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KARELIAN IN FINLAND

ELDIA Case-Specific Report

Anneli SARHIMAA



eldia

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	i
Foreword	iv
Central abbreviations.....	vi
List of Tables, Diagrams, Maps and Figures	vii
I. Introduction	1
1.1 EU-FP7 PROJECT ELDIA – European Language Diversity for All.....	1
1.2 The case study Karelian in Finland	2
1.3 About the project framework, contents and structure of the report	3
II. Sociohistorical and linguistic contexts of Karelian in Finland	6
2.1 Introduction	6
2.2 Sociohistory.....	14
2.2.1 The ethnic and linguistic context of Karelian in Finland.....	14
2.2.2 The territorial and political context of Karelian in Finland.....	25
2.2.3 The cultural context of Karelian in Finland.....	32
2.3 The demographic context of Karelian in Finland.....	41
2.3.1 Statistics and basic demographic information on Karelian Finns.....	41
2.3.2 The basis of existing demographic information on Karelian Finns.....	44
2.3.3 Shortcomings in the existing demographic data on Karelian Finns.....	47
2.4 Language and minority policies in practice	48
2.4.1 The legal basis of language policies in Finland	48
2.4.2 Majority attitudes towards Karelian speakers	59
2.4.3 The standardization of Karelian in Finland	64
2.4.4 Language use by Karelian Finns in different domains	65
2.4.5 The use of Karelian in public life.....	69
2.4.6 Gender aspects of every-day language policies	70
2.5 Languages in contact and language maintenance	70
2.5.1 Monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism	70
2.5.2 The effects of language contacts on Karelian in Finland	78
2.5.3 Perceptions of learnability and willingness to use Karelian	79
2.6 Summary	80
III. Data Sampling and Methods.....	82
3.1 Fieldwork.....	82
3.2 The sample survey.....	84
3.2.1 The minority questionnaire.....	84
3.2.2 The questionnaire survey of Karelian Finns	85
3.2.3 The Control Group questionnaire	86
3.2.4 The Control Group questionnaire survey.....	87
3.3 The individual interviews with Karelian Finns	88

3.4	The focus group interviews	91
3.4.1	The focus group interviews with Karelian Finns.....	91
3.4.2	The focus group interviews with Control Group representatives	95
3.5	Sociodemographic distributions in the survey data sets.....	98
3.6	The principles underlying the ELDIA data analyses (Section written in cooperation with Eva Kühhirt)	109
3.6.1	Minority languages as part of multilingualism in modern societies.....	109
3.6.2	The operational goal of ELDIA	110
3.6.3	Defining and measuring language vitality	110
3.6.4	Practical procedures in the data analyses	114
IV	New data on legislation, media, education, language use and interaction.....	118
4.1	Summary of legal and institutional framework for Karelian and Estonian in Finland (Written by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark).....	118
4.2	Summary of Media Analyses conducted in Finland (Written by Reetta Toivanen). 119	
4.3	A sociolinguistic analysis of the survey and interview findings	122
4.3.1	Language use and interaction	122
4.3.1.1	The mother tongue(s).....	122
4.3.1.2	Cross-generational and intra-generational language use.....	125
4.3.1.3	Self-reported language skills.....	134
4.3.1.4	Domain-specific language use	166
4.3.1.5	Languages and the labour market	182
4.3.1.6	Language cultivation and maintenance.....	187
4.3.1.7	Support and lack of support for the use of Karelian.....	191
4.3.1.8	Attitudes towards Karelian Finns.....	195
4.3.1	Issues of multilingualism	198
4.3.2.1	Opinions on mixing languages	198
4.3.2.2	The future of various languages	200
4.3.2.3	The perceived characteristics of various languages	203
4.3.2.4	Patterns of multiple language use and attitudes towards multilingualism among Karelian Finn respondents.....	209
4.3.2.5	Patterns of multiple language use and attitudes towards multilingualism among CG respondents.....	215
4.3.3	The awareness and understanding of language legislation	220
4.3.3.1	Support and inhibition of multiple language use.....	220
4.3.3.2	The existence of legal texts in Karelian.....	227
4.3.3.3	The fairness of language legislation.....	227
4.3.3.4	Legislation on languages in the labour market.....	229
4.3.3.4	Legislation concerning languages in education	231
4.3.4	Media	234

4.3.4.1 Media consumption and the active use of languages in the (modern) media	234
4.3.4.2 Active text production in different languages	247
4.3.5 Language learning and education	254
4.3.5.1 The role of formal and informal learning in acquiring Karelian and Finnish.....	254
4.3.5.2 The language of teaching.....	256
V The ELDIA Language Vitality Barometer for Karelian in Finland	258
5.1 Focus Area Capacity	261
5.2 Focus Area Opportunity	263
5.3 Focus Area Desire.....	266
5.4 Focus Area Language Products.....	269
5.5 A brief word of conclusion	270
Sources.....	272
Literature	275
Annex 1. Policy recommendations	287
Annex 2. Transcription	290
Annex 3: A note on the questionnaires	291

Foreword

The current research report is one of the eleven case-specific reports produced within the interdisciplinary EU-FP7 research project ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All, 2010-2013) and presents the results of the case study Karelian in Finland. Besides the case-specific reports and the Comparative Report¹ written by Johanna Laakso, Anneli Sarhima, Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark and Reetta Toivanen, the ELDIA project generated eight legal and institutional framework analyses which have been published as monographs in the series *Studies in European language diversity* (SELD)², and six media analyses which will be published by the authors in various journals later. A brief summary of the legal and institutional framework analysis for Karelian and Estonian in Finland by Lisa Grans (2012) is included in the current report as Section 4.1; the summary is written by the leader of the ELDIA law team Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark. The media analysis for Karelian in Finland was conducted by Niina Kunnas, and its results are summarised in this report in Section 4.2 by the leader of the sociologist team Reetta Toivanen.

As the lead researcher in the case study Karelian in Finland and the author of the current case-specific report, it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge all those who have contributed to bringing the study to completion. I warmly thank Kati Parpei for her highly professional help in tracing research literature in the libraries in Helsinki and for her effective assistance in organizing and conducting the fieldwork in Finland. The majority of the interviews were made by Leena Joki. I wholeheartedly thank her for taking all the trouble of travelling, and for harnessing her Karelian skills for the benefit of this study. I also warmly thank Pirkko Nuolijärvi and Lea Siilin for accompanying me as co-interviewers in the focus group interviews with Finnish politicians and Karelian activists. Paavo Harakka, Martti Penttonen and Pekka Zaykov translated the survey questionnaire into the involved three Karelian dialects, and Katharina Zeller made the final layout of the six different language versions of the questionnaires needed for the case study. Living abroad, I was not able to collect the returned questionnaires in Helsinki myself, which is why Marja Leinonen did that for me. Thank you all for your substantial help!

I am also very grateful to Sanna Nykänen who transcribed all the interviews with Karelian informants, and to Sampo Nuolijärvi for transcribing those two Control Group interviews

¹ An abridged version of the Comparative Report is available as an open-access document on the project website. The permalink to the publication is <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:304813>. On the basis of the Comparative Report, a monograph was written by the four authors and published in the series "Linguistic Diversity and Language Rights" by Multilingual Matters (Laakso et al. 2016).

² *Studies in European Language Diversity* (until 2013 and Vol. 22, *Working Papers in European Language Diversity*) is an international, peer-reviewed open-access publication series. All the volumes can be accessed at <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:80726>. The language of the series is English, but parallel versions of individual publications have appeared in other languages as well: e.g. a 26-page summary of the current report is available in Finnish and in each of the three Karelian dialects spoken in Finland.

which were conducted bilingually in Finnish and Swedish. Working as a student assistant, Annika Emmert initiated the analysis of the statistical survey results, and Iwana Knödel helped a lot by creating some of the illustrations of the data as well as the template for the semantic-differential analyses. Thank you, Annika and Iwana!

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to Eva Kühhirt, my co-author of the ELDIA Data Analysis manual and of Section 3.6 which is included in the same form in this and the other ten case-specific reports. Very special thanks also are to be dedicated to Kenneth Meaney for language editing the current report: his comments and accurate suggestions clarified the expression of my thoughts substantially. I also am very grateful to the two anonymous referees for their valuable comments and good suggestions. – Whatever errors or faults remain, they are all mine.

Last but not least, I wish to thank from the bottom of my heart all those who participated in the questionnaire survey and the interviews, and all those but especially Pertti Lampi who in so many ways helped me gain access to various sources of information. Without you it would not have been possible to carry out the study in the first place!

Mainz, October 21st, 2016³

Anneli Sarhimaa

³ Note that the current book is up-to-date till November 2013, whilst the Karelian-speaking community in Finland is today very active in promoting its linguistic rights, and the speakers' efforts of empowering Karelian are more diversified in 2016 than they have ever been.

Central abbreviations

CG = Control Group; Control Group respondents

KF = Karelian Finn respondents, cf. Spanish Americans; for the definition, see Section 2.1.

KM = Kenneth Meaney

AS = Anneli Sarhimaa

List of Tables, Diagrams, Maps and Figures

Tables

Table 1. The proportion of Orthodox with Orthodox -marriages in all marriages involving (former) inhabitants of Border Karelia in the period of 1937-1949.....	46
Table 2. The population of Finland according to mother tongue in 2004	47
Table 3. The proportional allocation of receivers of the CG questionnaire according to mother tongue.....	87
Table 4. Tagging of the discourse topics	116
Table 5 . Results concerning statements about who is expected to use Karelian: KF respondents	195
Table 6. Five statements about Karelian Finns: KF respondents	196
Table 7. Five statements about Karelian speakers: CG respondents.....	197
Table 8. The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions contributing to the overall EuLaViBar score for Capacity.....	262
Table 9. The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions contributing to the overall EuLaViBar score for Opportunity.....	265
Table 10. The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions contributing to the overall EuLaViBar score for Desire.....	268
Table 11. The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions contributing to the overall EuLaViBar score for Language Products	270

Diagrams.

Diagram 1 . The perceived characteristics of Karelian: KF and CG respondents	204
Diagram 2. The perceived characteristics of Finnish: KF and CG respondents	206
Diagram 3. The perceived characteristics of English: KF and CG respondents	208

Maps

Map 1. The traditional homelands of Karelian Finns in Border Karelia prior to World War II.....	7
Map 2a and 2b. The locations of Kuhmo and Suomussalmi, respectively	7
Map 3. Petsamo and other areas ceded by Finland to the Soviet Union in World War II	8
Map 4. Areas of resettlement of Border Karelians in other parts of Finland after WW II.....	9
Map 5. Tervola, the resettlement location of Petsamo Karelians	9
Map 6. Valtimo, one of the highest concentrations of Karelian Finns in rural Finland today	10
Map 7. Finnish towns with a high concentration of Karelian Finns today	10
Map 8. The traditional Swedish-speaking areas of Finland (blue) and the Sámi Homeland (red).....	15
Map 9. North Karelian, South Karelia and other culture-historical provinces of Finland	19
Map 10. Areas in which Karelian Finns tend to be concentrated today	25
Map 11. The development of the eastern border of Finland 1320-1947	27
Map 12. The Finnic languages.....	71
Map 13. The dialects of Karelian.....	73
Map 14. The dialects of Finnish	74

Figures

Figure 1. The age and gender distribution of KF respondents.....	100
Figure 2. The educational background of Karelian Finn and CG respondents compared with that of all Finns	102
Figure 3. The educational background of Karelian Finn respondents compared to that of their parents	103
Figure 4. Residential patterns inside/outside Karelian-speaking areas	105
Figure 5. The age and gender distributions of CG respondents	106
Figure 6. The educational background of CG respondents compared with that of their parents.....	107
Figure 7. The educational levels of KF and CG respondents compared with those of their parents.....	108

Figure 8. The mother tongue(s) of KF respondents	123
Figure 9. The mother tongue(s) of CG respondents	124
Figure 10. The mother-tongue profiles of KF and CG respondents compared	124
Figure 11. The languages spoken by parents to KF respondents in childhood	126
Figure 12. The languages parents use with KF respondents today.....	127
Figure 13. The languages grandparents use(d) with KF respondents	128
Figure 14. The languages KF respondents use with their own children	128
Figure 15. The cross-generational use of Karelian and Finnish over four generations in the families of KF respondents	129
Figure 16. The languages spoken in the multilingual families of CG respondents	130
Figure 17. Intra-generational language use: KF respondents	131
Figure 18. The spousal language use patterns of KF respondents' parents.....	133
Figure 19. The language(s) used by CG respondents with their current spouse/partner.....	134
Figure 20. The self-reported Karelian skills of KF respondents.....	136
Figure 21. The self-reported Finnish skills of KF respondents	136
Figure 22. The self-reported English skills of KF respondents	138
Figure 23. The self-reported Swedish skills of KF respondents.....	139
Figure 24. The self-reported German skills of KF respondents.....	140
Figure 25. The self-reported French skills of KF respondents.....	143
Figure 26 . The self-reported skills in "other" language(s) of KF respondents	144
Figure 27. The self-reported mother-tongue skills of CG respondents	145
Figure 28. The self-reported skills in the other national language of CG respondents	146
Figure 29. The self-reported English skills of CG respondents.....	148
Figure 30. The self-reported German skills of CG respondents	149
Figure 31. The self-reported French skills of CG respondents	150
Figure 32. The self-reported skills in "other" language(s) of CG respondents.....	151
Figure 33. The percentage of KF respondents who rated their skills in the listed languages	152
Figure 34. The percentage of CG respondents who rated their skills in the listed languages	153
Figure 35. The overall proficiency in Finnish of Karelian Finn respondents	154
Figure 36. The overall proficiency in Finnish of the twelve CG respondents with Swedish as mother tongue	155
Figure 37. The self-rated Finnish skills on average: all CG respondents	155
Figure 38. The self-rated Finnish skills of KF and CG respondents compared	156
Figure 39. The overall proficiency in Swedish of KF respondents.....	157
Figure 40. The overall proficiency in Swedish of CG respondents with Finnish as a mother tongue	157
Figure 41. The self-rated Swedish skills of KF respondents and CG informants whose mother tongue is Finnish compared	158
Figure 42. The self-rated overall proficiency in English: KF respondents	159
Figure 43. The self-rated overall proficiency in English: CG respondents.....	159
Figure 44. The self-rated English skills of KF respondents and CG respondents whose mother tongue is Finnish compared	160
Figure 45. The self-rated overall proficiency in German: KF respondents.....	161
Figure 46. The self-rated overall proficiency in German: CG respondents	161
Figure 47. The self-rated German skills of KF and CG respondents compared.....	162
Figure 48. The self-rated overall proficiency in French: KF respondents.....	163
Figure 49. The self-rated overall proficiency in French: CG respondents	163
Figure 50. The self-rated French skills of KF and CG respondents compared.....	164
Figure 51. The self-rated proficiency in "other" language(s): KF respondents	165
Figure 52. The self-rated proficiency in "other" language(s): CG respondents	165
Figure 53. The self-rated skills in "other" language(s) of KF and CG respondents compared	166
Figure 54. The domain-specific use of Karelian	167
Figure 55. The domain-specific use of Finnish by KF respondents	169
Figure 56. KF respondents' response activity regarding the domain-specific use of Karelian and Finnish	171
Figure 57. Domain-specific use of the mother tongue by CG respondents	172
Figure 58. The self-reported use of Finnish "always" by KF and CG respondents for all domains	173
Figure 59. The self-reported use of Finnish "never" by Karelian Finn and CG respondents for all domains.....	174
Figure 60. The domain-specific use of the other national language by CG respondents	175
Figure 61. The domain-specific use of English by CG respondents.....	176
Figure 62. The use of Karelian in public domains as reported by KF respondents	178

Figure 63. The opinions of KF and CG respondents on whether Karelian should be used in the public sphere.....	180
Figure 64. Opinions on the roles of Karelian, Finnish and English in the labour market: KF respondents	182
Figure 65. Opinions on the roles of Finnish, English, Karelian and Estonian in the labour market: CG respondents	184
Figure 66. The roles of Karelian, Finnish and English in the labour market: average assessments by KF and CG respondents compared	186
Figure 67. Are there institutions or people responsible for cultivating Karelian/Finnish? KF respondents	188
Figure 68. FK respondents opinion on the need to develop Karelian for the use in the public sphere.....	191
Figure 69. Attitudes towards mixing languages: KF respondents	199
Figure 70. Opinions on the future of Karelian and other languages: KF respondents.....	200
Figure 71. Opinions on the future of Karelian and other languages: CG respondents	202
Figure 72. Are there languages that are thought to be especially easy to learn? CG respondents.....	216
Figure 73. Are there languages that are thought to be especially difficult to learn? CG respondents.....	216
Figure 74. Four statements concerning Finnish, Estonian and Karelian in Finland: CG respondents	217
Figure 75. CG respondents' opinions on diversity in Finnish society	219
Figure 76. Is there legislative support for the use of Karelian in Finland? KF respondents	221
Figure 77. Is there legislative support for the use of Karelian in Finland? CG respondents	222
Figure 78. Does legislation inhibit the use of Karelian in Finland? KF respondents	223
Figure 79. Does legislation inhibit the use of Karelian in Finland? CG respondents.....	224
Figure 80. Does legislation support knowing and using many languages? KF respondents	225
Figure 81. Does legislation support the use of many languages? CG respondents	226
Figure 82. Is legislation supporting knowing and using many languages available in Karelian? KF respondents.....	227
Figure 83. Are the speakers of different languages treated equally? KF respondents	228
Figure 84. Are the speakers of different languages treated equally? CG respondents	229
Figure 85. Are there laws or regulations concerning employee benefits or awards paid for knowing different languages? KF respondents.....	230
Figure 86 . Are there laws or other regulations which support knowing different languages in the labour market? CG respondents	231
Figure 87. Are there laws or other regulations concerning the use of Karelian in school teaching? KF respondents	232
Figure 88. Are there laws or other regulations concerning school teaching about Karelian? KF respondents	233
Figure 89. Are there laws regulating the teaching of Karelian as a school subject? CG respondents	234
Figure 90. Missing answers in questions concerning media consumption in various languages: KF respondents ..	235
Figure 91. Karelian-language media consumption	236
Figure 92. Finnish-language media consumption: KF respondents	238
Figure 93. English-language media consumption: KF respondents	241
Figure 94. Missing answers in questions concerning media consumption in different languages: CG respondents .	243
Figure 95. Finnish-language media consumption: CG respondents	244
Figure 96. English-language media consumption: CG respondents.....	246
Figure 97. Missing answers in questions concerning text production in different languages: KF respondents	248
Figure 98. Active text production in Karelian	249
Figure 99. Active text production in Finnish: KF respondents	250
Figure 100. Active text production in English: KF respondents	252
Figure 101. Active text production in different languages activity by activity: KF respondents.....	253
Figure 102. The domains in which Karelian and Finnish were acquired: KF respondents	255
Figure 103. One or more languages of instruction? KF respondents.....	257
Figure 104. The ELDIA Language Vitality Barometer for Karelian in Finland	259

I. Introduction

1.1 EU-FP7 PROJECT ELDIA – European Language Diversity for All

ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) was an interdisciplinary research project for re-conceptualizing, promoting and re-evaluating individual and societal multilingualism. The empirical research was conducted within selected multilingual communities which cover a wide spectrum of the political and socioeconomic situations of linguistic minorities in Europe. The communities studied speak endangered minority languages, some of which have only recently been given written form (Karelian, Veps, Seto, Võro, Kven and Meänkieli/Torne-dalian) but languages with a well-established standard variety are also included (Hungarian in Slovenia and in Austria, Estonian in Finland and Germany, and Finnish in Sweden). The ELDIA case studies cover autochthonous minorities such as Karelian Finns and, in Russia, indigenous minorities such as Sámi, and more recent migrant groups such as Estonians in Germany and Finland. The minority groups investigated in ELDIA were also chosen so as to cover the broadest possible spectrum of European multilingualism, in terms of

- different and overlapping types of European societies, with different and highly varying language policies: nation-states with long traditions of Western democracy (Germany, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Finland), nation-states evolving from the collapse of Socialist regimes in the recent past (Estonia, Slovenia, Hungary) and/or from the post-WWI disintegration of historical multiethnic empires (Austria, Hungary, Slovenia, Finland, Estonia, present-day Russia);⁴
- different patterns of the layering of vehicular language usages, along the following four dimensions: (i) intra-national communication between a minority and the majority (all cases); (ii) intra-national/ethnic communication between two or more minorities (e.g., in Norway, Sweden and Russia); (iii) international communication between minorities across state borders (Sámi in Norway, Sweden and Finland; Karelians in Finland and Russia; Sweden Finns and Meänkieli speakers in Sweden and speakers of Finnish or the Far North dialects [closely related to Meänkieli] in Finland); (iv) international communication by minority nationals with Europeans outside the neighbouring countries (all cases);
- different patterns and shifting roles of vehicular languages (above all, historical changes in the vehicular use of German, English or Russian, but also Swedish in pan-Nordic communication, or Finnish or Meänkieli in parts of the Finnic-Sámi language area);

⁴ One earlier effort to compare such legal and political experiences can be found in Spiliopoulou Åkermark et al. (2006).

- maximal range of types of multilingual situations, involving indigenous (the Sámi in Norway), autochthonous (Karelians, Veps, old Hungarian minorities, Võro, Seto and Meänkieli speakers) and migrant communities (Estonians in Finland and Germany) but also historical migrant communities officially acknowledged as ethnic minorities; these groups intertwine with old minorities and/or represent a centuries-old migration pattern (Finns in Sweden, Hungarians in Austria, Kvens in Norway);
- different statuses, opportunities and practices of official and public use (despite the fact that most of the languages included in the ELDIA project are in some sense officially acknowledged, the real practices and opportunities vary greatly);
- varying degrees of societal and cultural integration.

All the minority languages investigated in ELDIA belong to the Finno-Ugric language family, which hitherto has been seriously underrepresented in internationally accessible sociolinguistic literature. The results of the project will be generalizable beyond this internally highly diverse language group and thus contribute to the study of multilingualism and the development of language policies in other multilingual contexts too, in and outside Europe.

The ELDIA project provided

- detailed information 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), which will serve not only the academic world but also policy-makers and other interested parties.

1.2 The case study Karelian in Finland

Karelian is an autochthonous minority language in Finland, where it has been spoken for as long as Finnish itself. Historically, it was a territorial language, but by the mid-20th century it had become a non-territorial one, due to three waves of migration caused by the two World Wars. Up to World War II the Karelian-speaking population of Finland (henceforth: Karelian Finns, for the definition, see 2.1) lived in six municipalities in the easternmost corner of Finland in the area called Border Karelia (see Map 1 in Section 2.1), a few border villages in Finnish North Karelia (Map 2 in 2.1), and the Petsamo region in the north-easternmost part of Finland (Map 3 in 2.1). As a result of the war, the great majority of Karelian Finns lost their traditional homelands and were resettled in various parts of Finland (Maps 4 and 5 in 2.1).

Today speakers of Karelian can be found all over Finland but there are some rural and urban centres of concentration (see Maps 6 and 7 in 2.1).

Linguistically, the traditional Karelian-speaking areas of Finland represented two different varieties of the Karelian language: in Iломantsi, Korpiselkä and some villages of Soanlahti, Suistamo, Suojärvi and Impilahti people spoke the southern dialects of Karelian Proper, whereas elsewhere in Border Karelia they spoke Olonets Karelian⁵. Pre-WWII refugees from Russian North Karelia spoke varieties of Northern Karelian (also called Viena Karelian) and thus brought a third Karelian variety into the linguistic landscape of Finland.

Karelian belongs to the Finnic branch of the Uralic language family or, more precisely, to its eastern Finnic subgroup, which can be distinguished from the southern and the western groups geographically, and on the basis of their common history. By tradition, this subgroup includes Karelian, Veps, Ingrian, and the eastern dialects of Finnish. The traditional Karelian and eastern Finnish varieties share a number of words of common origin which are not typical of the western or southern Finnic languages, including the western dialects of Finnish. There are also a large number of inherited grammatical features that distinguish the eastern from the western Finnish dialects but connect the former with Karelian. Given their relatively close genetic relatedness and the multifarious historical ties between Karelian and Finnish, and especially the eastern Finnish dialects, there has always been sufficient lexical similarity to support a certain degree of mutual intelligibility, at least at the most basic levels of everyday communication. In this respect, the eastern Finnish dialects and the Karelian dialects form a fairly smooth dialect continuum, within which mutual intelligibility is at its highest in the north and gradually diminishes towards the south.

Karelian Finns are not represented in population censuses or any other administrative registers. It has been estimated that those who were resettled in other parts of Finland during and after the Second World War numbered 30,000-40,000 people, and that the largest wave of refugees from Russian Karelia in 1917-1922 comprised some 33,500 people, of whom about 20,000 remained in Finland permanently. According to the Karelian Language Society, which has compiled unofficial statistics since 1995, there are roughly 5,000 speakers of Karelian who speak the language in a daily basis in Finland today, and up to 20,000 people who know some Karelian or understand it to some extent. On the basis of ELDIA results and a study conducted by the Finnish historian Tapio Hämynen in 2013, the estimation has lately been raised to 11,000 who can speak Karelian well to fluently, and further 20,000 who speak some Karelian or at least understand it to some extent.

1.3 About the project framework, contents and structure of the report

The major product of ELDIA is the European Language Maintenance Barometer (shorter: the EuLaViBar), a novel tool for measuring the level of language maintenance. It distinguishes

⁵ The dialect division and the mutual relationships of the Karelian dialects are briefly discussed in Section 2.5.1.

itself from the other tools in that it assesses language vitality on the basis of systematically gathered quantitative data.⁶ The analytical frame of the European Language Vitality Barometer was created by making good use of the existing interdisciplinary knowledge about language endangerment, maintenance and revitalization. Given the complexity of the interdisciplinary research design, the wider sociolinguistic, sociological and legal contexts of the ELDIA research, the employed methods as well as the theoretical and methodological significance of the work done in the project are described and critically discussed in the Comparative Report⁷ and in Laakso et al. (2016). Following the uniform case-study reporting design, these issues will not be thematized in the current report to any extent, nor will the results of the case study Karelian in Finland be compared here with those of the other ELDIA case studies or other sociolinguistic or language revitalization studies.

ELDIA genuinely aimed at generating new knowledge about the current vitality of the investigated Finno-Ugric languages. However, from the point of view of the main objective of the entire project, the case studies primarily served as the providers of the empirical data which was needed for operationalising the ideas underlying the barometer and for testing and improving its functionality. The role as “raw-material suppliers” had advantages but also disadvantages to the case studies. On the one hand, it guided the empirical data collecting in a highly organised manner and ultimately produced a systematic and fairly comprehensive quantitative data set which for many of the investigated languages, including Karelian in Finland, is the first of its kind. On the other hand, the uniform data collection design did not leave much space for gathering information on other issues which might have been of greater interest in a particular case than some of the data that were collected for ELDIA. Researchers who worked on the case studies also did not have time during the project for analysing the collected data from any other viewpoints than those that were defined as relevant for the project goals.

In the case reports the downsides of the uniform and pre-defined data collection format are reflected in two major ways. Firstly, since grading the results for the barometer only is possible for single factors but not for the combined effects of several factors, the data analyses discussed here do not elucidate any two-way statistical distributions. This means that, for instance, the effects of the age factor on the self-evaluated proficiency of Karelian or on the transmission of the language to the next generation are not analysed in this report, although for instance these very matters would have profited from a proper analysis of the two-way distributions substantially. Secondly, questions such as the current linguistic form of the investigated languages or the reflections of bi- and multilingualism in actual language

⁶ All the the other tools, including the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) by Fishman (1991, 2001), the UNESCO Framework (2003) and the Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) by Lewis and Simons (2010), are designed to be used by just one, well-informed expert; for details, see the Comparative Report, Sections 2.8.3 and 3.2.4.

⁷ As also noted in the Foreword, an abridged version of the Comparative Report is available as an open-access document on the project website under the permalink <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:304813>.

use, say, in the form of mixing languages and switching between them, or the many interesting questions that could have been investigated regarding ethnic and linguistic identities could not be posed within ELDIA at all. All these and many other matters can be studied later on the basis of the data that were collected by us.

In an effort to maximize the comparability of the data and the results of the case studies, the data also were analyzed as identically as possible in the different case studies. An obliging manual was created for each work phase, and, basically, all case studies proceeded in the same schedule. This was essential, because as an EU project ELDIA had a very strict time frame and the end products, i.e. the barometer, the case-specific reports and the Comparative Report all had to be ready by the end of the project. The detriment was that at the time of writing the case-specific reports, the results of the other case studies were not available for a comparison of, for instance, the current state of Karelian in Finland and in Russia. Another disadvantage of the uniform research design was that all questions that were posed were not equally relevant for all the eleven cases. Thus, for instance, the analysis of the reported skills in different languages did not actually produce any new information in regard to Finland, nor did it reveal any drastic differences between the target group of the current case study and its control group. However, given that one of the cornerstones of the ELDIA project design was to show that the bi- and multilingualism of the eleven investigated language minorities is an integral part of the European multilingualism which is widely stressed in political speeches but not properly taken into account in practices yet, the results of this part, too, have their relevance in a wider context and can be used, e.g. in studies concerned with the contemporary functional multilingualism in Europe.

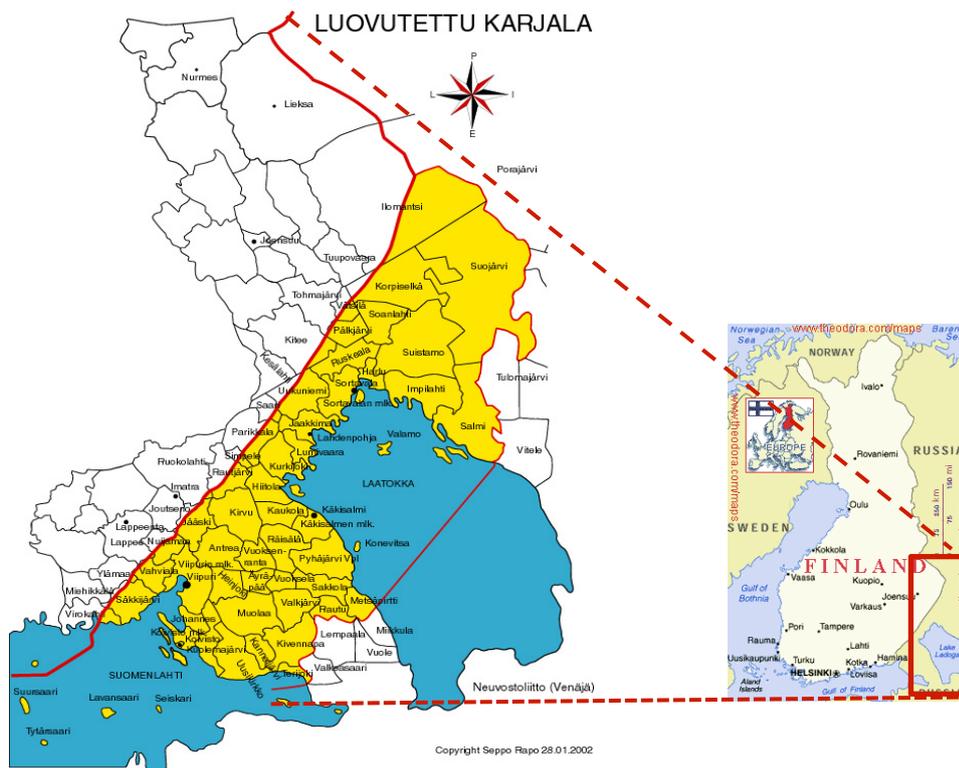
The current report follows the ELDIA guidelines for case-study reporting in its form and content, and thus largely concentrates on presenting and discussing the results of the two questionnaire surveys which were carried out among Karelian speakers in Finland and the control group. The data that were collected with individual and group interviews were employed for triangulation purposes, although not in a strictly systematic way. Due to time and space restrictions, the interview data are not extensively discussed in this report but they will be used in several already running follow-up studies which can be expected to contextualize the ELDIA results further, and to shed some new light on the interpretation of the mainly quantitative results presented here.

