1,380	68.4%
Vologda oblast	426	412	98.8%
Outside the three core areas	969	721	74.4%

Table 5: The number of Veps people in 2002 and in 2010

[26] http://www.perepis2002.ru/index.html?id=17, Table 4 "Распространенность владения языками (кроме русского)", read 28 May 2010

Finno-ugorskie i samodijskie narody Rossii (2006) presents numbers from three decades that slightly differ from the numbers given above in Table 5:

	1970	1979	1989
Total ethnic Veps in Russia	8,057	7,550	12,142
Veps who consider Veps to be their native language	2,735	2,723	6,231
Veps who consider Russian to be their native language	5,298	1,796	5,863
Veps with some other language as native language	24	31	48

Table 6: The language competence of the Veps
(After Finno-ugorskie i samodijskie narody Rossii (2006: 93))

Table 7 below presents the percentage of all the native Veps who consider Veps to be their native language. Place of residence (i.e. migration to towns) seems to have an increasing effect on the loss of the native language – those who speak Veps as their native language mostly live in villages.

	1970	1979	1989
Veps as native language: percentage of whole population	33.9 %	36.1%	51.3%
Veps as native language in towns	34.9%	32.0%	32.9%
Veps as native language in villages	32.7%	43.5%	68.6%

Table 7: Veps as native language; urban and rural population
(After Finno-ugorskie i samodijskie narody Rossii 2006: 93-94)

According to the data in the 2010 census, there were 1,638 people registered as Veps who reported Veps as their mother tongue. Therefore the respective percentage of Veps as native language in 2010 similar to the numbers presented above in Table 7 is as low as 27.6%. In addition, 165 people registered as Russians, 5 Karelians and 1 Komi named Veps as their mother tongue.

There is no research available on the numbers of people understanding Veps despite not speaking the language. Instead, Strogal'ŝikova (2005a: 218) presents the percentages of fluent speakers from three decades: 1979, 1989 and 1994. However, because there is no information available on how this estimation has been made (e.g. who the informants were; who has estimated their fluency and on what grounds, etc.), numbers this precise cannot be taken as accurate.

	1979	1989	1994
Veps as native language[27]	36.1%	51.3%	63%
Fluent speakers	14.5%	15.5%	10.1%

Table 8: The fluency of Veps speakers
(After Strogal'ŝikova 2005a: 218)

The statistical figures in the Russian Federation and the former USSR censuses are based on the absolute population. The main purpose of the censuses has been to collect data from all

[27] Percentages of the whole Veps population.

the population, not specific ethnic groups, although this kind of data also exists. As said earlier, the most recent numbers are based on one's own views on nationality and native language, which has been affected over the decades by such external factors as discrimination of minority language speakers and more recently by lack of a sense of a common ethnos among the Veps in general.

2.3.2 The basis of existing demographic information on the Veps people

Reliability of the existing demographic information. The official demographic information on the Veps comes from the population censuses. Lallukka (1990: 71-82) specifies several problematic issues concerning the reliability of the data on ethnicity (in Soviet terminology: "nationality", *nacional'nost'*) and native language in the Soviet censuses (conducted in 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989). There were problems with the registration of nationality of children of multi-ethnic parents: they were not necessarily registered before the age of 16, when an international passport was acquired at the latest, and they were free to choose either parent's nationality. The choice of nationality was a matter of consciousness of one's ethnic and linguistic affiliation, which has differed from time to time according to the political climate. According to Lallukka, such variables as language, territory, cultural or religious affection were not given any particular importance when categorising nationalities. The importance of ethnic nomenclature, the list of Soviet nationalities, may have had an impact on the numbers also: as the Veps have not historically had a single common ethnonym, there might have been a mismatch between the suggested identity *Veps* (or the earlier *Čud'*) and the self-identification of the respondent.

As noted earlier, the 2002 census lacks data on the native language of the respondents. In 2010 it was asked again. However, the definition of the native language in Soviet censuses was also vague. As Lallukka (1990: 78-79) points out, the meaning of native language (*родной язык*) was dependent on the respondents' own interpretation. In cases where the respondent could not name their native language – as is typical in bilingual families – the interviewers were advised to indicate the most fluent language used in the family according to their estimation (ibid. 80). The second language skills in Soviet censuses and the command of some other language than Russian in the latest census are also ill-defined, for there have been no definitions provided for assessing the level of language skills. (See also Strogal'ŝikova 2005b: 173-174.)

The census data for the Republic of Karelia can be seen as the most reliable information on demography of the Veps. However, even in Karelia the linguistic identity suffered due to the deportations of the 1930s. The numbers from the 1970 and 1979 censuses cannot be trusted at least for the Leningrad and Vologda areas (cf. 3.1.). The liquidation of village of Šimjärv (see 2.2.2) influenced the ethnic identity of the Central Veps shown in 1959 census. (Strogal'ŝikova 2005b: 173–174.) Also, as Grünthal (2011: 278–282) shows, there can be mismatches between the official areal records and the true numbers of the individuals living in these areas.

There are also problems with the scope of the data of some individual studies. The research tradition in Russia has apparently allowed incomplete description of methods and sampling, which sometimes makes the data unreliable.

Age and gender issues. The age cohorts of the Veps of the Republic of Karelia and Leningrad oblast are presented in the following Table 9 according to the population census of 2002. Two phenomena are noteworthy: the number of women is notably larger than that of men and the older the age group, the more women there are, both in percentages and in total (see also Schwarz (2009: 32).

	Republic of Karelia			Leningrad oblast		
Age	**All**	**Male**	**Female**	**All**	**Male**	**Female**
All	4,870	1,993	2,907	2,019	799	1,220
%	100%	40.9%	59.1%	100%	39.6%	60.4%
0–19	694	323	361	103	40	63
20–39	1,155	547	608	193	107	86
40–59	1,413	658	755	627	319	308
60–69	773	244	529	418	147	271
70–	834	181	653	678	176	502

Table 9: Age and gender breakdown, Veps of the RK and the Leningrad oblast, 2002
(After Finno-ugorskie i samodijskie narody Rossii (2006: 151; 197.))

The following Figure 3 represents the situation 8 years later in the 2010 census. At the time the median age was 54.8 years.

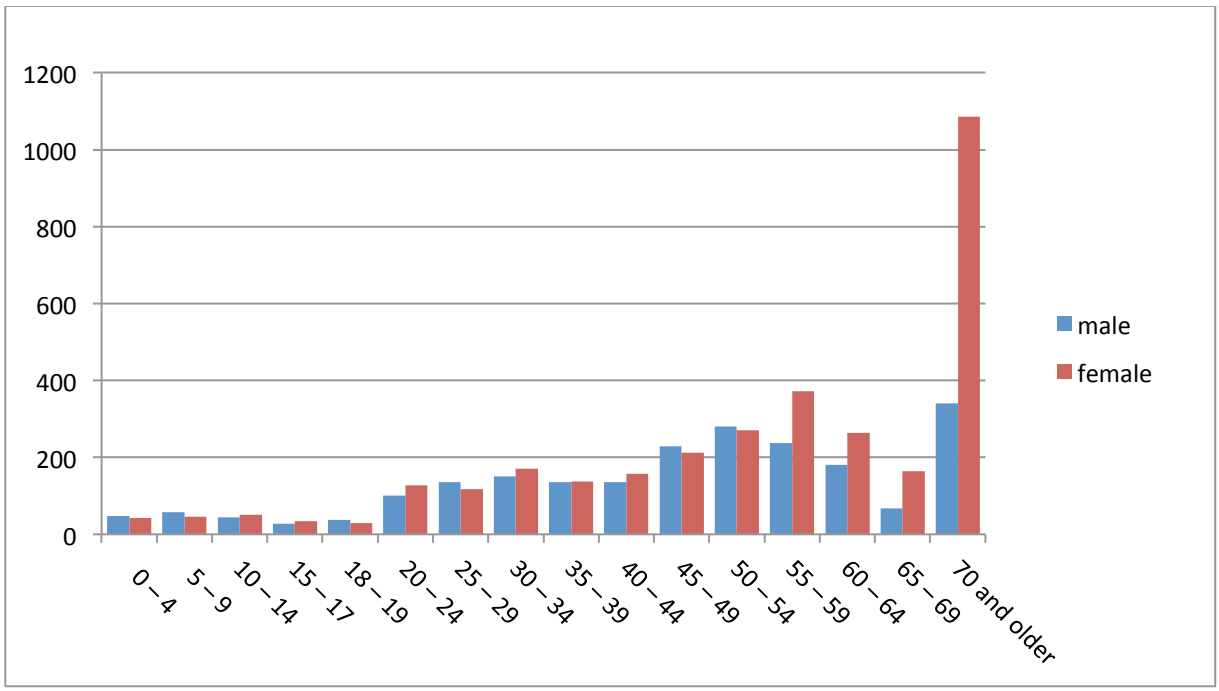


Figure 3: Breakdown of the Veps population by age and gender in 2010
(Perepis 2010: Tom 4, Tabl. 24)

There is no current information on the birth or death rate of the Veps people, but as can be seen from the Table 10 below, the birth rate seems low compared to the amount of elderly people and supposed death rate. One likely explanation for this phenomenon is that most

children with (partly) Veps background are not listed as Veps – in addition, as previously noted, at least in Soviet times the ethnicity of children did not need to be listed before the age of 16. Less than 30 years earlier in 1983, according to the materials of the rural Veps population, the average birth rate of the Veps was 2,394, while in Russia overall the average was 2,038, according to the population census of 1979 (cf. Strogal'ŝikova 2005a). Table 10 below presents the drastic imbalance between the birth and death rates in Veps village inhabitations at the beginning of the 1990s. The source does not, however, reveal the exact places researched and the overall number of inhabitants in these areas. The downward tendency is nonetheless clear.

Year	Births		Deaths		Total growth in population	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
1990	19	4.2	111	24.8	–92	–20.6
1991	21	4.5	68	14.7	–47	–10.2
1992	14	3.1	115	25.2	–101	–22.1
1993	11	2.5	123	28.5	–112	–26.0
1994	10	2.4	159	38.3	–149	–35.9
All together	75	3.3	576	26.3	–501	–26.7

Table 10: Birth and death rates in villages during 1990–1994
(Strogal'ŝikova 2006: 400.)

There is no information concerning the marriage patterns of the Veps. We know that the inter-ethnic mixed marriages are common among the Veps: the data would be important in order to understand the context of language choices inside the families. Sadly, we did not inquire the nationality of the spouse or the parents of our respondents in the ELDIA data either.

The Russian majority and other important nationalities of the area. As already stated, the different status and visibility in the population censuses has made it hard to make precise demographic assessments of the Veps of different administrative areas. The changed criteria of the population censuses during their history make it even harder to compare the numbers from different years and different areas. The problem with the demographic assessment of the Veps of the three administrative areas is that they are seen as three separate small communities living dispersed in areas that are home to hundreds of thousands of people. At the level of specific villages, even in specific volosts, the Veps can still form a significant part of the population.

As already mentioned, there is an important mismatch between the administrative units and the geographical core area of the Veps (cf. chapter 2.2, Figure 1).

As seen in Tables 1, 2 and 3 in 2.2.1, the unquestionable majority of the three administrative areas are Russians. In Vologda oblast, 97% of the population is Russian, while in Leningrad oblast that figure is 90%. In Karelia, Russians form 77% of the population, while the three Finnic minorities together make up 12%. The Finnic context of Karelia makes the Veps a

minority within a minority, which in the case of Veps has probably had a positive effect on their situation and self-esteem.

2.3.3 Basic shortcomings of the existing demographic data

General plausibility of the demographic information. The demographic data and information concerning the Veps people is drawn from two different kinds of sources. The official data from the population censuses provides the framework for the size of the community compared to other ethnic groups of the Russian Federation: some thousands speak Veps and some thousands more associate themselves with the Veps ethnos. The data from individual research projects provide more detailed information on the numbers of people in different villages and bigger areas. A lot of demographic information is missing: we do not have data on socioeconomic situation or mixed marriages among the Veps, for example.

The status of "Indigenous Small-Numbered People of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the RF" granted in 2006 should guarantee more detailed information gathered from the areas considered to be traditional surroundings of the Veps, but it remains to be seen what kind of information will be provided by the officials of these areas.

The importance of administrative areas. The demographic information on the Veps is scattered because the specificity of demographic information differs between administrative areas. It is hard to form a concise picture of the situation of the Veps. In the Republic of Karelia, more detailed information is available and the status of the Veps is different: the data from the population censuses give detailed information on Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Karelian, Finnish and Veps people, which makes it easier to compare the Veps with other ethnic groups and minorities in general. In addition, the research of individual scholars and groups has especially during recent decades been focussed in Karelia. In Leningrad and Vologda oblasts the Veps do not have such a special status in population censuses due to the different administrative and ethnic structures of the areas.

Most important demographic criteria and access to data. The most visible difference considering the demographic criteria in distinguishing the Veps from Russians is their language. As bilingualism and language shift have rapidly changed the picture of the Veps people, other possible demographic criteria may include the nationality of one's parents or their native language, and finally one's own interpretation of nationality. In the case of the Veps, the native language cannot be seen as the only important criterion because of the rapid language shift, which especially concerns the younger generations and townspeople.

Specific results of the latest 2002 and 2010 population censuses may be accessed for free on the Internet. The results of the older population censuses are somewhat hard to access outside of Russia.

2.4 Language and minority policies in practice

2.4.1 General context of language-political practices

Attitudes towards the majority and the minority people. The attitudes of the Russian majority towards the Veps minority or vice versa have not yet been studied extensively. However, there is recent research available on the attitudes in Russian society in general. There is also some research on the attitudes of the Veps towards their own ethnic group and their assimilation and language shift processes, which will be discussed in more detail below.

One reason for many minority groups of the Russian Federation not coming up with a stronger minority language identity is that supporting minority languages and cultures in Russia is repeatedly labelled as a threat against the Russian Nation-State; even authorities with a high political position have expressed such thoughts. During the Soviet era – especially in the 1950s and 1960s – attempts were made to eradicate all national differences, including the use of languages other than Russian, in order to form a one common Soviet nation and people (cf. chapter 2.2.2). These attitudes still have their supporters today. Xenophobia was an issue already before the collapse of the USSR, but according to Russian sociologist surveys (summarised in Pain 2007: 896) the significant increase of fears and antipathy towards other nationalities was seen beginning in the early 1990s. The breakdown of the Soviet Union, the declarations of sovereignty by former Soviet republics, the economic crisis and the Chechen war at the end of the 1990s really fanned the flames of ethnic phobias, which expanded from anti-Chechen sentiments to other ethnic phobias. However, as Malakhov and Osipov (2006: 508–509) point out, ethnic discrimination cannot always or even frequently be distinguished from what they call social racism – the wish to expel all migrants regardless of their ethnicity.

The national movements in the late Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia began with the titular peoples of republics claiming their ethnic minority rights at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. The national movements had an impact on the collapse of the Soviet Union altogether – the growth of national awareness was seen as an integral part of the prospective liberalisation of the post-Soviet society. Most of the minority national movements in Russia did not flourish for more than a couple of years, but nevertheless, the late 1990s saw the rise of Russian nationalist organisations. Russian nationalist extremists have since committed several murders on national or ethnic grounds. (Pain 2007.) Discrimination of ethnic minorities has been studied in greater depth in former Soviet republics (e.g. the Russian Diaspora in the Baltic countries) and in specific regions of Russia (e.g. Krasnodar Krai of the Caucasus in Popov & Kuznetsov 2008), but studies concerning minority attitudes in Veps or other Finno-Ugrian areas of Russia do not (yet) exist.

One should bear in mind that the Veps – as well as most other Finno-Ugrians of Russia – do not differ notably from the Russian-speaking population in terms of religion, appearance or cultural conventions. Although especially the elder Veps population may have an accent

when they speak Russian, otherwise the Veps can be quite invisible in everyday life if they do not especially make an effort to underline their ethnicity. The Veps are hardly seen as a threat in present day society, for they do not seem to pose a threat to the income, religion, cultural values or political power of the Russian majority.

Attitudes towards the majority and minority languages. Recent research on attitudes in the Republic of Karelia in 2003–2004 (160 informants of different nationalities, social status and age; researcher S. Kovaleva) demonstrated that almost half of the respondents were interested in language issues in the Republic. Only 15% of the respondents considered measures aimed at preservation of the indigenous Karelian and Veps languages in the Republic to be unnecessary. A significant majority (75%) felt it necessary to preserve and develop the Veps and Karelian languages. However, Veps was not desired as an official language: preferences for possible state languages were named (by the number of responses): 1) only Russian; 2) Russian and Finnish; 3) Finnish, Russian and Karelian; 4) Russian and Karelian. Also Romanova (2007: 51) states that the Russians of the Republic of Karelia seem to have a positive attitude towards the preservation of the Veps language.

There seems to be a significant areal imbalance between the Republic of Karelia and Leningrad oblast when the attitudes of the Veps towards the preservation of the Veps language are contrasted. The numbers presented in Strogal'ŝikova (2008c: 106) clearly show that in 2007, the Veps in Karelia were still more positive towards the survival of their language: almost 60 percent presumed that the situation of the language will stay the same as it is at present. In Leningrad, over 60 percent presumed that their language will gradually disappear. Research should be conducted to determine whether this is due to the different status of the Veps in these two areas (mainly the visibility of the Veps in the RK as one of the Finnic minorities of the Republic) or to other language sociological issues.

Romanova (2007: 46–48) shows interesting evidence of elderly people having suspicious attitudes towards Veps speakers who have been taught the Veps language at school, rather than at home as their first language. Romanova hypothesises that this is due to a supposed lack of personal relationship and kinship to the original Veps identity among those who have not learnt the language at home. Romanova's interviewees seem to view native language skills as an important but not obligatory part of the Veps identity – in their opinion one can be a Veps without knowing the language. Interestingly, it seems that the younger generation usually not fluent in Veps sees the preservation of the Veps language as important. Conversely, the elderly people who are fluent in the language (i.e. those aged 50 years and older) do not seem to value the revitalisation efforts (ibid. 50–51).

It seems that the attitudes of both the minority and the majority should be more carefully investigated in the traditional Veps areas and also in Leningrad and in Vologda oblast, as well as in the main town locations (mainly Petrozavodsk and Lodejnoe Pole) of the Veps. Researching the Veps in all administrative areas would probably provide interesting results on effects of knowledge of the minority status as well the importance of Veps instruction in

schools, etc. We will look into language attitudes in 4.3.1.8, but the areal aspect is sadly left out of the scope of our research.

Level of education. The contemporary educational level of the Veps people is visible in the data from the population census of 2010. Of all the Veps in the Russian Federation over 15 years of age, primary education was the highest level completed for 28.4%, secondary for 53.4% and tertiary for 21.8% according to the census data[28]. Again, there is a significant difference between the three administrative areas according to the census[29]. 40.2% of the Veps of Leningrad oblast had only primary education, and in Vologda oblast half of the Veps had not been educated further. In the Republic of Karelia, 22.6% of Veps had as little education. In Karelia, 21.8% of the Veps had completed higher education, whereas only 9.1% of Leningrad oblast Veps and 5.8% of the Vologda Veps had the same educational level. These differences are explained by the fact that two thirds of the RK Veps live in cities, whereas the vast majority of the Leningrad and Vologda Veps live in villages and, in addition, are older on average than the Veps in Karelia (see 2.3.1).

2.4.2 Standardisation of the Veps language

Most important literary languages historically used in the area. The Russian literary language has always been the primary literary language in the historical living areas of the Veps. Before the Russian Revolution, Russian was the only official literary language in northwestern Russia: it was the language of administration and education. After the revolution, in the Republic of Karelia, standard Finnish and a sovietised variant of Finnish, so-called "Soviet Finnish" and different standards of Karelian have been used alongside Russian. (see, e.g. Sarhimaa 1999: 35–41.)

In the Republic of Karelia standard Finnish was appointed the second official language alongside Russian in the newly formed Karelian Workers' Community[30] in 1920. Since then – with the exception the short period of standard Karelian in 1938–1940 – Russian and Finnish have been the administrative languages of the Republic of Karelia. In 1938, the Karelian language completely replaced Finnish in schools, press and administration in the Republic of Karelia. During Wold War II and the Finnish occupation in 1941–1944 instruction was once again given in Finnish in schools in Karelia. (see Austin 2009: 20–60; Sarhimaa 1999: 35–41.)

Despite the gradual weakening of the status of Finnish in the Republic of Karelia after the wars Finnish still has the status of an administrative language in Karelia. However, there has not been a proper literary standard in place for the Karelian language(s). In 1932, a mixture of Karelian varieties and Finnish ("Karelo-Finnish" or "Soviet Finnish") was introduced in order to push Karelian towards standard Finnish and to avoid creating a common Karelian literary language. In 1937, Karelian was appointed the third official language of the KASSR.

[28] Perepis 2010, pub-04-28. Read 22.2.2013.
[29] Perepis 2010, pub-04-29. Read 22.2.2013.
[30] Renamed Karelian Autonomous Republic (KASSR) in 1923; the predecessor of the present Karelian Republic

Two different Karelian literary standards were created, but the second, Russian-influenced standard based on Olonec Karelian replaced the first standard (based on Karelian proper and closer to Finnish) in only a year's time. (Sarhimaa 1999: 35–43.) Currently two (or three) different Karelian literary languages (Karelian Proper and Olonec Karelian as well as Lude) are used but none of them has official status. (Cf. Austin 2009: 61–103; see also Karjalainen et al. 2013.)

Veps literary standards. The Veps language has had two literary periods: a short-lived five-year period in Soviet times in the 1930s and the present period which began at the end of the 1980s. The first literary Veps language was developed in the Soviet Union in the 1930s along with several other minority languages (see further discussion in chapter 2.2.2). The second period started at the second dawn of minority languages in Russia as many minorities began to publicly discuss the state of affairs and the future of their language and the corresponding ethnic group. During both literary periods, Veps has been written using the Latin alphabet in contrast to the Cyrillic alphabet used for Russian.

The first literary Veps standard was developed on the basis of Central Veps dialects by a group of linguistically trained speakers of the Central Veps varieties. The group was formed in 1931 and operated mainly in Leningrad. According to Zajceva (2007: 135), it was impossible for the group at that time to take the features of the other, northern and southern, varieties into account, as Russian and Soviet scholars had done next to no field work in those areas. Dialectology in the Soviet Union at that time was only taking its first steps and there were no contacts to Finland where dialectological research on Veps had been practised earlier.

The first literary period was extremely short. The literary language was used as a medium of instruction in schools in Leningrad oblast (in 49 primary schools and 5 middle schools, according to Zajceva 2005: 156) and Vologda oblast for a few years, but in Karelia it came into use for only a month in 1937 just before all use of minor literary languages of the USSR was forbidden (Zajceva 2007). During the short-lived first literary period over 30 school books were written, among these three Veps grammars for primary schools. Most schoolbooks were translated from Russian. Besides schoolbooks no other Veps literature appeared, nor was a significant Veps intelligentsia formed during this short period. (Zajceva 2005: 155–156.)

The development of the current Veps literary standard began at the end of the 1980s in Petrozavodsk. Nearing the end of the Soviet era in the late 1980s several ethnic revival movements arose in Russia, among them the Veps movement (cf. 2.2.2). The conditions for creating a new Veps standard were different this time. First of all the basic work had already been done during the first literary period already. Secondly, research on Veps dialects had been continued after the first literary period from 1960s onwards although the development of literary Veps had stopped; for example the dialect lexicon *Slovar' vepsskogo âzyka,* which still is the most extensive of dictionaries, was published in 1972. In addition, a collection of dialectal texts and articles on Veps grammar were written, and in 1981 a grammar of the

Veps language was published (M. Zajceva 1981). Recordings were made covering all Veps dialects. Thirdly and equally importantly, the researchers gradually gained access to the previously unattainable research made by Estonian and Finnish scholars. (cf. Zajceva 2005: 158–160.)

Similarly to the first standard, the present literary standard is primarily based on the Central Veps dialects and written in Latin orthography. The choice of the Latin alphabet is somewhat problematic, as it makes the Veps literary language alien to especially those fluent elderly speakers, who are literate only in Cyrillic script. As Romanova shows (2007: 55–60; see also Zajceva 2005: 158–159), there have been and supposedly still are contrasting opinions on the use of the Latin script, and the most important argument for the use of Cyrillic is the fact that many speakers are illiterate in the Latin script. One of the most important language planners, Zajceva (ibid. 159–160) justifies the choice of the Latin alphabet for the present literary language by sticking to earlier tradition, keeping the number of letters as small as possible and the rules of spelling logical and especially preserving the connection with closely related languages (Estonian, Finnish and Karelian) and their written traditions.

In 1998 in the Republic of Karelia a group of experts was founded for planning Veps terminology and orthography. The group is still responsible for developing the lexicon. They have published glossaries for school and linguistics in Veps. Terminology is spread also through the newspaper *Kodima*. At the same time Veps grammar is being described and rules are being formulated, mainly in individual studies on the Veps language (see e.g. Zajceva N. 2002; Zajceva M. 1981) but also in primers for children and material for higher education.

The most important texts written in the new literary standard are primers of Veps and other school books, the translation of the New Testament and the texts in *Kodima* (articles, poems, translations). Several authors publish poetry. The only full-length Veps novel (Brodski 2002) to the date was published in Finland (see chapter 2.2.3). A central developer of literary Veps from the 1980s and onwards has been Nina Zajceva. In general, the development of temporary standard Veps has been the work of native Veps researchers in the Veps areas, the Republic of Karelia and especially the Institute of Linguistics, History and Literature.

2.4.3 Language use in different domains

The Veps language in the media. Veps language television and radio broadcasts are available only in the Republic of Karelia. The channel *GTRK Kareliâ*[31] broadcasts Veps language news and other programmes twice a week for 15 minutes at a time. Once a month *GTRK* broadcasts a Veps literature programme. In 2004 all state-owned TV and radio companies in federative subjects, including *GTRK Kareliâ*, were made direct subordinates of the main national broadcasting company *VGTRK.* This is said to have had a negative impact on the amount of broadcasting in the minority languages of the Republic of Karelia as the

[31] http://petrozavodsk.rfn.ru/

amount of total airtime dedicated to regional issues was reduced to 50 minutes per week. Veps is without doubt the least used language of the channel. (3-rd State Report FCPNM 2010: appendix 5).

Since 1993, the Veps newspaper *Kodima* has been published once a month. It is published half in Veps, half in Russian in 8 pages. *Kodima* covers mainly cultural and local issues (festivals, prominent members of the community, language instruction and competitions in schools and university) as well as *belles lettres* (poetry, jokes and stories for children). A wider view on minority issues and Finno-Ugric communities is also included from time to time. The magazines *Kipinä* and *Carelia* irregularly publish some material in Veps as well.

A couple of films have also been produced in Veps. The 2000 film *Vepsläine sai* ('Veps wedding') portrays traditional Veps wedding customs, while *Živatad vepsläižiden elos* ('Animals in the life of the Veps') deals with animals in Veps culture and beliefs (based partly on Vinokurova 2006: *Животные в традиционном мировоззрении вепсов*). In 2012, a film was released entitled *Vepsläižen kodin südäin* ('The heart of the Veps home'), which portrays the traditional methods of construction. On the use of the Veps language in theatre and new media, see chapter 4.8.

The Veps language in education. Bilingual or multilingual education is not properly studied or assessed in education policies in Russia. According to minority language activists, authorities have a particularly poor understanding of the whole context of bilingualism

Pre-school education. There is no government-funded day-care or pre-school instruction in the Veps language at the moment. There are three pre-schools in the Veps areas in the Republic of Karelia, of which the kindergarten in Šoutjärv is said to have a "positive attitude towards the Veps language in education". The Veps Culture Society organises summer camps[32] for Veps children with financial support from different funds (the Barents Secretariat in 1999; the M. A. Castrén Society in Finland in 2007 and 2008; the presidential grant of Russia in 2009). The camps, in which children of different age groups from pre-school to teens participate, are organised in all-Veps areas: in the Republic of Karelia in the villages of Šoutjärv and Kaleig, in Leningrad oblast in Vidl and in Vologda oblast in Kuiskoi. As seen at a conference that camp leaders, etc. organised in 2009 in Vidl where the summer camps were evaluated by Veps researchers, the camps have proven to raise interest in the Veps language and culture among both the youngsters and the residents of the surrounding areas. However, the Veps Culture Society has not been able to get permanent financial support from Russian officials for the camps to be organised yearly.

Language nests. There is an ongoing project of founding language nests[33] in Finno-Ugric areas of Russia (see, e.g. Pasanen 2006). In spring 2013 there was one language nest running in Šoutjärv in the Republic of Karelia. At the time it was said to be running half in Russian,

[32] http://kelpeza.vepsia.ru/ read 30th June 2010

[33] Language nest is a form of day care where the minority language is used by the personnel in order to revitalise and maintain the heritage language and culture.

half in Veps. More specific information was not available. (Pasanen 2013, personal communication)

Schools. Russian is the sole official language of instruction in all areas inhabited by the Veps. There are only six schools in the Veps areas where Veps is somehow taken into account in instruction. None of the schools use Veps as a language of instruction. In the Republic of Karelia, the middle schools of Kaleig and Šoutjärv offer instruction about the Veps language for all school children. The amount of Veps lessons depends on the class: in the first grade, pupils are instructed for 1 hour per week, while in grades 2–9, they receive instruction for 2–3 hours per week. In Petrozavodsk, the Veps language is taught as a subject in the Finno-Ugric School (Финно-угорская школа им. Э. Леннрота) for those children who have enrolled in a Veps class. They are taught Veps only an hour per week depending on the class. In Kuiskoi School in Vologda oblast Veps is taught 2-3 hours per week during grades 1–9. In Leningrad oblast the only school giving instruction about the Veps language, the Vidl school, gives the lessons on an extracurricular and voluntary basis. Some years ago schools were closed in the Central Veps area in Järved (Озерская) and Vilhal (Ярославская). In the same area the eight-year school of Kurba (Курбинская) is under the threat of being closed. The Veps Culture Society has been able to defend the preservation of the primary classes only. (Strogal'ŝikova 2009.)

Veps-language material is available for the Veps language lessons, e.g. text books and dictionaries. New text books are written constantly. During breaks Veps pupils presumably use Russian with each other instead of Veps, in which they typically have only a passive knowledge. According to the native Veps researchers it can be seen, however, that the stigmatisation and shame which defined the relationships of the elder generations towards their native language has diminished.

Veps teaching materials. Over the two decades of the second Veps literary language era, several text books and other teaching material have been published by the Veps researchers in Petrozavodsk. There is a Veps grammar for students in elementary school (Zajceva 2003b), and there are primers and other school books for pupils of different ages (Zajceva & Mullonen 1991a & 1991b; Zajceva & Mullonen 1994; Kočerina 2004a & 2004b; Kukojeva & Ginijatullina M. 2007a, 2007b & 2009). Dictionaries (both general and special) have been published mostly during the past 10 years (Zajceva & Mullonen 1995, 2007 & 2009[34]; Ginijatullina, Zajceva & Mullonen 2001a & 2001b; Ginijatullina et al. 2004; Zajceva & Žukova 2009; Zajceva 2010; Zajceva, Haritonova & Žukova 2012.)

Higher education and research. The faculty of Finnic philology and culture was established in the Petrozavodsk University in 1993. The chair of Karelian and Veps languages was formed already in 1990. Recently, Veps as a subject in higher education has been on the verge of disappearing: in spring 2010 a plan for admittance of new students in the Petrozavodsk university chair of Finnic languages and culture left out the possibility to start studying Veps

[34] 2007 and 2009 also available at http://illhportal.krc.karelia.ru/publ.php?id=4257&am

language and culture during academic year 2010–2011. The representatives of the Veps Culture Society managed to get three places for students of Veps by invoking to the legal status of the "Indigenous Small-Numbered People of the RF". In 2012 the Finnic faculty was merged in to the Faculty of Philology. In spring 2013 the Veps and Karelian studies were decided to be merged with Finnish language and literature. From fall 2013 onwards Veps language can be studied in a programme called "Veps and Finnish languages and literature", one of the four programmes of the Department of the Finnic languages. The programme has had a lot of co-operation with the Institute of linguistics, history and literature in fields of both instruction and research. The yearly intake of students has ranged from one to five – in 2013 only one student was enrolled to study Veps. Since 2004 previous knowledge on Veps language has not been required. The instruction of Veps (and Finnish) starts from the basics. (Žukova 2008: 170–172.) Despite the existence of standard Veps the students are encouraged to use their home dialect (Zajceva 2007: 136).

Some courses – Veps grammar, Veps dialectology and Veps language history – are offered in the Veps language in the chair of Veps studies. Students of Veps write course reports and write and defend their thesis required for a diploma in Veps. They achieve the ability to work as teachers of Veps, or for radio (*GTRK Karelia*) or television as Veps (and Finnish) skilled reporters. The pedagogical training is very short as it consists of seven weeks of practice in both Finnish and Veps teaching. (Žukova 2008: 173).

Veps language and culture have been taught also at the Institute of the People of the North in Herzen University since 2001. Courses are offered to Bachelor, Master and also Doctoral students.

There is very scarce scholarly literature (linguistic or ethnological/ethnopolitical) written in Veps, e.g Zajceva (1998) and Strogal'ŝikova (2008e), of which the latter was translated by Nina Zajceva. Some literature aimed at higher education is also available in Veps, e.g. Zajceva (1995; 2000) and Rogozina & Zajceva (2003).

The Veps language in other domains of society. Veps is not used as a language of administration in the region nor at the state level. There are no known court cases where multiple languages actually would have been used. There is no information whether Veps is used in public institutions in villages, settlements, towns or regions. See 4.3.1.4 for the results of the ELDIA field study.

Language of work. Veps is not widely used as a language of work outside core Veps areas. Outside those (rural) areas Veps is mainly used in the few schools where Veps is taught, and in Veps language media (newspaper *Kodima*, radio). According to the research of 1983 (Strogal'ŝikova 2005: 175–176) Veps was used at work more often in Veps communities of Leningrad and Vologda oblasts, whereas in the Republic of Karelia using both Veps and Russian or just Russian was more common. Our data shows that Veps is still used at work almost 30 years later at least sometimes by half of our respondents (4.3.1.4), but Veps language skills are not appreciated too highly in the labour market (4.3.1.5.).

Church services. There are no church services in the Veps language. Some translations of religious texts are available (see 2.2.3; Pekkanen 2005: 163-170.)

Research on Veps language use. A survey conducted in 2002 looked (among other things) into the language choices among different generations of the Veps (results referred in Strogal'ŝikova 2008c: 98–102). According to the survey most fluent speakers of Veps are over 50 years of age. The vast majority of them have learnt Veps at home. The difference between the eldest and the youngest age group (16–29 years) was striking, as there were only 16.2% of those who had acquired the Veps language at home. The results of the 2002 and 2007 surveys will be discussed in contrast to our ELDIA results in 4.3.1. It is generally known that the linguistic situation is very different among different age groups: passive bilingualism exists among the third generation. There are many examples of families in which grandchildren are able to understand their (grand)parents, but answer in Russian. In some villages in Central Veps area in Podporož'e rajon, for instance, there are some children able to communicate in Veps (e.g. in village Šondal) as well as in Pondal of Vologda oblast. The older generation use Veps among themselves.

There is no recent research on the language of communication between Veps and other ethnic groups, but it is probable that only Russian is used in these situations.

2.4.4 Language-political behaviour connected to identity

The Veps language is used very little in the media. In addition to the non-supportive minority language policies in Russia, the number of Veps activists is small, as is the audience that understands the Veps language.

There are two pop groups using the Veps language. *Noid*[35] comes from Petrozavodsk. The group has made one recording this far and performed live in Russia and also abroad. In 2010 they performed in originally Sámi international indigenous people's festival *Riddu Riđđu* in Norway, where the Veps people was presented as the "Indigenous People of the Year".[36] *Noid* can be described as world music, because there is nothing especially Veps in their music other than using Veps as the language of the lyrics. The group *Jousnen jarved*[37] sings in Veps, as well as the singers singers *Juusna* (Anna Vasil'eva) and Elena Pavlova. In 2006, the Karelian national ensemble *Kantele* arranged a Veps musical *Vepsän noiduz'* ('Veps fantasy').

There is no research or general knowledge on how new media such as YouTube and chat sites are used by the Veps people. There seem to be at least a couple of groups on Facebook connected to the Veps (see e.g. "Republic of Vepsia") where people interested in Veps language or people can communicate. In VKontakte (the Russian social media platform equivalent to Facebook) there are several groups that deal with Veps language and culture –

[35] http://vepsnoid.blogspot.com/ (retrieved in 30.6.2010)
[36] http://www.riddu.no/festival (retrieved in 25.8.2010)
[37] http://www.jousne.com/ (retrieved in 25.8.2010)

the biggest have a couple hundred members. The Veps language seems to be very scarcely used in discussions. Whether there are Veps-language Internet forums is not known to us.

The Veps Culture Society[38] has been working since 1989 and it has a youth sub-organisation called *Nored vezad* ('Young saplings'), which has its own site containing material about the Veps people and language. The web page of the Republican Centre of National Culture (*Республиканский центр национальных культур*[39]) in Petrozavodsk also has material on the Veps language and culture also in Veps. In St. Petersburg, a site is run called "The Veps Region" (Вепсский край[40]) which provides materials in Veps. The site was until recently run by Valentina Lebedeva, originally from Mäggärv in the Central Veps area, and is said to be popular among the youngsters interested in Veps. There is no research on the users of these pages and for what it seems they are not too actively maintained.

There are no known local politicians who use the language also in public.

As seen earlier, there is some scientific literature available in Veps. Veps in scientific context is mostly used in school books and university materials. Some talks have been given in Veps at scientific conferences, but the possibilities for a Veps-skilled audience are very scarce.

2.4.5 Gender aspects of every-day language policies

There is no data concerning mixed marriages, language usage in mixed marriages or gender patterns in mobility. As a rule, gender structures of the Veps minority representation favour women. As discussed in 2.3.2, men are heavily underrepresented in the more fluently Veps-speaking elder age cohorts.

2.5 Languages in contact and language maintenance

2.5.1 General description of Veps and Russian

Genealogical background. The Veps language belongs to the Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric language family[41] and is closely related to Finnish and Estonian. According to the generally accepted view, the Finnic languages share a common proto-language (Proto-Finnic), which was spoken on the southern and northern coasts of the Gulf of Finland approximately 2000 years ago. The Finnic languages – Meänkieli and Kven in Sweden; Finnish and (Finnish) Karelian in Finland; North, South and Olonec Karelian, Lude, Veps, Ingrian and Vote in Russia; Estonian and South Estonian (Võro and Seto) in Estonia; and

[38] http://www.vepsia.ru read 30th June 2010
[39] www.etnocenter.ru read 30th June 2010
[40] http://vkontakte.ru/club192783 read 30th June 2010
[41] The term *Finno-Ugric* languages is used as a synonym for the *Uralic* languages. The term *Finnic* languages are used here instead of the synonymic *Fennic*, *Balto-Finnic* or *Baltic-Finnic* languages.

Livonian in Latvia[42] – are spoken in the area surrounding the northeastern coast of the Baltic Sea. The Finnic languages form a dialect continuum of closely related languages, which means that the closer the language areas geographically are to each other, the greater their mutual intelligibility. The variants closest to Veps are Lude – which has been considered a set of transition dialects between Veps and Karelian – and Olonec Karelian. Figure 4 does not feature Meänkieli and Kven as separate languages:

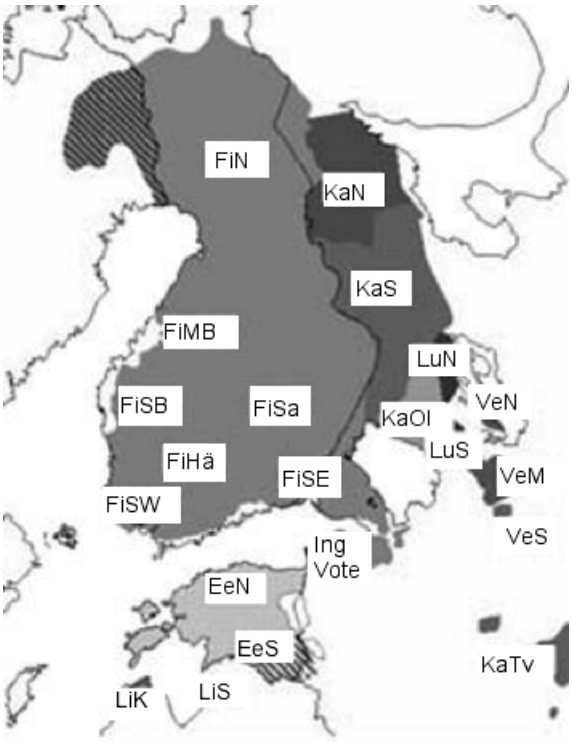


Figure 4: Map of Finnic languages and dialects

Finnic languages and dialects (d.) at the beginning of 20th century
1. Finnish
FiSW = South-Western d. / FiHä = Häme d. / FiSB = South Ostrobothnian d. / FiMB = Middle and North Ostrobothnian d. / FiN =Northern d. / FiSa = Savo d. / FiSE = South-Eastern d.
2. Karelian
KaN = Northern Karelian / KaS = Southern Karelian / KaOl = Olonec Karelian / KaTv= Tver Karelian
3. Lude
LuN = Northern Lude / LuS = Southern Lude
4. Veps
VeN = Northern Veps / VeM = Middle Veps / VeS = Southern Veps
5. Ingrian
(Ala-Laukaa d. / Soikkola d. / Hevaa d. / Oredež d.)
6. Vote
(Eastern Vote d. / Western Vote d. / Kukkusi d.)
7. North Estonian
EeN = North Estonian (EeI = Insular d. / EeW = Western d. / EeC = Central d. / EeE = Eastern

[42] This is the most fine-grained division of the Finnic language area into *languages*: a more traditional classification only distinguishes six or seven Finnic languages: Livonian, Estonian, Vote, (Ingrian), Finnish, Karelian and Veps (see e.g. Viitso 1998: 96). Drawing the line between a language and a dialect has been an issue of debate in Finnic research for a long time. On the issue of classification of the Finnic languages, cf. Salminen 1998. The Livonian language is extinct according to some classifications, as the last generation of first-language speakers who acquired the language in their childhood families has passed. However, there are several activists with Livonian roots who have learnt the language and use it in different domains.

d. / EeNE = North-Eastern d. / EeCo = Coastal d.) / EsS = South Estonian (also Tihvin, Valdai and Djorža linguistic enclaves)
8. South Estonian (Võru)
EeS = South Estonian (EeM = Mulgi d. / EeT = Tartu d.) / EeV = Võru d. (incl. Leivu and Lutsi linguistic enclaves) / EeSt = Setu d. (incl. Kraasna linguistic enclave)
9. Livonian
LiK = Curonian Livonian / LiS = Salaca Livonian (extinct in the 19th century)

(Grünthal 2007:31)

The turn of the 20th century introduced great changes to the statuses of the Finnic languages. Finnish and Estonian established themselves as national languages. The pace of assimilation of Livonian, Vote and Ingrian accelerated and brought the languages to the verge of extinction by the turn of the 21st century. For the northeastern group, including Veps along with Karelian and Lude, the rapid spread of bilingualism during the Soviet years sped up the language shift into Russian. Russian influence and an extensive endogenous development are the most important features distinguishing Veps from the other Finnic languages. (Grünthal 2007; 2011; Laakso 2001.)

Most important differences between the Veps and Russian languages. Russian, which belongs to the Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family, and Finnic Veps do not share even a distant common ancestor. There is no common basic vocabulary[43] and the grammar and syntax are originally also very different from one another[44]. The different genealogical background is the main reason for the most important differences between the two languages – there are no possibilities for mutual understanding between Veps and Russian without heavy borrowing and code-switching as well as some level of command of both languages. Because of the different domains of the Russian and Veps languages during recent centuries there are a great number of Russian loanwords in Veps especially in areas such as modern society, religion, military and Soviet terminology. Pervasive Russian influence on every level of the Veps language is one of the two most important factors distinguishing Veps from most of the other Finnic languages – the second factor being the numerous endogenous innovations of Veps. However, there is still no tradition of contrastive research on the Veps and Russian languages – Veps has typically been compared to its closest relatives, the other Finnic languages. Considering the long history of Finnic-Slavic contacts, it is equally important to notice that Veps and the other Finnic (Finno-Ugric) languages have left profound substrate in northern Russian language varieties (see Saarikivi 2006).

The grammars of Veps and Russian are fundamentally different, and their functional structures differ profoundly. Veps has a rich system of nominal cases, the number of which depends on the definition of the term. The literary language has 15 cases, but some

[43] However, the contacts between Veps and the northwestern dialects of Russian have resulted in the borrowing of quite central vocabulary items (cf. Saarikivi 2006). It must also be kept in mind that Veps also has some older loanwords which were borrowed already from (East) Slavic into Proto-Finnic and appear in all or most of the Finnic languages.
[44] Of course, areal convergence has to be taken into account.

researchers, e.g. Viitso 1998, place the figure at 24. This is an emblematic example of the lack of consensus and research on Veps grammar. Russian, on the other hand, has only six noun cases. Veps does not distinguish grammatical gender, while in Russian gender is an essential way of expressing grammatical relations and has effects on every level of language. The expressions of tense, mood and aspect are structured completely differently in Russian and Veps. The Veps inflectional morphology in general is regular and agglutinative, while Russian shows diverse stem and affix alternations. Pronouns and deictic relations are also encoded using completely different lexemes and occur in different meanings. (For Veps grammar, see Zajceva 2000; 2001; 2003a.) In addition, an important difference that affects the usability of the Veps language in a Russian-dominated environment is the use of the Latin alphabet instead of Cyrillic.

Typologically, however, Veps and Russian share several features, of which some are probably due to areal convergence, while others may result from the longstanding contact situation between the Finnic (Veps) and the Slavic (Russian) languages. Veps and Russian have SVO word order, they place adjectives or numerals before noun heads, they begin polar (yes/no) questions with the focussed word (followed by a question particle) and they allow recursive addition of suffixes, to mention a few features (adapted from Ethnologue). These features do not have any real influence on mutual intelligibility. Less striking and more controversial, but very important, are both the older mutual influences on grammar and the more recent effects of language contact, for example the effect of Russian verbal aspect on Veps verbal derivation (cf. Puura 2010).

Sociohistorical background of languages in contact. The sociohistorical backgrounds of Veps and Russian are radically different from one another. Russian is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world, although its speaker numbers and international importance seem to be decreasing (Pyykkö 2005: 217–218), and in the Veps area, its dominance is uncontested. The different sociohistorical backgrounds of Russian and Veps are reflected especially in the Veps lexicon. Veps has served as a home language, and therefore the most resistant and conservative topics in which Veps words are used reflect the traditional areas of life: agriculture, herding, handicrafts, rituals, traditions and relatives (cf. Bogdanov 1953). Vocabulary in areas such as society, health care, science and education either does not exist in Veps or has been replaced by the Russian equivalents. New Veps equivalents for this kind of vocabulary are developed in Petrozavodsk by a special commission for terminology and orthography (cf. Zajceva 2005: 161), but the vocabulary has yet to spread to users of the language. Constant language planning is urgently needed, but the vehicles for spreading the new terminology are basically dependent on the few activists who deliver the newspaper *Kodima* to villages or distribute the new educational materials to schools and summer camps. (Zajceva 2005: 158–162.)

The effects of the unbalanced co-existence of the Veps language with Russian (the diglossic situation) have also had an effect on Veps language structure, probably at an increasing rate during recent decades – of course, there are also Veps effects in local Russian dialects as

well. There is a notable Russian influence in Veps syntax and the functions of grammatical elements, although they have not been researched extensively.

2.5.2 Monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism

All Veps speakers know the Russian language as well[45]. There is a large group of people who identify themselves as Veps and do not speak the language at all, or only a little. The younger Veps generations tend to be monolingual in Russian. There is a common view on age differences when it comes to bilingualism: the younger generations are at best passively bilingual in Veps and Russian, i.e. they understand spoken Veps but are able to speak only Russian (e.g. Strogal'ŝikova 2005b: 176–177). According to Strogal'ŝikova (2008c: 99), the fluent speakers are over 50 years old, but they are not homogeneous in their fluency, and one could argue that the persons able to speak Veps relatively free of heavy Russian influence tend to be over 70 years old. Our ELDIA results suggest the same (see 4.3.1.1). Multilingualism, rather than bi- or monolingualism, is probably very rare among the Veps, but inter-ethnic marriages with people from ethnicities other than Russian (mainly those from other former Soviet peoples) may have brought about some individual cases (see 4.3.1.3).

Stability of the language contact situation. As described in more detail above, it is unlikely that the dominance relations between the Veps and Russian languages have changed dramatically over the course of written history[46]. Ordered society in the Veps areas has always been Russian-speaking. However, the language contact situation has changed over the last two centuries, and very notably during the last 80 years, from the early 20th century co-existence of Veps and Russian, which probably involved mutual bilingualism in Veps areas, through Soviet oppression and massive diminishing of the numbers of the Veps from the 1930s until the 1980s, to the attempts at reviving the language at the turn of the 1990s.

Whether the language contact situation is stable today is a matter of opinion. It is to be hoped that the acknowledgment of the indigenous status of the Veps at the official level will have a positive effect on Veps identity and benefits language revitalisation. It is most obvious that at present there is a great need for a publicly supported revitalisation strategy that could bring the Veps language out of its marginalised and stigmatised position. However, the enthusiasm of the emancipation movement from the beginning of the 1990s has since decreased, and interest in the Veps language, as well as efforts to develop and use it, have mellowed. Officially, there is no pressure from the official level not to use the Veps language, but it is not supported very much either.

Changes in the contact situation. Because the history of language contacts between Russian and Veps people and their ancestors reach back over a millennium, it is difficult to observe

[45] In the 2010 population census, 5920 Veps out of a total of 5936 indicated they knew Russian.
[46] One must of course note that there is no written evidence on the situation before the first observations of the Veps in the early 19th century.

changes in the contact situation. There is no precise information concerning the rise of bilingualism; concrete evidence is found only in data originating from the 20th century. Although the more dramatic decline in the Veps population came about during the Soviet decades, some scholars paid attention to Russian influence and language shift among the Veps as early as in the 19th century (cf. Grünthal 2007).

The gradual changes in both the socioeconomical and language contact situation of Veps and Russian have already been dealt with in chapters 2.1 and 2.2. To sum up, over the 20th century the contact situation between the Veps and Russian people and their languages has been tied to the sociopolitical development of Russian/Soviet society and is influenced by the changes on both the regional and national level. The first known important changes in the contact situation occurred before the end of the Tsarist regime in the 19th century. The idea of an ethnically united Nation-State arose in the multi-ethnic Russian Empire and the need to modernise the country brought about the building of an ordered society and the policy of Russification, the social and cultural integration of the non-Russian peoples of the empire. (Kappeler 2001: 247–248.) The power relations became clear: the Russian culture and language were superior to the others.

Greater changes were brought about by the Soviet oppression after the short positive period in the development of minority languages in the 1920s and 1930s: after the war collectivisation, centralised administration, migration to towns and the spread of uniform mass media affected both the Russians and the Veps in the area. As all use of Veps in education, administration and other spheres of society was abandoned for 50 years, the diglossic situation of Veps and Russian strengthened quickly and the numbers of Veps speakers diminished.

The latest remarkable change of the Veps language revitalisation efforts in the 1990s has not led to a notable change to the language contact situation. Although the situation of Veps has improved in recent decades, the Russian language still is the only true alternative in society. In order to get employed and to operate in society one must be competent in Russian.

Language competence of the Veps people. Age is a significant factor when estimating the language skills of the Veps people in their native language and Russian (see our results in 4.3.1.3). Estimations about Veps language skills are mostly based on the subjective impressions of field researchers or the intuitive perceptions of the speakers themselves. Table 11 illustrates the level of competence of native language among the native Veps speakers of Republic of Karelia and Leningrad oblast in 2007[47] presented in Strogal'šikova (2008c: 104). It is based on the self-evaluation of the respondents.

[47] 136 Veps from Leningrad oblast and 228 Veps from the Republic of Karelia were interviewed.

	Republic of Karelia	Leningrad oblast
I can write, read and speak in Veps	65.3%	38.7%
I can speak and read	4.2%	19.4%
I can only speak	20.8%	29.0%
I can understand the Veps language	6.9%	3.2%
I can understand the subject of conversation	1.4%	9.7%
Difficult to answer	1.4%	0.0%

Table 11: Veps language competence of the Veps, 2007
(After Strogal'ŝikova 2008c: 103–104)

According to Strogal'ŝikova's numbers, the Veps of the Republic of Karelia more typically master both the written and spoken language (65.3%), while in Leningrad oblast only 38.7 % are able to speak, read and write Veps. In the analysis of the ELDIA survey results (see 4.3.1.3) the areal difference is not taken into consideration. Instead, our data proves that the elderly people are fluent in spoken Veps but many lack the literary skills. Some possible explanations for the areal differences are that the Republic of Karelia has been the centre of development of the literary language, the fact that Veps is taught at some schools and the status of Finnic languages in Republic of Karelia has been different from that in Leningrad and Vologda oblasts.

In the Republic of Karelia, the Finnish language has played an important role. Finnish is still preferred in schools and universities over Veps (or Karelian) language studies, probably because of the job opportunities it offers. In the globalising world English skills are becoming more and more preferable. It seems reasonable to estimate, as Romanova (2007: 50) does, that Veps language studies could at best be the fourth most desirable option to study after Russian, English and Finnish.

Teaching and learning the languages. Although Veps has a literary standard, the language is mainly used in oral everyday communication. The practices of teaching and learning the Veps and Russian languages have entirely different starting points. While Russian is a mandatory language of education, Veps is a mainly extracurricular subject taught on a voluntary basis to those interested. When asked about the importance and necessity of teaching the Veps language in 1983 (Strogal'ŝikova 2005b: 177–178), many Veps seemed to have negative attitudes towards it. Over 40% of respondents were strictly against the teaching of Veps. According to Strogal'ŝikova, the main reasons for the negative attitudes were the assumption that Veps will die out anyway, the fact that it lacks a literary standard, a qualified teaching staff as well as a large enough number of Veps children, and lastly that Veps children will learn the language despite of lack of teaching if they are willing to. It is characteristic of the Veps language community that school and the education system do not support Veps language learning in a persistent way (see 4.3.4). The main responsibility therefore still lies with the activity of individual families in transferring the language to the next generation.

The attitudes towards the survival of the Veps language depend on the administrative area in which the informants live (Strogal'ŝikova 2008c: 106). Instruction of the Veps language is

probably one of the reasons the Veps in the Republic of Karelia have more positive views on language survival. The Veps language is taught in four middle schools in the Republic of Karelia as a subject (Zajceva 2007). In Leningrad and Vologda oblasts, Veps is either taught as a voluntary subject or in a folklore club. Veps is not used as a language of instruction anywhere, but it is given a few hours of teaching in some schools. The following table illustrates the development of Veps teaching in Russia between 1997 and 2005. (See also Zajceva 2007 for figures regarding Veps teaching in 1989–1996 in the Republic of Karelia.) In light of the numbers presented in Table 12, it is not surprising that according to Strogal'ŝikova (2008c: 104–105) the Veps of Karelia in 2007 were more aware of the situation of Veps teaching in schools. Almost a half of the Veps of Leningrad oblast did not have an opinion on the sufficiency of teaching of Veps in schools. As discussed in 2.4.3, also the Veps language teacher education takes place at Petrozavodsk University.

School year	Schools in the Republic of Karelia	Schools elsewhere in Russia	Students of Veps in the RK	Students of Veps elsewhere
1997–1998	4	4	417	266
1998–1999	4	4	436	310
1999–2000	4	4	403	281
2000–2001	5	4	334	278
2001–2002	4	5	331	273
2002–2003	4	5	331	351
2003–2004	4	-	296	254
2004–2005	5	-	331	276

Table 12: Veps language teaching, Republic of Karelia 1997–2005
(Zajceva 2007: 142)

Differences between spoken and literary Veps. There is no research on the differences between written and spoken Veps. However, notable differences exist between the varieties. As mentioned earlier, the present standard literary Veps is based on the Central Veps dialects, but features from other dialects have also been taken into account (Zajceva 2005: 162). The three Veps dialect groups (c.f. 2.5.1) do differ to some extent from one another on various levels (Kettunen 1943; Tunkelo 1946; Zajceva 2002: 13–77), but they are generally considered as easily mutually intelligible[48].

The Veps language planners aim to avoid Russian loans. They try to use old dialectal words instead of Russian equivalents and use synonyms from different dialects of Veps to enrich the vocabulary. According to Zajceva (2005: 160) a lot of abstract vocabulary is created following the model from closely related Finnish or Estonian – an old original lexeme is used in a wider semantic field the same way as in the related languages. The attitudes of Veps speakers towards the use of Russian loanwords have not been researched, but we can

[48] A conflicting view is presented in a field report by Glebova 2001: her interviewees in the Eastern Veps dialect area in Babaevo claimed that the Northern, Central and Southern Veps speakers do not understand each other properly.

assume that outside the small circle of language-planning activists, the use of Russian words does not attract particular attention.

Aspects of bilingualism and multilingualism. Pessimistic attitudes of individual Veps speakers towards bilingualism result from the history of Russian society. Bilingualism has not historically been valued in schools or at work. Still today, officials present attitudes such as the idea that mastering the minority language may affect mastery of Russian – this was heard by the Veps activists in 2010 while the language nest project was discussed at a conference in Moscow.

Since the pervasive influence of Russian on Veps is longstanding, it is hard to differentiate cases of code-switching or language mixing from a fused lect or a fused variety – that is, to distinguish the level of stability or structural sedimentation of Russian elements in spoken Veps. Russian has without a doubt been the greatest influence on the Veps language for centuries and there are several overlapping layers of Russian influence in the modern Veps language.

2.5.3 Results of language contact

Effects of language contact on the Veps language. Bilingualism manifests on every level of the Veps language, but the effects of it are poorly studied. The most visible contact-induced effects are, of course, in the lexicon, where one seems to be able to replace practically anything with a Russian equivalent. As seen below, there is almost no research on Russian loanwords, and next to no research on other contact interference.

The Russian influence on the Veps language is most visibly attested in the vocabulary. The largest and most important Veps dictionary (Zajceva & Mullonen 1972) leaves out all the recent Russian loans. However, it includes a lot of the phonologically established older loans. There is no particular research on Russian loanwords in the Veps language, although research concerning the Veps language usually makes note of them (see, however, Krawczykiewics 1972). The grammatical influence of Russian has been looked into even less. Russian influence on Veps nominal inflection is looked at by Grünthal (2003: 162–177). Influence on verbal derivation has been examined in Lehtinen (1985; 1990) and Puura (2007). We can assume that the centuries-long intensive language contact has decreased the distance between Veps and Russian, whereby contact-induced changes have probably affected Veps more than Russian. (Northwestern Russian dialects have also been influenced by Finnic (Finno-Ugric) substrates and adstrates; see Saarikivi 2006.)

One of the few attempts to describe code-switching practices in Veps is Novožilova (2006). According to her, the eldest generation or the most fluent speakers (at least 65 years of age who have lived most of their lives in villages) evaluate themselves as speaking “pure” Veps. However, according to Novožilova (2006: 149–151), they do switch codes in single lexemes or phrases. Their language is nevertheless perceived as fluent Veps by themselves and their peers. Novožilova’s research (2006: 156–157) shows interesting differences between the old

and most fluent generation (over 65 years) and the middle-aged generation in permitting Russian loans in their Veps utterances. Her results suggest that the eldest group integrates Russian elements when necessary without marking ("flagging") the change of language in any way, while the less fluent middle-aged generation seems to be more aware of their own code-switching and incomplete competence of Veps.

Influences of language shift on the Veps language community. The tendency to shift from Veps to Russian was already attested in the 19th century. However, the drastic changes in the numbers of speakers came about between the 1930s and 1950s. Prior to the Soviet oppression, bilingualism could be seen as a permanent, stable characteristic of the Veps community, whereas nowadays Veps bilingualism can be seen as a temporary stage leading to language shift (Grünthal 2011: 287).

The accelerating language shift of the Veps has been tied to changes in society and the erosion of traditional language communities. Migration to larger population centres as well as mixed marriages lead to language shift, and result in the breakdown of language networks, i.e. the communities where the minority language is spoken. As there are practially no career opportunities in the villages, most youngsters move to larger habitation centres and many end up in mixed marriages where Russian is most typically used as the only language at home. The breakdown of traditional language communities affects the linguistic choices of families, which in turn results in a decline in the transmission of the language to the younger generations. As Grünthal (2011: 284–287) points out, at present nearly all Veps families can be considered multi-ethnic: all of them have members that have Russian as their first language, and if there is no community in which to use Veps, the children are usually not taught the language at home at all. The teaching of Veps to children in clubs, kindergartens and schools is characterised by the language being more of a hobby than a true and modern vernacular language. This further weakens the status of Veps in schools. However, no research is available to back up this general presumption. Also the lack of use of Veps in modern media affects the desire of youngsters to learn and use the language.

A typical Veps situation of transmission of the language to younger generations is described by Grünthal (2009: 283–284): an old grandmother has moved to town from a Veps village whose inhabitants have all moved or been resettled to towns or larger centres (cf. section 2.2.2). She speaks Veps as her first language, her children have learnt Veps as their first language but married a non-Veps, and the grandchildren born in these mixed marriages have a passive knowledge of the Veps language. The living Veps language community in this case is formed between the grandmother and her urbanised daughters: one can be pretty sure that the Veps language will not be used actively in this family after the grandmother passes.

2.5.4 Perceptions of learnability and willingness to use the language

It is difficult to determine whether the current ideology favours assimilation or pluralism; in fact, it is difficult to determine a single common ideology among the Veps people altogether. While the small Veps intelligentsia is clearly in favour of pluralism, the revitalisation of the Veps language and the creation of a sense of common ethnos among its speakers, it is not yet known in how far individual Veps speakers consider these things personally relevant. The capacity and command of Veps in the language community – especially the younger generations – do not support the transmission of Veps to future generations as a first language. There are, of course, youngsters who have learnt Veps at home, at school, or at university, but to support and promote the further use of the language, an active, living language community is necessary, and the opportunities to use Veps in society are limited. Especially where the younger generations are concerned, the lack of Veps as a language of instruction at school, as well as the lack of active, Veps-speaking Internet fora is problematic. Furthermore, there are very few jobs available in which knowledge of Veps would present an advantage.

2.6 Conclusions

The Veps language is used mainly as a vernacular language in Veps language communities, and marginally in a few other spheres (e.g. higher education, minority media and literature). Veps is a language of the home and family, and its use in the public sphere, if any, is marginal. Estimations of the size of the speaker community remain lower than 4,000 speakers. All Veps are bilingual and the significant majority of fluent speakers are of advanced age. Currently there is next to no cross-generational transfer of the Veps language in families.

Most of the speakers of Veps live in three administrative areas of northwestern Russia between the lakes Ladoga and Onega. However, administrative division and geographical gaps in habitation have affected the language community drastically over the past 80 years. The Veps identity has been manifested most visibly through speaking the Veps language.

The Veps have had no claims for autonomy, owning land or natural resources. Their traditional living areas were recognised in Russian legislation as late as in 2009 and it remains to be seen whether this will have any real consequences on their social position. The Veps of all three areas are nowadays recognised as a native people of the Russian Federation, but the laws concerning the native peoples are permissive in nature, not compelling. The official language of all society is Russian, and very little real effort can be seen to enhance the status of the Veps language.

The current Veps literary standard is only a couple of decades old, as the literary use of Veps was completely neglected in the Soviet Union for decades. It is used in one newspaper and some literature, and there is still higher education available to prepare Veps professionals. Veps is taught at some schools, but it is not used as the language of instruction – the

teaching of Veps to children is essentially based on summer camps and extra-curricular language clubs.

In case of the Veps and their neighbouring Russians, there is not and probably never has been a polarised majority-versus-minority situation. Russian became the language of power and society at the same time as ordered society reached the living areas of the Veps. The minority position of the Veps was not officially acknowledged until the 21st century, although the Veps have been a minority for centuries when one looks at northwestern Russia as a larger geographical unit. In their villages they still can be a majority, but the ongoing migration to the cities caused by the lack of work opportunities in post-Soviet villages has led to their diminishing numbers in rural areas, as has the passing of the elder, fluent-speaking generations. Mixed marriages and loss of language networks in bigger centres accelerates the pace of language shift among the younger generations.

3 Data Sampling and Methods

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

In the following chapter the principles and methods behind the collection, processing and analysis of ELDIA data are explained. In addition we try 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 master questionnaires for the survey were 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 Karelian and Veps, was initiated in January 2011. **ELDIA fieldwork data consists of (mostly) quantitative questionnaire survey data and qualitative interview data.** Two different types of interviews were made: individual interviews were conducted with one or two Veps-speaking interviewees at the time, while so-called focus group interviews were made in groups of Veps speakers belonging to the same age category, as well as with Russian-speaking policy-makers and representatives of media in separate groups.

In the very beginning of the whole ELDIA project, it was agreed that in Russia, in addition to the interviews, the questionnaire survey would also have to be carried out on the basis of face-to-face interviews. The survey sampling took place in January and February, the coldest months of the winter, under challenging conditions. A lot of snow and cold weather made travelling between villages more difficult than it would have been had the interviews been carried out earlier in the autumn as was originally planned. Nevertheless, the survey was successfully completed in February. The survey sampling was followed by the focus group interviews, which were carried out in March 2011.

The main coordinator of the survey sampling was Senior Researcher, Nina Zajceva, PhD, who is an acknowledged researcher and planner of the Veps language. Thanks to the gracious

support from Irma Mullonen, the director of the Institute of Language, Literature and History, the project was allowed to use the premises of the Karelian Research Centre. The actual fieldwork was carried out by Olga Žukova, Nina Zajceva, Nataliâ Anhimova, Olga Mironova and Svetlana Pasûkova, all of whom are native Veps speakers and most of whom are experienced fieldworkers and researchers. This enabled the use of the Veps language during data sampling. As a rule, the interviews took place in Veps, although Russian was frequently used to clarify the questions, as the questionnaires included terminology which was not previously familiar to the respondents. The chosen survey method turned out to be an efficient way of disseminating information about the project and increasing people's interest towards minority language issues.

The individual interviews and focus group interviews were carried out in Petrozavodsk in March 2011 jointly by Senior Researcher, Nina Zajceva, PhD, and Professor Riho Grünthal, the leader of the Helsinki team who had earlier conducted fieldwork in Veps villages for several years. The latter was the only fieldworker involved with the interviews who was not a native Veps speaker. Junior Researcher, Heini Karjalainen, MA, was responsible for handling the technical issues such as the equipment and the initial processing of the data. She was also present as an observer during all the interviews. The interviews were later transcribed by Heini Karjalainen and Olga Zajceva.

The survey interviews and face-to-face rendezvous were made in places that were chosen in negotiations between Riho Grünthal and Nina Zajceva at the end of the year 2010. Rural places were selected to include both the traditional Veps villages in the Republic of Karelia and Leningrad oblast, whereas comparative data would be gathered in the town of Petrozavodsk. More precisely, the survey sample interviews were made in Podporož'e rajon (Leningrad oblast) in Vidl (RU *Vinnicy*) and in surrounding villages. In the Republic of Karelia the survey was carried out in the villages of Šoutarv (RU *Šeltozero*) and Kaleig (RU *Rybreka*) and the town of Petrozavodsk where the control groups were interviewed as well.

3.2 Sample Survey

3.2.1 Structure of the minority 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 heavy 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 attachment to the EuLaViBar toolkit by September 2013.) The Veps-language

questionnaire and the Russian-language control group questionnaire were translated from the Finnish master version by Nina Zajceva. (As it turned out that not all respondents knew Veps well enough to understand the questionnaire, an "unofficial" Russian-language version of the minority questionnaire was prepared and used as a support material when conducting the survey.)

Two survey questionnaires were used: one for the target group (MinLG), Veps language speakers, and another for the control group (CG), the Russian speakers. The MinLG survey questionnaire consisted of 63 questions. More precisely, these were question sets, because many questions had a number of alternatives that increased the actual number of questions to 373. These included 31 open-ended questions, some of which were alternatives. The control group survey questionnaire consisted of 47 question sets, where the total number of questions was 305 and the number of open-ended questions 20.

The MinLG questions were divided into the following thematic categories:

1. Basic information about the respondent (Q1–Q6)

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

2. Background of language usage (Q7–Q27)

This extensive section mapped the stage at which the informant had learnt the minority and majority language(s) at issue, requesting 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 age was inquired separately.

3. Language skills (Q28–Q32)

This section outlined the language skills of the informants in the minority language, majority language, English and eventually in other languages. The questions included variables in private and public sphere, such as home, work, school, street, shopping, library, church, authorities and local activities.

4. Attitude towards different languages and desire to use them (Q33–Q59)

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 language. Furthermore, several variables were used to cover the informant's attitude 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 sphere (Q60–Q61)

This brief section completed the points of the two preceding ones by asking a more detailed question on the presence of the minority language in the public sphere.

6. Culture, media and social media in different languages (Q62–Q63)

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, another language. Both sets of questions focussed on reading and writing.

The applicability of the questionnaire in regards to the Veps language speakers. The main obstacle for the respondents to provide all the information needed was the exhausting length of the questionnaire. However, this may have been somewhat less of a problem as the questionnaires were mostly filled in together with the fieldworker during face-to-face interviews. As the decision was made to provide the respondents with only the Veps language questionnaire, the concepts and the 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 of the fieldworkers. In addition, among the Veps questionnaires there were many that lacked answers to several questions. The amount of repetition in the questions also seemed to bother some of the respondents.

The main reason for providing the respondents with the Veps language questionnaire only was that we wanted to show the Veps language community that the Veps language can be used for this kind of international and scientific purpose as well. At the ELDIA dissemination event in Petrozavodsk in February 2013 we got to hear a delightful speech by one of our associates, as she gave a speech in Veps, a language she had started to use actively again after being engaged by our fieldwork.

The departure point for planning the ELDIA survey was research experience with mainly Western European multilingual communities, and it turned out that the background assumptions behind the research design were not always compatible with the life experience of minorities in the Russian countryside. The vantage point of a person living in a society such as Finland, where citizens are typically highly aware of their rights and individual standing in society differs heavily from the views 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, highly educated community.

Because of the assisted completion method used there were fewer incomplete questionnaires than would have been received via mailed or electronic questionnaires. Most typically questions concerning the use of English or other foreign languages had not been answered – many questions concerning English were left unanswered by over a third of the respondents. There were not many additional comments made on the questionnaires. Open-ended questions give – in addition to the actual information required – an idea of whether

the respondents have understood the Veps language questions, which sadly is not always the case despite the help from the fieldworkers.

3.2.2 Veps Language Speakers' Survey

Data collection methods. In the case of linguistic and ethnic minorities in Russia such as the Veps language speakers, of the sample survey methods only the assisted completion method can be trusted. Both mailing to randomly selected addresses and web surveys were out of the question for multiple reasons. The advantage of face-to-face interviews is that, if necessary, the fieldworkers can explain the questions either in the minority or majority language. It turned out that the questions that were presented in Veps following the new literary standard language had to be rephrased in Russian very frequently. Nevertheless, the fieldworkers could stick to the statistical aim of 300 questionnaires for each minority group.

The meetings with the respondents were organised in all places mentioned above between the last week of January and end of February. It was a very intensive working period for all participants that demanded a physical presence in the investigated sample areas. According to the original plans, the fieldwork should have started in September, which would have been a more appropriate time for travelling to remote villages. However, the delay in preparing the questionnaire postponed the beginning to the middle of the winter.

Two methods were used to fill in the questionnaires. Firstly, a group of people was invited to a public space, e.g. a library. Secondly, the fieldworkers visited individual houses to obtain the total target of 300 answers. In general, this is the main sampling method used in Russia, and the respondents were willing to collaborate with the fieldworkers. As a rule, the respondents answered the questions very patiently either in groups or alone. The fieldwork itself went very smoothly, thanks to a very committed fieldwork team that was able to operate at a high professional level under very challenging conditions.

The main disadvantage of face-to-face sampling is naturally that, in comparison to most other investigated minorities, the sample was not based on an equally random sampling. As a result, the sample is areally more uniform than it would have been if an electronic catalogue or register of the Veps people had been available. Furthermore, there is a clear imbalance between the genders, which was expected in advance: there are much fewer men than women in all age groups (see 3.2.3). 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 with respect to most other minority groups investigated within ELDIA is that there are no official registers or databases from which a random selection could be made. Another reason for this is the very scarce population number. The selection of the minority group representatives was, in principle, based on a simple question: "Are you a Veps?" In fact, as shown in 4.3.1.3, our sample consisted almost totally of Veps speakers – less than 10% of the respondents were individuals who had no competence in the Veps language. This was most likely due to the

mainly rural, dominantly historically Veps-speaking places chosen for conducting survey interviews.

For data collection we used the assisted completion method. The respondents were contacted face-to-face and either the informant or the interviewer filled in the questionnaire. Some informants claimed that the questionnaire was too long and that answering some of the questions was too difficult and time-consuming.

Response rate and survey outcome. As the questionnaires were not mailed to the Veps respondents but filled in on the spot, the response rate was almost 100%. For the distributions, data from 299 questionnaires were counted – for technical reasons two questionnaires were rejected.

The fieldworkers presented their individual reports on 10 March 2011 at a team meeting in Petrozavodsk. Encouraging results had been achieved: the face-to-face method had had a positive effect in the form of invigoration of mutual contacts between the informants. It also increased the motivation of the fieldworkers themselves to use their minority language.

Questionnaire. The questionnaire was translated into Veps from the Finnish and Russian versions (both translated from the original in English). No structural changes or adjustments were made to the questionnaire. Q25 concerning the language of instruction at school was unsuccessful due to poor formulation of the question (c.f. 4.3.4).

3.2.3 The structure of the Control Group questionnaire

The control group survey questionnaire was based on the contents and structure of the MinLG survey. The major differences in comparison with the minority language survey are the following: a detailed section about cross-generational language use was changed into few focussed questions, and questions concerning attitudes were either changed or replaced (e.g in the Russian case, questions were asked about both the Veps and Karelian languages).

Structurally, the CG questionnaire consisted of the following parts: basic information about the respondent (Q1− Q6), background of language usage (Q7− Q11), language skills (Q14− Q18), attitudes towards different languages (Q12- Q13, Q19− Q46), and culture, media and social media in different languages (Q47).

The applicability of the questionnaire. Similarly to the Veps respondents, the questions concerning the English language and other foreign languages were left unanswered the most often, which only highlights the strong position of the Russian language as the main mediator of communication in Russia.

3.2.4 Russian Control Group Survey

Data collection methods, 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 conducted by Svetlana Pasûkova and Svetlana Plûhina. 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 answers.

Response rate and survey outcome. There were 302 questionnaires processed for the control group data. In total, 304 questionnaires were filled in during the interviews. However, for technical reasons 2 questionnaires were left unprocessed.

The fieldworker with the main responsibility for the interviews, Ms Svetlana Pasûkova, had previously worked for the Ministry of Culture and was used to challenging negotiations. She claimed that in several occasions it was necessary to persuade the participants to continue the discussion despite its length. No extra questions were added to the original CG questionnaire.

The processing of the CG data failed for technical reasons in questions Q14–Q17, where the respondents were asked to evaluate their language skills. The names of the languages got mixed while analysing the data, but the information presented in 4.3.1 based on the order of the languages in the data is probably correct. In addition, there was a translation error in questions Q15–Q17, and therefore the skills in Swedish were asked instead of English.

3.3 Individual Interviews with Veps speakers

Target Population. The individual interviews were conducted in Petrozavodsk between 10 and 15 March 2011. As Veps is one of the smallest investigated groups within ELDIA, the selection of the interviewees was based on existing contacts and contacts with known native-speaking activists. There are not many such individuals. Moreover, the sample survey was based on face-to-face interviews and the fieldworkers had a complete overview of the respondents that should be interviewed individually.

Selecting and Contacting Interviewees. The interviews were conducted either at the Karelian Research Institute or at a hotel by Riho Grünthal and Nina Zajceva. The interviewers knew most of the interviewees in advance. The overall atmosphere was confident because of earlier acquaintance of the participants in most cases.

Most of the interviewees were very aware of the andangered state of the Veps language and the constant decline of the population, as many had been actively promoting the Veps language and culture themselves. However, most people were pessimistic about the current prospects; in some cases, the poor career opportunities in the area of Veps language and culture had directly affected the interviewees' life plans. Women of the youngest age group were most willing to still actively work for a better future for Veps. It also became clear that the interviewees had discussed these issues already several times. In some discussions they emphasised the efforts that had been made over the years but had not been supported adequately.

Background Information Form. A specific background information form was not used because the interviewees were not chosen among previously unknown questionnaire respondents. Background information was gathered during the interviews, but because of this practical choice all the information on different interviewees is not exactly as extensive.

Recording Devices. All interviews were recorded in a parallel manner on two digital recorders (Olympus: LS-5) that have a high-quality sound playback. Focus group discussions were also filmed using Panasonic HDC-SD700 video cameras.

Interview Template. The ELDIA template for minority interviews was used in Veps individual interviews as background. Nina Zajceva and Riho Grünthal made the choices on the lists of questions used in the interviews.

3.3.1 Interview Descriptions

In the following we briefly describe the nature of the individual interviews conducted with the Veps speakers. Personal information that could reveal the identity of the interviewee has been removed or modified.

Interview with a female speaker aged 18-29 (Identification code: RU-VEP-IIAG1f)

The interview was organised on 11 March 2011 in Petrozavodsk at the Institute of Language, Literature and History. Riho Grünthal conducted the interview and Nina Zajceva joined in the conversation later. The interview was conducted in Veps. The interviewee RU-VEP-IIAG1f has higher education and works in the culture sector. She defines herself as bilingual. Her first language was Russian, but she learned Veps from her grandmothers. Today she speaks Veps at work on a daily basis and sporadically with her father and daughter. She has very positive attitudes towards the future of the Veps language. The interviewee herself plays a significant role in the Veps language community: she is one of those who actively work to widen the domains of language use.

Interview with a female speaker aged 30-49 (Identification code: RU-VEP-IIAG3f)

The interview was conducted on 15 March 2011 by Riho Grünthal in Petrozavodsk at the hotel Maski. Researcher Heini Karjalainen was also present. The interview was conducted in Veps. The interviewee RU-VEP-IIAG3f has higher education and works in the culture sector. She reports that her first language is Veps but she is bilingual. The interviewee herself plays a significant role in the Veps language community: she is one of the teachers teaching the Veps language. As the students wrote to her, she did not only teach them to know the language, but she also taught them to love the language.

(1) *hö kirjutaba miše minä en vaiše openzin heid teta kel't, minä openzin heid navetta necida kel't.*
'They write that I not only taught them to know the language, but I taught them to love the language.'

Interview with a male speaker aged 30-49 (Identification code: RU-VEP-IIAG2m)

The interview was conducted on 13 March 2011 by Riho Grünthal at the hotel Maski in Petrozavodsk. The interview was conducted in Veps, although Finnish was also used occasionally. The interviewee RU-VEP-IIAG2m has higher education and works in the public sector. He formerly worked in the cultural sector. The interviewee defines himself as bilingual, since he reports having learnt both Russian and Veps right from the beginning of his childhood. In his everyday life, the interviewee speaks more Russian than Veps. His mother was Russian, his father Veps, but the language he uses with his own family and child is mainly Russian.

Interview with a female speaker aged 50-64 (Identification code: RU-VEP-IIAG4f)

The interview was organised on 12 March 2011 in the village of Kaleig. Riho Grünthal conducted the interview; Nina Zajceva joined in the conversation later. The interview was conducted in Veps. The interviewee RU-VEP-IIAG4f has higher education and works as a teacher of English. The interviewee defines Veps as her mother tongue, because she is Veps both from her mother's and from her father's side. All in her family are Veps, including her own daughters and her husband. The interviewee is of the opinion that the local Veps themselves are not powerful enough to maintain the language, but it is up to the authorities to support the language.

Interview with a female speaker aged 65+ (Identification code: RU- VEP-IIAG5f)

The interview was organised on 9 March 2011 in Petrozavodsk at the hotel Maski. Riho Grünthal conducted the interview. The interviewee has higher education and works in teaching and research. The first acquired language of the interviewee was Veps, since both her parents were Veps. Until the age of five she spoke only Veps and she could not speak any Russian. However, she feels that she nowadays has two first languages, Veps and Russian. According to the interviewee there are even more language domains where she can use Veps nowadays than there were in her childhood in the village. Her language skills have even improved, since her work is bound to the Veps language. The interviewee herself plays an extremely significant role in the Veps language community: she is one of those who actively work to widen the domains of language use.

Interview with a female speaker aged 65+ and a male speaker aged 65+ (Identification codes: RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f and RU-VEP-IIAG5-02m)

The interview was conducted on 12 March 2011 in the Museum of Veps Ethnography in the village of Šoutarv. There were some external factors which interfered with the interview: the presence of other people, visitors and personnel coming and going, caused a lot of noise and influenced the outcome of the interview. However, the atmosphere was confident and relaxed. Both interviewees can speak Veps and Russian. Both interviewees are well aware of their Veps origins and emphasise that. RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f worked as a teacher before retiring. She reports that she used to teach both Russian and Veps at school. RU-VEP-IIAG5-

01f reports she can read Veps, since she learned it by herself, whereas RU-VEP-IIAG5-02m cannot read Veps, since he does not know the Latin alphabet.

3.4 Focus Group Interviews

3.4.1 Focus Group Interviews with Veps speakers

Target Population. The Veps focus group interviews were conducted in Petrozavodsk, Šoutarv and Kaleig between 10 and 12 March 2011. The focus groups were gathered by local fieldworkers who had participated in the sample survey. As guiding principle when selecting the participants for the interviews was first and foremost the competence in Veps. Secondly the fieldworkers were advised to search for different kinds of interviewees. In practice the required Veps skills led to the youngest age group consisting of university students of the Veps language.

Selecting and contacting interviewees. There are very few males in all Veps age groups, which results in a bias of the gender balance of the Veps sample. This is clearly visible in the focus group interviews as well, because no separate male groups were formed. This would have been possible in the age group 65+ years that was interviewed in Šoutarv, whereas in all other age groups this would not have been possible. Consequently, all focus group interviews were mixed groups the vast majority consisting of females. In most cases this solution worked quite well with the exception of the age group 65+ years. 8–10 people were invited to the interview but a dozen showed up, which demonstrated their personal interest in the project. While this caused permanent speech overlapping during the discussion, it also indicated the positive atmosphere of the meeting. Talkative women dominated the discussion whereas men could respond to the questions only occasionally.

The age group 50–64 years was interviewed in the village of Kaleig and the local fieldworker organised the focus group. The vast majority were females and there was a strong imbalance regarding Veps language skills between individual members as well. In fact, some participants could not express themselves in Veps due to which the mutual conversation between the participants was not very intensive.

Other focus group interviews were made in Petrozavodsk with only very few, if any, males participating. The youngest group (18–29 years) consisted of university students and those who had recently graduated from the university. The last age group (30–49) consisted of people who had their roots in rural society but had moved to the town and had a leading cultural position as teachers, journalists etc.

3.4.2 Interview descriptions

Interview with female speakers aged 18-29 (identification code: RU-VEP-FG-AG1)

The interview was conducted on 11 March 2011 by Riho Grünthal and Nina Zajceva in Petrozavodsk at the Institute of Language, Literature and History. The group consisted of six female speakers, three of them being university students and three already working, all in the cultural sector. The atmosphere was friendly but slightly reserved, since the interview was held in a classroom. All the questions were presented in Veps. The interviewees were not all fluent in Veps, but they avoided code-switching conscientiously, probably by reason of the presence of their teachers. They also seemed to be afraid of making solecisms.

All the interviewees have or had at least one grandparent who spoke Veps, but quite many of the interviewees could not speak Veps before they started their studies at school or at the university. In addition, the father of RU-VEP-FG-AG1-02 and the father of RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04 knew a little bit of Veps and the interviewee RU-VEP-FG-AG1-05 had a Veps-speaking mother. In other words, all the interviewees have Veps origins, which was their reason to study Veps at the university. At present the interviewees define themselves as bilinguals. All these interviewees use Veps on the Internet, which is typical especially for young Veps, as was proven in the quantitative research.

Interview with female and male speakers aged 30-49 (Identification code: RU-VEP-FG-AG2AG3)

The interview was conducted on 11 March 2011 by Riho Grünthal and Nina Zajceva in Petrozavodsk at the Institute of Language, Literature and History. The group consisted of five speakers, three females and two males. The other one of the male interviewees only joined in the conversation later. The atmosphere was friendly. The questions were presented in Veps as well as in Russian, since the male interviewee could not speak any Veps. Some code-switching occurred during the interview, but when this happened, one of the interviewees told the others to use their own language Veps.

Only one of the interviewees defines himself as a monolingual, and all the others as bilingual. All the interviewees have higher education and thus represent the Veps intelligentsia. Furthermore, all of them play an important role in the Veps community through their occupation.

Interview with female and male speakers aged 50-64 (Identification code: RU-VEP-FG-AG4)

The interview was conducted on 12 March 2011 by Riho Grünthal and Nina Zajceva at the school of Kaleig. The group consisted of nine speakers, seven females and two males. The questions were presented in two languages, Veps and Russian, since not all the interviewees were fluent in Veps. The interview gets started in Veps, but towards the end also the interviewer is mostly speaking Russian. Only 2 out of 9 interviewees speak mostly Veps during the interview.

Most of the interviewees report that they use mainly Russian in their everyday life, but that they can all understand Veps. Three of the interviewees define themselves as bilinguals, and

one as a monolingual, even though during the interview she uses both languages, Veps and Russian.

Interview with female and male speakers aged 65+ (Identification code: RU-VEP-FG-AG5)

The interview was conducted on 12 March 2011 by Riho Grünthal and Nina Zajceva at the Museum of Veps Ethnography in Šoutarv (RU Šeltozero). The group consisted of nine speakers aged over 65, five females and four males. The atmosphere was very confident and excited. All the interviewees were eager to participate and share their experiences. The group was slightly too big, so a lot of overlap occurred in the interview. However, the interview was very successful and all the participants seemed to enjoy the conversation. The discussion was mostly carried on in Veps, since all the interviewees were fluent speakers of Veps.

The interviewees report that all of them had Veps as their first language. For them it seems to be a self-evident fact. Their marriages to Russian spouses caused a language shift in their family and the language situation is mixed, with their children possibly unable to speak Veps. As those children also have Russian spouses, the generation of the interviewees' grandchildren does not speak Veps. Before the Second World War, the language used with parents was Veps and, according to the interviewees, the Veps people could not even speak Russian. After the war the situation changed, and nowadays the interviewees identify themselves as bilingual. The majority of the village people speak Russian.

3.4.3 Focus Group interviews with Control Group representatives

Target population. Joint CG focus groups were used to analyse the position of Karelian and Veps in Russia and especially in the Republic of Karelia. There were no special expectations for the outcome of these discussions, which caused some degree of uncertainty for the local moderator of the discussions. The interviews took place in Petrozavodsk on 12 March 2011.

Selecting and contacting interviewees. One of the local fieldworkers, Svetlana Pasûkova, who had previously worked in the Ministry of Culture and had good networks, invited and formed the CG focus groups. She contacted the Ministry of Education from where a group of politicians was sent for the discussion. There were two moderators (Grünthal and Zajceva) in the interviews both with the media group and the political decision-makers. The discussions were held entirely in Russian. The media group consisted of nine interviewees. Ten people had been invited to the meeting but 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 personal 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 only a few sound technical problems but did not disturb the discussion. The group of politicians consisted of five interviewees.

In general, the attitude of the two CG 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 case of political decision-makers. In the latter case a couple of the participants had a more passive role. The interview of the political focus group was made in the office of the Vice Minister of Education of the Republic of Karelia.

Both genders were quite equally represented in the CG interviews. In both groups the participants of 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 parallel on two digital recorders (Olympus: LS-5) that have a high-quality sound playback. Focus group discussions were also filmed using Panasonic HDC-SD700 video cameras.

Interview descriptions

In general, both CG interviews gave an impression that from the viewpoint of the CG, 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 positive basic attitude there seemed to be little information on the exact state of the art art and on-going language shift. Participants who had been recently attending seminars on bilingualism and reversing language shift were more informed about the demands and difficulties of the current situation to fight against a complete language loss.

Concluding remarks. Despite the already mentioned delays and complicating factors regarding data collection, such as the lack of existing databases for finding informants and the resulting necessity to employ a face-to-face method for the survey, the fieldwork itself proceeded smoothly thanks to a very committed and professionally competent team. Although the applied questionnaire clearly was too long, people mostly very patiently answered the questions and even enjoyed the discussion of the topics related to their language and identity. There were significantly more women than men who participated in the sample and relatively more old than young people. This is obviously due to the on-going language shift and the younger generations' loosening contacts to traditional Veps culture and identity; from a purely statistical viewpoint it means that the data are biased.

3.5 Sociodemographic distributions

There were more female than male respondents in the sample. The share of middle-aged or elderly respondents was bigger than the share of young respondents. However, the results are equivalent to the prevailing demographic situation of the Veps. The target amount of filled-in responses in this survey was 300, which was reached with the 299 responses collected by the fieldworkers. The sample was not equally distributed between the sexes; only 27.8% of the respondents were male. In addition the sample did not contain

as many young respondents as it contained middle-aged or old respondents. In the sample there were four different age groups, out of which the youngest group (18–29 years) was also the smallest with only 40 respondents (13.4%). The other groups were approximately of the same size. 85 respondents (28.4%) belonged to the group of 30–49-year-olds, 89 respondents (29.8%) to the 50–64-year-olds and 85 (28.4%) to the over 65-year-olds. The share of female respondents increases with every age group, and the majority of the informants in total were female. This corresponds to the general demographic situation of the Veps people, as described in section 2.3.2.

The share of middle-aged and older females was the biggest. The sample comprised more middle-aged and older females. If the sample had been divided equally by the two sexes and the four different age groups, the ideal amount of the respondents in each group would have been approximately 37 people (12.5%). However, the three eldest age groups of females were notably larger than that in size: there were 55 respondents in the group of 30-49-year-olds (18.4% of the total amount of respondents), 66 in the group of 50-64-year-olds (22.1%) and 67 in the group of over 65-year-olds (22.4%). Three of the male age groups were especially small: 12 respondents in the group of 18-29-year-olds (4.0% of the total amount of the respondents), 23 in the group of 50-64-year-olds (7.7%) and 18 in the group of over 65-year-olds (6.0%).

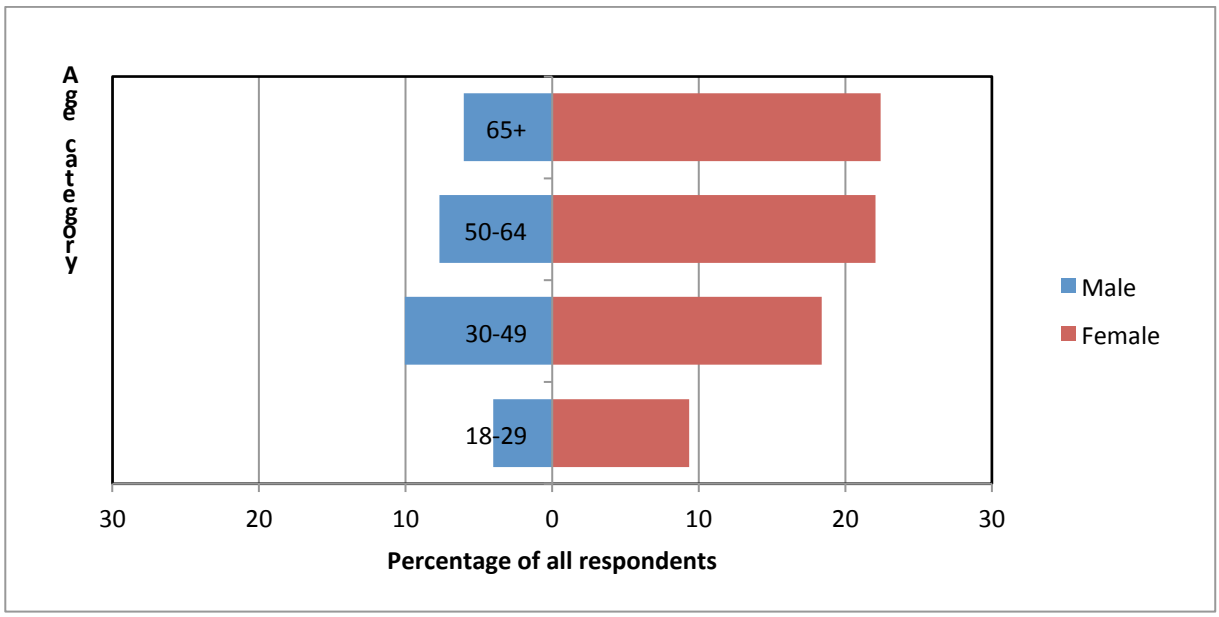


Figure 5: The share of Veps male and female respondents by their age categories

Nearly all respondents had at least primary education. Only one person out of 294 reported having no formal education. Most respondents (58.8%) had secondary education. 13.6% replied having primary education, and as many as 27.2% having tertiary education. This means that our respondents are more educated than the average Veps speaker (see 2.3.3) but less educated than our CG respondents (see Figure 6).

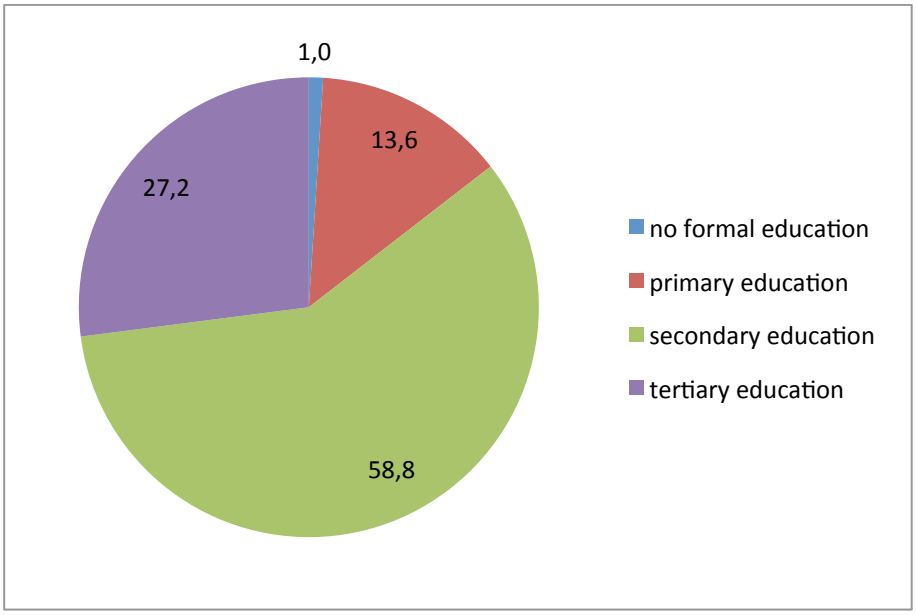


Figure 6: The educational level of the Veps respondents

The sample comprised a lot of females with either secondary or tertiary education. When analysing the sample by looking at gender versus educational level, it could be seen that as many as 182 respondents out of 294 (62%) were females with either secondary or tertiary education. The larges share of the male informants (70%) had secondary education. The educational level of females varied more: there were 116 females out of 213 (54% of the females) with secondary education and as many as 66 females out of 213 (31%) with tertiary education. In comparison, only 17% of the male respondents had tertiary education.

The sample comprised a lot of 30-64-year-old respondents who had secondary education. The younger the respondents were, the higher their educational level was. Almost half of the 18-29-year-old respondents had tertiary education – the rest had secondary education. There were no respondents without formal education or with just primary education in the youngest age group. In the age group of 30-49-year-olds there was only one respondent with primary education, and the rest with either secondary (52 out of 83) or tertiary (30) education. In the group of 50-64-year-olds one quarter of the respondents had tertiary education, and three quarters secondary education. In the group of the oldest respondents (over 65-year-olds) there was one respondent with no formal education and as many as 39 respondents (out of 84) with primary education. 34 respondents had secondary education and only 10 had completed tertiary education.

Two out of three of our Veps respondents lived in the Republic of Karelia. Most of them lived in Kaleig (Rybreka), Šoutjärv or the city of Petrozavodsk. Most respondents lived in villages: there were around 60 people living in cities, most in Petrozavodsk and a couple in St. Petersburg. Our sample is somewhat biased towards the village inhabitants, as 43.6% of the Veps live in villages according to the population census of 2010 – however, those living in the villages are known to be the ones mastering the language.

Our CG data somewhat differs from our MinLG data sociodemographically. Approximately three quarters of the CG respondents were women. 76.5% of the respondents were female and 23.5% were male. The biggest share of the CG respondents belonged to age category 30-49 (41.5%). Respondents belonging to the age category of 18–29 form 22.9% of our sample and those of 50–64 30.6%.

The CG respondents were significantly higher educated than our Veps respondents: approximately half of the CG respondents had tertiary education. However, this is at least partly explained by the fact the CG respondents were mainly city-dwellers, whereas the Veps respondents mostly lived in villages. As shown in Figure 7, half of the CG respondents answered that they have tertiary education. Less than half had secondary education and only a small minority completed only primary education. Compared to the average level of education in the RK our CG is very highly educated, as according to the census of 2010 61.7% of the people over 15 years of age had secondary education and 19.8% tertiary education.[49]

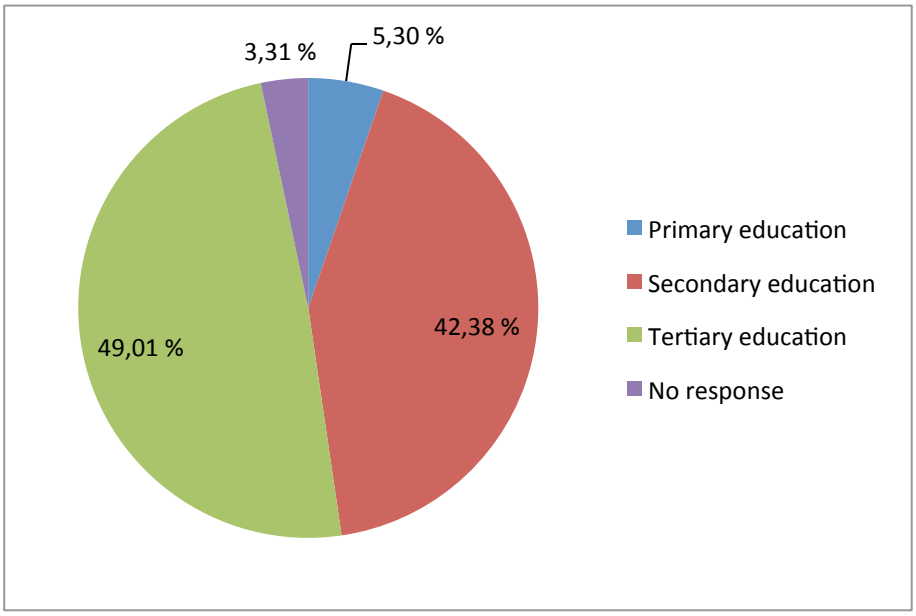


Figure 7. Educational level of the control group respondents

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

[49] Perepis 2010: pub-03-01. Read 22.2.2013.

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.[50] The observations on the patterns of multilingualism in Russia and especially among the Veps in Russia are summarised below in chapter 4.

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.

[50] Abridged versions of the Comparative Report can be downloaded from the project website or directly at http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:304815 .

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 Veps in Russia is presented in section 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. 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.[51]

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 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

[51] Direct download link: http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:301101 .

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, "experiental", 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 and 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 focussed 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 4.3 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.

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 13: 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

The chapter includes three sub-chapters: the first chapter, a concise report from Legal and Institutional Analysis, which analyses the legal institutions in their political context; another sub-chapter, the summarising report from Media Analysis, which has concentrated on three three-month periods within 1998, 2004/2005, and 2010/2011. The last sub-chapter "Sociolinguistic Analysis of Survey and Interview Findings" draws on analyses of the survey data and the interviews conducted in the field in 2011.

4.1 Legal and Institutional Analysis

By Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark

As the Russian Federation is a multi-ethnic state with one dominating language, the legal framework dealing with the Karelian and Veps languages is rather complex and characterised by perpetual, sometimes unpredicted changes. The Russian language has a strong position both in law and, in fact, in Russian society in general. Language legislation is found at federal, regional and local levels, often presenting a complex pattern of often contradictory regulations.[52]

As a result of the ethnic revival in the various regions of Russia in the shadow of the collapse of the USSR, the federal Law No. 1807 "On the Languages of the Nationalities [= ethnic groups] of the Russian Federation" (1991) gives the republics the power to adopt their own state languages besides Russian. Another important legislative act is the Federal Law "On the State Language of the Russian Federation" of June 2005. The law determines the mandatory use of the language in federal, regional and municipal institutions in the Russian Federation. Language diversity on the societal and individual level is in principle guaranteed by the 1993 Constitution (Art. 26**).** Further, according to Articles 68.3 and 69 smaller minority languages such as Veps enjoy special protection. These provisions are made more precise in the Law "On guarantees of rights of indigenous minority nationalities of the Russian Federation" (of 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 the federal structure of the Russian Federation and its territorially based method of language protection (ethnic federalism).

[52] The information in this section is based on Fogelklou (forthcoming).

In Karelia we find instead the Law "On the State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages in the Republic of Karelia", from 2004 (the so-called Law on Support). As regards its practical implementation the explaining note to the order from 28 May 2009, adopted by the three relevant Karelian ministries (Ministry of National Politics[53], Ministry of Education, Ministry of Culture) expresses a strong concern for the loss of the mother tongue (Karelian) among citizens living in Karelia. The note observes the decreasing ability of Karelians to speak their (former) 'mother tongue' and relates this fact to urbanisation and globalisation. Through the same order a list of "comprehensive measures" to implement the Plan "Development of the Karelian Language in the Republic of Karelia for the years 2009 – 2020" was adopted in which countermeasures to the declining use of Karelian language were to be introduced. In other words, the problems and possible solutions are well known at least at the level of the republics concerned. However, at the same time (already in 2002), the 1991 Law "On Languages of the Nationalities of the Russian Federation" was changed to the effect that regional state languages must use the Cyrillic alphabet. This will effectively block Karelian from becoming an official language and further contribute to the marginalisation of Veps.

With reference to the rather modest aim of continuing support of linguistic-cultural activities such as radio emissions, seminars, festivals, books, the Karelian legislation and its corresponding programmes may be regarded positively in principle. But with a more ambitious goal in mind and in order to prevent or even reverse a nearly total assimilation process, the Karelian Law of Education and the Law on Support can be deemed inefficient due to their lack of incentives and opportunities. Overall, while the present legal situation is to be regarded as fairly positive on paper, its endorsement and support in practice is limited. The present legal situation is thereby characterised by ambiguity and unpredictability for the language speakers. Whether it is stable in its ambiguity, contradictions and in a longer term, or not, is at the moment difficult to say.

4.2 Media Analysis

By Reetta Toivanen

The aim of the media discourse analysis[54] in Russia was to find out how minority languages, language maintenance, language loss and revitalisation are discussed in the majority versus

[53] The current name of the ministry for ethnic affairs and religious communities, in English-language sources sometimes mentioned as "Ministry of Nationality Policies", is given on the English-language official homepage of the Republic of Karelia (http://www.gov.karelia.ru/gov/Power/struct_e.html) as "The Ministry for National Politics, Relations with Public and Religious Associations and Mass Media". Note the potentially misleading Russian use of the term *national(ity)* in the meaning of 'ethnic (group/affiliation)'.

[54] The actual research was carried out by Santra Jantunen and Outi Tánczos at the University of Helsinki who were trained to use a manual for media discourse analysis. The manual included questions and advice how the researchers should go through the vast amount of material and come up with illustrative examples and answers concerning *Legislation, Education, Media,* and *Language Use and Interaction*.

minority language media. Further, the research was conceived to give further information on the developments in the area of inter-ethnic relations in the studied countries. The underlying assumption shared by the separate country analyses was that the way the media comments on language minorities eventually tells about the context in which a language minority tries to maintain and revitalise their mother tongue. The attitudes shared in the majority media explain, to a certain extent, the attitudes of the majority society towards the minority language communities. The opinions and attitudes in the minority media tell about the challenges and chances the minority community is sharing with its own members.

The key questions of the media discourse analysis can be summarised as follows: 1. How are minorities discussed in the majority and minority media? 2. How are majority and minority media positioned or how are they positioning themselves and each other in the field of media? 3. How do majority and minority media inform the public about the on-goings 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 to the material and address also issues concerning change of status and situation of the studied minority language communities, three different periods were chosen for the actual analysis. The time periods chosen for closer media discourse analysis in Russia were, first, 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; second, spring 2004 (language law proposal in the Republic of Karelia) and third, November 2010 – January 2011 for an outline of recent development.

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

In the Republic of Karelia, there are three newspapers in Karelian and two magazines with materials in Karelian. The *Oma mua* ('own land') newspaper is published in Olonec Karelian and the *Vienan Karjala* ('Belomorsk Karelia') newspaper in Belomorsk Karelian. Printing of the newspaper *Lyydilaine* ('Lude') in Lude started in June 2008. For the Veps, there is only one newspaper, *Kodima* ('Homeland'). It is written both in Veps and Russian. The magazine *Carelia* and the *Kipinä* magazine for children are published mostly in Finnish, but also in Karelian and Veps. Additionally, there are pages in Karelian in municipal newspapers (Olonec, Kalevala, Prâža, Louhi).

GTRK Kareliâ broadcasts programmes in Karelian, Veps and Finnish (Yeremeyev 2007; Pismennye Yazyki: 215-216). The broadcasting does not reach all areas of the Republic, and Veps language television and radio broadcasts are available only in the Republic of Karelia. There are two weekly cultural radio programmes in Proper Karelian and one in Olonec

Karelian and also daily news broadcast on *Radio Karelii*. Some programmes from 2009 and 2010 are archived and can be accessed on the Internet.[55] There is one weekly TV-programme, *Omin silmin* ('With our own eyes') of 55 minutes on *Rossiya 1* channel. It presents Karelian, Finnish and Veps cultural activities. *GTRK Kareliâ* broadcasts Veps language news and other programmes two times a week 15 minutes at the time.[56] Once a month *GTRK* broadcasts a Veps literature programme (Puura & Zajceva 2010: 65).

New digital media published in Karelian and Veps is very scarce. There are no genuine news portals, blogs, chats, etc. There seem to be at least a couple of groups on Facebook and VKontakte connected to the Veps (see e.g. "Republic of Vepsia") (Boinich & Bogdanova 2008; Puura & Zajceva 2010: 72). Partly because of the old age of fluent Karelian and Veps speakers, partly because of the limited access to the Internet in the countryside, the role of new media in Karelian and Veps remains marginal. Russian media is very diverse and regionalised. The most read newspapers in the Republic of Karelia were regional weeklies *Karel'skaâ Guberniâ*, *TVR-Panorama*, *Kurier Karelii,* and *Petrozavodsk*, which is 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 & Zajceva 2010: 102).

According to a study in 1997, almost 90% of the respondents[57] said they follow programmes in minority languages at least once a week (Skön & Torkkola 1997: 71). Almost everybody said 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 the lack of language skills and also weaker interest in or identification with the national minority (ibid. p. 73 and 97). There was no up-to-date research on the subject before ELDIA, but it was assumed beforehand that the interest among the young was still in decline (c.f. 4.3.3). According to the same survey (p. 153), the most important roles assigned to the minority media was maintain and revive the language and to advocate national culture and folklore. This is affirmed by the active participation minority language media in all-Russian competitions and festivals (Rämenen 2007: 66). It was not possible to find sources describing the popularity of newspapers among the language communities. In general it can be said that the readership of minority media consists mostly of the elderly, language activists and students learning Karelian and Veps. Television and radio are the most important sources of information on national (all-Russian) issues, whereas in local issues the newspapers play a central role. 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 among the young and the well-to-do. The role of the Internet varies greatly (Pietiläinen, Fomicheva, Resnianskaia 2010: 50-51).

[55] See www.karjalanradio.narod.ru/finnish.html, last visited in February 2012.

[56] See http://petrozavodsk.rfn.ru, last visited February 2012.

[57] The sample included 136 respondents, of which 52 were Finnish, 34 Karelian, 9 Russian and 4 Veps. The results were not differentiated according to the ethnicity of the respondents. Therefore the results can only be considered approximate.

In Russia, Karelian media discourse treats folklore, history, and traditions as quintessential aspects of being Karelian that are given precedence over issues connected to language, as language is rather considered a minor component of the former. When the importance of maintaining the Karelian language is addressed, the responsibility is usually placed with the speakers themselves without clarifying who exactly should take action, and how. The discourse remains on a very general level and concrete advice or proposals of action are rare. Mostly 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 texts show that the resources for language maintenance depend on the authorities.

The authorities are often blamed for the weak position of the language, and lack of resources is a constant reason for criticism. The nationality of the authorities is not underlined, but the authorities of ethnic Karelian origin are often portrayed as if they are more likely to have an understanding of Karelian affairs by virtue of their ethnic background. Karelian language speakers are presented as if they basically lived in villages; the presence of Karelian in city life is neglected almost completely. This leaves the Karelian language with a very narrow sphere of use.

The young and the old generation are predominately present in the articles. On the one hand there are a lot of articles that are inclined toward nostalgia, to the old way of life in the villages. There are also many stories about elderly people and their lives. On the other hand there are frequently news stories about children and students learning and using Karelian. This composition may reflect the composition of the readership, where the old are fluent speakers of Karelian and the young are learning it. Perhaps it is also a part of bridge-building intended 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 writings to the paper and giving them a sense of a republic-wide community. The middle-aged are less central, probably because many of them are not fluent speakers, or not regarded as potential learners. Of their age group particularly active individuals, teachers and cultural workers are visible.

The contents of the Karelian newspaper *Oma Mua*, and to some extent also *Vienan Karjala*, seem to have gone through a change between 2004 and 2010. In 2010 there are more critical tones and direct questions towards the government of the Republic of Karelia, Moscow and other authorities, and more attention is given to language teaching and the future of the language.

The analysed Karelian and Veps newspapers do not really provide an alternative to Russian-language media even though their contents are clearly minority-oriented. They work to strengthen the Karelian or Veps as well as Finno-Ugric identity and also as a channel of language development. In comparison to the Russian local papers, their news content is one-sided, but then again they deal with e.g. language rights issues more often than their Russian counterparts. One should note that the Karelian and Veps language media in the Republic of Karelia is government-owned, which may explain the similarity of contents in different

media. Some of the same discourses could be found in both Karelian and Russian media. These include the rather vague description of the linguistic situation with few concrete proposals of action, the affectionate way of describing traditional village life and connecting minority language maintenance with the maintenance of traditions.

In the Veps but also all Karelian discourse, maintaining the Veps language is thought to be important. The responsibility is usually given to speakers of Veps and the authors urge them to use their language. Also teaching the Veps language to children is considered important, and students studying Veps at the university are revered as young people with an interest in their mother tongue. On the other hand, authors often lament that the students studying Finnic philology are generally not so interested in Veps, but instead in Karelian and especially in Finnish. Events such as festivals and national competitions, where the Veps language has been used, are covered in detail in the Veps media. Also occasions where the Veps have been present, such as various kinds of congresses etc., are presented with great pride. A change compared to earlier times can be seen in this: being Veps and the Veps language are no longer things to be ashamed of.

In the Russian press, the Finnic minorities of Karelia are dealt with quite regularly, but in a superficial way. Problems are not tackled in depth, if at all. In the data the Finno-Ugric peoples of Karelia, especially the Karelians and the Veps, are given a role in constructing local tradition and colour. Their cultures are connected with traditional village life, which is highly nostalgised. The decline of villages and the battle against it was a frequent narrative 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 of urbanisation. Thus the Karelians, Veps and Finns are presented as a part of the Republic of Karelia, but when references are made to the importance of culture maintenance, it is usually argued for from the point of view of maintaining the special character of the Republic. Sometimes one could speak of folklorisation and underlining the importance of visible culture: dances, clothing, food etc.

The minority languages are often neglected or are considered just a minor part of the tradition. The other elements of Karelian culture seem to be closer to the heart of the Russian authors and supposed readers, and the maintenance of the language is left for the Karelian, Veps and Finns to take care of. It is presented as a central task of Karelian organisations. Criticism towards the authorities in regard to language and culture maintenance is practically absent from the Russian texts and no one is explicitly made responsible for the decline in the situation at the present moment, although problems of the past are dealt with quite often.

The Russian-language media analysed does not discuss phenomena of language maintenance, minority rights or the consequences of legislation changes for the minorities. There seems to be a certain distribution of work, in which these topics are 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 is not accessible to all members of the minority. This diminishes the visibility of minority issues significantly. The minority media may reach the elderly, the language activists and perhaps students, but the young and middle-aged generations, including parents of young children who would form the target group of language revitalisation efforts, are left aside. They may have very little input of minority issues from the majority media. The same applies to the majority. Therefore one can conclude that minority issues have a marginal role in the majority media and they do not serve as a versatile source of information on these topics. The Veps and Karelian media is even owned by Russian publishing houses and this may to some extent explain their inability to stake claims in the area of minority politics.

4.3 Sociolinguistic Analysis of Survey and Interview Findings

4.3.1 Language Use and Interaction

The following chapters 4.3.1–4.3.4 summarise the main findings of our questionnaire surveys (MinLG and CG). 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 attached as Annex 2.

4.3.1.1 Mother tongue

The respondents were asked to indicate their mother tongue or tongues in Q7 of the minority questionnaire and in Q9 of the majority questionnaire. In the Veps questionnaire two synonyms, *kodikel'* (lit. 'home language') and *mamankel'* ('mother tongue'), were used for mother tongue, and the notion was further clarified in parentheses as the language or languages first acquired.

As seen in Table 14 and Figure 8 below, the Veps respondents named Veps and Russian quite evenly as their first language. There were no speakers of other first languages among the Veps respondents. More than 40% declared having Veps as their sole mother tongue.

	First language Veps		First language Russian		First languages Veps and Russian	
Freq	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
298	131	44	118	39.6	49	16.4

Table 14: The first languages of the Veps respondents

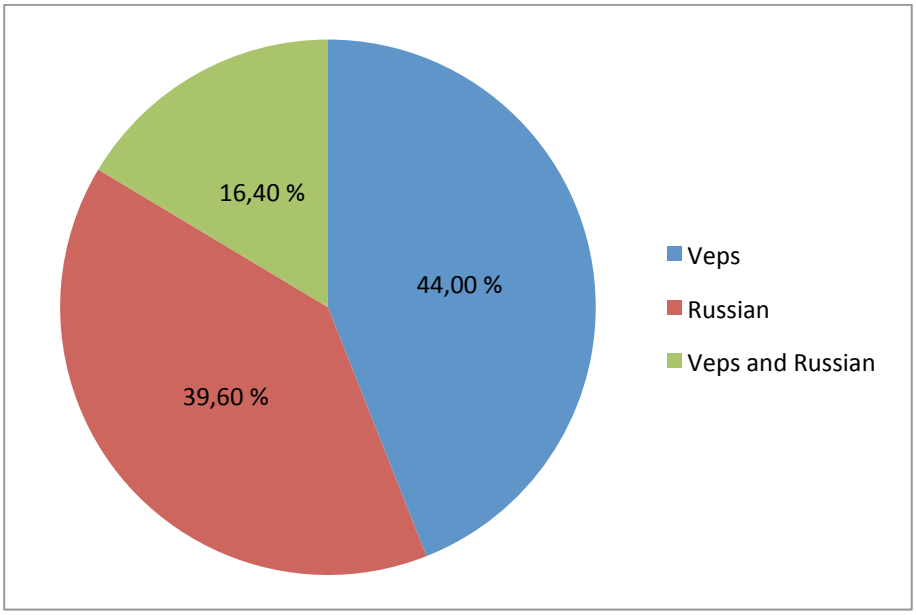


Figure 8: Mother tongue of the Veps respondents, % (Q7)

Naturally, one ought not to interpret the reported mother tongue as straightforwardly reflecting the respondents' actual fluency in the prospective language. The concept of mother tongue, *rodnoj âzyk* [lit. 'birth language'], has a somewhat different meaning in Russia than in Western dialogue. According to Malakhov & Osipov (2006: 503–504) the widely understood interpretation of mother tongue or native language in Russia would actually not be the mother tongue (or first language spoken) but rather the language of the ethnic group one feels connected to. The ethnicity would therefore be inherited and the language affiliation attested similarly. (See also 2.3.2.) In our interview data the concept of *rodni kel'* ['mother tongue', note the use of the Russian adjective] is clearly seen as separate from the 'first language', the actual language of the mother or the most fluent language, as seen in the following fragment (2). In the childhood of the following interviewee, the parents of the interviewee spoke only Russian to her and she supposes that the first language she began to speak was Russian. However, since she was living with her grandparents who spoke Veps to her and since her whole family was Veps, she feels that Veps is her *rodni kel'*.

(2) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
minä olen iče vepsläine, vepsän kel't mina tedan laps'aigaspäi, olen kulnu babalpäi dedalpäi, kaik minun kanz oma vepsläižed, sikš vepsän kel' om minei maman kel', rodnii kel', lähembaine kel', - - minä laps'aigas elin babanno i dedanno, i sikš minä kelen minä kulin, - - minä baban polin enamban mi maman, i sikš minun i vepsän kel' om rodni kel' voib sanuda, - - voib olda pagišta minä zavodin ezmei venäkelel pagišta, no el'geta i kundelta mina zavodin kaks' kel't.
'I am Veps myself, I have known the Veps language since childhood. I have heard [it] from grandmother and grandfather. All my family is Veps; that is why the Veps language is my mother tongue [*maman kel'*], the "birth language" [*rodni kel'*], the closest language. - - I used to live with grandmother and grandfather as a child, and that is why I heard the language, - - I [was living] with grandmother more than with my mother, therefore I can say Veps is my mother tongue [*rodni kel'*] - - maybe, as

for speaking, I first began to speak Russian, but I began to understand and listen to two languages.'