II. Sociohistorical and linguistic contexts of Karelian in Finland

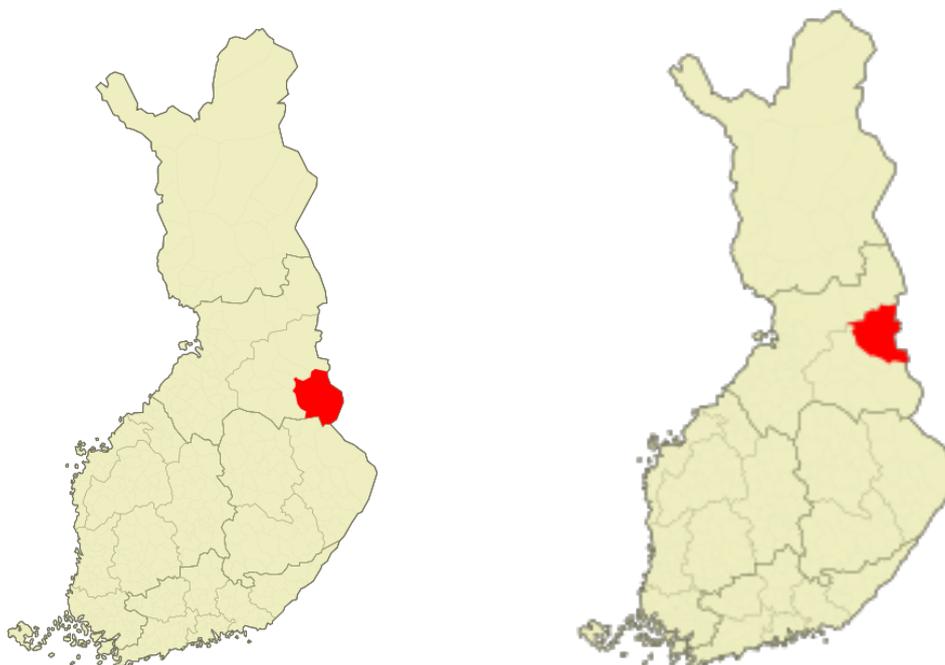
2.1 Introduction

Karelian-speaking Finns constitute a heterogeneous, ill-defined and rather perplexing minority group, whose linguistic and ethnic demarcation from the Finnish-speaking population is, and has always been, a matter of considerable national debate. The group consists of people born in the traditionally Karelian-speaking areas of Finland and of refugees from Russian Karelia who settled in Finland before and during World World II, as well as those of their descendants who have retained some sense of Karelian identity and an interest in maintaining their heritage language. Not all are proficient speakers of the language, which makes the term “Karelian-speaking Finn” somewhat problematic. In this report the group is referred to simply as “Karelian Finns”, although the term “Karelian-speaking Karelians in Finland” might have been more appropriate (cf. Sarhimaa, *forthcoming*). Karelian-speaking immigrants who have emigrated to Finland from Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union are referred to as “Karelian-speaking immigrants”. They did not belong to the primary target group of the case study, but they were not *a priori* excluded either; as will be seen in Chapter 4, there were a few Karelian-speaking immigrants among the respondents of the questionnaire survey.

The traditional homelands of the Karelian Finns within Finland are shown in Maps 1, 2 and 3. They comprised, firstly, the Border Karelian municipalities of Salmi, Suistamo and Suojärvi, parts of Korpiselkä, Soanlahti and Impilahti (Border Karelia is indicated by a circle in Map 1) and, secondly, a few border villages in the municipalities of Ilomantsi (Ilomantsi is marked in Map 1), Suomussalmi and Kuhmo (shown in Maps 2a and 2b). Thirdly, prior to World War II there were also a few hundred Karelians living in the Petsamo area in north-eastern Finland (see Map 3). It has been estimated that at the end of the 1930s speakers of Karelian numbered some 30,000 – 40,000 in Border Karelia alone (Jeskanen 2005: 227). Linguistically the traditional Karelian-speaking areas represented two different varieties of the Karelian language: in Ilomantsi, Korpiselkä and some villages in Soanlahti, Suistamo, Suojärvi and Impilahti, people spoke the southern Karelian Proper; elsewhere in Border Karelia they spoke Olonets Karelian (see Map 13. The dialects of Karelian in Section 2.5.1). Even prior to World War II, there also were Karelian speakers living outside of the traditional homelands in other parts of Finland. Most notably, during the first half of the 20th century there were several waves of migration into Finland of refugees from Karelian-speaking areas in north-western Russia, particularly Olonets and Viena (for details, see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2), and by the beginning of World War II, a significant number of speakers of Viena Karelian varieties had settled in the timber industry centres of northern Finland, particularly the town of Kemi (Hyry 1997: 87-88).



Map 1. The traditional homelands of Karelian Finns in Border Karelia prior to World War II⁸



Map 2a and 2b. The locations of Kuhmo⁹ and Suomussalmi¹⁰, respectively

⁸ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/62/Ceded_Karelia.jpg, 21.8.2013. The author has released the document for public use.

⁹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Kuhmo.sijainti.suomi.2008.svg>, 4.3.2010. The author has released the document for public use.



Map 3. Petsamo and other areas ceded by Finland to the Soviet Union in World War II¹¹

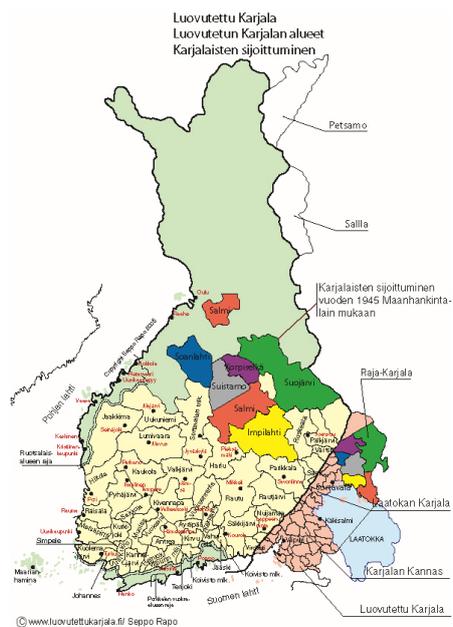
As a result of World War II, the majority of speakers of Karelian lost their traditional homelands and were resettled in various parts of Finland. In 1945, as the colour codes used in Map 4¹² show, the population of Border Karelia, including Karelian Finns, were resettled in North Karelia, North Savo, southern Kainuu and, to a very minor extent, in north-western Ostrobothnia. The Petsamo Karelians were resettled in Varejoki in Tervola (Map 5)¹³. – The political decisions and legal measures underlying the resettlement plan are explained in detail e.g. in Waris et al. (1952: 32-34, 102-106, 111-112).

¹⁰ <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Suomussalmi.sijainti.suomi.2010.svg>, 4.3.2010. The author has released the document for public use.

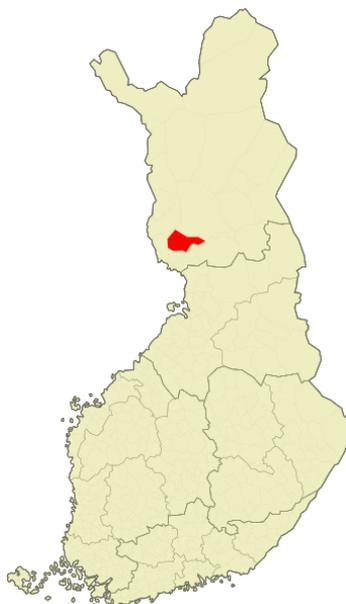
¹¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Finnish_areas_ceded_in_1944.png, 21.8.2013. Author Jniemenmaa; licensed for free use under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License Version 1.2 or later.

¹² © Seppo Rapo 2013; the map is used here with the permission of the author.

¹³ <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5d/Tervola.sijainti.suomi.2008.svg>, 4.3.2010. The author has released the document for public use.



Map 4. Areas of resettlement of Border Karelians in other parts of Finland after WW II



Map 5. Tervola, the resettlement location of Petsamo Karelians

Kotka, Tampere, Oulu, Kajaani and Mikkeli (see Map 7) (Harakka 2001: 3). According to Kunnas (e-mail 9.9.2010), Oulu in particular has a large number of Karelian speakers, who have their roots in Northern Viena (see Map 13 in Section 2.5.1), and there is a thriving community, which originated in Salmi, in the municipality of Muhos, some 35 km to the southeast of Oulu. Another important centre of speakers of Northern Karelian with a Viena-Karelian refugee background has, since the 1920s, been the town of Kemi in north-western Finland (Hyry 1997: 88-89).

Immediately after World War II, the resettled Karelian Finns¹⁵ were – at least to some extent and for some time – recognised by ordinary people and the authorities as a group that was culturally different from the majority of Finns (see Section 4.5). Over time, this perception largely faded away and today few ordinary Finns are aware of the presence of a Karelian-speaking minority or even of the existence of a Karelian language distinct from the eastern dialects of Finnish that non-linguists commonly refer to as “Karelian” (see Sections 1.2; 4.5). Nevertheless, as a language minority, Karelian Finns are now becoming more widely known: Karelian was given official recognition as a minority language in a decree amendment passed on 4 December, 2009 (see Section 4.1).

Documentation concerning the existence of Karelian Finns as a specific group in Finnish society is fairly scarce. This is mainly due to national discourses that effectively silenced the Karelian minority by simply and unproblematically treating them as Finns and their language as a dialect of Finnish (see Section 5.1). Another reason is probably that it was not until the exceptional circumstances of the war and the subsequent resettlement of the evacuated population¹⁶ that Karelian Finns came into intensive contact with the rest of Finland: up to then they had constituted a numerally small¹⁷ regional minority living in a geographically marginal area in easternmost Finland (see Section 2.2) and thus did not arouse much academic interest.

In general, existing research is severely skewed towards the Finnish-speaking resettled population and has largely ignored the linguistic and cultural Otherness of speakers of Karelian. Since the late 1940s, there have been hundreds of academic studies¹⁸ of Finnish citizens displaced during the war and resettled after it, covering such matters as the practice and consequences of the resettlement policies, the reorganisation of youth organisations and other associations, the post-war development of the construction industry as a by-

¹⁵ As far as refugees from Russian Karelia (see Ch. 1) are concerned, the situation seems to have been slightly different: after World War II their associations were declared illegal in Finland and, fearful of being returned to the Soviet Union, refugee Karelians generally played down their origins and consciously sought to assimilate as quickly and completely as possible (Hyry 1991; 1997: 86-89).

¹⁶ In Finnish research literature, and in colloquial speech, it is customary to refer to all these evacuated and resettled Finns, regardless of their native tongue, as “evacuated Karelians” (see e.g. Waris et al. 1952: 42-44; Raninen-Siiskonen 1999: 359) or “Transfer-Karelians”, Fin. *siirtokarjalaiset*.

¹⁷ At the end of the Second World War speakers of Karelian numbered c. 29,000 (Harakka 2001) and thus comprised about 7.2% of the c. 400,000 Finns who lost their homes in the areas ceded to the Soviet Union and were resettled in other parts of Finland.

¹⁸ An excellent overview of these studies can be found in Raninen-Siiskonen (1999: 18-23).

product of the systematic resettlement of the evacuated population, and cultural and linguistic adaptation on the part of the resettled, to mention just a few. Karelian Finns, however, have been treated as a distinct group in only a minority of these studies – even those concerned with the Orthodox religion (e.g. Makkonen 1989; Hollstein 1994), which is the feature that has traditionally been most commonly associated with being Karelian (see Section 2.3).

An important exception is the socio-political study by Waris et al. (1952) on the social consequences of the population resettlement in Finland, which distinguished fairly systematically the Orthodox, (and mainly Karelian-speaking) group of Border Karelians from the Finnish-speaking (and mainly Lutheran) evacuees (see, however, Section 4.5). Later, a ground-breaking ethnographic study by Heikkinen (1989) on Karelian ethnic self-awareness focused on former residents of Salmi and thus had Karelian Finns as its object of investigation. A study by Hämynen (1993) of the role and meaning of the Finnish-Russian border at its different stages in the everyday lives of the Border Karelian population concentrated on the traditionally Karelian-speaking municipalities and thus shed important new light on the socio-historical background to being Karelian in Finland. Yet another important contribution is Raninen-Siiskonen's study (1999) on the reminiscences and narratives of evacuated Karelians, in which a group of Karelian-speaking informants from Border-Karelian Suojärvi are systematically distinguished from informants originating in the Finnish-speaking areas. A new perspective on being (Border) Karelian in Finland is provided by Patronen's 2009 Licentiate Thesis concerning Border Karelian surnames which were changed into Finnish ones between 1917 and 1960. There also is a long multidisciplinary tradition of research on historical Border Karelia at the Karelian Institute at the University of Eastern Finland, which has provided some historical contextual information of relevance to the ELDIA project.

Quite a lot of background information on language content and language attitudes, which is interesting in itself, can be found in many ethnological and folklore studies, such as Sallinen-Gimpl's 1987 study of the post-WWII encounter between evacuees and the local people, and in local histories, such as Kuikka's 1999 extensive review of the memories and experiences of evacuees from Salmi in the North Savo community of Lapinlahti.

There are particularly wide gaps in the existing research with respect to the linguistic study of Karelian varieties once spoken in Finland, as well as to the consequences of their post-1945 contacts with varieties of Finnish (see Section 5.3). One of the reasons for the lack of systematic linguistic descriptions of the traditional, pre-World-War-II varieties might be that the empirical material available for studying them is restricted to in total 63 pages of instant transcriptions taken by hand by Eino Leskinen in Border Karelia in the 1930s (Leskinen 1934). The Audio Recordings Archive of the Institute for the languages of Finland in Helsinki does hold over 500 hours of interviews with people who had been evacuated from Border Karelia during World War II; out of the recordings, over 100 hours have been transcribed lately to be included into an electronic corpus being prepared within the FINKA project at the

University of Eastern Finland¹⁹. However, since the majority of the recordings have been made in the 1960s and 1970s, they do not necessarily all completely reflect Karelian as it was once spoken in Border Karelia. To my best knowledge, later there have been no large-scale recordings of post-war Karelian in Finland so far: Except for Puntila's interviews with Impilahti Karelians in the 1990s (Punttila 1992, 1998), the only interviews with Karelian Finns have been those occasionally conducted by undergraduate students in connection with their studies.

There also are several wide gaps in the existing research on the use and maintenance of Karelian. There is no information about the subjective views of Karelian Finns on its practical usability, e.g. whether it is possible to talk about any topic in Karelian, or whether the written forms of Karelian used in current publications are good or even understandable by all of its speakers. There is no research on actual language use, i.e. the ways in which speakers of Karelian speak or write the language in their everyday lives, in language courses or clubs, when writing for their municipality association publications or on Internet forums, and so on. Until quite lately, there has been virtually no systematic study of the consequences of Karelian speakers' post-WWII contacts with the the various dialects of Finnish. However, this might be changing: The above mentioned FINKA project – which aims at creating a network of linguistic research on Karelian – has already produced two case studies (Massinen 2011 and Uusitupa 2012) that have started to fill the gap, and other Master's Theses as well as four doctoral dissertations are being prepared in the project as well.

So far there has been absolutely no research on the standards of written Karelian in Finland, i.e. its lexical and grammatical characteristics in general and, more particularly, how it compares with the written Karelian standards used in Russia. There is no research on the relative proportion of those who actually speak Karelian in Finland to those who only understand it, nor is there any systematic research on the age structure of Karelian Finns. The information currently available about the number of Karelian Finns and the data-collecting methods have not been subject to scholarly evaluation. To conclude, there is a clear need for many types of research into the current linguistic and sociocultural situation of the Karelian minority in Finland.

The Karelian-speaking minority in Finland represents a mixed type of European autochthonous minority, viz. one that was once a regional minority and then developed very abruptly into a non-territorial, exile minority without any traditional or clearly definable modern core area. Moreover, it is a minority that has been periodically “refreshed” by newcomers migrating from abroad, i.e. from the Karelian Republic in Russia (see Sections 2.1

¹⁹ The complete title of the FINKA project is “On the borderline of Finnish and Karelian: perspectives on cognate languages and dialects”, and it focuses on the contacts between the eastern dialects of Finnish and the Karelian dialects that were spoken in Border Karelia. The project is funded by the Academy of Finland for the period 2011-2014 and conducted by the University of Eastern Finland and the State University of Petrozavodsk. (<http://www.uef.fi/finka>.)

and 2.2). As already mentioned, demarcating the Karelian-speaking minority from the Finnish speaking majority has always been done imprecisely, if at all (see Sections 2.1 and 2.3). Until fairly recently the minority itself was quite passive in this respect, too. For many years the only means of manifesting one's Finnish-Karelian origin publicly was membership of a municipality association (Fin. *pitäjöseura*), which brought together evacuees living in the same locality who had come from a particular Karelian municipality (see Section 4.5). Systematic observation of Karelian and demands for the minority rights of its speakers did not really begin until 1995, when the Karelian Language Society (Kar. *Karjalan Kielen Seuru*, more widely known by its Finnish name *Karjalan Kielen Seura*) was founded. Its main aim is to promote interest in the study and use of Karelian and to support research and publishing that aims at maintaining and developing the language of Karelian Finns (<http://www.karjalankielenseura.fi/kks.html>, 19.3.2010). As will be seen in various places below, during the past decade, the Society has gone from being a language association to being a cultural and political lobbyist, which successfully defends and promotes the linguistic, cultural and political rights of speakers of Karelian.

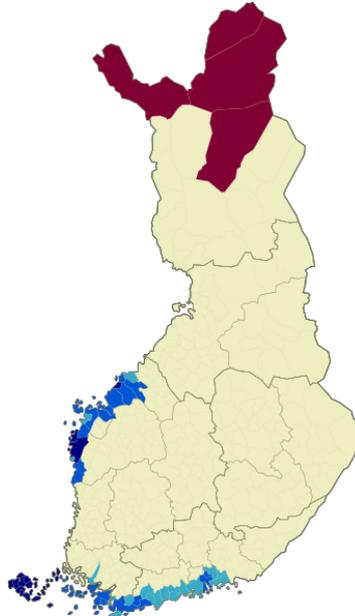
2.2 Sociohistory

2.2.1 The ethnic and linguistic context of Karelian in Finland

Superficially, the general ethnic and linguistic context of Karelian in Finland is simple but in reality it is fascinatingly multifaceted. Traditionally, Finland has been regarded, linguistically and ethnically, as a fairly homogeneous country. Two major languages, Finnish and Swedish, are specified as national languages by the Constitution (see Section 4.1). Below this official surface, however, there are a number of other languages that have long, strong roots in the area of present-day Finland. Some of these play, or used to play, a role in the linguistic and ethnic context of being Karelian in Finland.

Throughout the ages, most contacts between Karelians and other ethnic groups in Finland have been with speakers of Finnish. This is because Finnish is the mother tongue of 90.7% of the population and overwhelmingly the majority language in most parts of the country (Väestörakenne 2009). Swedish has been spoken in Finland since the 13th century, or perhaps earlier (Tiisala 2005: 1). From the 16th century until 1902, when Finnish was given parity, it was the main language of legislation, administration and university education (for further details, see Section 2.2). Today, municipalities in Finland are either monolingual (Finnish or Swedish) or bilingual: if at least 8% or 3.000 inhabitants of a given municipality belong to the Swedish-speaking or Finnish-speaking minority there, then the municipality is, by definition, bilingual. The linguistic situation is reviewed every ten years to see if its linguistic status should be changed. (Language Act 2003) Currently Swedish is the mother tongue of 5.4% of the Finnish population. (Väestörakenne 2009: 2.) Swedish speakers are concentrated in the coastal areas of southern, south-western and western Finland, and on the autonomous Åland Islands (see Map 8 below), which are entirely Swedish-speaking, so the original homelands of the Karelian Finns were geographically distant from those of

Swedish speakers (for details, see Waris et al. 1952: 151-155). When the evacuated population was resettled in the 1940s, prevailing Swedish-speaking areas were excluded from the resettlement plan²⁰, and so contacts between the two groups presumably remained fairly rare in the years immediately following the war. Today the possibility of contacts between Karelian Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns are basically the same as those between Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns.



Map 8. The traditional Swedish-speaking areas of Finland (blue) and the Sámi Homeland (red)²¹

The language that is known to have been spoken in Finland even earlier than Finnish and Karelian consisted of a group of Sámi varieties or, more precisely, of Finno-Ugric varieties which, over time, developed into the present-day Sámi languages. Today Sámi is recognized as the indigenous language of Finland and given official status by the Sámi Language Law (see Section 4.1). Native speakers of Sámi constitute 0.03% of the total population of Finland (Väestörakenne 2009: 2). The majority are speakers of Northern Sámi; some 300 people speak Skolt Sámi and some 300 Inari Sámi. These three Sámi languages have the status of official languages, alongside Finnish, in the four northernmost municipalities of Finland, which comprise the Sámi Homeland (*Sápmi*, see Map 8 above). The Sámi group with a historical connection to Karelian Finns is the Skolt, whose traditional homelands extended over the Petsamo Region, which was also inhabited by a small number of speakers of Karelian up to World War II. In Petsamo and the far north-east of pre-war Finland in general, continuous contacts between Sámi, Norwegians, Kvens and Russians were a constructive,

²⁰ According to Waris et al. (1952: 151-155), the decision to exempt the Swedish-speaking areas from resettling any evacuees was severely criticized as “unfair” by both the evacuees and those in Finnish-speaking areas who were obliged to give land to them; it was one of major national debates at the time.

²¹ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e3/Languages_of_Finnish_municipalities_%282008%29.svg. By flrn (based on fi: Käyttäjä: Care's work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons. 20.8.2013. The author has released the document for public use.

though minor, part of the ethnic and linguistic context in which Karelian was spoken prior to the war.

According to FiBLUL, which is the umbrella organisation of the traditional minorities of Finland, there are five other minority languages which can be classified as "traditional minority languages"²² besides Swedish and the Sámi languages, viz. Romani²³, Tatar, Russian, Yiddish and Karelian (<http://fiblul.huset.fi/fiblul/>, 4.5.2010). Of these, only Russian formed a particularly significant part of the ethnic and linguistic context in which Karelian was spoken in pre-war Finland. There may well have been sporadic contacts between Karelians and individual representatives of the other groups, but given that the former constituted a rural minority living in the eastern Finnish hinterlands, even casual contacts must have been scarce. Russians and Russian, on the other hand, were always a significant ethnic and linguistic factor in the general context of being Karelian in Finland. Until Finland became independent in 1917, there was no real border between the Karelian-speaking areas of Finland and the Karelian-speaking areas of north-western Russia. Karelians from the "Finnish" side worked and socialized on the "Russian" side and vice versa. Although the proportion of Russians in "Russian" Karelia remained fairly low until after the Second World War, cultural and other contacts between Karelians and Russians were fairly intensive. (Heikkinen 1984: 70-82; Hämynen 1995: 28-33) As will be shown below, Karelian Finns experienced the consequences of this in a very concrete way after the war, when they were resettled in other parts of Finland and mockingly referred to as "Russians" (see Section 4.5).

At present, all the above mentioned traditional minorities form, to a certain extent, a potentially important context for being a Karelian Finn. The Karelian Language Society, which is the main organization striving to revitalize and maintain Karelian in Finland, is one of the active members of the Finnish Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (FiBLUL). FiBLUL was founded in 1997 as an umbrella organization for the traditional minority groups of Finland. The other members of the FiBLUL are the *Svenska Finlands folkting*, the Sámi Parliament, the Council of Roma Issues, the Islam Congregation of Finland (which represents the Tatar community), the Finnish Association of Russian Organisations (Fin. *Suomen Venäjänkielisten yhdistysten liitto*, FARO) and the Central Council of Jewish Congregations in Finland (Fin. *Suomen Juutalaisten Seurakuntien Keskusneuvosto*). The ambitious aim of FiBLUL is to support and promote the traditional minority languages through intensive cooperation between the language groups themselves and with other institutions and organizations, as well as with local, regional and national authorities. It also acts as a body of specialists in supervising the implementation of international conventions in Finland, and seeks to influence the development of language legislation. (<http://fiblul.huset.fi/fiblul/>, 4.5.2010).

²² Note that the concept "traditional minority language" is not a term used in Finnish legislation (see Section 2.4.1).

²³ Romani has been spoken in Finland since the latter half of the 16th century (Grönfors, Virolainen, Åkerlund & Lounela 1997: 149-150).

The ethnic and linguistic context of present-day Karelian Finns has become even more multifaceted. According to Statistics Finland (Väestöraportti 2009: 2), in 2009 there were more speakers of foreign languages in Finland than ever before: for the first time in history, their absolute number was greater than 200,000 and they constituted 3.9% of the total population. The largest group was that of speakers of Russian, who constituted one third of all speakers of immigrant languages and, with 51,683 speakers, amounted to slightly less than one percent (0.96%) of the total population. The increasing number of Russian speakers is significant with regard to the general context of the Karelian language in Finland, since all immigrant Karelians are Karelian-Russian bilinguals and many of them are probably more fluent in Russian than in Karelian. In any case, the varieties of Karelian spoken by the immigrants contain more Russian-influenced features than the varieties traditionally spoken in Finland. The mere existence recently of a continuous immigration of new speakers from abroad (even if fairly modest in numbers) is a decidedly significant factor in the general context of being Karelian in Finland. Moreover, it can be assumed that the intermingling of immigrant Karelians with what is left of the existing minority may bring at least some Karelian speakers into closer contact with speakers of Russian in Finland as well.

Another characteristic feature of the linguistic context of Karelian in Finland is that in Finland, as well as in Russia/the Soviet Union, Karelian was generally regarded as a dialect of Finnish. Consequently, it was excluded from all discussion of the languages of Finland and only became an issue in societal discourses during the past few years. It is not surprising, then, that, especially since the Second World War, the main vehicular language used by Karelian Finns has been Finnish, and Karelian has been maintained as the vernacular used at home and with Karelian-speaking relatives and friends (Jeskanen 2005: 235-255).

In dealing with contacts between Karelian and Finnish, we are concerned with a fairly complicated case of layering contacts between two fairly closely-related ethnic and language groups. The traditional homelands of Karelians and Finns have always bordered with each other and overlapped to some extent, especially in the traditionally Karelian-speaking regions of Finland, which in earlier centuries also covered large parts of Finnish North Karelia (See Map 9 further below in this Section). Despite the gradual Finnicisation of the western parts of the border areas, which is discussed in, for example, Hakamies (1993), both Karelians and Finns were equally autochthonous in their own traditional homelands. Due to the outcome of World War II, Karelian Finns suddenly became a non-territorial migrant minority, resettled in the traditional homelands of speakers of Finnish.

Today, Karelian is an autochthonous non-territorial minority language in Finland, which by the mid-20th century, due to three waves of internal and external migration had become a non-territorial minority language with some of the characteristics that are usually typical of allochthonous languages. The 30,000-40,000 speakers of Karelian who were resettled in other parts of Finland during and after World War II formed the second wave of migration²⁴. The first wave came in the years 1917-1922 and consisted of some 33,500 refugees, mostly

²⁴ For a detailed description of the phases of the resettlement, see Waris et al. (1952: 44-71).

from the northernmost parts of Russian Karelia. It has been estimated that slightly fewer than 20,000 of these remained in Finland permanently (Nygård 1996: 2-11; Hyry 1995: 86-89; Hyry 1997: 86-88; J. Pentikäinen 1999: 77). The third wave came in 1944 and consisted of some 600 war refugees, again from northernmost Russia Karelia. Fearful of being forcibly returned to the Soviet Union like the Ingrian Finns, many of them moved on to Sweden and settled permanently there (Hyry 1995: Keynäs 1999: 171). A fourth wave is the above-mentioned post-Soviet immigration, which has intermingled Karelians from Russia and the existing Karelian minority in Finland.

When the **self-identification of Karelian Finns** is assessed in terms of what they call themselves (*endonym*), it seems clear that they are now fully assimilated to the majority population. They define themselves primarily as “Finns who have their roots in Karelia” (Lampi 2008: 1). In this respect, speakers of Karelian do not distinguish themselves from other Finns who declare a Karelian identity as well. These obviously include those who were evacuated from the Karelian Isthmus and other Finnish-speaking areas ceded to the Soviet Union (see Map 3 in Ch. 2), but “having one’s roots in Karelia” and experiencing and manifesting a Karelian identity is also typical of many Finnish-speaking inhabitants of North Karelia (capital: Joensuu) and South Karelia (capital: Lappeenranta) (Makkonen 2005: 154-155; Hyry 1997: 85). These comprise two large areas in eastern Finland, which, until 1997, formed the administrative units of the Provinces of North Karelia and South Karelia (see Map 9). In everyday, non-specialist language usage, these two areas are often known simply as “Karelia”, a term which is also used to refer to Border Karelia, Ladoga Karelia and the Karelian Republic in north-western Russia.



Map 9. North Karelian, South Karelia and other culture-historical provinces of Finland²⁵

Karelian Finns do not clearly distinguish themselves from other Finns in terms of how they identify their heritage language either. As Palander and Nupponen (2005: 15-21) strikingly show, it was – and still is – customary to regard Karelian as just another dialect of Finnish, or as a collection of dialects without reference to any specific language (“Border-Karelian dialects”). It is not uncommon for the Finnish dialects spoken in the former provinces of North Karelia and South Karelia to be referred to as “Karelian” or even “the Karelian language” (also see Jeskanen 2005: 226-227). Consequently, ordinary Karelian-speaking Finns are often only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are not, in fact, speakers of Finnish, although they are very much aware of the distinctiveness of their heritage variety from dialectal and/or colloquial Finnish. (Jeskanen 2005, 251-255). This situation is primarily due to the fact that for a long time Karelian was denied the status of an independent Finnic language by many prominent scholars and politicians in both Finland and Russia/the Soviet Union (Sarhimaa 2008: 112-121). Due, perhaps, to the relative closeness of Karelian to Finnish (see Section 5.1), speakers of Karelian have generally internalized this view, and thus even today think they speak a dialect of Finnish. According to Lampi (2008: 1), for years activists in the Karelian League (Fin. *Karjalan Liitto*: an organisation founded after the Second World War by evacuees and which is still large) strongly supported the Finnish state ideology which stressed that speakers of Karelian were Finns and that there was no Karelian culture distinct from Finnish culture. In the 1970s a new generation of activists came on scene, holding the opposing view that they were very much *Karelian* citizens of Finland (Lampi 2008: 1).

²⁵ MapsofWorld.com, license ID: 8012.