One might expect this kind of imbalance between the actual language skills and the declared mother tongue also in the ELDIA data, as suggested by the general knowledge and the earlier research. However, when comparing the number of those reporting Veps as mother tongue with their self-reported Veps language competence, there are no significant differences. **When contrasting the reported mother tongue with the self-estimated language competence** (in questions Q28A-Q31A)**, it becomes evident that those who report Veps as their only mother tongue also do master the language fluently.** In fact, 95.3% of those who report Veps to be their sole mother tongue say they understand Veps at least well (77.8% fluently) and 85.3% report speaking good or fluent Veps. Conversely, of those who report only Russian as their mother tongue, almost one out of five is not able to speak Veps at all and less than half can speak Veps fluently or well (see chapter 4.3.1.3).

The fluency in Veps and the reported mother tongue are most clearly connected to the age of the respondent. **As predicted, the older the respondents, the more fluent their oral Veps skills are** (see 4.3.1.3) **and the more typically they name Veps as their sole mother tongue.** As seen in Figure 9 below, more than 90% of the eldest age group report solely Veps as their mother tongue. In the youngest age group only 5.4% name solely Veps as their mother tongue – instead, over 70% speak solely Russian as their first language.

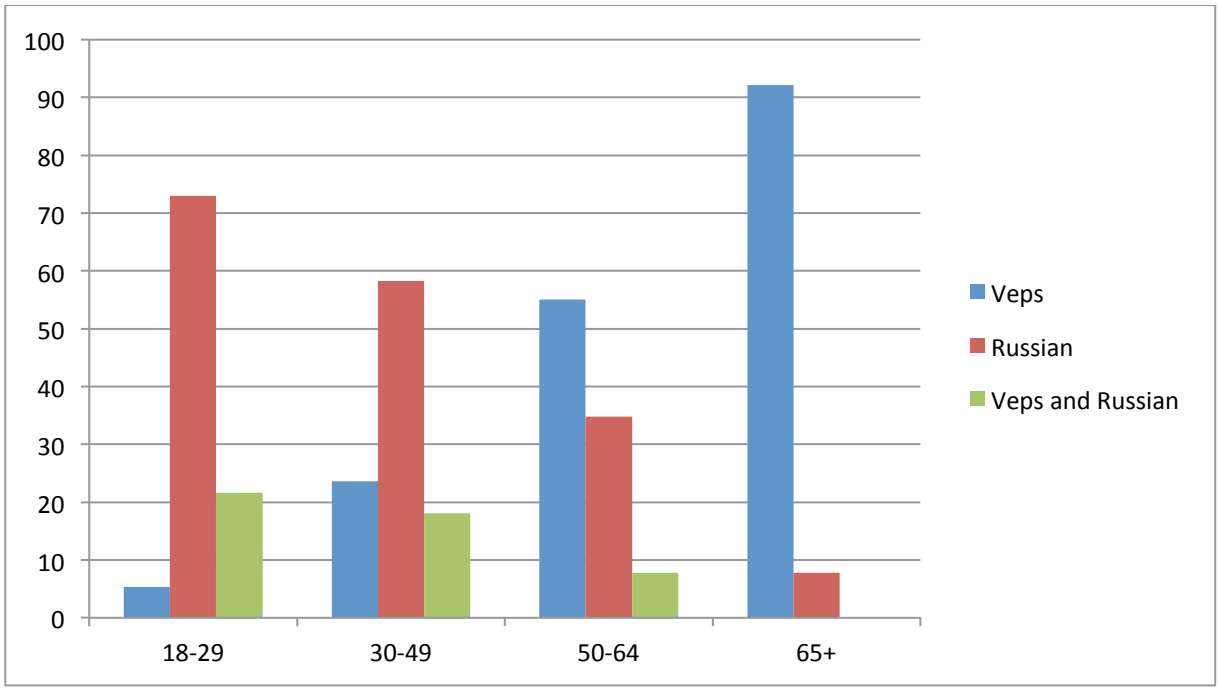


Figure 9: Reported mother tongue according to the age of the respondent

Although the term *bilingual* was not used in the questionnaire, during the individual and group interviews the Veps interviewees were asked whether they consider themselves bilinguals. There were different views among them on the issue. For example, RU-VEP-IIAG1f is a young member of the Veps intelligentsia. Her first language was Russian, but she learned

Veps from her grandmothers. Today she speaks Veps at work on a daily basis and sporadically with her father and daughter.

(3) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
minä olen kaks'keline, voin sanuda miše minä tedan vepsän kel't i venekel't, konz olen sündnus ka tezin vaiše venekel't,
'I am bilingual. I can say I can speak the Veps and Russian languages. When I was born I only knew the Russian language.'

The knowledge of the Veps language was seen as the most central feature of being Veps by most of our interviewees. Language is one of the main characters of Veps identity, as the following interviewee pointed out:

(4) RU-VEP-IIAG5f:
kaiken-se ristitud sanutas miše meiden vanhembiden kel', meiden dedoiden i baboiden kel' oli vepsän kel', sikš nece om minun kel', kodiman kel', minun kanzan kel', - - kacu, minä en teda om-ik nece mugoine genetine mugoine mušt, vai midä nece om, nu ezisijal vepsläižil om kel', sikš ku uskond oli venälaine,
'People always say that the language of our parents, our grandfathers and grandmothers, was Veps, therefore it is my language, the language of the homeland, of my people, - - You see, I do not know whether it is a genetic memory or what it is, but the Veps give preference to language, because the religion was Russian.'

However, according to the majority of the interviewees, one can be Veps without knowing the language (see also Romanova 2007 cited in 2.4.2). It is said that in addition to the Veps language, the Veps roots define one's identity.

(5) RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-01f:
keleta-ki voib olda vepsläižen, no kel' om kaikid tarbhaižemb mugoine azj, pird, kudamb sinda vöb miččehe-se rahvhase, mülutab miččehe-se rahvhase, miše ozutab miše sinä oled mittušt-se rahvhad. kel' om lujas tärged identitetan pala mugoine. nu kel', nu ku sinä ed teda kel't, siloi sinä tedad ičeze jurid, kuspäi sinä oled
'You can be Veps without the language, but language is the most important thing or characteristic that connects you to a certain people, that shows that you are part of a certain people. Language is an important part of the identity. But if you do not know the language, you know your roots, where you come from.'

(6) RU-VEP-FG-AG1-05:
minä olen vepsläine sikš miše minun mam om vepsläine i kaik jured oma vepsläižed.
'I am a Veps because my mother is Veps and all my roots are Veps.'

(7) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
vot nece om jüged küzund, nu ku hän tahtoib olda, kut sinä sanud hänele ala ole vepsläine, - - a vot kut kaikutte ristit vot tariš hänele el'geta ken minä olen, - - ken sanuiba minä olen vepsläine no kel't en teda, ka paksumba heil oma vepsläižed nu jured, mamad tatad vai babad oma vepsän mal, maspäi sigäpäi,
'Well this is a difficult question. If one wants to be [a Veps], how can you tell him not to be Veps. - - Well, everybody needs to understand who they are, - - Those

who say I am Veps, but I do not know the language, they often have Veps origins: mothers, fathers or grandmothers are from the Veps country.'

The interviewees did not define themselves as Russians, since just knowing the Russian language does not make them Russian.

(8) Interviewer:
a konz-se dumite miše olete venänikad
'Do you ever think you are Russian?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
nikonz, minä nikonz en meleta
'Never. I never think so.'

(9) RU-VEP-FG-AG1-02:
vot toižiš maiš ristitud hö ei tekoi, ked oma vepsläižed, i hö kaiken sanuba, miše minä olen venenik. no minä sanun ka minä olen Venemaspäi no minä olen vepsläine, nece om mugoine penikaine rahvaz, kaiken selgenzoitab
'Well, in other countries people do not know who the Veps are, and they always say that I am Russian. But I say, yes I am from Russia but I am Veps, it's such a small people. And that explains it all.'

(10) RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-03f:
minä meletan miše minä olen vepsläine, enamba vepsläine mi venäläine
'I think that I am Veps, more Veps than Russian.'
RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-01f:
a kuspäi venäläine, ku sinun tatoi mamoi vepsläižed, kuspäi sinä venäläine se oldase
'How are you Russian when your father and mother [are] Veps, so how are you Russian?'
RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-03f:
ka, minä vot vepsläine.
'Yes, I am Veps.'
RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-01f
venän kelen tedo ei anda sinei venälašt vert
'Knowing Russian does not give you Russian blood.'

There are some key concepts linked to the Veps identity in addition to genetic origins or the language. Some of the interviewees made reference to the essence of a specific Veps spirit or character:

(11) RU-VEP-FG-AG1-02:
nügüd' minun tatoi hän ei pagiže vepsäks, vaiše erasid sanoid, no hän kaiken sanub minä olen vepsläine, nimitte venälaine
'Nowadays my father does not speak Veps, only a few words, but he always says "I am Veps, not Russian"'
Interviewer:
a vot mikš hän sanub muga
'Why does he say so?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-02:
hänel om vepsläine harakter, taba - - hänen vanhembad oma vepsläižed, sikš hän om vepsläine

'He has a Veps *harakter* [RU 'nature']. - - His parents are Veps, that is why he is Veps.'

This Veps spirit is said to consist of a certain pride, even impertinence:

(12) RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
voib olda miše vepsläižed oma kak uprjamyje
'It might be that Veps are, *kak uprâmye* [RU like stubborn].'
Interviewer (Veps herself):
nenakahad mugoižed
'Kind of impertinent.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
minä muštan miše konz olin päivkodiš i, nu miil oli mugoine kak vot podgodovitel'naja gruppa, ka edel školad i
'I remember when I was at kindergarten and we had a kind of *podgodovitel'naja gruppa* [RU 'pre-school group'], before school and'
Interviewer:
koulun augotišgrupp mugoine völ
'A kind of pre-school.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
opendai midä-se tahtoi miše nu minä sanuižin hänele no minä, vai-
'The teacher wanted me to say something to her, but I kept si-'
Interviewer:
olid vaiti ka
'You kept silent, right.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04
ka olin vaiti, i konz mamoi tuli otmaha mindai, ka nece opendai mamale sanui miše vetka uprjamaja teiden tütär om
'Yes, I kept silent. And when mother came to pick me up, that teacher said to mother: your daughter is a *vetka uprâmaâ* [RU 'stubborn branch'].'

The concept of *todesine veps* 'true Veps' or *čistokrovnyj veps* 'RU full-blooded Veps' is used to define a person that comes from a Veps family and is originated from the Veps area.

(13) RU-VEP-IIAG4f:
minun tütöd oma todesižed vepsäd, mikš miše mužik om mugažo veps, - - om mugoižed no - - ei oldas todesižed vepsäd. voib olda kuspäi-se tulnuded om.
'My daughters are true Veps, because my husband is Veps, too. - - There are such [people] as well, - - they are not true Veps, but they might have come from somewhere else.'

(14) Interviewer:
a teiden babuškoid - - deduškoid muštad völ
'And do you remember your grandmothers and grandfathers?'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
oli kaikutte veps, kaik vepsäd - - hö oliba
'All of them were Veps, all were Veps.'
Interviewer:
tähiižed oliba mugažo
'They were local [Veps], too.'

RU-VEP-IIAG5-02m:
ka, kaik kaik
'Yes, all all.'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
čistokrovnye vepsy
'RU Full-blooded Veps.'

Comparison with the Russian control group. The Russian control group was fairly monolingual. Of the 305 questionnaires filled in in total, 293 respondents reported Russian as their mother tongue. Karelian was the native language of 9 respondents (of these five named it as their sole mother tongue). However, as will be seen in the sub-chapter *Self-reported language competence* below (4.3.1.3), the number of CG respondents with Karelian or Veps roots is even higher. Two CG informants mentioned Veps, and one of them named it as their sole mother tongue. Solely Finnish was named once, solely Ukrainian and Armenian twice. Solely Belarusian was one respondent's mother tongue and at last one named English as their second native language besides Russian.

4.3.1.2 Cross- and intra-generational language use

Cross-generational language transmission, the passing of native language to the next generation inside the family, is usually seen as the most important factor affecting the survival of a minority language (e.g. Fishman 1991; UNESCO 2003). The disruption of cross-generational transmission often leads to language shift. **In the case of Veps, the transmission of the native language to the next generation is severely disrupted.**

Grandparents

The great majority of grandparents use or used Veps when speaking to their grandchildren. Russian was not typically used. Using both languages with grandparents was not typical, either. In Q10 and Q11 the respondents were asked what language their grandparents use or used with the respondent. The great majority of the respondents reported that the language used by their grandparents when speaking to them was Veps. This goes for maternal grandparents (80.5%) as well as for paternal grandparents (71.7%). According to the respondents, only 36.4% of the maternal and 39.0% of the paternal grandparents do or did speak Russian to them. Not many respondents replied that they use or used both Veps and Russian with their grandparents: only 17.2% of the respondents with the maternal grandparents and 11.2% with the paternal grandparents. Only two respondents reported that their grandparents use or used some other languages with them: one respondent reported it was Finnish and one German.

Solely Veps is or was used by a majority of the grandparents of the respondents. A clear majority of the grandparents was using solely Veps with the respondents: 63.2% of the maternal and 60.6% of the paternal grandparents. Solely Russian was used by only 19.2% of the maternal and 27.9% of the paternal grandparents.

The importance of grandparents as transmitters of the Veps language was highlighted in the interviews as well:

(15) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
a toine baboi eli tägä, NN:s, i mö hänenke kaikuččen päivän vastimoi, hän kaiken aigan minunke pagiži vepsän kelel
'And the other grandmother lived here in NN, and we met each other every day. She was all the time speaking Veps to me.'

(16) RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
no baboi da dedoi ii mahttud, - - mam da bat' pagištihe venäkelel, a babad da dedad vaise vepsän kelel
'But grandmother and grandfather could not [speak Russian]. - - Mother and father were speaking Russian, but grandmothers and grandfathers only Veps.'

Parents

In the respondents' childhood their parents used more Veps with them than they do at present. The share of fathers using Veps with the respondents has radically diminished. In questions Q15-Q18 the respondents were asked which language their mother and father used when speaking to them. In the respondents' childhood the majority of the parents used Veps when speaking to them. There were slightly more respondents (62.6%) who recall that their mother spoke Veps to them than those respondents (57.6%) who recall that their father spoke Veps to them. However, over the past decades, the share of the respondents using Veps with their parents (especially their fathers) has diminished radically. Fewer than half of the respondents (46.0%) report that their mother uses Veps with them nowadays and only a quarter of the respondents (25.0%) that their father uses it with them.

However, the difference is partly explained by the different answer frequencies in the questions. When there were as many as 262 answers concerning the language use with fathers (Q17) and 289 answers concerning the language use with mothers (Q15) in the respondents' childhood, the frequency was much lower for the present day answers. The responses to the question concerning the language used with their mother totalled 137 (Q16), but only 72 respondents reported about the language use with fathers at present (Q18). The low answer frequency probably arises from the lower life expectancy of men in Russia, and as we know that there are more speakers of Veps in the older generations, the low share of fathers compared to mothers speaking Veps is to some extent explained.

The following young interviewee told about quite the opposite situation: her father supports her in speaking Veps.

(17) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
a tat, nu vähäižen pagižeb, hän abutab minei, minä konz en teda kut sanuda vepsän kelel, ka zvonin hänele i küzun, a tat abutau, sanuu kut sanuda vepsäks
'And father, well he speaks a little [Veps]. He helps me. When I do not know how to say [something] in Veps, I call him on the phone and ask. And father helps, tells me how to say it in Veps.'

At present the great majority of the respondents' parents use Russian with them. When it comes to the language used with the father, the language shift seems to be very severe. Russian is used with the parents much more typically than Veps. Just as the following interviewee points out, it was not usual to speak Veps to children.

(18) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
vepsän kel' nece oli miil kuti kel' kudambal pagištas vanhembidenke, hän ičeze babanke pagiži vepsän kelel, hän ičeze anopinke, minun tatan mamanke minun babanke pagiži vepsän kelel, nu lapsidenke vot kuti, vot ei olend - - mugošt harjoitust vot hargoituz miše pagišta vepsän kelel, enamban vot mamoi pagiži venekelel
'The Veps language, for us it was a language which was spoken with the parents. She [mother] spoke Veps with her grandmother, with her mother-in-law, my father's mother, my grandmother, she spoke Veps. But with children, well there wasn't... that kind of habit, you see, the habit of speaking Veps. Mother spoke more Russian.'

In the respondents' childhood the shares of mothers and fathers using Russian with the children were very even: 64.1% of the respondents reported that their father spoke Russian and 64.7% that their mother spoke Russian to them. When comparing these percentages with the parents' reported use of Veps, it can be seen that in the respondents' childhood the share of parents using either Veps or Russian was very even. However, since then the share of parents speaking Russian to their children has increased substantially. This goes especially for fathers. As many as 86.1% respondents reported that their mother nowadays speaks Russian to them. Further, an overwhelming majority of the respondents (93.1%) replied that their father nowadays uses Russian when speaking to them.

The following interviewee reported the opposite. In her childhood she only spoke Russian with her parents and Veps with her grandparents. However, when she grew older her mother started speaking Veps to her.

(19) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
tatoi i mamoi minunke pagižiba venäks, - - a baboi i dedoi vepsäks. - - vot nügüd' konz minä jo tegimoi vanhembaks, nügüd' hän minunke pagižeb jo vepsä-
'Dad and mom spoke Russian with me, but grandma and grandpa [spoke] Veps. But now when I became older, now she [mother] speaks Veps with me.'

One third of the respondents reported that at present their mother speaks both Veps and Russian to them. According to 21.8% of the respondents their father used both Veps and Russian with them in their childhood. The share of fathers using both languages with children has slightly diminished, being 18.1% at present. The use of both languages was most typical for mothers; according to the respondents the share of mothers using both languages was even higher (32.1%) at present than it was in their childhood (27.3%). There were no respondents reporting that their parents would use or have used some other languages with them.

Solely Veps is at present used by very few parents of the respondents. In the respondents' childhood a bit more than one third of the mothers (35.3%) and fathers (35.9%) used solely Veps with the respondents. The share of parents using solely Russian in the respondents' childhood was slightly higher, being 37.4% for mothers and 42.4% for fathers. At present only 13.9% of the mothers and 6.9% of the fathers use solely the Veps language with the respondents. The share of parents using only Russian has increased rapidly, being 54.0% for the respondents' mothers, and 75.0% for the fathers at present.

One crucial factor in the language not being transmitted from generation to generation was the devastation of the Second World War, where many Veps men lost their lives, and families were shattered:

(20) RU-VEP-IIAG2m:
edel voinad i voinan aigan nece i ((unclear)) *kadotadud, minä jo pagižin miše om muretud nece sidotuz kudamb, tiile om oli suomalaižil, miše sindai openzi mam pagižemaha, i hiil oli äjak-se, - - vähäižen enamb aigad sinai antta nu, a minun tat, minun tatan kazvati mam vaiše, sikš ku hänen minun tatan tat om riktud Podporož'en rajonas mecas, ii suomalaižed a nemcad*
'Before the war and during the war ((unclear)) was lost. I already told that the connection has been broken. The one which you Finns have, had, that you were taught to speak by your mother. And they had a lot of - - slightly more time to give you. But my father, my father was only brought up by his mother, because his, my grandfather was killed in Podporož'e rajon in the forest. Not by the Finns but by the Germans.'
Interviewer1:
voinas
'In the war.'
RU-VEP-IIAG2m:
voinas
'In the war.'

Children

The respondents most typically speak Russian to their children, especially if an only child is concerned. Less than one third (29.1%) **of the respondents speak Veps to their children.** The replies for Q21 were also analysed according to the number and the age order of the children in the family. There were no significant differences between the shares of respondents speaking Veps to older (27.2%) or younger (24.4%) children. It did not make any significant difference either whether the respondent had only one child (26.4%). In most families Veps is no longer transmitted to children.

There are many sad stories and personal tragedies behind the numbers. Many interviewees spoke about their feelings of sadness and remorse for the loss of the Veps language.

(21) RU- VEP-IIAG5f:
vepsän kel' minun elos om kaiken aigan päsijal, kut minä en opendand ičein tütärt pagišta čomin vepsäks, nece om minei lujas kibed azj

'The Veps language always plays the most important role in my life. That I did not teach my daughter to speak beautiful Veps is a very painful thing for me.'

The overwhelming majority of the respondents use Russian with their children. The most typical language used when speaking with the children was Russian. As many as 91.7% of the respondents replied that they were using Russian with children. It did not make any significant difference whether older (87.6%) or younger (89.6%) children were concerned. However, if there was only one child in the family, the parents chose to speak Russian to her/him even more often (95.8%).

Speaking both languages Veps and Russian was most typical in situations with an only child. There was no significant difference between the share of older (15.4%) and younger (14.0%) children to whom the parents replied speaking both languages, Veps and Russian. However, if there was only one child in the family, the parents more often (22.2%) chose to use both languages to her/him than if there were more children. There is a simple and a logical explanation for the differences in language choices between parents in situations with an only child, and when there are more children in the family – it depends on the age group of the respondents. The respondents who replied having only one child were on the whole younger than the ones who had more children. For instance 11.1% of the respondents who reported about language choices with an only child were of the age group 18-29, whereas only 0.6% of the ones who reported about languages used with two or more children were of the same age group.

The following interviewee is an 18-29 year old female who reported speaking mostly Russian with her child. Unlike most young parents, she is also trying to teach her child Veps:

(22) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
nu enamba kaiked venäks pagižem, nu i vepsäks mugažo äjan hänenke pagižen, hän vaiše erasid sanoid zavodi pagišta, mam tat, vepsän kelel ei voi nügüd' nimidä sanuda, vaiše üks' pytaets'a sanuda, nu mina tam sanun, NN ala ota, ili tam ala tule tänna, ala koske, ka hän kacub minuhu, nu en teda el'gendab-ik hän midä-ni, lugen hänele kirjoid, a runoid Nina Zajcevan, Zajceval om mugoine lujas čoma kirj Izo Lizoi, ka mina lugin hänele nenid runoid i neičukaižele tuli lujas mel'he, hän melenke kundli
'Well, most of all we speak Russian, but I also speak a lot of Veps with her. She has only started to speak a couple of words like mother, father. She cannot say anything in Veps yet and she is only trying to say one [word]. Well, I then say, NN do not take or do not come here, do not touch, and she looks at me, but I do not know whether she can understand anything. I read books to her and poems by Nina Zajceva. Zajceva has a very nice book *Izo Lizoi*, and I read those poems to her and the girl liked them a lot, she listened with interest.'

Mothers use Veps more typically with their children than fathers. A bigger share of female respondents uses Veps with their own children than of male respondents. There appear to be some differences in the language spoken with children when the genders of the respondents are compared in Q21. As shown in the Figure 10 below, a great majority of both genders reported using Russian with their children: 93.3% of the male and 91.2% of the

female respondents would use Russian. However, the share of respondents using more than one language with their children was only 10.0% for men but 24.3% for females. The overall share of females using Veps with their children was as high as 33.1%, whereas only 16.7% of the male respondents would do so. One female respondent reported using Finnish with her children.

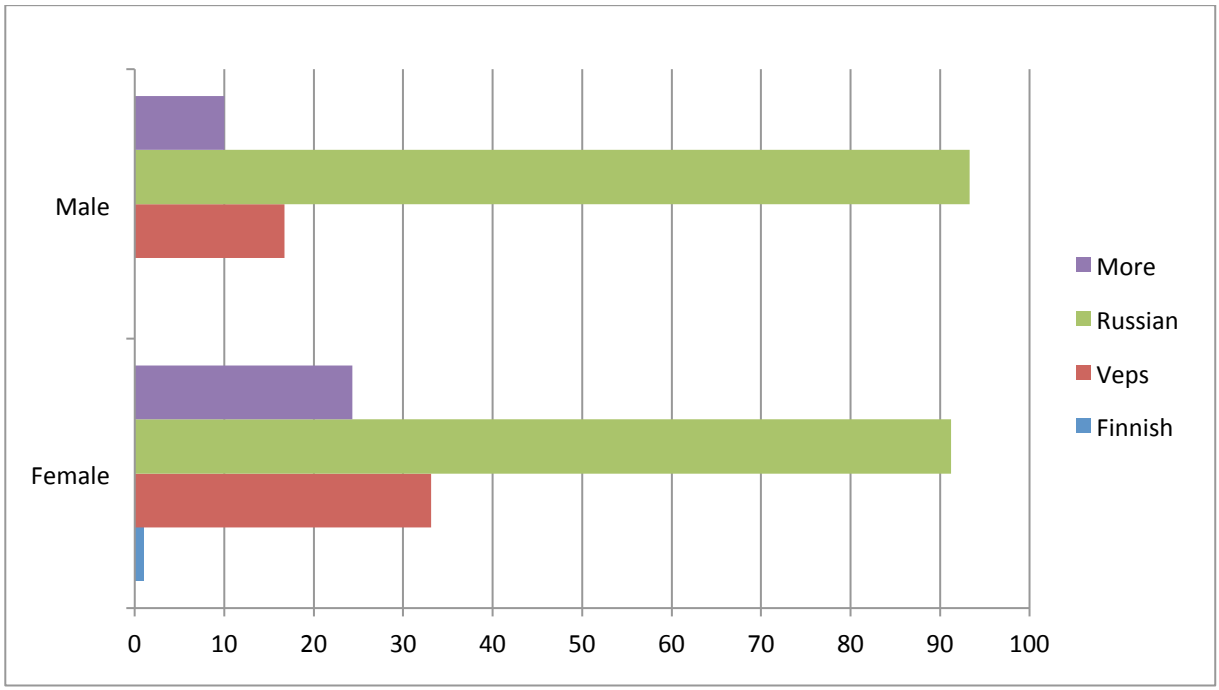


Figure 10: Language used with children, female vs. men, %

Of the respondents who both named Veps as their mother tongue and had children, a majority of 61.3% reported using Russian with their children. Another possibility to look at the respondents' language of communication with children is to compare the reported mother tongue versus the language of communication. There were altogether 155 respondents who reported both having Veps as their mother tongue (in Q7) and having children (in Q21). Out of those 155 respondents, 61.3% reported speaking only Russian to their children and 38.7% speaking only Veps or both Veps and Russian to their children. Interestingly, there were also 10 respondents who reported Russian as their mother tongue (in Q7) but reported speaking Veps to their children, in addition to Russian (in Q21). One of them reported using solely Veps when communicating with the child.

As illustrated in Figure 11, **it is clear that the share of parents using Veps with their children is rapidly diminishing.** When the great majority of the maternal (80.5%) and paternal (71.1%) grandparents do or did speak Veps to their grandchildren, the share of parents using Veps is much lower. This is especially evident in the present situation: only 46.0% of the respondents reported that their mother uses Veps with them and as few as 25.0% that their father still uses Veps with them. As pointed out earlier, the share of respondents themselves using Veps with their children was even lower: only 33.1% of the female respondents and 16.7% of the male respondents reported using Veps with them. Speaking Veps to children has rapidly diminished over the past generations.

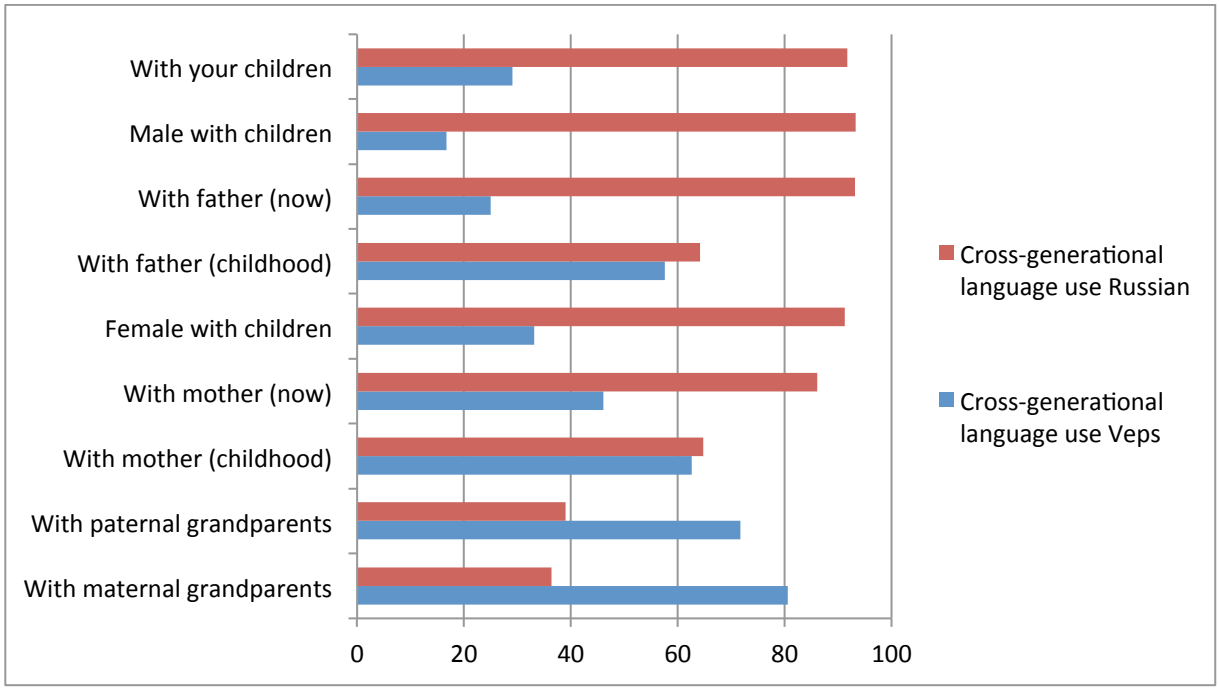


Figure 11: Cross-generational language use, %

The similar patterns of age and sex are seen when setting the language choices against the age of the respondents. As seen in Figure 12 below, the share of family members using Veps (solely or in addition to Russian) rapidly diminishes towards the youngest age groups. The mother and the maternal grandparents have been more important in transmitting the Veps language.

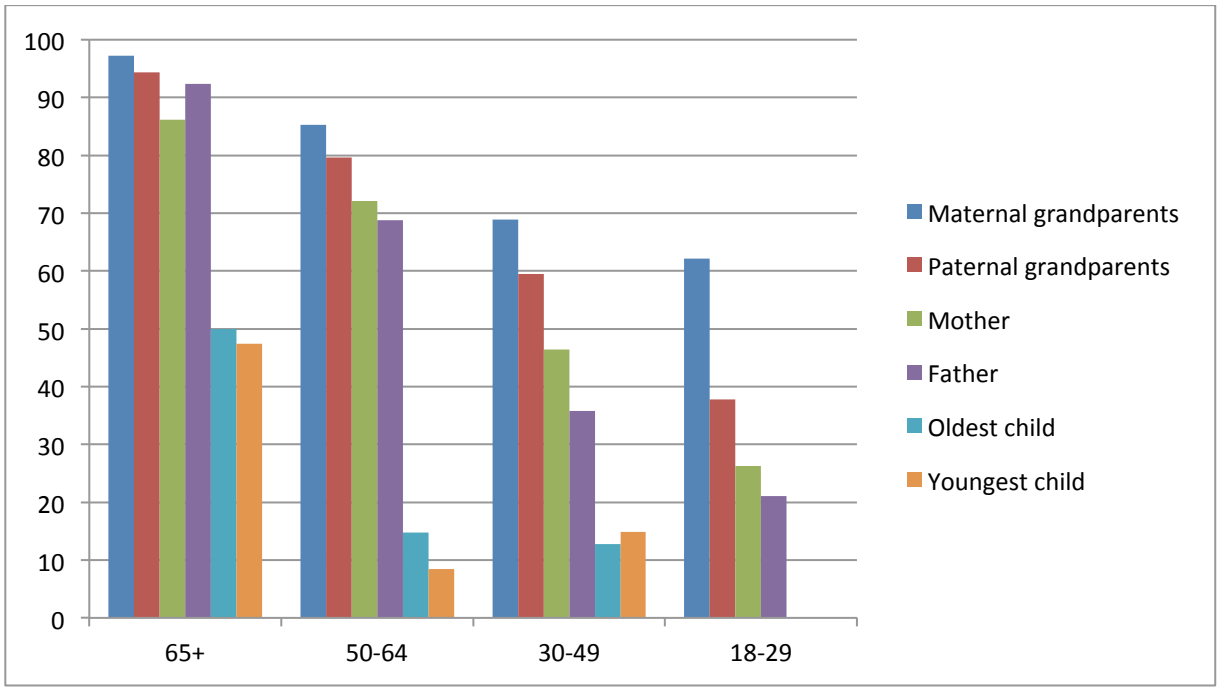


Figure 12: Cross-generational use of Veps according to the age of the respondent

Intra-generational language use

The language spoken between the parents is or was most typically Veps. In Q14, the respondents were asked which language their parents spoke with each other. The majority of the respondents (68.9%) reported that their parents speak or spoke Veps to each other. According to 42.1% the language the parents speak or spoke to each other was Russian. Only 11.0% use or used both Russian and Veps.

(23) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
kodiš mamanke hän ei pagiže nügüd', a konz tuli NN-he ka ičein mamanke hän kaiken aigan pagiži vaiše vepsäks
'Nowadays he [father] does not speak [Veps] with mother at home. But when he came to NN, he was all the time speaking Veps with his mother.'

Statistically, there were no significant reported differences between the language of communication of fathers and mothers. Only nine respondents replied that their parents used different languages among themselves. According to seven replies, the respondent's father used Veps when speaking to the mother while the language of the mother was Russian.

The language most typically used with siblings is Russian. Q19 concerned the language or languages used with siblings. The great majority of the respondents (79.4%) replied that the language they use with their siblings is Russian. There were much fewer of those (56.2%) who would use Veps with their siblings. A bit more than one third of the respondents (35.5%) replied that they use more than just one language with their siblings.

The following interviewee reported that she has started to use Veps with her sister when they go on a vacation to their home village.

(24) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
nügüd' mugažo konz mö tegimoi jo vanhembikš, vanhembikš kazvoim jo, i nügüd' minä hänenke voin pagišta, i kezal konz mö olem molembad kodiš NN:l lebul, siloi mö kebn'as voim pagišta i vepsäks-ki
'Now similarly when we became older, grew older, nowadays I can speak [Veps] with her [the sister]. And in summer when we are both on vacation at home with NN, then we can easily speak Veps, too.'

The role of Russian as a language of communication with siblings has significantly increased from the respondents' childhood to the present. A certain language shift can be observed since the respondents' childhood until the present. The share of respondents using Veps with their siblings has diminished and the share of Russian increased from the days of childhood to the present. While in their childhood 54.2% of the respondents used Veps with their older siblings, nowadays only 42.7% of them do so. When younger siblings are concerned, the use of Veps has not diminished as much: from 46.6% to 42.4% at present. In contrast, the role of Russian has significantly strengthened. In their childhood 57.4% of the respondents used Russian with their older siblings and 64.9% with their younger siblings, while at present the share of respondents using Russian with older siblings is 75.1% and

78.2% with younger siblings. Accordingly the share of respondents using both languages with their siblings has increased.

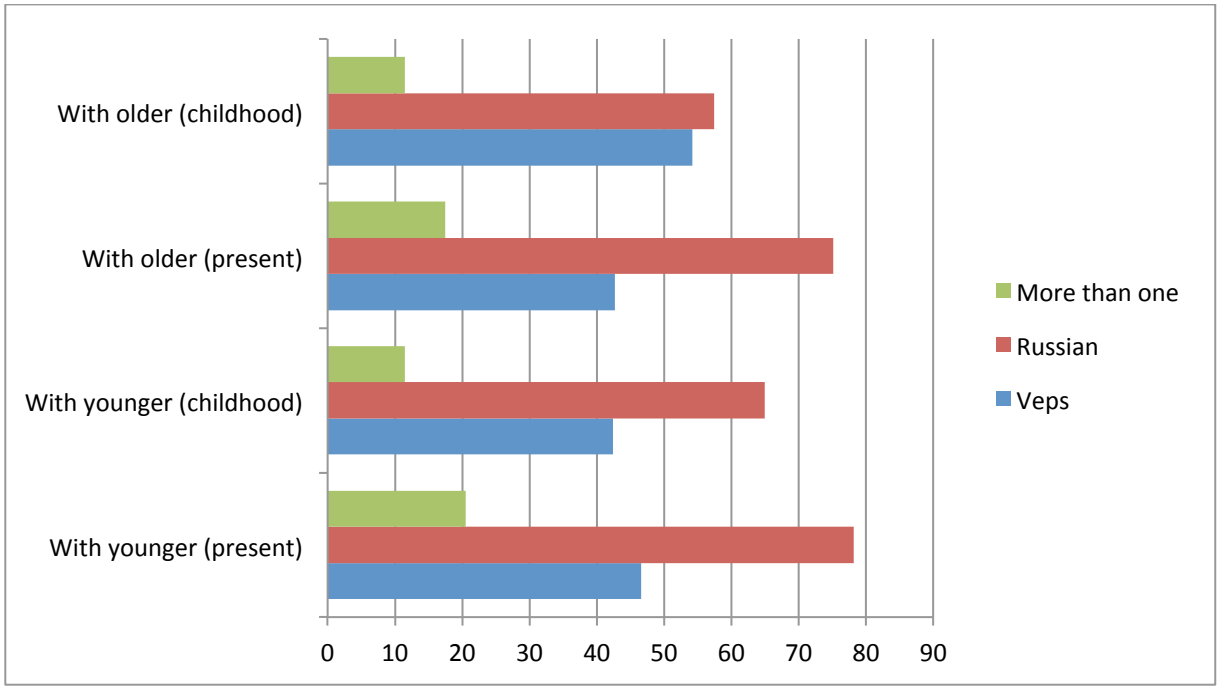


Figure 13: Language use with siblings, %

The respondents most typically use Russian with their spouse. In Q20 the great majority of the respondents (85.2%) replied that they use Russian with their spouse. Approximately one third of the respondents (33.8%) reported using Veps with their spouse. The share of respondents using two or more languages with their spouse was 19.5%. Only every tenth of the respondents used solely Veps with their spouse. Two respondents reported using Finnish with their spouse. A very typical situation was reported by the following interviewee: the spouse is Russian and therefore the language used in the family is inevitably Russian.

(25) RU-VEP-IIAG1F:
homendesespäi i ehtkoižehesai kävutoitan venäkel't, sikš miše mužik om venenik i kaik heimolaižed hänen polespäi hö eläba meidenke rindal - - paksus vastamoiš i hö kaik pagižeba venäkelel,
'I use Russian from morning till night, because [my] husband is Russian and all the relatives from his side are living near us - - We meet often and they all speak Russian.'

The older respondents and interviewees still use Veps with their spouse. For example the following interviewee is 50-64 years of age and reported that her husband uses Veps with her.

(26) RU-VEP-FGAG4-03F:
milai mužik mužik mugažno om veps, X-späi, ka hän pagižeb vepsän kelel
'Also my husband is Veps, from X, and he speaks the Veps language.'
Interviewer2:
a hän pagižeb vepsän kelel, a sinä hänenke pagižed vepsän kelel
'So he speaks Veps, and you speak Veps with him.'

RU-VEP-FGAG4-03F:
minä vaise el'gendan ((laughing))
'I only understand.'

The following young interviewee tells that she has been teaching her husband some Veps as well as some Finnish.

(27) RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
völ mužikad opendan, i hän el'gendab vaiše midä minä sanun
And I'm teaching my husband [some Veps], and he can only understand what I say.'
Interviewer3:
tule tänna, anda luzik
'Come here, give me the spoon.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
tule tänna, jom ((laughing)) *jom čajud, tule sömha, hän kaik nened sanad el'gendab lujas hüvin*
'Come here, let's drink tea. Come to eat. He understands all those words really well.'
Interviewer1:
voib-ik mužikad opeta
'Is it possible to teach a husband?'
Interviewer2:
vepsän kel'he
'To [know] Veps.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
ka pidäb i vepsän kel'he, suomen kel'he mugažo opendan händast
'Yes, you should also [teach] Veps. I'm also teaching him Finnish.'

Cross-generationally, the share of couples using Russian with each other has doubled and the share using Veps has halved. Comparing the practices of language use between the respondents' parents and the respondents with their own partners it can be clearly seen that the share of couples using Veps is diminishing and the share using Russian is increasing rapidly. When looking at the statistics cross-generationally in Figure 14, the share of couples using Russian with each other has doubled from 42.1% to 85.2%, while the share of couples using Veps halved from 68.9% to 33.8%.

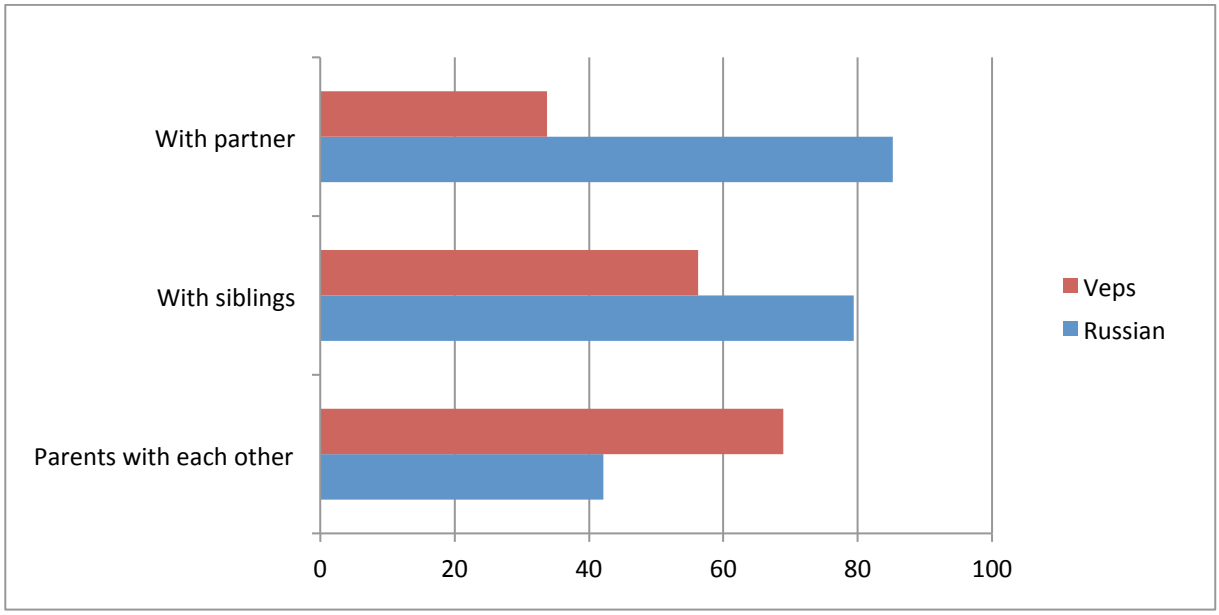


Figure 14: Intra-generational language use, %

Control group

Quite many control group respondents had used Karelian, Veps or Finnish with their parents or grandparents. The CG respondents were also asked (in Q10) whether they have used other languages except Russian in their childhood families with grandparents or parents. According to the answers, there were descendants of Finnic minority language speakers among the CG. Out of 302 respondents there were as many as 21 respondents who replied having used Veps with parents or grandparents; even more, 31 respondents had used Karelian; 14 who had used Finnish inside the childhood family. This means that at least 6.9% of the control group respondents had Veps, 10.3% Karelian and 4.6% Finnish origins. Other languages control group respondents pointed out were Ukrainian (by 5 respondents), Belarusian (7), Polish (2), Armenian (1), Azeri (1), Chuvash (1), Komi (1), Bulgarian (1) and English (1). In some families, two languages other than Russian were used: Karelian and Finnish (according to three 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 great majority of the control group respondents use Russian with their spouse, but there were a few couples using other languages such as Karelian and Veps. The CG respondents were also asked about (in Q11) the language or languages they used with their spouse. A great majority of them (94.1%) replied the language was Russian. The share of respondents who reported using some other language with the spouse was 5.9%. The languages cited were 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

Examination of the outcomes of the self-reported spoken Veps language skills proves that the respondents chosen to fill in the questionnaire did not represent a completely random group of 300 people identifying themselves as Veps. This is, as noted above, due to the sampling method used. Our results can be compared with the population census of 2010 which shows that roughly 40% (2,362) of those 5,936 enrolled as ethnic Veps are able to speak Veps. However, there is no information on the level of language skills, as such details were not asked in the population census. Taking into account the information that is available on the Veps language community it can be assumed with certainty that the census comprises all levels of skills ranging from poor to fluent. For example Strogal'ŝikova (2005a) estimated almost 20 years ago that only one out of every ten Veps is a fluent speaker (see Table 8 in 2.3.1).

Deviating from census data and previous estimations, in our data the self-reported oral skills in the Veps language are very good. In questions Q28A–Q31A the respondents were asked to evaluate their competence in understanding, speaking, reading and writing the Veps language. Over 60% of the respondents estimated their oral skills to be fluent or at least good. Only 4.4% reported not understanding, and 8.1% not speaking Veps at all. According to the population census, these percentages should be near 40%. Instead, almost half of the respondents (48.1%) claimed to understand Veps fluently. Another 25.3% claimed that they understand Veps well, and approximately 60% stated they are also able to speak Veps at least well: 39.7% estimated that they speak Veps fluently and 20.7% that they speak it well. 12.6% said they understand Veps fairly well and 20.3% that they speak it fairly well. One tenth of the respondents (9.6%) estimated they understand Veps only poorly, and a similar amount (11.2%) reported speaking it only poorly.

The following interviewee argues that nowadays most people understand Veps but they do not speak it.

(28) RU-VEP-FGAG4-02F:
no seičas enambad ristitud ei pagiškoi, no el'getaze kaiken, sanutaze venäkelel, no el'getaze midä heile sanutas
'But nowadays most people do not speak [Veps], but understand it all. They reply in Russian, but they understand what they are told.'

As predicted, despite their good oral skills, the respondents' written Veps skills are not very fluent. Nearly a quarter of the respondents (24.2%) reported not being able to read Veps, and half of the respondents (49.7%) reported not being able to write in Veps at all. In contrast, almost a third of the respondents (32.6%) were able to read Veps at least well, and every fifth (21.3%) replied they are able to write at least well. When interpreting these relatively low results in comparison with the reported literacy skills for Russian, a number of things have to be borne in mind: For one, high literacy skills in Russian are not least a result of all formal education (possibly with the exception of foreign language classes) being exclusively in Russian. Secondly, acquisition of Veps literacy skills demands the learning of a

new alphabet, as, unlike Russian, Veps is not written in Cyrillic, but in the Latin alphabet. For many speakers, this might already pose a considerable gap to bridge (cf. citation (29) below). Thirdly, even if said gap is bridged, there is only a very limited number of Veps literature available to readers to consume (cf. 2.2.3 and 2.4.2).

(29) RU-VEP-IIAG5-02m:
minä ičemoi kelel i en teda bukvuid
'I do not know the alphabet of my own language.'

The following interviewee said she had learnt to read Veps and the Latin alphabet by herself.

(30) Interviewer1:
a lüdikelel, nenid latinskoid bukvid mahtad lugeda
'And in Veps, can you read the Latin alphabet?'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
lugen, kaik minä kaik nenid kirjad lugen, gazetad lugen
'Yes, I can. I read all the books, I read newspapers.'
Interviewer1:
a kut opendiz lugemaha
'And how did you learn to read?'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
minä iče
'By myself.'

However, there are also exceptions, such as the following interviewee:

(31) RU-VEP-IIAG5f:
minä hüvin pagižen venäkelel, nu minä nikonz en voind kirjutada niüht runorivid venäkelel, hot' minä pagižen lujas čomin venäkelel, nu vepsäks minä mahtan pagišta i mahtan kirjutada runoid i en teda kuspäi nece om tulnu, - - sikš minä dumain miše minun heng om vepsläižen heng.
'I speak fluently in Russian, but I was never able to write a line of poetry in Russian although I speak very fluent Russian. But in Veps I can speak and I can write poems and I do not know where this has come from. That is why I think my spirit is a spirit of a Veps.'

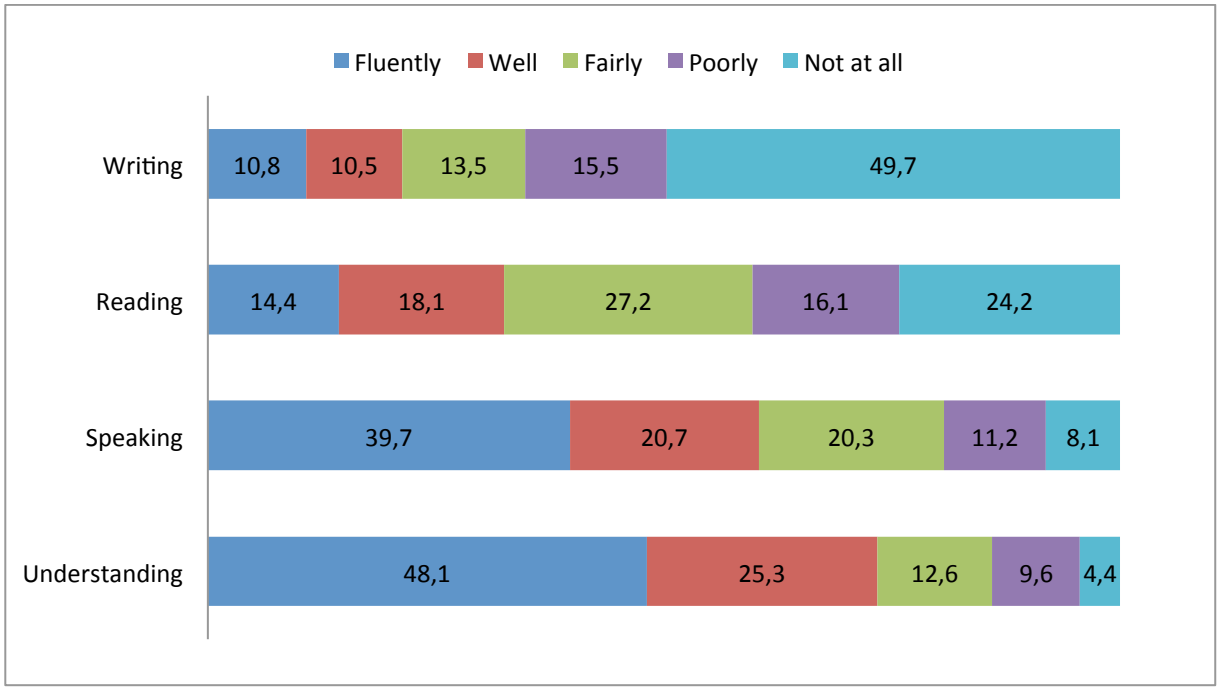


Figure 15: Levels of language skills for the Veps language, %

When set against the age of the respondents it is clear that the older the respondents, the more fluent they estimate their spoken Veps skills to be. However, literary skills are estimated as most fluent among the youngest age group. As seen in the following figures nearly all respondents belonging to the oldest age group indicate understanding and speaking Veps fluently or at least well. Most respondents of the age group 50-64 understand Veps quite fluently, but their spoken skills are weaker.

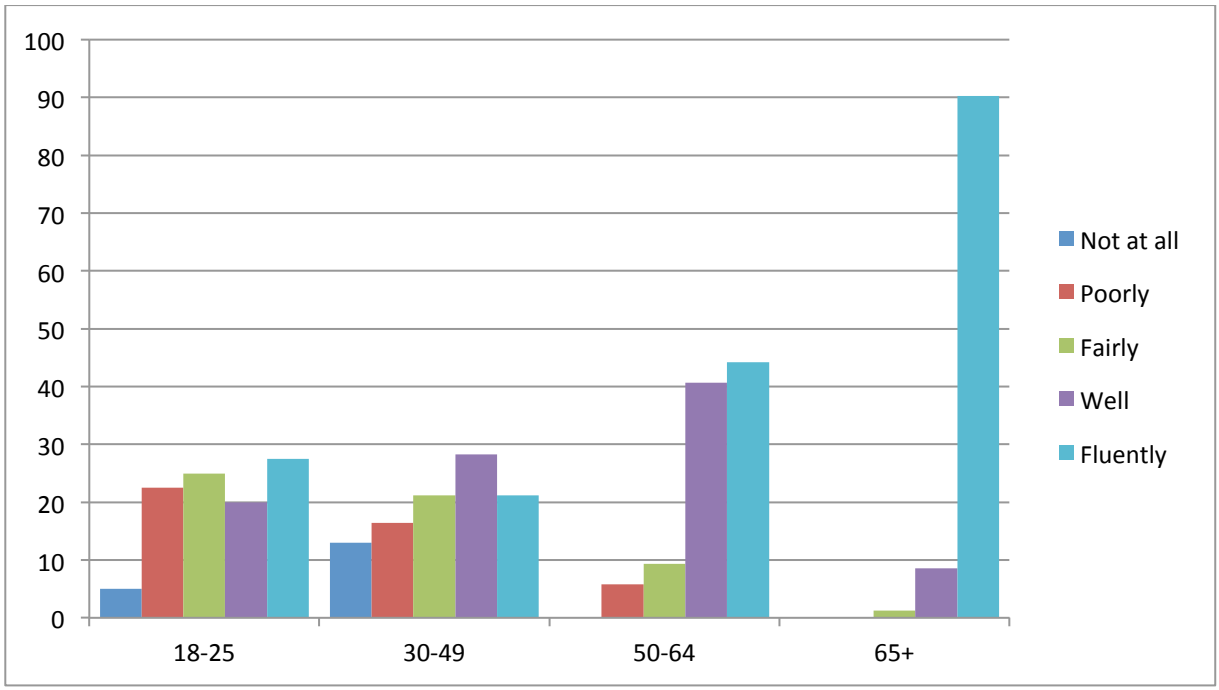


Figure 16: Level of understanding Veps according to age

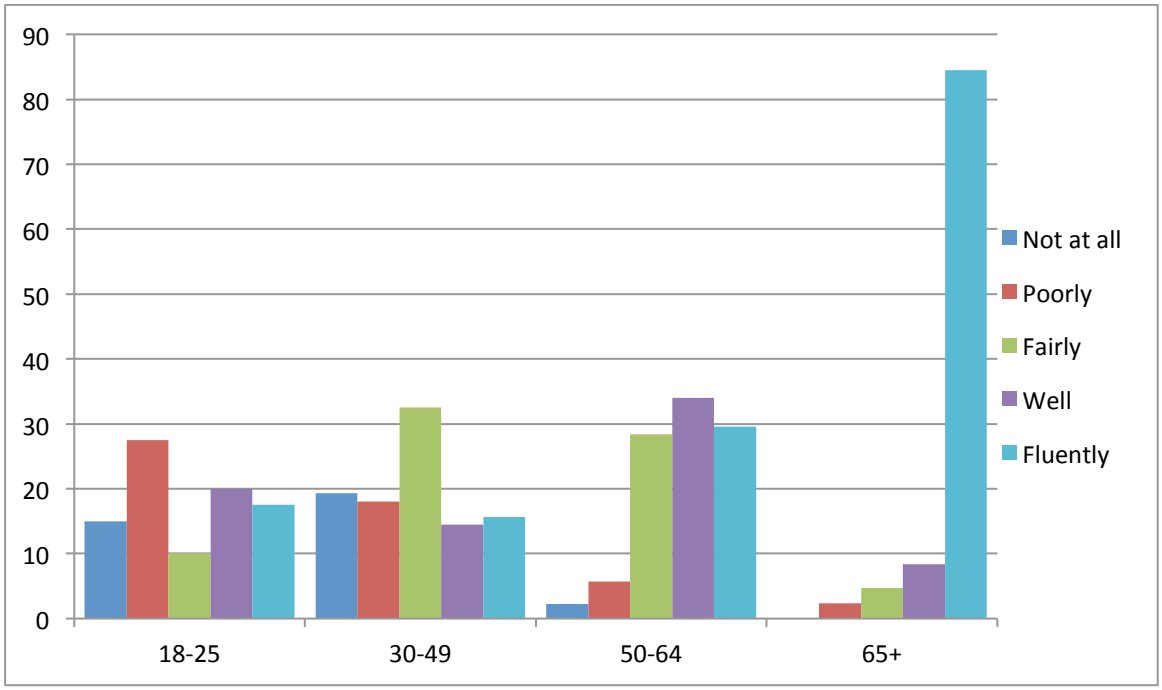


Figure 17: Level of speaking Veps according to age

As Figures 16 and 17 show, there is a very significant difference between the two oldest age groups regarding self-estimated fluency in spoken Veps. This reflects the drastic diminishing of the cross-generational transmission of the Veps language in the 1960s, which was set in motion already in the 1950s during the Soviet oppression of the minority peoples (see Sarhimaa 1999:49). The forced collectivisation (development of state farms (sovhozy) and big lumbering villages) caused many of the Veps to migrate from their (Veps) villages to multi-ethnic central villages. At the same time the influx of Russian and Belarusian labour forces changed the linguistic landscape of the surrounding areas and increased the use of Russian significantly in the 1950s and the 1960s. (See e.g. Laine 2001: 58–59.) The oldest among the respondents were born in 1946. They are therefore the last ones who grew up mostly in dominantly Veps-speaking environments. According to the following interviewee (aged 65+), for whom Veps is one of the working languages, her language skills have even improved from what they used to be.

(32) RU- VEP-IIAG5f:
ka minä dumain miše minun kel' om völ vahv, i minä nügüd' voin sanuda miše minä voin kaikes, ku pidäb sanuda kosmoses ka minä sid-ki voin pagišta, kosmosen pol'he mugažo vepsäks, i minä voin lugeda lekcijoid vepsän kelel, midä taht minä voin pagišta. - - minun kelen maht om kaznu.
'Yes, I think my [Veps] language is still strong and I can nowadays say that I can [discuss] anything. If I need to talk about the outer space, I can talk about that, too. About the outer space in Veps, too. And I can give lectures in Veps. I can talk about anything. - - My language skills have improved.'

According to the following interviewees, there are great differences between the older and the younger generations in terms of how well they speak Veps. Nowadays in the families only the older people know Veps.

(33) RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
mö konz openzim d'o školas mö toine toiženke vaise vepsän kelel, - - a noremb d'o ii, ii pagiže, hö d'o venäkelel kaiken
'When we were studying at school we were [speaking] with each other in Veps only. - - But the younger do not speak, they [say] everything in Russian.'

(34) RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
nüguni no kanzoiš kut, mö vaise rouhad tedam
'Nowadays in the families, how [could they]? Only we, old ones, know [the language].
RU-VEP-IIAG5-02m:
ka, nored nugudi ei tekoi
'Yes, the young ones nowadays do not know.
RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
nored ei tekoi, a školas vaise urokad, kut otta
'The young ones do not know. And at school [there are] only lessons. How to take [learn]?

However, in this case study, the results obtained from the two youngest age groups do not, in fact, confirm these statements. There may be various reasons for this. For one, the sample is biased: because the younger generations in general are shifting to Russian, the respondents for the youngest age group (40 in total) probably include a disproportionate share of "language activists", people who have consciously chosen to maintain the Veps language. In the second youngest group, which is more than twice as big (85 respondents), this "activist bias" is perhaps less prominent. Secondly, the self-estimated fluency in Veps probably depends on the frame of reference used. These youngsters are able to speak and understand Veps better than the vast majority of others their age, but there may not even be any fully competent native speakers of Veps among their acquaintances. The following Figures 18 and 19 show that the Veps skills of the youngest respondent group are relatively strong in the area of written language use, which indicates that their use of Veps is connected to formal language education and the literary language rather than to everyday spoken communication in Veps, as with the oldest generations.

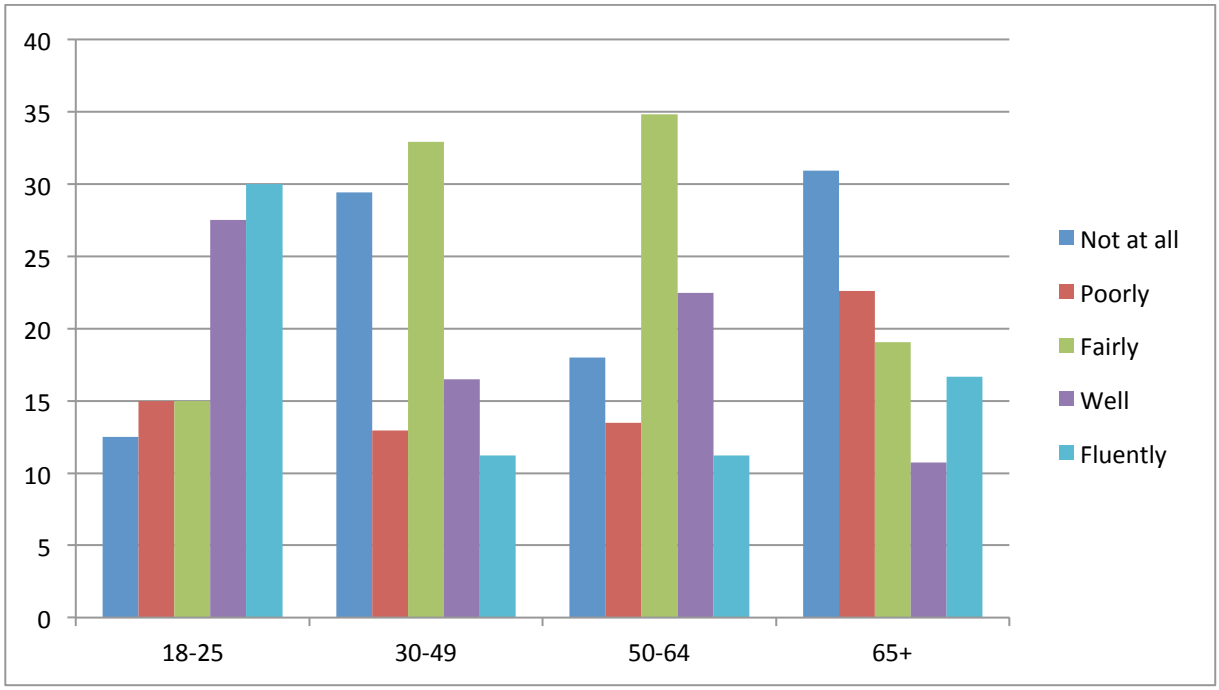


Figure 18: Level of reading Veps according to age

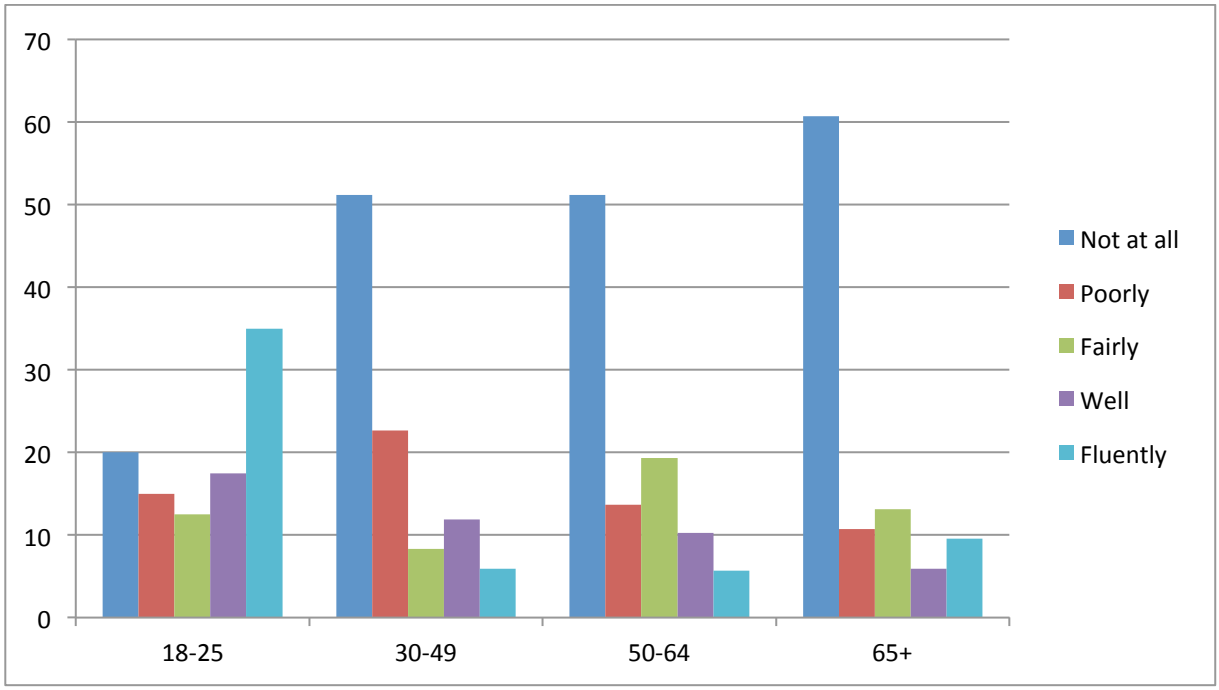


Figure 19: Level of writing Veps according to age

As the Figures 18 and 19 above show, the literary skills are more heterogeneous inside different age groups. There are a few notable issues. One must notice the great percentages of those elderly people without literacy skills in Veps. In the eldest age group almost everyone is fluent in spoken Veps but more than 60% cannot write it at all. In fact, with the exception of the youngest, over a half of the respondents of all other age groups are not able to write in Veps at all. The youngest age group on average estimates themselves the most fluent in written Veps. This may partly be due to the sample bias mentioned above, but it could also somewhat reflect the effects of Veps language revitalisation, language teaching

and publishing of literal materials during last three decades. Note that on average the youngest respondents claim to read better than they understand, and write better than they speak. This gives rise to the question how the ability to read or write fluently or well is being interpreted. It is possible that mere familiarity with the Latin alphabet and the ability to produce and read simple, familiar Veps language texts is already considered as fluent reading and writing skills by the younger generation.

Among the Veps respondents Russian is clearly the strongest language. In questions Q28B–Q31B the Veps MinLG respondents were asked to evaluate their competence in understanding, speaking, reading and writing in the Russian language. Nine out of ten respondents replied they are fluent in Russian on every level. Everybody could claim (oral) Russian skills on some level at least – there were only three respondents who estimated their oral skills to be poor, one who was not able to write in Russian at all, and one completely illiterate in Russian. However, viewing these numbers in context with the age of the respondents, we can generally assume that the younger the respondents, the more fluent their Russian skills are.

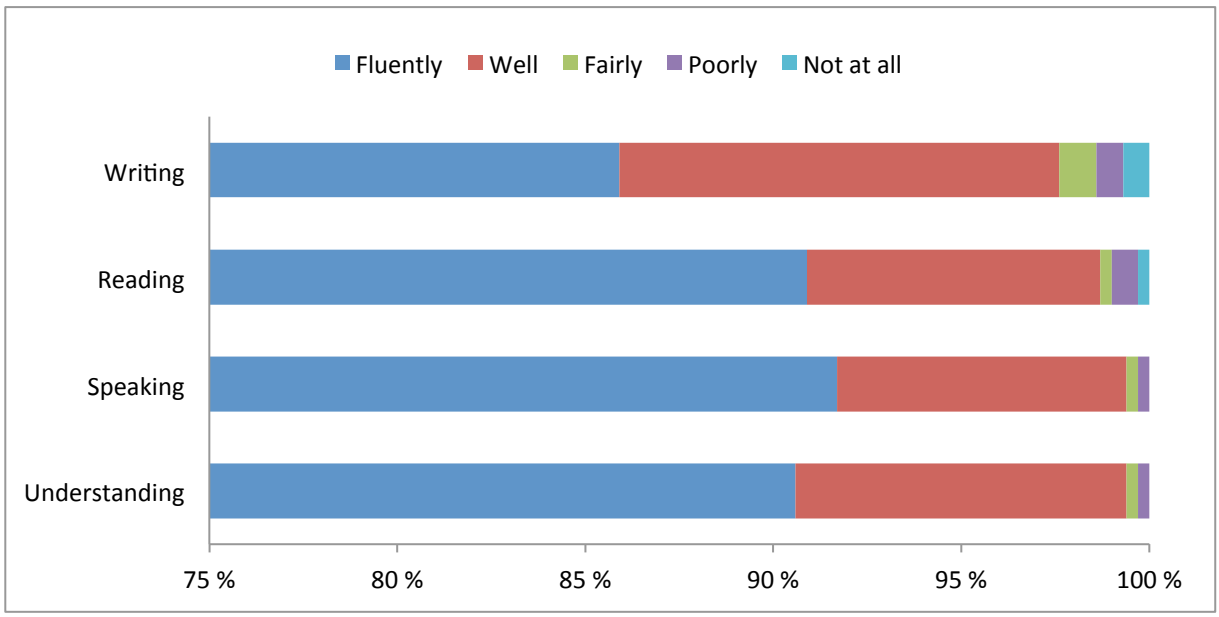


Figure 20: Levels of language skills for the Russian language, %

The vast majority of the Veps MinLG respondents do not have any competence in English. In questions Q28C–Q31C the Veps respondents were asked to evaluate their competence in understanding, speaking, reading and writing the English language. As seen in Figure 21, over 60% do not understand English at all.

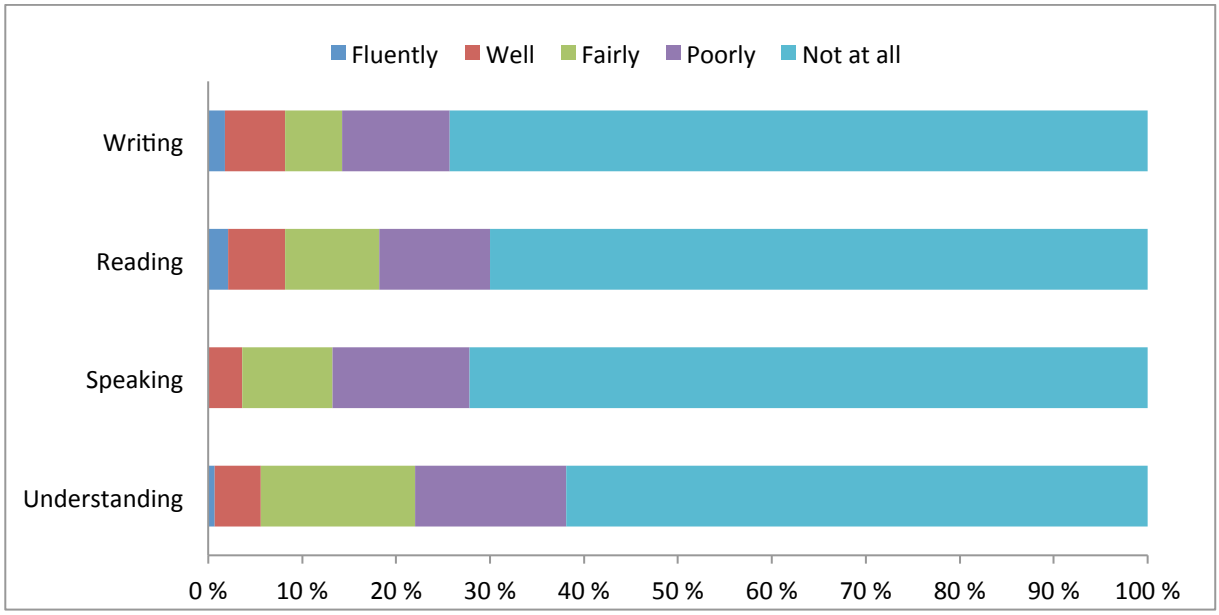


Figure 21: Levels of language skills for the English language, %

The Veps respondents were also asked (in questions Q28–Q31D-G) whether they have skills in Finnish, German, French or some other language. One out of four Veps respondents understood Finnish at some level and every fifth was also able to speak Finnish. A few dozen respondents also had some German skills, but in general skills in languages other than Russian and Veps seem very scarce. However, when estimating the language skills of the Veps we must bear in mind the relatively low educational level of the Veps questionnaire respondents (as most of the respondents (58.8%) had only secondary education).

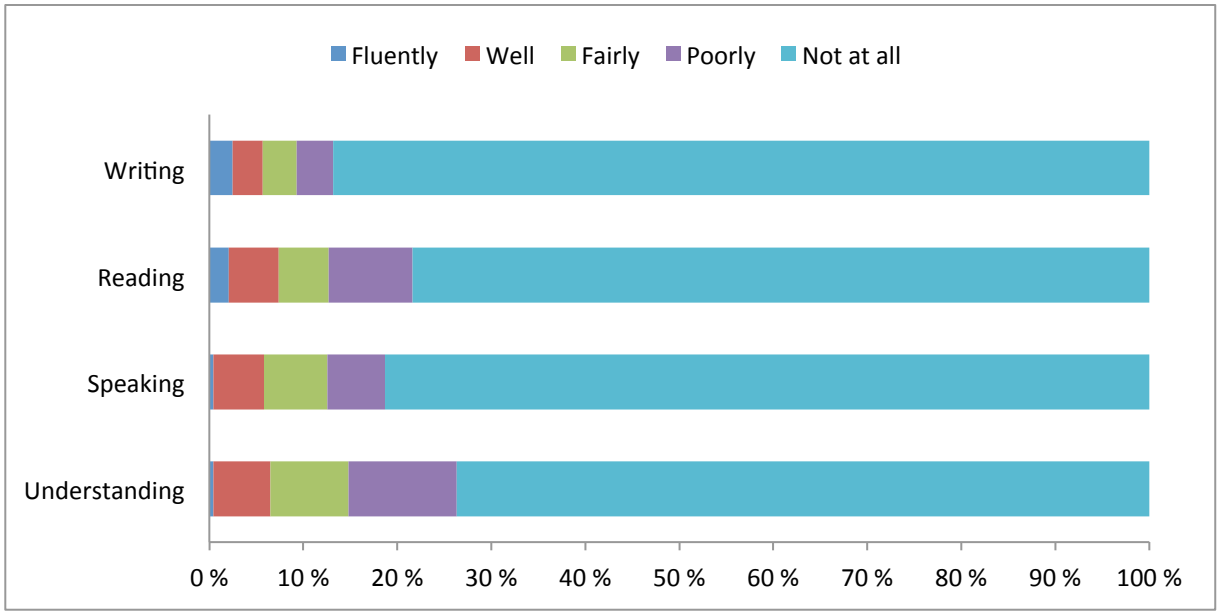


Figure 22: Levels of language skills for the Finnish language, %

Finnish skills of the Veps respondents are presented above mostly because of the comparability with the Finnish skills of the Karelian respondents in the ELDIA study. Compared to the Karelian study in ELDIA, much fewer Veps respondents had skills in Finnish. While the Finnish language has some significance to Karelians today because of the language

policies in the early Soviet decades, as well as the closeness of the Finnish border, the same does not seem to apply to Veps speakers. However, individual exceptions can be found, as for example the following young educated interviewee states:

(35) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
no i tägä Karjalas suomen kel', sikš ku om rindal Suomi i äi om erazvuiččid kosketusid Suomenke
'Well, and here in Karelia Finnish [is important], because Finland is close and there are a lot of different contacts to Finland.'

Among the control group the Russian language is naturally mastered fluently. Questions Q14–Q17 concerned the CG respondents' self-reported language competence in Russian, English, Karelian, Veps, Finnish, German and "other" languages. As pointed out in chapter 4.3.1.1, 293 respondents out of a total of 305 control group respondents 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 merely fair.

Unfortunately there were problems with the translations of some questions of the Russian control group questionnaire. Therefore information on the control group's English skills beyond the level of understanding is not available. The results obtained imply that the CG's English skills are marginally more fluent than the Veps respondents', possibly due to the fact that the CG is not as biased in favour of the oldest generations as the Veps respondent group.

The CG data shows that the Veps language is present also in the lives of some of the Russian-speaking majority in the Republic of Karelia. Veps was understood by 14.4% of the CG respondents (30 persons). Veps was also reported as mother tongue by two of the CG respondents (see chapter 4.3.1.1). As the most well-known of the three Finnic languages of the Karelian Republic, Finnish ranks second after English on the list of foreign language skills reported, and is understood at least to some degree by nearly a third of the control group respondents (30.6%). The importance of different foreign languages was rated by one of the CG interviewees as follows:

(36) RU-RU-FGPolitics:
(S2):
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. Here, English comes at the second place.'
(S1):
Английский да и по анкетам это видно.
'English yes, in the questionnaires it can also be seen'
(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. 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 those of the North[58], Finnish is so to say almost a second native tongue. You see, for northern Karelians, for that reason, you see. And in addition to that, who[ever] learns which[ever] language, whatever whoever needs, there are Belarusians, Ukrainians who learn Finnish with pleasure.'

4.3.1.4 Domain-specific language use

Self-reported language use.

The Veps language is mainly used in the informal spheres of life. In Q32A, respondents were asked to report on their Veps language use in different spheres of life. As seen in Figure 23 below, the Veps language is mainly used (often or always) in the informal, private spheres of life: with relatives (40.9%), at home (38.4%), with friends (30.3%) and with neighbours (30.2%). Working life, shops, community events and the street are also places where Veps is used at least seldom by approximately half of the respondents. These are probably the most natural places to meet fellow Veps.

The official spheres of life do not encourage using Veps. The vast majority (roughly 90%) of the respondents never use Veps at church, at the library or with the public authorities. It should be noted that the questionnaire did not ask whether the respondents go to these places at all. It is hard to tell how the respondents interpreted the use of Veps at school, as many of them are probably in no way involved in school-related matters in their everyday life. Perhaps it should rather be noted that as many as 40.7% of the respondents reported using Veps at school at least seldom.

[58] A reference to the well-known fact that the Northern (White Sea) Karelian dialects are linguistically closest to Finnish.

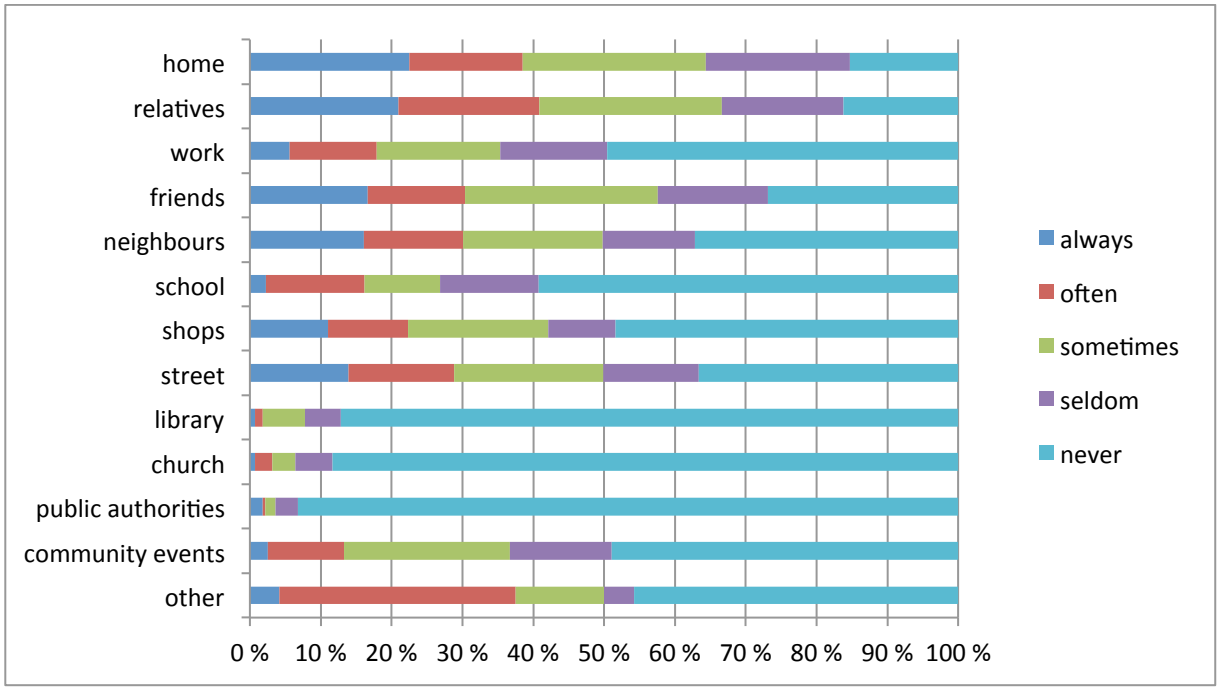


Figure 23: Domain-specific use of Veps

Similar trends can be seen in the interviews, too. According to the following interviewee, over 65 years of age, in her childhood the language of her home village was Veps, even though the Veps were already bilingual at that time. Fifty years ago, the situation was different:

(37) RU- VEP-IIAG5F:
no elos om ezisijal om venäkel', völ vižkümne vot tagaze vepsän kel' oli ezisijal, kaiktäna pagižiba vaiše, pagištihe vaiše ičemoi kelel
'But in life Russian comes first. Still fifty years ago the Veps language was prioritised, our language was spoken all over.'

The following citation is from a young interviewee who reports that she mainly uses the Russian language, but that there are also plenty of opportunities to use Veps in the city of Petrozavodsk: with her relatives, colleagues and with the intelligentsia.

(38) RU-VEP-IIAG1F:
voin pagišta opendajanke, NN:nke, kudamb openzi mindai pagižemaha vepsän kelel, voin pagišta tedomehidenke, miččed kirjutaba kirjoid i lujas hüvin tedaba vepsän kel't, da voin pagišta lehtezmehidenke.
'I can speak with the teacher, NN, who taught me to speak Veps. I can speak with the researchers who write books and know Veps very well. And I can speak with the journalists.'

Similarly, the next interviewee reports that apart from her home village she can also speak Veps in her current hometown of Petrozavodsk. When she meets people from her home area, they may switch to the local dialect. She also reports using Veps with the intelligentsia.

(39) RU-VEP-IIAG3F:
Petroskoiš voib pagišta vepsläižideke kedä minä tunden, a erased oma i miide tahoišpäi, - - ku mina tulen vai vastan kedä-se heišpäi ka - - heideke mina pagižen ičemoi paginal, kut mijou kodiš pagištas. muite toižidenke voib pagišta, NN:nke nu, vepsläižed ken oma, a ken kävuba Vepsän Kul'tursebraha, ved' minä äjid tedan.
'In Petrozavodsk it is possible to speak with the Veps whom I know. And some are from our area, - - when I come or meet some of them - - I speak my own dialect with them, how we speak at home. Further, I can speak with others: with NN, well who are Veps and who visit the Veps Cultural Society, I still know many [Veps].'

As pointed out in many interviews, Veps also serves as a secret language between the minority language speakers in a thoroughly Russian-speaking environment. According to the following interviewee the young speakers in particular appreciate this aspect:

(40) RU-VEP-IIAG3F:
venäks pagižeba kaik ümbri, kaik, televizoras radios kaik ümbri pagištas, a konz sinä pagižed vepsäks, ka nece jo kuti om azj, kahten mehen keskes, necen el'gendan vaiše minä i sinä, toižed ii el'gekoi, - - sikš ku nece linneb vaiše, kuti en teda, miiden azj, miiden paginad, sindai niken ei el'genda, vot nece norištole om melentartuine vepsän kel', sikš ku om kuti peituzkel', - - heid niken ei el'genda, hö kirjutaba Internetas, sikš ku nece om kel' vot vähemišton, - - vot neciš polespäi om melentartuine norištole
'Everybody is speaking Russian all around, everybody: on the television, on the radio everybody is speaking [Russian]. But when you speak Veps, it is like a matter between two people, only you and I can understand it, and the others cannot. - - Because it will be just like, I do not know, our matter, our speech. Nobody will understand you. Young people find Veps interesting, since it is like a secret language. - - Nobody will understand them, they write on Internet, because it is a minority language. - - For those reasons young people find it interesting.'

The Russian language dominates in every sphere of life of the Veps minority group respondents. Q32B concerned the use of the Russian language in different spheres of life. As seen in Figure 24 below, an overwhelming majority of the respondents (roughly 90%) uses Russian at all times in all the different domains listed. For example, as many as 88.1% of the Veps respondents would always use Russian at home. Interestingly, there is a slight mismatch between those 22.5% of the respondents who reported always using Veps at home, while there were still no respondents who reported that they never speak Russian at home. These respondents might have meant that they always use Veps as well as Russian at home, in other words, that their homes are multilingual. Alternatively, there may be a tendency to overestimate the use of Veps in spheres where mostly Russian is used.

A typical strategy is to switch to the majority language when majority language speakers are present:

(41) RU-VEP-IIAG2m:
nu konz ken jo om adivoiš venäkeline, ken ii el'genda, minä hä-, nu igän pagižemoi, nu sikš ku miše ii abitta adivod

'Well, when there is someone visiting [who is] Russian-speaking, who does not understand [Veps], I with h-, well, we always speak [Russian] so as not to hurt a visitor.'

As seen in Figure 24 below, a great majority of the respondents reported using Russian at school, too. According to the following interviewee, Russian is regarded as a cultural language and a language of teachers. Her mother was a teacher and chose to speak Russian also at home.

(42) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
enamban vot mamoi pagiži venekelel sikš ku hän radol pagiži venekelel i kanzas mugažo, - - hän pagiži venäks, sikš ku hän om opendai, školan opendai, i venäkel' om kuti kul'turine kel'
'Well, mother spoke more in Russian, because she was speaking Russian at work and similarly at home. - - She spoke Russian, since she is a teacher, a school teacher, and Russian is like a cultural language.'

As many as 87.9% of the respondents reported always using Russian with their neighbours. Usually the whole neighbourhood is Russian-speaking, as the following interviewee points out.

(43) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
vaiše venenikad rindal eläba, kaik venenikad
'Only Russians are living in the neighbourhood, all Russian'

Church is also a domain where the majority of the respondents use the Russian language. This is obvious, since there are no official church services in the Veps language in the Orthodox Church (see 2.4.4). However, as the following interviewee points out, the Veps language was formerly used in the original pagan folk religion rituals of the rural communities.

(44) RU- VEP-IIAG5f:
kaik vepsläižed meiden tahol kuspäi minä olen - - sündunu, sigau kaik usktihe völ emagaižihe, ižandaižihe, vedehižihe, mecižandoihe muga edemba, sikš necen pol'he pagištihe vaiše vepsän kelel, ičemoi kelel, a vot uskondas, pühäkodin pol'he pagištihe enamban venäks
'All the Veps in the area where I was - - born, there everybody still believed in goddesses and gods, water sprites, forest sprites, etc. That is why those subjects were only spoken of in the Veps language, in our own language. But religion, church was discussed more in Russian.'

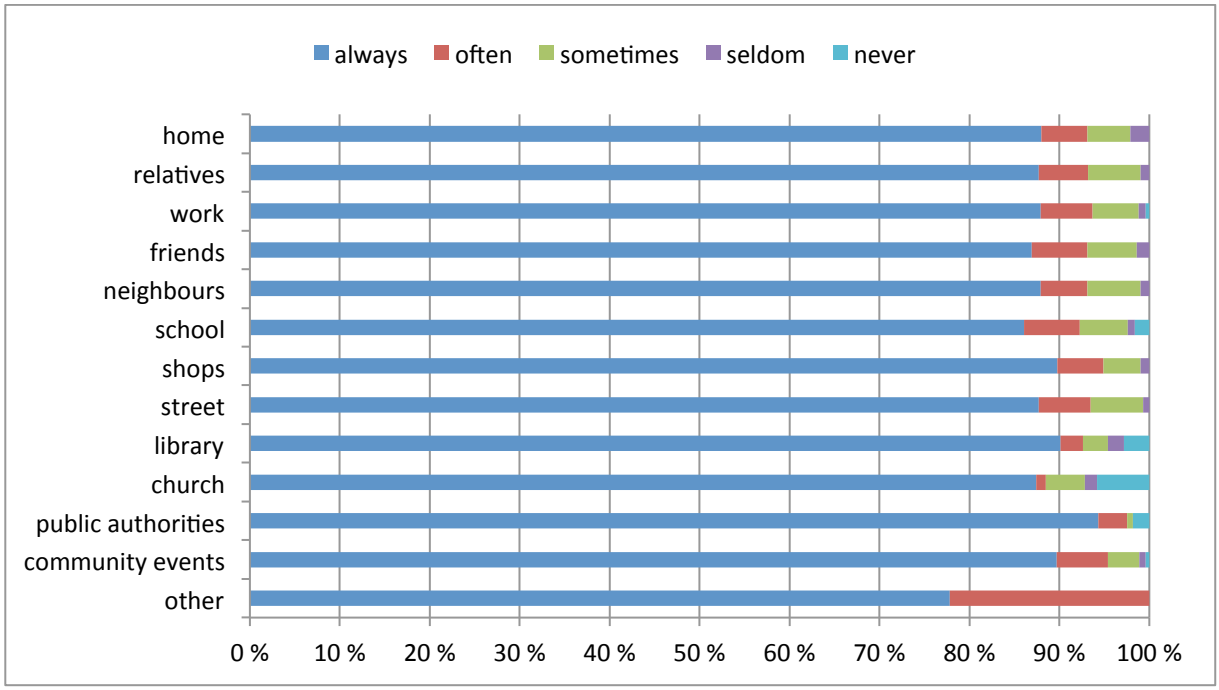


Figure 24: Domain-specific use of Russian

English does not play an important role in the life of the minority group respondents. The minority group respondents were further asked about the use of the English language in different spheres of life. As Figure 25 below shows, more than four out of five never use English in any spheres. The opportunities to use English in villages, towns or even in the city of Petrozavodsk are apparently very scarce, unless one is studying or has an international position at work. In contrast to many European countries where English is the common lingua franca, Russian serves as the lingua franca between different ethnic groups throughout Russia. In addition, it must be noted that the response rate for the questions was very low: approximately 75% of the respondents did not answer the questions concerning English skills at all.

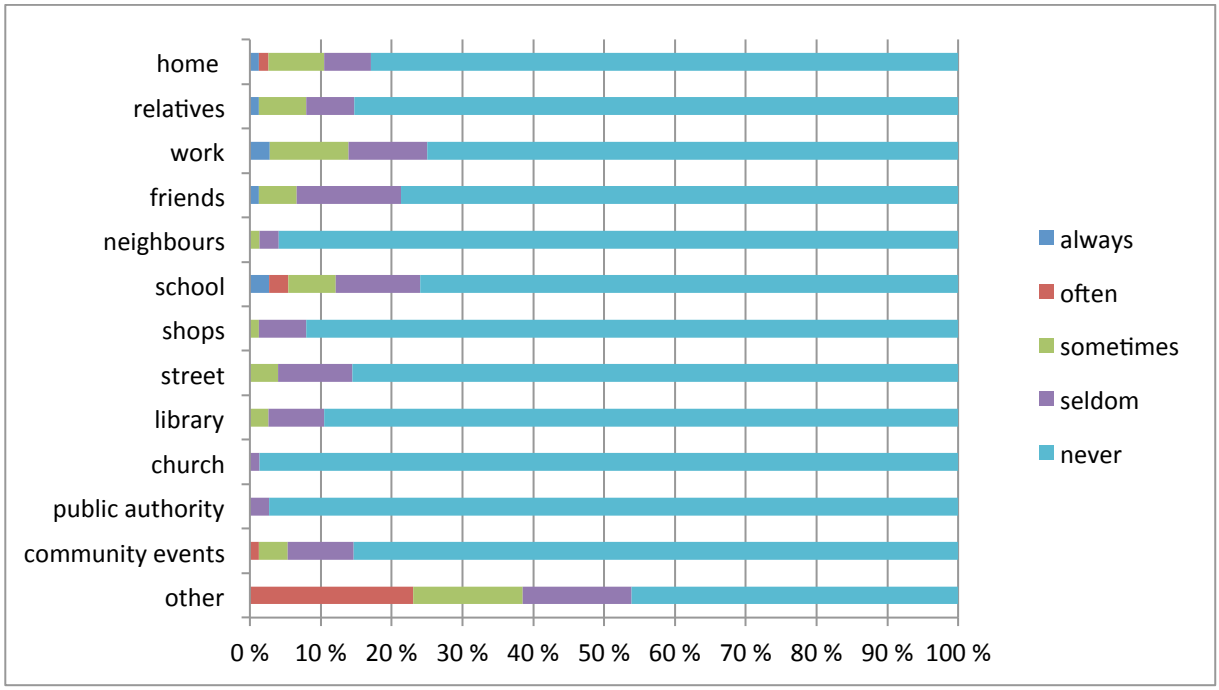


Figure 25: Domain-specific use of English

The Russian language dominates in every sphere of life of the control group respondents. A similar question on the use of Russian in different spheres of life was also presented to the CG respondents (Q18A). The differences between the MinLG and CG respondents were not large. The great majority of both groups reported always using Russian in these 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 ranged from 93.4% (at church) to 99.0% (on the street).

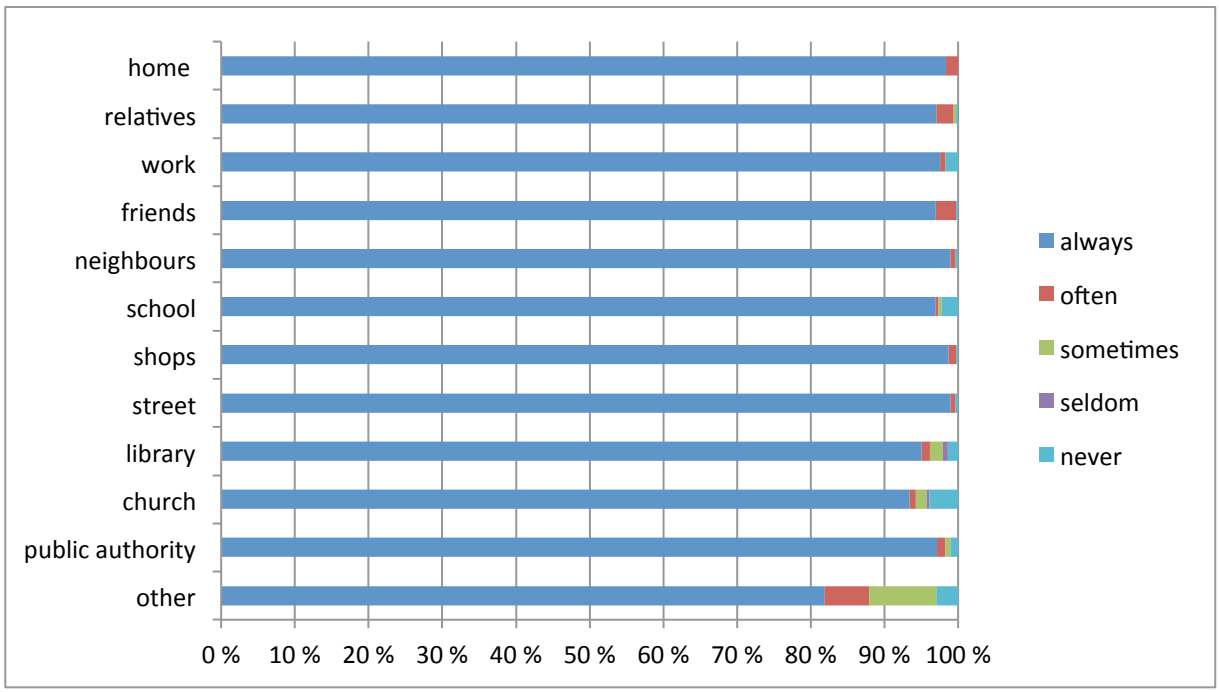


Figure 26: Domain-specific use of Russian, CG

English does not play an important role in the life of the CG respondents, either. In Q18B, the control group respondents were asked about the different spheres of life in which they use English. Similarly to the Veps respondents, the majority of the CG respondents never use English in any spheres, though it seems the share of control group respondents using English is slightly larger. The response rate was again very low: more than 60% of the control group respondents did not answer the questions concerning English skills at all.

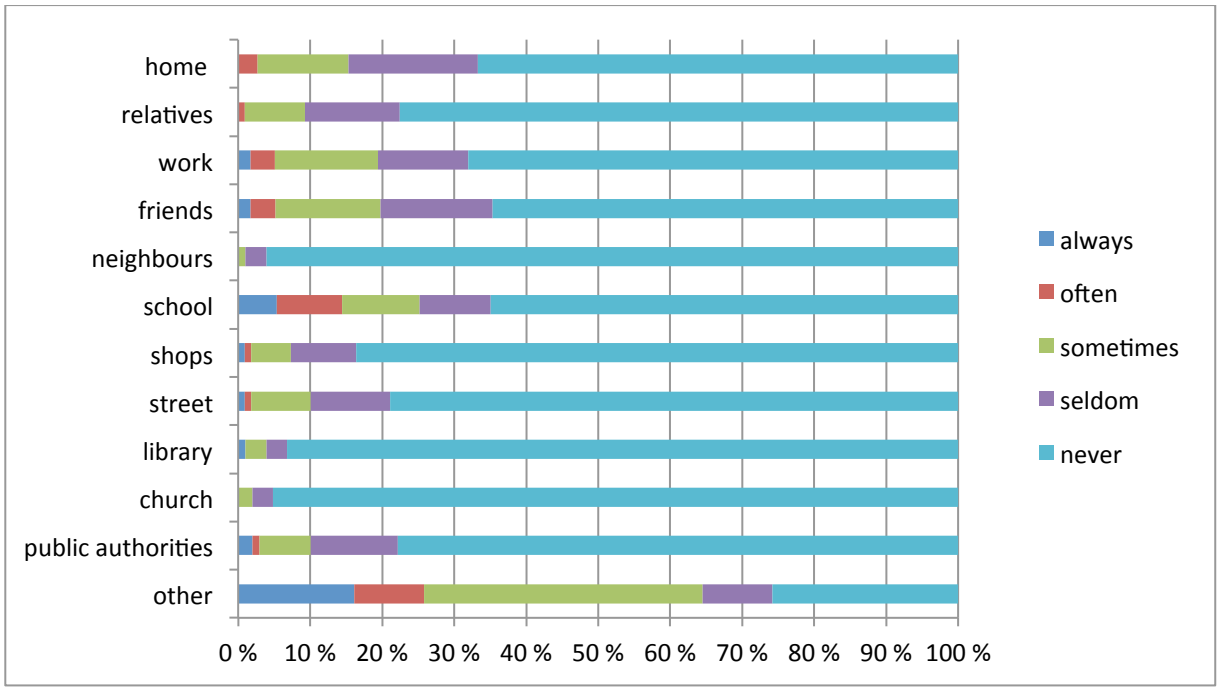


Figure 27: Domain-specific use of English, CG

Opinions and knowledge about language use across domains

According to the respondents, the Veps language should be used on television and in the education system, as well as on the Internet and in hospitals. Fewer respondents were of the opinion that Veps should be used in the parliament, in court or at the police station. The MinLG respondents were asked (in Q39) to indicate how much they agree with the statements concerning the use of Veps in the public sphere in Russia. As shown in Figure 28, the respondents were most unanimous regarding that the Veps language ought to be used in education and on television. An overwhelming majority of the respondents agreed or partly agreed that Veps should be used in the education system (90.1%) and on television (88.9%). Internet (52.2%) and hospitals (45.1%) were also environments where the majority of the respondents agreed or partly agreed on the importance of using the Veps language.

The use of Veps in more formal spheres such as governmental institutions was received with greater hesitation. 62.3% of the respondents could not answer the question about whether Veps ought to be used in the parliament. It is also worth noting that the share of minority group respondents who disagreed or partly disagreed with the necessity of using Veps in more formal institutions was very high. As many as 42.1% of the minority group respondents disagreed or partly disagreed with the statement that Veps should be used in

court, while only 27.3% agreed or partly agreed. As many as 40.3% of the respondents were of the opinion that Veps should not be used at police stations, while only 28.5% would find it important. Therefore there were more respondents who were actually against the use of Veps in these institutions than in support of it. The share of respondents against the use of Veps in the parliament (37.7%), in hospitals (32.5%) and on the Internet (26.3%) was also high.

One of the fieldworkers reported on doing the sample survey in the Central Veps villages and asking the village people about this particular question. According to her the respondents considered the idea of using Veps in the area of politics fairly amusing.

(45) RU-VEP-Fieldworker:
konz mö küzuim nene anketad sigä keskvepsän mal, no oliži hüvä, sigä oli, ku kävutaižiba vepsän kel't tam sudas bolnicas parlamentas, i babad, ei parlamentas nece kus, ka vot televidenias sinei, meide ka politikad sanuiži midä-ni sinei vepsäks, ka oliži hüvä meide kelel, ka kut, a ka kirjuta, ka ka ka, okha pagižeb, ka, i nagroiba
'When we were filling in those questionnaires in the Central Veps country [we asked whether] it would be good, there was [written], if the Veps language were used in court, in hospital, in the parliament. And the old women [said], not in the parliament. Well, [if] in the television our politicians said something to you in Veps, would it be good, in our language? Yes, write down, yes yes yes, let them speak, yes. And they laughed.'

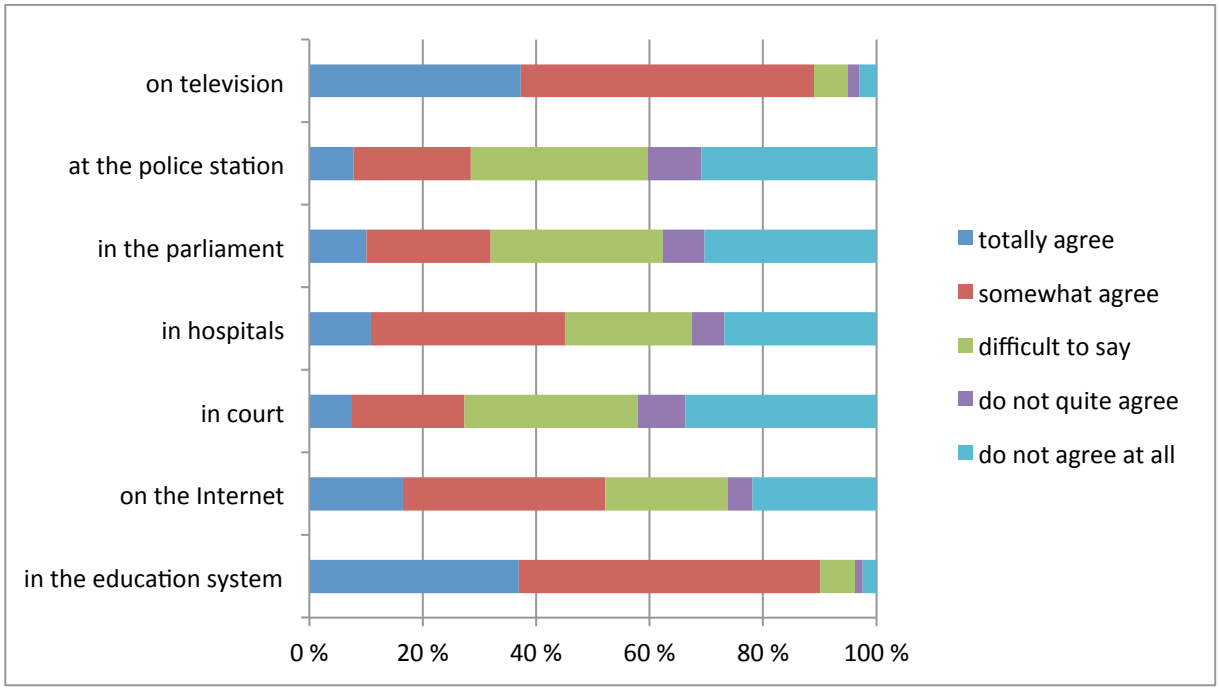


Figure 28: Domains where Veps should be used

The control group respondents did not find the use of Veps necessary in most of the domains. Only television and the education system were seen as important. Similarly, the CG respondents were asked (in Q23B) to indicate how much they agree with the statements concerning the use of Veps in the public sphere in Russia. As seen in Figure 29 the majority of the CG respondents agreed or partly agreed regarding only two of the domains: television

(74.0%) and the education system (64.1%). The Internet was seen as an important domain by 33.2% of the respondents. The use of the Veps language in more formal and governmental institutions caused hesitation or was seen as unnecessary. Most respondents were undecided on these questions. Further, they were more often against the use of Veps in these domains than in favour of it. For example, 39.6% of the respondents disagreed or partly disagreed and only 14.2% agreed or partly agreed with the statement that Veps should be used in hospitals.

The responses of the control group respondents followed the same overall tendencies as the responses of the minority group respondents: television, Internet and education system were seen as important and the rest of the domains as not so important. However, naturally 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, 90.1% of the minority group respondents thought that Veps should be used in the education system, whereas only 64.1% of the control group respondents were of the same opinion.

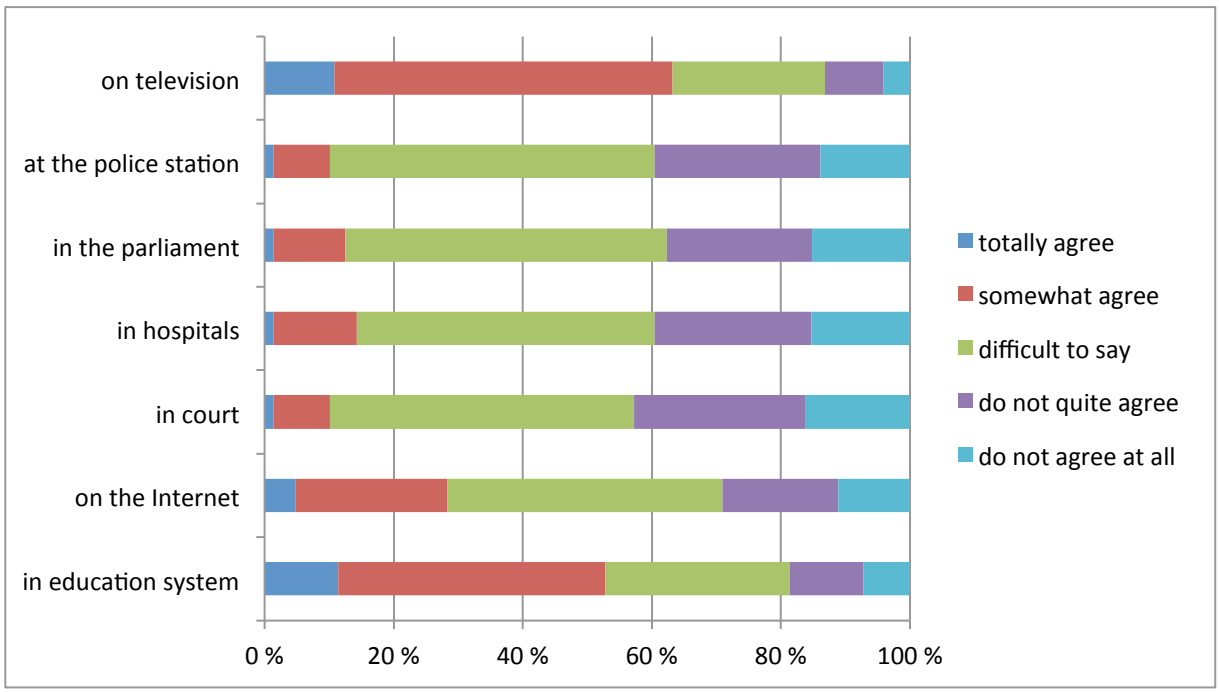


Figure 29: Domains where Veps should be used, CG

While most of the MinLG respondents admitted to struggling with using the Veps language in many situations of life, another question revealed that not all of them were of the opinion that Veps should necessarily be used in such situations in the first place. The respondents were asked (in Q59) whether Veps is easy to use in most situations of daily life in Russia. The clear majority of the respondents (75.2%) replied that Veps is not easy to use in most situations in life, and the share of respondents who did regard the use of Veps as easy was only 24.8%. In general, the situations where Veps is used and where it should be used according to the respondents (Q39) are the ones that are more private than public: TV, Internet and education.

The respondents were also given an opportunity to comment on when and in which situations they find it difficult to use the Veps language. Typical comments were, for example:

(46) RU-VEP-64310015:
nügüdläižes elos om erašti jüged pagišta
'It is sometimes difficult to talk about modern life.'
(Respondent: female 50-64 years)

(47) RU-VEP-64310022:
Om juged sanuda politikas, ekonomižiš azjoiš da erasiš officializes azjoiš.
'It is difficult to talk about politics, economical issues and certain official issues.'
(Respondent: female 30-49 years)

(48) RU-VEP-64315614:
Vepsän kelel om jüged' pagišta ozutesikš politikas, nügüdläižiš tehnologijoiš, lidnan laukas.
'In Veps it is difficult to talk about for example politics, modern technology, in a shop in the city.'
(Respondent: female 18-29 years)

The same kind of question was presented to the interviewees. Most of them were also of the opinion that it is difficult to talk about new inventions of modern society. The main reason for this seemed to be that the Veps vocabulary is lacking:

(49) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
om jüged' sanuda uziš azjoiš vaiše vepsäks, mö vaiše ližam ližadam lo- kak eto končanija, - - lopud, vepsläižed lopud, i sanum vepsän kelel nece
'It is difficult to talk about new things only in Veps. We just add end- *kak eto končanija*[RU 'what are endings (in Veps)'] - - endings, Veps endings, and say that in Veps.'

However, there were opposing opinions, too. The following young female respondent found it easy to talk about anything in Veps.

(50) *Meletan vepsän kelel voib sanuda kaikes.*
'I think you can talk about everything in Veps.'
(Respondent: female, 18-29 years)

In Q61 the Veps respondents were asked about their knowledge about the use of Veps in public domains. A great majority of the respondents reported that Veps is used in education, printed media, radio and television. According to them, the use of Veps in public offices, hospitals, advertisements, court or politics is extremely rare. The respondents were asked whether Veps is used in different public domains such as media, education, offices, etc. An overwhelming majority of the respondents were aware of the use of Veps in printed media (92.9%), in education (81.9%), on the radio (78.9%) and on television (78.0%). An overwhelming majority of the respondents reported that Veps is not used in the remaining eleven public domains.

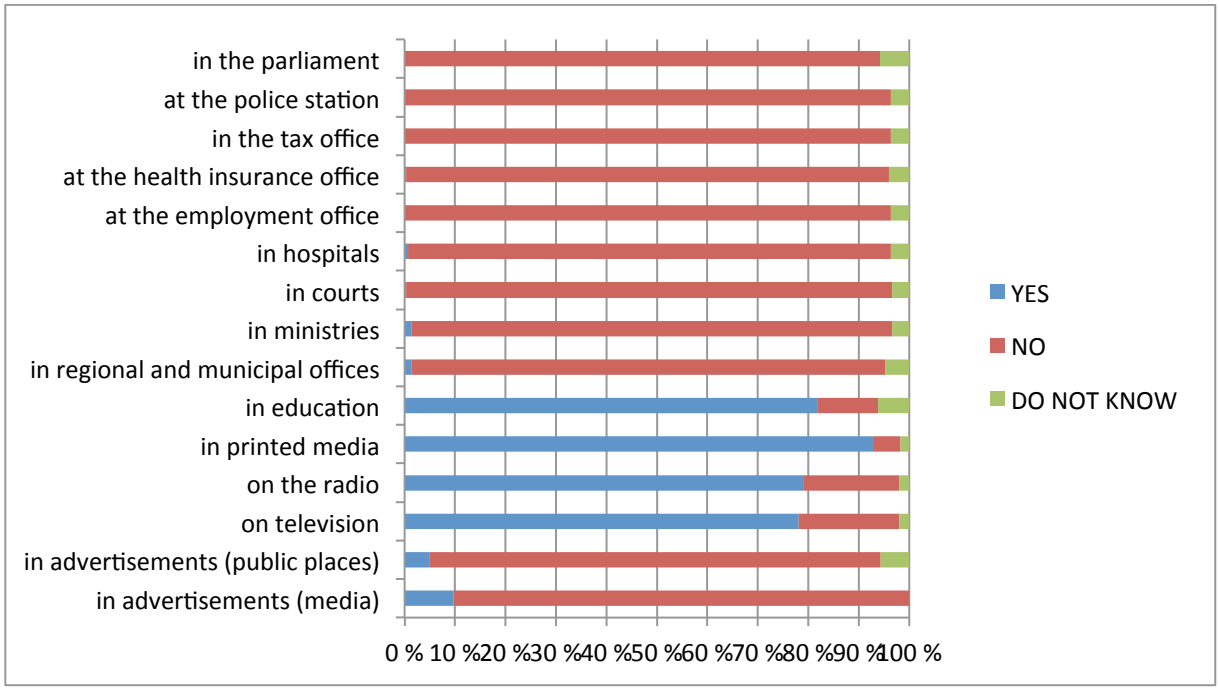


Figure 30: Knowledge about the use of Veps in Russia

When contrasting the outcome of the two questions regarding the domains where Veps should be used (Q39) and where it is used (Q61), a uniform tendency is visible. According to the respondents, Veps is used in television, radio, printed media and education (Q61) and it also should be used in these domains (Q39). It seems that the respondents actually regarded the use of Veps as important in the areas where it is already in use. Apparently the respondents find it difficult to imagine situations in which officials at the police station or in court would speak Veps. However, there was one important domain, the hospitals, where nearly half of the respondents (45.1%) were of the opinion that Veps should be used, but where only an infinitesimal minority (0.7%) reported that it was used. Especially elderly people might find it important to use their mother tongue in situations in which they are vulnerable, such as when they are ill. As one of the fieldworkers points out, it is easier to tell about one's pains in one's mother tongue.

(51) RU-VEP-Fieldworker:
bol'nicas, sanuiba, oliži hüvä, mö ičeze kibuiš om kebnemb sanuda vepsäks, - - konz tuleba miččed-se babad, vanhad babad mamšid külišpäi, derunoišpäi i ei mahtkoi
'At the hospital, they said, it would be good. It is easier to tell about our pains in Veps. - - When some women are coming, older women from the villages, and they cannot [speak Russian].'

4.3.1.5 Languages and the labour market

It is definitely not surprising that knowledge of the Russian language is seen as compulsory on the Russian labour market. As presumed, fluency in Veps is not viewed as being useful in spheres of work. The mere idea of Veps being relevant to the working life seems hard to imagine: a significant group, over a third of the respondents, found the questions concerning

the use of Veps in the labour market too hard to answer. Exceptions to this were jobs specially tied to the Veps language and culture, for example at university or in the minority media. Skills in English were mainly seen as an asset by those who voiced an opinion; probably because of a lack of skills in English, and the minor role of the English language in the Russian labour market, over a third of the respondents did not answer the questions concerning English at all.

Competence in Veps is not generally seen as an asset in the labour market by the Veps respondents. In Q52, the MinLG respondents were asked whether the Veps language facilitates finding one's first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one's career, or changing jobs. A majority of the respondents were of the opinion that the Veps language is not an asset in the labour market. As many as 62.7% of the respondents disagreed with the statement, that competence in Veps would facilitate getting a higher salary, while only 6.4% agreed with this claim. Competence in Veps was found to be the most useful in advancing in one's career than in other issues, but even then only 13.8% of the respondents agreed with this claim. More than one out of three of the respondents found these questions hard to answer, which may imply that using Veps in spheres of work does not sound realistic to a large group of respondents at all.

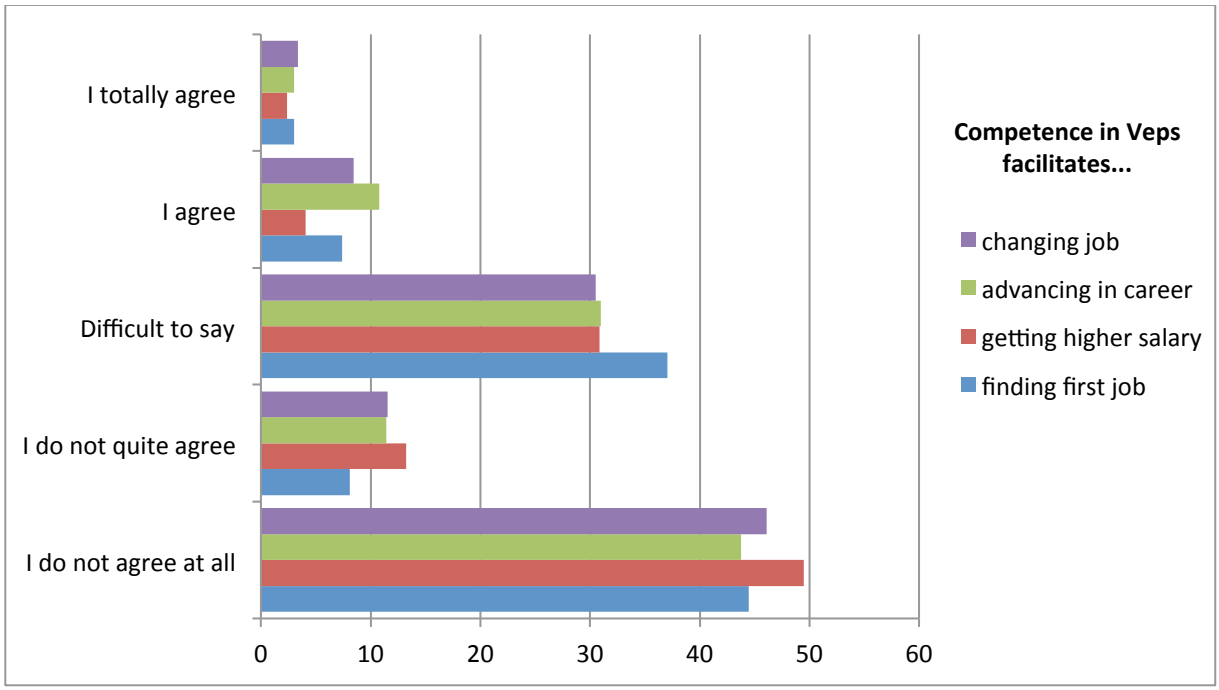


Figure 31: Importance of Veps language skills in the labour market, %

There are a few exceptions to the views of Veps being generally useless in the labour market that was expressed by the majority of interviewees: Such exceptions are the Veps intelligentsia, who naturally benefit from their Veps language skills. In fact, many have found themselves work through knowledge of the Veps language, as the following three interviewees point out.

(52) RU-VEP-IIAG5f:
kac, se om andnu minei radon, minä radan-ki vepsän kelen opimižes
'Look, it has given me a job. I work with teaching the Veps language.'

(53) RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-01f**:**
kel' nece i abutab meile, abutab rados sikš ku mö kaik radam kelenke, sikš meil nece om radkel'
'The language [Veps] also helps us, helps at work, because we all work with the language. That is why it [Veps] is a working language.'

(54) RU-VEP-FG-AG1-01:
i meiden rad om sidotud kel'he, ka ka, löuta om kebnemb
'And our work is connected to language. Yes yes, it is easier to find.'
Interviewer2:
rad, heile oli kebnemb löuta radod ezmešt kerdad, sikš ku hö
'Work, it was easier for them to find a job for the first time, because they'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-02:
vaiše sikš ku mö pagižim vepsäks meid otihe sinnä
'Only because we spoke Veps were we taken there.'