All three major dialects of Karelian are spoken in Finland, too. Many Karelian-speaking Finns speak Olonets Karelian, which is still spoken to the northwest of the Lake Ladoga (see, e.g. Salminen 1999); others speak Viena Karelian or Southern Karelian. Viena Karelian is also spoken in the northern parts of the Republic of Karelia, south Karelian in the central parts of the Republic of Karelia and in the Tver area in the Russian Federation. Olonets Karelian and Viena Karelian have been standardised in the Republic of Karelia since the late 1980s (for earlier attempts at standardisation and a more detailed description of their history, see Section 4.6). There has been no extensive discussion of standards for written Karelian in Finland yet, and so far there has also been no research on its lexical or grammatical characteristics. Now that Karelian has been recognised as a minority language by the change in the law of December 2009 (see Section 4.1), it is to be hoped that a Karelian language board will be officially established. For the time being, there is an unofficial language board, the *Kieličuppu*²⁶, which functions within the framework of the Karelian Language Society and consists of three members. Its main task is to discuss and give advice on questions of corpus-planning in relation to Karelian spoken in Finland (Kunnas, e-mail 9.9.2010).

In writing, today in Finland Karelian-speaking Finns use Olonets Karelian rather than Viena Karelian, which does not differ very much from the northern dialects of Finnish, and written Karelian in Finland does not seem to greatly differ from Olonets Karelian as it is written in Russia, although there does appear to be differences in the frequency of the use of certain syntactic constructions. On the other hand, lexical differences between the two are more substantial, except where Karelian writers in Russia have produced “consciously Finnic” texts, purged, as far as possible, of Russian-influenced elements and using Finnish words or Finnish-influenced expressions instead of even well-established Russicisms.

There is no previous research or information on the attitudes of Karelian-speaking Finns towards written Karelian. The relationship between the written and spoken varieties of Karelian is a complicated and so far unstudied issue. There is no scholarly information about the distance or degree of mutual intelligibility between any written variety and the respective spoken varieties, or between the three standard varieties, or between the Olonets Karelian standard used in Finland and Standard Finnish. Since the Karelian-language journal, *Oma mua*, which is published in Petrozavodsk, also has subscribers in Finland, one can assume that there are no great gaps in mutual intelligibility, although many lay speakers of Viena Karelian consider Olonets Karelian to be “another language” (Kunnas 2006: 235–236, 241). To my knowledge, there has been no systematic study of the extent to which any particular written Karelian standard is intelligible to speakers of the dialects on which it is based or to speakers of other dialects. In my own experience, Northern Karelians do not understand written Olonets Karelian or Tver Karelian particularly well and vice versa. As for Karelian Finns, I do not believe that the issue has ever been raised: to my knowledge there is no previous research or information available on their attitudes towards the written form used in Finland or the standard varieties used in Russia.

²⁶ See <http://opastajat.net/forum/viewtopic.php?f=4&t=140>.

From the perspective of Finland's two-hundred-year history as a political entity, **describing how contacts between Finns as a majority and Karelians as a minority in the area of present-day Finland began is not a simple matter.** As discussed above, when Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire in 1809, the westernmost varieties of Karelian were spoken in Border Karelia and its immediate geographic vicinity. In a formal sense, a basis for the majority-minority relationship between Finnish and Karelian was established by the language rescript issued by Czar Alexander II in 1863, by which Finnish was to become an official language within twenty years, although this did not happen until 1902, due to periods of Russification in the 1880's and 1890s. Because of the highly marginalized status of Karelian and its speakers within Finnish society (see Chapter 4 and Section 2.2), this particular majority-minority relationship was not recognized until 2009, and it is not generally known or discussed to any extent in, for example, school history books. Finnish school teaching on Karelia simply repeats the notion of "Karelia between east and west" which so long prevailed in history research and does not generate any particular need to think about the identity of speakers of Karelian. Together with the widely-accepted view that Karelian is simply another variety of Finnish (see Sections 2.1, 2.2 and 3.1), this notion fairly effectively blocked any interest in investigating many of the most central aspects of the relationships between the Finnish majority and the Karelian minority.

The history of language contacts between Karelians and Finns is, again, a complex topic which has been touched on by many, but cannot be exhaustively discussed because of the lack of satisfactory scholarly documentation. It is not possible to gain much information about early mutual contacts between speakers of the various early Finnic varieties because there is a scarcity of written sources and the information given in the sources that are available is generally vague. For instance, in medieval Slavic sources the terms "Korela"²⁷, which is often associated with Karelians, and "Chud", which is associated with the Finnic population in general or Veps in particular, are also used to refer to all groups who spoke a foreign language, as well as to all pagans in general. Besides, in the Middle-Ages people were highly pragmatic in their relationship to language, in the sense that it was perfectly normal for them to switch languages according to the domain or purpose of communication. Prior to the institutionalization of power structures, which to some extent was carried out in terms of an ideological distancing of the "Other", language, especially in border regions, probably did not play a particularly decisive role in the identity construction of individuals or groups. (Korpela 2007: 42-46.)

²⁷ The concept *Korela* 'Ancient Karelia', Fin. also *Muinais-Karjala*, is especially frequent in older literature inspired by Karelianism. It is also mentioned in medieval sources written by Novgorodian, Scandinavian, English and Dutch historians and travellers. However, the written sources available do not adduce any exact information about the characteristics or precise territorial location of Korela (see, e.g. Jeskanen 2005: 215-217). Moreover, as Korpela (2007: 43) points out, the historical documents at the disposal of present-day historians ultimately describe mere Otherness, so it is not possible to trace the language or the cultural identities of the ethnic or linguistic group of Karelians with a deep historical perspective.

As mentioned, Finnic language varieties have been spoken in the territories of contemporary Finland and Karelia since at least the beginning of the Common Era. It is frequently assumed that there was once a language – or, more precisely, a stage in the history of Karelian – which is sometimes called Old Karelian (Fin. *muinaiskarjala*). According to Leskinen (1998), for instance, Old Karelian was the Finnic variety which, after the Peace of Notenburg (1323), developed into the Karelian language (the claimed linguistic consequences of the ever-changing Finnish-Russian borders are discussed in English in Sarhimaa 2000b). However, given the scarcity of written documents in all early Finnic varieties, there is no way of proving that any assumptions about their initial stages of development are true, or even of testing them as hypotheses. It is simply impossible to say exactly when some varieties had developed to the stage that it can be said for certain that Finnish had become Finnish and Karelian had become Karelian. This is because the entire concept of “language” in the sense that we understand it today is a late construct and because the oldest surviving pieces of written evidence that would allow for establishing the existence of Karelian and Finnish as separate languages dates from the late 18th and early 19th centuries²⁸. According to the standard assumption, as late as the 17th century the linguistic differences between Karelian and Finnish were notably smaller than today, and Karelians and Finns still understood each others’ speech fairly easily (see, e.g. Katajala 2007: 70-78; Katajala 2005, 48).

Given all this, the question of the relative appearance of Finnish and Karelian in Finland is not particularly valid at all: both languages are equally autochthonous, and both are known to have been preceded by Finno-Ugric varieties that developed into the present-day Sámi languages. An old layer of toponyms reveals that the southern parts of Finland, together with most of the areas presently or earlier inhabited by Karelians, were once settled by the Sámi. The divergence of the Finnic and Sámi languages from each other and developments that led to the individual languages that we know today occurred gradually and probably fairly slowly, and were accompanied by contacts between various small, highly mobile groups of semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers. (Saarikivi 2004: 216-217; Korpela 2007: 52.) Toponymy of Karelian origin has been found in the northwest of Finland as far as the Gulf of Bothnia and western Lapland, which suggests that at some point in time there may have been Karelians in large areas of Finland and that these did not become Finnish until much later. Again, however, we are here concerned with times beyond our capacity to really

²⁸ Early written documents, including the Novgorod birch bark letters, and the random Finnic words that occur in tax rolls and peace treaties etc. do not permit one to identify the language in question as Karelian or any other Finnic language either. They also do not allow one to draw conclusions concerning how much differentiation there was between the Finnic varieties spoken in those times. The oldest Karelian documents that allow for defining their language *per se* as Karelian are the two collections of brief religious texts in Olonets Karelian and Tver Karelian which were published in St. Petersburg in 1804. They each included the Lord’s Prayer, the Orthodox Confession of Faith, a Hymn, and the Short Catechism accompanied by 31 questions and the correct answers to them. (Markianova, s.a.: 2-3). Although these texts were translated from Russian (or perhaps even from Church Slavonic) and written in Cyrillic letters, the language used in them is undeniably Karelian, having its characteristic linguistic features.

distinguish Karelians and Finns linguistically or otherwise from each other, and thus the term Karelian must be understood here as a fairly loose concept referring to speakers of eastern rather than western varieties of Northern Finnic.

Present-day attitudes of other Finns towards Karelian Finns are a combination of ignorance, conscious and unconscious marginalizing, and, lately, moderate acceptance (for details, see Section 4.5). As previously mentioned, with regard to the population transfers during and after World War II, speakers of Karelian were treated in the same way as other Finns from the ceded areas, i.e. they were provided with new homes in other parts of Finland and means of earning a living. The linguistic and social integration of Karelians proceeded quickly and was facilitated by accelerated post-war mobility and a rise in the level of education of their descendants. Today, Karelian origins have no particular social significance in Finland. Karelians “by blood”, and possibly speakers of Karelian too, are represented in all societal groups, and their being members of a minority is something that rarely comes up, especially when there are no other (known) Karelian Finns present. This is not, however, due to genuine tolerance on the part of other Finns, but rather has to do with ignorance resulting from the way in which the cultural and linguistic Otherness of Karelian Finns was ignored and marginalized in post-war Finland. Today, the majority of Finns as well as many Karelian Finns (even speakers of Karelian, as mentioned) are not in the least aware of the existence of Karelian as a language of its own or of a Karelian-speaking minority in Finland. In eastern Finland countless Finns without a Karelian-speaking background have a Karelian identity and often proudly demonstrate it. There, having one’s roots in the Karelian-speaking ceded areas or being a speaker of Karelian has a positive curiosity value, rather than being stigmatized. Even in these areas, however, such acceptance is characteristic of the past few decades only. In the immediate post-war years, Karelian Finns were regarded as foreigners all over Finland (see Section 4.5). Karelian-speaking children were pressured or even forced to speak only Finnish at school, for example. The combination of the Russian-sounding features of Karelian and the Orthodox faith of its speakers were widely experienced as “suspicious” and “un-Finnish” (Raninen-Siiskonen 1999: 176-181). All this effectively restricted the domains in which Karelian could be used and marginalized it as a vehicular language in communication with other Finns, thus promoting the use of Finnish in inter-ethnic interaction (Jeskanen 2005: 240).

The current moderate acceptance of Karelian has come about very slowly, and is mainly due to the active efforts that various Karelian organisations, especially the Karelian Language Society, have made since the 1990s to revitalize Karelian in Finland, to acquire official status for it and to defend the linguistic rights of its speakers. The founding of the Society in 1995 marked the beginning of a greater effort to persuade the relevant state authorities to address these issues and it also led to greater cross-border cooperation with speakers of Karelian in Russia. (Pertti Lampi, interview 1.4.2010; Jeskanen 2003a: 14.) The political activity of the last two decades (also see Sections 4.2 and 4.3) were preceded by a “Karelian renaissance” (see Section 2.3), which began in the 1960s. This was mainly motivated by attempts to promote tourism in North Karelia but it also succeeded in revitalizing some

emblematic features of Karelian culture and slowing down the decline of the Karelian language in that area (Heikkinen 1996: 14-15; Jeskanen 2005: 242).

The post-WWII development of the interrelations between Karelians and Finns that are described above are ultimately products of a centuries-long history which gradually led to the marginalization of Karelians in Finland and Russia. In the Middle-Ages Karelia's location between Sweden and the Principalities of, first, Novgorod and, then, Moscow created a situation in which pagan speakers of Finnic languages were drawn into the spheres of interest of Christian power structures from two different directions: the Catholic West and the Orthodox East. Although the Swedish-Russian border remained indeterminate in practice, religion and hence the influence of secular power structures gave rise to a divisive frontier in a more abstract sense of the term. In the eastern parts of Karelia, where Karelian was spoken and which predominantly belonged to Russia, the Orthodox Church gained ground, while Catholicism, then Lutheranism, became the religion of the Finnish-speaking western parts, which predominantly belonged to Sweden. Gradually, these connections between the sacred and the secular powers led to the formation of two basic forms of identity, which differentiated "us" from "the other" largely in terms of religion. At what exact point in time this actually occurred is a question that cannot be answered definitively (Korpela 2007: 51-52). It is known for certain, however, that in the 18th century the relationship between Karelian and Finnish, on the one hand, and between Finnish and Russian, on the other, was to some extent discussed by scholars (Aittola 1998; 94-98).

In the latter half of the 19th century Karelians became the focus of Finnish and Russian nationalism, and this greatly hindered the development of Karelian nationalism (for details, see Sarhimaa 2008: 113-121). In Finland the rise of nationalism brought with it the need to emphasise the unity of Finns as a nation and, to some extent, it called for a demarcation between Karelians and Russians as well (see, e.g. Loima 2004: 103-107). Most notably, however, Finnish nationalism pressed for the Finnicization of Karelian speakers living in Finland. A very clear picture of many ways in which this was done is given by Patronen (2009: 55-72; 240-259; 263-265), who shows vividly how there was a gradual Finnicization of Karelian surnames between 1917 and 1960. As shown by Hämynen (1993: 204-297), by the beginning of World War II, Finnicization had proceeded fairly extensively in the western parts of Border Karelia, especially in Suojärvi.

Even the Orthodox Church promoted the use of Finnish and strongly supported the prevailing view that Karelian was a dialect of Finnish, which, like other Finnish dialects, was subordinate to standard Finnish (Raninen-Siiskonen 1999: 176-181; Hämynen 1995: 22-23; Engman 1995: 222-225). In Russia, Karelian as a language of the church was valued somewhat higher: for instance, in the 1860s the official register of the Orthodox clergy recorded their knowledge of Karelian as well as their knowledge of Finnish (Merikoski 1939: 10-11; Loima 2004: 123). On the other hand, from the 1860s onwards, all colonized "Others" were subjected to modernisation by means of russification (for details, see Sarhimaa 2008: 117-119). To sum up: the marginalization of Karelians in Finland can be traced back to the

era of the National Awakening, which effectively established the nation state of Finland as bilingual, at least in principle.

2.2.2 The territorial and political context of Karelian in Finland

Defining the traditional geographical territory of Karelian is a rather complex matter. As noted above, in Finland, Karelian was a territorial minority language spoken in an area of ca. 7,900 km² in the northern parts of Border Karelia but it became, as a consequence of territorial changes during and after World War II (see Chapter 1 and Section 2.1), a non-territorial one.

Today, speakers of Karelian are largely concentrated in the geographically compact areas shown below in Map 10, which was prepared by the Karelian Language Society in 2008. In Russia, these areas comprise the central and northern parts of the Republic of Karelia and the Oblast of Tver, which is located between St. Petersburg and Moscow. Karelian Finns have been highly mobile in the post-war period (see Ch. 2), but, in contrast to those whose origins are in Viena Karelia or Petsamo, the current domiciles of those whose roots are in Border Karelia still to some extent reflect the resettlement plan of the evacuated population (the respective Maps are to be found in Ch. 2). Karelian Finns are relatively numerous in North Karelia, especially in the city of Joensuu and its immediate vicinity, and in the municipalities of Valtimo and Nurmes, which were the resettlement areas of evacuees from Suojärvi. Another clear areal concentration is in North Savo, which received evacuees from Salmi and Suistamo. In both these areas the descendants of the evacuees have maintained the Karelian language fairly well (Sallinen-Gimpl 1994:18; Harakka 2001). According to an estimate by the Karelian Language Society in 2009, speakers of Karelian living in the Helsinki area may amount to over 3,900 people (*Varovainen arvio*, Archive SKL, 25 May 2009).



Map 10. Areas in which Karelian Finns tend to be concentrated today²⁹

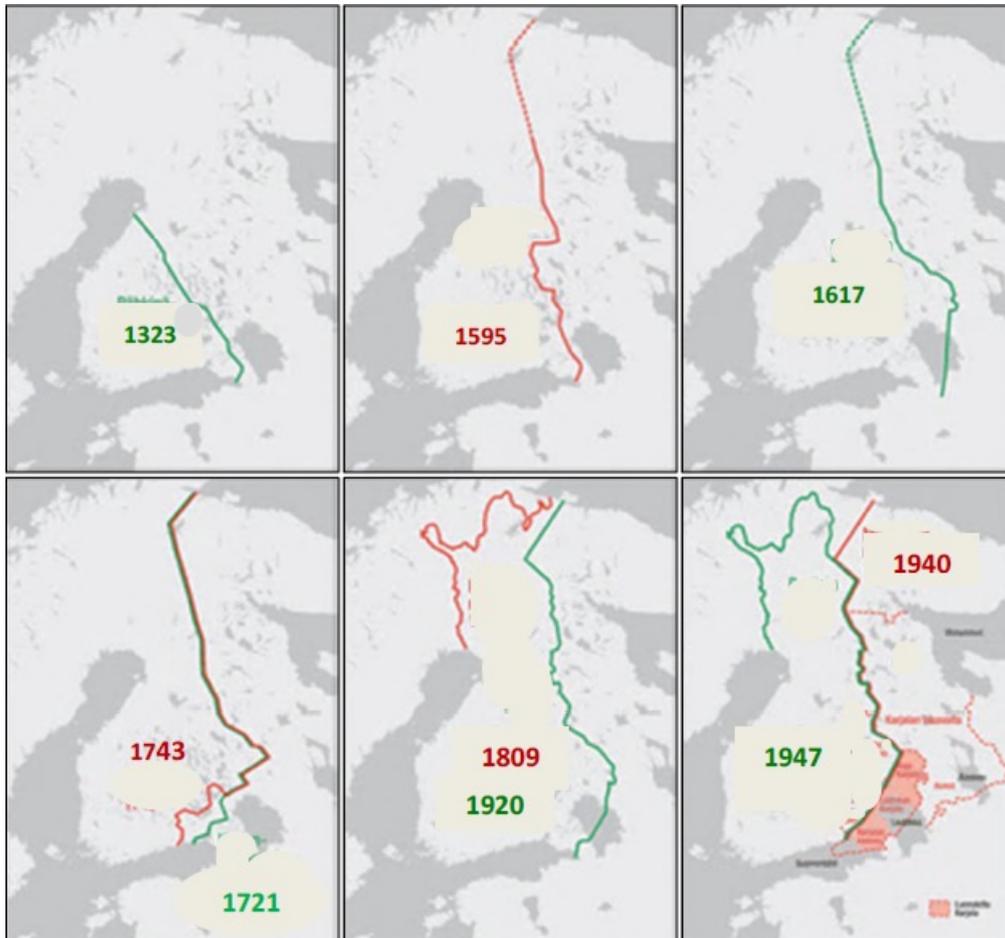
²⁹ © Karelian Language Society which on 21.8.2013 gave its permission to use the map in this publication. The map was drawn by Tuovi Laine.

As a place, ceded Border Karelia is still vividly alive in the minds of its former inhabitants and their descendants. Kirkinen (1998: 39) has called this reading of the geographical Karelia “the Karelia that lives in the mind”; Sihvo (1999: 208) refers to it as “the county in the mind”. According to Sallasmaa (2005: 5), it is precisely this notion of Karelia which is captured and recorded in studies, books, museums and archives and by families and people from the same municipality. In addition to the actual geographical area [in north-western Russia] and “the county in the mind”, there also is the “Karelia of the diaspora”, which comprises all the communities of the evacuees, including those of Karelian Finns (Kirkinen 1998: 39).

The position of minorities and their languages in the political system of Finland varies greatly from the highest possible official status accorded to Swedish-speaking Finns, whose language is a national language equal to Finnish, to the status of those minorities whose languages are not mentioned or accorded any particular status in any political or legal document at all. Until December 2009, when Finland amended the decree defining which languages are to be regarded as regional or minority languages in terms of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (see Section 2.4.1), Karelian, though autochthonous in Finland, was one of those languages deprived of any official recognition or status. As explained in Section 2.1 above, this is mainly because, for political reasons, Karelian Finns had always been regarded simply as Finns and treated as such, while the status of their ethnic language remained unclear long after Karelian *per se* was recognized by scholars as an independent Finnic language.

The current situation of the Karelian Finnish minority has its origins in Finnish history, which has been characterized and largely defined by continual conflict from the 11th century onwards between Sweden and Russia (initially, the Principality of Novgorod) over control of the Finnish and Karelian territories (see Map 11). The first peace treaty between Sweden and Russia (Novgorod), signed in 1323 in Notenberg (Fin. *Pähkinäsaari*), drew the border across the southern parts of Finland (see Map 11 below). It marked the beginning of Swedish rule in the areas that formed the most densely populated parts of Finland. This border also laid the foundations of the special status of Swedish in Finland, since Swedish became the language of administration and of the highest social class in the Swedish-ruled parts of Finland. In the Middle Ages Latin was also used as the language of administration to some extent. In those easternmost parts of Finland which belonged to Russia, the administrative language was Russian. This situation did not change until 1809, when Finland in its entirety was annexed to the Russian Empire as an Autonomous Grand Duchy. In the 1840s, demands to improve the status of Finnish and the language consciousness of its speakers, which had already begun in the 18th century, culminated in the ideological controversy between the Fennomans and the Svecomanes. Both movements drew on pan-European nationalism and leaned heavily on the idea of languages being the determinative characteristic of one’s nationality. (Alapuro & Stenius 1989, 12-18.) As noted in Section 2.1, in 1902, Finnish gained equal rights with Swedish and was given the status of an official language. During the period of Russian rule there were also efforts to strengthen the use of Russian, but in effect, apart from periods of enforced Russification (1899-1905 and 1908-

1917), the so-called Language Question mainly concerned just Swedish and Finnish. It was officially resolved in 1919 by legislation that guaranteed both languages the status of national languages of Finland.



Map 11. The development of the eastern border of Finland 1320-1947³⁰

In the young Republic of Finland little attention – if any at all – was paid to the uniqueness of the Border Karelians or to the distinctiveness of their language; even those linguists who recorded and studied the Karelian dialects during the last decades of the period of Autonomy held the view that Karelian as a whole was simply another dialect of Finnish (see, e.g. the discussion of the status of Karelian in *Virittäjä* in 1938; for the persistence and wide interdisciplinary acceptance of this view, see, e.g. Waris et al. 1952: 141; Turunen 1975: 124-125; Turunen 1977: 360). To some extent, these views must have been involved a wilful ignorance of common knowledge: Heikkinen's 1989 study of the ethnic self-awareness of Karelian immigrants in Finland, for instance, as well as the ethnographic study by Hakamies in 1994 which was mentioned above, suggest that the immediate neighbours of the Border Karelians were fairly well aware of the linguistic and cultural differences between themselves and the Karelians. Official ignorance or underestimation of the ethnic heterogeneity of the population was probably due partly to the intellectual inheritance of

³⁰ The series of maps is based on a series of maps produced by the Karelian Cultural Association and are used here with its permission given on August 23rd, 2013.

the Karelianists, who “found” the Karelian roots of the Finnish people in the late 19th century, partly to the euphoria of national independence, and partly to things like the need to raise the general level of education by making the school system more effective as quickly as possible. Given that the national languages of the Republic of Finland were – and still are – Finnish and Swedish, the only means of social advancement for speakers of Karelian has always been to learn Finnish, preferably in its standardised form.

The fact that there are two national languages has defined Finnish language policies and had significant effects on the status of minority languages up to the present time (Alapuro & Stenius 1989: 12-18; Pentikäinen 1997: 12-20). One clear indication of this is the fact that the indigenous languages of Finland, viz. the Sámi languages, did not receive official status in the most northern municipalities of Finland until 1992 (Seurujärvi-Kari et al. 1997: 129-133). Another minority language that still suffers from the bias of public and political focus on the national languages is clearly Karelian: one of the main obstacles to its official recognition as a language traditionally spoken in Finland has been, and still is, that the Finnish constitution and the two language laws (see Section 4.1) concentrate on defining the rights of Swedish and Sámi and are extremely vague when it comes to the rights of “the Roma and other minorities” to maintain and develop their ethnic languages and cultures.

The gradual development of the contemporary political context of Karelian in Finland is closely related to the history of the eastern border. Over the centuries it has been drawn over and over again and this has had multifarious consequences for the Karelian language.³¹ As illustrated by Map 11 above, sometimes the border separated speakers of western Karelian varieties from the rest of the Karelians, sometimes it united all Karelians under the same administrative power. The first official border between Sweden and Russia is a very significant one linguistically, because it gave rise to the principal division of Finnish into eastern dialects and western dialects and set the south-eastern dialects of Finnish (indicated in Map 14. The dialects of Finnish in Section 2.5.1) on a separate path of development (Leskinen 1979: 85). During the 14th and 16th centuries, there were continual skirmishes on the frontier and in the period between 1495 and 1595 there were several large-scale wars. The longest of these lasted for 25 years (1570-1595), during which Sweden occupied large areas of the south-western corner of Karelia, which belonged to the province of Korela and comprised Border Karelia and most of what is now Finland’s North Karelia. The official border did not change until 1595, when a new peace treaty was signed in Täysinä. Sweden ceded most of the Korela province to Russia, and thus brought speakers of the south-eastern Finnish dialects back to the same side of the border as the ‘proper’ Karelians. In 1611 Swedish troops occupied the Korela province again, and another large-scale war between Sweden and Russia broke out. This time, in addition to the frontier villages, large areas of the Karelian hinterland were sacked. In 1617, peace negotiations mediated by the English and the Dutch led to the Peace Treaty of Stolbovo (Map 11, situation in 1617).

³¹ I discuss the linguistic consequences of the ever-changing borderlines between Finland and Russia in detail in Sarhimaa (2000b); the following passages are a shortened and only slightly reworded version of the article.

1617 marked a turning-point in the history of Karelia, the Karelians, and the Karelian language. The Korela province was finally officially incorporated into Sweden, which meant that the border between Finland and Russia now penetrated into the interior of Karelia, and separated the westernmost Karelians from other Karelians. According to research by Zherbin (1956) and Saloheimo (1973), some of the inhabitants of the Korela province escaped to the east during the war and in the course of the following decades migration to Russia grew to an unprecedented extent. There were several reasons for this: the newly-annexed areas were taxed extremely heavily and the Swedes initiated an energetic programme of Lutherisation among the Orthodox population. Karelians were forced to attend Lutheran services, to hire and maintain Lutheran clergy, and to build numerous Lutheran churches. According to Kirkinen (1983:77-79), in some places people were even paid to convert to Lutheranism. In the 1680s and 1690s the migration was accelerated by several consecutive years of crop failure. The regions abandoned by the Karelians were resettled by immigrants from Savo and Northern Ostrobothnia. There is, however, a relatively strong Karelian substratum in the eastern Savo dialects of Finnish, which are spoken in these areas (Map 14 in Section 2.5.1, group 6d; for the historical background of the Savo settlement, see Section 3.1).

Yet another war between Sweden and Russia flared up in 1700. In 1710 Russia occupied the Korela province, mostly because there were rich deposits of iron there, and the industrial need for iron was enormous by the standards of the time. In 1721, a new peace treaty was signed in Uusikaupunki. Sweden was forced to surrender most of its part of the historically Karelian areas to Russia. They included the Karelian Isthmus, which had belonged to Sweden for 400 years, and the southern parts of the Korela province, which had been annexed in 1617 (see Map 11 above, situation of 1721). The border cut through villages and parishes, and caused many problems for the frontier population. It was not, however, a closed state border in the modern sense of the term: as Kaukiainen (1983: 87) points out, in some places members of one and the same parish were subjects of two different states, some of the deserted farms in the Karelian Isthmus were resettled by trans-frontier immigrants, and commercial travelers crossed the state border completely freely. The inhabitants of the occupied lands were promised freedom of religion, and the Lutheran parishes continued their work.

In 1809, under the Treaty of Hamina, the whole of Finland was ceded to Russia, where it was given the status of an Autonomous Grand Duchy (Map 11 above). This did not mean, however, that Karelia was united. The historical Korela province and the Karelian Isthmus now became part of the Grand Duchy, while the other Karelian areas remained under direct Russian administration. In practice, the border between them was a mere formality, and its impact on the everyday life of the Karelians remained fairly modest.

Following the Russian Revolution of 1917, Finland became independent, and the informal, purely administrative border between Finland and Russia became a political border between two states. The borderline was settled by the peace Treaty of Tartu in 1920 (see Map 11

above). Karelians in the six Border Karelian municipalities became Finnish citizens, while Karelian speakers elsewhere remained citizens of Soviet-Russia. The border which now divided them was a border between two different social systems and between two different modernising cultures that were growing apart at a dramatic rate.

In addition to the effects of the wars described above, the history of Karelian in Finland has been affected by repeated cross-border migrations. As early as the 25-Year War (1570-1595) there were large movements of Karelians from the Swedish-occupied area into Russian Karelia, mainly the Olonets region³², but the earliest numerical estimates concern migration following the Peace of Stolbovo in 1617; according to Saloheimo (1973), by 1650, more than 25,000 Karelians had left their homes in the Korela province. At first, most of them settled in the Olonets region, and only a small number went further to the Tikhvin, Valdaï and Tver regions in Russia proper. It was this particular wave of migration that largely created the cultural border that up to World War II divided Border Karelia into the Lutheran Karelian Isthmus and the Orthodox north-east: as a consequence of this mass emigration, the western edge of Karelian-speaking Border Karelia withdrew to the east of the town of Sortavala (Engman 1995: 218-219; Katajala 2007: 77). In the 1650s Russia made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture the surrendered areas. Oppression of the Orthodox population under the Swedish regime grew more severe and several new waves of immigrants left for the east. Like earlier migrants, some found a new living in the Olonets area, but most left Karelia forever, and resettled in the above-mentioned areas of Central Russia.

The 1721 border united most of the traditional Karelian areas under the same administrative power, and made it thus very simple for Karelians to maintain mutual contact. The studies of Kaukiainen (1983:100) and Hämynen (1993: 573) show that there was some migration of Karelians from the Olonets region to the Border Karelian villages. According to Kaukiainen (1983: 121), Border Karelia received new inhabitants from the opposite direction, too: lighter taxation in the areas that had been annexed to Russia attracted numerous 'Swedish-side' Karelians to resettle there. However, unlike the previous border, the 1721 border did not encourage movements of Karelians – or Finns, for that matter – large enough to change the composition of the population in any region drastically.

Following the Russian Revolution and the Finnish Civil War of 1918, the ethnic and linguistic composition of the frontier population began to change rapidly. Hämynen (1993) pays special attention to the immediate effects of the closing of the frontier in 1918: Karelians on the Finnish side of the border lost access to saw mills and to factories in Olonets, Petrozavodsk and St. Petersburg, which had provided them with seasonal income, while Karelians on the Russian-side were deprived of their traditional trading opportunities in Finland. The economy of the frontier areas went into deep crisis and this accelerated the disappearance of the traditional Karelian way of life in Finland as well as in Soviet Karelia. On

³² There is detailed discussion of the wars and the population movements in Karelia during the Middle Ages in Kirkinen (1983: 47-60).

both sides of the border this was reflected in three ways: emigration to the other side of the border; migration by Karelians to industrial centres, and mass immigration by the non-Karelian population into traditional Karelian territories.