Similarly, the following young interviewee went to university to study Veps after finishing school. When she was in her fifth year at university, she was offered the job she is still doing now.

(55) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
i konz openzin universitetas videndel voz'kursal, nu minei anttihe radon, - - ku minä en tedäiži necida kel't, voib olda minä en radaiži X:s, a nece rad minei om lujas mel'he.
'When I was studying for the fifth year at the university, I got a job. If I did not know this language, probably I would not be working there. But I like this job very much.'

At work she feels it is her mission to use Veps and give others plenty of opportunities to hear it. She feels this has to be done, because you should cultivate the language so it will live on.

(56) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
mina zavodin rata X:s, i sen täht minei pidäb vepsän kel't, miše kävutada sidä X:s, miše pagišta toižidenke ristituidenke, miše nu abutada miše nece kel' eläiži edemba, i kaita sidä.
'I began to work at X, and that is why I need the Veps language, to use it at X, to speak with other people, to help the language to live on, to maintain it.'

However, there still remains a problem: the lack of employment opportunities for graduates might cause a reduction in the number of students of Veps at the universities. Learning a language is not just a value in itself, but a means of improving one's employability. Patriotic feelings are not sufficient a reason to study Veps if there are no jobs available for such qualification.

(57) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
ku ei linne radod vepsän kelenke, niken ei tule opendamha kel't, ku hän tedab miše sidä ei tari rados, mikš opeta, ühtes patriotižes vot tundos, miše minä olen vepsläine

> 'When there are no job opportunities no one will begin the Veps studies, as they know Veps is not needed in working life. Why study, if not only because of the patriotic feeling that I am a Veps.'

The reduction in the number of students might be a threat to the future of the Veps language as a subject at the university within the next ten years.

(58) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
minä sanun ka, okha linneb vepsän kel't universitetas, ku ei linne radsijoid, minä en teda, linneb i kümnes vodes päliči vepsän kel' universitetas, voib olda ei linne
'I say yes, let there be Veps language at the university. [But] when there are no jobs, I do not know whether there will be Veps language at the university after ten years. There might not be.'

Competence in Russian is regarded as extremely important for finding one's first job. In Q53, the Veps respondents were asked whether Russian language facilitates finding one's first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one's career, or changing jobs. The great majority of the respondents (91.9%) agreed or partly agreed with the view that competence in Russian facilitates finding one's first job. Only 3.4% disagreed with this view. Russian skills were also highly appreciated when changing jobs: the majority of the respondents (72.3%) felt that knowing the Russian language facilitates changing jobs, even though there were 13.1% who disagreed. Russian was seen as almost as important when advancing in one's career or getting a higher salary: with these over two thirds agreed and 15.3% disagreed.

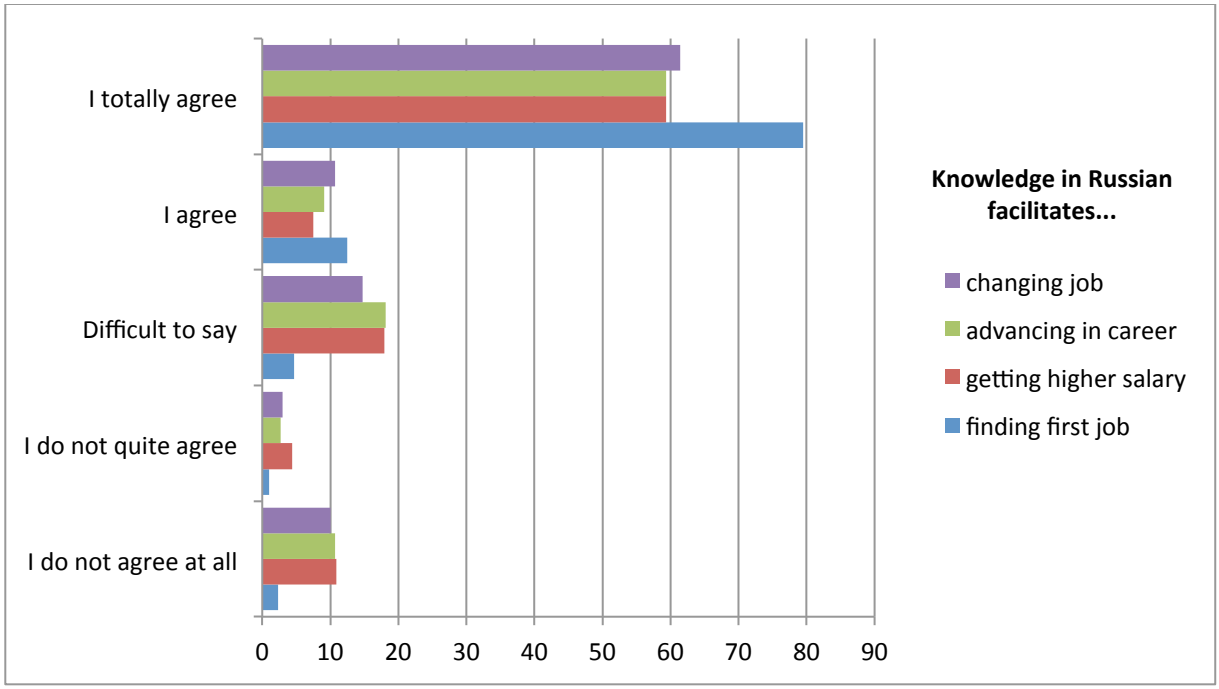


Figure 32: Importance of Russian language skills in the labour market, %

As many as 127 respondents did not answer the questions concerning competence in English in the labour market, presumably because quite many respondents are not familiar with English and therefore found it difficult to answer. Q54 concerned the importance of competence in English for finding one's first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one's

career or changing jobs. Of the total of 172 responses received, three out of four respondents agreed that competence in English facilitates finding one's first job (76% agreed), getting higher salary (74% agreed), advancing in one's career (75% agreed) and changing jobs (74% agreed). Only between 10 and 14 people disagreed with these claims.

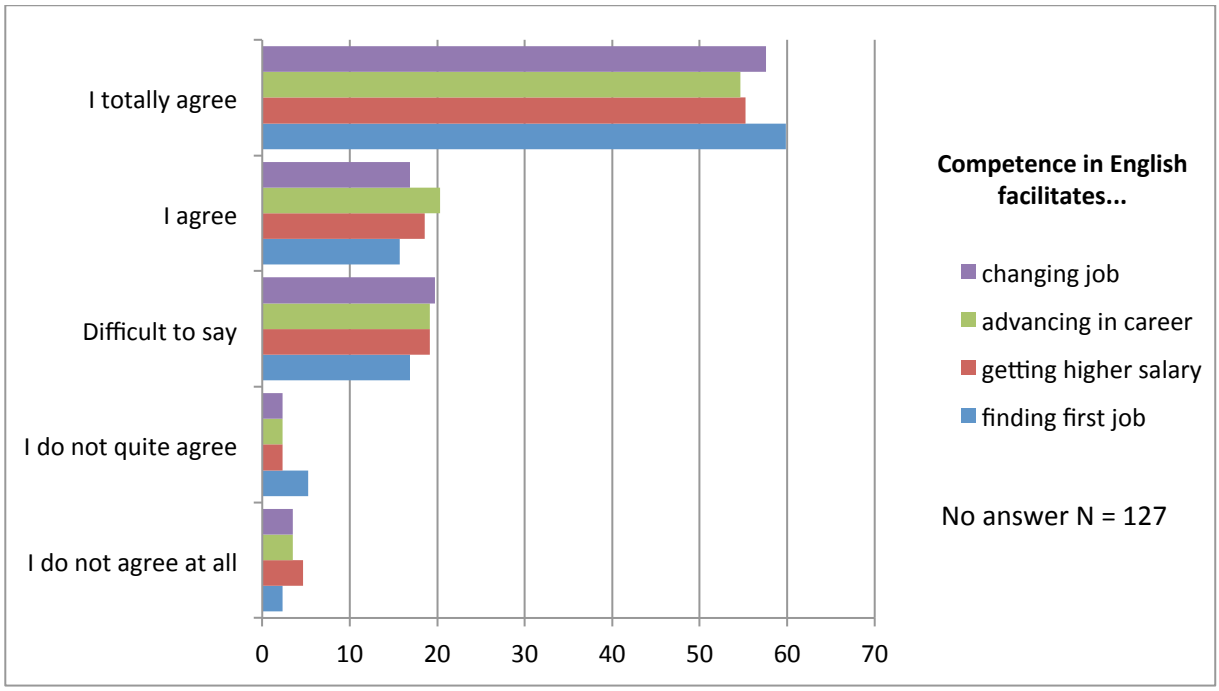


Figure 33: Importance of English language skills in the labour market, %

The general view seems to be that young people usually prefer studying the English language and subjects such as economy or law to improve their job opportunities:

(59) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
nügüdläižed norišt- lujas hüvin tedaba, miše miide elos vot oma tärktad azjad, tariš teta tam anglian kel't, tariš olda tam juristan ekonomistan miše hüvin eläda, - - i toižespäi polespäi, hö ei voigoi sada mugomid korktoid paukoid ratas kelenke.
'Present-day youth know very well that there are important issues in our life. You should know the English language, you should work as a lawyer, as an economist, to have a good life. - - But then they will not get such high salaries working with languages.'

According to the following interviewee it is good to know many languages, because that way your life will be easier, for example you can find a job even in the city.

(60) RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
lujas hüvä, lujas om hüvä mise teta i äi kelid, - - abutab heile ken teddab i äi kelid ka d'o kebnemb om eläda, - - void rado- löuta, jesli tedad i äi kelid, - - lidnha ajetase voib rad mitte-se löuta, ühtel kelel ili toižel kelel
'It is really good, really good to know many languages. - - It helps those who know many languages so they will find life easier. - - You can find a job, if you know many languages. - - When moving to the city you can find some job, in one language or in another.'

The control group respondents had fairly similar views to the Veps respondents regarding the advantages of different language skills for the labour market. In Q38, the control group respondents were asked whether being a native speaker of the Russian language facilitates finding one's first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one's career, or changing jobs. As the following figure shows, the control group respondents were quite unanimous that being a native speaker of Russian facilitates finding one's first job. In addition, the majority of the respondents agreed that being a native speaker of Russian facilitates changing jobs and advancing in one's career. However, 40.8% found it hard to say whether Russian skills have an effect on the salary. In general, the control group respondents were more hesitant when it came to the benefits of being a native speaker of Russian in the labour market, except for the question of finding one's first job. Maybe the hesitant attitude reflects the experiences of the respondents themselves in the working life; the knowledge of Russian naturally does not guarantee higher wages or better job opportunities, and if one has no experience of being a non-native or non-fluent speaker of Russian as a job applicant, it may be hard to understand how big the importance of Russian skills is. In Russia, everyone is expected to have competence in Russian; therefore it is not considered an extra advantage.

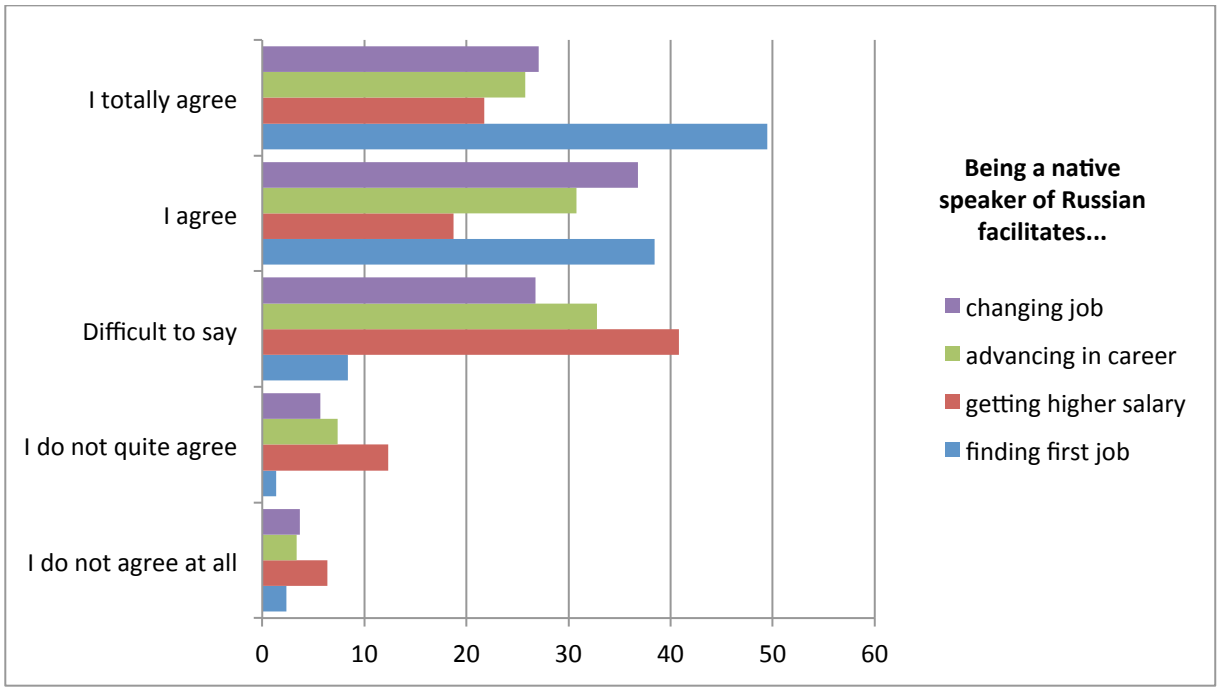


Figure 34: Importance of Russian language skills in the labour market, % CG

Similarly to the MinLG respondents, the majority of the CG respondents agreed that being competent in English facilitates finding one's first job, getting a higher salary, advancing in one's career, and changing jobs. Only 5% did not think there was an advantage in knowing English. In comparison to the Veps respondents, the CG respondents were a lot more aware of the importance of English, as almost all were able to give an answer.

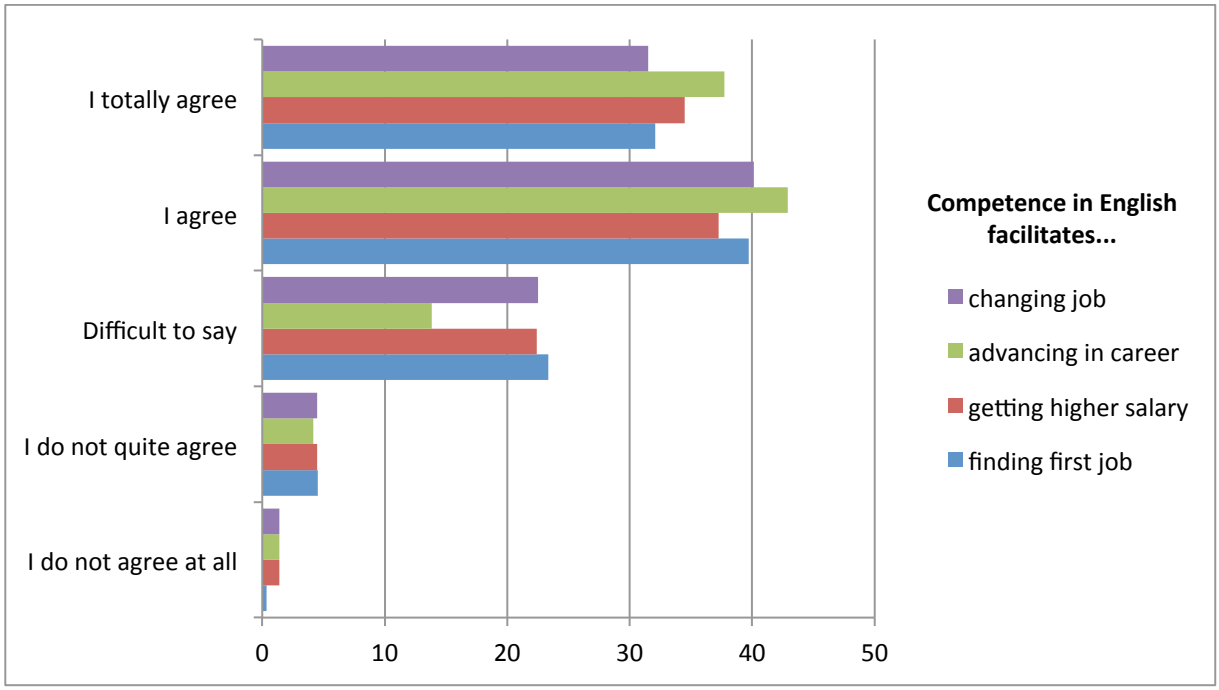


Figure 35: Importance of English language skills in the labour market, % CG

Q41 concerned the benefits of competence in Veps in the labour market. As seen in Figure 36 below, over 60% of the majority respondents found it hard to say whether competence in Veps is an asset in the labour market. Those who had an opinion were typically of the opinion that there are no advantages to Veps skills in the labour market.

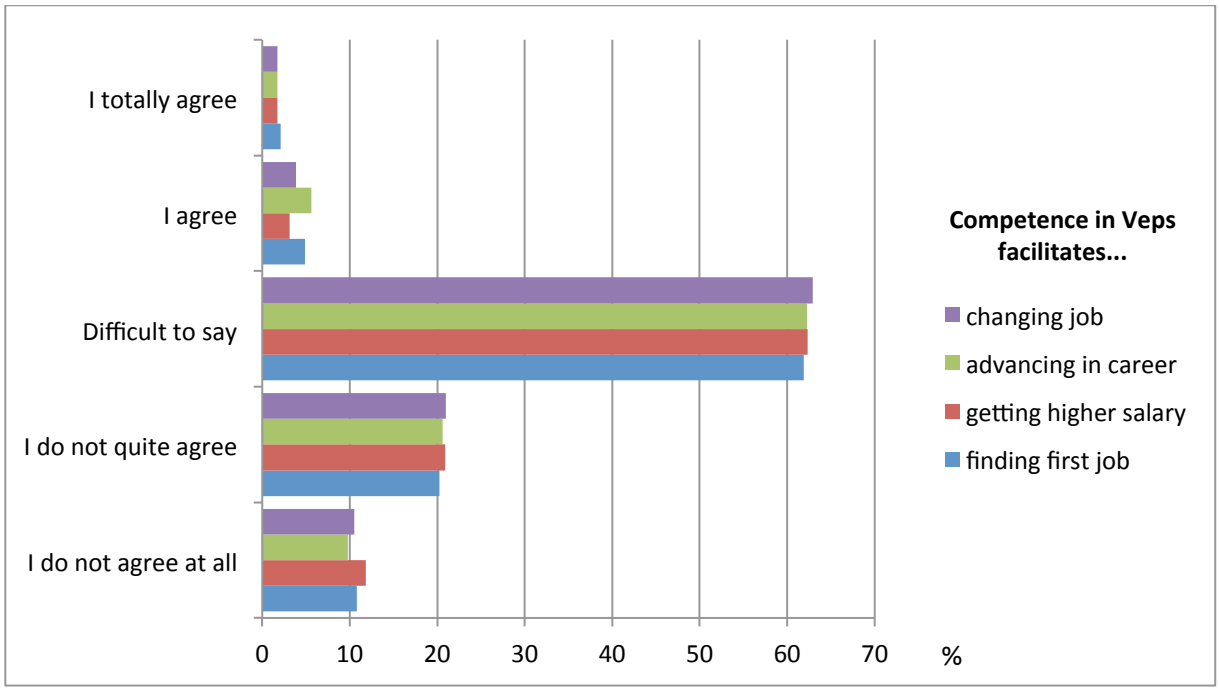


Figure 36: Importance of Veps language skills in the labour market, % CG

4.3.1.6 Language maintenance

The Veps respondents seemed to be well aware that there are bodies cultivating the Veps language. Still, there was a significant group of MinLG respondents who were indifferent toward or even against the development of the Veps language.

According to 42.5% of our Veps respondents, there is a need to cultivate the Veps language. The more educated the respondent, the more sure (s)he was about the need for language development. 19.1% of our respondents felt there was no need to develop the Veps language (Q58) and additional 38.5% of the respondents were not sure. The higher the educational level of the respondent, the more aware they were of the need for language development: 57.5% of those with tertiary education saw a need for development and the rest mostly could not express a clear opinion, whereas 40% of those with primary education were against developing the language. In addition, age had an effect as well, as the eldest age group was the only one where almost one third did not see a need for language development.

The Veps respondents were highly aware of the institutions and individuals who cultivate Veps. In Q55, the minority group respondents were asked whether there are any organisations or individuals who cultivate the Veps language in Russia. The majority of the MinLG respondents (77.9%) were aware of such organisations or individuals. A fifth of the respondents (20.7%) were uncertain and did not know whether such institutes or persons exist. Only a tiny minority of the respondents (1.3%) replied that there are no such institutes or persons.

Almost half of the respondents were able to name individuals and organisations who participate in the language planning of Veps. Altogether 44.1% of the respondents also commented on their answers and named individuals or organisations participating in the language planning of Veps: teachers, researchers, and other intelligentsia. According to the respondents also cultural workers, personnel at clubs, authors, poets, and museum workers, as well as the elderly take part in the cultivation of the Veps language. Several individuals were named by the respondents, out of whom Nina Zajceva and Zinaida Strogal'ŝikova got the most references. Other individuals named were Mariâ Mullonen, Olga Žukova, Svetlana Pasûkova, V. V. Lodygina, V. P. Eršov, S. Eršova and Nikolaj Abramov.

The most cited organisations involved in language planning were schools and universities. The most cited organisations were undoubtedly the different universities in Petrozavodsk: The Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, The Karelian State Pedagogical Academy and the Petrozavodsk State University. A few respondents replied that there are committees and ministries which participate in language planning, for instance the Committee on National Issues, the Committee on Terminology and the Ministry of Education. Further, the role of printed teaching materials and dictionaries was recognised by the respondents. The role of the mass media, such as TV, radio and print media, was also mentioned, and a few respondents also cited the Veps newspaper *Kodima*. Some

respondents mentioned the Veps choir and the *praznikad* (celebrations) as well as the organisations *Vepsän kul'tursebr* and *Vepsän vezad.* Cultural institutions were also mentioned, such as the Centre for National Culture in Petrozavodsk, the libraries and especially the museums. Some respondents only cited the cities and districts where the language is being cultivated: in Petrozavodsk and the Republic of Karelia, and in St. Petersburg.

The minority language respondents were even more aware of the institutions which cultivate the Russian language. In Q56, the minority group respondents were asked whether there are any institutions or individuals who cultivate the Russian language in Russia. A great majority of the respondents (84.6%) were aware of such organisations or individuals. Only 14.7% of the respondents were uncertain about whether there are such organisations or individuals and only a tiny minority was of the opinion that such institutions or persons participating in Russian language planning do not exist.

According to the MinLG respondents, the Russian language is being cultivated mainly by the state and by the educational system. Only 0.8 % of the Veps respondents commented on their answers and named organisations or individuals participating in the language planning of Russian. According to the respondents the individuals cultivating Russian are the researchers, cultural workers and teachers. The bodies cited by the respondents were for example the Russian state, the Ministry of Education, the Committee for National Affairs and laws such as the Language Act. Further, the role of education, schools and universities was recognized, and two particular universities were named: The Petrozavodsk State University and The Karelian State Pedagogical Academy. TV and radio were mentioned only by few respondents.

A great majority of the minority language respondents were aware of the attempts to maintain the Veps language. In Q60, the minority group respondents were asked whether there had been any attempts to maintain the Veps language in recent years. The majority of the respondents (83.8%) replied that there had been such attempts and only 13.5% of them were uncertain about the issue. As few as 2.7% of the respondents claimed that there had been no such attempts. Approximately half of the respondents also made comments on the question. The respondents mentioned that, for example, Veps books, dictionaries, textbooks, the Bible, the newspaper *Kodima* and the magazine *Kipinä* have been published; that CDs, films, TV and radio programmes have been produced; and that poems and songs have been composed. The role of the different festivals (e.g. *Elon Pu*), contests (e.g. language contests and the beauty contest *Vepsän čomuz*), choirs and other folklore ensembles as well as the cultural centres was also well recognised. The instruction of the Veps language in kindergartens, schools and universities was also mentioned. Further, the work done by the cultural workers and researchers such as Nina Zajceva was also recognised. The following two respondents named, for example, the instruction of Veps, TV and radio programmes, contests and conferences.

(61) RU-VEP-64310015:
Om openduzkirjoid, opetas kel't školas i universitetas Karjalas. Om radio- i TV-oigendusid (Karjala).
'There are (school) textbooks, the language is taught at schools and university in Karelia. There are radio and TV broadcasts (Karelia).'
(Respondent: female 50-64 years)

(62) RU-VEP-64310862:
Äi radod om i oli tehtud: lapsiden openduz, uded programmad, norišton sebr, konkursad lapsiden da norišton keskes. Kirjkelen konkursad. Konferencijad. Nügüd'-ki mäneb rad. Sanum muga: vepsän kelenke da vepsläižidenke tundištihe toižiš maiš.
'A lot of work has and had been done: instruction of children, new programmes, youth society, contests among children and youth. Literary language contests. Conferences. Even now the work is in progress. We say: in other countries [people] got to know the Veps language and the Veps.'
(Respondent: female, 30-49 years)

The same kind of question was also discussed with the interviewees. The following young interviewee named several attempts to maintain Veps.

(63) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
kel' zavodib eläda, sen täht tehtas lujas äjan radiopaginoid, teleozutesed lähteba, nu kaikuččen nedalin lähteb Kodima-lugendlehtez, kirjutadas kirjoid, valdmehed abutaba kaita necida kel't i nu abutad-, midä-se tegeba sen täht, i praznikoid tam, kel'pezoid i nu erazvuiččid azjtegoid tegeba miše nu abutada i miše vepsän kel' eläiži, - - rahvahaline komitet hän mugažo abutab
'The language will live on. And that is why a lot of radio programmes are made, television programmes are broadcast. And the newspaper *Kodima* is published every week. Books are written. The authorities are helping to maintain the language and helping to do something for it. And festivals, language nests and some attempts are made to help the Veps language to live on. - - the National Committee also helps.'

According to her, celebrities and festivals make the language community visible in the society.

(64) Interviewer1:
a tägä valdkundas lidnas nägub-ik kut-se miše om vepsän kel', neces lidnas, elos
'And is the Veps language somehow visible in society, in the city, in life?'
RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
om melentartuine küzund
'It is an interesting question.'
Interviewer2:
nu ku oma mugoižed praznikad koncertad
'Well, when there are some festivals, concerts.'
RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
nu konešno, ku oma miččed-se praznikad lidnas koncertad, a ka vepsläižed sigä oma i pagižeba vepsän kelel i pajataba i näguba
'Well, of course, when there are festivals in the city, concerts, the Veps are also there and speak in the Veps language and they sing and they are visible.'

Usually the authorities are regarded as responsible for maintaining the language, as the following interviewees point out:

(65) RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
no konečno abutab Vepsläine Kul'tursebr, ezmäi kaiked abutab, tegeb erazvuiččid azjtegoid, praznikoid, konkursoid, seminaroid i muga edemba, i necel azjal konečno abutab i valdmehišt mugažo abutab, miil om rahvahaline ministerstv, Karjalan rahvahaline komitet nügüd' ka. - - televidenija, radio om, lehtez
'Well, of course the Veps Cultural Society helps, first of all. It organises different events, celebrities, competitions and seminars and so forth. And with the issue also the authorities do help. We have the National Ministry, the Committee of Karelia. - - Television, radio, newspaper.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-01: *nu paindas kirjoid vepsän kelel*
'Well, books are being published in Veps.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-02: *miše universitetas opetas, sikš ku nored meletan ked ei pagiškoi kanzas, hö voiba vaiše universitetas opeta hüväd kel't, i konz oli mailman kongres konz oli sigä Medvedev hän mugažo sanui miše pidäb kaita vähäluguižid rahvahid i pidäb abutada heile.*
'And [language] is taught at the university, because the youth, I think, who do not speak [it] at home, they can only learn good language at university. And when there was the World Congress [of Finno-Ugric peoples in Hanty-Mansijsk in 2008], when there was Medvedev [the then-president of the Russian Federation who opened the congress], he also said that the minorities should be maintained and helped.'

The people themselves often feel very powerless in the face of the situation, as shown in the following:

(66) Interviewer2:
kenele pidäiži abutada meiden kelele
'Who should help [to maintain] our language?'
RU-VEP-IIAG4-01f:
mö emboigoi nimidä sid' tehta, midä vot abutadaze ülemba, voib olda, a sid' mö iče em voigoi nimidä tehta, vaise mi om miiden väges, kut sanuda
'We cannot do anything, what is helped from above, might be, but then we cannot do anything ourselves, only what is in our power, how to say.'

In real life, the possibilities of making a living, such as the economic and the employment situation of a person, is regarded as more important than language maintenance:

(67) RU-VEP-IIAG2m:
hiile ii nece se ole miše ajatelda vepsän kel' koleb, hö, heil tari leib supal, i ninga-žo kut minei-ki
'They do not think that the Veps language will die. They need a loaf of bread and so on, just like I do.'

The following interviewee was of the opinion that it depends largely on every Veps individual to ensure the future of the Veps language:

(68) Interviewer:
kenele tarbiš oliž abutada, miše vägevamb oliž vepsän kelen tulei aig, kenespäi ripub

'Who should give help so that the future of the Veps language would be stronger? Who does it depend on?'
RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
kaikuččespäi vepsläižespäi ezmei kaiked, sikš ku vot tariš miše sinä tedaižid, ku minei anttihe necida kel't, mamoi andoi baboi andoi, kut minä tegen, miše edemba kel' ei mäne, - - ku sinei anttihe necida kel't, sinun ezitatad, ka i sinä tege muga miše kel' edemba eläiži, hot' kelle-ni anda, no valdmehištospäi meil varastada, Venämal om jüged varastada abud, lujas jüged midä-se varastada
'On every Veps, first of all. Because you should know, when I was given this language, mother and grandmother gave it. What should I do, for the language is not passed onwards. - - When you were given the language, your forefathers, so you should also do similarly for the language to live on. Give it at least to someone. But from the authorities, in Russia it is difficult to expect help, very difficult to expect something.'

The following interviewee made a synthesis of these opinions. It is not only the families or the authorities who can solve the problem. On the one hand, a lot nowadays depends on schools and whether Veps is taught there or not. On the other hand, all families with Veps members should raise their children to feel that they are Veps, even if the language is not spoken in the families.

(69) Interviewer:
a kenele tarbiš abutada vepsän kelele, kut kut libutada kelen tedon
'And who should help to [maintain] the Veps language, how to improve language skills?'
RU-VEP-II-AG5F:
om mugoižid hüvid zakonoid Venänmal, - - zakonad oma hüväd i progressivižed - - nu hö nene zakonad ei rakoi, - - minä dumain miše äi ripub valdmehišpäi, - - mö vepsläižed em mahtkoi pakita, lujas pakita,- - mijau ei le sanad vaatia, - - voib olda mugoine maner' eläda, mugoine hengen pird, - -no mö pidäb pidäiži enamba küzuda valdmehišpäi. sikš ku heišpäi ripub - - lujas äjan. no, erašti sanutas miše - - kaik ripub perehespäi vai kanzaspäi. - - minä nügüd' en voi sanuda miše kaik ripub sikš ku kaik kanzad ei olgoi vaiše vepsläižed, - - sikš kodiš ei le mugošt mahtod pagišta ičemoi kartte, sikš äjan ripub nügüd' sišpäi tuleb-ik vepsän kel' školha, äjak sijad sigä om vepsän kel'he
'There are good laws in Russia. - - The laws are good and progressive, - - but those laws do not work. - - I think that a lot depends on the authorities. - - We the Veps people cannot beg, beg hard, - - we do not have a word [FI demand]. - - It can be a kind of manner of life, a kind of characteristic. - - But we should ask more from the authorities, since a lot depends on them. - - Well, sometimes people say that - - everything depends on the family. - - I cannot now say that everything depends on them, because not all the families are thoroughly Veps. - - And that is why there are no language skills to speak our language. Therefore a lot depends now on the fact whether the Veps language is taken to the school, how much weight is given to the Veps language.'
Interviewer:
om-ik midä-ni mi ripub kanzoišpäi
'Is there anything which depends on the families?'

RU-VEP-II-AG5F:
nu ristituišpäi ka, i kanzoišpäi. - - ku üks'-ki perehnik vai kanznik om vepsläine, pidäb hänele kazvatada nece tundmuz, miše hän om vepsläine - - miše hö kaiken aigan kazvatadihe necida rižad, miše hö oma vepsläižed - - hot' ei pagiškoi-ki vepsän kelel, no miše heiden lapsil, heiden lapsiden lapsil jäiži henghe nece riža - - miše hö oma vepsläižed, heišpäi, kanzaspäi äi ripub mugažo
'Well on the people yes, and on the families. - - When even one member of the family is Veps, he should be brought up with the feeling that he is a Veps. - - That they would all the time grow that feeling they are Veps - - even if they did not speak Veps. For their children, their grandchildren would have that feeling in their spirit - - that they are Veps. On them, on the families depends a lot, too.'

The future of the Veps language is closely connected to the future of the Veps villages. The following interviewee reported on the recent history of the Central Veps villages. Only elderly people remain in the villages, and year after year there are fewer and fewer. When they pass away, the villages gradually become desolate.

(70) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
kuna kadoiba, nu ezmei kaiked läksiba, ajoiba lidnoihe lapsed, vanhembad jäiba i vanhembad koliba vodespäi, vähemba tegeze voz' vodespäi, - - kaik läksiba, nor' nored läksiba, a ned vanhembad kudambad eliba ka hö tegihe - - vanhembaks i vanhembaks i koleba i sikš tegihe, nu konz-se külä oli lujas sur', rahvaz läksi, ezmei kaiked norišt, i nece oli sovjeckijan aigan, kaiken aigan läksiba lidnoihe, sikš ku eläd küläs ka tariš rata sovhozas vai kolhozas, no a nored tahtoiba opetas, tahtoiba eläda lidnas, kus-se rata toižes sijas
'Where did they disappear? Well, first of all the children left, moved to the cities. The older people stayed and they died year after year. They became fewer and fewer year after year. - - Everybody left, the youth left. And those older people who were living, they became - - older and older and they die and that is why it happened, but once the village was very big. The people left, first of all the youth. And that was during the Soviet times. All the time they were moving to the cities, because if you are living in a village you must work in a sovhoz or kolhoz. But the youth wanted to study, to live in a city, work somewhere else.'

The same interviewee was of the opinion that true Veps is spoken in the villages and therefore the fate of the villages is crucial to the future of the Veps language. She believes it is not only the literary language that should be cultivated but that the villages, the living language communities should also be maintained. At the moment life is difficult in the villages; schools are being closed down, even though the authorities are aware of the Veps people living in the area.

(71) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
nu oliži hüvä miše vepsläižed küläd, todesižed vepsläižed küläd eläižiba edemba, - - todesine no eläb kel', eläb kel' om sigä, Vepsän mal, i ku hätkemba eläižiba küläd, derunad meide, vot nece oliži hüvä, no tariš i kaita külid, sikš ku küliš om nügüd' lujas jüged elo, ani jüged elo, diki jüged elo, - - no ühtespäi polespäi ved' tedaba Piterin agjan valdmehištod ka, hö tedaba, miše oma vepsläižed i ne oma vepsän küläd

'Well, it would be good if Veps villages, true Veps villages lived on. - - The true, living language is there, in the Veps country. And if the villages lived longer, our villages, that would be good. But the villages should be maintained, since in the villages life is nowadays really difficult, very, very difficult. - - But on the one hand the authorities of Leningrad oblast, they know that there are Veps and that those are Veps villages.'

The locals tried to make appeals to the authorities to maintain the schools. If the schools are closed down, the villages will also die. Regardless of the appeals, the authorities decided to close the schools down. This in turn encourages young families to move to the cities.

(72) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
i konz zavodiba saupta školid - - NN kirjuti erazvuiččid kirjad i Piterihe Podporožjeha, miše algat sauptkoi školad, sauptad školad, pigemba koleba küläd, ei sa saupta, vepsläižed tägä eläba, pen' rahvaz kudamb om tariš kaita, kudambad Vepsän Venäman zakonad kaičeba, en teda kut kaičeba, saupsiba, saupsiba, i nimidä ei voinugoi tehta, nu nece huba sikš ku kaik nored kanzad läksiba Podporožjeha i Piterihe i nece om lujas huba
'And when they started to close down the schools - - NN wrote some letters to St. Petersburg, Podporož'e, telling them not to close the schools down. If you close down the schools, the villages will die faster. You cannot close [them down], the Veps are living here, a small nation which should be protected, which is protected by the Veps, Russian law. I do not know how it is protected. They closed, closed down, and nothing could be done. Well, that is bad since all the young families left to Podporož'e and St. Petersburg. And that is really a bad thing.'

The following interviewee suggests that for example the shop names should be written in Veps in the Veps villages.

(73) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
no ezmei kaiked sigä hot' vepsläižiš küliš miše oliži hot' midä-ni kirjutadud, hot' laukoiden nimed vepsäks oližiba kirjutadud ka
'Well, first of all, there at least in Veps villages there should be at least something written, for example the shop names would be written in Veps, right.'

There is a fairly strong opinion among the respondents that there is a pure or correct version of the Veps language. When asked whether there was a correct version of Veps (Q57), a majority of the respondents (59.8%) were of the opinion that there is. Nearly one third of the respondents (29.7%) were undecided and only 10.5% of the respondents denied that there is one. A clear majority of the respondents considered the pure version to be spoken by older people, in other words, the dialects in the Veps villages. Some specified that especially older women speak the correct version, some that the full-blooded Veps in the olden days spoke the correct version. The pure version of the language was clearly quite closely connected to the Veps area and villages. Similar opinions were also presented during the interviews.

(74) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
miše vepsläižed küläd - - todesine no eläb kel', eläb kel' om sigä, vepsän mal,- - konz minä - - tulen kodihe, ka minä sigä enamban ičeze paginal pagižen, kut mijou

pagištas, ka minä voin pagišta paginal, a tägä X:s openikoidenke minä pagižen kirjkelel, ka i sikš minä heile andan mugomad formad kut pagišta vepsäks vai pagišta vepsän kelel
'That Veps villages - - true, living language, living language is there in the Veps country. - - When I come home, I speak more of my own dialect there, how we speak. And I can use the dialect. But here in X I speak the literary language with the students. And that is why I give them such forms how to speak in the Veps language.'

However, some respondents were of the opinion that the pure and correct version is the literary language, written or spoken by the researchers, poets, writers, journalists and teachers, for example.

(75) RU-VEP-64310022:
Ku voib lugeda "puhthaks versijaks" kirjkel't, pagištas openus mehed. Čomin pagižeba vepsäks i vanhad ristitud.
'If the literary language is seen as the "correct version", it is spoken by the educated people. Also older people speak Veps nicely.'
(Respondent: female, 30-49 years)

(76) RU-VEP-64310015:
Sidä nügüd' lodas, lehtmehed, tedomehed, kirjutajad.
'It [the correct Veps] is being created nowadays by journalists, researchers, writers.'
(Respondent: female, 50-64 years)

One third of the control group respondents were familiar with institutions, organisations or individuals in Russia who cultivate the use of the Veps language. The control group respondents were also asked (Q46) whether there are any organisations or individuals who cultivate Veps. As expected, most control group respondents (61.7%) replied that they do not know about such organisations or individuals. However, approximately one third or 31.5% of them were aware of such bodies and only 6.7% of them claimed that such bodies do not exist.

The control group respondents were surprisingly aware of the individuals and organisations attending to the cultivation of the Veps language. As many as 20.1% of the control group respondents had also commented on their responses concerning the language planning of Veps. The respondents cited three individuals attending to the cultivation of Veps: Zinaida Strogal'šikova, Nina Zajceva and Mariâ Mullonen. The Ministry of Education, the Ministry of National Politics and the Committee for National Affairs were mentioned by some respondents. Several respondents replied that universities and schools are taking part in the Veps language planning. Two universities and one school were cited: the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Petrozavodsk State University and the Finno-Ugrian School in Petrozavodsk. The control group respondents also cited the Centre of National Cultures and the folklore ensemble *Kantele*. The role of mass media, such as TV, radio and the newspaper *Kodima*, was also recognised.

4.3.1.7 Support and prohibition of language use

In questions Q22-Q24 and Q34-Q36, the MinLG respondents were asked to reflect on what kinds of attitudes and actions they have faced supporting or prohibiting the use of different languages. They were also asked about their own support to their children, whether they supported the use of the majority or the minority language. The results will also be viewed in context of the reported attitudes of the surrounding society reflected in the responses of the control group, who were asked about the importance of teaching the minority languages in questions Q12-Q13 and Q19.

Only every tenth of the Veps MinLG respondents recalled attempts to prevent their parents from using the Veps language with them in their childhood. According to the respondents, most advice of this kind was heard at school. In Q22, the respondents were asked whether there had been attempts to prevent their parents from using Veps with children. The great majority (89.1%) of the respondents reported that there were no attempts made to prevent their parents from speaking to them in Veps when they were children. Only 10.9% mentioned that there were some kinds of attempts made to prevent the use of Veps.

The questionnaire answers were somewhat inconsistent in this regard: in Q22, only 28 respondents reported attempts to prevent parents from speaking Veps to their children, yet in Q23, where the respondents were asked to specify whether such attempts took place at home, at school or elsewhere, 40 respondents gave positive answers. Of these, the most respondents (22) mentioned the school only, 8 respondents had witnessed such attempts both at school and elsewhere, 1 respondent both at school and at home, while 5 respondents selected only the option “at home” and 4 respondents only the option “elsewhere”.

When looking at the individual answers, the attempts to prevent the respondents from using Veps happened primarily at school, and this was reported mainly by the 50 to 64-year-olds and over 65-year-olds. None of the youngest respondents reported such efforts. Still, the proportion of respondents reporting prohibition of Veps language use seems peculiarly small considering what is generally known about the prohibition of the use of Veps (along with the other Finno-Ugric and other minority languages) in Soviet schools (see e.g. Grünthal 2007: 90). This is probably due to the formulation of the question. Firstly, children are not necessarily informed about all the details of the discrimination which their parents may have experienced in the past. Secondly, we should probably have asked instead whether the respondents themselves were told not to speak Veps in different environments. The following narrative illustrates a typical ban on speaking Veps at school. It is told by a young (age group 18–29) interviewee, whose grandmother was told at school that she should not speak any Veps.

(77) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
ved' oli mugoine aig konz ei sanu pagišta, i minun baboi minei starinoiči miše nu oli aig i heile sanutihe miše školas hö ei pagižižiba vepsän kelel. - - i ku hö pagižiba vepsän kelel ka nu venäks hö vähän el'gendaba i pahoin opendasoiš.
'There was such time when one was not allowed to speak, and my grandmother told me there was a time when it was told that at school one ought not to speak in Veps. And if they spoke in Veps they would understand less in Russian and succeed worse in their studies.'

The following interviewee was over 65 years old and had experienced the situation herself:

(78) RU- VEP-IIAG5f:
i völ školis-ki sanutihe miše ei pidä ei tariš pagišta školas vepsän kelel, minä äi kerdoid olin saumas čogas, sikš ku peremenoil - - lebukeskustal pagižin ičemoi kartte, i siloi sanutihe miše tule čogaha sikš ku školas ei tari pagišta ičemoi kartte
'And even at school we were told that we should not, there is no need to speak Veps at school. I was made to stand in the corner many times, because during the [RU 'break': uses a Russian word, then self-corrects], the break, I was speaking our language. And then I was told to come to stand in the corner, since you should not speak your language at school.'

A middle-aged interviewee recalls that the other students used to call him *čuhar'*, but according to his interpretation it was just by force of habit.

(79) RU-VEP-IIAG2m:
i minä tedan miše minä iče školas openzimoi, - - mindai kucuiba mugažno čuhar', - - kucuiba no ii ninga miše abitt-a nu, kut sanudas paremba, venäks se om po privyčke
'And I know that when I was studying at school myself - - they used to call me *čuhar'*, - - called me but not in order to hurt me, but how to say it better, in Russian it is *po privyčke* ['out of habit'].'

The following interviewee mentioned her daughter who stopped speaking Veps in the kindergarten:

(80) RU- VEP-IIAG5f:
konz hän tuli sinna, hän sanui miše niken lapsidenkodiš ei pagiže muga kut sinä pagižed minei, i hän heiti pagižendan, hän ei tahtond pagišta ičemoi kartte, - - hän vaiše sanui muga nenakahašti - - miše - - niken ei pagiže sigau lapsidenkodiš, i minä tahtoižin pagišta kut sigau pagištas
'When she came there, she said that nobody in the kindergarten speaks the way you speak to me. And she stopped speaking, she did not want to speak our language. - - She just said in a cheeky way - - that - - nobody speaks [Veps] in the kindergarten, and I want to speak how they speak in there.'

Almost half of the respondents (48.0%) had not heard any current opinions on whether one should or should not use Veps with children. In addition a third (30.3%) answered they did not know. The rest (21.8%) reported having heard such opinions. 56 respondents commented on the question, reporting both negative and positive views. The negative views that the respondents had heard were mostly attached to the usefulness of the Veps language: why speak a language that has no future, only a few speakers and restricted

domains of use? The positive views focused on the survival of the language from the opposite angle: one should speak Veps in order to maintain the language of the forefathers.

Three out of four Veps respondents (75.3%) stated that their parents had provided support in using Veps. In even more cases, however (89% of the respondents), the parents had (also) supported the use of Russian. Typically, "support" was understood as referring to the language chosen by the parents when communicating with their children. A couple of respondents commented that their parents did not support them in using Russian as they only spoke Veps at home: vice versa, according to the respondents, several parents supported the use of Veps by speaking the language with their children. In the case of Veps, formal language education was also mentioned as supportive several times:

(81) RU-VEP-64315829:
Mam kaiken aigan sanui, miše pidab opeta vepsän kel't, miše vepsän kel' om tarbhaine kel'. Hän-ki oigenzi mindai opendamha vepsän kel't kursoile, a jäl'ges universitetha.
'Mother always told me that one must learn the Veps language, that Veps is a useful language. She also sent me to courses to learn Veps and thereafter to the university.'
(female, 18–29 years)

Formal education was not mentioned as a means of supporting the Russian language. This is probably due to the fact that there are no alternatives to Russian language education and everybody has to learn Russian at the latest when they enter school.

Regardless of their parents supporting them in learning the Veps language, a majority of the respondents themselves did not tell their own children to learn and speak Veps. Most of them (59.5%) reported that they had not given support to their children – though some of the respondents commented that there was no need to tell them because their children wanted to do it anyway. Interestingly, the comments suggest that the present support for learning the Veps language is more often connected to formal language education:

(82) RU-VEP-64310015:
Oigenzin kel'školha i vepsän i karjalan kelen kafedrale opendamha.
'I sent [my children] to language school and to the chair of Veps and Karelian languages to learn.'
(female, 50–64 years)

(83) RU-VEP-64310039:
Käskin opeta školas i universitetas.
'I told [them] to learn at the school and at the university.'
(female, 50–64 years)

There were, however, respondents who use their own example and speak Veps to their children at home.

(84) RU-VEP-64315829:
minun tütrele om 1,5 vot, lujas tahtoin, miše hän mahtaiži vepsäks. Nügüd minä pagižen hänenke vepsäks, lugen hänele kirjoid vepsän kelel (sarnoid, runoid), pajatan hänele pajoid vepsän kelel, ozutan kuvid, sanun vepsäks mi kuval om.
'My daughter is 1.5 years old, I truly want her to know the Veps language. Nowadays I speak to her in Veps, read her books in Veps (stories, poems), sing her songs in the Veps language, show her pictures and tell her in Veps what is in them.'
(female, 18–29 years)

One respondent leaves the responsibility of learning to her child:

(85) RU-VEP-64310862:
Vaiše pagižen lapsenke i nevon hänele, a otab-ik hän minun sanad südäimehe, nece jo hänen rad om.
'I only speak with the child and give her advice, but whether she takes my words into her heart, that is already her duty.'
(female, 30–49 years)

The lack of support for the children to learn and use the Veps language is also illustrated by the interviews. Even Veps language activists may choose to speak Russian to their children. The reason for doing so is that they are concerned about their future prospects in life. Living in Russia it is crucial to know Russian (*V Rossii govorât po-russki* 'In Russia, you speak Russian'). The parents are afraid that if they speak Veps to their children, they will not be able to learn fluent Russian. This kind of thinking probably reflects the old attitude that the elder generations were taught at school:

(86) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
nu lujas äi nenid patriotoišpäi, lapsed ei tekoi kel't, - - hän sanub, minä tahtoižin miše laps' minun hüvin tetaiži venekel't, hän eläb Venemas, i hän varaidab, miše ku minä zavodin pagišta vepsän kelel hän hubin pagižeškandeb venäks, - - hänele eläda Venemal, tariš hüvin pagišta venäks
'Well there are a lot of these patriots whose children do not know the language. He says, I would like my child to master the Russian language well. He lives in Russia and he is afraid that if I start to speak in Veps he will start speaking bad Russian. He will have to live in Russia, [he] needs a good knowledge of Russian.'

In the Russian control group data the attitudes towards teaching of minority languages such as Veps seem neutral. A great majority of the CG respondents considered the teaching of the native language at school to be important, which is interesting considering that Russian education policies seem to protect the teaching of the Russian language at the expense of minority languages. Slightly fewer respondents answered that it is important to teach especially Veps at school. In Q19, the CG respondents were asked whether it is important for all children to learn their first language through education. 89.3% of them answered that it is important to teach the native language at school. Only 3.0% felt it was not important and 7.7% could not say whether it is important. In addition, when asked (in Q12) whether it is important to teach Veps to children whose parents are speakers of Veps, over 70% of the CG respondents at least somewhat agreed on the importance of teaching the language. Teaching Veps was, however, considered somewhat less important

than teaching Karelian, which was considered important by almost 80% of the CG respondents.

A fifth of the control group respondents had come across opinions on the choice of language used with children. In Q13, the control group respondents were asked whether they had heard comments on whether parents should or should not use a certain language with children. 20.8% reported having heard such comments. 45.6% told that they had not faced such attitudes. The question was, regrettably, very vaguely formulated, but all 24 comments on the issue were positive: several respondents referred to teachers of foreign languages, while others mentioned family members or friends who themselves spoke different languages and encouraged their use.

4.3.1.8 Language attitudes

Mixing languages was seen as typical for Veps speakers but not as an ideal for the speech community. The respondents were of the opinion that older people speak the correct version of Veps and that it is young people who mix Veps and Russian. In Q33, the minority group respondents were given six different statements concerning mixing languages and asked whether they agree or disagree with these statements. It comes as no surprise that most who had an opinion thought that the Veps language is usually mixed with Russian: 42.8% of the respondents either agreed or partly agreed with the opinion that mixing languages is typical for those who speak Veps with each other. Interestingly, almost a half of the respondents (46.9%) either disagreed or partly disagreed with the statement that mixing languages is acceptable, and 49.0% of them disagreed with the statement that mixing shows high competence in languages.

The family of the following interviewee is bilingual, and she said that code-switching is really common in her family:

(87) RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-04F:
no pagižeba muga, üks' ((laughing)) *sana vepsän kelel, toine sana venäkelel*
'Well, they speak like that, one word in Veps, another in Russian'

Mixing was not seen as tied to the level of education, but somewhat to the age of the speaker: 44.8% of the respondents disagreed or partly disagreed with the statement that only people with a low level of education mix Veps and Russian, and 41.6% of them agreed or partly agreed with the statement that young people often mix them. Similar opinions were also presented in the interviews.

(88) RU-VEP-IIAG4-01F:
ka pagištaze hüvin, minä meletan miše rouhad da vanhembad, a norid d'o kut kut putub, venä sanoi i vepsän sanoi, vot en teda mikš om, ii tekoi, ii opekoi, ninga jo om, no a babad, rouhad babad, kuled ka, sanutaze midä-se starinoitaze starinoitaze da i, hop, venä sana, ka mikš panid sanan se venäd tänna, ved' tedad miše om veza, en teda mikš, nece d'o, nu jümbri kaik pagištaze venäkelel, voib olda i muga, mise kuldaze enamba venäkel't, i, kak ska-t' ne osmyslenno uže prosto glotaet slova,

'They speak well, I think, old people. But young people any which way, Russian words and Veps words. Well, I do not know why. They do not know, they will not learn, so it is. But older women, you can hear, say something, spin tales, and then, hop, a Russian word. And why did you put the Russian word here, even though you know it is *birch*. I do not know why, it is already, well everybody around you speaks Russian. It may be that you hear more Russian. [Switching to Russian:] And, how to say, not deliberately, one just swallows the [Russian] words.'

(89) RU-VEP-II-AG5F:
minä dumain miše kuz'kümne mugoižed vozižed pagištas hüvin vepsän kelel, a norišt ei pagiže jo muga hüvin
'I think that people around their sixties speak Veps well. But the youth does not speak that well.'

The respondents were unanimous in their opinion that older people speak the correct version of Veps: as many as 88.7% of them agreed or partly agreed with the statement. Therefore, a strong tendency is seen here towards the concept of a "pure" language existing among the old speakers of Veps, which does not necessarily support the desire of the younger generations to use the Veps language.

Further, the language which the younger generation speaks is very different from the one the old generation speaks. There are some differences, for example in the vocabulary. The following interviewees report that the literary language they use is somewhat different from the local dialect of their family.

(90) RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-03F:
minun tatam sanub kaiken aigan sinä pagižed verhal kelel, sikš ku minä sindai en el'genda, en tea miččel kelel sinä pagižed, no ed vepsän kelel, - - erased sanad potomu što hii ii tekoi, neglik da sebranik da, ken om sebranik, a podrušk a no podrušk
'My father always says: you speak in a foreign language, since I do not understand you. I do not know which language you are speaking, but it is definitely not Veps. - - Because they do not know certain words, *neglik* [hedgehog] and *sebranik* [friend]. Who is sebranik? Oh, *podrušk* [RU friend], well *podrušk.'*

(91) Interviewer2:
midä bab sanub sinun kelen pol'he
'What does your grandmother say about your language?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-06:
((laughing)) *no erazvuiččid sanoid*
'Well, certain words...'
Interviewer2:
hän ei el'genda
'She does not understand.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-06:
el'gendab no hän sanub, miše meil ei ole mugošt sanad
'She does understand but she says that we do not have a word like that.'
Interviewer2:
aha, ((laughing)) *kuspäi sinä oled otnu necen sanan ka*

'Aha, where did you take that word, right?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-06:
ka
'Yes.'

The young generation does not know the dialects but they learn literary Veps at school or at university, whereas the older generation speaks different dialects. According to the following interviewee, in Vologda oblast there are still young people who can speak in the local dialect.

(92) RU-VEP-IIFG1F:
norišt enamba pagižeb literaturan nu vepsän kirjkelel, a rouhad ristitud kaik pagižeba alapaginal, suvivepsän paginal, kesk- i pohjoižvepsän paginal,- - olin Vologdan agjal sigä kaik norištod hö pagižeba alapaginal, - - lujas minei mel'he i südäimehe oli, miše om mugoižid ristituid, - - pohjoižvepsän küliš, vot viž ili kuz' vot nügüd' d'o radan X:s, i nikonz ei nähnu niüht ristitud miše pohjoiž-alapaginal ken-se norištospäi pagiži. Vologdan agjal sigä kanzoiš enamba pagištas, sigä nu vähemba ristituid nu vepsläižid eletas, no pagižeba hö äjan enamba.
'The youth speaks more in literary Veps, but all the old people speak in dialects, in Southern Veps, Middle and Northern Veps. - - I was in Vologda district where all the youth, they speak in the dialect. - - It really delights me that there are such people. - - In Northern Veps villages, well I have already been working in X for five or six years, and I have not seen a single young person who would speak in the Northern dialect. In Vologda district they speak more in the families. There are fewer Veps people living there, but they speak much more.'

Speaking Veps is not clearly attached to any specific age group. In Q37, the respondents were asked whether Veps should be spoken by young boys or girls, and grown-up men or women. Most of the respondents agreed or partly agreed with the statement that Veps should be spoken by these groups. There was not much difference between the four groups and the share of respondents agreeing with the statement varied from 65.4% concerning young boys to 74.8% concerning elderly women.

The respondents were mostly of the opinion that it is easier to find friends, to get acquainted, to collaborate and to spend time with Veps speakers. However, they were undecided on whether or not it is easy to marry a Veps speaker. In the original ELDIA questionnaire, Q38 was formulated using the expression "easy" (whether it is easy to make friends with speakers of language X, work with them, etc.). In the Veps translation of the questionnaire, however, comparative forms ("easier") were used, but no standard of comparison ("easier than...") was given. The respondents may well have silently compared Veps speakers with Russians or speakers of other languages, but no explicit comments were recorded.

Most respondents considered socialising with Veps in general to be easier. Finding friends among Veps speakers was regarded as easier by 54.2% of the respondents, and getting acquainted with the speakers by 66.4% of them. Collaborating with Veps speakers was easier according to 63.8% of the respondents, and spending time with Veps was easier according to

64.3%. As many as 40.6% of the respondents were undecided about whether it is easier to marry a Veps speaker. The surprisingly high share could be due to the fact that on the whole, the number of Veps speakers of marriageable age is not very high.

The future prospects of the Veps language were regarded with great uncertainty by the minority group respondents. On the contrary, the majority of them 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 respondents were fairly uncertain about the future of Veps: most of them (47.3%) found it difficult to say whether Veps will be more widely used during the next ten years. As many as 36.9% disagreed or partly disagreed, and only 15.8% agreed or partly agreed with the statement that Veps will be more widely used in the following ten years.[59]

The following interviewee is of the opinion that the situation of the Veps language has not improved. Twenty years ago, when the revitalisation of Veps began, life was very hard in Russia. Salaries were not paid; there was no money. However, the atmosphere was hopeful. The interviewee herself had a feeling that better times were yet to come for the Veps people and language, whereas nowadays she is sometimes afraid of the future.

(93) RU- VEP-IIAG5f:
nu minä olen mugošt mel’t miše kelen sijad tai kelen olo ei ole vajehtanus hüvähä pol’he, - - kaks’kümne vot tagaze siloi Venämal oli lujas jüged eläda, silou ei makstud paukad, ei lend rahad - - nu kaiken-se siloi minai oli mugoine toiv - - miše tuleb paremb aig i vepsläižile-ki mugažo i vepsän kel’he muga kelele, a nügüd’ erašti minä dumain miše en teda midä tuleb kümnes vodes päliči, - - a vepsän kelen sija, kümnes vodes päliči, en teda, minei om kibed sanuda, minä no minä dumain miše se väheneb
‘Well, I am of the opinion that the situation of the language has not changed for the better. - - Twenty years ago it was very difficult to live. The salaries were not paid, there was no money. - - However, in those days I had hope - - that better days would come for the Veps too, and for the Veps language. And nowadays I sometimes think that I do not know what will be after ten years. - - But the situation of the Veps language after ten years, I do not know, it hurts me to say, but I think it will diminish.’

According to the following two elderly interviewees, the situation is not good. A lot has to be done in order to revitalise Veps.

(94) Interviewer1:
a mitte om nügüd' vepsän kelen položenij, eläb-ik om-ik vägev kel' ili ladib-ik kolda, kut tö dumat
‘And nowadays, what is the situation of the Veps language like? Will it live on, is it a strong language? Or is it going to die? What do you think?’