Immediately after the closing of the border, and during the whole of the 1920s, many Karelians crossed over illegally from Finland and resettled in the Olonets area. After the Finnish Civil war of 1918, there was an influx of Finnish communists into Soviet Karelia as well. Cross-border migration was, however, predominantly in the opposite direction: Kosonen (1994: 162-163, 167, 171) estimates that in 1922 there were 33,500 refugees from Soviet Karelia in Finland, some 2,000 of whom were Karelians. Most of these refugees returned to Soviet Karelia later in the 1920s. In the 1930s border control was tightened on both sides, and cross-frontier migration ceased. According to Hämynen (1993: 537), as early as the 1920s, Karelians began a gradual movement into the industrial centres of Finland. According to Klement'ev's 1991 study of sociological processes in Soviet Karelia, urbanisation of Karelians there did not begin until after the Second World War.

In the young Republic of Finland, Border Karelia was one of those outlying areas that, due to a poor infrastructure had not shared in the economic and social developments of the rest of the country in its years as a Grand Duchy. It was clearly in the interest of the new state to raise Border Karelia as quickly as possible to the same economic level as the rest of the country. The railway network was extended to Suojärvi, numerous saw mills were built and the basis for a substantial forestry industry was laid, all of which led to an influx of newcomers from other parts of Finland. (Waris et al. 1952: 38-40; Hämynen 1984.) As a consequence, the traditionally Karelian border regions rapidly became Finnicised and Lutheranised (for details, see Mäkinen 1983; Hakamies 1993; Hämynen 1993). Regular cross-border movement between Karelian-speaking areas in Finland and those in Russia did not become possible again until the 1990s. Since then it has largely taken the form of tourism to long-lost homes and visits to relatives in Russian Karelia by Karelians living in Finland (see, e.g. Kuikka 1999: 9-12; Sallasmaa 2005).

As mentioned, **geographical mobility was typical of Karelian Finns in the years after World War II.** Sallinen-Gimpl (1994) explains this in terms of the small size of the farms given to the evacuees and the general effects of the forced migration caused by the war: having moved once, from their homes in ceded Karelia, it was easier to move again, and this rapidly led to scattered patterns of settlement by Karelian Finns all over Finland. It was particularly common that those who had been resettled in Ostrobothnia moved eastwards towards areas that were culturally more familiar to them. (Waris et al. 1952: 70-71; Sallinen-Gimpl 1994: 23-26).

The minority position of Karelian Finns has not really been noticed or reported in the existing academic literature, although Karelian culture, and sometimes even varieties of Karelian, have been discussed to some extent in a number of solid studies (see Ch. 1, Ch. 5). A few of the scholars who have written about issues concerning Karelian culture or the Orthodox Church in Finland have their roots in Border Karelia, but until the mid-1990s there

were no systematic reports or methodical scholarly research on the state or status of Karelian by members of the minority itself. This situation has greatly changed since the foundation of the Karelian Language Society, whose membership largely consists of active speakers of Karelian. The Society's activities were also one of the factors behind the Ministry of Education's decision in 2004 to commission an investigation by the University of Joensuu into the number of Karelian Finns and their levels of knowledge of their ethnic language (Jeskanen 2005: 215-285; also see Sections 3.1, 4.5 and 4.7).

There are some data on Karelian Finns in reports to The Council of Europe. As will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.1 below, Karelian is mentioned in Finland's Third Report on Regional or Minority Languages (III Kieliraportti-fi, 2006: 10-11) and Finland's Third Periodic Report on Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (2010: 73). I have not come across with any other documents or scholarly literature making use of this data and there are no international studies dealing with the problem of Karelian as a minority language in Finland.

2.2.3 The cultural context of Karelian in Finland

'Being from Karelia', 'speaking Karelian' and 'being Karelian' are all concepts that are understood in various ways, covering a wide range of geographical areas, language varieties and cultural stereotypes (see, e.g. Torikka 2004). Similarly, 'Karelian culture' is an immensely broad notion, which covers not only the culture of speakers of Karelian in the Republic of Karelia, Central Russia and Finland but also that of all those Finnish-speaking Finns who identify themselves as Karelians in the widest sense of the term (see Section 2.1). In the existing research literature Karelian Finns have been mainly discussed as comprising the Orthodox sub-group of all the evacuees from the northern parts of Border Karelia and their descendants (see, e.g. Sallinen-Gimpl 1994: 38-39). As explained in Chapter 1 and, in more detail, in Section 3.1 below, most of them have their origins in the northern Border Karelian municipalities. The cultural symbols that are held to be characteristically "Karelian", however, frequently also exhibit the culture of non-Orthodox and non-Karelian-speaking evacuees and their descendants, and, to some extent, even that of inhabitants of Finland's North and South Karelia (see Section 2.1).

At the same time, however, many characteristically "Karelian" cultural features reflect the impact of **centuries-old Russian influences** on (Border) Karelian (and sometimes also on eastern Finnish) culture(s) (Heikkinen 1984). Consequently, since World War II Karelian culture in Finland has had to cope with the problem of having to phase out its "Russian" features while at the same time maintaining its uniqueness. A good example is the Orthodox Church, which has made a point of emphasising that it is Karelian and Byzantine, rather than being Russian or deriving from Russian Orthodoxy; some of its new churches have even been made to resemble Lutheran ones. (Hyyry 1997: 92-94; Laitila 2005: 120-124; Husso 2007: 142-155.)

A third point I wish to make before describing the symbols that are generally conceived as constitutive of Karelian culture in Finland is that quite a few of them are the result of a **more or less conscious ethnicization**. Interestingly, this has been mostly done not by the minority but by the majority: throughout history it is Finns who have developed an image of Karelia that consists of ethnically-loaded symbols. Yet, as shown by Heikkinen (1989), at least up to the mid-1980s, when she conducted her fieldwork, there was clearly a wide gap between Finns' idea of Karelian culture and that of (Border) Karelians themselves: many stereotypical symbols were quite simply alien to Border Karelians or were regarded as "cross-border Karelian" or "Russian". During recent decades, however, the gap may have narrowed to some extent.

Heikkinen (1996: 14-16) emphasizes the role of the so-called "**Karelian renaissance**", i.e. the conscious use of ethnicized Karelian culture and folklore for the purposes of tourism (see further below), in the re-formation of cultural symbols, even among Karelian Finns themselves. It began in North Karelia, with the building in 1964 of a Bard's Cottage (Fin. *Runonlaulajan pirtti*) in Ilomantsi to commemorate Karelian oral poets and then, in 1977-78, of the log-built Bomba House to attract tourists to come to Nurmes (also in North Karelia) and experience traditional Karelian wooden architecture from Suojärvi. Later, the Bomba House became an important cultural and educational centre (see this section further below). Both buildings have clearly played important roles in the gradual formation of present-day Karelian cultural self-image and identities in Finland (see, e.g. Heikkinen 1996: 15; Sihvo 2004: 225-233; Lampi 2008: 1).

One of the best-known **material-cultural symbols** of Border Karelians is the *kantele*, a traditional plucked string instrument, although it is an instrument that has also been associated with ancient Finnish and Estonian culture. That the *kantele* is so strongly associated with Karelians has most likely to do with the impact of Karelianism, a Finnish form of national romanticism, which saw Karelia as "the last refuge of the essence of 'Finnishness'", which had maintained its authenticity for centuries (see, e.g. Sihvo 1999: 43; Sihvo 2003: 87-138; Fewster 2006: 94-97). Today there is some modern folk music that uses the *kantele*, shows influences from traditional Karelian oral poetry and music and is regarded as Karelian by both Karelian and non-Karelian Finns.

Other stereotypically Karelian material cultural features are concerned with cooking and baking. Probably the most emblematic feature of Karelian culinary culture is its various pastries, especially Karelian pasties (Fin. *karjalanpiirakat*, Border Kar. *piiruad*, *šipanniekat*) which are strongly associated with all those who regard themselves as Karelian, whether they are Karelian-speaking or not. There is also a wide range of other types of pastries (e.g. *sultsina* and *vatruska*), which still form an important part of the traditional cuisine of Karelian Finns and feature in the standard curriculum of courses on Karelian traditional cooking. (Sallinen-Gimpl 1987: 79-113; Sallinen-Gimpl 1994: 205-210; Heikkinen 1996: 15).

Another Karelian and/or Orthodox cultural symbol is the Karelian women's folk costume, *feresi*, which has experienced a revival in recent years. It is known that Karelians wore the

feresi in the 18th century, but its history is thought to be much older than that. Towards the end of the 19th century it became less popular (Simonen 1992: 74.) but it remained in use in Border Karelia, where it was worn mostly by older women until the 1930s, when it had its first comeback as a festive garment worn by young women. This was instigated by some Border Karelian grammar school teachers, who created new types of accessories to go with the traditional costume (Simonen 1992: 53). Its second revival occurred in the 1960s in Ilomantsi, whence it spread in the 1960s and 1970s among Karelians all over Finland (Mikkonen 1992: 109-110). Today the *feresi* is regarded as very Karelian, not only by Karelian Finns but by other Finns as well, and it is proudly worn on all occasions as a demonstration that one is Karelian (Mikkonen 1992: 109-112). Similarly, the traditional headdresses, *säpsä* (or *tšäptsä*) and *sorokka* (Fin. *harakka*), which are worn with the *feresi* are widely seen as Karelian or, more precisely, as Orthodox Karelian (Mikkonen 1992: 119; 123).

To sum up so far: certain material cultural symbols are stereotypically associated with the Karelian Finn minority or, more generally, with all those who see themselves as being Karelian (“Karelianness”). None of these are exclusively confined to or emblematic of Karelian Finns: they are widely shared by other Finns who are Orthodox and/or have their roots in the south-easternmost parts of pre-WWII Finland. Still, together with the Karelian language, the cultural symbols described above jointly form a “toolkit” for identifying, or at least characterizing, the Karelian-speaking minority in Finland. Previous research has established that they also are used to indicate membership of this group. Unlike the central material cultural symbols of Sámi (most notably, the Sámi flag and national costume), the material cultural symbols of Karelian Finns are not standardized; one does not see them or hear about them at school and they are not used by authorities or institutions in any conventionalized way. For instance, the *feresi* may be worn at family gatherings and other events, but it is not worn regularly or by the majority of Karelian Finns on all festive occasions. There also are no rules for wearing the *feresi* as there are for wearing the Sámi national costume and Finnish regional folk costumes.

All the material cultural symbols discussed above date back to before World War II. Most of them are inseparably associated with the ancient, traditional (Border) Karelian way of life. In post-war times they have been more and more consciously maintained by Karelian activists. As Heikkinen’s 1989 study of ethnic self-consciousness revealed, some symbols have been deliberately productized in order to promote the “Karelian branch” of the tourist industry and this has then contributed to the construction of the self-identity of Karelian Finns (see, e.g. Kehittämishanke 2009-2010³³). As also noted above, many of the stereotypical symbols,

³³ In 2008 the Karelian Language Society established the Karelian Centre Vibune in Joensuu. The operating plan for 1.8.2009 – 31.3.2010 outlined business activities in four fields relevant to the tourist industry. These included the use of Karelian in travel services; the vitalisation of the use of Karelian folklore and handicrafts in tourism by educating and networking experts and establishing online stores; the creation of a brand of Karelian gastronomy (including a cookbook for tourists and the novel concept of Karelian fast food based on the traditional Karelian pierogis); and investigating

such as decorated round-log houses like the Bomba House, were alien to Border Karelians, who regarded them as “cross-border Karelian” or “Russian”. The self-image of Heikkinen’s informants is primarily based on language (not as a linguistic entity or system but in contrast to Finnish and Russian) and the Orthodox faith. (Heikkinen 1989: 349-367.) Heikkinen also found that the older generation, i.e. those who had been born in Border Karelia, had a very different understanding of Karelian culture than the younger generation, who were born after World War II. For the latter, in addition to symbols deriving from the pre-WWII world, such as playing the game of *kyykkä*, baking pies or making a point of speaking Karelian, their grandparents and indeed that whole generation functioned as symbols of Karelian culture and being Karelian in a wider identity-constructive sense.

As cultural symbols that may add to the modern understanding of Karelian culture by the descendants of the evacuees, Heikkinen (1989: 364) lists ruralism, *piirua*, icons and a slight “Karelian” accent, especially intonation, which deviates from that of Finnish. (Heikkinen 1989: 349-367). Yet, so far there has been no research on which new cultural symbols actually contribute to the construction of being Karelian today. From what I have read and heard, I assume that many new Karelian cultural symbols may well be reflections of the modern world in that they are ideational rather than material in nature. New material symbols might include the numerous Border Karelian associations, which have their own publications (see Section 4.7), the above-mentioned Bomba House with its recreational cultural programmes and its sign-posts, menus and bills in Karelian, and, possibly, things such as the *Karjalan’ e kalenteri* (‘Karelian Calendar’) which has appeared since 2004. They probably also include at least some of the numerous non-material cultural products of the last two decades, which will be described below in this Section, such as the play, *Maaton kansa* (‘The Landless Folk’), new literature in Karelian published from the 1990s onwards, Karelian-language online communities and folk music groups, and so forth. It has been shown by several studies (e.g. Raninen-Siiskonen 1999, Sallasmaa 2005: 1-8) that one very important factor involved in the identity construction of the evacuees in general is what is known as “home tourism” (Fin. *kotiseutumatkailu*), i.e. visiting former domiciles in Russia. According to Räsänen (1997: 46), trips “back home” provide visitors with materials for a narrative means of identity construction and manifestation.

Religion has played a central role in identity construction of the Karelian Finn minority and in their demarcation from and by the Finnish speaking majority. In pre-WWII Finland, Karelian was mainly spoken in predominantly Orthodox municipalities, and so the Karelian language, Border Karelian roots and Orthodoxy traditionally form the tripartite basis of being Karelian in Finland. Yet, as noted above, from the late 19th century onwards, in its efforts towards “naturalization”, the Orthodox Church of Finland promoted the use of Finnish in the border municipalities and thus contributed to the developments that led to Karelian being regarded simply as a spoken “dialect”. In Finland both being Karelian and being Orthodox

the possibilities of presenting Orthodox culture in association with cultural events and tourism. (Kehittämishanke 2009-2010.)

have always had “Eastern” connotations and thus they have been regarded as being something between being Finnish and being Russian. After World War II, in order to escape these prejudices many of the Orthodox converted to Lutheranism. Nowadays the Orthodox Church has been well established as Finland’s other state church and has started to attract Lutheran Finns; in recent years there have been many converts from the Lutheran to the Orthodox Church. (Laitila 2005: 122-123.) Today the traditional connection between being a speaker of Karelian in Finland and being Orthodox appears to be maintained and manifested more consciously than ever before.

One emblematic feature of Karelian culture which has a religious dimension is the living tradition of icon-painting, which was an important part of the post-WWII rebuilding and naturalization of the Orthodox Church. The monastery of (New) Valamo in Heinävesi offers courses to those interested in icon-painting and making church vestments and textiles, as do many folk high schools and worker’s institutes in all parts of the country. That has made this aspect of the Karelian heritage more widely known, and icon-painting, in particular, has become a fairly common hobby among non-Karelian Finns, too. (Tiensuu 2005: 141-146; Husso 2007: 142-155). Another living cultural feature with a religious background is *virpominen*, i.e. the custom of children greeting family members, relatives and friends on Palm Sunday with a traditional rhyme and decorated willow branches which have been blessed in the church. This custom has been adopted by the Finnish Lutheran church and the Finnish majority as well (Korjonen-Kuusipuro & Niinisalo 2005: 53-54). In this case, the meeting of the “eastern” traditions of the Karelians and the “western” traditions of the Finns has developed clearly syncretist forms: during the last twenty years or so *virpominen* has combined with the western Finnish custom of *trulli*, which involves children dressing up as witches and going from door to door demanding treats. This particular mixing of customs irritates the Orthodox population, who celebrate Eastern as the most important event in the entire church year. From time to time the sight of children on Palm Sunday dressed as witches and equipped with decorated branches of willow evokes vehement discussion about the derogatory secular use of the religious traditions of the Orthodox minority (see, e.g. <http://www.ortodoksi.net/index.php/Virpominen>, 1.6.2010).

Recently, the Orthodox Liturgy and the whole of the New Testament have been translated into Olonets Karelian (Archbishop Leo 2005: 120), and there are plans to begin using the Karelian Liturgy more widely in the church services soon. The New Testament is currently being translated into Viena Karelian as well, and work has begun on translating the Old Testament into Olonets Karelian. Karelian has been used in some religiously-oriented events organized by Orthodox congregations, especially in areas with a higher concentration of Karelian speakers such as Upper Karelia around Valtimo. An example is the so-called Tuesday Club (Fin. *tiistaiseura*) which began before the Second World War as an unofficial spiritual and charitable organisation of Orthodox women (Mahlavuori, interview 19.6.2010). On the other hand, there are critical voices in the Orthodox congregations as well which stress that the Orthodox Church “is not a Karelian (language) club” (Lampi 2008: 2). Today there are

Karelian language clubs in Orthodox congregations in various parts of Finland and recently Orthodox congregations also have organised Karelian language courses.

While the Orthodox religion and its religious symbols are unquestionably distinguishing features of Karelian Finns, there is no systematically gathered information available on what proportion of them actually participate in the activities of the Orthodox congregations and it should be noted that Orthodoxy is not something that is immediately evident from a person's appearance, i.e. from their garments or overt tokens such as the Orthodox cross.

The differences between the ideas about Karelian and/or Orthodox cultural symbols and characteristics currently held by the majority and those held by the minority have not yet been established academically either; a great deal must have changed since the early 1980s when, Heikkinen (1989) collected her material. However, one may infer from the mixing of Easter traditions, that there must be considerable differences between the two. There is a great deal of research on cultural contacts which testify to a high frequency of inadequate transfer of meaning when customs are transferred from one culture to another. A good example of cultural transfer and confusion in the context of Karelian customs in Finland is the now popular "Karelian" dish, *pasha*, which Lutherans have adopted from the Orthodox, and which, according to Siilin (personal communication, 13.7.2010), Border Karelians themselves only began to prepare after World War II, when they were already scattered all over Finland. Traditionally *pasha* is prepared in a specific mould with the Cyrillic letters X and B (i.e. H and V from *Христос воскрес* 'Christ [is] resurrected'). In addition to misinterpreting the Cyrillic letters as the Latin letters x and b, non-Orthodox Finns often simply regard them as a mere decoration on the dish, or as something that a *pasha* mould "must have". On the other hand, there are bound to be disruptions in the transfer of meaning between the traditional and the modern worlds of Karelian Finns too. For instance, the rich symbolism of the Karelian towels called *käspaikka* used to carry multiple meanings, whose background and cultural meanings are probably now just as foreign to Karelian Finns as they are to other Finns. Moreover, the networks of meanings inherent in the cultural symbolism of the former are clearly not only manifested, but also constructed by and given new meanings through the kind of new Karelianism described above and the stereotypes that are commonly attached to being Karelian by Karelian and non-Karelian Finns alike.

In the past, **local seasonal festivals** were an important part of the annual cycle of life in Border Karelia (Turunen 1979). Most notable were those associated with the *pruazniekku* celebrated in Karelian villages on the feast day of the saint to whom the local church was dedicated (see <http://www.ortodoksi.net/tietopankki/juhlat/pruasniekka.htm>). This tradition was largely broken by World War II and the subsequent emigration to other parts of Finland. In the 1950s, Orthodox congregations began to revive the *pruazniekku* ritual, and today the most widely known is the *Il'an pruazniekku* on the feast day of St. Elijah in Ilomantsi, which attracts not only Orthodox from all over Finland but also a great many tourists, since it is also regarded as a summer cultural festival and widely marketed as such.

There are many **organizations dedicated to the maintenance and development of Karelian culture**. The oldest is the Karelian Cultural Association (Fin. *Karjalan Sivistysseura*), which was founded in 1906 by a group of Viena Karelian travelling salesmen. During the first decades of its existence it concentrated on providing aid to refugees from northern Russian Karelia (Keynäs 1999: 171-172). Immediately after the Winter War of 1940, the Finnish Karelian League³⁴ was established by a group of Karelian municipal administrations, parishes and provincial organizations, and after World War II numerous parish associations (Fin. *pitäjäseura*) of Border Karelians³⁵ were founded under its auspices. The Karelian Language Society was established in 1995 for the express purposes of maintaining and revitalizing the Karelian language and fighting for the linguistic human rights of speakers of Karelian in Finland. In their various events the Karelian Cultural Association and the Border Karelian parish associations have upheld Border Karelian traditions and, increasingly since the 1970s, the Karelian language. Over the years, the most active nurturers of Karelian are said to have been the members of the various Suojärvi associations, who, as early as 1978, launched a periodical, which has an increasing number of contributions written in Karelian. They even succeeded in getting Karelian recognized as the second official language of the municipality of Valtimo. (Lampi 2008:1.)

The Finnish Karelian League, however, rather discouraged the use of Karelian, since there were also non-Karelian-speaking members in the parish associations and, even more so, in the League itself. In the 1970s a handful of Karelian-language activists³⁶ were able to push through a number of important reforms: a new cultural programme was accepted and, in 1977, the Karelian Cultural Centre was established. This in turn led to the establishment of the amateur theatre *Karjalainen Näyttämö* ('Karelian Stage') in 1980. The Cultural Centre also produced documentary and video films about Karelians and organised two large-scale historical pageants in 1980 and 1985. Through its information services and language courses it also disseminated information and materials concerning the Karelian language. It organized *karjala-illatsut* ('Karelian social evenings') at the Bomba House, which brought tens of into contact with speakers of Karelian for the first time in their lives. Another major achievement was the initiation, in the early 1980s, of cooperation with Karelians in Russia. (Lampi 2008: 1-2.) The League has also been active in collecting information on Karelian culture and traditions in the form of several consecutive surveys (e.g. *Karjalaisuus tänään* 1986; *Karjalainen vuotuisperinne* 1994).

The contemporary culture of Karelian Finns is characterized by multifaceted cultural activities in the fields of music, theatre, literature and folklore, film and children's culture.

³⁴ The activities of the League and its role as the creator of a "Karelian spirit" in post-war Finland are described and discussed in detail in Raninen-Siiskonen (1999: 195-223).

³⁵ These are the following: Suistamon Perinnesseura, Korpiselkä-seura ry, Korpiselän pitäjäseura ry, Salmi-Seura ry, Suistamo Seura ry, Suistamon Perinnesseura ry, Suojärven pitäjäseura ry, Pohjois-Viena -seura, Kuusamo-Viena-seura ry, Repola-seura ry, Uhtua-seura, Vuokkiniemi Seura ry, and Impilahti-Seura.

³⁶ The group consisted of Yrjö-Pekka Mäkinen, Kyösti Skyttä, Paavo Liski, Heikki Koukkunen and Pertti Lampi.

In the 1970s and 1980s Heikki Koukkunen made several music videos in Karelian, which were broadcast many times by the Finnish commercial TV company MTV³⁷ and the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE. He also published a songbook and made several albums of Karelian songs. At that time there also were two Karelian choirs, one of Karelians originating in Suojärvi and the other of Karelians from Salmi (Lampi 2008: 1.) During recent years renewed interest in the Karelian language has also been manifested in new musical recordings, such as the CD *Ildazil kellot zvon'itah* by *Lauluset* from Valtimo and *Pajata, pajata, briha* by Eero Mäkelin (Harakka 2001: 1).

In addition to the amateur theatre *Karjalainen näyttämö* there was also, for a while, a summer theatre at the Bomba House. Between 1979 and 1982 it produced two plays in Karelian: *Kanteletar* and *Maaton kansa* ('The Landless Folk'). In 1984, a professional Karelian theatre, *Kalevan näyttämö*, was founded and until 1993 this had the main responsibility for the Bomba Summer Festival. Its first play was *Kalevala Drama*, which, over the three years of its performance, was seen by more than 40,000 spectators from 65 different countries. In 1989, in addition to the Bomba summer theatre, *Kalevan Näyttämö* offered full summer theatre programmes in Anjalankoski and Helsinki. The activities of the theatre were 90-95% financed by entrance tickets and sponsors. According to Lampi (2008: 2), the performances given by *Kalevan näyttämö* attracted more spectators than any other professional theatre in Finland at the time and, since it functioned all year, even accumulated more person-years than many city theatres. In spite of this, it was excluded from state funding by the Theatre Law and, since other sources of funding dried up during the recession of the early 1990s, closed in 1994. Since then the Finno-Ugric Theatre Festival is all that is left of this successful period of Karelian theatre. (Lampi 2008: 1-2.) At the time of writing, the Karelian Language Society has plans to revive *Maaton kansa* at the Bomba House, under the directorship of Seppo "Paroni" Paakkunainen, a well-known Finnish jazz musician with a Karelian-Finnish background (Lampi, e-mail 1.9.2010). There also are a number of individuals and amateur groups who perform in Karelian, e.g. the singer-songwriter Hannu Brelo, Raija Kokko, Pauliina Lerche, the groups *Folkswagen* and *Burlakat*, and the theatre group led by Anita Kulmala, which performed in Karelian at the Bomba House in July 2010.³⁸

As well as a fair number of scholarly studies on Karelian written in Finnish before World War II³⁹, two collections of *belles lettres* written in Karelian were published in Finland: E.V. Ahtia's *Rahvahan kandleh: Karjalan lauluo, virttä, soarnea da tieduo* (1922) and *Vieronvirzie* (1923). Today there are a number of authors who write in Karelian. Most of them live in the Republic of Karelia, but there are quite a few in Finland too. Karelian-language literature in Finland got off to a new start in 1989 with the publication of *Sunduga*, a collection of stories, poems and plays written by ten different authors, edited by Paavo Harakka and published by

³⁷ Not to be confused with the music channel MTV.

³⁸ See <http://www.karjalankielenseura.fi/kks.html>, link karjalankielisiä esiintyjä, 3.6.2010.

³⁹ These studies comprise the following: Ahtia (1936); Genetz, Arvid (1884); Leskinen, Eino (1932), (1933), (1934), (1937a), (1937b), (1937c), (1938) and (1939); Donner (1912); Kalima (1933a) and (1933b), Kujola (1910); Nirvi (1932), Ojansuu (1907) and (1918); Tunkelo (1939).

the Suojärvi Municipal Association. In 1992 a collection of Karelian-language stories called *Utšiiitel Peša Ruotšin paginot* ('Stories by teacher Peša Ruotši') was published, and in 1996 "*Tuhkamukki – fairy tales in Karelian*" by Paavo Harakka appeared. In 1995, a small dictionary by Kosti Pamilo was published by the Karelian Cultural Association and in 2000 WSOY published a dictionary by Juha-Lassi Tast. Viktor Kuusela has published poems in Karelian and is currently writing a novel; Anita Kulmala has written several plays and pieces of prose; articles by Paavo Harakka are frequently to be found in the periodicals of the municipal associations (see Section 4.7), and Heikki Jeronen writes children's books.

Since 2005, when the Karelian Language Society established its own series of publications called *Karjalan Kielen Seuran julkavot* ('Publications of the Karelian Language Society') a number of books in Karelian have been published in Finland. These include several text books and other sets of learning materials for studying Karelian and updating one's knowledge of traditional Karelian culture, a grammar book (Pyöli 2011), several dictionaries (Penttonen 2007; Markianova and Pyöli 2008; Penttonen and Kuznetsova 2010; Filippova and Knuuttila 2011), a fair number of audiobooks for adults and children (see <http://www.karjalankielenseura.fi/kauppa/index.php?c=26>), and a few works of fiction (including the collection *Anuksen silmykaivozet* which contains texts by amateur writers). During the past couple of years, the Society has published several children's books. These include three of Tove Jansson's Moomin books, which have been translated from Finnish (*Tiedoiniekan hattu* 'The Magician's Hat', 2009; *Varattavu livanapäivy* 'Midsummer Madness', 2010; and *Muumitatan mustelmat* ('Moominpappa's Memoirs', 2012), the fairy tale *Niina Nieglikon sygyzy* by Mikko Kuismin (2011) and the fairy tale *Milan perehen päivy* by Maria Kähäri, which contained a dictionary and exercises so that it could be used in teaching (2012). There also is a hand book of information technology in Karelian, written by Martti Penttonen (2009), a guide to translating from Finnish into Karelian by Lampi and Penttonen (2009), a brief guide to traditional Karelian names (Lampi 2009), an introduction to Karelian language and culture and a review of the history of Karelia and Karelians, both by Aaro Mensonen (2010 and 2011, respectively).

In terms of cultural heritage, the most important book published in Karelian in Finland is the translation of the *Kalevala* by Zinaida Dubinina in 2009. Interesting linguistically, and in terms of the goals of the ELDIA project, are three collections of the best pieces of writing from pan-Karelian writing contests (*Ruado* (2007), *Pruazniekku – karjalazet mustellah* (2009) and *Kukastu kummua! karjalazet kirjutetah* (2010), as well as collections of short stories by Saara Tuovinen (2007), Paavo Harakka (2010) and Aaro Mensonen (2010) and a translation into Karelian of Juhani Aho's novel *Juha* published in 2010.

Karelian Finns have been especially active in making documentary films about Karelian traditional life, customs and culture. In the 1970s and 1980s Heikki Koukkunen made several such documentaries, and there have been several large film projects, including a documentary film, *The remote Karelians – the Karelians in Tver*, which was produced by the Finnish Broad-

casting company, YLE, in 1987. Currently, at least two films in Karelian are being planned (Lampi, e-mail 1.9.2010).

Artists with a Karelian-speaking background include Oili Mäki, Viktor Kuusela, Pirkko Jauhiainen, Herman Joutsen, Taisto Martiskainen and Heikki Koukkunen. The famous Finnish composer Aulis Sallinen was born in Border Karelia but it is not known if he speaks Karelian. There are many other artists, one or both of whose parents are known to have been speakers of Karelian (e.g. Juice Leskinen, Markku Paretsoi and Sanna-Mari Titov). The Karelian-speaking stalwarts of the *Kalevan Näyttämö* included Paavo Liski, Seppo Huunonen, Seppo "Paroni" Paakkunainen, Matti Kuusela ja Pertti Lampi. (Pertti Lampi, e-mail May 31st, 2010.)

With the exception of Archbishop Leo, **very few members of the Karelian-speaking minority have occupied prominent administrative positions in Finnish society.** There have been many politicians with an overt Karelian identity but only a few who were speakers of Karelian. These included a former minister of finance, Paul Paavela, and a former minister of commerce and industry, Eero Rantala, who played important roles in obtaining a state subvention for the building of the Bomba House. Some current politicians have Karelian-speaking roots (e.g. Marjo Matikainen-Kallström, Leena Luhtanen, MEP Mitro Repo). According to the secretary of the Karelian Language Society, Pertti Lampi, quite a few speakers of Karelian were actively involved in the Finnish trade unions, especially in SAK (the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions), perhaps because there was a tradition of strong trade unionism in the prewar factories in Border Karelia (see Hämynen 1984, especially p. 111-113).