[59] The survey of 2007 (referred in Strogal’ŝikova 2008c: 106; see also 2.4.3 and 2.5.1) suggested a significant areal difference in attitudes concerning the future prospects of the Veps language. According to the survey, almost 60% of the Veps of the RK believed that the status of Veps will be maintained at the present level, whereas almost 65% of the Leningrad oblast Veps thought that the Veps language would gradually disappear.

RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
ka, tahtoiž lujas sanuda mise vägev olnuiži, a vot ei le vägev, ei le vägev
'Yes, one would really like to say that it is strong, but it is not strong, not strong.'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-02m:
aig om nece, propustib i aig jišo
'Time is like that, the time passes by.'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
ka, propustitud om jäi
'Yes, a lot has been neglected.'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-02m:
nugudi dei ii linne.
'Nowadays there will not be.'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
a nüguni jäi pidäb rata mise vägev tehta nece veps kel'
'But nowadays a lot has to be done in order to make the Veps language strong.'

The following interviewee thinks there is no point in teaching the Veps language anymore, since it is already vanishing:

(95) RU-VEP-IIAG5-02m:
ka vepskijad kel't ei nugudi ei void-ki opeta, potomu što hän om d'o nanet langenu d'o, - - škol-ki ii opeta ka - - lapsed midä ii opekoi
'And the Veps language cannot be taught nowadays, because it has already been so much reduced. - - The school doesn't teach it either - - the children won't learn anything.'

On the contrary, some interviewees, mainly young language activists, were very optimistic about the future of the Veps language:

(96) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
vägev kel' konečno om, - - kel' zavodib eläda,- - meletan miše vepsän kel' eläb i kümnes vodes päliči, i - - linneba vepsän kelen urokad i školas, - - meletan miše universitetas vepsän kelen opendamine linneb kut edel-ki, - - meletan miše i radios i televizoras mö pagižem enamba, miše meile anttas enamba časuid, - - i lugendlehtez Kodima-lugendlehtez zavodib lähtta ni üks' kerd kus a kaikuččen hot'a by nedalin, kel' kazvab, mö em astkoi sijal a astum edehepäi, i kaikuččel päiväl midä-se ližam vepsän kel'he, i meletan miše eläškandeb
'Of course it is a strong language. - - The language will live on. - - I think that the Veps language will still be alive after ten years and - - there will be also Veps lessons at school. - - I think that at the university Veps instruction will be like before. - - I think that on the radio and on television we will speak more, that we will be given more [broadcasting] hours. - - And the newspaper *Kodima* will be published not only every month but every week. The language will grow, we will not stand still; we will walk forward. And every day we will add something to the Veps language. And I think it will live on.'

However, the language will change as the dialects will vanish with the older generations passing away:

(97) RU-VEP-Interviewer1:
a jäl'ges kümne vot mitte linneb vepsän kelen položenii, kut tö dumatei
'And after ten years, what will be the situation of the Veps language like? '
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
hüvä linneb
'It will be good.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-01:
ku vepsläižed oma aktivižed i linneba aktivižen.
'If the Veps are active and will be active.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-05:
minä meletan, miše kel' miččel pagištas küläs, paginkel', hän koli, koleb, a kel' mittušt mö opendamoiš universitetas, se linneb eläda
'I think that the language which is spoken in the village, the dialect, will die. But the language which we learn at the university will live on.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
sikš miše küläs nügüd' pagižeba vaiše rouhad ristitud, hö koleba ka, i kel' koleb heidenke
'Because in the village nowadays only old people speak. They will die and the language will die with them.'

The future of Russian and English was regarded much more positively. According to 79.3% of the minority group respondents, Russian will be more widely used in the next ten years. The use of the English language will increase within the next ten years according to 68.1% of the respondents.

(98) RU-VEP-II-AG5F:
minä dumain miše - - hüvä oliž ku mir oliži äikeline, no minä varaidan miše se tegeze vaiše angliankeližeks miruks, minä necida en tahtoi
'I think that - - it would be good if the world were multilingual. But I am afraid the world will become only English-speaking. I don't want that.'

The control group respondents had very similar views on the future prospects of different languages to the minority group respondents'. However, the future role of the English language was predicted to become even more important. When the control group respondents were asked about the future prospects of different languages (Q24), their answers did not differ significantly from those of the minority group respondents. The majority of the control group respondents (61%) found it difficult to say whether Veps would be more widely used in the next ten years, whereas the usage of Russian will widen according to 76.7%, and the usage of English according to 84.3%. In other words, the majority group respondents regarded the future role of English as even more important than the minority group respondents did, but the difference is probably due to the different age breakdown of the two groups.

The minority group respondents considered the sound of Russian generally more positively than the sound of Veps. The questions Q41-43 consisted of 18 five-level Likert items each, i.e. subquestions in which the respondents had to evaluate their ideas of how a language (Veps, Russian, or English) sounds, along a five-point scale between two adjective antonyms

(soft – hard, feminine – masculine etc.). The sound of Veps was evaluated as softer, kinder, older, more traditional, more fun and more female than the sound of Russian, whereas the sound of Russian was considered more brave, hopeful, decisive, modern, powerful, male, wealthy, successful, intelligent, considerate, educated and active than the sound of Veps. On the scale from "very close" to "very remote", the Russian language was felt to be "very close" by even more Veps respondents (76.5%) than the Veps language (70.1%).

The Likert scale measured the covert attitudes of the minority group speakers. The covert and overt attitudes of the minority group speakers usually differ a lot from each other. The overt attitudes are shown in face-to-face interviews, in which Veps is always described as the prettiest, the closest and the most positive language.

(99) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
nu vot ku anketas oliba mugomad küzundad mitte om vepsän kel', ka kaik vepsläižed kaik babad mamšid vanhad, kaik sanuiba vepsän kel' om lujas čoma, hüvä, pehmed, nu kaik positivižed kaik harakteristikad kaik, - - no sikš ku völ om-ki rodni kel'
'Well, when there were such questions in the questionnaire, that what is the Veps language like, so all the Veps, all old women all said that the Veps language is really pretty, good, soft. Well all the positive characteristics, all. - - Well, because it is the mother tongue.'
Interviewer1:
i sinule mugažo om völ
'And also for you it is?'
RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
ka ka, i sikš sinä vepsäks void midä-se muga sanuda, ka vot paremba mi venäks, venäks jo mö pagižem, vot kuti oma mugomad kul'turižed šablunad, kudambid mö openzim ka, a vepsäks sinä muga muga sanud ka vot midä-se, no en teda, i hüvä mel' tegihe
'Yes, yes. And in Veps you can say something better than in Russian. In Russian we speak, well there are such cultural templates, which we have learnt, right. And in Veps you say something like that, well something, I don't know. And you get in a good mood.'

(100) Interviewer1:
a om-ik sinei, kut NN sanui täs, miše südäimes om ningoine azj, miše čuvstvujet minä veps olen
'And do you have, like NN said here, a kind of feeling in your heart, that you feel you are a Veps?'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
ka, gordost' d'o konečno
'Yes, pride, of course.'
Interviewer1:
a sinä kut dumad om-ik važnoi vepsän kel' sinei
'And what do you think, is the Veps language important for you?'
RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
miile konečno važnoi om.
'Of course it is important for us.'

RU-VEP-IIAG5-02m:
miile se ka važno om
'Yes, it is important for us.'

The Veps language has a certain emotional significance even though Russian is more widely used in the daily life of the interviewees.

(101) RU- VEP-IIAG5f:
venäks pagižem kaiken aigan, enamba pagižem kaiked venäkelel, se om tozi, se om tozi, se om nügüd' kuti ezisijal, hot' minun henges vepsän kel' om ezisijal, no elos om ezisijal om venäkel'.
'We speak Russian all the time, mostly we speak in Russian about everything. It is true, it is true, it is in the first place nowadays. But in my spirit Veps comes first, even though in my life Russian comes first.'

The following interviewee reports that back in her grandparents' youth the Veps and the Russians used to live in the neighbouring villages. The Russians used to be slightly afraid of the Veps. They knew they were a different nationality and spoke a different language, so they treated them with some distance and timidity.

(102) RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-01f:
venäläižed vähäižen varaižiba vepsläižid, teziba miše nece om vähäine toine rahvaz, ka hö pagižiba miččel-se toižel kelel, no konz veraz toine rahvaz, tariš vähäižen kacta heideke, heihe vähäižen hil'l'äšti, vähäižen varaita
'The Russians were a little bit afraid of the Veps. They knew they were a little different people and they were speaking some other language. And when the other people are strange, you must keep an eye on them, you must be careful and a bit afraid.'

Nowadays the attitudes toward Veps have changed for the better and people might feel upset about not knowing their mother tongue well enough.

(103) RU-VEP-FG-AG1-05:
konz minä openzimoi školas, minai oma nu sebranikad kudambad sanuiba miše vepsän kel' om paha. - - no konz minä tulin Petroskoihe i tundištimoi - - ristituidenke, hö sanuiba miše nece om lujas melentartuine, miše vepsläižed oma hüväd ristitud.
'When I went to school, I had friends who said that the Veps language is a bad thing. But when I came to Petrozavodsk and got to know... people, they said that it is very interesting, that the Veps are good people.'

As the following interviewee recalls, in her childhood it was a shame to be a Veps. Watching out for the possibly negative attitudes of the surrounding society, the minorities often avoided speaking their mother tongue in public places such as buses.

(104) RU-VEP-II-AG5F:
nece kaik aig vajehtab nenid prioritetoid, i erašti nügüd' ristit konz hondoin-ki pagižeb ičemoi kartte, hän vähäižel om korktad mel't - - siš miše hän pagižeb jo, - - nügüd' toižil sil'mil kactas vepsän kel'he, - - nu minä muštan laps'aigan, siloi oli huiged sanuda miše olem vepsläižed, i konz mö, - - ištuim avtobusaha, ajam ozutesikš kahesa kilometrad, i kahesa kilometrad pagižem vaiše vepsäks, konz tuleb

toine külä, kaik unohtiba miše olem vepsläižed, pagižem avtobusas kaik ned-žo rahvas, niken ei tulend toine, no mö pagižem jo vaiše venäkelel
'Time changes the priorities. And sometimes nowadays when a person speaks our language even badly, he is proud of that - - of being able to speak. - - The Veps language is seen in a different light now. - - I remember in my childhood it was a shame to say we are Veps. And when we - - sat in a bus, we are driving for example eight kilometres, and for eight kilometres we speak only Veps. When another village comes, everybody forgot that we are Veps. We speak in the bus, all the same people, no-one else came, but we already speak only Russian.'

These days, some Veps who do not know their mother tongue regard it as a great loss.

(105) RU-VEP-II-AG5F:
vot mijal om mugoine NN, hän kirjutab runoid venäkelel, muite hän X-späi, jured om X-späi, ka hän kaiken aigan minei sanub miše, voi NN kut minä zaviduin sinei miše minä kadehtin sindai, miše sinä mahtad muga čomin pagišta vepsän kelel, i minä andaižin kaiken miše minä-ki voižin pagišta vepsän kelel, om mugoižid ristituid nügüd'
'Well, we have a person called NN. She writes poems in Russian, but she is from X, her roots are from X. And she all the time tells me that, oh NN how I envy you, that I am jealous, because you can speak the Veps language so nicely. And I would give anything that also I could speak Veps. There are such people these days.'

Some of the young interviewees reported new, fairly positive attitudes toward Veps in their circle of friends who are not Veps themselves. The interviewees stated that their Russian friends appreciate them for being Veps and being able to speak Veps. The following interviewee reported that one of her friends is even trying to learn the language.

(106) Interviewer1:
a kut tö dumaite i sebranikoidenke, hö dumaitas enamba miše täl aigal tarbiš äi kelid - - pagišta, vot teiden sebranikad
'And what do you think with your friends? Do they mostly think that you need to speak many languages, well, your friends?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
nu minun sebranikad ülendoitase - - miše minä olen vepsläine i minä tedan vepsän kel't i pagižen necel kelel, i rados minä kävutoitan vepsän kel't
'Well, my friends appreciate - - that I am Veps and I know the Veps language and I speak that language. And I use Veps at work.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-02:
ka minun sebranikad hö arvustaba miše minä voin pagišta erasel kelel
'All my friends appreciate that I can speak another language.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-04:
hö mugažo tahtoižiba no
'They would also like [to speak], but'
Interviewer2:
sebranikad pidäba tö teid korktas arvos miše - - tö olet korgedarvoižed sikš ku pagižet völ toižel vai koumandel kelel ka
'The friends appreciate you because - - you are highly esteemed because you speak also in a second or third language, right?'

RU-VEP-FG-AG1-06:
minai om sebranik, hän ei pagiže vepsän kel't, nu hän ei ole vepsläine, no hän lujas lujas kak to navedib - - vepsän kel't, hänou om kirj vepsän kelen - - abupaginkirj, hän osti, i hän iče - - ka opendab vepsän kel't i pagižeb minunke vepsän kelel telefona- ((laughing)) *telefonadme.*
'I have a friend, she does not speak the Veps language, well she is not Veps, but she really really [RU somehow] loves - - Veps language. She has a book, Veps - - phrasebook, she bought. And she is studying the Veps language herself and she speaks Veps on the phone with me.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-01:
a minun sebranik kudamb ei el'genda vepsän kel't, no hän kundleb radiod, televizorad, sikš ku minä olen
'And my friend who doesn't understand the Veps language, well she listens to radio, television, because I am'
Interviewer2:
vepsläine da
'Veps, right.'

Only a tiny minority of the Veps MinLG respondents replied to the statements concerning the English language, since they obviously were not familiar with it. The English language was seen as a dynamic and powerful language, but however, not as dynamic and powerful as Russian.

(107) RU-VEP-IIAG2m:
no venäkel' om paremb mi anglian kel', hän om bohatamb ili kut hän sanuda
'Well, Russian is better than English. It is richer, or how to say.'

The following interviewee reported knowing three languages – Russian, Veps and Finnish – quite fluently, but English badly. He described his language skills with an allegory:

(108) RU-VEP-IIAG2m:
minä tedan miše, konz ühten kelen tedad sinä oled, miččiš a ningomiš kuti sindai ühtes sijas ištud, honuses, a konz äi kelid nece om jo, äihonusine fater, sinä void kävelta, ((laughing)) ka, minai om koume honused fateras i völ nece kut hän tualet, ((laughing)) englan- kel', ((laughing)) sikš ku hän pen' völ om i tedad tedad.
'I know that when you know one language you are sitting like on one place, in one room. But when there are many languages, it is already an apartment with many rooms, you can walk, right. I have three rooms in my apartment and then a toilet, the English language. Because it is still small, you know.'
Interviewer:
vähäižen redukaz mugažo
'A bit dirty, too.'
RU-VEP-IIAG2m:
ka, konz opendan, aigoin tegen hänesespäi miččen-ni suremban honusen
'Yes. When I study, I will maybe make it some kind of a bigger room.'

The control group respondents regarded the sound of Russian as the most positive of all the languages in question. Questions Q25-28 in the CG questionnaire consisted of the same five-point Likert scales as the questions Q41-43 in the MinLG questionnaire, now regarding

four different languages: the minority languages Karelian and Veps, the majority language Russian, and finally English. The control group respondents judged the Russian language as having only positive, powerful and dynamic features. According to them the sound of it was 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.

The Veps MinLG respondents regarded the sound of Russian even more positively than the Russian-speaking CG respondents. Due to translation differences in the Veps MinLG and the Russian CG questionnaires not all the pairs of characteristics could be compared, e.g. adjective pairs as unsafe-safe vs. helpless-brave, reliable-unreliable vs. hopeful-hopeless. However, as an important finding, the minority group respondents characterised Russian even more positively than the control group respondents themselves. The share of replies according to which the sound Russian is close (76.5%) was the same for both minority and control group respondents. Further, a notably bigger share of minority group respondents regarded Russian as very decisive, modern, powerful, successful, intelligent, considerate, educated and active than of the majority group respondents. For example according to 74.8% of the minority group respondents and 47.4% of the control group respondents the sound of Russian is very decisive and according to 75.1% of the minority group and 54.2% of the control group respondents the sound of it is very intelligent. As a conclusion, these findings show that Russian is truly a prestige language within the society.

Characteristic	Minority group respondents, %	Control group respondents,%
very decisive	74.8	47.4
very modern	61.2	42.2
very powerful	75.9	62.3
very successful	71.0	56.0
very intelligent	75.1	54.2
very considerate	70.3	36.6
very educated	78.2	59.5
very active	85.3	63.9

Table 15: 'The sound of Russian is…', MinLG vs. CG respondents

When asked to evaluate their impressions of the two minority languages Karelian and Veps, the control group gave predominantly neutral answers: neither soft nor hard, neither reliable nor unreliable, neither powerless nor powerful and neither fun nor boring. The only clear exception was the adjective pair modern-traditional: according to 47.7% of the control group respondents the sound of Veps was traditional. When attitudes towards Veps did

exist, they were more often positive than negative. For instance, Veps was reported to sound pretty by 40.5% and ugly by 11.2%, or kind by 37.5% and mean by 8.7% of the control group respondents.

According to 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 the majority of the control group respondents. However, in every case Russian was judged more positively than English. Only one pair of characteristics seems to be an exception: 53.6% of the respondents replied that English is very modern and only 42.2% 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 much more familiar with the English language than the Veps minority group respondents: the frequency for the control group replies was five times higher than for the minority group. Quite possibly this is also due to the different sampling methods and respondents of the surveys: the control group respondents were city residents whereas quite many Veps respondents lived in villages/rural areas, and the control group respondents seemed to be more familiar with English than with local minority languages like Karelian or 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 altogether more positively than the minority languages Veps and Karelian. The minority languages were not evaluated as positively as English or, especially, Russian. According to the control group respondents the sound of Veps 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

Self-reported language competence and the use of multiple languages

Nearly all the Veps respondents can be seen as multilinguals. The vast majority of our Veps respondents master Russian fluently, whereas the younger age groups are typically less fluent in Veps. As a result of our sampling method almost all the Veps MinLG respondents and interviewees in our data may be seen as multilinguals. In addition to the Russian language, everybody knows Veps at least at some level, although their self-reported reading and writing skills were clearly weaker than their command of spoken Veps. The older the respondents were, the more fluent they estimated their oral skills in Veps to be. In contrast, the youngest age group had the best reading and writing skills. There was also a striking difference between the respondents' literacy in Russian and Veps, which can be explained by the fact that all formal education is given in the Russian language. On the whole, Russian was clearly the strongest language among the Veps respondents: an overwhelming majority of

them reported fluency in both speech and writing. English, in contrast, was mastered by only a minority (cf. 4.3.1.3).

However, what seems like bilingualism from the outside is not easily seen as such by the speakers themselves. As the low number (16.4%) of those reporting having two first languages reveals, most respondents wanted to make a clear statement about their first language: 44.0% named solely Veps as their first language, 39.6% solely Russian. The control group respondents were mostly monolinguals. (See 4.3.1.1.)

The respondents' private spheres of life may be bilingual, whereas official spheres are monolingual. The Russian language is used in every sphere of life of the Veps respondents. The use of the Veps language is limited to the informal, private spheres of life: it is mainly used with relatives, at home and with friends and neighbours. However, even then the domains are most often bilingual. The official spheres of life do not encourage the use of Veps. English does not play a significant role in either the minority or the control group respondents' lives. (See 4.3.1.4.)

Self-reported use of several languages in different domains

Our study shows that the language use of the Veps communities has rapidly changed within just a few generations. The cross- and intra-generational language use of Veps has diminished dramatically whereas the use of solely Russian has increased significantly. A substantial amount of the monolingual or bilingual Veps families have become monolingual in Russian. In questions Q10-Q11 and Q14-Q21 the minority group respondents were asked to report on the cross- and intra-generational language use in their own families. The great majority of the respondents reported that their grandparents used Veps when speaking to them. Russian was not typically used. Using both languages with grandparents was not typical, either. Similarly, the language used between respondents' parents is and was most typically Veps. Compared to the present day situation, the respondents' parents still spoke more Veps to their children, in other words, to the respondents. Today an overwhelming majority of the respondents report using Russian with their parents, especially with their fathers. Similarly, the role of Russian as a language of communication with siblings has significantly strengthened: at present a great majority of the respondents use Russian with their siblings. The language the respondents most typically use with their own spouse and their own children is again Russian. Even the majority of the respondents who reported having Veps as their mother tongue and having children reply using Russian with them. (See 4.3.1.2.)

The Veps minority group respondents prefer using Russian in all media platforms and for all cultural activities. As seen in 4.3.3 below, the minority group respondents use Veps only in traditional media: for watching television, listening to radio and reading the newspaper. Veps might also be used when singing songs or reciting poems but usually not when producing texts (Q63). The use of electronic media in Veps is very rare. However, the Veps MinLG respondents prefer using Russian in all the presented media platforms as well as

when writing texts, singing or reciting poetry. In Russian society such language choices are natural: the availability of Russian platforms is overwhelming compared to Veps. The control group respondents' replies concerning the use of Russian in different media platforms (in Q37) did not differ much from the minority group respondents' replies. The tiny differences that occurred may be explained by the different sampling methods, age distributions, and places of residence.

Attitudes and perceptions concerning languages and multilingualism

The MinLG respondents regard speakers of Veps as likely to mix languages. They have a strong notion of a pure and correct version of Veps, typically spoken by the elderly. The majority of the Veps respondents were of the opinion (Q33) that Veps language speakers typically mix languages. However, mixing was not seen as an ideal for the speech community. Neither was it seen as tied to the level of education, but somewhat to the age of the speaker. The respondents replied that old speakers of Veps mix languages less often than the young ones. The dialects spoken by the elderly were regarded as the pure and correct version of Veps by most of the respondents. (See 4.3.1.8.)

The control group respondents seem 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 found it difficult to answer. When presented with a claim "it would be good if the 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%) would also find it pleasant to hear different languages spoken in their home area. Again, only 9.5% of the respondents found the idea of a multilingual neighbourhood uncomfortable. The majority of the control group respondents would find it pleasant to have Karelian and Veps language speakers living in their neighbourhood. As many as 55.4% would like to have speakers of Karelian living nearby, and 51.2% speakers of the Veps language. Again, only a tiny minority (less than 7%) were of the opposite opinion, and fairly many (approximately 40%) were undecided. The majority of the respondents' (approximately 50%) did not agree with the statement that the Russian state is spending too much taxpayers' money to support Karelian or Veps. Fairly many (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.

Similarly, the minority interviewees' perceptions concerning multilingualism were mainly positive.

(109) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
no äi kelid om hüvä, nikelle ei telustand mitte-ni kel' ka, äikeline ozutab kuti mehen korktaha openduzehe

'Well, a lot of languages is good. Nobody has been distracted by some language, right? Multilingulism indicates the high education of a person.'

(110) Interviewer1:
a tarbiž-ik Venäman olda äikeline ili om-ik paremb olda üks'keline
'And should Russia be multilingual, or would it be better to be monolingual?'
RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
okha linneb äikeline, mikš üks'keline, okha linneb äikeline, nece om
'Let it be multilingual. Why monolingual? Let it be multilingual, that is
Interviewer1:
a mikš äikeline
'But why multilingual?'
RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
no nece om, Venäma om sur' i erazvuiččed palad oma erazvuiččed oblastid kuti eriži, okha linneb nece erazvuittušt, nece om kuti kaikiden - - rahvhiden bohatuz, ei vaiše Venäman kaiken mirun bohatuz, okha linneba kaik keled
'Well, that is, Russia and there are different parts, different districts apart. Let there be such diversity. That is like wealth of all the people. Not only in Russia, a wealth of the whole world. Let there be all the languages.'

(111) RU- VEP-IIAG5f:
nügüd' mö kaik olem korktad mel't, - - sikš ku tö olet kaks'keližed, tö voit olda korktad mel't siš, sikš ku nügüd' mir om äikeline a tö olet ved' kaks'keližed, i nece om hüvä azj, a konz ristit völ pagižeb äjil kelil ka minä dumain miše nece om lujas hüvä, - - minai mugoižed sebranikad vai minun elos kaik nece kedä minä tunden, - - kaikuti heišäi sanub miše kut nece om hüvä miše sinä pagižed kahtel kelel, nece om hüvä
'Nowadays we all are proud. - - Because if you are bilingual, you can be proud of that, since when nowadays when the world is multilingual and you are bilingual. And that is a good thing. And when a person speaks many languages, I think it is very good. - - I have such friends or in my life everybody I know - - all of them say that it is good you speak two languages, it is good.'

Both MinLG and CG respondents are fairly uncertain about the future prospects of Veps. In contrast, it is believed that Russian and English will be spoken more in the next ten years. The future prospects of Veps were regarded with great uncertainty (in questions Q40 and Q24) by both minority and majority respondents, whereas the uses of English and Russian are believed to spread by the majority of respondents. (See 4.3.1.8.) According to the following interviewees multilingualism is on the rise in the world. The English language is of great importance nowadays, and a lot of vocabulary is borrowed from English to Russian and further to Veps. The process of language mixing cannot be stopped. According to the interviewees there is nothing negative about this process, as long as Veps continues to hold its ground.

(112) Interviewer1:
no om-ik hüvä miše om ningoine tendencia, ili midä-ni hubad linneb neced
'Well, is it good that there is such a tendency, or will it cause something bad?'
Interviewer2:
necišpäi ku om äi kelid meiden elos
'By the fact that there are many languages in our life?'

RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-01F:
minä meletan nimidä hubad neciš ole, okha kaik bohatoitab meiden elod kaik keled, nu tariš muga miše oliži muga i vepsän kelel oliži ičeze sija neciš tulebas aigas
'I think there is nothing bad about it. Let it all enrich our life, all the languages. But it should also concern the Veps language which should also have a position in the future.'
RU-VEP-FGAG2AG3-03F:
ka minä meletan, nece om čoma, no pidäb muštta, miše ei kadoiži vepsän kel', ii segoiš - - nenihe surihe kelihe
'I also think it is good, but you must remember, that the Veps language should not vanish, not mix - - in with the big languages.'

Both minority and control group respondents regard Russian as the most positive of all languages compared, which proves that Russian is truly a prestige language in the society. In questions Q41-43 of the minority survey and in Q25-28 of the majority survey, respondents were presented with a number of languages and asked to evaluate them by 18 different adjective pairs. These binary oppositions measured the covert attitudes of the respondents. It revealed that the Veps MinLG respondents regarded the sound of Russian as generally more positive than the sound of Veps. As expected, the control group respondents regarded the sound of Russian as the most positive of all the languages in question (Russian, English, Karelian and Veps). However, the minority group respondents characterised the sound of Russian even more positively than the control group respondents themselves, which shows that high prestige that Russian holds in their society. English was seen as a dynamic and powerful language by both groups, although it was not as highly valued as Russian.

Institutional support to multilingualism as perceived by the respondents

Both minority and control respondents are of the opinion that the Russian legislation is somewhat supportive of the use of several languages. There were some differences between the two groups in how they saw the equal treatment of languages and language speakers. As pointed out earlier, both minority and control group respondents replied (in questions Q46 and Q33) that the Russian legislation supports or partly supports the use of many languages, even though in general the idea of legislative support to languages was somewhat strange to the respondents, as shown by the large number of the answers "difficult to say" or "don't know". The minority group respondents, however, seem to be slightly more sceptical: in the control group (Q36), only 17.9% were of the opinion that different languages and their speakers are **not** treated equally, while as many as 27.6% of the Veps respondents gave the same negative answer to the corresponding question (Q50). (See 4.3.2.)

Both the Veps MinLG and the Russian CG respondents were mostly uncertain whether there is legislation promoting the use of different languages in the labour market. **However, as many as 40% of the Veps respondents replied such legislation does not exist.** In Q51 the minority group respondents were asked whether there is legislation which

promotes the use of different languages in the labour market. A similar question (Q37) was also presented to the control group respondents. The majority of both minority and control group respondents were undecided. A significant part of the Veps MinLG respondents (40%) replied that there is no such legislation in Russia.

The teaching of native languages is considered important. Judging by the Russian control group data the attitudes towards the teaching of minority languages such as Veps seem permissive (Q19). A great majority of the control group respondents found that teaching native languages at school is important. Slightly fewer were of the opinion that it is important to teach Veps at school.

4.3.2 Legislation

Given the complex and partly contradictory nature of the language legislation of the Russian Federation (see 4.1) it comes as no surprise that the general knowledge on the legislation or other regulations among both the minority and the majority questionnaire respondents seems rather vague (see also 2.4.1). The question set (Q44–Q51) concerning legislation was aimed at revealing the attitudes towards language legislation and knowledge about it. In case of the Veps speakers this goal could not be entirely achieved: the comments of the respondents reveal that they usually did not separate actual legislation from the institutional structures, policies or practices (such as the publishing of a Veps newspaper, instruction at school, Veps language media). However, one ought to consider how aware laymen in any society or language community are of the legislation in general. **According to the questionnaire data, most of the Veps respondents think that their language is somehow protected by legislation. However, those who are aware of the actual legislation think it does not have any real effects on the actual practices.**

4.3.2.1 Support and prohibition of language use

Existence of supportive and preventive legislation on language use

Most Veps respondents knew or at least believed that there is some level of support from legislation on the use of the Veps language. The control group respondents could not say whether the Veps language is supported or not. When asked (Q44) whether the legislation supports the use of Veps, as many as 62% of the Veps respondents were of the opinion that legislation does somewhat support the use of Veps. However, most of them (40.1%) estimated that there is only little support (*vaiše vähäšt* 'just a little'). Only 8.6% were of the opinion that the legislation does not support the use of Veps in any way. Nearly one third of the respondents (29.5%) were undecided.[60]

[60] This is interesting when contrasted with results of the ELDIA survey with the Karelian speakers (Karjalainen et al, Forthcoming). Although the Karelians are the titular people of the Karelian Republic, over a half of the Karelian respondents (55.0%) answered that they did not know if legislation supports the use of Olonec

However, comments on the issue reveal that the actual legislation – not to speak of specific laws – is not widely known among our Veps respondents. Most respondents named as support the spheres of use of the Veps language in public domains (education, mass media). For these respondents, as it seems, the mere fact that Veps is used in public indicates that there are laws allowing the use of Veps. In contrast, those few commenting on the actual legislation repeatedly expressed their frustration on the mismatch between the law on paper and law in reality: while there are laws that in principle support the use of the Veps language, in reality there is very little action taken to improve the status of the Veps language.

(113) RU-VEP-64322834:
Zakonad oma, elos em nähkoi.
'There are laws, but we have not seen them in action.'

The same thoughts were brought up in the interviews also:

(114) RU-VEP-II-AG5F:
täl aigal vepsän kel' om vähäluguižen rahvahan kel', muga meile sanutas, mijou om mugoine zakon[61] *Venänmal, vähäluguižiden rahvahiden kuti täht, i vepsläižed sinnä müluba, i vepsläižil völ oma mugoine pohjoižman rahvaz*[62] *tägou mugažo Venämas, i sikš mijau pidäiži miše oliži mugoine eriline kaičend, no sidä ei le* ((laughing))
'These days the Veps language is a language of a small-numbered people, that is what we are told. We have such a law in Russia, for small-numbered peoples, and the Veps fit in there. And the Veps have a kind of [status of] Northern Peoples here in Russia. So therefore we should have a certain special protection, but there isn't such.'

In addition, one respondent pointed out that the laws that are supposed to support the use of Veps have little meaning when in practice the public infrastructure in Veps villages is being gradually shut down.

(115) RU-VEP-64310657:
Zakonad om vepsän kelel polel, no kaiken soubatas (školad, medpunktad, bibliotekad i t.e.)
'The laws are on the side of the Veps language, but everything is closed down (the schools, healthcare, libraries, etc).'

Only three people named certain laws. "The Law on the State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish in the Republic of Karelia" was mentioned once and "Federal Law on Guarantees of Rights of Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation" twice. One respondent was able to compare the situation of the Veps with the minority languages spoken in Norway:

Karelian. Only 6% believed that Karelian language is extensively supported, which is significantly less than 22% of the Veps respondents thinking similarly.

[61] Federal Law on Guarantees of Rights of Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation, 30.04.1999.

[62] Unified List of the Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation, 24.04.2006.

(116) RU-VEP-64315843:
Tedan, miše man zakonad tugedaba vepsän kel't. Ku rindatada ozutesikš Norjanke (kus mugažo tugedas peniden rahvahiden kelid) meiden mas nece tugi om vähäine.
'I know that the laws of our country support the Veps language. When comparing for example with Norway (where small languages are supported as well) the support in our country is modest.'

Although most Veps respondents thought their language is legally supported, they were more uncertain whether there still existed legislation that prevented the use of Veps. In Q45 the MinLG were asked whether the legislation prevents the use of Veps. 39.8% of the respondents did not know how to answer. However, almost a half (48.5%) knew that the legislation does not prevent the use of Veps. This question was not really commented on other than generally stating the Veps are not supported. We can conclude that **while the laws *per se* do not prevent the use of the Veps language, there is no significant practical support for its use either.**

The majority of the control group respondents could not say whether the Russian legislation supports the Veps language or not. Similarly they did not know whether the laws prevent the use of Veps either. In Q30 the control group respondents were asked whether the legislation supports the use of the Veps language. 54.8% of the control group answered that they did not know whether there is such legislation. The majority of the rest thought there is some kind of support: 11.2% answered that the Veps language is (wholly) supported and 21.4% thought that Veps is partly supported by legislation. 12.6% answered that Veps is not supported by legislation. Similarly to the Veps respondents most control group respondents did not believe (in Q32) that Russian legislation would prevent the use of the Veps language; 47.3% answered that legislation does not prevent the use of Veps. The other half of the respondents mostly did not know whether the legislation prevents the use of Veps or not (46.3%).

The questions about support and prevention were commented on by the CG somewhat similarly as the MinLG respondents. Many listed the spheres of use of the Veps language (mass media, publishing house, schools) as if it proved that the language is supported by legislation. However, some were also familiar with the programmes intended to support the minority languages:

(117) RU-VEP -64351124:
На уровне правительство Карелии есть программы на поддержание и развитие кар. и вепсского языков.
'At the level of legislation of the Karelian Republic there are programmes for maintenance and development of Karelian and Veps languages.'

Perceptions about the legislation vs. actual legislation

The attitudes of the Veps speakers towards language legislation have not been investigated earlier. We did not have previous knowledge whether the Veps (or Russian speakers) of traditional Veps areas consider language use as an area to be regulated by law. The

Constitution of the Russian Federation[63] "guarantees to all of its peoples the right to preserve their native language and to create conditions for its study and development." However, only the compulsory domains of use of Russian are defined in the Federal Law on the State Language of the Russian Federation (2005) and nothing binding is stated about the use of other languages.

Despite the criticised declarative nature of the laws, the use of the Veps language is regulated in several laws of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Karelia (see 4.1.). Firstly, the constitutional position of the Veps language is defined in the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993). Secondly, the legislative acts of the Russian Federation claim to guarantee to create prerequisites for preservation of indigenous small-numbered peoples. Veps has the official status of "Indigenous Small-Numbered People of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the RF" as well as "Indigenous Small-Numbered People of the RF", which guarantee that their rights are preserved "according to international standards" (Constitution of the Russian Federation, § 68, § 69, § 72 (1: l)).

In addition to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, Veps language rights are regulated by the law of 1999 "The Law on the Rights Guaranteed for Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation" (*О гарантиях прав коренных малочисленных народов Российской Федерации*)[64]; the "Law on General Principles of Organising Communes among the Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the RF" (2000) and the "Law on the Territories of Traditional Land Use among the Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the RF" (2000). These laws are meant to protect the cultures, languages, traditional way of life and environment of the native peoples. (See Strogal'ŝikova 2008b.)

The Law on the State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages in the Republic of Karelia[65] (*О государственной поддержке карельского, вепсского и финского языков в Республике Карелия*) was adopted in 2004. This law has a narrower scope of application than the language laws of the other republics of the Russian Federation. (See 4.1.)

Legislation supporting multilingualism

Half of the Veps respondents replied that the legislation supports the use of many languages. In Q46 the MinLG respondents were asked whether the legislation supports the use of many languages. One quarter of the respondents (24.8%) replied that the legislation supports the use of many languages. Note that the question was translated literally as 'do the laws of your country support the languages spoken in the area you live'. Another quarter of the respondents (24.8%) thought the laws somewhat support different languages in their area. More than one third of the respondents were undecided (35.9%).

[63] Available in English at http://www.constitution.ru/en/10003000-01.htm
[64] Available at http://zakon.scli.ru/ru/legal_texts/national_law/printable.php?do4=document&id4=7ccdc2bd-f7f9-4455-90a7-3486eef3aed5 read 26.8.2010
[65] http://www.gov.karelia.ru/Karelia/1162/15.html, read 1.7.2010

The comments made by the respondents show that, again, most have actually not thought about legislation per se. Different fora where different languages are used (school, library, festivals) were listed in comments. The comments such as the following raise the questions whether the support of legislation to a language is in general quite strange idea for most of the respondents:

(118) RU-VEP-64310862:
oma sekiad kus voib opeta erasid kelid. Festivalid, konkursad, kus voib tundistadas vepsidenke ked oleme.
'There are different [fora] where one can learn different languages. Festivals, competitions where one can get acquainted with the Veps, who we are.'
(Respondent: female 30-49 years)

Institutions mentioned as supportive in regard to this question were the local legislative organs and the committee on national politics.

Quite similarly, the CG respondents felt that the Russian legislation is somewhat supportive for the use of several languages. The control group respondents were also asked (Q33) whether the legislation supports the use of many languages. 43.5% answered that the legislation somehow supports the knowledge and use of several languages in the area where they live. Only 13.0% answered that the legislation does not support different languages in their area. However, the share of uncertain respondents was even more significant among the majority respondents, as 43.5% answered they did not know how to answer.

Equal treatment of users of different languages

Over a half of the Veps respondents thought that different languages and their users are treated equally. However, almost 30% thought the opposite. Q50 concerned the equal treatment of different languages in the MinLG respondent's home area or in Russia. More than half (55.8%) of the respondents regarded that languages are treated in the same way in Russia. However, almost one third of the Veps MinLG respondents (27.6%) answered the treatment is not equal.

The respondents commented both on the attitudes of the Veps towards the other peoples and vice versa. Many said that the Veps are friendly towards all others. The attitudes towards the Veps were described as interested.

(119) RU-VEP -64322605:
kactase melentartusenke
'[The Veps] are looked at with interest.'
(Respondent: female, 65+ years)

Surprisingly, only a few commented on the unequal treatment:

(120) RU-VEP-64315836:
kaikjal pagištas vaise venäks
'Only Russian is spoken everywhere.'

(Respondent: female 18-29 years)

There were more CG respondents who could not estimate whether the treatment is equal. In Q36 the control group respondents were asked whether different language users and languages are treated in the same way in Russia. Almost a half of them were undecided. 43.9% answered that they did not know whether different language users and languages are treated in a same way. The rest were more inclined to consider treatment equal: 30.2% thought the languages and their users are treated in a same way, 8.0% thought that the treatment is partly equal. 17.9% answered that the languages and their users are not treated the same way.

Our data seems to suggest that not much xenophobia exists among the Veps and the Russian speakers of the RK. However, as our questionnaires focussed on Karelian and Veps, many probably have not come to think about the newcomers of the area, e.g. the Caucasians (see 2.4.1), as can be seen in the following two interview excerpts:

(121) RU-FG–CG-P-S1:
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'
RU-FG–CG-P-S1:
Понимаете, никогда здесь в Карелии не называли ни карелов ни вепсов в числе национальностеи к которым люди испытывают некое.
'You understand, here in Karelia the Karelians and the Veps never were among those nationalities whose people caused…'
RU-FG-CG-P-S2:
какую-то напряженность
'some kind of tension'
RU-FG–CG-P-S1:
негативное
'Negative'
RU-FG-CG-P-S3:
неуважение
'Lack of respect.'

Languages and the labour market

Both the minority and the majority respondents were mostly uncertain whether there is legislation promoting the use of different languages in the labour market. **However, a significant part of the Veps MinLG respondents (40%) thought there is no such legislation.** In Q51 the MinLG respondents were asked whether there is legislation which promotes the use of different languages in the labour market. Only a few believed that such legislation

exists, while as many as 40% replied that there is no such legislation, and more than half of the respondents (57.6%) selected the "don't know" option. Only two respondents commented on the issue. It is probable that in a country where all official levels are monolingually Russian, such a question may seem somewhat absurd to respondents. The following comment shows that there is little or no use for the Veps language in working life:

(122) RU-VEP -64324012:
om lujas jüged löüta radon ezmäižen kerdan. Tahtoižin rata vepsän kelenke, no om lujas žal, miše nügüd' om väha sijoid, kus pidaiži vepsän kelen tedo.
'It is very hard to find your first job. I would like to work with the Veps language, but it is a shame that nowadays there are few places where knowledge of Veps is needed.'

Similarly, the CG respondents were asked (Q37) whether there is legislation which promotes the use of different languages in labour market. A vast majority, 71.2% answered they did not know whether such legislation exists, and 15.1% thought such legislation does not exist. Again, the control group seems to have more confidence in the institutional support of multilingualism than the Veps: a slightly bigger share of CG respondents than in the Veps group, 13.7%, thought there is such legislation.

4.3.2.2 Existence of legal texts

Almost half of the Veps respondents could not answer whether there is legislation available in the Veps language. In Q47 the minority group respondents were asked whether the laws which promote the use of languages are translated into the Veps language. A bit more than half of the respondents (53.4%) knew that such legislation does not exist in the Veps language. Altogether 43.2% did not know whether there is such legislation in Veps or not. A tiny minority (3.4%) claimed that there are such translations.

One respondent mentioned the *Ristituiden oiktusiden deklaracii*, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is available in Veps translation but is of course not a legal act. The Law on Support[66] provides for the opportunity to publish laws in Karelian, Veps and Finnish according to the estimation of the lawmakers. Again, translations are not mandatory and therefore do not exist.

4.3.2.3 Education and law

More than a half of the Veps respondents knew that there are laws regulating the teaching of Veps at schools. However, a large part of the respondents were uninformed or uncertain, and the formulation of these questions was potentially misleading. As shown in many other ELDIA case studies as well, it was probably difficult for the respondents to distinguish between the use of the minority language as the medium of instruction ("teaching *in* the

[66] "On the State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages in the Republic of Karelia", 2004.

language"), language classes ("teaching the language") and other forms of instruction "about" the language (its history, its role as part of the local culture, etc.).

In Q48, the respondents were asked whether there are laws regulating the use of the Veps language at schools (note that in reality, Veps is not used as the medium of teaching in any school, see further below). Nearly half of the respondents (46.5%) selected the option "don't know", while 41.5% believed that some kind of legislation exists. 12.0% were of the opinion that such legislation does not exist.

In Q49 the respondents were asked whether there is are laws which regulate instruction of the Veps language at school. More than half of the respondents were aware of such legislation: more than a third (34.1%) answered "yes", while 22.4% answered "partly". Only 5.4% were of the opinion that there is no such legislation.

Similarly, the majority group respondents were asked (Q35) whether there is any legislation regulating the instruction of the Veps language at school. The majority of the control group respondents (66%) did not know whether there is such legislation. 20.5% thought that there are some kinds of regulations. The few comments left by our respondents reveal that the respondents suppose there is legislation on education because they know that the Veps language is taught at some schools and the university. Some also thought that the teaching of the so-called regional component (ethnocultural component) is stipulated by law.

There have recently been some changes in the Russian school system. The schools use all their strength trying to adapt to the new system, very often neglecting language classes in the process. At present too much depends on the school principal, since in Russia one single person may have a large influence on the decisions made. According to the following interviewee there should be a law that all schools situated in the Veps area should offer Veps instruction:

(123) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
minä meletan miše tariš miše oli mugoine zakon, ku nece om Vepsän mal, ka tariš miše školas oliži vepsän kel', kus völ ku ei Vepsän mal, miše heile vot, ku oliži mugoine zakon kudamb käskiži tehta, siloi hö tegižiba. - - zakon ku käskiži ka pämez tegiži, tahtoib vai hän vai ei tahtoi
'I think there should be such a law, that if it is in the Veps country, there should be Veps language at school. Where then, if not in the Veps country? For them, you see, if there were such a law that would tell them to do it, then they would do it. - - If the law ordered, then the principal would do it, whether he wants to or not.'
Interviewer1:
a kudambaspäi enamba ripub, sinä sanuid augotišekš miše školan pämehespäi ripub a jäl'ges sanuid miše zakonaspäi ripub
'And on which does it depend more, you said first that it depends on the principal and after that it depends on the law?'
RU-VEP-IIAG3f:

no, i zakon ku käskiži ka pämez tegiži, tahtoib vai hän vai ei tahtoi, a nügüd' om muga, miše hän ei tahtoi voib ei tehta, a ku om zakon ka siloi tahtoid vai ed tahtoi sinä teged
'Well, if the law directed, then the principal would do it, whether he wants to or not. But at present it is so that if he doesn't want to, he won't do it. But when there is a law then you will do it, whether you want it or not.'

The same interviewee reported that in the Podporož'e District all the Veps schools were closed down despite of the numerous appeals made by the parents. The decisions were justified in the name of economic efficiency: it is cheaper and easier to bring all the students to a boarding school in Vidl. The representatives first voted for closing down the local schools, but afterwards the decision was brought to court, which said that this was an illegitimate act. The representatives had not been observing the requirements of Russian legislation. However, despite of the appeals and the laws, the educational administrators decided to close the schools down:

(124) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
kaik sanuba miše ekonomikan polespäi nece om, kut kut sanuda, ne effektivno. Venämas kaiken kacuba kut om dengoiden polespäi, - - a sid' vot kacuba, no om kebnemb saupta, vähemba dengoid, i kaikid lapsid toda Vidlaha, internatha, nece om kebnemb rata i vähemb dengoid, a pidäda školan kus tariš kahesa opendajad, maksta ka heile paukad - - lujas hubin tegiba, ka sigä oli kogonaine voin neciš, - - deputatad kaik ezmeižen kerdan sanuiba nu golosuiliba, - - änestiba ka miše tariš saupta školan, jäl'ges hö andoiba sudha, sud sanui miše ei sand oli tehta muga, - - sud sanui miše deputatad ei pidägoi Venäman zakonoid, iče deputatad tegiba ei oikti, kackat kut Venämal voib azjad tehta, opendajad školan opendajad hö necen sudan, saiba sudaspäi azjbumagad miše ei ole oikti tehtud, ei sand saupta školoid, edel sigä ku ei olend suima, tariš miše ezmei külän eläjäd kerazihe, i jo vot necil surel suimal sobranial sanuižiba miše ka školan mö käskem saupta, i vaiše siloi jäl'ged deputatad voižiba, a hö tegiba ei oikti, ei Venäman oiktusiden zakonoiden mödhe
'Everybody says that from the economic side that is, how to say, not efficient. In Russia everything is measured in money. - - And then they think that it is easier to close [down schools], [it costs] less money, and bring all the children to Vidl, to boarding school. That is easier to do and [requires] less money than keeping the school where you need eight teachers and need to pay salaries to them. - - That was the wrong thing to do and there was a complete war on that. - - All the representatives said first, well it was voted - - voted that the school must be closed. Then they passed it down to court. The court said that it was not allowed to do that. - - The court said that the representatives were not following the laws of Russia. The representatives themselves were doing wrong. Look how you can do things in Russia! Teachers, school teachers, they got documents from the court [in which it was stated] that it was not rightly done. You were not allowed to close the school if there is not an assembly before. The villagers should convene first, and in that big assembly they should say: we order to close the school. Only then could the representatives [close it down]. And they did the wrong thing, not following the rights, the laws of Russia.'
Interviewer1:
a niken ei sanund miše tarbiš teile pördutada necida, ili sanub-ik

> ‘And nobody said that you should withdraw that, or did they?’
> RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
> *ka, i siloi oli uz', - - möst necen küzundan libuti, sanuiba tariš saupta, i toižel kerdal - - jo änestiba miše tariš školan jätta, no opendusen komitet saupsi i jäti vaiše augotižškolan*
> ‘Yes, and then there was a new, - - the questioning was organised anew. They said that [it] must be closed. And the next time - - they already voted that school must be maintained. But the educational committee closed it and only the primary school was left.’

Perceptions about the legislation vs. actual legislation

The use of the Veps language in education is regulated by law only in the Republic of Karelia, not in the oblasts of Leningrad and Vologda. The education law of the Republic of Karelia (1994) used to contain language provisions similar to the education laws of other republics of the Russian Federation. It did promise that the Republic of Karelia would create conditions for general education of the autochthonous peoples (Karelians and Veps) in their native languages, and for representatives of other ethnic groups to choose the language of education within 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 language provisions of the previous law have been left out. The law establishes only the obligation of the republic to support learning of the national languages and other ethno-cultural subjects in schools (article 3; the so-called ethnocultural component). (Klement’ev 2005b.) Russian as the state language of the Russian Federation has to be studied in all educational institutions. The languages of instruction are defined in the statutes of each educational institution.

According to the law on State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages of 2004 these languages can be studied as subjects in educational institutions according to federal and republican legislation (article 4). Citizens have the right to choose freely the language of their 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 creation of the needed number of classes, groups and conditions for their functioning (article 5). However, at this time these provisions are merely declarative.

The regional target programme “State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages in 2006-2010” (henceforth: Programme on Support of Languages (2005)[67]) was approved the next year after the adoption of the law. The programme aims at the ensuring of the rights of Karelians, Veps and Finns for the preservation, 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 Ethnic Affairs, the Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs, and the Ministry of Culture and Public Relations.

[67] Text available at: http://www.gov.karelia.ru/Power/Committee/National/Lang/program.html

In the attachment to the programme, the planned measures in the fields of education, culture, science, information and administrative activities are listed. The first section concerns the national education and intends to increase the number of public services in the field. The task is to improve the language competence of students and to increase the number of schools with an ethnocultural component. It is planned to measure the level of satisfaction of the needs of citizens by the number of their requests to executive authorities.

4.3.3 Media

Existence of media

As discussed already in 4.1, the Veps language is used most often in traditional media: on television, on the radio and in the newspaper. In Q62A our Veps MinLG respondents were asked about their use of different Veps-language media. As shown in Figure 37 below, the Veps language is used mostly in traditional media. However, the share of respondents using these most popular media on a monthly basis or more often was still less than 40%.

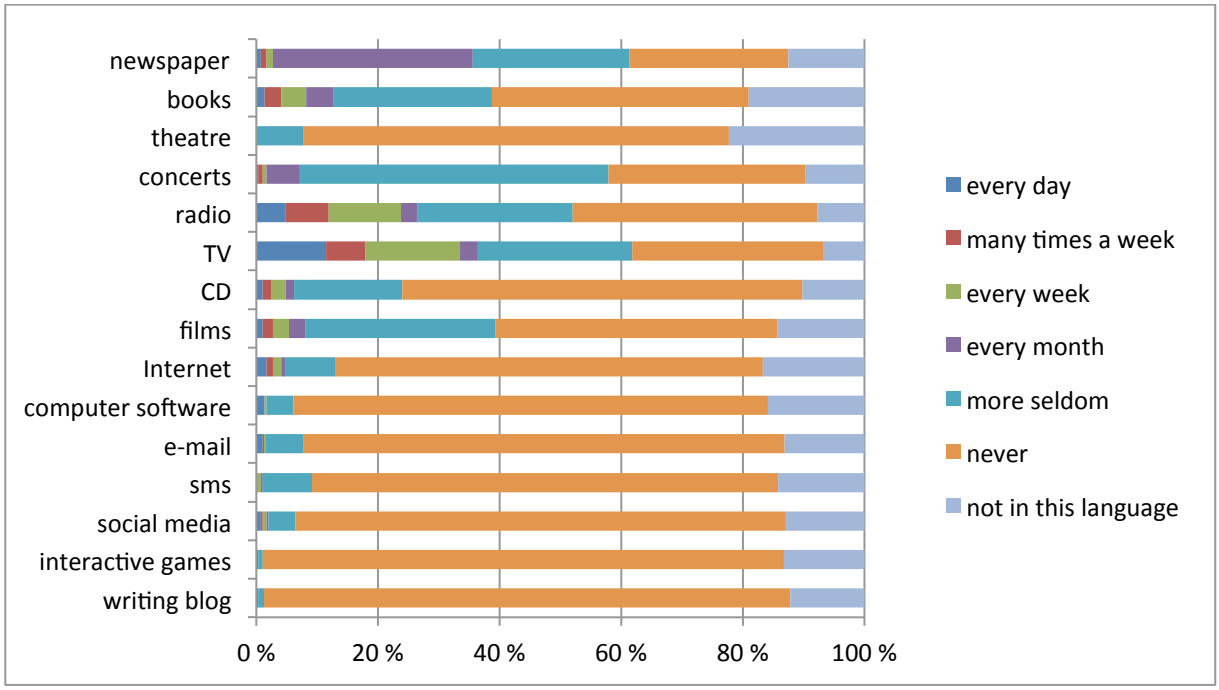


Figure 37: Use of the Veps language in different media

Nearly a third of the respondents (33.5%) reported watching Veps television broadcasts at least weekly. A bit less than a quarter (23.8%) of the respondents replied that they listen to radio in Veps at least on a weekly basis. 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 the literary language, they are able to follow spoken media, which are usually free of charge and do not require registration or subscription. When taking into account the age of the respondent in media

figures, television and radio are mainly used by the elderly: 48.8% of the oldest age group watches television and 33.8%, listens to the radio on a weekly basis in Veps[68].

The only Veps language newspaper, *Kodima*, is the most important media product for the Veps respondents. It was read at least sometimes by 61.4% of the respondents. Approximately one third of the respondents (32.9%) reported reading newspapers once a month in Veps; since the newspaper *Kodima* only appears once a month, this is expectable. Reading newspapers is equally common among all age groups: in fact, the oldest and the youngest age groups are the most frequent readers, as slightly less than 40% of both groups replied reading the newspaper in Veps monthly. Reading books was obviously not a very common activity among the respondents, as there are not many books published in Veps yet: 38.8% of the respondents might read books in Veps and 61.2% reported never doing so. Further, as many as 26.2% reported reading them more seldom than on a monthly basis. The respondents reported using electronic media very seldom in Veps. One must of course note that Internet contents or interactive games etc. in Veps barely exist.

The following young interviewee reports using Veps occasionally on the Internet with his brother:

(125) RU-VEP-FG-AG1-05:
erašti mö kirjutamoiš vel'l'enke Internetadme
'Sometimes we write with my brother on the Internet'
Interviewer2:
((laughing)) *ičemoi kelel ka*
'In Veps, right?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG1-05:
ka ičemoi kelel
'Yes, in Veps.'

The Veps respondents prefer using Russian in all media platforms. The contrast between the use of Veps and Russian is clearly visible when Figures 37 and 38 are compared. As many as 61.8% of the respondents reported reading newspapers in Russian daily. The language choice is quite obvious, since the only daily newspapers are published in Russian. Similarly, an overwhelming majority of the minority group respondents (93.8%) reported watching television broadcasts daily in Russian. In the society the respondents are living in such language choices are natural: the availability of Russian books, newspapers, television and radio programmes, Internet contents, CDs, etc. is overwhelming compared to Veps.

[68] However, the effect of age is much clearer among the Karelian ELDIA-respondents. The difference is probably due to the fact that there is more media supply in Karelian than in Veps.

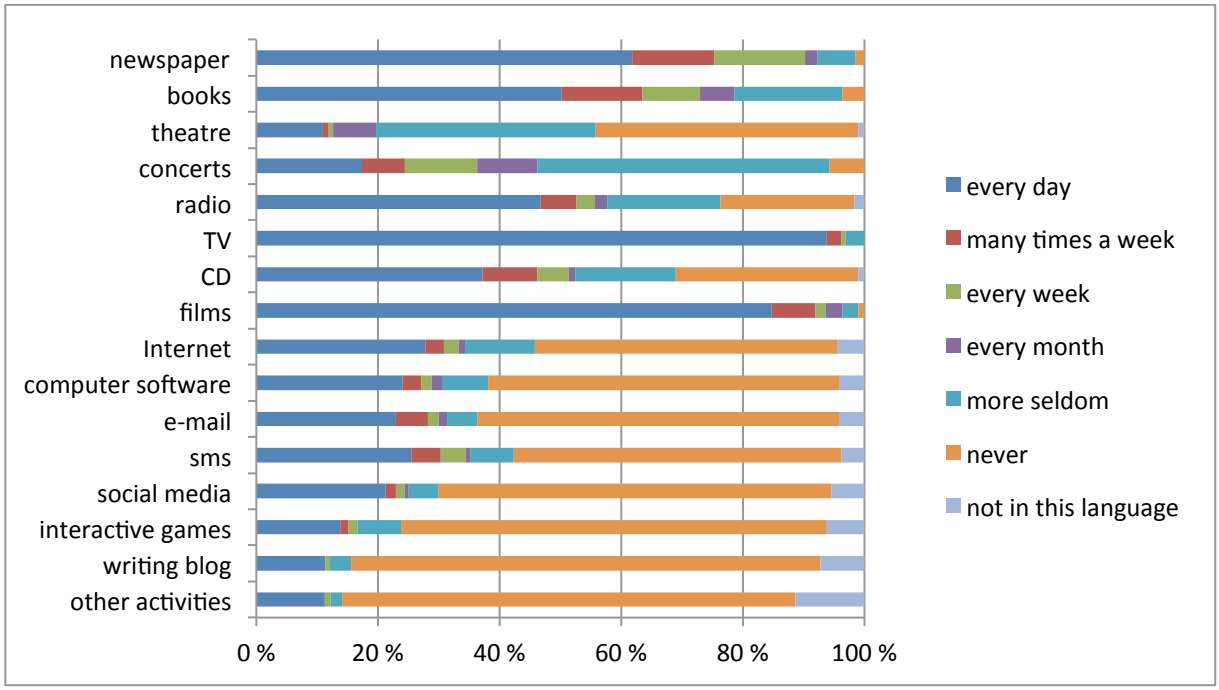


Figure 38: Use of the Russian language in different media

The control group's use of Russian-language media does not differ much from that of the minority group respondents. One must keep in mind that the answers to Q62 in the Veps case study and Q37 in the control group study do not necessarily tell us about the language choices of the respondents, as in practice the Russian-language media supply is often the only option available to them. The control group respondents reported using new media, such as Internet contents, computer software and CDs, slightly more often than the Veps minority group respondents. This difference may partly be due to the fact that the control group survey was carried out in a city whereas the minority group included a substantial share of rural population and was biased in favour of the oldest generations (28.4% of the Veps respondents but only 5.0% of the control group respondents were over 65 years old).