2.3 The demographic context of Karelian in Finland

2.3.1 Statistics and basic demographic information on Karelian Finns

There are no official reports on the numbers of Karelian Finns nor is this group represented in the population censuses or any other administrative registers. Even defining who belongs to it is not an easy matter (see Chapter 1 and Section 2.3, as well as the discussion further below in this Section). Consequently, it is difficult to determine the target group for any sort of sampling. Furthermore, the basic source of information concerning the current number of speakers of Karelian is the *Karjalan kielen asema Suomessa: Loppuraportti* ('The position of Karelian in Finland: Closing Report') by Jeskanen, which dates from 2004 (also see 4.5 and 4.7). The Karelian Language Society has compiled unofficial statistics since 1995. Up to 2002, its estimates were made by active members⁴⁰ of the Society (e.g. Paavo Harakka⁴⁰); since then the task has been carried out by the Society's secretary, Pertti Lampi. As noted in 2.1, based on the statistical results of ELDIA concerning the self-estimated Karelian skills

⁴⁰ According to Harakka (2001: 3), in 2001 the Karelian-speaking minority in Finland might still have numbered some 11,000-12,000 members, of whom some 6,000-7,000 would have been born before the war in the ceded area and some 5,000 after the war elsewhere in Finland.

among Karelian Finns today, combined with the results of Tapio Hämynen's investigations concerned with the last generation still born in pre-WWII Border Karelia, the estimation today is that there still are some 11,000 people in Finland who speak Karelian well to fluently and at least 20,000 who either speak some Karelian or at least understand it to some extent.

Given the lack of any official population statistics data concerning the Karelian-speaking minority, unofficial statistics are particularly important in at least two respects. For the minority itself they provide evidence for the existence of the Karelian language in Finland, which is still largely ignored, while for Finnish society in general they serve to indicate the existence of this group and thus add force to its efforts to gain acceptance and financial aid towards maintaining its heritage language and culture.

There is some available data on the long-term demographic development of Karelian Finns, but it is sparse and sporadic, and only goes back to the 19th century (see Hämynen 1993: 537-540). According to an unpublished paper by Hämynen (2010)⁴¹, in 1879 the Karelian-speaking population in Finland numbered 20,000 people. By World War II it had doubled to some 40,000 and in 2000 there may still have been some 15,000 people who had learned Karelian as their first language (this last figure is based on the above-mentioned estimate by Harakka). Using the figures for those born before World War II in Border Karelia and those born to Orthodox Border Karelian families during the first and the second evacuation phases in 1940-1949, Hämynen calculates that there are currently 9,000 speakers of Karelian, which is a noticeably higher figure than that arrived at by Jeskanen (2004) or the Karelian Language Society.

It has been fairly reliably documented that Karelian was more widespread than today in the province of North Karelia, especially in the municipality of Viinijärvi (historically: Taipale; Hakamies 1993). There is also evidence that most Orthodox Finns in eastern Finland were speakers of Karelian or descended from such. On the other hand, there is wide confusion with regard to the ethnic affiliation of the inhabitants this area, even in academic studies: for example, the population of North Karelia is frequently described as belonging to the Savo tribe, but according to Saloheimo (1973), the medieval Savo peoples who lived to the east and north-east of the core Savo region were predominantly of Karelian origin.

There is some attempt in current estimations of the number of Karelian Finns to distinguish between speakers of the heritage language and non-speakers of Karelian who have Karelian roots or identity (see Sections 2.1 and 2.3). Such estimations are generally based on an underlying tridimensional correlation between originating in a Karelian-speaking municipality, being Orthodox, and being a (potential) speaker of Karelian. This assumption appears to reflect a more general understanding as well: in the existing academic literature,

⁴¹ The forthcoming study by Hämynen will also shed new light on the marriage patterns among Border Karelians in 1735–1918 and the role that endogamy played in consolidating the use of Karelian.

Orthodoxy and the Karelian language seem to be considered the most important constitutive factors for being a Karelian Finn (Jeskanen 2004: 13).

Prior to ELDIA, there was no comprehensive information available on the numbers of those who actually speak Karelian in Finland as opposed to those who only understand it. In his 2004 Report Jeskanen gave a rough account of the situation in his own sample, which included data on three different groups of Karelians: Border Karelians, Karelians with a refugee background and Karelians from the easternmost villages in the municipality of Suomussalmi (see Maps in Chapter 1).⁴² The majority of the data related to the Border Karelian group. In the age cohort “born before 1945” (N=134) 82% of the respondents originating in Suojärvi, 78% of those born in Salmi and 43.8% of those born in Suistamo reported that they still spoke Karelian “well” or “fairly well” (Jeskanen 2004: 9). In the age cohort “born after 1945” (N= 36) 17 people, i.e. 47.2% of all respondents, reported a “good” or “fairly good” knowledge of Karelian; three had their roots in Salmi, four in Suistamo and ten in Suojärvi (Jeskanen 2004: 29). Jeskanen also says on page 18 that 56% of his respondents reported understanding Karelian “well” and another 39% “fairly well”, concluding, therefore, that “95% understand the language” (translation by A.S.; it remains unclear whether the claim is that 95% of all the respondents understand Karelian or that 95% of those who do not speak it nevertheless understand it). Elsewhere I have seen an estimation that there are about 20,000 Karelian Finns today who have a receptive knowledge of Karelian.

According to Jeskanen (2004: 18), of the 39 respondents with a refugee background (Ch. 1 and Sections 2.1-2.2), 13 reported a “good” command of Karelian and 5 a “fairly good” command of the language, 9 knew “just a little” and 7 had “no knowledge at all”. Of the 35 respondents who answered the questions concerned with their level of understanding Karelian, 15 reported understanding it “well”, 15 “fairly well” and 5 “just a little”. (Jeskanen 2004: 18.)

The rapid post-WWII decline in the use of Karelian in the municipality of Iломantsi, which has been described by Pennanen (1989) is clearly reflected in Jeskanen’s report, too: in 2004 there was one octogenarian fluent speaker of Karelian left in the formerly Karelian-speaking villages of Suomussalmi and two people, also in their 80s, who could still tell Karelian fairy tales in fairly good Viena Karelian and whose free speech showed some Karelian characteristics (Jeskanen 2004: 16).

As the above clearly shows, the geographical area(s) involved in estimations of the number of Karelian speakers primarily comprise pre-WWII Karelian-speaking villages in easternmost Finland, (i.e. Border Karelia and the municipalities of Iломantsi, Kuhmo and Suomussalmi). Speakers of Karelian with a refugee background, including those with their roots in Viena

⁴² Given the unsystematic manner in which the information is presented (e.g. sometimes only absolute numbers are given, sometimes only percentages, with no indication of the number of actual respondents, etc.), it is not possible to present Jeskanen’s data in the form of a table.

Karelia or Olonets on the Soviet/Russian side of the state border, are taken into account more marginally. According to Lampi (interview 1.4.2010), the last estimations by the Karelian Language Society seek to include immigrant speakers from the Karelian-speaking areas in Russia (see Map 13 in Section 2.5.1).

2.3.2 The basis of existing demographic information on Karelian Finns

The figures underlying the estimates preceding the latest one in Hämynen (2013) and Sarhimaa (*forthcoming*) are not comprehensive in the statistical sense of the term but were, nevertheless, based partly on samples drawn from the population censuses and partly on the “gut feelings” of those who know the field well. The starting point for Jeskanen’s calculations is the official 2002 population census data on Orthodox Finns born in three municipalities of Border Karelia: Salmi, Suistamo and Suojärvi. He then applies a formula partly based on the results of his own 2004 questionnaire (presented in more detail further below in this Section), which aims at excluding Finnish-speaking Orthodox people who come from these areas. It also tries to allow for the possibility that Karelian-speakers are over-represented in the sample, because the survey tended to attract respondents who were actively interested in their Karelian origins and heritage language. The method of calculation is explained in more detail in Jeskanen (2004: 28-29).

The Karelian Language Society has arrived at its figures for the current number of Karelian speakers in Finland partly by drawing on Jeskanen’s study and partly by using official statistical information on Finns born in the formerly Karelian-speaking areas. According to Lampi, it has approached the issue from two angles: by using the population statistics of Finland for 1939, and by combining these with later official statistical information on Finns born in the formerly Karelian-speaking areas and their descendants. The latter, according to Lampi, involves starting with Finns born in the Karelian-speaking surrendered areas who are still alive and investigating their current knowledge of Karelian. It has to be taken into account that some 15% of them were born to non-Karelian parents, and that they include Petsamo Karelians and Karelians who have emigrated at some point from Russia to Finland. According to Lampi (interview on 1.4.2010), one also has to decide how to take into account the fact that part of Karelian-speaking population did not stay in Finland but moved on to other countries. He further points out that it is difficult to compile reliable statistics or even estimations by means of surveys etc., since speakers of Karelian have internalised the long-held view that Karelians were not a distinct ethnic group and that Karelian is simply another dialect of Finnish (also see Sections 2.1, 2.2 and 3.1). Even today, Lampi points out, ordinary speakers of Karelian in Finland tend to describe themselves as Finns who speak “a Karelian dialect”. This shows the extent to which Karelian Finns have little awareness of ethnic identity and it connects them with many other minorities living in centralised national states. (Pertti Lampi, interview on 1.4.2010.)

The data-collecting methods and information currently available on the number of speakers of Karelian in Finland have not been subject to scholarly evaluation. The reliability and accuracy of official population statistics concerning the place of birth and the religious

affiliation of Finns is beyond question, but evaluating estimations based on these data is beyond my ability and I leave the task to the demographers and statisticians. According to Lampi (interview on 1.4.2010), there is at least one unsolved demographic problem, namely the fact that a large number of people had already moved from all the ceded areas to other parts of Finland before World War II.

There is no official or scholarly information on the age structure of speakers of Karelian. The general assumption is that the majority are elderly people and, according to Jeskanen (2004: 10), this may well be true on the whole, but there are also a considerable number of young Karelian Finns who use their heritage language sometimes, or at least understand it well or fairly well. One third of his respondents reported personally knowing Karelian Finns who were (in 2004) under 40 years old; one third also reported knowing at least one speaker of Karelian who was at that time younger than 30, and 14% reported knowing a speaker less than 20 years old. The youngest reported speakers were 2 and 5 years old. (Jeskanen 2004: 10.)

Since sex is a variable included in population census information in Finland, it is possible to obtain information on the relative proportions of males and females born in Border Karelia, but there is no data available on any correlations between sex and the age cohorts of Karelian Finns. The same holds for information about their birth rate. The marriage patterns of Border Karelians in the period 1938-1949 were included in the large sociological study that Waris et al. made in the 1950s. Table 1, based on Waris et al. (1952: 350), shows that while the majority of new marriages among Orthodox inhabitants of Border Karelia before World War II were between two Orthodox, the proportion of mixed marriages began to increase rapidly immediately after the Winter War (1939-1940) and accelerated noticeably during the Continuation War (1941-1944), so that by 1944 only one third of new marriages involving a former inhabitant of Border Karelia were between two Orthodox. In 1945 these amounted to only about one sixth of new marriages. In the last part of the period investigated (1946-1949) marriages between two Orthodox appear to have been very exceptional, their proportion at the highest being 11% and at the lowest 8.3%. These developments would seem to be a reflection of the increased contacts between Border Karelian Orthodox and (mainly Lutheran) Finns.

The proportion of Orthodox with Orthodox -marriages in all marriages involving (former) inhabitants of Border Karelia in the period of 1937-1949		
Year	The proportion of Orthodox and Orthodox marriages in all new marriages involving Orthodox (former) inhabitants of Border Karelia	All marriages involving Orthodox (former) inhabitants of Border Karelia (=N)
1937	74.1%	316
1938	70.1%	252
1939	64%	144
1940	50.3%	147
1941	33.8%	210
1942	28.7%	157
1943	39.2%	273
1944	32.3%	242
1945	15.8%	386
1946	8.3%	504
1947	10.9%	424
1948	8.1%	447
1949	11.0%	390

Table 1. The proportion of Orthodox with Orthodox -marriages in all marriages involving (former) inhabitants of Border Karelia in the period of 1937-1949

Since there has been no further research on the marriage patterns of (Border) Karelian Finns, post-war developments and the current frequency of mixed marriages are matters that cannot be determined. The same holds for the educational level and occupational orientation of Karelian Finns.

As shown in Chapter 1, Karelian Finns do not live in particular towns or municipalities or in any specific core area(s), but are scattered all over Finland, with centres of concentration in the major cities (see Map 7 in Chapter 2). This naturally makes it even more difficult to obtain reliable demographic information about them. However, there are still some centres of concentration in the original resettlement municipalities in eastern Finland (see Ch. 2 and Section 5.2.2).

If current estimates that Karelian speakers number about 5,000 are correct, they actually comprise a fairly noticeable language minority. Table 2 below⁴³ allows one to conclude that in 2004, when Jeskanen compiled his report, they would have constituted the seventh largest language minority.

⁴³ The newest breakdown of the Finnish population according to mother tongue is from 2009. The main change since 2004 is an increase in the number of the speakers of Estonian and Chinese (Taskutieto 2009).

The population of Finland according to mother tongue in 2004	
Mother tongue	Total number of speakers
Finnish	4,803,343
Swedish	289,868
Russian	35,222
Estonian	12,748
English	8,186
Somali	7,777
Arabic	6,040
Albanian	4,508
Kurdi	4,340
Vietnamese	3,927
Chinese	3,812
German	3,762
Turkish	3,072
Spanish	2,550
Thai	2,299
French	1,863
Sámi	1,704
Persian	1,635
Polish	1,635
Serbo-Croatian	1,354
Other language, language missing or unknown	20,187
TOTAL	5,219,732

Table 2. The population of Finland according to mother tongue in 2004

The approximately 5,000 speakers of Karelian constitute a minority of slightly less than 0.1% within the total population of Finland (officially 5,219,732 in 2004); officially estimated as 5,356,358 in 2010⁴⁴). This does not sound much when one compares it to the proportion of speakers of the second national language, Swedish (5.5% in 2004 and 5.4% in 2009), or even with the proportion of speakers of Russian, which is the most frequently spoken of the new allochthonous languages in Finland (0.7% of the total population in 2004 and 0.9% in 2009). Yet, one should bear in mind that together with Finnish, Swedish and the Sámi languages (which in 2004 and 2009 were spoken by 0,03% of the total population), Karelian has been spoken in the area of contemporary Finland since ancient times.

2.3.3 Shortcomings in the existing demographic data on Karelian Finns

As is clear from the preceding description of the demographic context and current state of the demographic documentation of Karelian Finns, the basis for statistical information is the entire country rather than any specific administrative unit or geographical area. In this respect Karelian Finns are a very typical non-regional minority and comparable with such old minorities as Roma and possibly also with the majority of the new immigrant minorities in Finland.

⁴⁴ The figure for the official population of Finland is derived from the Population Information System on the basis of the situation at the turn of the year.

In late May 2010, the Karelian Language Society began preparations for a new estimation of the number of Karelian Finns who speak Karelian. The expectation is that their number will have fallen, while the number of immigrant Karelians from Russia will have increased. Since the population censuses in Finland do not register speakers of Karelian as a separate language group, the main categories in the sampling and analysis tool pack will be religion, place of birth, present domicile, age, sex, level of education and current stage of life. (Pertti Lampi, e-mail from 2.5.2010.)

One of the basic shortcomings of the existing data, and thus a real problem for any attempt to obtain reliable demographic statistics and/or a sample of speakers of Karelian, is how to identify those who are immigrant Karelians. For one thing, it is likely that they declare themselves to be speakers of Russian, or speakers of “another language”. For another, they cannot be identified from their place of origin, because they do not necessarily come from the Karelian Republic or the Tver Karelian villages. They can, in fact, come from any part of Russia or the former Soviet Union: for example there were exiled Karelians in Kazakhstan and Siberia).

2.4 Language and minority policies in practice

2.4.1 The legal basis of language policies in Finland

This Section, which is based on the unpublished Context Analysis: Karelian in Finland by Sarhima (2010)⁴⁵, aims at providing the reader with a general outline of the legal framework within which Karelian exists in Finland today. The text was updated in December 2012 to reflect the situation at the time this report was submitted for publication. The Karelian Finnish minority is currently very active in asserting its rights and striving to maintain and revitalise its heritage language, and the best way to keep up to date with the latest developments is to read the online journal *Karjal Žurnualu*⁴⁶.

In Finland the legal status of languages is determined by the Constitution, the Language Act, the Sámi Language Act (Fin. *kielilaki*) and the Decree on the Implementation of the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages. In brief, the Constitution declares that the national languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish and it recognises the language rights of the indigenous Sami; the Language Act sets out the language rights of speakers of Finnish and Swedish and the Sámi Language Act those of the Sámi, and the Decree recognises a number of other languages spoken in Finland, including Karelian, as regional or minority languages which enjoy the protection of the European Charter on Regional or Minority

⁴⁵ The professional legal and institutional framework analysis of Karelian and Estonian in Finland was conducted within the ELDIA project by Lisa Grans in 2012. Her extensive report has been published in its entirety in Working Papers of European Language Diversity and is available online at <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104756>. A very brief summary of the report is provided by Spiliopoulou Åkermark further below in Section 4.1.

⁴⁶ http://www.karjalankielenseura.fi/tekstit/karjal_zurnualu.

Languages and the European Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities.

As stated above, the Constitution of Finland (enacted on 11 June 1999, Paragraph 17) and the Language Act (enacted on 6 June 2003) declare the national languages of Finland to be Finnish and Swedish. Paragraph 17 of the Constitution also guarantees the right to use Finnish or Swedish before courts and other authorities, and states that the Sámi (“as the indigenous people”) and “the Roma and other groups” have the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture. It further states that provisions on the right of the Sámi to use their language before authorities are laid down by a [separate] law, and it guarantees the rights of users of sign language and people in need of interpretation or translation aid owing to disability. Language is also mentioned in Paragraph 6 of the Constitution, which states that everyone is equal before the law and explicitly forbids, among other things, discrimination based on [ethnic] origin or language. The Sámi Language Act (enacted 15 December 2003) contains provisions on the right to use Sámi before courts and other authorities in the Sámi Homeland (*Sápmi*). It also obliges the state authorities to implement and to promote the language rights of the Sámi⁴⁷.

Karelian is not mentioned explicitly in Finnish legislation, but by the end of 2012, it had been included in the Decree on the Implementation of the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages (2009) and the Decree on State Subventions to Newspapers (Fin. *sanomalehtitukiasetus*) (2012). Thanks to the latter, from the beginning of 2013 newspapers in Karelian will receive the same 40% state subvention to minority-language newspapers as those published in Swedish, the Sámi languages Romani and sign language. (Liikenne- ja viestintäministeriön tiedote 13.21, 22.11.2012.)

Finland ratified the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages in 1994 and the European Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities in 1998. The languages defined as Regional or Minority Languages are specified in the Decree on the Implementation of the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages. On 27 November 2009 the Decree was amended, with effect from 4 December 2009, to include Karelian as a non-regional minority language together with Romani (VN-tiedote 26/11/2009). Accordingly, Article 7 on the list of Declarations made by Finland and contained in the Instrument of Acceptance of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages was modified with regard to the underlined part (the underlining occurs in the original document):

"Finland declares, referring to Article 7, paragraph 5, that it undertakes to apply, *mutatis mutandis*, the principles listed in paragraphs 1 to 4 of the said Article to the Romanes language, to the Karelian language and to the other non-territorial languages in Finland." (List of Declarations made by Finland.)

⁴⁷ <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2003/20031086>, 21.3.2010.

The Charter and the Convention do not oblige Finland to define the legal status of the minority languages in its national legislation but it allows the relevant international supervisory bodies to recommend measures to be taken with regard to Karelian. In other words, the recognition of Karelian as a non-regional minority language in the sense defined by the European Charter does not change the legal status of Karelian in Finland in practice: that requires legislation. So far the decree amendment has not had any legislative consequences, although the Karelian Language Society has been lobbying for a constitution amendment which would add Karelian to the languages specified in Paragraph 17 (for details, see Section 4.2 below).

Nevertheless, the practical implications of the Decree amendment on the European Charter have been substantial. For the first time ever, Karelian is visible at the level of state administration and this has already had the consequence that the Ministry of Justice issued its official election bulletin on the 2011 presidential election and the 2012 parliamentary election in Karelian as well as Finnish, Swedish, the Sámi languages and the dozen or so other languages spoken in Finland. In her farewell speech as President of Finland on 1 March 2012, Tarja Halonen explicitly mentioned Karelian as one of Finland's traditional minority languages. As the following quote from the Karelian-language online journal, *Karjal Žurnalu*, shows, her words were experienced by Karelian speakers as direct support for their language and culture:

Meijän kieli sai huomavuo tärgien valdivollizen tapahtuman yhtevyös. Mainičendu ei olluh ihan sattumu, vaiku prezidentu Halonen tahtoi kiinnittä huomivon sih, ku piättäjilgi on vie äijy ruaduo karjalan kielen elvyttämizeh nähte. Lizäkse teleohjelmal oli sadoituhanzii kaččojii, sikse julgizusarvo oli merkiččii. (Karjal Žurnalu, 2.3.2012.)

'Our language received attention in the context of an important state event. This was not just coincidence: President Halonen wanted to direct attention to the fact that decision makers still have a lot of work to do in revitalizing Karelian. Moreover, the television programme had an audience of hundreds of thousands, so the publicity value was notable.'

The recognition of Karelian as a non-regional minority language gives Karelian-speaking children the right to 2.5 hours a week of teaching in their heritage language (see *Perusopetuslaki* 21.8.1998, § 10 *Opetuskieli*), and the possibility of obtaining a state subvention (Fin. *valtiovastus*) for such teaching (*Tiedote valtiovastuksista vieraskieliseen opetukseen* 28.1.2010). According to the Basic Education Act *Perusopetuslaki* there are three other ways in which teaching in Karelian can be included in basic education: (1) as foreign language A (i.e. the obligatory foreign language), (2) as foreign language B (i.e. an optional foreign language) or (3) as an optional mother-tongue or "for the maintenance of language skills", which would, however, only apply to speakers of Karelian with a recent migrant background. The curricular requirements for each type of teaching are specified in the National Core Curriculum (*Opetushallituksen Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2004*; for foreign language teaching in paragraph 7.5 and for migrant languages in the Appendix). The

municipalities decide for themselves which languages to include in their language teaching programmes and, from the late 1980s until the mid-1990s, Karelian was part of the comprehensive school curriculum in the northernmost municipality of North Karelia, Valtimo (Harakka 2001: 5; Kilpeläinen, e-mail 1.7.2010). The municipal authorities of Nurmes have agreed to arrange the teaching of Karelian in some schools, beginning in 2013, which is when children who have been attending the Karelian language nest (see Section 4.7) will start school, and Viekki School in the town of Lieksa is also about to start teaching Karelian, in the form of an extracurricular Karelian language club. (Pertti Lampi, e-mail 28.5.2010.)

As pointed out above, optional mother-tongue instruction is only available to pupils with a migrant background, but most speakers of Karelian are Karelian Finns, and (post-Soviet) migrants (see Ch. 1) constitute a small, minority. At the moment it is not possible to teach Karelian in Finnish schools as the subject called “mother tongue and literature”, although current legislation permits teaching “another language” as the subject “mother tongue and literature” (see *Perusopetuslaki* 1998, § 12; State Council Decree 1435/2001, §8). The prerequisites and guidelines for teaching are included in the National Core Curriculum (2004, Section 7.3). At present only Russian has a full programme of teaching as “mother tongue and literature” but shorter programmes have been created for some other languages too. Such an arrangement has also been made for Romani, which is currently being taught for 2.5 hours a week, with the provision that the pupils also take the full “mother tongue and literature” programme of Finnish. The teaching is funded by means of a state subvention, which ultimately means that funding for the teaching of Romani is included in the state budget. In September 2009 a group of Finnish MPs submitted a budget initiative, which proposed a 40,000 euro subvention to the Karelian Language Society for the initiation of the teaching of Karelian in schools, but this was rejected (TAA 667/2009 vp).

By the end of December 2012 Karelian had been mentioned three times in official international documentation concerned with minority languages within the EU. The first time was in 2006, in Finland’s Third Periodic Report on the Application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (III Kieliraportti-fi, 2006: 10-11), which, in addition to a brief description of the language itself, gives an estimation of the number of its speakers (c. 5,000, c. 4,000 of whom were born before 1945). More importantly, the text mentions a report by the Parliamentary Finance Committee, which in 2002 had paid attention to the need to revive and support Karelian in Finland and promote cooperation with the Karelian-speaking population of Russia. It also mentions that in 2002 the University of Joensuu was granted an appropriation for a study of the position of the Karelian language and the measures needed to develop the language and establish its position (see Section 4.2 below) and says that the University’s report and its recommendations was sent for comments to the relevant universities, organisations and other bodies and that a summary of the comments and any proposed measures would be sent to the Parliamentary Finance Committee.

The second mention of Karelian in EU-documents is to be found in Finland’s Third Periodic Report on the Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National

Minorities (2010: 73). Karelian is mentioned in two places. Under Article 5, concerned with the right of minority nationals to maintain their own culture and the essential elements of their identity (religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage), the current state of government support for Karelian is summarised as follows:

“In 2007 and 2008, the Ministry of Education continued to support the activities of the Society for the Karelian Language. Besides annual general subsidies, both the Ministry of Education and the National Council for Literature have granted the society funds for projects related to the Karelian language. At the beginning of 2009 the University of Joensuu established a professorship of the Karelian language and culture. The post was placed in the Faculty of Humanities, in the Department of Finnish Language and Cultural Research. The other universities in Finland do not provide instruction in the subject of Karelian language and culture.” (Third periodic report on implementation of the Framework Convention FI Finland 2010: 30).

Article 14, which has to do with the right to learning the minority language as well as the majority language, emphasises the active role of the Karelian Language Society:

The Society for the Karelian Language has, on its own initiative, informed the Government about the Karelian language and the activities of the Society. The purpose of the Society is to increase interest in the Karelian language and to support research and publishing aimed at preserving and developing the language as well as studies and leisure activities related to the language. The Society has pointed out that although there are approximately 5,000 active speakers of Karelian in Finland, they are not recognised as a separate ethnic group. Further, the Karelian language is regarded as a Russianised Finnish dialect, and the Karelian culture of traditions is regarded as Finnish culture. (Third periodic report on implementation of the Framework Convention FI Finland 2010: 73.)

The third mention is in the Fourth Periodic Report on the Application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in Finland (September 2010). In contrast to the Third Periodic Report which mentions Karelian only twice, it gives systematic, detailed information on the situation of Karelian with respect to all the matters set out in Article 16, Paragraph 2 of the Charter. In its evaluation report (ECRML (2012) 1), the Committee of Experts welcome the recognition of Karelian as a non-territorial minority language and attach particular importance to the fact that the process of recognition had involved co-operation between the state authorities and representatives of Karelian speakers. The Committee further applaud the Finnish authorities for having supported “activities related to Karelian”, but it points out that the representatives of Karelian speakers (i.e. the Karelian Language Society) had reported that financial support had been inadequate, and it encourages the authorities to “to continue these efforts, especially concerning funding” (ECRML (2012) 1: 10). However, the Committee of Experts refrain from giving any concrete recommendations; for instance, it simply states that the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE has not started broadcasting weekly programmes in Karelian, although “the Committee of

Experts had been informed in the third monitoring round that company would accept to broadcast one hour a week of programmes in Karelian once the status of the language is clarified, which is now the case” (ibid. 12). Similarly, it mentions that “In its previous evaluation report, the Committee of Experts encouraged the authorities to develop a strategy in co-operation with the speakers to promote the teaching of Karelian”, but does not point out that such a strategy has yet not been developed (ibid. 13). The findings of the Committee of Experts regarding Swedish and Sámi mention specific problems, such as difficulties in using the Swedish language in court proceedings or in health care services and the large number of Sámi children and young people living outside the Sámi homeland, but despite the significant number of problems experienced by Karelian speakers described in its report, the Committee’s findings concerning Karelian are very brief and general in nature:

As for Karelian, the Committee of Experts welcomes the official recognition of the Karelian language and the extension of the principles listed in paragraphs 1 to 4 of Article 7 to Karelian, as a non-territorial language of Finland. The authorities provide financial and other support for the language development. Future efforts to strengthen the position of the language, especially in the education field, are needed. (ECRML (2012) 1: 51.)

Unlike all the other languages that Finland reported upon, Karelian is not mentioned in Part B: Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on the application of the Charter by Finland (ECRML (2012) 1: 61).

In Finland the implementation and supervision of language regulations is the responsibility of Parliament, the President, certain councils and the authorities in general. The legal status of a particular language is determined by Parliament and, ultimately, the President. At its highest level, executive power in issues concerning language regulation and rights is vested in the Council of State (i.e. the government). Every four years, and during each 6-year legislative period, the Advisory Council on Language Matters (Fin. *kieliasiaain neuvottelukunta*) helps the Ministry of Justice to provide the Council of State with a Language Report, as laid down by the Language Act, §37. It deals with Finnish, Swedish, Sámi, Romani and sign language but it can also report on other languages used in Finland. The report is presented to Parliament, where it is examined by the Constitutional Law Committee (Fin. *perustuslakivaliokunta*) before being discussed in plenary session. The first report was given in 2004 and the second in 2009. The former does not mention Karelian at all, while in the latter Karelian is still not listed among the other languages of Finland (p. 74 ff.) but simply referred to in a single sentence:

Osa muista kielistä, kuten saamen kieltä, romanikieltä, viittomakieltä, tataaria ja jiddiisiä sekä itärajan kummallakin puolella puhuttua venäjää ja karjalan kieltä, on puhuttu Suomessa jo kauan (Valtioneuvoston kertomus kielilainsäädännön soveltamisesta 2009: 11).

‘Some of the other languages, such as Sámi, Romani, sign language, Tatar and Yiddish, together with Russian and Karelian, which are spoken on both sides of the eastern border, have been spoken in Finland for a long time’.

In the spring of 2010, the Constitutional Law Committee decided to include Karelian as one of the languages systematically reported on in the Language Report (Jacob Söderman, MP, e-mail 8.5.2010).

On a more practical level, Paragraph 36 of the Language Act of 6.6.2003/423 prescribes that each authority enforces compliance with the Act within its own area of operation and the Ministry of Justice supervises the implementation and application of the Act. Appeals concerned with language-related matters, e.g. discrimination or other forms of ill-treatment, are addressed to the Chancellor of Justice. The Ministry of Justice can also make recommendations with regard to legislation concerning the national languages. Initiatives to change existing language legislation or to introduce new legislation may be instigated by private citizens, but proceedings in Parliament cannot begin until the particular initiative has been submitted by a Member of Parliament. At the stake-holder level, the implementation of international conventions in Finland is monitored by the Finnish Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (FiBLUL), which also seeks to influence the development of language legislation.⁴⁸

There is no legislation prescribing language use in the public media *per se*. There is, however, a specific law on the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE (Fin. *Yleisradio*), of which Paragraph 7, which is concerned with public service, requires the Company to provide services in Sámi, Romani, and sign language, and in other languages spoken in Finland “where possible” (Fin. *soveltuvien osin*): “4) [---] tuottaa palveluja saamen, romanin ja viittomakielellä sekä soveltuvien osin myös maan muiden kieliryhmien kielellä; [---].” As the quotation shows, Karelian is not specifically mentioned.

In November 2012, the Finnish Broadcasting Company, YLE, decided in principle to begin a weekly news broadcast in Karelian on the radio and according to the director of YLE, Lauri Kivinen, there are also plans for Karelian-language children’s programmes (*Karjalainen* 23.11.2012). Due to their higher costs, TV-broadcasts in Karelian are probably further off in the future:

”No televisio on jo huomattavasti hankalampi, kustannukset on suurempia ja sitten tietysti pitäisi olla jossain määrin kohtuullinen katsojamäärä. Tosin saamenkielisellä televisiolla on omat ohjelmansa mutta täytyy sanoa, että tältä osin on hieman ennenaikasta sanoa että olis kovin suurta valmiutta vielä televisio-ohjelmien tekemiseen, mutta koska YLEn tehtävä on julkisen vallan yhtiö eli tarjota myöskin vähemmistöille heidänkielisiä palveluitaan niin sitä ei voi sulkea pois mutta lähiaikoina tämmöstä ei oo tapahtumassa.” (Chair of the Constitutional Law Committee Kimmo Sasi on the SVT News on 11.4.2011.)