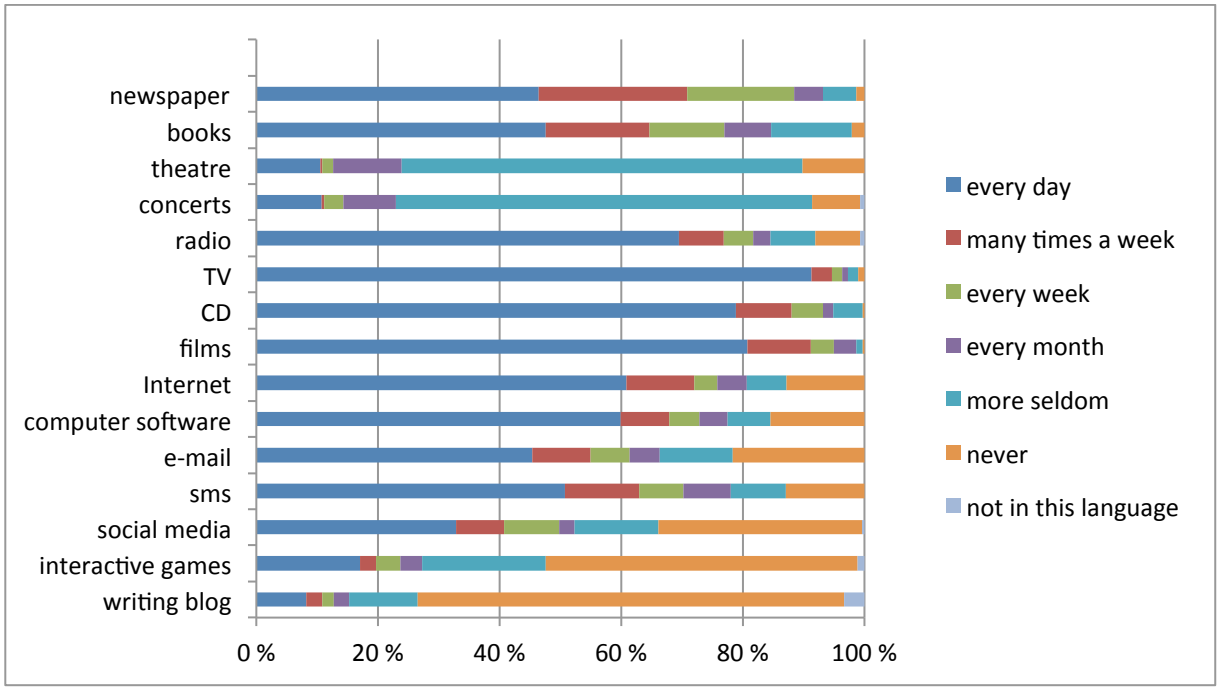


Figure 39: Use of the Russian language in different media, CG

Active use of languages (text production) and cultural products

The Veps language may be used when singing songs or reciting poetry but usually not when producing texts. Using Veps for traditional text production was by no means common; as shown in Figure 40, only a tiny minority of the respondents use Veps for writing letters (2.7%), writing a diary (3.1%), writing texts (5.1%), composing songs (1.7%) or performing theatre (5.5%) at least on a monthly basis. However, the share of respondents who would use Veps for singing songs (20.3%) or reciting poetry (11.8%) at least on a monthly basis was somewhat higher.

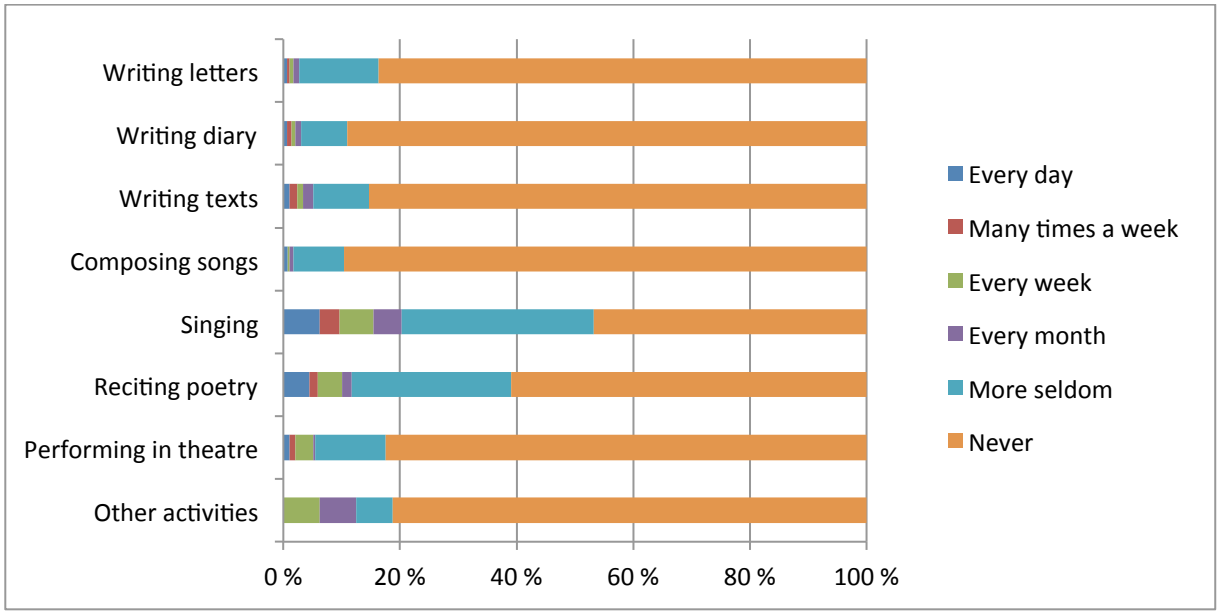


Figure 40: Active use of the Veps language in domains of culture

The Veps respondents 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 Veps. As Figures 40 and 41 show the minority group respondents prefer using Russian for all the activities. For instance, when only 2.7% of the respondents reported using Veps at least on a monthly basis when writing letters, the share of respondents using Russian was ten times higher, 27.5%. Similarly, only 20.3% of the respondents would use Veps at least monthly when singing, while the share of respondents using Russian was twice as high, 42.9%.

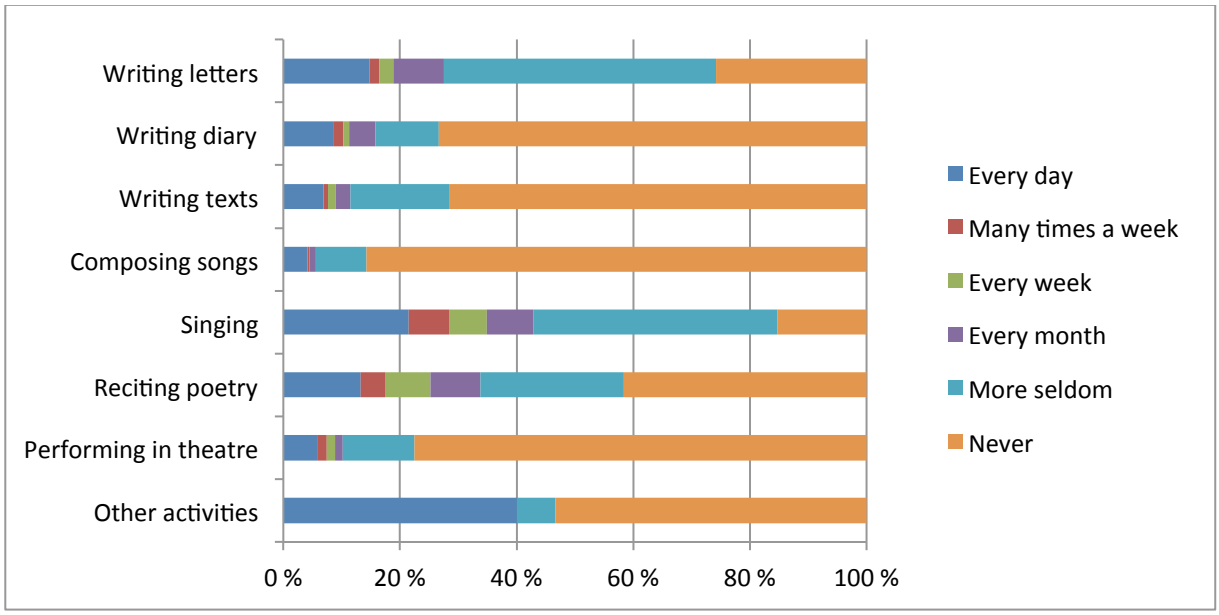


Figure 41: Active use of the Russian language in domains of culture

4.3.4 Education

Language acquisition

Formal education has not played an important role in Veps language acquisition. The vast majority of the respondents (87.5%) have learnt Veps solely at home. Only 10.3% of the respondents have had formal education in Veps. The share of respondents having learnt Veps both informally and formally was as low as 4.3%. First, the respondents were asked by whom and where they were taught to speak Veps. As many as 87.5% of the respondents replied (in Q08) that they have learnt Veps only at home. This is also a direct consequence of the age distribution of respondents, considering that, with the exception of the short period in the 1930, the Veps language was not taught at schools at all until two decades ago (c.f. 2.4.1, 2.4.3, 2.5.1).

The following over 65 year old interviewees are typical representatives of their generation. They report having all had Veps as their first language.

(126) RU-VEP-Interviewer2:
kuspäi kaikutte teišpäi zavodi pagišta ičemoi kelel - -
'Where did you all learn to speak Veps?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-08M:
ka kac ningomad tegimoi da ot roditel'ad kak kus
'Well, look, we became like this, from the parents.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-05F:
kaik pagištihe silei ič-, vepsän kelel
'Everybody spoke the Veps language then.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-08M:
kaik kuti seičas' roditel'ad, školoid ei olnu specialnijoid, a roditelišpei openzimoi
'All from parents. There weren't special schools, but we learned from the parents.'
RU-VEP-Interviewer2:
oli-ik nece vepsän kel' teiden ezmäine kel'
'Was the Veps language your first language?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-08m:
ezmäine konečno
'First of course.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-07m:
ka ezmäine konečno
'Yes, first of course.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-03f:
ka ezmäine konečno
'Yes, first of course.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-08m:
kaikil ezmäine
'First for all [of us]'

The elderly interviewees learned Veps in their early childhood, since the families typically spoke Veps.

(127) Interviewer2:
NN, a konz sinä zavodid pagišta ičemoi kelel
'NN, and when did you start to speak Veps?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-04f:
a en mušta, naverno rodimoi dei srazu, - - da kanz oli sur' a kaik pagištaze
'Well, I don't remember. Probably since I was born, straight away. - - And the family was big and everybody spoke [Veps].'

A tiny minority of the respondents (4.3%) reported having learnt Veps both formally and at home. The formal institutions these respondents mentioned were school and university. The only school specified was the Finno-Ugrian School in Petrozavodsk. One respondent reported having learnt Veps both at school and in courses, one both at school and at the university, and one both in courses and in the National Choir (*Narodnyj hor*).

The following young interviewee reports having begun to learn Veps when she was fifteen years old. She first learned it from her grandmother, but later attended language courses and eventually studied Veps at the university.

(128) RU-VEP-IIAG1f:
laps'aigan konz mina olin d'o vižtoštkümne vot minä zavodin opeta vepsän kel't, ezmei kaiked kanzas, baboi pagiži minunke, a d'äl'ges d'o vepsän kursoil, i d'äl'ges d'o universitetas
'In childhood when I was fifteen, I began to study the Veps language. First of all in the family, my grandmother spoke with me. And after that in Veps language courses, and after at university.'

A small minority of the respondents (6.0%) replied that they had learnt Veps only formally. The formal institutions mentioned were courses of Veps language, school and university. Again, the Finno-Ugrian School in Petrozavodsk was named. Summing up the number of respondents who have learnt Veps only formally (6.0%) and both formally and at home (4.3%), only a sum total of 10.3% of the respondents had formal education in Veps.

The following interviewee reports that the entry level skills of the students studying Veps at school are getting lower year after year:

(129) Interviewer1:
a školnikoiš om völ ken-ni ken mahtab i el'gendab vepsäks ili pagižeb
'And are there any pupils who still master and understand Veps or speaks it?'
RU-VEP-IIAG4-01f:
oi minä en teda, voib olda kahcendas klassas ken-se vot el'gendab, mikš mise, babad völ oma vepsäd i erased vanhembad pagištaze, a pened, minä en teda, vaiše erased sanad voib olda el'getaze, no da kaikuččen vodenke d'ügedamba, mise laps' tezi midä-ni enamba.
'Oh, I do not know. There might be someone in the eighth class who understands. Why not, [since] grandmothers are still Veps and some parents speak. But small ones, I do not know, maybe a few words they may understand. But it becomes harder every year for a child to know something more.'
Interviewer1:
mhm, a min täht om jügedamb kaikuččen voden
'Mhm, but why is it more difficult every year?'
RU-VEP-IIAG4-01f:
kodiš ii pagiškoi, päivkodiš ei opekoi, vaise školas i vaise urokoil, kodiš erased nimidä ei tehkoi a pidäb kaikuččen sanan pähä otta i opeta sana
'They do not speak at home, do not learn at kindergarten. Only at school and during the lessons. Some do not do anything at home but one must understand and learn every word.'

Another problem according to the interviewee is that the literary standard language taught at school differs a lot from the dialects learnt at home or at the kindergarten:

(130) RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
sadikos opetaze miide, miide kel't, ka meide pagin. a ezmeižehe klassaha tuleba, i pagin d'o literaturnova jazyka
'At kindergarten they teach our, our language, our dialect, right. But when they come to the first grade, the language is already the literary language.'

Not all students are motivated in studying languages:

(131) RU-VEP-IIAG4-01f:
ei kaik el'gekoi mise pidäb i opeta angliskian kelen. ved' se ken ii openda vepsän kelen, i hän ii tahtoi opeta i angliskian kelen
'Not all understand that you should study the English language. For the one who won't study the Veps language, he doesn't want to study English, either.'
Interviewer2:
nimiččid kelid
'Not any languages.'
RU-VEP-IIAG4-01f:
vot ka, d'üged om, pidäb opeta vot
'Well, yes, it is difficult, but you must teach.'
Interviewer2:
venäkel'-ki om d'üged
'Russian is difficult, too.'
RU-VEP-IIAG4-01f:
i venäkeles völ äjan teggob ošibkoid
'And this kind of person makes a lot of mistakes in Russian, too.'
Interviewer1:
a ku om mel'- openzoita anglian kelen, abutab-ik vepsän kelele, ningomil lapsil
'And when one likes to study English, does it help [to learn] the Veps language, those children?'
RU-VEP-IIAG4-01f:
abutab, voib olda vepsän kel' abutab angliskian kelele, konz opendam vepsän kirjamed. ka kirjutaze, - - nu i pust' sanutaze, muga tam vepsän kel' i ka erašti sanub tam frog, ka luge vepsän kelel se, kut linnob, frog ((laughing)), voib olda vot ningomad situaciad.
'It helps. The Veps language might be helpful for English, when we study the Veps alphabet. And write. - - But let's say, it is the Veps language and sometimes they say 'frog' [EN]. Yes, read it in the Veps language, how do you say, 'frog' [EN]. There are such situations.'

Approximately one third of the respondents (37.0%) did not learn any Russian at home. The respondents were asked who taught them to speak Russian and where. There was a considerable share of respondents (37.0%) who did not learn Russian at home but only formally (Q09); only few respondents (15.9%) reported having learnt it both at home and formally. The share of respondents who replied that they had learnt Russian at home was 47.1%. However, this percentage should not be treated as if these respondents had learnt Russian only at home and nowhere else. When presented with a question about who taught them a language, respondents usually think about the place where they first learned the language. Laymen do not necessarily think of language learning as a process that also continues during the school years. Russian is and has been predominantly the language of instruction in Russia. Therefore there might have been also respondents who did not find it worth mentioning that they also studied in Russian.

Language of instruction

In Q25 the respondents were supposed to be asked whether they were taught in just one language when they went to school. However, in the Veps case study the question was formulated as "Were you taught in **one or several** languages when you went to school?" and the respondents were given two response options, **yes** and **no**. It is obvious that one could not answer the question in a sensible way. Therefore, due to misformulation of the question this question could not be analysed.

Very few respondents (0.7%-1.7%) reported having had Veps as a language of instruction at school. The share of respondents who reported (in Q26) having been taught in Veps were very low – 0.7% (2 respondents) in pre-school, 1.7% (5 respondents) in primary school and 0.7% (2 respondents) in secondary school – and even these low numbers may be due to misunderstanding. As previously pointed out (see 2.4.3) there is no governmental day-care or pre-school instruction in the Veps language. Russian is the sole language of instruction everywhere the Veps live and none of the schools use Veps as a language of instruction. Only six schools in the Veps area take the Veps language somehow into account in instruction.

The following interviewee discusses Veps as the language of instruction.

(132) RU-VEP-IIAG5-01f:
miše ope-, ka ka, pagištoiš kaiken aigan vepsän kelel i nastavnic, - - nastavnic kaiken aigan pagižiž, i kaiken aigan, miše hänel venäkel't hö ii kultaiš
'That the teach-, yes yes, would speak all the time in Veps. And the [RU teacher] - - the teacher would speak all the time, and all the time that they would not hear any Russian from her.'

Q26 also concerned the instruction in Russian in pre-school, primary school and secondary school. Only 10.4% of the respondents reported having been taught in Russian in pre-school, 9.0% in primary school, and 10.0% in secondary school. However, in question Q26 the rate of missing answers was remarkably high: 89.6%. As a matter of fact Russian is the sole language of instruction in the Veps area (see 2.4.3); therefore this piece of information seems to be highly unreliable and unusable.

A tiny minority of the respondents reported having had Finnish or English as one of the languages of instruction. There were very few respondents who had had some other language of instruction at school besides Russian and Veps: none in pre-school, 16 in primary school and 5 in secondary school. In primary school the languages of instruction mentioned were Finnish (according to 11 respondents) and English (according to 5). Similarly, the languages of instruction in secondary school were English (according to 4 respondents) and Finnish (according to 1 respondent). However, mentioning English here may be due to a misunderstanding – most probably, the respondents have only learnt English as a subject.

When it comes to Finnish as a language of instruction, the respondents who reported having had instruction in Finnish were elderly and therefore must have gone to school during the Second World War and the Finnish occupation from 1941-1944, when Finnish-language

schools were operated in the occupied Veps-language area. Even earlier, before the year 1937, the schools in the Veps rajon of Šoutjärv (Шёлтозеро) in the Karelian Republic had Finnish as language of instruction (see 2.2.2 and 2.4.2). (Cf. Austin 2009: 20–60; Sarhimaa 1999: 35–41; Musaev 2007: 80-83.)

Similarly there were some interviewees who reported in face-to-face interviews that they had had Finnish as language of instruction in their childhood.

(133) RU-VEP-FG-AG5-07M:
a sinä oled, sotan aikan[69] *ää suomekš elin*
'And you are, during the war I lived in Finnish.'
Interviewer2:
sinä pagiže ičemoi kartte, voinan aigan kus elid
'Speak in the Veps language. Where did you live during the war?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-07M:
kudenden klassan lop siloi oli, vot siloi muštan mise oli necen täht, a völ opetihe suomalaižed ((laughing)) *učitel'ad*
'It was the end of sixth grade then. And then I remember it was for that. And these were Finnish teachers.'
Interviewer2:
a oliba täga ka
'And they were here, right?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-07M:
täga ka
'Yes, here.'
RU-VEP-Interviewer2:
a sinä muštad necen
'And you remember that?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-07M:
koume vot nece oli - -
'It was [for] three years.'
RU-VEP-Interviewer2:
i suomen kel' oli, a siloi oli vepsän kel' voinan aigan školas
'And there was Finnish. But was there Veps language at school during the war?'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-07M:
oli, pagižim-se vepsäks a openzimoi suomen kelel - -
'Yes. We were speaking Veps but studying in Finnish.'
RU-VEP-Interviewer2:
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-02F sinä openzid
'RU-VEP-FG-AG5-02F, you were studying.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-02F:
ka, tože koume vot finneil openzimoi
'Yes, I studied for three years with the Finns.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-03F:
finneil minä openzimoi
'I studied with the Finns.'

[69] The informant attempts to speak Finnish (*sotan aikan* < Fi. *sodan aikana* 'during the war').

RU-VEP-Interviewer2:
a sinä-ki RU-VEP-FG-AG5-03F mugažo.
'And you RU-VEP-FG-AG5-03F, too.'
RU-VEP-FG-AG5-02F:
i hö naprimer ka ei tetud ni vepsskijad, ei tetud ni russkijad nimida, srazu finskijal kelel, mö zato teravas openzimoi, inače kut-žo pidi el'geta ved', no vot tak čto hö kut tul'the učitel'ad vaise pagištihe finskijal, vaise fisnkijal, nimittušt perevodad ei olnu, nimidä ei olnu
'And they for example didn't know any Veps and didn't know any Russian. Directly in Finnish. We nevertheless learned quickly, what else could we have done, we had to understand. Well, when they came, the teachers were speaking only Finnish, only Finnish, there was no translation, nothing at all.'

Roughly 90% of the respondents have had no Veps education at school. In Q27 the respondents were asked whether they had any Veps education in pre-school, primary or secondary school. Since Q25, which was supposed to lead the respondents either to Q26 or straight to Q27, was incorrectly formulated, some responses to Q27 may be missing, too. The vast majority of the respondents reported that they had no Veps education in pre-school (93.8%), primary school (87.8%) or secondary school (86.8%). Very few respondents had learnt Veps in pre-school (6.2%). The shares of respondents who reported that they had Veps education in primary school (12.2%) or secondary school (13.2%) were a bit higher.

(134) RU-VEP-II-AG5F:
konz mö, kaks'kümne vot tagaze NN:nke olem tehnuded mugoižen programman miše udessündutada kelid, vepsän i karjalan kelt, siloi mö kirjutim miše pidäb levenzoita vepsän kelen i karjalan kelen kävutand školas, ozutesikš voiži pajočas tehta vepsän kelel, pirdandčas voiži tehta, - - fizkul'turan urok voiži tehta mugažo, vepsän kelel, no necida ei tehtud, nece jäi kuti poles, no nece toiži vepsän kel'he ut elod, ut henged
'When we twenty years ago with NN made a kind of programme to revitalise languages, the Veps and Karelian languages, we then wrote that we should broaden the use of the Veps and Karelian languages at school. For example you could hold a singing lesson in Veps, could hold a drawing lesson, - - physical education could also be held in Veps. But that was not done, it was not finished. But that would bring new life to the Veps language, new spirit.'

Our Veps respondents were quite unanimous in their opinion that Veps should be used in the education system (see 4.3.1.8), but in real life not many parents actually choose Veps for their children. According to the following interviewee young parents do not understand the reason for studying Veps at school:

(135) Interviewer:
voiži-k tehta školas vepsän grupan, kenespäi ripub miše ii tehta
'Is it possible to form a group for Veps studies? From whom does it depend?'
RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
norile mamoile i tatoile, konz sanuba tahtod-ik sinä miše sinun laps' opendaiži kel't, hö sanuiba, ku hot' hö oma vepsläižed i babad. hö sanuba mikš, min täht nece kel'. kel' meide vepsän kel' tariš küläs, a muite nikuna ei tari. i hö ku linneb valičuz

anglian kel' opendaškandeb laps' vai vepsän kel', kaik sanuba anglian kel't. mikš lapsele vepsän kel'
'When you ask young parents whether they would like their children to study Veps, they say they are Veps and so are the grandmothers. They ask: why, what is this language for. The Veps language is only needed in the village but nowhere else. And when they have to choose whether their child will study English or Veps, everyone chooses English. What does the child need Veps for?'

At present the majority of young people who go to study Veps at university do not know the language beforehand:

(136) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
vähä om nügüd' niid ken mahtaba pagišta, ked tuleba kelenke universitetha, enamban tuldas, ei tekoi niüht vaihed, no äjil oma völ vot vepsläižed jured, - - nu vot mugoine melentartuz' om
'Nowadays there are few of them who can speak, who come to university and know the language. Mostly the ones who come don't know a single word. But many still have Veps roots. - - But there is interest.'

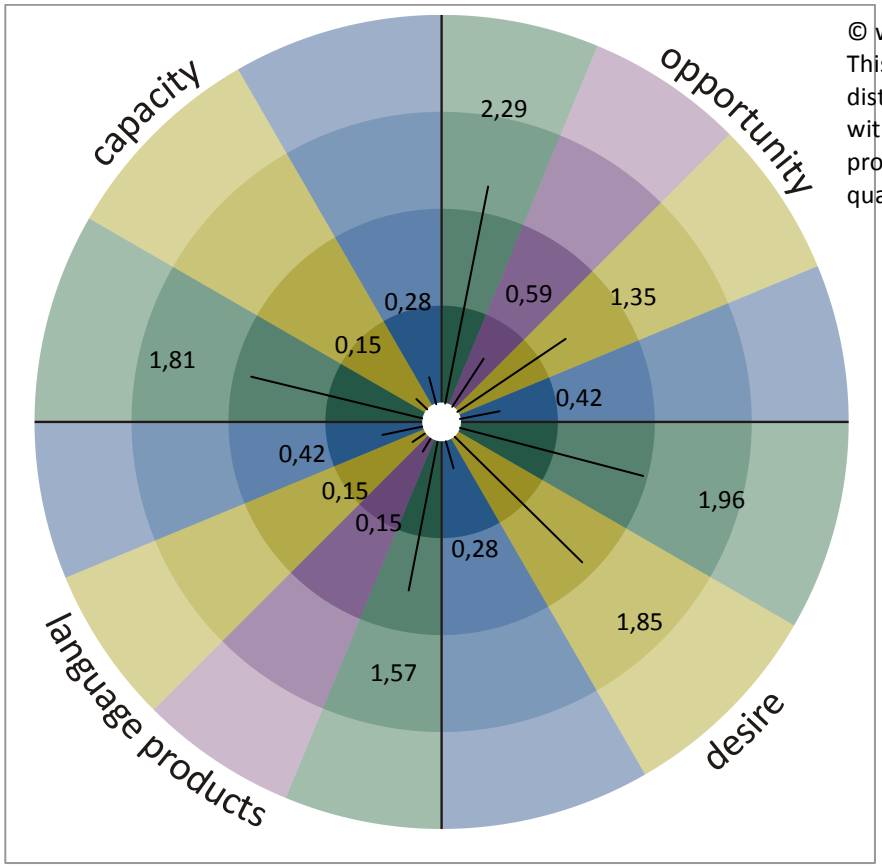
The university education has proved to be efficient: the students have attained language skills adequate and fluent enough, according to one of the interviewees:

(137) RU-VEP-IIAG3f:
nene voded - - ozutaba miše kelen voib ühtes polespäi opeta, ku hän tahtob teta, hän voib opeta
'These years - - show that on the one hand, you can teach a language. If one wants to know it, it can be taught.'

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 with a radar chart. The idea and design of the barometer and the radar chart are the result of continuous discussion and collective effort involving many members of the ELDIA consortium. (The planning of the barometer was initiated by Jarmo Lainio, the radar chart design was first suggested and sketched by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark and essentially developed by Katharina Zeller, and 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.)

In the following section, the main findings of our study are analysed and summarised in terms of the four Focus Areas (Capacity, Opportunity, Desire and Language Products); for the principles of ELDIA data analysis, see chapter 3.6. The visual presentation (radar chart) of the results, the vitality barometer for the Veps language in Russia, is first presented. The calculations and the radar chart have been prepared by Kari Djerf and Eva Kühhirt.



© www.eldia-project.org
This chart must not be used, distributed or reproduced without reference to the ELDIA project and the underlying quantitative and qualitative data.

Figure 42: The Case-Specific Barometer of Veps

Four different colours are used to depict the four Dimensions – *Language Use and Interaction*, *Education*, *Legislation* and *Media*. Note that in the quadrants Capacity and

Desire you will find only three Dimensions (no *Education*). As some values proved to be very low, it was decided to let the lines start not from the centre but from an inner circle. This enhances the readability of the graphs.

The following legend indicates the colours used for each Dimension and the colours used for the grade.

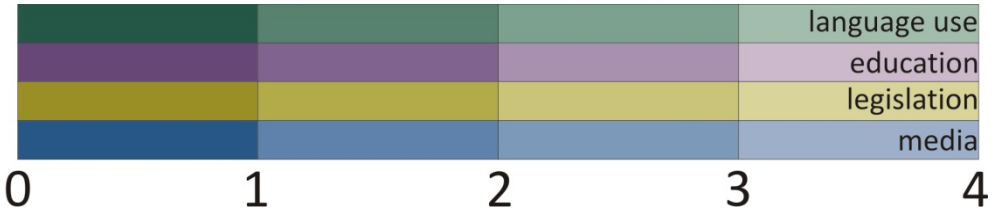


Figure 43: Legend for EuLaViBar

The European Language Vitality Barometer will be an instrument for measuring the prospects of vitality of minority languages. This will be done by identifying conditions that threaten the maintenance of the language at issue, those that promote it, and those that need to be improved in order to advance its maintenance. The Barometer involves constitutive components of four different levels: Focus Areas (level 1), which comprise several Dimensions (level 2) each; the Dimensions that have been analysed employing carefully constructed sets of variables (level 3); and the variants (level 4) of the variables, which are defined by using the following scaling system: (c.f. 3.6 above).

Grade	Description
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 are needed to support and promote the language in its maintenance and revitalisation.
2	**Language maintenance is threatened**. Language use and transmission are diminishing or seem to be ceasing at least in some contexts or among some speaker groups. If this trend continues, the use of the language may cease completely in the more distant future. →Effective measures must be taken to support and encourage the use and transmission of the language.

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 numbers 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 from a long-term perspective.

5.1 Capacity

The EuLaViBar Focus Area **Capacity** refers to the subjective capacity to use the Veps language and to the self-confidence of the Veps speakers in using Veps (c.f. 3.6.3) The mean score for the first Dimension, *Language Use and Interaction*, is somewhat higher (1.81) than the mean scores for the other two Dimensions, *Legislation* (0.15) and *Media* (0.28), but still below grade 2 on our scaling system. In other words, the scores suggest that even among our selected respondents the language shift is evident and Veps is a severely endangered language.

Language Use and Interaction

The result for this Dimension is supported by the qualitative results of the study. The low mean score for *Language Use and Interaction* arose from many different variables. Firstly, the weak scores for using Veps concerned present cross- and intra-generational language use. According to our study, the Veps language is mainly spoken with the grandparents. It also used to be spoken with the parents, but the present situation is different: the old generations are passing away, and within the generations capable of using Veps, the number of speakers is thinning out. Veps is no longer spoken to the young generation and children are no longer supported in using it. The language most commonly used in the families is Russian. Secondly, according to the study, the respondents' self-reported literary skills are relatively poor. Not many respondents are capable of reading or writing Veps, even though the majority of the respondents estimated their oral skills to be fairly good. Thirdly, most of our respondents admitted that it is not easy to use Veps in most situations of daily life, and fourthly, the Veps language is mainly used in the informal, private spheres of life: at home and with relatives, friends and neighbours, but not in the official spheres. The vast majority (roughly 90%) of the respondents reported never using Veps at church, at the library or with the public authorities.

Legislation

The mean score for *Legislation* within the Focus Area of Capacity was based on the existence or non-existence of legal texts translated into the minority language. The score was calculated on the basis of the "linguistic self-confidence" of the respondents, in other words on the number 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 (0.15).

However, there are several facts that must be taken into account here. Firstly, the score did not count the 'do not know' replies at all, which is somewhat misleading, since almost half of the Veps respondents (43.2%) were undecided on this question. Secondly, most respondents (53.4%) knew that such legislation is not translated into Veps. In other words, most respondents were aware of the prevailing situation. However, the score was counted on the basis of just 10 respondents who were (falsely) of the opinion that such legislation exists or partly exists in Veps. The calculation seems to be based on the assumption that the respondents' language capacity somehow correlates with their belief in the availability of laws in their language. This assumption is problematic; perhaps it is more important to note that most respondents were well aware of the fact that no law texts are available in Veps.

Media

The *Media* Dimension was also rated very low (0.28). The mean score was based on the reported media use and consumption of the respondents and on the respondents' active use of Veps in cultural contexts. On the one hand, the result is supported fairly well by the qualitative results of the study. Less than 40% of the respondents reported using Veps at least on a monthly basis even in traditional media, and electronic media is used by significantly fewer respondents than that. Further, the respondents are not using Veps actively for text production and cultural products. On the other hand, we should not interpret the results as the respondents having especially low capacity or low self-confidence in using Veps media. As pointed out in chapter 4.2, the availability of Veps media is not high: until now, the newspaper *Kodima* has been published only once a month, and radio and TV programmes are only broadcast a couple of times a week. Therefore, the quantified data on media consumption does not directly reflect the speakers' language capacity but rather the weak availability of the media itself.

5.2 Opportunity

Opportunity as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers in this case study to those institutional arrangements (legislation, education, etc.) that allow for, support, or inhibit the use of Veps. The term refers to factually existing regulations and thus does not cover the wish for having such.

The mean score for the first Dimension, *Language Use and Interaction*, is the highest (2.29) both within the Focus Area and within the whole radar chart. The mean score for the Dimension of *Legislation* is a bit higher (1.35) than the mean scores for the Dimensions of *Education* (0.59) and *Media* (0.42), yet it remains below grade 2 on our scaling system. This means that according to the mean score for *Language Use and Interaction* clear signs and criteria exist even among our selected respondents that language shift is acute. According to the other three mean scores, the Veps language is severely threatened or endangered.

Language Use and Interaction

The result for this Dimension is supported by the empirical results of the study. The fairly low mean score (2.29) for *Language Use and Interaction* arose from many different variables. Firstly, for many decades the Russian-language education system has in practice worked against the use of Veps. Secondly, most respondents (75.2%) have difficulties in using Veps in their everyday life (see 4.3.1.4.), because Veps can only be used in a few domains in the private sphere, not in public domains such as hospitals, court, offices, politics, etc. Thirdly, there is still is a strong need to develop the Veps language to fit the social and public needs of society.

Education

As can be seen in the radar chart of Veps, the Dimension of *Education* within the Focus Area of Opportunity scored only 0.59. The low mean score arises from the fact that Veps language acquisition has mainly happened at home and there has been no formal instruction of Veps. Veps is not used as the medium of teaching, and if the language is taught at all, it is taught as an optional subject.

Legislation

The Dimension of *Legislation* within the Focus Area of Opportunity scored 1.35, which is fairly low. The constitutional status of the Veps language is defined both in the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993) and in the Constitution of the Republic of Karelia (2001). In the Republic of Karelia, the rights to use the Veps language are also defined in the Laws on Education and Culture and in the Law on State Support for the Karelian, Veps and Finnish Languages. Further, Veps language rights are regulated by the different laws which protect the cultures, languages, traditional way of life and environment of the native peoples in the Russian Federation.

However, in Russia the laws regulating the use and instruction of languages are complex and partly contradictory. For example, the Law on the State Language of the Russian Federation (2005) defines the spheres where using the State Language, Russian, is obligatory (article 3). In the law, the special role of the Russian language is underlined and the use of Russian literary norms is protected.

In summary, it can be argued that even if there is legislation that would allow for or support the use of Veps, and the opportunities of Veps language speakers might be at least partly arranged by legislation, the legislation is not always put into action.

Media

The Dimension of *Media* within the Focus Area of Opportunity scored very low (0.42). The mean score was based on the opportunities of the respondents to use different kinds of media. Even the traditional media has no firm foothold in the Veps language. The broadcasting time of TV and radio programmes is not sufficient and Veps-language printed media, unlike the Russian-language press, is not published on a daily or even weekly basis. The opportunities to use electronic media in Veps are scarce and mainly available for the educated youth.

5.3 Desire

Desire as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers in this case study to the wish and the readiness of the Veps people to use the Veps language. Desire is also reflected via attitudes to and emotions about the use of the Veps language. In general, the Focus Area of Desire scored fairly high. Within the Focus Area, the mean score for the first Dimension, *Language Use and Interaction* is the highest (1.96). The mean score for the Dimension of *Legislation* is also fairly high (1.85), whereas the mean score for the Dimension of *Media* is again very low (0.28). The first two mean scores clearly indicate that even among the selected respondents, language shift is in process, and the third mean score points toward severe endangerment of the Veps language.

Language Use and Interaction

The Dimension of *Language Use and Interaction* within the Focus Area of Desire scored 1.96, which is higher than some other Dimensions, but still below 2. The low mean score arose from many different variables. Firstly, even if there is a strong wish of the Veps people to identify themselves as Veps and to use Veps, the language is not always used in interaction. The language has lost its foothold in the families and is no longer used cross-generationally or intra-generationally. People are facing many difficulties in using Veps, even if they have the desire to do so. Their competence in Veps, especially in reading and writing, is not adequate. The domains in which Veps is used are very few and are usually restricted to the private spheres of life. Furthermore, children are no longer encouraged by their parents to use Veps. Parents might not consider learning Veps important, especially since knowledge of the minority language does not entail benefits or advantages in, for example, the labour market.

Legislation

The Dimension of *Legislation* within the Focus Area Desire scored 1.85. The mean score was based on the respondents' impressions or attitudes to the existence of legislation concerning

the Veps language in the Russian Federation. The Veps MinLG respondents only have a vague idea of legislation or other regulations regarding their language. Most of the respondents know that their language is somehow protected by legislation and wish that these laws be implemented more efficiently. However, many of them are aware that the laws have no real effects on the actual practices.

Media

The *Media* Dimension within the Focus Area of Desire scored very low (0.28). The mean score was based on the respondents' self-reported media use and consumption. However, it must be noted that the respondents were not directly asked about their wishes or readiness to use the Veps language in different media. In our case study, the respondents cannot make real choices between using Veps or Russian media, since Veps media is scarcely available.

5.4 Language Products

Language Products as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers in this case study to the presence of or the demand for language products (including printed, electronic as well as "experiential" products, for example concerts, plays and performances) as well as to the wish to have products and services in and through the Veps language. In general, the Focus Area of Language Products did not score high. Within the Focus Area, the mean score for the first Dimension, *Language Use and Interaction*, scored the highest (1.57). The mean scores for other three Dimensions scored very low: *Education* (0.15), *Legislation* (0.15) and *Media* (0.42). Again, the scores point to serious endangerment of the Veps language.

Language Use and Interaction

The Dimension of *Language Use and Interaction* within the Focus Area of Language Products scored 1.57, which is fairly low. The low mean score arose from many different variables. Firstly, according to the study the Veps people tend to demand already existing, yet scarce language products, such as television programmes, Internet and language instruction. Hospital treatment in the mother tongue was also seen as important. However, the respondents do not find using Veps in more formal and governmental institutions important. The demands actually reflect the current and prevailing situation of the use of the Veps language in these areas.

Education

As can be seen in the radar chart, the Dimension of *Education* within the Focus Area of Language Products scored as low as 0.15. The low mean score essentially arose from the fact that the instruction of Veps is not sufficiently established in society. The language is mostly taught as a voluntary subject, and not used as a language of instruction. However, as many as 90.1% of the respondents (see 4.3.1.4) agreed or somewhat agreed that the Veps language should be used in the education system. In other words, there is an outstandingly strong wish to have Veps in education.

Legislation

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. 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, regardless of whether this opinion is based on reality or not. In our case study, the mean score for *Legislation* was very low (0.15).

However, the 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 and through the Veps language. Therefore the score should not be interpreted as the respondents not wishing for such products or services. On the other hand, the score is an accurate representation of the prevailing situation: there are no legislative language products translated into Veps.

Media

The Dimension of *Media* within the Focus Area of Language Products also scored very low (0.42). The mean score was based on the presence of different kinds of media in the Veps language. As mentioned above, the media supply in Veps – even for traditional print media, TV and radio – is very poor. The low score should not be interpreted as the respondents not wishing to have such products or services in Veps, since the score was only based on the presence of media in the language. The Veps language speakers do not have a real option of choosing between Veps and Russian media.

5.5 The Vitality of Veps

The Veps language spoken in Russia is beyond any doubt severely endangered. As the barometer shows, the results for the different Dimensions of the four Focus Areas never exceed a score of 3, which would implicate a safer stage of the minority language maintenance and status in society. Instead, almost all the Dimensions of the four Focus Areas remain below the grade of 2.

All four Focus Areas scored in a similar pattern: the Dimension *Language Use and Interaction* scored higher than the other Dimensions. Comparing the four Focus Areas to each other it seems that the Focus Area of Desire scored fairly well. The fact that the area of *Language Use and Interaction* is the most vital in all Focus Areas of the EuLaViBar highlights the fact that the societal support for Veps in forms of legislation, education or (state-supported) media is very weak. When the selected nature of our respondents is taken into account, the picture concerning the abilities and willingness to use the Veps language darkens even further. As the data from the latest population census of 2010 shows, the numbers of those identifying as Veps and of those having some competence in the Veps language have dropped significantly in just eight years. There are now 28.3% fewer people reporting Veps nationality. 60% of these individuals report competence in the Veps language.

The ELDIA consortium stresses that the language vitality barometer must never be used to conclude that a language is not "worthy" of institutional and/or financial support. The barometer cannot and should not be used for predicting the fate of an individual language.

The barometer is designed to help 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

The cross-generational language use of Veps is obviously on the verge of vanishing entirely. The share of parents speaking Veps to their children has radically diminished and at present, an overwhelming majority of Veps parents use Russian with their children. The role of Veps in intra-generational language use has also diminished, whereas the role of Russian has strengthened – at present, the language most typically used with one's siblings and spouse is Russian. It seems that grandparents and particularly maternal grandparents have been and still are important language mediators.

Deviating from census data and previous estimations, the self-estimated oral skills of our respondents in Veps were fairly good: over 60% of the respondents claimed to master spoken Veps well or fluently. This corresponded quite accurately with the number of those reporting speaking Veps as their first language. The older the respondents, the more fluent they estimated their spoken Veps skills to be. As predicted, despite the good oral skills, the written Veps skills of the oldest respondents were relatively poor, while it was the youngest group that estimated their written-language skills to be best. Among the Veps respondents, Russian was clearly the strongest language: nine out of ten respondents indicated being fluent in Russian on every level, while most of the respondents admitted to struggling with the Veps language in many situations of life.

The covert attitudes of the Veps minority language speakers differed significantly from their overt attitudes. The sound of Russian was generally regarded more positively than the sound of Veps. The Veps minority group respondents regarded the sound of Russian even more positively than the control group respondents.

The Veps language is mainly used in the informal spheres of life. The official spheres of life do not encourage the use of Veps, and the Russian language tends to dominate in every sphere of life for the Veps minority group respondents. The Veps language is used (sparsely) in education, printed media, radio and television, whereas the use of Veps in public offices, hospitals, advertisements, court or politics is extremely rare (if it exists at all). The Veps respondents also prefer to use Russian on all media platforms. Veps is used most often in traditional media: for watching television, listening to the radio and reading the newspaper. The use of electronic media in Veps is very rare. Competence in Veps was not generally seen as an asset in the labour market, whereas knowing Russian was regarded as extremely important for finding one's first job.

The minority language respondents were highly aware of the institutions and individuals who cultivate Veps as well as of the attempts to maintain the Veps language. There was a fairly strong opinion among the respondents that there is a pure or correct version of Veps, which is supposedly spoken by the elderly Veps. However, some respondents also connected it to the new literary language. The attitudes of the Russian control group respondents towards the teaching of minority languages such as Veps were permissive. Most Veps

respondents knew or otherwise believed that there is some level of support from legislation on the use of the Veps language. However, comments on the issue reveal that the actual legislation – not to mention specific legislative acts – is not widely known among our Veps respondents.

The Veps minority group respondents were highly uncertain about the future prospects of the Veps language. In contrast, a majority of them believed that the use of Russian and English would increase in the next ten years. In the light of the findings of the study and of the case-specific barometer of the Veps language there exist clear signs and criteria suggesting that the Veps language is severely endangered and urgent measures are needed to improve the vitality of the language.

7 References

ALPATOV. V. (1997). = Алпатов, Владимир Михайлович: *150 языков и политика: 1917–1997. Социолингвистические проблемы СССР и постсоветского пространства.* Москва.

AUSTIN, PAUL (2009). *The Karelian Phoenix*. Studies in Languages 45. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.

BOGDANOVA & STROGAL'ŜIKOVA (2008). = Е. В. Богданова З. И. Строгальщикова: Вепсы Республики Карелия: правовой статус. In: Strogal'ŝikova (2008d), 7–23.

BOGDANOV (1957). = Богданов: История развития лексики вепсского языка. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. Ленинград.

BRODSKI, IGOR (2002). *Kalarand.* Kuhmo: Juminkeko.

BUBRIH (1947). = Бубрих Д.В. *Происхождение карельского народа.* Петрозаводск, ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО КАРЕЛО—ФИНСКОЙ ССР, 1947; см. также в книге: Бубрих Д.В. *Прибалтийско-финское языкознание: избранные труды.* / Под ред. Г. М. Керта, Л. И. Сувиженко. СПб: СПбГУ, 2005. С. 345-379.

BRANCH, MICHAEL (1973). *A. J. Sjögren. Studies of the North.* Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimitteita 152. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen seura.

ETHNOLOGUE = http://www.ethnologue.com

FINNO-UGORSKIE I SAMODIJSKIE NARODY ROSSII. (2006). = *Финно-угорские и самодийские народы России. Статистический сборник*. Сыктывкар: Территориальный орган Федеральной службы государственной статистики по Республике Коми.

FISHMAN, JOSHUA A. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift.* Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

FISHMAN, JOSHUA A. (ed.) (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited: A 21st century perspective.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

FOGELKLOU, ANDERS (forthcoming). *Legal and Institutional Framework Analysis: Karelian, Veps and Seto in Russia.* To appear in the series *Working Papers in European Language Diversity,* http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:80726.

GAZZOLA, MICHELE & GRIN, FRANÇOIS (2007). Assessing efficiency and fairness in multilingual communication. *AILA Review* 20, 87-105.

GINIJATULLINA M., ZAJCEVA N. & MULLONEN M. (2001a). *Školvaihišt*. Petroskoi: Periodika.

—— (2001b). *Lingvistine termišt*. Petroskoi: Periodika.

GINIJATULLINA M., HARITONOVA J., ZAJCEVA N. & MULLONEN M. (2004). *Vepsän kelen uz' vaihišt*. Petroskoi: Periodika.

GLEBOVA, OLGA (2001). Kertomus tutkimusmatkasta Itä-Vepsään. *Journal of the Finno-Ugrian Society* 89, 250–253.

GRIN, FRANÇOIS (2006). Economic considerations in language policy. In: Thomas Ricento (ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy. Theory and Method*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 77-94.

GRÜNTHAL, RIHO (1997). *Livvistä liiviin. Itämerensuomalaiset etnonyymit*. Castrenianumin toimitteita 51. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen seura.

—— (2007a). Вепсский язык и первые шаги прибалтийско-финского языкознания. In Sinisalo-Katajisto & Hämäläinen, 11–30.

—— (2007b). Finnic languages and Baltic Sea language area. *Incontri linguistici* 30, 29–48.

—— (2009). Kieliyhteisön rapautuminen ja kielellisen identiteetin muutos: 2000-luvun ersämordvalaiset ja vepsäläiset. In: Anna Idström & Sachiko Sosa (eds.), *Kielissä kulttuurien ääni*. Tietolipas 228. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 265–289.

—— (2011). Demographic change, the decrease of Veps language community and eroding identity. In: Riho Grünthal & Magdolna Kovács (eds.), *Ethnic and Linguistic Context of Identity: Finno-Ugric Minorities*. Uralica Helsingiensia 5. Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society, 267–292.

HEIKKINEN, KAIJA (1998). Vepsäläisten etninen identiteetti ja ongelmallinen julkisuus. In: Pekka Hakamies (ed.), *Ison karhun jälkeläiset*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 697. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 141–159.

—— (2006). *Metsänpelko ja tietäjänaiset. Vepsäläisnaisten uskonto Venäjällä*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1081. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

ILLH (2006) = Институт языка, литературы и истории Карельского научного центра РАН (Institute of Linguistics, History and Literature in Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences) http://illhportal.krc.karelia.ru/section.php?plang=r&id=79 (updated 3rd August 2006, read 22nd March 2010).

ITKONEN, TERHO (1971). Aunuksen äänneopin erikoispiirteet ja aunukselaismurteiden synty. *Virittäjä* 75, 153–182.

JOALAID, MARJE (1998). Vepsäläisten asuma-alueet ja niiden hallinnollinen jako kautta aikojen. In: Leena Nissilä (ed.), *Suomen kielen päivä 13. november 1997.* Tallinn: Tallinna pedagoogikaülikool, 10–33.

—— (www) Vepslastest ja vepsa keelest. http://www.fennougria.ee/public/joalaid-vepslastest-oige.pdf. (read 1st February 2013).

KAPPELER, ANDREAS (2001). *The Russian Empire: a Multiethnic History*. Harlow, England: Pearson Education.

KARJALAINEN, HEINI, PUURA, ULRIIKKA, GRÜNTHAL, RIHO & KOVALEVA, SVETLANA (2013). *Karelian in Russia. ELDIA Case-Specific Report.* Studies in European Language Diversity26. Mainz &c.: ELDIA. https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail_object/o:80726

KAZAKEVITCH, OLGA (2002). Education of indigenous minorities of Russia in the 1930s and in the 1990s: mother tongue at school. In: Kazuto Matsumura (ed.), *Lectures on Language*

Situation – Russia, Estonia, Finland. ICHEL Linguistic Studies Vol. 6. Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1–34.

KRAWCZYKIEWICZ (1972). = A. Krawczykiewicz: Zapożyczenia rosyjskie w języku wepskim. *Acta Philologica* 5, 39–129.

KETTUNEN, LAURI (1943). *Vepsän murteiden lauseopillinen tutkimus*. Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia 86. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen seura.

KLEMENT'EV (2003). = Клементьев Е. По следам языкового законотворчества. In: *Сеть этнологического мониторинга и раннего предупреждения конфликтов*. Бюллетень 48. Март-апрель, 20–23.

—— (2005). Метаморфозы закона «Об образовании». In: *Сеть этнологического мониторинга и раннего предупреждения конфликтов.* Бюллетень 63, сентябрь-октябрь. М, 14–16.

—— (2008). Об особенностях российской этнополитики. In: *Международный семинар «Международные нормы и законодательство Российской Федерации в области сохранения языка и культуры, традиционного образа жизни, природопользования коренных народов: Норма. Теория. Практика» (25–27 ноября 2008 года).* Петрозаводск, 111–116.

KLEMENT'EV, KOŽANOV & STROGAL'ŠIKOVA (2007). = Е. И. Клементьев (рук.), А. А. Кожанов, З. И. Строгальщикова (сост.): *Вепсы: модели этнической мобилизации. Сборник материалов и документов*. Петрозаводск: Институт языка, литературы и истории КНЦ РАН.

KONSTITUCIJA ROSSISKOJ FEDERACII = Конституция Российской Федерации (Constitution of the Russian Federation) http://www.constitution.ru/ (read 30th June 2010).

KOČERINA, J. (2004). *Opendam vepsän kel't.* Petroskoi: Periodika.

—— (2004). *Vepsän kelen radlehtik. 2. klass.* Petroskoi.

KOČKURKINA, SVETLANA (2005). Ves ja vepsäläiset – huomioita muinaiskansan vaiheista. In: Saressalo (2005a), 25–28.

KUKOJEVA N. & GINIJATULLINA M. (2007). *Vepsän kel' 1.* Petroskoi: Periodika.

—— (2007). *Radlehtik 1. klassale.* Petroskoi: Periodika.

—— (2009). *Vepsän kel' 2.* Petroskoi: Periodika.

KURS, OTT (2001). The Vepsians. An administratively divided nationality. *Nationalities Papers* 29/1, 69–83.

LAAKSO, JOHANNA (2001). The Finnic languages. In: Östen Dahl & Maria Koptevskaja-Tamm (eds.), *Circum-Baltic Languages. Volume 1: Past and Present.* Studies in language companion series 54. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 179–211.

LAINE, ANTTI (2001). Where East meets West: The last stand of Finns and *Karelians* in contemporary *Karelia. Nationalities Papers* 29/1, 53–67.

LALLUKKA, SEPPO (1990). *The East Finnic Minorities in the Soviet Union. An Appraisal of the erosive trends.* Suomalaisen tiedeakatemian toimituksia. Series B, tom. 252. Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia.

—— (2000). Luoteis-Venäjän etnisen kartan kehityspiirteitä vuoteen 1959. In: Timo Vihavainen & Irina Takala (eds.), *Yhtä suurta perhettä. Bolševikkien kansallisuuspolitiikka Luoteis-Venäjällä 1920–1950-luvuilla.* Helsinki: Aleksanteri-instituutti, 51–76.

—— (2001). Finno-ugrians of Russia: Vanishing cultural communities? *Nationalities Papers* 29/1, 9–39.

—— (2006). *Venäjän suomalais-ugrilaisten ja samojedikansojen tilastoa.* Helsinki: Venäjän ja Itä-Euroopan instituutti.

LAPIN, VIKTOR (2007). Шимозеры – трагедия диалекта. In: Sinisalo-Katajisto & Hämäläinen, 95–106.

LEHTINEN, TAPANI (1985). Venäjän verbisemantiikkaa itämerensuomessa: karjalan ja vepsän inkoatiiviverbit. *Sananjalka* 27, 63–84.

—— (1990). Venäjän aspektien heijastumia vepsän verbijärjestelmässä. In: Sari Vaula (ed.), *Läänemeresoome keelekontaktid*. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 61. Helsinki, 59–68.

MALAKHOV, VLADIMIR & OSIPOV, ALEXANDER (2006). The Category of 'Minorities' in the Russian Federation: A Reflection on Uses and Misuses. In: Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark (ed.), *International Obligations and National Debates: Minorities around the Baltic Sea*. Mariehamn: The Åland Islands Peace Institute, 497–544.

MIŠIN, ARMAS (2005). Vepsäläinen kirjallisuus ammattikirjailijan silmin. In: Saressalo (2005a), 194–210.

MULLONEN, IRMA (2007). Етнокультурный потенциал вепсской топонимии. In: Sinisalo-Katajisto & Hämäläinen, 3–56.

MULLONEN, MARIÂ (2007). = *Муллонен М.*: Вепсские языковые материалы в архиве Карельского научного центра. In: Sinisalo-Katajisto & Hämäläinen, 31–38.

MUSAEV, VADIM (2007). = Вадим Мусаев: Прибалтийско-финское население Северо-Запада Россиии советская национальная политика в 1920–1930-гг. In: Sinisalo-Katajisto & Hämäläinen, 76–94.

NATIONAL COMPOSITION AND COMMAND OF LANGUAGES AND ETHNICITY IN LENINGRAD OBLAST (2007). = *Национальный состав и владение языками, гражданство населения Ленинградской области. Итоги Всероссийской переписи населения 2002 года*. Стат. сб. Вып. 7. Санкт-Петербург.

NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF KARELIA (2005). = *Всероссийская перепись населения 2002 г. Национальный состав населения Республики Карелия.* Стат. сб. V. Петрозаводск.

MYZNIKOV, SERGEI (2007). Весскйи язык: настоящее и будущее. In: Sinisalo-Katajisto & Hämäläinen, 154–163.

NOVOŽILOVA (2006). = Е.М. Новожилова: Переключение кодов в речи современных носителей вепсского языка. In: Винокурова И. Ю. (отв. ред.) *Современная наука о вепсах: достижения и перспективы.* Петрозаводск, 135–163.

PAIN, EMIL A. (2007). Xenophobia and Ethnopolitical Extremism in Post-Soviet Russia: Dynamics and Growth Factors. *Nationalities Papers* 35/5, 895–911.

PASANEN, ANNIKA (2006). Karjalan kielen nykytila ja tulevaisuus. *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* 91, 151–131.

PAVLENKO, ANETA (2006). Russian as lingua franca. *Annual Review of Applied linguistics* 26, 78-99.

PEKKANEN, INKA (2005). Raamattua vepsäksi. In: Saressalo (2005a), 163–170.

PEREPIS 2002 = Всероссийской переписи населения 2002 года. http://www.perepis2002.ru

PEREPIS 2010 = Всероссийской переписи населения 2010 года. http://www.perepis-2010.ru/

PIMENOV, V. V. (1965). = Пименов В.В.: *Вепсы.* Ленинград.

PIMENOVA, V., STROGAL'ŠIKOVA, Z. & SURHASKO, J. (eds.) (1989). = Пименова, Строгальщикова, Сурхаско: *Проблемы истории и культуры вепсской народности.* Петрозаводск.

POPOV, ANTON & KUZNETSOV, IGOR (2008). Ethnic Discrimination and the Discourse of "Indigenization": The Regional Regime, "Indigenous Majority" and Ethnic Minorities in Krasnodar Krai in Russia. *Nationalities Papers* 36/2, 223–252.

PUURA, ULRIIKKA (2007). Vepsän kielen momentaaniset ja frekventatiiviset verbijohdokset. Johdosten rakenteen, merkityksen ja käytön tarkastelu. Master's thesis. Helsinki: University of Helsinki. Available at http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe200804181247

—— (2008). Kielipesiä rakentamassa – suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten revitalisaatiotoimia vuonna 2008. *Alkukoti* 10. Available at http://blogit.helsinki.fi/alkukoti/ak10s18_kielipesat.htm

—— (2010). Frequentative and Momentative Verbal Derivation in Veps Language. *Linguistica Uralica* 64/4, 261–280.

PYYKKÖ, RIITTA (2005). Venäjä – kieli ja valtio. In: Marjut Johansson & Riitta Pyykkö (eds.), *Monikielinen Eurooppa. Kielipolitiikkaa ja käytäntöä*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 215-230.

RAIPON = http://www.raipon.info/

Red Book of Languages of the Peoples of Russia: the encyclopeaedia (1994). = Красная книга языков народов России : энциклопедический словарь-справочник. [главный редактор В. П. Нерознак]. Москва: Akademia.

ROGOZINA V. & ZAJCEVA N. (2003). *Vepsän kelen harjoituzkogomuz üläopišton täht.* Petrozavodsk.

ROMANOVA, EVGENIA (2007). The Process of Revitalization of Culture and Indigenous Ethnic Identity: The Case of the Vepsian People in Karelia. Master's thesis. Tromsø: University of Tromsø.

ROSSTAT = Федеральная служба государственной статистики (Russian Federal State Statistics Service). http://www.gks.ru/

SAARIKIVI, JANNE (2006). *Substrata Uralica: studies on Finno-Ugrian substrate in Northern Russian dialects*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

—— (2009). Itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisten kontaktien tutkimuksen nykytilasta. In: Jussi Ylikoski (ed.), *The Quasquicentennial of the Finno-Ugrian Society.* Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia 258. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen seura, 109–160.

SAKS, KATRIN (2006). Situation of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed Peoples. A report to Committee on Culture, Science and Education of the Council of Europe. 26 October 2006. Available at http://assembly.coe.int/main.asp?Link=/documents/workingdocs/doc06/edoc11087.htm

SALMINEN, TAPANI (1998). Pohjoisten itämerensuomalaisten kielten luokittelun ongelmia. In: Riho Grünthal & Johanna Laakso (eds.), *Oekeeta asijoo. Commentationes Fenno-Ugricae in honorem Seppo Suhonen*. Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia 228. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen seura, 390–406.

SALVE, KRISTI (1998). Vepsäläisten etnisestä identiteetistä. In: Pekka Hakamies (ed.), *Ison karhun jälkeläiset*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 697. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 119-140.

—— (2004). Vepsa keel, vepsa meel. In: Karl Pajusalu & Jan Rahman (eds.), *Kiil' ja hindätiidmine. Keel ja identiteet.* Võro: Võro instituut, 115–132.

SARHIMAA, ANNELI (1999). *Syntactic transfer, contact-induced change, and the evolution of bilingual mixed codes. Focus on Karelian-Russian language alternation.* Studia Fennica Linguistica 9. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

SARESSALO, LASSI (ed.) (2005a). *Vepsä. Maa, kansa, kulttuuri.* Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1005. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

—— (2005b). Vepsäläisestä kulttuurista, totta ja tarua. In: Saressalo (2005a), 11–24.

SCHWARTZ, CHRISTIAN (2009). Die ostseefinnischen Minderheitssprachen in Russland seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Master's thesis. Wien, University of Wien. http://othes.univie.ac.at/7764/ (read 3rd May 2010).

SINISALO-KATAJISTO & HÄMÄLÄINEN (2007). = Петра Синисало-Катайсто и Эдвард Хямяляйнен (ред.): *Вепсы и етнокультурные перемены XX века*. Studia Slavica Finlandensia, tomus XXIV. Helsinki: Institute for Russian and East European Studies.

STROGAL'ŜIKOVA, ZINAIDA (1989). = З. И. Строгальщикова: Ob etnografičeskih tendencijah socialno-ekonomičeskomi kulturnom razvitii vepsskoj narodnosti. In: V. Pimenova, Z. Strogal'ŝikova, & J. Surhasko (eds.), *Проблемы истории и культуры вепсской народности.* Петрозаводск, 27–42.

—— (1992). = Строгальщикова З.И.: Языковая политика в Карелии и судьба коренных народов. In: *Материалы к серии «Народы и культуры». Вып. XVI. Карелы. Финны. Проблемы этнической истории*. Москва, 4–15.

—— (2005a). Päättyykö vepsäläisten historiallinen taival? In: Saressalo (2005a), 211–235.

—— (2005b). Vepsän kieli muutosten kynnyksellä. In: Saressalo (2005a), 171–180.

—— (2005c). = Строгальщикова З.И.: Формирование правовой базы по преподаванию прибалтийско-финских языков. In: *Бубриховские чтения. Проблемы исследования и преподавания прибалтийско-финской филологии.* Петрозаводск, 270–288.

—— (2006). = Строгальщикова З.И.: Вепсы: етнодемографические процессы прошлое и настоящее. In: Винокурова И. Ю. (отв. ред.) *Современная наука о вепсах: достижения и перспективы.* Петрозаводск, 378–412.

—— (2008a). = Строгальщикова З.И.: *Вепсы*. *Истрико этнографичекий очерк.* Bibliotheca Fenno-ugrica. Периодика: Петрозаводск.

—— (2008b). = Строгальщикова З.И.: Вепсы. На пути к правовому статусу. In: Strogal'ŝikova (2008d), 23–49.

—— (2008c). = Строгальщикова З.И.: Вепсы на рубеже XX и XXI веков по данным официальной статистики и социологических исследований. In: Strogal'ŝikova (2008d), 57–108.

—— (2008d). = Строгальщикова З.И. (Научный редактор): *Вепсы: на рубеже XX и XXI веков*. *По материалам межрегиональной научно-практической конференции «Вепсы – коренной малочисленный народ Российской Федерации: перспективы сохранения и развития » (Петрозаводск, 24–25 апреля 2008 года).* Петрозаводск.

—— (2008e). *Vepsläižed*. Periodika: Petrozavodsk.

—— (2009). = Строгальщикова З.И.: Прощай, школа. In: *Российские вести*, 1–8 июля.

STROGAL'ŜIKOVA, ZINAIDA & ZAJCEVA, NINA (2007). Vepsäläiset Siperiassa. *Carelia* 1/2007, 35–41.

STRUBELL, MIQUEL (1996). Language planning and classroom practice in Catalonia. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* 17/24, 262-275. http://www.multilingualmatters.net/jmmd/017/0262/jmmd0170262.pdf

—— (2001). Minorities and European Language Policies. Minorités et l'aménagement linguistique. *Plurilingua* XXII, 45-58. http://www.geocities.com/m_strubell/viena.htm

TERÛKOV, ALEKSANDR (2005). Vepsäläistutkimuksen historiasta Venäjällä ja entisessä Neuvostoliitossa. In: Saressalo (2005a), 25–28.

TUNKELO, E. A. (1946). *Vepsän kielen äännehistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 228. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

VIINIKKA-KALLINEN, ANITTA (2010.) While the wings grow — Finnic minorities writing their existence onto the world map. In: Helena Sulkala & Harri Mantila (eds.), *Planning a new standard language. Finnic minority languages meet the new millennium.* Studia Fennica Linguistica 15. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 147–177.

VIITSO, TIIT-REIN (1998). Fennic. In: Daniel Abondolo (ed.), *The Uralic Languages*. London and New York: Routledge, 96–114.

VINOKUROVA, IRINA (2003). Календарные праздники и обряды. In Клементьев Е. И. & Шлыгина Н. В. (отв. ред.) *Прибалтийско-финские народы России*. Москва: Наука, 437–448.

—— (2005a). Vepsäläisten vuotuisjuhlista ja rituaaleista. In: Saressalo (2005a), 74–85.

—— (2005b). Vepsäläisten mytologis-uskonnollisista käsityksistä. In: Saressalo (2005a), 136–151.

ZAJCEVA & MULLONEN (1972). = Зайцева М., Муллонен М.И. *Словарь вепсского языка*. Ленинград: Наука.

ZAJCEVA, NINA (1995). *Vepsän kelen grammatik üläopišton täht, I*. Petrozavodsk.

—— (1998). Vepsän kirjkelen problemad: olem-ik surmankündusel? *Nordlyd* 26, 95–101.

—— (2000). *Vepsän kelen grammatik üläopišton täht, II* . Petrozavodsk.

—— (2001). *Vepsän kelen grammatik. II. Verboiden kändluz. Verboiden Nimiformad. Kändamatomad sanad. Openduzabukirj*. Петрозавосдк: Издательство Петрозавосдкого государственного университета.

—— (2002). *Вепсский глагол. Сравнительно-сопоставительное исследование.* Петрозаводск: Периодика.

—— (2003a). Вепсский язык. In: Клементьев Е. И. & Шлыгина Н. В. (отв. ред.) *Прибалтийско-финские народы России*. Москва: Наука, 349–352.

—— (2003b). *Vepsän kelen grammatik. Teoretine openduzkirj 5-9 klassoile.* Petroskoi: Periodika.

—— (2005). Vepsän kielestä ja murteista. In: Saressalo (2005a), 152–162.

—— (2007). Опыт и проблемы языкого планирования у вепсов. In: Sinisalo-Katajisto & Hämäläinen (2007), 126–153.

—— (2010). *Vepsä-venälaine vajehnik*. Petroskoi: Periodika.

ZAJCEVA N. & MULLONEN M. (1991a). *Abekirj*. Petroskoi: Karjala.

—— (1991b). *Lugem i pagižem vepsäks*. Petroskoi: Karjala.

—— (1994). *Ičemoi lugemišt*. Petroskoi: Karjala.

—— (1995). *Vepsä-venälaine, venä-vepsläine vajehnik*. Petroskoi: Karjala.

—— (2007, 2009). *Русско-вепсский словарь.*[70] Петрозаводск : Периодика.

ZAJCEVA & ŽUKOVA (2009). = Зайцева Н., Жукова О. *Русско-вепсский разговорник*. Петрозаводск : Периодика.

ZAJCEVA, HARITONOVA & ŽUKOVA (2012). = Зайцева Н.Г., Харитонова Е.Е., Жукова О.Ю. *Орфографический словарь вепсского языка (Vepsän kelen orfografine vajehnik)*. [науч. ред. С. А. Мызников]. Российская академия наук, Карельский научный центр, Институт языка, литературы и истории. Петрозаводск: Периодика.

[70] Also available at http://illhportal.krc.karelia.ru/publ.php?id=4257&am

ŽUKOVA (2008). = Жукова О. Ю.: О подготовке специалистов по вепсскому языку в ГОУ ВПО РФ ”Петрозаводский государтвенный университет”. In: Strogal’šikova (2008d), 170–174.

1-ST STATE REPORT FCPNM (2000). First State Report of the Russian Federation on the Implementation of Provisions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 08.03.2000.

2-ND STATE REPORT FCPNM (2005). Second State Report of the Russian Federation on the Implementation of Provisions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 26.04.2005.

3-RD STATE REPORT FCPNM (2010). Third State Report of the Russian Federation on the Implementation of Provisions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 09.04.2010.

LEGISLATION

FRAMEWORK CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES (1998). Council of Europe. Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 01.02.1995.

EUROPEAN CHARTER OF REGIONAL AND MINORITY LANGUAGES (1995). Council of Europe. European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, 25.06.1992.

2-ND OPINION AC FCPNM (2006). Second Opinion on the Russian Federation of the Advisory on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 11.05.2006.

1-ST STATE REPORT FCPNM (2000) First State Report of the Russian Federation on the Implementation of Provisions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 08.03.2000.

2-ND STATE REPORT FCPNM (2005) Second State Report of the Russian Federation on the Implementation of Provisions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 26.04.2005.

3-RD STATE REPORT FCPNM (2010). Third State Report of the Russian Federation on the Implementation of Provisions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 09.04.2010.

ALTERNATIVE REPORT FCPNM (2006). Alternative Report of NGOs on the Implementation by the Russian Federation of Provisions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 02.2006.

CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION (1993). Constitution of the Russian Federation, 12.12.1993.

RUSSIA'S LANGUAGE LAW (1991). Law of the Russian Federation on the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation, 25.11.1991; amendments 24.07.1998, 11.12.2002.

FEDERAL LAW ON THE STATE LANGUAGE (2005). Federal Law on the State Language of the Russian Federation, 01.06.2005.

RUSSIA'S LAW ON EDUCATION (1992). Law of the Russian Federation "On Education", 10.07.1992.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE LEGISLATION ON CULTURE (1992). Foundations of the Legislation of the Russian Federation "On Culture", 09.10.1992.

CONCEPT OF THE STATE NATIONALITIES POLICY (1996). Concept of the State Nationalities Policy of the Russian Federation, approved by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, 15.06.1996.

CONCEPT OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY (2006). Concept of the National Education Policy of the Russian Federation, approved by the Order of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, 03.08.2006.

FEDERAL LAW ON NATIONAL CULTURAL AUTONOMY (1996). Federal Law on National Cultural Autonomy, 17.06.1996; amendments: 21.03.2002, 10.11.2003, 29.06.2004, 22.08.2004, 30.11.2005, 01.12.2007.

FEDERAL LAW ON INDIGENOUS SMALL-NUMBERED PEOPLES (1999). Federal Law on Guarantees of Rights of Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation, 30.04.1999.

UNIFIED LIST OF INDIGENOUS SMALL-NUMBERED PEOPLES (2006). Unified List of the Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation, 24.04.2006.

FEDERAL LAW ON CITIZENSHIP (2002). Federal Law "On Citizenship of the Russian Federation, 30.05.2002.

DECLARATION of State Sovereignty (1990). Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Karelian ASSR, 09.08.1990.

DECREE (1991). Decree of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Karelia, 13.11.1991.

LAW ON AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION (1993). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On the Amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of Karelia", 24.12.1993.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KARELIA (2001). Constitution of the Republic of Karelia, 12.02.2001.

LAW ON NATIONAL DISTRICTS (1991). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On the Legal Status of Soviets of the National Districts, National Villages and Settlements in the Republic of Karelia", 22.11.1991.

LAW ON THE ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL DIVISION (2004). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On the Administrative-Territorial Division of the Republic of Karelia", 29.04.2005.

LAW ON THE MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS (2004). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On the Municipal Districts in the Republic of Karelia", 01.12.2004.

LAW ON THE URBAN AND RURAL SETTLEMENTS (2004). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On the Urban and Rural settlements in the Republic of Karelia", 01.11.2004.

DECREE ON THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (1994). Decree of the Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Karelia "On Acquiring the Rights of the Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Karelia", 17.05.1994.

LAW ON THE GOVERNMENT (1999). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On the Government of the Republic of Karelia", 27.04.1999.

LAW ON EDUCATION (1994). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On Education", 18.01.1994.

LAW ON EDUCATION (2005). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On Education", 29.04.2005.

LAW ON CULTURE (1995). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On Culture", 24 .01.1995.

LAW ON THE STATE SUPPORT OF MASS MEDIA (1995). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On the State Support of Mass Media in the Republic of Karelia", 31.12.1995.

LAW ON SUPPORT OF LANGUAGES (2004). Law of the Republic of Karelia "On the State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages in the Republic of Karelia", 19.03.2004

CONCEPT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FINNO-UGRIAN SCHOOL (1997). Concept of the Development of the Finno-Ugrian School in the Republic of Karelia, approved by the Decree of the Government of the Republic of Karelia, 05.04.1997.

PROGRAM ON SUPPORT OF LANGUAGES (2005). Regional target program "State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages in 2006-2010", approved by the Decree of the Government of the Republic of Karelia, 17.05.2005.

PROGRAM ON HARMONIZATION OF NATIONAL RELATIONS (2007). Regional target program "Harmonization of National and Confessional Relations and Formation of Civil Accord in the Republic of Karelia in 2007-2011 («Karelia as the Territory of Accord»)", approved by the Decree of the Government of the Republic of Karelia, 25.01.2007.

ACTION PLAN AND LIST (2009). Action plan and List of the complex measures "Development of the Karelian language in the Republic of Karelia in 2009-2020", approved by the joint Order of the Ministry on the Issues of National Policy and Relations with Religious Associations, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture and Public Relations of the Republic of Karelia, 28.05.2009.

DEPARTMENTAL PROGRAM (2005). Departmental target program "National Development and Inter-ethnic Cooperation of the Peoples and National Minorities of the Republic of Karelia in 2006-2010", approved by the Decree of the State Committee of Nationalities Policy Affairs, 18.12.2005.

Websites used

All-Russian population census 2002 http://www.perepis2002.ru

All-Russian population census 2010 http://www.perepis-2010.ru

Centre of national culture http://www.etnocenter.ru/

Charter for Regional or Minority Languages http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/minlang/Pressreleases/CallForProposalsJPRussia_en.asp

Constitution of the Russian Federation http://www.constitution.ru/

Council of Europe http://www.coe.int/

Demoscope weekly charts http://demoscope.ru/weekly/

Duma of the Russian Federation http://duma.consultant.ru

Ethnologue http://www.ethnologue.com

GTRK Karelia http://petrozavodsk.rfn.ru/

Institute of linguistics, history and literature, Karelian Research Centre of RAS http://illhportal.krc.karelia.ru/

Jousnen jarved http://www.jousne.com/

Noid http://vepsnoid.blogspot.com/

Normative legal acts of the Russian Federation http://zakon.scli.ru/

RAIPON http://www.raipon.info/

Republic of Karelia, governmental organs http://www.gov.karelia.ru/

Riddu Riđđu http://www.riddu.no/festival

ROSSTAT http://www.gks.ru/

Vepsan sebr (St. Petersburg) http://www.veps.de/

Vepsia.ru http://www.vepsia.ru

Veps language community http://www.helsinki.fi/hum/sugl/vepsaproj/eng_index.html

Veps language summer camp http://kelpeza.vepsia.ru/

Vepsän verkkosanasto (e-dictionary of the Veps language)
http://kaino.kotus.fi/sanat/vepsa

Annex 1: Policy recommendations

The following recommendations are based on the results of the case study on Veps (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 the Veps language maintenance and revitalisation. With its three hundred Veps participants, the survey showed that the Veps language is currently used only in certain contexts and the number of speakers has decreased dramatically over the past several decades.

The recommendations below seek to point out measures that could and should be taken to support Veps language usage and adoption today. Given that the list merely encourages new initiatives and long-term support of Veps language use, 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 Veps language learning

(1) Special attention should be paid to **Veps language learning by small children**. A major problem for the Veps speech community is that children no longer learn the Veps 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 Veps language, and teaching in **Veps should be introduced in schools**. Aside from the Veps language itself as a subject, some other subjects could be taught in Veps, most notably ones that do not require much printed educational material.

(3) For the successful promotion of Veps and Karelian early language learning, there could 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) Teaching of the **Veps language** has gradually stopped **in schools in Leningrad oblast**. Many Veps children going to school in Vinnitsy (Vidl) would appreciate the opportunity to begin concurrent study of Veps and Russian, if this was encouraged.

(5) Early language learning in Veps 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 Veps language use

(6) The support of **joint activities in Veps for adults and children** (such as clubs and events) is recommended to connect Veps speakers. Activities that use Veps will encourage those with a weaker active command of the language to practise 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 Veps language.

(7) Special measures and targeted projects are recommended to **increase young people's interest in the Veps language**. Youth culture (such as music, games, and films) in the Veps language is needed to encourage a broadening of the cultural sphere of the language.

(8) Internet pages and discussion forums in the Veps language are needed to promote **communication in Veps**.

(9) A Veps **language course on the Internet for adults** would support the language skills of the Veps community.

Enhancing the visibility and position of the Veps language

(10) **New audio content** is needed to make the language more commonly heard when few people are speaking it. Stories, broadcasts, and music in Veps can create an auditory space for the Veps language.

(11) Hiring 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.

(12) 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 maps could be written in Karelian and Veps.

(13) **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.

(14) 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 Veps and Russian and supporting bilingualism in the upbringing of children.

(15) **A centre for Finnic languages and cultures** in Petrozavodsk could help connect scattered small groups and people. There could be a "home" in which activities take place.

(16) **The distribution of Veps books** and other publications in bookshops would increase their visibility and accessibility.

The legal position of the Veps language

(17) **The law on the support of small-numbered peoples** in Russia and the **law on the state support of the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish languages** in the Republic of Karelia theoretically embrace the Veps 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

(18) Articles by the only Veps **newspaper, *Kodima*,** provide a good basis for discussion **on the Internet**. Online articles could encourage readers to comment on and discuss them.

(19) Accessibility of the **Veps language on the radio and television** strengthens its public image. Reruns of old radio and television programmes could be broadcast. There could also be a freely accessible Internet archive of earlier radio and television broadcasts.

(20) 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 and should be encouraged and supported in this endeavour.

(21) **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. A broader context would not only shed new light on the current situation of Karelian and Veps; it would also 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.

(22) Awareness of **the actual sociolinguistic and legal position of the language** 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.

(23) 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.

(24) 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 learned 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.

(25) **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.

(26) 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

(27) 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 and Leningrad oblast, with special emphasis on the two last congresses in Hanty-Mansijsk (2008) and Siófok (2012).

Annex 2: Questionnaires

The questionnaires presented here are translations of the Finnish master versions of the MinLg and CG questionnaires which were developed within Work Package 3 of ELDIA. The questionnaires were translated into Veps and Russian by Nina Zajceva. The final layout was created by Katharina Zeller.

As described in section 3.2.1, due to various problems (which finally led to the project partner in charge withdrawing from the project) the planning of the questionnaires was critically delayed and they had to be finalised under extreme time pressure. For this reason, the questionnaire remained overlong and was generally experienced as challenging, and the formulations of some questions or their translations were difficult to understand or misleading.

A revised version of the ELDIA master questionnaire has been published together with the EuLaViBar Toolkit on the homepage *www.eldia-project.org* (direct download link: http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:301101).

eldia
european language diversity for all

VEPS

A. LÄHTETEDOD

1 Oled mužikpoline vai akpoline?

☐ Mužikpoline ☐ Akpoline

2 Miččen igän gruppaha sinä mülüd:

☐ 18–29 vot ☐ 30–49 vot ☐ 50–64 vot ☐ 65 + vot

3 Mitte sinun naimižolend om?

☐ naimatoi/en ole mehel
☐ om laps' vai om lapsid
☐ olen nainu/olen mehel
☐ olen nainu/olen mehel, om laps'/ om lapsid
☐ elän kazvatajidenke
☐ va om midä-se tošt: midä? _____

4 Kuna oled sündunu (rodinus)?

Ma (valdkund): _____ Lidn vai külä: _____
Kus eläd nügüd'? _____
_____ (vodespäi)
Ku sinä elid völ miččes-se tahos enamba 6 kud, ka sanu kus:

_____

_____

_____

5 Sanu, kus sinä openzitoi:

- ☐ Školas en openus
- ☐ Olen lopetanu 4 klassad vai vaiše olen kävunu (1–4) vot _____
- ☐ Olen lopetanu keskškolan/ tehnikuman _____vot
- ☐ Olen lopetanu universitetan:
  _____äjak vot / miččen _____

6 A) Sinun elorad (professii) _____

B) Sinun radoblast' nügüd':

- ☐ Radan/opendamoi kodin irdpolel
- ☐ Radan kodiš (olen kodiemag, kodi-ižand, olen manižand (fermer)
- ☐ Olen pensijal
- ☐ Olen radotoi
- ☐ Ku om midä-se tošt, ka sanu: _____

C) Ku ajaletoi radole kuna-se edemba, mi om 50 km kodišpäi, ka sanu:

- ☐ Joga päivän
- ☐ Kerdan nedališ
- ☐ Kerdan kus
- ☐ Ku midä-se tošt, ka sanu:

B. KELEN KÄVUTANDAN TEDOD

7 Mitte om sinun kodikel' vai mamankel', miččen oled opendanu ezmäižen:

_____

8 Ken i kus openzi sindai pagišta vepsän kelel?

_____

9 Ken i kus openzi sindai pagišta venäkelel?

_____

Sinun dedoi i baboi, ku oma hengiš, eliba-ik sinunke vai kus?

10 Miččel kelel/kelil dedoi i baboi maman polespäi pagižiba/pagižeba sinunke?

_____

_____

11 Miččel kelel/kelil dedoi i baboi tatan polespäi pagižiba/pagižeba sinunke?

_____

_____

Tedod sinun kazvatajiden polhe

12 Sanu, kut korktas om openus sinun tataiž:

- ☐ Ei ole lopetanu školad
- ☐ Augotižškol (3-4 klassad) _____vot
- ☐ Keskškol vai tehnikum: _____vot
- ☐ Universitet vai institut/mitte elorad sen pohjal om sadud: _____vot _____
- ☐ En teda

13 Sanu, kut korktas om openus sinun mamaiž:

- ☐ Ei ole lopetanu školad
- ☐ Augotižškol (3-4 klassad) _____vot
- ☐ Keskškol vai tehnikum: _____vot
- ☐ Universitet vai institut/mitte elorad sen pohjal om sadud: _____vot _____
- ☐ En teda

Miččid kelid oma pagižnuded sinun kazvatajad:

Tat i mam ei elänugoi ühtes vai ken-ni om jo kolnu, ka sanu neciš:

14 Miččel kelel pagižiba/pagižeba sinun kazvatajad ičekesken?

- ☐ Keda-se üht ei ole
- ☐ Ku oma molembad, ka sanu:

Tat pagiži mamale _____kelel mam pagiži tatale _____kelel

15 Kel' /keled, miččil sinun mamaiž pagiži sinunke laps'aigan?

- ☐ mamad ei ole
- ☐ mam pagiži sinunke ühtel/erasil kelil. Sanu konz miččil:

_____

16 Kel'/keled, miččil mamaiž pagižeb sinunke nügüd':

- ☐ Mamad ei ole
- ☐ Sanu miččil kelil/kelel (ku nenid kelid om/oli enamba vai üks') konz pagižeb sinunke mamaiž?

_____

17 Kel' /keled, miččil sinun tataiž pagži sinunke laps'aigan?

- ☐ Tatad ei ole
- ☐ Tat pagiži sinunke ühtel/erasil kelil. Sanu konz miččil:

_____

18 Tat pagižeb nügüd' sinunke ühtel/erasil kelil. Sanu, konz miččil:

☐ Tatad ei ole

☐ Sanu miččil kelil/kelel (ku nenid kelid om/oli enamba vai üks') konz pagižeb sinunke tataiž nügüd':

_____

Miččil kelil tö pagižit vellidenke i sizaridenke:

Ku sinai ei ole vellid da sizarid ka sirtte küzundaha 20.

19 Kel'/keled, miččil sinä pagižed paksumba kaiked sizaridenke i vellidenke (otten homaičushe pol'sizarid da pol'vellid):

a. Nenidenke, ked oma vanhemba sindai:

laps'aigan_____

nügüd'_____

b. Nenidenke, ked oma noremba sindai:

laps'aigan_____

nügüd'_____

Miččl kelel/kelil sinä pagižed sinun akanke/mužikanke:

Ku sinä ed ole mehel vai nainu, sirtte küzundaha 21.

20 Miččel kelel, a ku kel' ei ole üks', ka i konz sinä pagižed nenil kelil ičeiž akanke/mužikanke:

_____

_____

+ +

Keled, miččil pagištas lapsidenke:

Ku lapsid ei ole, ka sirtte küzundaha 22.

21 Äjak lapsid teil om?

☐ minai om _____lapsid

Miččel (miččil) kelel/kelil sinä pagižed lapsidenke?
Sanu, mičcel kelel/kelil sinä pagižed vanhemban i noremban lapsenke:

a. vanhemban lapsenke: _____

b. noremban lapsenke:_____

Kazvatuz i mel'pidod siš, miččel/miččil kelel/kelil pagištas/pagištihe kanzas peniden lapsidenke

22 Konz sinä olid penen lapsen, ka ken-ni telusti pagišta sinun kazvatajile lapsidenke vepsän kelel?

☐ En teda ☐ Ei telustand ☐ Ka, telusti

Ku sinun vastuz om "Ei telustand", "En teda", ka sirtte küzundaha 24

23 Ku telustadihe, ka sanu konz i kut (voib jonoštada enamba mi üks' punkt):

☐ Kodiš (sanu, kut telustadihe) _____

_____

☐ Školas (sanu, kut telustadihe)_____

_____

☐ Toižes sijas (sanu, kut telustadihe):_____

_____

24 Om-ik nügüd'-ki mugoižid mel'pidoid, miše ei pida/vai pidab pagišta lapsidenke vepsän kelel?

☐ En teda ☐ Ei ole ☐ Ka, om.Ole hüvä, sanu konz i miččid melid sanutas nügüd' vepsän keles:

_____

_____

Kelen kävutand školas

Openzitoi-ik sinä ühtel vai äjil kelil, konz kävelid školha? (Homaiče, miše sid' pagin om toižiš školpredmetoiš, a ei vaiše verhas keles).

25 Openzitoi-ik sinä ühtel vai äjil kelil, konz kävelid školha?

☐ En. _____

(Sirtte küzundaha 27)

☐ Ka. Anda siloi vastusid küzundaha 26 i sanu miččid kelid oli

26 Kel'/keled, miččel/miččil opetihe toižid-ki predmetoid kel'predmetoiden ližaks:

	Vepsän kel'	**Venäkel'**	Toižed keled _____	_____
Lapsidenkodiš	☐	☐	☐	☐
Augotižškolas	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keskškolas, Tehnikumas	☐	☐	☐	☐

27 Opetihe-k vepsän kel't teiden školas?

Lapsiden kodiš: ☐ Ei opetud ☐ Ka, äjak časud nedališ? _____ č.

Augotižškola: ☐ Ei opetud ☐ Ka, äjak časud nedališ? _____ č.

Keskškolas/ tehnikumas: ☐ Ei opetud ☐ Ka, äjak časud nedališ? _____ č.

C. KELEN TEDO

Sanu, kut sinä pagižed kelil (kirjutad i pagižed). Ozuta virgaižel, mitte kel'tedon maht kožub sinei enamba kaiked.

28 Minä el'gendan nenid kelid:

	Heredas	Ani hüvin	Vähäižel	Hondoin	En el'genda nikut
Vepsän kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Venäkel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglian kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nemecan kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Somen kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Francijan kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mitte-se toine: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

29 Minä pagižen mugoižil kelil:

	Heredas	Ani hüvin	Vähäižel	Hondoin	En pagiže nikut
Vepsän kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Venäkel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglian kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nemecan kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Somen kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Francijan kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mitte-se toine: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

30 Minä lugen tekstoid mugoižil' kelil:

	Heredas	Ani hüvin	Vähäižel	Hondoin	En luge nikut
Vepsän kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Venäkel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglian kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nemecan kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Somen kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Francijan kel'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mitte-se toine: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

31 Minä kirjutan tekstoid mugoižil kelil:

	Heredas	Ani hüvin	Vähäižel	Hondoin	En kirjuta nikut
Vepsän kel’	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Venäkel’	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglian kel’	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nemecan kel’	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Somen kel’	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Francijan kel’	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mitte-se toine: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. KELEN KÄVUTAND JOGAPÄIVÄIŽES ELOS

32 Sanu, kut sinä kävutad kelid erazvuiččiš oblastiš. Ozuta virgaižel, mi kožub sinei:

A. Vepsän kel’

	Kaiken aigan	Paksus	Erašti	Harvoin	Nikonz
Kodiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ičhižidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Radol	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sebranikoidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Susedoidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Školas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Laukoiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Irdal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bibliotekas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pühäkodiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Valdmehidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Suimil, praznikoil*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Toižed oblastid** _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

* Sid’ pagin om siš, kut oma azjad teiden elotahos: praznikehtad kul’turpertiš, festivalid i m.e.

** Sid’ voib ližata teiden toižid oblastid.

+ +

B. Venäkel’

	Kaiken aigan	Paksus	Erašti	Harvoin	Nikonz
Kodiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ičhižidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Radol	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sebranikoidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Susedoidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Školas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Laukoiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Irdal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bibliotekas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pühäkodiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Valdmehidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Suimil, praznikoil*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Toižed oblastid**					
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

* Sid’ pagin om siš, kut oma azjad teiden elotahos: praznikehtad kul’turpertiš, festivalid i m.e.

** Sid’ voib ližata teiden toižid oblastid.

Ku sinä ed kävutad toižid kelid, ka sirtte küzundah 33!

C. Anglian kel’ / _____kel’

	Kaiken aigan	Paksus	Erašti	Harvoin	Nikonz
Kodiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ičhižidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Radol	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sebranikoidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Susedoidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Školas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Laukoiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Irdal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bibliotekas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pühäkodiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Valdmehidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Suimil, praznikoil*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Toižed oblastid**					
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

* Sid’ pagin om siš, kut oma azjad teiden elotahos: praznikehtad kul’turpertiš, festivalid i m.e.

** Sid’ voib ližata teiden toižid oblastid.

+ +

D. _____ kel’

	Kaiken aigan	Paksus	Erašti	Harvoin	Nikonz
Kodiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ičhižidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Radol	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sebranikoidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Susedoidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Školas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Laukoiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Irdal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bibliotekas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pühäkodiš	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Valdmehidenke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Suimil, praznikoil*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Toižed oblastid**					
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

* Sid’ pagin om siš, kut oma azjad teiden elotahos: praznikehtad kul’turpertiš, festivalid i m.e.

** Sid’ voib ližata teiden toižid oblastid.

E. KACUND KELIHE I TAHT PAGIŠTA NIIL JOGAPÄIVÄIŽES ELOS

Keliden segoitand

33 Sanu i ozuta virgaižel, mittušt mel’t oled, konz pagištas keliden segoitandas

	Olen ani mugošt mel’t	Ka, muga	Jüged sanuda	Olen vähäšt tošt mel’t	Olen ani tošt mel’t
Keliden segoitand om tipilišt nenile, ked pagižeba vepsän kelel kesknezoi.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vaiše vähän openus ristitud segoitaba vepspän kel’t toižihe kelihe.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Norišt segoitab paksus vepsän kel’t toižihe kelihe.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vanhad ristitud pagižeba vepsän kelel oikti.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keliden segoitand ozutab korktoihe erazvuiččiden keliden tedoihe.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Voib segoitada kelid.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

+ +

Vepsän kelen i venäkelen tugi

34 Oli-k tuged sinun kazvatajišpäi vepsän kelel pagiženda s?

☐ Ei olend ☐ Ka, oli

Kommentarijad

_____

35 Oli-k tuged sinun kazvatajišpäi venäkelel pagiženda s?

☐ Ei olend ☐ Ka, oli

Kommentarijad

_____

36 Ku sinai om ičein lapsid, ka käskid-ik heid opeta i pagišta vepsän kelel?

☐ Ei ole lapsid. Siloi küzund 37

☐ Ka, lapsed oma. Sanu, oled-ik käsknu heid opeta i kävutada vepsän kel't:

☐ En ole

☐ Ka, sanu, kut:

_____

_____

Midä pagižeba erazvuiččed ristitud, konz kävutadas vepsän kel’t?

37 Erazvuiččed ristitud (akpoližed i mužikpoližed, nored i vanhad) pagižeba toižel kelel enamba, mi toižel. Sanu, mittušt mel’t oled mugoižiš mel’pidoiš:

	Olen ani mugošt mel’t	Ka, muga	Om jüged sanuda	Olen vähäšt tošt mel’t	Olen ani tošt mel’t
Prihoile pidab pagišta vepsän kelel.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Neiččile pidab pagišta vepsän kelel.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Aigvoččile mužikoile pidab pagišta vepsän kelel.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Aigvoččile akoile pidab pagišta vepsän kelel.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

38 Sanu, mittušt mel’t oled, konz pagištas vepsän kelel:

	Olen ani mugošt mel’t	Ka, muga	Om jüged sanuda	Olen vähäšt tošt mel’t	Olen ani tošt mel’t
Om kebnemb löuta sebranikoid vepsän kelel pagižijoišpäi.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Om kebnemb tundištadas vepsän kelel pagižijoidenke.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Om kebnemb lähtta mehele/ naida vepsän kelel pagižijal.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Om kebnemb rata vepsän kelel pagižijoidenke.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Om kebnemb olda joudajan aigan vepsän kelel pagižijoidenke.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Vepsän kelen kävutand

39 Mittušt mel’t oled vepsän kelen kävutandas sinun mas (valdkundas) kundaližes oblastiš? Ozuta virgaižel, mittušt mel’t oled mugoižiš alemba ozutadud mel’pidoiš:

	Olen ani mugošt mel’t		Ka, muga	Om jüged sanuda	Olen vähäšt tošt mel’t	Olen ani tošt mel’t
Vepsän kel’t pidab kävutada televidenijas.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Vepsän kel’t pidab kävutada policijas.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Vepsän kelt’ pidab kävutada parlamentas.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Vepsän kel’t pidab kävutada bol’nicas.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Vepsän kel’t pidab kävutada sudas.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Vepsän kel’t pidab kävutada Internetas .	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Vepsän kel’t pidab kävutada openduzsistemas .	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐

Erilaižiden keliden tulii aig

40 Mittušt mel’t oled, kut vajehtase alemba ozutadud keliden tulii aig kümnes vodes? Ozuta virgaizel, mittušt mel’t oled:

	Olen ani mugošt mel’t		Ka, muga	Om jüged sanuda	Olen vähäšt tošt mel’t	Olen ani tošt mel’t
Vepsän kel’t otaškatas paginaha tulijoiš kümnes vodes enamban.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Venäkel’t otaškatas paginaha tulijoiš kümnes vodes enamban.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglian kel’t otaškatas paginaha tulijoiš kümnes vodes enamban.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Nemecan kel’t otaškatas paginaha tulijoiš kümnes vodes enamban.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐
Kel’t (mittušt) _____ otaškatas paginaha tulijoiš kümnes vodes enamban.	☐		☐	☐	☐	☐

Keliden harakteristkad

Alemba ozutadud punktoiden mödhe (1-5) znamoiče, mittušt mel’t oled kaikuččes keles:

	1	2	3	4	5	
čoma	☐	**X**	☐	☐	☐	ruma

41 Vepsän kel’ kulub kut:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	kova
abutoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rohked
läheline	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	edahaine
toivokaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	toivotoi
uskotoitai	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	uskotoitatoi
nügüd’aigaine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	veronmugoine
vägetoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	vägekaz
ilosine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tuskikaz
ruma	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	čoma
mužikanvägesine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	akanvägesine
käred	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	hüvä
elokaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	gol’l’
satusetoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	satusekaz
vanh	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	nor’
intelligentine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tühjmeline
taktokaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tartuline
opendusetoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	openus
passivine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	aktivine

42 Venäkel’ kulub kut:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	kova
abutoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rohked
läheline	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	edahaine
toivokaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	toivotoi
uskotoitai	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	uskotoitatoi
nügüd’aigaine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	veronmugoine
vägetoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	vägekaz
ilosine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tuskikaz
ruma	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	čoma
mužikanvägesine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	akanvägesine
käred	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	hüvä
elokaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	gol’l’

satusetoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	satusekaz
vanh	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	nor’
intelligentine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tühjmeline
taktokaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tartuline
opendusetoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	openus
passivine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	aktivine

43 Anglian kel’ kulub kut:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	kova
abutoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	rohked
läheline	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	edahaine
toivokaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	toivotoi
uskotoitai	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	uskotoitatoi
nügüd’aigaine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	veronmugoine
vägetoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	vägekaz
ilosine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tuskikaz
ruma	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	čoma
mužikanvägesine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	akanvägesine
käred	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	hüvä
elokaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	gol’l’
satusetoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	satusekaz
vanh	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	nor’
intelligentine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tühjmeline
taktokaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tartuline
opendusetoi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	openus
passivine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	aktivine

Kelid koskijad zakonad

Zakonad i niiden el’gendamine rahvahan keskes

44 Mittušt mel’t oled, tugedaba-ik vepsän kel’t teiden man zakonad?

☐ Ei tugekoi ☐ Ka, tugedaba ☐ Vaiše vähäšt ☐ En teda

Ku sanud ”ka” vai ”vähäšt”, ka sanu tarkemba:

_____

45 Mittušt mel’t oled, vastustaba-ik teiden man zakonad vepsän kel’t?

☐ Ei vastustagoi ☐ Ka, vastustaba ☐ Vastustaba vähäšt ☐ En teda

Ku sanud ”ka” vai ”vähäšt”, ka sanu tarkemba:

_____

46 Mittušt mel’t oled, tugedaba-ik teiden man zakonad kelid, miččil pagištas sinun elotahoil?

☐ Ei tugekoi ☐ Ka, tugedaba ☐ Tugedaba vähäst ☐ En teda

Ku sanud ”ka” vai ”vähäšt”, ka sanu tarkemba:

_____

47 Om-ik nene zakonad kätud vepsän kel’he, voib-ik niid sada?

☐ Ei ole kätud ☐ Ka, om kätud ☐ Om erasid kätud ☐ En teda

Ku sanud ”ka” vai ”vähäšt”, ka sanu tarkemba, midä om:

_____

48 Om-ik zakonoid vai instrukcijoid vepsän kelen kävutandas školas?

☐ Ei ole ☐ Ka, om ☐ Miččid-se om ☐ En teda

Ku sanuid ”om” vai ”miččid-se” om, ka sanu tarkemba midä om:

_____

49 Om-ik zakonoid vai instrukcijoid, miččiden pohjal opetas vepsän kel’t školas openduzpredmetan?

☐ Ei ole ☐ Ka, om ☐ Om vähäšt ☐ En teda

Ku sanud”ka” vai ”vähäšt”, ka sanu tarkemba:

_____

50 Kactas-ik kaikihe erilaižihe kelihe i kaikihe erikeližihe ristituihe sinun elotahos vai mas ühtejiččikš?

☐ Ei kackoi ☐ Ka, kactas ☐ Vaiše erašti ☐ En teda

Ku sanuid ”ka” vai ”vaiše erašti”, ka sanu tarkemba, konz:

_____

Kel’ I radbirž

51 Om-ik zakonoid vai instrukcijoid, miččed tugedaba keliden tedoid radbiržal?

☐ Ei ole ☐ Ka, om ☐ En teda

Ku om, ka sanu tarkemba:

_____

_____

_____

52 Mittušt mel’t oled vepsän kelen sijas radbiržal? Sanu i ozuta virgaižel ičeiž mel’pido neciš alemba:

	Olen mugošt-žo mel’t	Erašti meletan muga	Om jüged sanuda	Olen vähäšt tošt mel’t	Olen ani tošt mel’t
Vepsän kelen tedo abutab löuta radod ezmäšt kerdad.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vepsän kelen tedo abutab sada korktemban paukan .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vepsän kelen tedo abutab libuda radsijan korktembale pordhale .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vepsän kelen tedo abutab vajehtada radod .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

53 Nügüd’ sanu i ozuta virgaižel, mittušt mel’t oled venäkelen sijas radbiržal:

	Olen mugošt-žo mel’t	Erašti meletan muga	Om jüged sanuda	Olen vähäšt tošt mel’t	Olen ani tošt mel’t
Venäkelen tedo abutab löuta radod ezmäšt kerdad.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Venäkelen tedo abutab sada korktemban paukan .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Venäkelen tedo abutab libuda radsijan korktembale pordhale .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Venäkelen tedo abutab vajehtada radod .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

54 Nügüd’ sanu i ozuta virgaižel, mittušt mel’t oled anglian kelen sijas radbiržal:

	Olen mugošt-žo mel’t	Erašti meletan muga	Om jüged sanuda	Olen vähäšt tošt mel’t	Olen ani tošt mel’t
Anglian kelen tedo abutab löuta radod ezmäšt kerdad.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglian kelen tedo abutab sada korktemban paukan .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglian kelen tedo abutab libuda radsijan korktembale pordhale .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglian kelen tedo abutab vajehtada radod .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Kelen kehitoitand i hol' sen oiktas formas

55 Om-ik mugoižid institutoid vai mehid, ked pidäba hol't (kehitoitaba, sirdäba edehepäi, meletaba sen normiš) vepsän keles sinun mas?

☐ Ei ole ☐ Ka, om ☐ En teda

Ku om, ka sanu, miččid instrukcijoid om i ken niid tegeb?

_____

56 Om-ik mugoižid institutoid vai mehid, ked pidäba hol't (kehitoitaba, sirdäba edehepäi, meletaba sen normiš) venäkeles sinun mas?

☐ Ei ole ☐ Ka, om ☐ En teda

Ku om, ka sanu, miččid innstrukcijoid om i ken niid tegi?

_____

57 Om-ik vepsän kelen puhtaz versii?

☐ Ei ole ☐ Ka, om ☐ En teda

Ku sanuid "ka", ka sanu ken sil pagižeb i konz? _____

_____

58 Mittušt mel't oled, pidab-ik kehitoitta vepsän kel't, miše se kožuiži kaikiden socializiden i ekonomižiden oloiden täht?

☐ Ei ole ☐ Ka, om ☐ En teda

59 Om-ik vepsän kel' kebn kävutamižen täht kaikiš elosituacijoiš?

☐ Ka, om

☐ Ei ole.Sanu, konz i miččiš situacijoiš sinun melen mödhe vepsän kel' ei anda sanuda kaiked, midä sinä tahtoižid?

_____

_____

F. KELEN KÄVUTAND KUNDALIZES ELOS-PERSONALINE MEL'PIDO. KELEN KÄVUTAND I UDESSÜNDUTAND

60 Oli-k tehtud mittušt-se radod vepsän kelen kaičendas jäl'gmäižil vozil?

☐ En teda ☐ Ei olend ☐ Ka, oli
Void-ik sanuda miččid-ni?

_____

_____

_____

61 Kävutadas-ik vepsän kel't mugoižiš oblastiš sinun mas vai elotahos?

	Ka	Ei	En teda
Parlament	☐	☐	☐
Policii	☐	☐	☐
Nalogoiden tarkištelend	☐	☐	☐
Tervhuden kaičuzmaksandan kompanii	☐	☐	☐
Radbirž	☐	☐	☐
Bol'nicad	☐	☐	☐
Sudad	☐	☐	☐
Ministerstvad	☐	☐	☐
Regionaližed i municipaližed valdmehištod	☐	☐	☐
Openduz	☐	☐	☐
Lehtišt	☐	☐	☐
Radio	☐	☐	☐
TV	☐	☐	☐
Tedotused i reklam kundližiš sijoiš	☐	☐	☐
(reklam) lehtištos, radios i TV:s	☐	☐	☐

+ +

G. MEDIA: LEHTIŠT, RADIO, TV I KELIDEN KÄVUTAMINE

62 Kut paksus sinä kävutad ozutadud alemba kelid MEDIAS vai toižiš situacijoiš?

A. Vepsän kelel

	Joga päivän	Äi kerdoid nedališ	Joga nedalin	Joga kun	Harvembz	Nikonz	Ei necil kelel
Lugen lehtest	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen kirjoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävun teatras	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun koncertoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kundlen radiod (uzištoid, tok-šouid...)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun TV:d	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kundlen SD	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun filmoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen, kacun, kundlen internetas (lugen internetkodilehtpol't, uzištoid, blogid, i m.e.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävutan tedomašin-programmoid vepsän kelel	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan tedomašinkirjeižid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan SMS	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävutan socialižid verkoid internetas (Feisbuk, Tvitter, čat, forum)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vändan interaktivižihe vändoihe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan blogid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Midä-se tošt: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

+ +

B. Venäkelel

	Joga päivän	Äi kerdoid nedališ	Joga nedalin	Joga kun	Harvembz	Nikonz	Ei necil kelel
Lugen lehtest	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen kirjoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävun teatras	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun koncertoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kundlen radiod (uzištoid, tok-šouid...)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun TV:d	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kundlen SD	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun filmoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen, kacun, kundlen internetas (lugen internetkodilehtpol't, uzištoid, blogid, i m.e.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävutan tedomašin-programmoid venäkelel	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan tedomašinkirjeižid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan SMS	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävutan socialižid verkoid internetas (Feisbuk, Tvitter, čat, forum)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vändan interaktivižihe vändoihe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan blogid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Midä-se tošt: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Ku sinä ed kävuta toižid kelid, ka sirtte küzundaha 63!

+ +

C. Anglian kelel / Kelel _____

	Joga päivän	Äi kerdoid nedališ	Joga nedalin	Joga kun	Harvembz	Nikonz	Ei necil kelel
Lugen lehtest	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen kirjoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävun teatras	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun koncertoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kundlen radiod (uzištoid, tok-šouid...)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun TV:d	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kundlen SD	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun filmoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen, kacun, kundlen internetas (lugen internetkodilehtpol't, uzištoid, blogid, i m.e.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävutan tedomašin-programmoid anglijan kelel	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan tedomašinkirjeižid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan SMS	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävutan socialižid verkoid internetas (Feisbuk, Tvitter, čat, forum)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vändan interaktivižihe vändoihe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan blogid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Midä-se tošt: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

+ +

D. Kelel _____

	Joga päivän	Äi kerdoid nedališ	Joga nedalin	Joga kun	Harvembz	Nikonz	Ei necil kelel
Lugen lehtest	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen kirjoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävun teatras	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun koncertoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kundlen radiod (uzištoid, tok-šouid...)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun TV:d	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kundlen SD	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kacun filmoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen, kacun, kundlen internetas (lugen internetkodilehtpol't, uzištoid, blogid, i m.e.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävutan tedomašin-programmoid necil kelel	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan tedomašinkirjeižid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan SMS	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kävutan socialižid verkoid internetas (Feisbuk, Tvitter, čat, forum)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vändan interaktivižihe vändoihe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan blogid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Midä-se tošt: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

+ +

63 Keliden aktivine kävutand (oz. tekstan kirjutamine) erilaižiš situacijoiš:

A. Vepsän kelel

	Joga päivän	Äi kerdoid nedališ	Joga nedalin	Joga kun	Harvemba	Nikonz
Kirjutan kirjeižid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan päivkirjaha, tegen muštatesid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan literaturižid tekstoid (runoid, starinoid...)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Iče kirjutan i tegen pajoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pajatan pajoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen än'heze runoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ühtnen teatraližihe gruppihe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Midäse tošt:						
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B. Venäkelel

	Joga päivän	Äi kerdoid nedališ	Joga nedalin	Joga kun	Harvemba	Nikonz
Kirjutan kirjeižid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan päivkirjaha, tegen muštatesid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan literaturižid tekstoid (runoid, starinoid...)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Iče kirjutan i tegen pajoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pajatan pajoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen än'heze runoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ühtnen teatraližihe gruppihe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Midäse tošt:						
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Ku sinä ed kävuta toižid kelid, nügud andoid vastusid kaikile küzundoile. Sured spasibod sinun ühtnendas meiden openduzradho!

+ +

C. Anglian kelel/ miččel-se toižel kelel _____

	Joga päivän	Äi kerdoid nedališ	Joga nedalin	Joga kun	Harvemba	Nikonz
Kirjutan kirjeižid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan päivkirjaha, tegen muštatesid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan literaturižid tekstoid (runoid, starinoid...)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Iče kirjutan i tegen pajoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pajatan pajoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen än'heze runoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ühtnen teatraližihe gruppihe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Midäse tošt:						
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. Miččel-se toižel kelel (miččel?) _____

	Joga päivän	Äi kerdoid nedališ	Joga nedalin	Joga kun	Harvemba	Nikonz
Kirjutan kirjeižid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan päivkirjaha, tegen muštatesid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kirjutan literaturižid tekstoid (runoid, starinoid...)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Iče kirjutan i tegen pajoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pajatan pajoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lugen än'heze runoid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ühtnen teatraližihe gruppihe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Midäse tošt:						
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Sured spasibod sinun ühtnendas meiden openduzradho!

european language diversity for all

RUS

A. ОБЩИЕ ДАННЫЕ

1 Ваш пол:

☐ мужской ☐ женский

2 Отметьте, пожалуйста, к какой возрастной группе Вы принадлежите.

☐ 18–29 лет ☐ 30–49 лет ☐ 50–64 лет ☐ 65 + лет

3 Кто входит в состав Вашей семьи?

☐ Я живу один
☐ Живу вместе с ребенком/детьми
☐ Живу вместе с супругом/супругой (сожителем/сожительницей)
☐ Живу вместе с супругом/супругой (сожителем/сожительницей) и детьми
☐ Живу вместе с родителем/родителями
☐ Другое, уточните: _____

4 Я родился/ родилась

В каком государстве? _____ В каком городе или деревне? _____

В каком городе или деревне Вы сейчас живете? _____,

С _____ (какого?) года

5 Уровень образования. Назовите, пожалуйста, уровень своего образования:

☐ образование отсутствует/в школу не ходил
☐ основное образование: _____лет
☐ профессиональное/среднее _____лет
☐ высшее образование:
____лет. _____ученая степень

+ +

6 A) Кто Вы по профессии? _____

B) 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

B. 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, дедушкой и бабушкой?

☐ Не знаю ☐ Нет ☐ Да.
Назовите, пожалуйста, этот язык/эти языки

_____

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.

_____

C. 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	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
карельский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
вепсский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
английский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
финский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
немецкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
другое: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

15 Я говорю на следующих языках:

	свободно	хорошо	умеренно	плохо	совсем не понимаю
русский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
карельский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
вепсский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
финский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
немецкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
шведский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
другое: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16 Я читаю на следующих языках:

	свободно	хорошо	умеренно	плохо	совсем не понимаю
русский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
карельский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
вепсский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
финский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
немецкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
шведский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
другое: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

17 Я пишу на следующих языках:

	свободно	хорошо	умеренно	плохо	совсем не понимаю
русский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
карельский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
вепсский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
финский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
немецкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
шведский	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
другое: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

+ +

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	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с родственниками	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
на работе	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с друзьями	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с соседями	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в школе	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в магазине	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
на улице	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в библиотеке	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в церкви	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в учреждениях	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в других ситуациях, уточните* _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

* 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	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с родственниками	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
на работе	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с друзьями	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с соседями	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в школе	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в магазине	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
на улице	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в библиотеке	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в церкви	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в учреждениях	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в других ситуациях, уточните* _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

* Можете добавить по своему усмотрению.

+ +

C) _____**язык**

	всегда	часто	иногда	редко	никогда
дома	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с родственниками	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
на работе	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с друзьями	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с соседями	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в школе	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в магазине	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
на улице	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в библиотеке	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в церкви	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в учреждениях	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в других ситуациях, уточните* _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

* Можете добавить по своему усмотрению.

D) _____**язык**

	всегда	часто	иногда	редко	никогда
дома	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с родственниками	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
на работе	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с друзьями	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
с соседями	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в школе	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в магазине	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
на улице	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в библиотеке	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в церкви	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в учреждениях	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
в других ситуациях, уточните* _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

* Можете добавить по своему усмотрению.

E. 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.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Для детей, с которыми родители говорят на карельском языке , важно, чтобы они изучали язык также через систему образования.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Для детей, с которыми родители говорят на вепсском языке, важно ли, чтобы они изучали язык также через систему образования.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
В России от ищущих работу требуют ли слишком хорошего владения русским языком .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Осознание ценности и поддержка карельского, вепсского и русского языков

20 Говорили ли Ваши родители Вам о важности знания карельского, вепсского и русского языков?

☐ Нет

☐ Да, уточните, пожалуйста, как именно (относительно всех трех языков/диалектов):

a. карельский язык _____

b. вепсский язык _____

c. русский язык _____

Мнения об употреблении карельского и вепсского 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. вепсский язык _____

c. русский язык _____

+ +

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.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
С носителем карельского языка легко познакомиться.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
С носителем карельского языка легко пожениться.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
С носителем карельского языка легко вместе работать.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
С носителем карельского языка легко вместе проводить время.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

b)	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
С носителем вепсского языка легко подружиться.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
С носителем вепсского языка легко познакомиться.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
С носителем вепсского языка легко пожениться.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
С носителем вепсского языка легко вместе работать.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
С носителем вепсского языка легко вместе проводить время.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Употребление карельского и вепсского языков

23 Некоторые мнения о карельском и вепсском языках. Отметьте, в какой степени вы согласны со следующими утверждениями:

a)	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать на телевидении.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Карельским язык следовало бы использовать в милиции/полиции.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в парламенте/в законодательном собрании.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в лечебных учреждениях.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в работе судов.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в Интернете.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Карельский язык следовало бы использовать в системе образования.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

b)	полностью согласен	согласен	трудно сказать	скорее не согласен	совершенно не согласен
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать на телевидении.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в милиции/полиции .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в парламенте/законодательном собрании.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в лечебных учреждениях.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в суде.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в Интернете.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Вепсский язык следовало бы использовать в системе образования.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Значение английского языка в течение 10 следующих лет возрастет.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Значение карельского языка в течение 10 следующих лет возрастет.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Значение весского языка в течение 10 следующих лет возрастет.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Значение финского языка в течение 10 следующих лет возрастет.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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	☐	**X**	☐	☐	☐	некрасивый

25 Мне кажется, что русский язык:

	1	2	3	4	5	
мягкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	жесткий
опасный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	безопасный
близкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	далекий
надежный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ненадежный
решительный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	неуверенный
современный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	традиционный
бессильный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	сильный
веселый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	скучный
некрасивый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	красивый
мужественный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	женственный
злобный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	приветливый
богатый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	бедный
безуспешный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	успешный

старый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	молодой
разумный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	глупый
заботливый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	небрежный
необразованный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	образованный
пассивный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	активный

26 Мне кажется, что английский язык:

	1	2	3	4	5	
мягкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	жесткий
опасный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	безопасный
близкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	далекий
надежный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ненадежный
решительный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	неуверенный
современный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	традиционный
бессильный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	сильный
веселый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	скучный
некрасивый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	красивый
мужественный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	женственный
злобный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	приветливый
богатый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	бедный
безуспешный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	успешный
старый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	молодой
разумный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	глупый
заботливый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	небрежный
необразованный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	образованный
пассивный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	активный

27 Мне кажется, что карельский язык:

	1	2	3	4	5	
мягкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	жесткий
опасный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	безопасный
близкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	далекий
надежный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ненадежный
решительный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	неуверенный
современный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	традиционный
бессильный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	сильный
веселый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	скучный
некрасивый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	красивый
мужественный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	женственный
злобный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	приветливый
богатый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	бедный
безуспешный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	успешный
старый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	молодой
разумный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	глупый
заботливый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	небрежный
необразованный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	образованный
пассивный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	активный

28 Мне кажется, что вепсский язык:

	1	2	3	4	5	
мягкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	жесткий
опасный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	безопасный
близкий	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	далекий
надежный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ненадежный
решительный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	неуверенный
современный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	традиционный
бессильный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	сильный
веселый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	скучный
некрасивый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	красивый
мужественный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	женственный
злобный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	приветливый
богатый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	бедный
безуспешный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	успешный
старый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	молодой
разумный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	глупый
заботливый	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	небрежный
необразованный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	образованный
пассивный	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	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:

_____

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 вепсского 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 вепсского языка как учебного предмета в школах?

☐ Нет ☐ Да ☐ Частично ☐ Не знаю

Если вы ответили «да» или «частично», уточните, пожалуйста:

_____

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.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение русским языком в качестве родного языка позволяет получить более высокую заработную плату.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение русским языком в качестве родного языка содействует карьере.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение русским языком в качестве родного языка упрощает смену места работы.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение английским языком позволяет получить более высокую заработную плату.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение английским языком содействует карьере.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение английским языком упрощает смену места работы.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение карельским языком позволяет получить более высокую заработную плату.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение карельским языком содействует карьере.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение карельским языком упрощает смену места работы.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

41 Какова, по-вашему, роль вепсского 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 вепсским языком облегчает нахождение первого места работы.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение вепсским языком позволяет получить более высокую заработную плату.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение вепсским языком содействует карьере.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Владение вепсским языком упрощает смену места работы.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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

_____

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.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Приятно слышать различные языки в моем родном городе или деревне.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я хотел бы, чтобы рядом со мной жили носители карельского языка.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я хотел бы, чтобы рядом со мной жили носители вепсского языка.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я считаю, что государство тратит слишком много денег налогоплательщика на поддержку карельского языка .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я считаю, что государство тратит слишком много денег налогоплательщика на поддержку вепсского языка	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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?

_____

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	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я читаю книги	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я хожу в театр	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я хожу на концерты	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я случаю радио (новости, разговорные передачи и т. д.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я смотрю телевизор	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я слушаю музыку	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я смотрю фильмы	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пользуюсь Интернетом – посещаю сайты, читаю новости, блоги, и т. д.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Пользуюсь программным обеспечением для компьютера на русском языке	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишу электронные письма	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишу текстовые сообщения (SMS)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пользуюсь социальными сетями (Facebook, Twitter, чаты, форумы)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я играю в интерактивные игры	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишу блог	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Иное: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Если Вы не разговариваете на других языках, опрос для Вас заканчивается здесь. Спасибо за Ваше участие!

+ +

B) Английский язык

	каждый день	несколько раз в неделю	каждую неделю	каждый месяц	реже	никогда	на английском языке такие возможности отсутствуют
Я читаю газеты	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я читаю книги	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я хожу в театр	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я хожу на концерты	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я случаю радио (новости, разговорные передачи и т. д.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я смотрю телевизор	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я слушаю музыку	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я смотрю фильмы	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пользуюсь Интернетом – посещаю сайты, читаю новости, блоги, слушаю музыку и т. д.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Пользуюсь программным обеспечением для компьютера на английском языке	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишу электронные письма	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишу текстовые сообщения (SMS)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пользуюсь социальными сетями (Facebook, Twitter, чаты, форумы)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я играю в интерактивные игры	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишу блог	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Иное: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

+ +

C) _____ язык

	каждый день	несколько раз в неделю	каждую неделю	каждый месяц	реже	никогда	на _____ языке такие возможности отсутствуют
Я читаю газеты	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я читаю книги	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я хожу в театр	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я хожу на концерты	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я случаю радио (новости, разговорные передачи и т. д.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я смотрю телевизор	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я слушаю музыку	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я смотрю фильмы	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пользуюсь Интернетом – посещаю сайты, читаю новости, блоги, слушаю музыку и т. д.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Пользуюсь программным обеспечением для компьютера на _____ языке	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишу э-письма	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишу текстовые сообщения (SMS)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пользуюсь социальными сетями (Facebook, Twitter, чаты, форумы)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я играю в интерактивные игры	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишу блог	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Иное: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Большое спасибо! Мы очень благодарны, что Вы согласились участвовать в исследовании.