’Well television is already significantly more difficult: the costs are higher and then of course there should be an audience of to some extent moderate size. Of course the Sámi-language TV has its own programmes, but it has to be said that as far as this [Karelian] is concerned it is a little too early to say that there would be any great

⁴⁸ <http://fiblul.huset.fi/fiblul/>, 4.5.2010.

readiness to make TV programmes. But since the task of the YLE is [to be] a public company and to provide minorities with services in their own languages, it cannot be excluded, but it is not going to happen in the near future.'

The dynamics of the legal system

On 6 May, 2010, the Finnish Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (FiBLUL) approached the Ministry of Justice with a request for the legal status of the traditional minority languages of Finland, including Karelian, to be clarified and made more precise. The proposal pointed out that current legislation does not recognise the concept 'national minority languages', although Finland has ratified the European Charter and the Framework Convention, which are both concerned with the protection of national minorities in EU countries. FiBLUL argued that it would improve the situation of the traditional minorities of Finland if they were clearly defined as such in Finnish legislation; such is already the case in Sweden, for example, where the Language Law includes a paragraph specifying what groups are considered to be national minorities. (FiBLUL brief 6.5.2010.) FiBLUL's proposal was, however, rejected out of hand (see Neuvottelu 14.9.2010).

FiBLUL's request had been preceded by numerous other initiatives to improve the legal status of Karelian and to get the state to provide funding to support the maintenance and the revitalization of the Karelian language and culture. The first written question (Fin. *kirjallinen kysymys*) submitted by Members of Parliament Pekka Puska, Riitta Uosukainen and Sinikka Mönkäre in 1989 raised most of the issues which have been discussed ever since: the neglect of the Karelian-speaking population, the importance of Karelian language and culture for Finnish national culture as a whole, and the pressing need to support the language and publish literature in Karelian. The question addressed to the Council of State was, [word for word]: *Mihin toimenpiteisiin Hallitus aikoo ryhtyä karjalan kielen tukemiseksi ja edistämiseksi ottaen huomioon toisaalta karjalan kieltä äidinkielenään puhuvien tarpeet ja toisaalta yleisemmin karjalan kielen merkityksen kansallisen kulttuurimme rikkautena?* 'What measures does the Government intend to take to support and promote the Karelian language, taking into account the needs of native speakers of Karelian, on the one hand, and the more general significance of Karelian as enrichment of our national culture, on the other.' (Kirjallinen kysymys n:o 485, 29.9.1989.)

In the period 1999-2009 many budget initiatives and written questions concerned with the status of Karelian and support for its maintenance were submitted to the Finnish Parliament, but all suggestions were rejected. The budget initiatives concerned issues such as financial subventions to the Centre of Karelian Language and Culture, to Karelian language nests, for the teaching of Karelian in schools and to associations working for the support of Karelian and the promotion of literature in Karelian. The written questions concerned the status of Karelian in Finland and demanded support for its maintenance. One of them was based on the recommendations for concrete measures to develop and stabilize the status of Karelian mentioned in Section 4.1 above. These documents can be found at

<http://www.eduskunta.fi/triphome/bin/vex3000.sh> by using the index of search terms (Fin. *asiasanahakemisto*) and the search term *karjalan+kieli*.

Most of the budget initiatives and written questions arose from the work of the Karelian Language Society in promoting the linguistic rights of speakers of Karelian. Since 2004 the Society has been particularly active in drafting numerous policy briefs and initiatives. It has repeatedly contacted the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Education and Finance, the Prime Minister's Office, the Language Council, various political parties and the President of Finland (Archive of the Karelian Language Society), but without much success. Proposals by the Society which have been rejected include having Karelian recognised in Finnish law as a national minority language, including Karelian as one of the languages of teaching in basic education, and providing state subventions for the teaching of Karelian in schools and kindergartens.

However, the Society has also been able to celebrate some successes in the legal domain. One major achievement has been the agreement signed on 18 June 2012 by the Regional Council of North Karelia (Fin. *Pohjois-Karjalan maakuntaliitto*⁴⁹) and the Karelian Language Society to establish North Karelia as a Karelian Homeland. To begin with the Homeland is based on practical cooperation between municipality authorities, the KLS, local entrepreneurs and others involved in the making and maintenance of Karelian culture, but it is planned to apply to the State Council for official recognition similar to that accorded to the Sami Homeland. The main aim is to promote the revitalisation of Karelian by strengthening Karelian identity and to intensify the role of Karelian culture in Finnish society by means of educational and cultural cooperation projects. The expectation is that these projects will instigate new business activities, including cultural events, cultural tourism and small-scale enterprises exploiting various forms of Karelian culture and folklore. The Karelian Homeland is expected to increase the need for Karelian-speaking kindergarten teachers and school teachers, interpreters, translators, and tourist and tour guides. Karelian Finns elsewhere in Finland will be encouraged to join in the activities of the Karelian Homeland, and cooperation with Karelians in Russia will play an important role. Another aim is to tempt Karelians living in other parts of Finland to move to the Homeland. According to the agreement, public signs and information boards in Karelian will be used in the Homeland. (Karjalan Kielen Seuran tiedote 18/6/2012.)

Existing Finnish language legislation has been repeatedly criticised by the Karelian Language Society, which has pointed out time and again that lack of precision in the formulations of the Constitution and the Language Law is a serious hindrance to efforts to protect and revitalise Karelian and the other traditional minority languages of Finland, other than

⁴⁹ The Regional Council of Northern Karelia is a public regional authority in accordance with the Regional Development Act (national law). The areas of responsibility of the Council include economic development, regional planning, the protection of regional interests and the creation of a knowledge infrastructure.

Swedish and Sámi (see, e.g. the KKS Statement on Language Report 2009, 27.1.2010; Archbishop Leo 2010).

In 2009, a *Language Policy Action Plan for Finnish* was officially published, as was a *Language Policy Plan for Romani in Finland*. In May 2010 the Council of State made a report to Parliament on cultural policy, which included the proposal to create a broad national language strategic policy. This “should cover the new minority languages as well as the national languages and it would investigate and define the status and rights of speakers of these growing language groups” (Karjalainen 2010: 257; translation by AS). As the Karelian Language Society points out in its response to the proposal (Lampi, e-mail 6.9.2010), if Karelian is to be maintained and revitalised it will have to be treated as a special case, viz. as the only autochthonous minority language in Finland. At the same time, concrete measures should be taken to introduce a language policy for Karelian on the same lines as that which already exists for Sámi.

Another important initiative was taken by the Karelian Language Society when it had meetings in the spring of 2010 with the representatives of the ministries of Justice, Education and Culture and Social Affairs and Health about revitalizing and developing Karelian. It proposed four concrete measures (see Neuvottelu 14.9.2010). The first was that Karelian be included in the list of languages in Paragraph 17 of the Constitution. This is particularly important, because it is the position of the Ministry of Education that only languages mentioned in the Constitution are eligible for state funded support (see Neuvottelu 14.9.2010). The second was that the Council of State should make an official statement about the Karelian language and propose concrete measures to support it. The third was that the establishment of a Karelian Homeland should be discussed and decided upon in connection with this statement. Finally, it proposed that the state broadcasting company, YLE, should have a weekly radio programme in Karelian. The position of all three ministries continues to be, however, that the Decree Amendment of November 2009 does not give them any grounds for concrete action on these matters. The Karelian Language Society continues to lobby at all political levels. (Neuvottelu 14.9.2010.)

The law on paper and in reality

It difficult to say whether in Finland language use is really seen as an area to be regulated by law. On the face of it, the answer would seem to be that it is. Language issues undeniably played a central role in Finnish nation-building and there is a long tradition of language legislation (see, e.g. McRae 1999: xx). Yet even the implementation of regulations concerned with the rights of speakers of the national languages has often been found problematic by the authorities, and the inclusion of Swedish as a compulsory subject at school has come under attack from some of the Finnish-speaking population. Somewhat surprisingly, however, attitudes towards language legislation have not been academically investigated to any extent. Furthermore, the existing legislation is largely concerned with determining the individual’s right to decide whether she/he wants to be served in the public domains in Finnish or in Swedish, or, in the Sámi Homeland, in Sámi or Finnish.

Currently neither the Finnish constitution nor Finnish legislation involves explicit regulations on minority languages *per se*. Most notably, there are no regulations in Finnish law that would allow for recognising any particular language officially as a minority language, except for Sámi which has a language law of its own. Consequently, it is not possible to give Karelian (or any other language, for that matter) official status as a minority language.

Apart from legislation concerning the two national languages and Sámi, language is not particularly strongly regulated in Finland. There is no legislation that determines where, when or with whom any of the languages mentioned in the Constitution or protected by the Language Acts can be used. Nor does the law specify areas in which minority languages other than Swedish and Sámi can be used or provide the speakers of these languages with the right to have public services provided in their own language. There are, however, some laws which explicitly mention the right of speakers of languages other than the above-mentioned “constitutional” languages to have an interpreter in court, for example, or in connection with health care. So, in principle, a speaker of Karelian who does not understand Finnish has the right to ask for assistance⁵⁰.

Karelian and other languages besides Finnish, Swedish and Sámi play a highly marginal role in Finnish legislation and in societal discourses in general. The linguistic and cultural Otherness of speakers of Karelian has been and still is largely ignored in public and semi-public discourses. This being the case, it is not surprising that speakers of Karelian have not so far appealed to the Chancellor of Justice about issues concerning their linguistic rights, nor have there been any court cases concerning violations of these. Court cases concerning questions of language have generally had to do with the right to use Swedish. As to the question whether there are any Karelian Finnish lawyers the answer is that surely there must be, but, to my knowledge, no lawyer has so far actively advocated the rights of the Karelian minority.

The legal situation of Karelian and the Karelian-speaking minority in Finland has not been academically investigated. There is a lot of academic literature on the legal status of the languages of Finland in general. To name but a few, a still fairly up-to-date overview of language-related legislation is given in the study by Latomaa & Nuolijärvi in *The Language Situation in Finland* (2005). National debates on language legislation have also been discussed in Nuolijärvi (2000) and (2006), and some urgent problems in the contemporary politics of language teaching in Finland are discussed in Sajavaara (2007).

No parallel legal systems for “old” minorities and “new” minorities

Finnish legislation does not distinguish between the old and the “new” minorities: laws concerning language are exactly the same for all minorities (except for Swedish and Sámi, see above). The only slight exception is the *Decree on the Implementation of the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages* which only takes into account the old minorities when defining minorities protected by the Charter in Finland. In other words, the aim of Finnish legislation is to guarantee speakers of all languages other than the national

⁵⁰ <http://www.om.fi/Etusivu/Julkaisut/Esitteet/Kielilaki>, 22.3.2010.

languages and the indigenous Sámi languages equal linguistic rights, regardless of how long they have been spoken in Finland, whereas the European Charter sees the issue differently, in that it guarantees protection to “old” minority languages and actually excludes recent migrant languages.

As mentioned in Section 4.3, current legislation creates problems for speakers of Karelian with regard to claiming their linguistic rights, since it does not allow Karelian (or any other language) to be given the legal status of a minority language [in (or a *national minority language* or a *domestic (minority) language*, all terms used in the various initiatives taken by the Karelian Language Society over the past years). According to the Karelian Language Society, the problems are primarily caused by the fact that in the legislation Karelian is swamped by the 120 or so “other” languages currently spoken in Finland (*Asiantuntijalausunto* 2009). Yet the great majority of these “other” languages are recent migrant languages that have arrived in Finland as the result of accelerated mobility and internationalisation, whereas Karelian has been part of the linguistic diversity of the country for as long as the Finnish language itself (see Section 2.1). Although it is an autochthonous language in Finland and thus, linguistically, directly comparable with Finnish in terms of “birth rights”, Karelian undeniably lacks the legal and other forms of public visibility which would contribute to its maintenance and revitalisation. The fact that all languages other than the national and Sámi languages enjoy equal legal status is clearly not to the advantage of Karelian, and its speakers would appear to have good grounds for finding the current legal position unsatisfactory.

2.4.2 Majority attitudes towards Karelian speakers

The attitudes of the Finnish majority and the Karelian-speaking minority towards each other appear to derive mainly from two major sources: the stereotypical characterisations of the Finnish “tribes” created by Zacharias Topelius’s national romantic *Maamme kirja* (“The book of our land”, 1875) and the extraordinary circumstances of the resettlement of the evacuees during and after World War II discussed above. *Maamme kirja* describes the Finnish nation and its tribes, with their individual, eternal characteristics, stressing throughout the national-romantic slogan “One land, one people”. It was written as a reader for elementary schools and intended to strengthen national identity in the Grand Duchy of Finland. For many years it was used in schools in independent Finland too. It had a profound effect on the construction of both the Finnish national identity and the “tribal” identities of Finns (Fewster 2006: 139-142) and, as will be seen below, still informs present-day attitudes as well.

Maamme kirja distinguishes three groups of Finns: the Karelians, the Savo tribe and the Häme tribe; it also describes the Sami and the Swedish-speaking Finns. According to the *Maamme kirja* (1875/1930: 187), the Karelians are more open-minded, friendly, mobile and enterprising than the Häme people, but also more talkative, boastful, inquisitive and quick to take offence. Karelians are sensitive; they are easily made sad and easily made happy; they love jokes and the beautiful songs composed by their bards. “The Karelian is, in a way, the sunny side of the Finnish nation: open, approachable, lively and facile, easily led and easy to

mislead, as credulous as a child, not without his share of Finnish stubbornness, but sharp-witted and equipped with natural talents which just need good guidance to place him among the foremost of his nation" (ibid. 1987, translation by Kenneth Meaney). Karelians are also quick and volatile (ibid. 192). The Savo people are more prosperous, self-reliant and self-confident than the Karelians. They are cocky but dignified, eager to learn and sharp-witted. "The Savo man is more sensible and calculating than the good-natured Karelian. He is usually more successful in business and he laughs at his neighbours, who eat up today more than they earned yesterday." (*Maamme kirja* 1875/1930: 188-189.) Even more different from Karelians than the Savo people are the Häme people. "Everything mild, light and open that may be detected in the Finnish character is an inheritance from the Karelians; all that is steady, quiet and coarse in our people is most particularly a Häme inheritance" (ibid. 192, translation by KM). The Häme people are "sturdier, clumsier and more-broad-shouldered, more resilient, morose and unbending" than Karelians (ibid. 192). The Häme man is more taciturn and serious, slow-thinking and stubborn, "slow to be angered, slow to forgive"; he is faithful and imperturbably calm (ibid. 192).

As described in Chapter 2, the majority of the evacuees from the areas surrendered to the Soviet Union during and after World War II were resettled in Savo and Häme; a smaller number were resettled in the geographically fairly compact areas of North and South Karelia (see Map 4). In general the cultural Otherness of Karelian Finns was better tolerated in the eastern parts of the country, where the local cultures and dialects traditionally had closer contacts with Karelian culture and language. The attitudes of the Finnish majority and the Karelian Finn minority towards each other have been academically studied to some extent but by no means exhaustively. The most notable study is that of Waris et al. (1952), who investigated the social adaptation of the evacuees to their new surroundings after the war and the attitudes of the local population towards evacuees who were permanently resettled in their areas. The study also looked at the attitudes of the evacuees towards the local people and towards Finnish society in general, and shed some light on what they thought of themselves as a group.

As pointed out in Chapter 1, in some places Waris et al. (1952) explicitly distinguish the Orthodox [and mainly Karelian-speaking, AS] group of Border Karelians from the Lutheran [and Finnish-speaking, AS] evacuees. The two main target groups of the structured interviews with rural evacuees consisted of people from the Karelian Isthmus who had resettled in Pertteli in south-western Finland, and Border Karelian Orthodox evacuees from Salmi and Suistamo who had resettled in Lapinlahti in North Savo (Waris et al. 1952: 145-147). Unfortunately, the analyses of the attitude-mapping questions are presented without the two target groups being differentiated from one another (Waris et al. 1952: 206-220), so strictly speaking they do not give information about post-war attitudes towards Karelian Finns *per se*. The authors explain their decision by reference to the fact that Border Karelians only constituted 13.6% of the total resettled population, and so their experiences should not be given too much weight in the whole study, which was concerned with the resettled population as a whole (ibid. 242-243). Nevertheless, the authors do point out that, in

general, cultural differences between the Orthodox population from Border Karelia and the local Lutheran population proved to be a significant factor in the processes of the adaptation of the newcomers to their new surroundings.

The experiences of the resettled population have been described and retold in many later studies, memoirs and belletristic pieces, but there have only been a few studies of the experiences of Karelian Finns. Their attitudes and attitudes towards them have been described in Heikkinen's 1989 study of the ethnic self-awareness of Karelian Finnish evacuees from Salmi, and in Raninen-Siiskonen's 1999 (:153-171) study of the personal recollections of Karelian Finnish evacuees. Kuikka (1999) has made a collection of personal recollections of the evacuees and the local people in Lapinlahti, who had constituted the Border Karelian sample in Waris et al.'s study. A brief account of the present-day situation as it is experienced by Karelian Finns is included in Jeskanen's report (2004).

In all the sources mentioned above, the Karelian Finnish evacuees report recurring negative attitudes on the part of the local population in the immediate post-war years: jeering and contempt for Border Karelian customs and way of speaking, being called "Russian" and in general made fun of, being told not to speak Karelian at school but to learn proper Finnish as soon as possible, etc.⁵¹ Yet the studies also include examples of positive, approving, supportive and empathic attitudes (e.g. Raninen-Siiskonen 1999: 153-171; Jeskanen 2004: 10-12). Waris et al. (1952: 218-219) show that the arrival of the evacuees had only a temporary impact or an impact whose significance was only vaguely perceived by the local people, and most of them were more or less indifferent to the continued existence of the evacuees in their area. This finding is in accord with the more general observation in Section 2.1 that today, too, one of the most common attitudes towards Karelian Finns is indifference.

According to Waris et al. (1952: 205), in eastern Finland conflict between the local people and evacuees was less common than in other parts of the country. The most common causes (61%) of dissension concerned landownership and accommodation, while different "tribal features" and customs only caused 14% of the reported disagreements. Similarly, only 1% of the local population expressed negative attitudes towards relationships and marriages between local people and the newcomers, basing their objections on the differences in culture and customs. Interestingly, it appears that attitudes towards the evacuees were equally positive among those who had been forced to relinquish some of their land to the newcomers and those who had not, and, in general, negative attitudes were inherent traits of individuals rather than something invoked by the social consequences of the resettlement. (Waris et al. 1952: 206-211.)

⁵¹ As Waris et al. point out (1952: 151), the evacuees' reminiscences indisputably testify to a certain amount of contempt for them among the local people; on the other hand, it is easier to observe negative than positive phenomena, and thus negative attitudes may come to have too much weight in recollections of the past.

As noted above, Karelian-speaking Border Karelians constituted a very special group within the evacuees. According to Jeskanen (2004), the local people's attitudes towards this group left "a lot to be desired", and various forms of bullying, being made fun of and being called "Russian" occurred on a regular basis. The expression of negative attitudes was often prompted by the Karelian language itself ("Russian", "not understandable") but also by the different religion, customs that were strange to the local people (e.g. mealtimes that were different from those of the locals), and very often simply by Karelian first names and family names that they had not heard before, which they mockingly twisted into Finnish words with pejorative or offensive meanings. All this gave speakers of Karelian a very negative impression of the local people, and bred a strong feeling of being treated unequally and unfairly (Raninen-Siiskonen 1999: 160-162). According to Waris et al. (1952: 239), finding that some people did not even understand that having to leave their homes in Karelia had been a very painful experience was particularly distressing for the evacuees, and so this became something that needed to be told and retold over the years.

The discussion above mainly concerns the early post-war years and relies on studies that did not investigate attitudes towards the Karelian language itself but towards being Karelian on a more general level. Investigating current attitudes, Jeskanen (2004: 10-12) received reports of positive as well as negative attitudes towards Karelian. Karelian is "valued", "found interesting", "found to be ok", "admired and valued", "an exotic language to many Finns and Karelians". At the same time, however, it is also "not understood", "neglected", "not known", "regarded with prejudice and suspicion", "ostracized" and "treated worse than Sámi". Even the old-fashioned view, that Karelian is simply a dialect of Finnish, is still sometimes expressed: "Is Karelian a language?", "the Karelian dialect".

In Waris et al. (1952: 211) the attitudes of local people and evacuees towards each other were investigated by asking each group to describe the positive and the negative characteristics of the other and of its own group. Both local people and evacuees agreed about the characteristics of latter: cheerfulness, liveliness, talkativeness, the ability to adapt, flexibility, sociability, hospitality, friendliness, helpfulness, diligence and willingness to undertake new tasks. The characteristics of local people, however, were described differently by themselves and the newcomers. Local people saw themselves as diligent, resilient, hard-working, honest, reliable, hospitable, friendly, economical, prudent, correct and calm. Karelian Finns described local people primarily as friendly, secondly as diligent and thirdly as honest. Most local people found Karelian Finns to be as diligent and hard-working as themselves. Interestingly, women who did not agree with this opinion generally accused them of being lazy and unwilling to work, whereas men who did not agree paid attention to differences in the way a job was done and the Karelian Finns' unfamiliarity with local ways of working. Karelian Finns experienced a major difference between Karelia and rural Finland in the status of the working man: in Karelia it had been usual for hired workers to be given the choicest food at mealtimes, but this was a custom which the evacuees found to be unknown in their new surroundings. (Waris et al. 1952: 213-214.) One recurring source of confrontation arose from differences in culinary culture. For instance, in Karelia it was customary to

bake bread several times a week, whereas in western Finland bread was baked only a few times a year. In the consciousness of both groups, the most significant differences between local people and the newcomers were cultural, not only in terms of traditional customs and routines but also in terms of their respective views of the world. As is usually the case, here, too, the wish to maintain and respect one's own customs occasionally led to the customs and different behaviour of the other being considered unfriendly, objectionable or reprehensible. (Waris et al. 1952: 240.)

The attitudes of Finnish society as a whole towards Karelian Finns have not been investigated so far. As shown above, especially in Sections 4.1 – 4.4, until quite recently Finnish society has not paid any particular attention to them, and even today general attitudes appear to be discouraging rather than supportive. In general, the attitude of Karelian Finns towards Finnish society was that of loyal citizens who “felt primarily Finnish and secondarily Karelian” (Lampi, interview 1.4.2010). This was also found by Waris et al. (1952: 156-162). The evacuees criticized the officials who were responsible for the resettlement for their slowness, but they had a great deal of sympathy for those who had had to relinquish some of their land to the newcomers, and considerable solidarity was shown on both sides, especially to those members of the other group who belonged to the same social stratum. Interestingly, Border Karelians in general appeared to be happier with the material compensation for their lost property than any other group of evacuees and thus they were more satisfied with Finnish society in this respect (Waris et al. 1952: 160).

Waris et al. (1952: 220-227) also looked to some extent at the attitudes of the evacuees to other members of their own group. More recently, their attitudes towards the heritage culture have been studied by Sallinen-Gimpl (1989), and those of speakers of Karelian in particular by Heikkinen (1989; 1996), Makkonen (1989) and Hollstein (1994). The group-consciousness of the evacuees in general was defined by Waris et al. (1952: 238) as a feeling of similarity and solidarity, which was intensified by the distinctiveness of their group in their new social environment. Their group-consciousness and collective identity also derived from the shared experience of having been forced to leave their homes forever and begin new lives among strangers (Sallinen-Gimpl 1989: 211-212). On the other hand, there were also factors that, in the immediate post-war years, may have directly contributed to new types of group-internal tensions. According to Waris et al. (1952: 163-165), one of the factors that significantly changed the intra-group social dynamics of the evacuees was that state compensation for their lost property disadvantaged those who had previously been wealthy. This levelled the economic differences between Border Karelians and may at least sporadically have led to a certain amount of bad feeling. (ibid.)

A very important factor underlying the attitudes of the evacuees in general towards their own group(s) has always been regionality. According to Heikkinen (1989), for her Border Karelian, Karelian-speaking interviewees the primary group of identification, generating the greatest loyalty and the “we” spirit, was clearly the group of people who had come from the

same village or larger area (municipality). (Sallinen-Gimpl 1989: 213-215; Heikkinen 1996: 16-18).

Jeskanen's report (2004: 12-13) suggests certain tendencies in current attitudes of speakers of Karelian towards their own group, which are indicated by answers to the question whether it still is possible to revitalize the Karelian language in Finland. 59% of the 170 respondents considered this possible, and a further 18% considered it certain, but these very positive attitudes are challenged by the negative attitudes of the 23% of the respondents who considered revitalization completely impossible. On the other hand, would appear, that most of the latter also hold the somewhat inconsistent view that Karelian should be maintained in Finland: this was the opinion of 95% of all respondents, who often quoted modern scholarly views in support of Karelian speakers being assured equality with other linguistic minorities and with the majority, and thus contributing to the maintenance of Finland's, Europe's and the world's linguistic diversity. According to research by the secretary of the Karelian Language Society Pertti Lampi (e-mail 31.3.2010), the strength of a person's Karelian identity correlates with their level of education and occupation: it is particularly the highly educated among the younger generation of Karelian Finns who have become members of the Society and actively started to improve their command of Karelian.

2.4.3 The standardization of Karelian in Finland

The written languages used in the traditional Karelian-speaking areas in Finland were standard Finnish and, to some extent during the period of the Grand Duchy, standard Russian. Currently, the predominant written language of speakers of Karelian in Finland is Finnish, although there is some literature available in Karelian as well (see Sections 2.3 and 4.7).

Like Karelian in Russia, Karelian in Finland is one of those Finno-Ugric languages which are still being standardized. The first attempts to use Karelian in writing were made at approximately the same time as those to write in Finnish or Estonian: Karelian appears only sporadically in documents surviving from the Middle Ages and later.⁵² The first publications in Karelian appeared in Russia at the beginning of the 19th century. Until the Revolution in 1917, they were mostly religious but there were also some secular publications, including alphabet books in three different dialects and two Russian-Karelian dictionaries (Markianova, s.a: 2; Jeskanen 2003a, 5-8). In the Grand Duchy of Finland, scholars provided a number of Karelian texts and studies of the Karelian language and oral poetry. In the 1930s, the first attempts were made to create systematic standards for written Karelian, but these were brought to an abrupt halt by World War II and not re-started on either side of the border until the 1980s (Austin 1992; Sarhima 1995; Jeskanen 2003a: 9-12; Anttikoski 2003:

⁵² Some presumably Karelian words and numerous Karelian person and place names occur in various medieval written documents such as peace treaties and tax rolls. The oldest known surviving document written in Karelian is the Lord's Prayer, which was included in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography* published in 1544 in Basel. "Karelian" and "Olonets [Karelian]" equivalents of 285 words, including the numerals 1-10, 100 and 1000, can be found in the dictionary by Pallas (published in 1786-1789) (Markianova, s.a.: 2).

29-35). Even today there is no official, unified standard written Karelian. In Russia several standards are in use: in the Karelian Republic, standard (written) Northern or Viena Karelian and standard (written) Olonets Karelian are used; in Central Russia, standard (written) Tver Karelian is used. The standard most often used in Karelian documents and writing published in Finland seems to me to be that of Olonets Karelian.

Developing a single standard written form of Karelian is a problematic matter. At present, there is no agreement even on whether current varieties of Karelian should be regarded as different Karelian languages or as different Karelian dialects. It is customary to treat Proper Karelian (which includes Northern or Viena Karelian and Southern Karelian varieties), Olonets Karelian, Tver Karelian and sometimes Ludic as dialects; today Russian scholars and language activists seem rather to regard these as different languages, with their own systems of standardization (see, e.g. Pasanen 2006: 116-117; Jeskanen 2005: 271). There is also the question of whether a common Karelian standard *should* be created, as opposed to continuing the development of several standard languages (Jeskanen 2003b; Anttikoski 2003: 35; Kunnas 2006).

2.4.4 Language use by Karelian Finns in different domains

The use of Karelian by Karelian Finns has not been subject to proper scholarly investigation yet. The current use of Karelian in the domain(s) of various cultural activities (literature, folklore, music, theatre, film) has been described in Section 2.3. Some tentative information concerning its contemporary use in private domains and in some public and semi-public domains can be found in Jeskanen's 2004 report. Rather less than half Jeskanen's 170 respondents reported speaking Karelian every day (46%) and a further quarter several times a week (25%). Karelian was mainly used at home among family members (46% of the respondents) and to some extent with friends or acquaintances, especially within the framework of the municipality associations. (Jeskanen 2004: 9-10; 21-22.)

In the majority of the most central public domains, i.e. in school education, research, court, local or state administration, public institutions and the work-place, the opportunity to use Karelian is non-existent or virtually so. The sole public domain in which Karelian is used, although only in some places and to a limited extent, is that of religion. In the parish of Nurmes in Upper-Karelia Karelian is spoken, especially by the elder generation, in less formal Church activities such as the Tuesday Assemblies (see Section 2.3). In Valtimo (which once served as the main resettlement location of speakers of Karelian from Suojärvi) part of the Whit Sunday service (the Whitsunday Troparion) is recited in Karelian. In 2010, at the Karelian Tribal Festival at the Bomba House in Nurmes, both the Evening Service and the Troparion were held in Karelian. According to Lauri Mahlavuori (interview 19 June 2010), the cantor of the Orthodox congregation in Nurmes, however, it is very unlikely that there will be any increase in the use of Karelian in events organised by the parish. Still, there are two important domains that are clearly becoming new spheres in which Karelian is used by a good number of language activists, viz. the media and education, particularly at the levels of pre-school instruction and higher education.

The use of Karelian in Finland's mass media has hitherto been relatively infrequent. In the print media it has been mostly used in the periodicals published by the Karelian organisations, most notably, *Oma Suojärvi*, which is published by the Suojärvi Municipality Association (Fin. *Suojärven Pitäjöseura*). *Karjalan Heimo*, founded in 1906 and published by the Karelian Cultural Association (*Karjalan Sivistysliitto*⁵³), traditionally contains causeries (i.e. short written articles casual in tone but often solemn in content; Fin. *pakina*) and news items written in Karelian, which also appears to be used very frequently in the obituaries. Causeries in Karelian also occur sporadically in the weekly newspaper *Karjala*, which was founded in 1904 in Viborg.

Jeskanen's report (2004) gives some tentative information about the readership of print media with contributions in Karelian. 104 of his 170 respondents (i.e. 61%) reported reading Karelian books and journals, and 24 (i.e. 14%) reported writing letters, stories, poems or other belletristic pieces in Karelian. Altogether 80 respondents (i.e. 47%) reported reading weekly or fortnightly newspapers published in Karelian in Russia (*Oma mua*, *Vienan Karjala* or *Karielan šana*) and 120 respondents (i.e. 70%) had read Karelian-language contributions to municipal association publications. 80 respondents (i.e. 47%) had read at least one book in Karelian (Jeskanen 2004: 9-10.), but whether these were books published in Finland (see Section 2.3 above) or in Russia was not asked. It would be interesting to know, though, to what extent writing in Karelian has a cross-border readership.

Karelian still has almost no presence in Finland's mass media. This is experienced as a tremendous disadvantage by speakers of Karelian who have expressed the earnest hope of being able to get more printed material and radio broadcasts in Karelian (Jeskanen 2005: 261-262; 265-266). There has been one positive development, however, in that the Karelian Language Society now has an online journal which concentrates on current topics and thus complements the rather more historically oriented *Karjalan Heimo* and *Oma Suojärvi*.

There have been occasional courses in Karelian on the radio (e.g. the one mentioned in Lampi (2008: 2) by Heikki Koukkunen which was broadcast in the early 1980s) and recently there have been some radio documentaries on Karelian language events in Finland, which allow one to hear the language by way of interviews. For instance, on 5 July 2010, Radio1 broadcast "Daycare in Karelian", a programme which gave a brief overview of the history of Karelian in Finland and introduced listeners to the Karelian language nest in Nurmes (see Section 4.7); the programme was available online until 19 September 2010 and was listened to 311 times. In the late 1990s there was a television documentary on the teaching of Karelian in one of the schools in Valtimo (see below; Paavo Harakka, e-mail 31 May 2010). There are no regular news broadcasts or other programmes in Karelian on the radio or on the TV in Finland, as there are in the Republic of Karelia

⁵³ *Karjalan Sivistysliitto* was founded in 1917 as the successor of the Viena Karelian League (Fin. *Vienan Karjalaisten Liitto*) established in 1906.

Karelian is, however, rather well represented on the Internet, thanks to the various online activities of the Karelian Language Society a number of individual activists. A good example is *Karjalaine radivo*, “the first Karelian Internet radio in the world”, which has been available via the Society’s web page since December 2008 (<http://www.karjalankielenseura.fi/radio/>). It is not a radio in the normal sense of the word, but an Internet platform with a collection of audio material which is updated from time to time. These include presentations on *Karjalaine radivo* itself, the Society, the Karelian language, its status in Finland, lessons on Karelian, Karelian culture and the Orthodox Faith, news reports on topics that are relevant for Karelian Finns (e.g. new publications by the Society, nominations for new directors of the various organisations of Karelians in Finland and Russia, new projects that have to do with maintaining Karelian, etc.), audiobooks published by the Society and other publishers, and recordings of Karelian music and stories read in Karelian. The Society has established an online digital library, which can be reached via the link <http://www.karjalankielenseura.fi/digikirjasto.html>; access can be obtained on request to the secretary of the Society. The Society also publishes an online journal, *Karjal Žurnualu* which is specifically aimed at young speakers and students of Karelian.

Karelian speakers are making very versatile use of the language in the new media. It is a recurring topic on the Internet forums, “Border Karelia”, *Raja-Karjala* (<http://salmi.phpbb-host.com/index.php>) and the Forum of the Suojärvi Municipality Association (Fin. *Suojärven pitäjäseura*, <http://suojarvi.fi/keskustelu2/index.php>), and Karelian is regularly used by the participants alongside Finnish. Another Internet discussion forum is administered by Martti Penttonen as a part of his personal website (<http://opastajat.net/forum>), which also offers online lessons in Karelian and a great deal of material in Karelian on a wide range of topics is to be found on the extensive Salmi web site created by Leo Mirala (<http://www.kolumbus.fi/leo.mirala/>). There is also an online Karelian course at *opastajat.net* (<http://opastajat.net/opastus/opastus.html>), which uses Karelian as the language of instruction. Since August 2008 it has been accompanied by an online forum (<http://opastajat.net/forum/>), which offers the learners the opportunity to use Karelian in its written form and engage in discussions with other speakers of Karelian. The predominant themes on the Internet forums concerned with the Karelian language seem to be language revitalization, culture, history, and, to some extent, the calls for the ceded areas to be returned to Finland; this last theme has not, however, been addressed at all on the websites of the Karelian Language Society, *Opastajat.net* or Mirala. There is no information available on the demographic makeup of the forum users; the secretary of the Karelian Language Society thinks that they are probably aged between 40 and 60 but that they also include some younger participants.

Today Karelian is used in education, although still only to a limited extent. In 2009, on the initiative of the Karelian Language Society, the first Karelian language nest opened its doors

in Nurmes.⁵⁴ Since then it has provided day-care to a varying number of children who have been taken care of by Karelian-speaking kindergarten teachers, who speaks only Karelian with the children. The language nest is funded by the town council of Nurmes and the Finnish Cultural Foundation. The Karelian Language Society applied for state funding in 2009 (TAA 668/2009), but its application was rejected on the grounds that the teacher did not have the formal qualification to be a kindergarten teacher in Finland, since she had done her pedagogic studies in the Republic of Karelia. Nevertheless, the Society is currently preparing more Karelian language nests in other towns. There is, then, some pre-school education in Karelian, but it has been arranged privately and without direct state funding.

At the moment Karelian is not taught in any school in Finland. A budget initiative for state funding to enable the teaching of Karelian in schools was made in 2009 (TAA 667/2009), but this, too, was rejected. There was some teaching of Karelian in Valtimo, the northernmost municipality of North Karelia, where it was included in the general school syllabus in the late 1980s and taught at the Kirkonkylän koulu ('the parish centre school') until 2001. It was taught as part of curriculum for the mother tongue curriculum, i.e. Finnish. The main goal was to familiarize the pupils with Karelian, which was the mother tongue of many of their parents and grandparents. Karelian also was widely used in school celebrations in the form of plays and songs and it was used as the language of communication with a partner school in Veskelys, in the Republic of Karelia. (Harakka, e-mail 31.5.2010.)

The national framework within which the local syllabuses and curricula of individual schools are created is the National Core Curriculum (*Opetussuunnitelman perusteet*), which is prescribed by the National Board of Education (Fin. *opetushallitus*)⁵⁵. Decisions concerning the establishment of a class or instruction group for a particular minority language are made at the local school district level, so in principle it would be possible to include Karelian in the local curriculum as an optional subject. As pointed out in Section 4.1, however, under current legal conditions, the teaching would have to be financed locally as well, because, in contrast with immigrant languages, it is not possible to obtain state funding for such teaching.

Valtimo's general syllabus also gave pupils an opportunity to learn Karelian as an optional (foreign) language, with either 17 or 34 hours' teaching per semester, but there were never enough pupils to form a class. (Harakka, e-mail 31.5.2010.) Since 2005, Karelian has not been mentioned in the general syllabus of any of the Valtimo schools (Kilpeläinen, e-mail 1.7.2010).

For the time being, there are still very few text books for teaching Karelian or teaching in Karelian. In Valtimo, Karelian teaching was based on *Sunduga*, a collection of stories, poems

⁵⁴ A language nest is a kindergarten where early childhood education and care is given in an endangered or minority language in order to teach that language to children who have not learned it at home and/or to support the development of knowledge of the language.

⁵⁵ http://www.oph.fi/koulutuksen_jarjestaminen/opetussuunnitelmien_ja_tutkintojen_perusteet/perusopetus

and plays by ten different authors, which was published by the Suojärvi Municipality Association in 1989 (see Section 2.3). In 2010 the Karelian Language Society submitted an application for funding for a major project which would have aimed at the producing, within three years, textbooks for teaching Karelian as a mother tongue and for teaching biology, mathematics and history and the Orthodox religion in Karelian; by the time of submitting the current research report in the fall 2013, the fate of the application was unknown. The teaching materials would be intended for use in schools and for self-study at home or via the Internet. (Lampi, e-mail 30.8.2010.) Another issue to be addressed is teacher education: qualified pre-school and subject teachers capable of teaching in Karelian will be urgently needed.

In the domain of academic communication, opportunities for using Karelian are to all intents and purposes fairly restricted. Theoretically, it could be used in scholarly publications addressed to a very small academic readership in Finland and the Republic of Karelia, but so far this has seldom been done and, as far as I know, only in the latter. Theoretically, Karelian could be used as the medium of academic communication at the University of Eastern Finland (until 2010, the University of Joensuu), where a Chair in Karelian Language and Culture was established in 2009 as part of the subject group Finnish and Cultural Research. Until 2014, it was held by Pekka Zaykov, a native speaker of Viena Karelian from the Republic of Karelia.⁵⁶ According to him (e-mail 7.11.2012), the languages of instruction are Karelian and Finnish, and e.g. seminar presentations are occasionally given in Karelian, too. Karelian can be studied as a minor subject and it is recommended as such to students of Finnish, Russian, Cultural Studies and History. According to a University press release⁵⁷, if Karelian were to be included in the school curricula, graduates with this minor could teach Karelian in comprehensive schools and upper secondary schools, provided that they had completed a full programme of teacher education as well.

There is no scholarly information available on the languages used in communication between speakers of Karelian and other Finns. The general assumption is that speakers of Finnish who lived in Border Karelia prior to World War II usually knew some Karelian and so Karelian was at least one of the languages of inter-ethnic communication. This also appears to be the case in some of the places where Karelian Finns resettled, and even today there are villages in the Valtimo area where the descendants of Karelian Finns born in Border Karelia who regularly use Karelian with each other also have neighbours who can speak some Karelian and understand even more (Kulmala, e-mail 2.9.2010).

2.4.5 The use of Karelian in public life

Another dimension of language use is concerned with the language choices made by individuals who are prominent in public life. As stated earlier, there are currently no Karelian-speaking national politicians in Finland who might use Karelian on public or political

⁵⁶ After Zaykov's retirement, the Finnish linguist Vesa Koivisto was appointed to the post.

⁵⁷ http://www.joensuu.fi/lehdisto_2009/msg00026.html, 4.1.2010.

occasions. There have been some local politicians, such as Nestor Norppa in Nurmes, who sometimes deliberately spoke Karelian on public occasions but this is no longer the case. There are only a few public figures, such as Archbishop Leo, who use Karelian to some extent in their official capacity. On the other hand, there are some Karelian speakers who constantly exercise identity-connected language choices through cultural activities in Karelian: they are musicians, writers, poets, playwrights, actors, translators, activists of the Karelian associations, etc. (see Section 2.3).

2.4.6 Gender aspects of every-day language policies

No research at all has been done on gendered aspects of the every-day language choices exercised by Karelian speakers (e.g. language use in mixed marriages, the distribution of the sexes among speakers of Karelian married to non-Karelians, gendered patterns of mobility, or the proportion of the sexes among prominent representatives of the minority).

2.5 Languages in contact and language maintenance

2.5.1 Monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism

The genetic relationship between Karelian and Finnish and their characteristics

Karelian belongs to the Finnic branch of the Uralic language family, or more precisely to its Eastern Finnic subgroup, which can be distinguished from the Southern and Western groups geographically and on the basis of their common history. As Salminen (1998) and Laakso (1999) have shown, the pre-historical genetic and taxonomic relationships between the Finnic languages are far from clear, and call for further investigation. Moreover, the traditional taxonomies do not take into account the northernmost Finnic languages, viz, Kven and Tornedalian. The Eastern Finnic subgroup has been traditionally regarded as comprising Karelian, Veps, Ingrian, and the eastern dialects of Finnish (see Map 12. The Finnic languages). The traditional Western subgroup consists of the western Finnish dialects, Estonian, Livonian and Votic.



Map 12. The Finnic languages

As Map 12 shows, the linguistic watershed between the Eastern Finnic and the Western Finnic languages divides the dialects of Finnish: the western Finnish dialects belong to the Western group and the eastern Finnish dialects belong to the Eastern group. The Karelian and eastern Finnish dialects share a number of words of common origin which are not found in the Western or Southern Finnic languages, including the western dialects of Finnish. Examples are the words *liina* ‘Cannabis sativa’, *kehdata* ‘to have it in mind to do something’, and *luo-* ‘close to; in the vicinity of’ (Leskinen 1992); a more comprehensive list of these common words is presented in Leskinen 1979 (: 87-88). Mutual intelligibility between Karelian spoken in Finland and (eastern) Finnish (dialects) is further facilitated by the many Finnish loanwords that have found their way into the lexicon of present-day Karelian varieties (see Section 5.3).

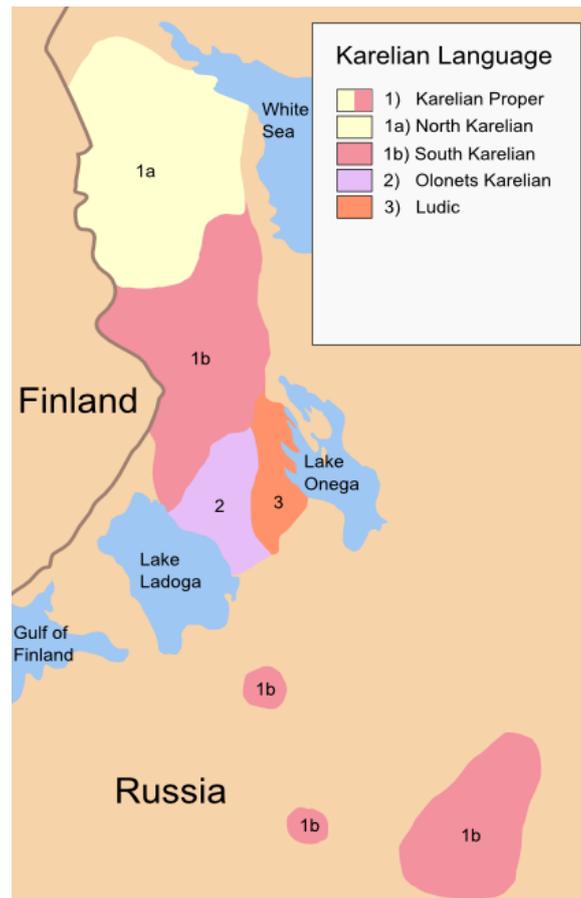
There is also a host of inherited grammatical features that differentiate between the eastern and the western Finnish dialects but connect the eastern dialects with Karelian. According to Kettunen (1960: 18-19), one of the most distinctive morphological features is that the plural genitive forms are based on the plural *i*-stem: e.g. *lehmien* ‘of the cows’ (genitive plural) vs.

the western Finnish *lehmäin; lapsien vs. lasten* ‘of the children’. Similarly, Leskinen (1979: 85) points out, the east vs. west divide is reflected in the areal distribution of the variants of the prohibitive auxiliary (*elä* ‘do not!’ in the east, *älä* in Western Finnish) and in the so-called *loi-*plural which is found only in the east, (e.g. eastern Finnish *myö tyttöläi keske*, lit. we + girls-Gen-Pl + with, ‘me and other girls; among us girls’, cp. western Finnish *me tyttöjen kesken*, lit. we + girls-Gen-Pl + with’). In the east the plural personal pronouns are *myö* ‘we’, *työ* ‘you’, *hyö* ‘they’, whereas in the western Finnish dialects they are *me* ‘we’, *te* ‘you’ and *he* ‘they’. The eastern Finnish dialects and Karelian share a number of syntactic and pragmatic features as well: Larjavaara (1986: 310-316), for instance, has shown that the particle *se* ‘it’ is used in questions which emphasise the interrogative, e.g. Karelian: *ka midä še miä roan*, Finnish: *ka, mitäs minä teen*, lit. ‘well, what [it] I do’; ‘well, what do I do, then?’.

According to Turunen (1977: 355-357), the main differences between Karelian and Finnish comprise the following features. Unlike Finnish, Karelian has word initial consonant clusters (e.g. *skruappie* ‘climb’), voiced consonants (e.g. *dabakka* ‘cigarette’, *poiga* ‘boy; son’), voiced and voiceless post-alveolar sibilants (e.g. *šizäl’i* ‘breast’) and affricates (e.g. *t’šoma* ‘beautiful’; *kattšuo* ‘to look’). Word final *-h* has been preserved (e.g. *veneh*, cp. Fin. *vene* ‘boat’) but word final *-k* has totally disappeared (e.g. *sije* ‘bandage’). Karelian has palatalized dental consonants (e.g. *nenä* ‘nose’). There also are major differences between Karelian and Finnish consonant-gradation rules and in the development of vowels in non-initial syllables. The potential mood forms of the verb ‘be’ are formed from different stems (Kar. *ol-*, Fin. *lie-*), in combined numerals the word for ‘10’ is *kymmen* in Karelian (except for some northernmost Viena dialects which exhibit the Finnish form) but *kymmenen* in Finnish, the local case systems differ from each other, and the derivation system of Karelian is much richer than that of Finnish. In addition, there are many differences in vocabulary, especially with regard to the number of Russian loan words, which is significantly higher in Karelian than in Finnish. (Turunen 1977; 1982.)

Map 13 shows the main dialects of Karelian. They are Karelian Proper, which consists of Northern Karelian and Southern Karelian (the latter includes most of the dialects spoken in Central Russia), Olonets Karelian, which includes the rest of the dialects spoken in Central Russia, and Ludic, which is a dialect of Karelian according to some scholars, but an independent Eastern Finnic language according to others.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ For an overview of the history and studies dealing with the development of the Eastern Finnic languages, see Koivisto 1990, and for general descriptions of the distinctive features of the Karelian dialects, see Bubrikh 1950; Kettunen 1960: 1-50; Virtaranta 1972.

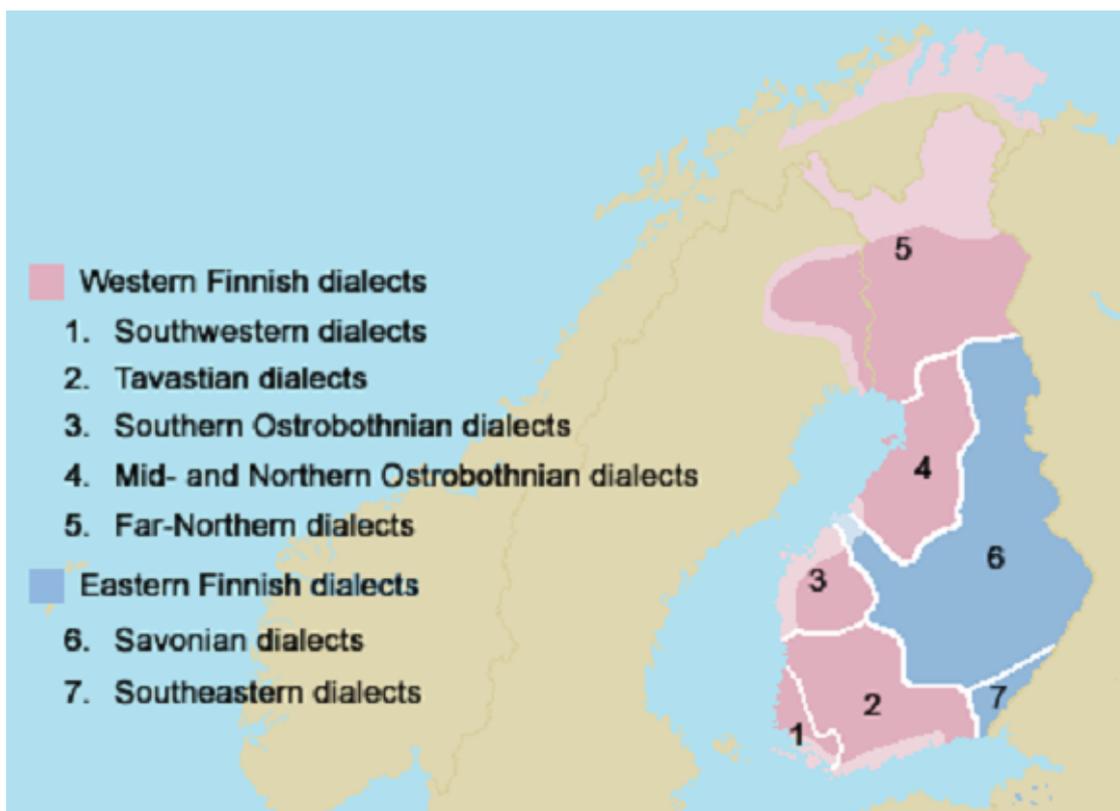


Map 13. The dialects of Karelian⁵⁹

The traditional⁶⁰ dialect division of the Finnish dialects is illustrated in Map 14. The western dialects comprise five major groups and the western dialects two; all groups have several sub-groups but only the subgroups of the far-northern dialects, the Savo dialects and the south-eastern dialects are presented here.

⁵⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karelian_language, 3.9.2010. The author has licensed the map for public use.

⁶⁰ Note that the traditional division is a language historical one, which presents the Finnish-based varieties spoken in Northern Sweden (5a and 5d) and Northern Norway (5e) as dialects of Finnish. Today, these varieties are recognised as independent Finnic languages: Meänkieli (Tornedalian Finnish; 5a and 5d) and Kainunkieli (Kven; 5e).



Map 14. The dialects of Finnish⁶¹

Given their relatively close genetic relatedness and the multifarious historical ties between Karelian and Finnish, and especially the eastern Finnish dialects, there has always been sufficient lexical similarity to support a certain degree of mutual intelligibility, at least at the most basic levels of everyday communication. This should still be the case today, given the apparent Finnicization of the Karelian varieties spoken in Finland, especially as regards vocabulary. In terms of mutual intelligibility, the eastern Finnish dialects and the Karelian dialects form a fairly smooth dialect continuum, within which mutual intelligibility is at its highest in the north and gradually diminishes towards the south.

The Northern Karelian dialects brought to Finland by refugees from Viena (see Chapter 1) did not differ significantly from Eastern Finnish, and they have a number of Finnish-like features which differentiate them from the other Karelian dialects.⁶² One example, cited by Kettunen (1960: 7) is that in Northern Karelian the consonant clusters *-lk-* and *-rk-* are subject to a clear Finnish-type consonant gradation, e.g. *jalka* 'foot': *jalat* 'feet', whereas in the other

⁶¹ <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:FinnishDialects.png>, 21.8.2013. Author: Zakuragi. The wikimedia map is based on Mikkola, Anne-Maria; Koskela, Lasse; Haapamäki-Niemi, Heljä; Julin, Anita; Kauppinen, Anneli; Nuolijärvi, Pirkko; Valkonen, Kaija. *Äidinkieli ja kirjallisuus – käsikirja*, WSOY, 2005, p. 71.

⁶² Presumably, most of the shared features derive from a common parent dialect but, given the intensity of contacts between people inhabiting the relevant areas, it is feasible that cross-linguistic interference has also occurred. However, finding evidence for dialect convergence via interference and, in particular, distinguishing external motivations from internal ones would require in-depth investigation, so this possibility must remain hypothetical.

Karelian dialects have *jallat*). He also notes that, contrary to the general Karelian tendency to voice word-internal stops in a voiced environment, *k*, *t* and *p* remain voiceless in Northern Karelian as they do in Finnish: compare, for instance, Northern Karelian *taikina* ‘dough’, *šalpa* ‘pawl’, *koti* ‘home’ with the Southern Karelian, Olonets Karelian and Ludic forms, *taigina*, *šalba*, *kodi* (ibid. 3).

There also are, however, numerous features that distinguish between Northern Karelian and the eastern Finnish dialects. For instance, in Northern Karelian consonant clusters *-sk-* and *-st-* are subject to consonant gradation, whereas in the eastern Finnish dialects, as a rule, they are not, e.g. Northern Karelian *uškuo*: *ušon* ‘to believe: I believe’, cp. Fin. *uskoa*: *uskon*; Northern Karelian *mušta*: *muššan* ‘black-Nom: of the black-Gen’, cp. Fin. *musta*: *mustan*; Northern Karelian *aštuo*: *aššun* ‘to step: I step’, Fin. *astua*: *astun* (Kettunen 1960: 8-9). There are quite a number of lexical differences, too: for example, according to Leskinen (1992), a Northern Karelian person does not *haastaa* or *puhua* ‘speak’ as an eastern Finn would do, but he *pakajau* or *pagižou* ‘speaks’; in the eastern Finnish dialects a harrow is called *karhi* or *hara*, whereas in Northern Karelian the word is *astuva*; in Northern Karelian the word for a collar bow is *vemmel*, in the eastern Finnish dialects it is *luokki* (ibid.).

The Southern Karelian dialects that were spoken in In Ilomantsi, Korpiselkä and in some villages in Soanlahti, Suistamo, Suojärvi and Impilahti (see Ch. 1) showed the features that in general differentiate Karelian from Finnish. As Turunen (1977: 358) points out, the differences between the Southern Karelian dialects and the Olonets dialects that were spoken in the other regions of Border Karelia were basically identical to the general differences between the Southern Karelian and Olonets dialects. To mention just a few of the differences that are most commonly referred to in the literature: (i) in the Olonets dialects word-final *-a* or *-ä* in two-syllable words is represented by *-u* or *-ü* respectively, e.g. Olonets Karelian *akku* vs. Southern Karelian *akka* ‘woman; wife’; (ii) the Olonets dialects have retained the diphthong of the second syllable even when the syllable is an open one, e.g. Olonets Karelian *taloj* ‘house’, *kierbäiñe* ‘a fly’; cp. Southern Karelian *talo*; *kärpäne*/*kärbäne*; (iii) the amalgamation of the functions of the adessive and the allative in the Olonets dialects so that, e.g. *brihale* can mean either ‘to the boy’ or ‘the boy has’; (iv) the substitution of the elative by the inessive in the Olonets dialects, e.g. *ota šuapku pies*, lit. ‘take + the hat + head-in’ for *ota šuapku piestä*, lit. ‘take + the hat + the head-off’; ‘take the hat off’ (Kettunen 1960: 16-18). The system of consonant gradation is more restricted and analogical in Olonets dialects and than in the Southern Karelian dialects, the first and the second person singular pronouns are *minä* and *sinä*, not *mie* and *sie* as in all other Karelian dialects, and the stem of the verb ‘to go’ has the vowel *-e-* instead of the general Karelian *-ä-* (*mennä* vs. *männä*) (Turunen 1977: 358-359).

The differences are the result partly of the history of the languages themselves and partly of sociohistorical factors. Linguistically, the main explanation is that the Olonets Karelian dialects and Ludic contain a strong Veps substratum. According to Bubrikh (1947: 119), they show Veps influence in the structure of the case system as a whole, in the forms as well as in

the functions of the individual cases, in verb morphology, and in word formation. In his 1973 paper Turunen lists 35 groups of characteristics shared by the Olonets dialects and Veps. It includes 10 phonological and 12 morphological bundles of features, several types of parallels in word formation, and striking lexical and functional similarities between the pronoun systems. He also points out numerous words that are typical of Olonets Karelian, Ludic and Veps but do not exist in other Eastern Finnic languages, e.g. *alañi* 'a mitten', *hoavo* 'a sack', *hätkestyö* 'to stay', *läylen* 'uncomfortable'. In addition to the Veps substratum, Olonets Karelian and Ludian have had a much stronger influence from Russian than the other Karelian dialects. From the 10th century until the 1930s, the Russian population in Karelia was concentrated on the isthmus between Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and the areas that lie to the east of the St. Petersburg-Murmansk railway. For centuries, contact between the Russians and the Olonets Karelians and the Ludes was much closer and more intensive than that between Russians and the other Karelians. Given all this, it can be argued, as Bubrikh did in his 1948 and 1950 papers, that the border between Southern Karelian and Olonets Karelian marks the most significant dialect border within Karelian. It also marks the most significant breach in the Eastern Finnic dialect continuum.

As I have shown in more detail elsewhere (Sarhimaa 2000b), it is not possible to prove in a scholarly sense that certain lexical and structural differences between Finnish dialects directly reflect particular socio-historical events, but in some cases the effects of realignments of the state border are rather clear, particularly in the lexicon. Most notable from a linguistic point of view, is the border shift of 1721, which seems to have marked the beginning of a peaceful period of 'normal' development of Karelian and Finnish, and the following decades were probably characterised by a gradual levelling of the differences that had arisen between the two dialects during their hundred years' separation by the earlier state border.

In practice, we do not know exactly when significant differences between the easternmost varieties of Finnish and the (Border) Karelian dialects arose, because very little is known of the history and development of the Finnic varieties (see Section 2.1). On the one hand, the earliest documentation of Karelian speech that was studied by Finnish linguists in the late 18th century testifies to a remarkable grammatical affinity among all the Olonets Karelian dialects, in spite of their formal separation during the 17th century. Another indication of the linguistic similarity of these dialects is that all the 35 features that Turunen has shown to be typically Olonets Karelian (see the discussion above), were well-represented in the older forms of the Olonets dialects on the Finnish side of the border. On the other hand, in his 1994 paper on the specific cultural features of three Finnish North Karelian villages, Hakamies (1994: 261) reported that several informants told him about considerable differences between the easternmost Russian-side Olonets dialects and the varieties that were spoken in the eastern parts of Border Karelia at the beginning of the 20th century. To some extent, these differences probably derive from the strengthening of Finnish influence on the westernmost Karelian dialects: as Hämynen (1993: 537-574) has shown, in the period of

1830-40, the population of Border Karelia almost trebled, mainly due to the immigration of Lutheran Finns from different parts of Finland.

Monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism among Karelian Finns

As pointed out in Chapter 1, there has been no systematic research on the varieties of Karelian spoken in Finland today, but now that the activities of Karelian speakers in recent years has led to an expansion in the use of Karelian into several important, new, modern domains (see Sections 4.6 and 4.7), it may be assumed that the time has come for systematic corpus planning of Karelian. For instance, it is clear that if Karelian is to be used effectively in all possible situations new vocabulary needs to be borrowed or invented. There is also an urgent need for studies concerned with the standards of written Karelian used in Finland, i.e. on their lexical and grammatical characteristics in general and compared to those used in Russia.

Various aspects of the socio-historical setting and the developments which have led to the current language contact situation involving Finnish and the Karelian varieties spoken in Finland have been discussed above. The changes in the dominance relations between these languages and in the stability of the contact situation have been outlined in Sections 2.1 and 2.2. In sum, the situation is as follows. Very little is known about the early history of Karelian-Finnish contacts in Finland (see, Ch. 1 and Sections 2.1 and 5.1). The linguistic status of Finnish and Karelian is exactly the same in the terms of “originality”: both are autochthonous languages in Finland and both have been spoken there for just as long a time. (see Sections 2.1 and 2.2). During the 19th and the 20th centuries Finnish gradually became the dominant language (see Ch. 1 and Section 2.2). As a language closely related to Finnish (especially to the Eastern Finnish dialects, see above) and spoken on the easternmost fringe of the Finnish speaking area, Karelian was largely ignored by the majority of Finns (see Sections 2.1 and 4.5). The only exceptions were those Finns living in the vicinity of Karelian speakers, on the one hand, and the builders of the Finnish nation, on the other, whose agenda of “one country, one language” also included speakers of Karelian. This situation did not change during or after World War II, when Karelian speakers lost their homes in the areas surrendered to the Soviet Union and were resettled in other parts of Finland. They were treated as Finns and no official attention was paid to their need to maintain and develop their own language and culture (See especially Sections 2.1 and 2.2.); this was left to the municipality associations (see especially Sections 2.3 and 4.5). This situation began to change in 1995, when the Karelian Language Society was established. (These issues are discussed throughout the current report).

Today all Karelian speakers are Karelian-Finnish bilinguals and for many of them Finnish is presumably the stronger language. At any rate, Finnish is the language they use in most domains and Karelian is largely reserved for private domains (see Section 4.7). There is no research on their language acquisition, but it is clear that they can only have learned Karelian at home and it is likely that in most cases their Finnish has also been acquired at home, or at least in their early childhood. There is also no information on their command of lan-

guages other than Karelian and Finnish, such as Swedish, which could be acquired early by, for example, the children of a Karelian speaker and a Swedish-speaking Finn, or indeed any other language spoken in a mixed-marriage family.

It is generally known that active users of Karelian are outnumbered by those who understand it but do not actively speak it. What is not known, however, is what level of command of the language is possessed by those who still know it, whether actively or passively. There is also no information about the subjective views of Karelian speakers on its practical usability, e.g. whether it is possible to talk about any topic in Karelian, or whether the written forms of Karelian used in current publications are satisfactory or even understandable by all of its speakers. There is no research on actual language use, i.e. the ways in which speakers of Karelian speak or write their language in their everyday lives, in language courses or clubs, when writing for their municipality association publications or on Internet forums, and so on.

2.5.2 The effects of language contacts on Karelian in Finland

Since there is no linguistic research of any kind on current Karelian varieties in Finland, there also is no information on the effects that the bilingualism or the multilingualism of speakers of Karelian have or have had on any of the languages that they know and use. The effects of Karelian-Finnish language contacts on the traditional Karelian dialects of Finland have been discussed in scholarly literature only by Turunen (1975; 1977), and only with regard to coordination and subordination and Finnish loanwords. According to Turunen, the Border Karelian dialects contained two old, borrowed subordinative conjunctions, *kuin* ‘when, as, than, until, if’ and *jotta* ‘so that’ (1977: 360) and at least four other (obviously in Turunen’s mind newer or codeswitched) loan conjunctions, viz. *että* ‘that’, *jos* ‘if; if – then’, *koska* ‘because’ and *ja* ‘and’ (ibid. 362-363). He also mentions Finnish influence on Karelian sentence structure, giving as an example the following utterance taken from a published collection of Border Karelian dialect transcriptions (KKN II): *šuumma nähä, jos on naihi* ‘we will see if it is a woman’ (Turunen 1977: 363).

According to Turunen (1977: 366), the closing of the border between Finland and Soviet Russia in 1918 marked the beginning of an influx of Finnish loanwords into all the Border Karelian varieties. As Turunen shows (1977: 366-367), by the late 1920s Finnish words were to be found in all the domains of everyday life: familial and other interpersonal relations (*äid’i* ‘mother’, *izä* ‘father’, *vaimo* ‘wife’, *eukko* ‘wife, old woman’, *ihmiñe* ‘human being’, *tontti* ‘simple-minded person (< Fin. *tonttu*); *herra* ‘master’), everyday life (*kananmuna* ‘egg’, *juonduvärkit* ‘drinking vessels’, *lihakauppu* ‘the butcher’s’, *puodi* ‘a shop’, *puod’ilas* ‘shop assistant’, *tagamaksu* ‘debt’), working life (*mualari* ‘painter’, *miärypäivy* ‘appointed day’, *kauppu* ‘dealing, shop’, *kaupanteko* ‘dealing, trading’) and recent events (*soda* ‘war’, *pyssy* ‘weapon’).

Today the tendency towards a language shift from Karelian to Finnish is a fact – active speakers of Karelian tend to belong to the older generations – but there is no information on

the patterns of this language shift. The assimilation of the Karelian-speaking population is undoubtedly the result of major changes in Finnish society at large, as well as the historical events detailed in the earlier sections of this report. Factors whose significance cannot be understated in this connection include internal migration in Finland during the immediate post-WWII period, the accelerated urbanisation of the country from the 1960s onwards, and the socio-economical changes brought about by the introduction of the comprehensive school system and the decentralisation of higher education in the 1970s, which provided the younger generations with better, socially more egalitarian access to education than ever before.

2.5.3 Perceptions of learnability and willingness to use Karelian

It is very clear that there are a considerable number of Karelian activists – language activists, authors, writers, musicians, theatre makers, etc. – as well as many people who consider being Karelian and speaking Karelian to be a constitutive part of their identities, but so far there has been no systematically collected information concerning the willingness of Karelian speakers to maintain their heritage language or their perceptions of its learnability.

Describing the current language ideology prevailing in Finland is not easy either. On the one hand, as the whole discussion above shows, there is clearly a place for discourses concerned with minority languages in general and Karelian in particular. On the other hand, it is very clear that such discourses as do exist have been initiated by Karelian language activists and forcibly brought to the attention of representatives of the Finnish politics and administration. Very little initiative, if any, has come from the latter, and such concessions as have been made to Karelian speakers are still rather modest (see Sections 4.1 – 4.4 and 4.8). I should say that there is a great deal of good will towards maintaining existing forms of cultural and linguistic diversity and even towards taking concrete measures to support it. It is also clear that the prospects for Karelian are becoming brighter than ever before, mainly due to hard work by language and cultural activists and their increasing visibility in Finnish society and academia.

Today the Karelian-speaking minority in Finland seem to have good opportunities for maintaining and revitalising their language. As this report shows, they have the capacity to support the implementation of their heritage language. Opportunities to use Karelian are very restricted (see especially Section 4.7) and in this respect there is still a great deal of work to be done, not only by users of the language themselves but also by Finnish society at large, i.e. the decision makers, all those who know about the Karelian minority and their language and are in a position to inform ordinary Finns about their existence, and ordinary Finns themselves, whose attitudes towards linguistic and cultural difference ultimately determine the extent to which languages other than Finnish can be used in everyday life. A public, collective desire to maintain and develop Karelian as part of the historical diversity of Finland still needs to be built up.

2.6 Summary

Up to the Second World War, Karelian was an autochthonous territorial minority language in Finland. Due to the surrender of territory to the Soviet Union, it became a non-territorial, autochthonous language whose speakers are spread all over the country, with concentrations in North Karelia and the largest Finnish cities. Today Karelian is used as a vernacular language by ca. 5,000 people. It is estimated that there are thousands more potential speakers of the language and people who have a passive knowledge of it. The main vehicular language is Finnish, and Karelian is typically spoken by members of the older generation, but it also appears to be used actively by some young people, especially in Eastern Finland.

Karelian is almost exclusively used in private domains, but to some extent it is used as the means of communication within the various municipality associations, too. Otherwise opportunities to use Karelian are almost non-existent. Currently, Karelian is slowly becoming more visible and its status as an independent language, distinct from Finnish, is gradually becoming understood and recognised by the authorities and the public at large. The main obstacle has been, and still is, lack of precision in the demarcation of the Karelian-speaking minority from the Finnish-speaking majority, not only by the latter but by the former, too. Post-war negative attitudes towards the “Russian-sounding” Karelians has slowly changed into moderate curiosity about their cultural characteristics and a rather simplistic but well-meant ethnicization of certain things as Karelian, even though these have often been foreign to Karelian Finns themselves.

In Finnish legislation Karelian is grouped with the hundred or so “other” languages spoken in Finland. It is not mentioned in the constitution, as Finnish, Swedish and Sámi are, and it does not have a language law of its own as do Swedish and Sámi. Since December 2009 Karelian has been defined as one of the minority languages that Finland obliges itself to report on in the periodical report required by the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. At the moment several initiatives made by the Karelian Language Society are being processed within various government departments.

The current language situation in Finland is that there are two national languages (Finnish and Swedish), one indigenous language (Sámi, which is a term used in the legislation to refer to the three Sámi languages spoken in Finland: Northern Sámi, Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi) and “Roma and the other languages”. The last category includes the only autochthonous minority language, Karelian. The goal of official language policies is to ensure the rights of speakers of Swedish and the Sámi languages. Legislation concerning education seeks to safeguard the rights of speakers of all other languages to learn and thus maintain their language, but it does so in a way which seems to favour recent immigrant languages at the expense of older minority languages. For example, certain state subventions can only be obtained for the teaching of immigrant languages, and stricter criteria seem to be applied when it comes to funding the teaching older minority languages other than the Finnish and Swedish sign languages, i.e. Romani, Karelian, Tatar, and Yiddish (see Section 4.3).

There is no official standard form of Karelian in Finland, but there is now quite a lot of published writing (see Sections 2.3 and). There also is no information on the similarities and differences between the form of written Karelian used in Finland and the standardised varieties that are used in Russia. At the moment there is no school teaching of Karelian, but there is a plan to begin this in Nurmes, where the first Karelian language nest has been operating since 2009. There also is an initiative by the Karelian Language Society to produce school books and other teaching materials in Karelian for teaching the language itself and a few other subjects (see Section 4.7).

In comparison to the long centuries when Karelians were the passive subjects of ever changing rulers – Russian, Swedish, Finnish – the present is characterised by unprecedented activity on the part of Karelian Finns, accompanied with high hopes of finally achieving recognition as a linguistic and cultural minority and becoming supported as such. Some very promising steps have already been taken, such as the decree defining Karelian as a traditional minority language, in terms of the *European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages*. As the current report shows, many measures are either being planned or have already commenced. A great deal still needs to be done, but, most importantly, *ruaje allul on* 'the work has started'.

III. Data Sampling and Methods

3.1 Fieldwork

The fieldworkers. The survey was done by means of a mail questionnaire, so no fieldworkers were involved. The interview was conducted by five female researchers: Leena Joki, Pirkko Nuolijärvi (both from the Institute for the Languages of Finland), Anneli Sarhimaa (University of Mainz, Northern European and Baltic languages), Lea Siilin (University of Eastern Finland, Russian language) and Kati Parppei (University of Eastern Finland, History). One of the interviewers is in her thirties, one in her forties, two in their fifties and one in her sixties. Three are professors of different linguistic disciplines (Nuolijärvi, Sarhimaa, Siilin), one has an MA degree in Finnish and Russian (Joki) and one holds a doctor's degree in history, specializing in the history of Karelia (Parppei). All the fieldworkers are experienced interviewers so there was no need for any extra training. They are all native speakers of Finnish, but know Karelian as well: Siilin is a native speaker of Finland Karelian, Joki and Sarhimaa have worked on Karelian many years, Nuolijärvi has acquired a basic knowledge of Karelian as a part of her studies of Finnish, and Parppei has acquired a fairly good practical command of Karelian. Nuolijärvi is a fluent speaker of Swedish while the other interviewers have an excellent receptive and adequate active command of the language. Four of the interviewers (Joki, Sarhimaa, Siilin and Parppei) know Russian. All of them have an active command of English and, except for Parppei, German.

The fieldwork schedule. The fieldwork proceeded without any major deviations from the fieldwork plan. The mail survey, which covered the entire country, was sent out in January 2011 and the last responses that could be included in the data set were received in early March 2011. A few questionnaires had to be excluded, since they arrived after the scanned data had been already sent to Vienna for processing. The interviews took place in December 2010 and February-March 2011 in Helsinki (3 focus group interviews and 6 individual interviews), Joensuu (1 focus group interview and 3 individual interviews), Kuopio (2 focus group interviews) Nurmes (2 focus group interviews) and Varkaus (1 individual interview).

The societal context of the fieldwork period. At the time of the fieldwork, Finland was preparing for the Parliamentary elections of April 2011 and this made it rather difficult to get politicians interested in being interviewed. There were two important societal events involving Karelian. Firstly, in December 2010 the outgoing Parliament had discussed possible changes to the constitution of Finland, among them a proposal to have Karelian mentioned as an autochthonous minority language. This proposal did not receive any public attention, and none of the interviewees seemed to be aware of it, so it is likely that it did not have any particular effect on the fieldwork. The other event was more widely known among Karelian Finns: on 11 January 2011, Karelian became one of the languages which can be reported as a mother tongue in the official Population Register of Finland. The Karelian Language Society

and municipality associations were very active in informing their membership about this change and it seems very likely that it had a positive effect on Karelian Finns' willingness to participate in the ELDIA survey and interviews.

Another factor conducive to a positive attitude towards the survey was the intensive information campaign on the purpose and aims of ELDIA, which preceded the fieldwork: all the key stakeholders and stakeholder groups (Karelian activists, the Karelian Language Society, municipality associations, representatives of the Orthodox Church, the Karelian League, key politicians, etc.) were contacted and informed by Sarhimaa, and they all spread the word, especially by way of their own newsletters and mailing lists. A small article about ELDIA written by Sarhimaa was published prior to the fieldwork in *Karjalan Heimo* (9-10: 158), the journal of the Karelian Cultural Association, which has the largest readership among Finland Karelians. Archbishop Leo, the head of the Orthodox Church of Finland and Director of the Karelian Language Society, appealed to Karelian speakers via the municipality organisations, encouraging participation in the ELDIA survey and interviews.

The social contexts of the interviews. The interviews took place in public spaces (meeting rooms at different institutes), with the exception of two individual interviews which were conducted in the interviewer's and the interviewee's homes in Joensuu, and one interview which took place in the semi-public setting of a hotel room in Joensuu. The individual and focus group interviews carried out in Helsinki took place at the Institute for the Languages of Finland, except for the interview with Karelian activists, which took place in the meeting room of the Orthodox Synod. Orthodox congregations provided the locations for focus group interviews in Joensuu, Nurmes and Kuopio and these were, with the exception of Joensuu, free of charge, which testifies to the positive reception of the project.

The sampling frame for the Control Group. The Control Group consists of all the other residents of Finland. The sampling frame for choosing respondents for the Control Group survey questionnaire was the official Population Register of Finland, from which a Control Group was extracted by means of stratified systematic random sampling, using diversified proportional allocation (age, gender, mother tongue, domicile, etc.).

Sampling procedures. Stratified random sampling with proportional allocation, which had been planned for the ELDIA surveys in general, was successfully carried out with respect to the Control Group sampling, but it could only be partially implemented with the Karelian Finn group. The recipients of the minority questionnaire were sampled in such a way that it was as comprehensive as possible in including people originating in the various traditional dialect areas (i.e. Viena Karelia and each Border-Karelian municipality which prior to World War II had a Karelian-speaking population). Proportional allocation was practiced to the extent that it was possible: each municipality association was randomly sampled as an individual stratum so that each sample fraction correctly reflected the proportion of that association's members relative to the total number of members of Karelian Finn municipality organisations. Screening was carried out to guarantee the mutual exclusiveness of the sample subpopulations. However, due to problems in defining the minority study population

and establishing the sampling frame, the stratification of the Karelian Finn sample was not entirely comprehensive especially with regard to age cohorts: since the overwhelming majority of the members of the municipality associations belong to the older generation of Karelian Finns, the sample excluded the most of the middle-aged and younger members.

3.2 The sample survey

3.2.1 The minority questionnaire

Two survey questionnaires were used, one for the target group [the MinLG at issue] and the other one for the control group [the MajLG at issue]. The target group survey questionnaire consisted of 63 questions, or, more precisely, question sets, since many questions had a number of alternatives that increased the actual number of questions to 373. These included 31 open-ended questions, some of them alternatives. The control group survey questionnaire consisted of 47 question sets, containing 305 questions altogether, 20 of which were open-ended.

Initially, it was planned that the questionnaire would be tested and revised in two pilot studies before being distributed and implemented. However, Jarmo Lainio (University of Stockholm), who was in charge of the preparation of the questionnaire had to withdraw from the project, which caused a serious delay in the detailed planning of the survey. In the end it was not possible to amend the questionnaire on the basis of preliminary pilot studies and in consequence it proved to be unwieldy and overlong. Nevertheless, it fulfilled its main purpose and provided the requested data for the CSR.

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

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

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

2. Background to language use (7–27)

This extensive section mapped the stage at which the respondent had learned the minority and majority languages, information about language use with family members and relatives such as spouses, children, parents and grandparents, sisters and brothers and other family members. Language use at school age was investigated separately.

3. Language skills (28–32)

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

4. Attitude towards various languages and willingness to use them (33–59)

This was the largest and most complex section in the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to evaluate various statements about the use and mixed use of the minority and majority languages. Several variables were used to cover the informant's attitude towards language use in various contexts. The respondents were asked to describe the 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 the respondent's ideas about correct language usage.

5. Language use in public and private domains (60–61)

This brief section supplemented the two preceding ones by asking about the presence of the minority language in a number of public domains.

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

The last section sought to find out what use the respondents make of media in various languages. The same selection as earlier was repeated here: the minority language, the majority language, English, any other languages. Both sets of questions focused on reading and writing.

3.2.2 The questionnaire survey of Karelian Finns

Data-collecting mode. The questionnaire survey of Karelian Finns was implemented as a mail survey with respondent self-completion. The questionnaire was made available in four different varieties: Finnish, Viena Karelian, South Karelian and Olonets Karelian, and the respondents were free to choose which questionnaire they wanted to fill in.

Target population. Defining the target population of Karelian speakers turned out to be very problematic. In the first place they do not have a geographical core area in Finland since they are the descendents of post-WWI refugees and WWII evacuees from areas ceded to the Soviet Union who were resettled all over Finland after the war, and they have been extremely mobile since the 1950s. Secondly, until January 2011 it was not possible to report Karelian as one's mother tongue in the Population Register so the register could not be used for sampling. Thirdly, Finnish legislation concerning privacy protection changed in December 2009, making samples on the basis of religious affiliation illegal, so it was not possible use the Population Register to draw a sample of Orthodox Finns born in the traditional Karelian-speaking areas and their descendants either. Given the traditional correlation between being Orthodox and being a speaker of Karelian, we considered trying to get access to the central register of the Orthodox Church of Finland, but the privacy protection law of 2009 excluded that possibility, too, since such a sample would automatically reveal the respondents' religious affiliation and thus be illegal.

The sampling frame for Karelian Finns. Consequently, the only possible sampling frame was the member registers of the municipality associations and the Karelian Language Society.

Having obtained the permission of each organisation involved⁶³, we extracted the member lists of the Border-Karelian municipality associations from the central register of the Karelian League (Fin. *Karjalan Liitto*) and those of the Viena Karelian associations from the member register of the Karelian Cultural Association (Fin. *Karjalan Sivistysseura*). The sampling frame is summarised below:

- Korpiselkä-seura ry.
- Korpiselän pitäjäseura ry.
- Salmi-Seura ry.
- Suistamo Seura ry.
- Suistamon Perinnesseura ry.
- Suojärven pitäjäseura ry.
- Impilahti-Seura
- Ent. Salmilaiset ry.
- Helsingin seudun Soanlahtelaiset ry.
- Helsingin Suojärveläisten Seura ry.
- Pälkjärven pitäjäseura
- Soanlahtelaisten seura ry.
- Karjalan Kielen Seura
- Karjalan Sivistysseura ry.
- Pohjois-Viena -seura
- Kuusamo-Viena-seura ry.
- Uhtua-seura
- (Vuokkiniemi Seura ry.; see footnote⁵⁶.)

The sample size and response rate. Of the 1,034 questionnaires sent out 356 were fully completed (i.e. over 50% of the questions had been answered) and 16 partially completed (i.e. less than 50% of questions had been answered) or invalid. 285 respondents had used the Finnish version of the questionnaire and 71 one of the Karelian versions. 24 of the latter had chosen the Olonets Karelian version (KRL 13), 20 the South Karelian version (KRL 20) and 13 the North Karelian version (KRL 16).

3.2.3 The Control Group questionnaire

The CG survey questionnaire was based on the contents and structure of the minority-language survey. However, several parts of it were shortened, especially with respect to the use and adopting of the minority language. The major differences from the MinLG survey are the following: a detailed section about cross- and intergenerational language use was changed into a few focussed questions, and questions concerning attitudes were either changed or replaced (e.g in many cases studies questions were asked about two different minority languages; in the current case study, CG respondents were asked about Karelian and Estonian in Finland).

⁶³ Only one Viena Karelian municipal association, the Vuokkiniemi Seura, refused to give permission to use its register, basing this on the Finnish privacy protection legislation.

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

3.2.4 The Control Group questionnaire survey

Data-collecting mode. The Control Group survey was conducted in the same way as the questionnaire survey of the minority, i.e. as a mail survey with respondent self-completion. It was sent out in the two national languages of Finland, Finnish and Swedish.

The target population and sampling frame. The sampling frame for the Control Group survey was the Population Register and the target population was the entire (officially registered) population of Finland. The sampling was carried out using proportional allocation on the basis of the registered mother tongue, so, for example, the proportion of those who had registered Swedish as their mother tongue reflected the 5.75% proportion of Swedish speakers within the total population of Finland. The proportional allocation of the recipients of the questionnaire among the different mother-tongue groups is given in Table 3.

The sample size and response rate. As shown by Table 3, 800 Control Group questionnaires were sent out, 729 of them in Finnish (to respondents who had registered Finnish or a language other than Swedish as their mother tongue) and 46 in Swedish (to respondents who had registered Swedish as their mother tongue). 144 of the returned questionnaires were fully completed and valid; 2 were only partially completed or otherwise invalid. 131 respondents had completed the Finnish-language questionnaire and 12 the Swedish-language questionnaire.

The proportional allocation of receivers of the CG questionnaire according to mother tongue				
Mother tongue	Frequency ⁶⁴	Percent	Cumulative frequency	Cumulative percent
Arabic	1	0.13	1	0.13
Bengali	1	0.13	2	0.25
German	1	0.13	3	0.38
English	5	0.63	8	1.00
Finnish	729	91.13	737	92.13
French	1	0.13	738	92.25
Punjabi	1	0.13	739	92.38
Polish	1	0.13	740	92.50
Romani	1	0.13	741	92.63
Russian	10	1.25	751	93.88
Swedish	46	5.75	797	99.63
Vietnamese	3	0.38	800	100

Table 3. The proportional allocation of receivers of the CG questionnaire according to mother tongue

⁶⁴ Equals the number of the questionnaire receivers sampled to represent the population stratum at issue.

3.3 The individual interviews with Karelian Finns

The sampling frame of the interviewees. As described above, the questionnaire-survey sample of Karelian speakers was, as expected, heavily skewed towards the oldest age group. It was clear from the very beginning that sampling the interviewees for the age-stratified individual and focus group interviews from the questionnaire respondents would not work for the middle-aged and younger age cohorts. Since the fieldwork was heavily delayed by the postponement of the questionnaire preparation during WP3 and the schedules of the fieldworkers had to be taken into account, it had to be carried out in February-March 2011. So I decided to sample all the interviewees via the cooperating Karelian organisations, together with my own networks and those of the other interviewers. Given the large number of mostly unrelated people who suggested possible interviewees, any snowball effect in the sampling should, in my view, be fairly small: As will be shown below, most of the participants of any given age-group interview did not know each other.

Selecting and contacting interviewees. The informants for the individual interviews were selected from the above convenience sample by means of complicated rounds of telephone and email inquiries carried out by Parpei in January 2011. Finding informants and organising the individual interviews was done at the same time as finding informants and organising the focus group interviews with Karelian Finns representing the defined age cohorts (see Section 4.1). As expected, it was very difficult to find representatives of the two youngest age cohorts who felt fluent enough to give individual interviews in Karelian; it seemed a little easier to persuade them to participate in group interviews.⁶⁵ In selecting the interviewees, Parpei tried to ensure dialectal representativeness, but this was not always possible, due to organisational or scheduling problems, or simply a scarcity of candidates of suitable age.

In order to make the interview phase as time and cost effective and as possible, a great deal of effort was dedicated to creating geographically sensible “tours” for the fieldworkers who, given the extreme geographical dispersion of Karelian speakers, were destined to do quite a lot of travelling in different parts of the country. Thus, where several people representing a given age cohort were willing to give an interview, other parameters being more or less equal, priority was given to the one who lived in a place that could be visited conveniently during one of the focus-group interview tours and who also could adjust her/his own schedule to the tour schedule of the fieldworkers. This was not always possible, and so in some cases a fieldworker had to make a special trip to make the interview at a time and place convenient for the interviewee.

Background Information form. At the beginning of the interview session each interviewee filled in a two-page Background Information form (Appendix 1). This consisted of a selection of questions drawn from the ELDIA mail questionnaire. Information was gathered on the

⁶⁵ In the end, of the four individual interviews with representatives of the age cohorts 18-29 and 30-49 only one was in Karelian. On the other hand, Karelian was spoken to a varying extent in every single focus age group interview, which suggests that it was, perhaps, easier to use the language in a Karelian-speaking group than alone with an interviewer.

interviewee's education, current profession, mother tongue, mobility, language use in her/his childhood home and language use within their own family. The form was in Finnish and it was completed in Finnish.

Recording device. The individual interviews were recorded with a Zoom H2 Digital Handy Recorder.

Interview template. The interviews followed the general ELDIA interview template, which was slightly modified into the form presented in Appendices 2a (the Karelian version) and 2b (the Finnish version).

Interview with a male in the age-group 18-29 (Identification code: FI_KRL_IAG1m). The interview was carried out by Joki on 22 March 2011, in the meeting room at the Institute for the Languages of Finland (KOTUS). The interviewee is a university student whose father's family came from the Border Karelian municipality of Salmi. He does not speak Karelian himself, but in his childhood he heard it spoken, especially by neighbours, and he understands it fairly well. The interview language was Finnish. The interviewee analyses the current position and prospects of the Karelian language from a variety of relevant viewpoints. He would like Karelian to have a future but is somewhat sceptical about the language's real chances, and stresses especially the role of English in the modern world.

Interview with a female speaker in the age-group 18-29 (Identification code: FI_KRL_IAG1f). The interview was carried out by Joki on 3 March 2011, in a group-work room at the Varkaus town library. It took place in Karelian. The interviewee's small child, with whom she speaks Karelian, was present as well, occasionally interrupting the discussion and thus creating parallel discourses to the interview itself; on these occasions, the mother spoke Karelian and the child Finnish. The interviewee has had a tertiary education. In her childhood, her family was monolingual Finnish-speaking, but today she occasionally uses Karelian with her father and one of her siblings. She speaks the Olonets (Salmi) dialect of Karelian, which she learned much later than Finnish, but since the spring of 2011 she has declared Karelian to be her mother tongue in the Population Register. She is a very active user of Karelian who regularly uses it in writing and eagerly seeks new contacts with other Karelian speakers. She has a deep insight into the present-day position and problems of Karelian in Finland. She is cautiously positive about the future of the language.

Interview with a male in the age-group 30-49 (Identification code: FI_KRL_IAG2m). The interview was carried out by Joki in the meeting room at the Institute for the Languages of Finland on 17 March 2011. It was conducted in Finnish. The interviewee's grandmother on his mother's side had come from Salmi and had spoken Karelian with her siblings when he was a child, so he had learned some words and idioms and acquired a fairly good passive command of the language. The interviewee has a university degree. He is interested in his Karelian roots and has genealogy as a hobby. He stresses the role of English in today's world and is sceptical about the long-term maintenance of Karelian in Finland. He liked the inter-

view questions and said he was very happy for to have been made to think about issues that had never occurred to him before.

Interview with a female in the age-group 30-49 (Identification code: FI_KRL_IIAG3f). The interview was carried out by Siilin in her own home in Joensuu on 26 December 2010. The interviewee has Karelian-speaking roots on both from her mother's side and her father's side; the family comes from Suojärvi (mother's side) and Suistamo (father's side). In her childhood, Olonets and South Karelian were spoken at home, alongside Finnish, every day. She does not speak it herself, but she has an excellent passive knowledge of the language. She has a strong Karelian Finnish identity within which the language itself does not play any part, but she regrets that she did not learn Karelian when she had the opportunity. She has a degree from a Finnish University of Applied Sciences (Fin. *ammattikorkeakoulututkinto*) and has learned several "useful foreign languages" in the course of her studies. In her view, Karelian does not have any function in contemporary Finnish society and is therefore a dying language. It should be supported, however, and it might even be revitalised and maintained, especially in those areas where there still are concentrations of Karelian speakers.

Interview with a male speaker in the age-group 50-64 (Identification code: FI_KRL_IIAG4m). The interview was carried out by Joki on 16 February 2011, in Joensuu in room 319 at Hotel Aada. It was conducted in Karelian. The interviewee grew up in a trilingual family: his father spoke Finnish and Olonets Karelian with his mother and Olonets Karelian with the children, while his mother spoke Finnish with his father and Finnish and Swedish with the children. The interviewee considers his mother tongue to be Finnish. In his childhood he spoke Finnish with his siblings, but today he speaks some Karelian with them, too. With his spouse and his own children he speaks Finnish and Karelian. He has a vocational education (Fin. *ammattikoulututkinto*). He has genealogy as a hobby and is a very active user of Karelian, who also regularly writes in it and publishes in both the old and the new media. He is very optimistic about the future of Karelian in Finland and stresses the need for Karelian Finns to be active in this matter.

Interviews with two female speakers in the age-group 50-64 (Identification code interviewee A: FI_KRL_IIAG4f_a; Identification code interviewee B: FI_KRL_IIAG4f_b). Due to a confusion concerning one interviewee's age, two female informants representing this age cohort were interviewed. The interviews were carried out individually (one in the morning, the other in the afternoon) by Joki on 2 March 2011, in a meeting room at the Institute for the Languages of Finland. Both interviews were conducted in Karelian and include highly relevant information for ELDIA, so I decided to make an exception and include them both in the research database. **Interviewee A** (Identification code: FI_KRL_IIAG4f_a) learned Karelian alongside Finnish at home and considers each to be a mother tongue. Her parents spoke Olonets Karelian with each other and with the children, and even today she regularly uses it with her father and siblings (her mother is deceased); she speaks Finnish with her spouse. She has had a tertiary education. She gives a multifaceted, insightful analysis of the position and prospects of Karelian in Finland. She also gives reports of Olonets Karelian and Viena

Karelian conversations in which each speaker speaks her/his own dialect. Interestingly, **Interviewee B's** (FI_KRL_IIAG4f_b) parents used Olonets Karelian and South Karelian alongside Finnish with each other and with their only child. Interviewee B considers her mother tongue to be Finnish. She has had a university education. During the interview she consciously sought for idiomatic Karelian expressions and paid attention to grammatical correctness. She points out that knowing Russian and using it every day has probably affected her Karelian.

Interview with a male speaker in the age-group 65+ (Identification code: FI_KRL_IIAG5m). The interview was carried out by Joki on 25 February 2011, in a meeting room at the Institute for the Languages of Finland. It was conducted in Karelian; it was interrupted briefly about 7 minutes after it began, when the interview received a phone call. The interviewee's childhood family was exclusively Olonets Karelian-speaking: his parents spoke only Karelian with each other and with the children, and the latter spoke only Karelian among themselves. Today the interviewee and his siblings use Finnish with each other. With his own children and grandchildren he speaks Finnish, but he uses Karelian actively and he writes regularly in Karelian, especially on the Internet. He has had a vocational education and is an amateur historian, with a very critical attitude towards stories that are presented as historical truths. His attitude to language endangerment with regard to Karelian and in general is very pragmatic and neutral. He emphasizes the role of cultural and historical knowledge and one's own genealogy as constitutive factors of Karelian identities today.

Interview with a female speaker aged 65+ (Identification code: FI_KRL_IIAG5f). The interview was carried out by Joki on 8 March 2011, in a meeting room at the Institute for the Languages of Finland. It was conducted in Karelian, but when she wanted to discuss more abstract matters the interviewee switched to Finnish. The language of the interviewee's childhood home was mainly Olonets Karelian: Her parents spoke only Karelian with each other and with the children, the children spoke mostly Finnish among themselves, but the interviewee sometimes spoke Karelian with her younger siblings. She considers her mother tongue to be Karelian. Today she speaks only Finnish with her siblings and with her spouse. The interviewee has had a university education. She stresses that her identity would be different if the general attitude towards Karelian had been more positive when she was at school.

3.4 The focus group interviews

3.4.1 The focus group interviews with Karelian Finns

Adjustments to the ELDIA interview plan. The general ELDIA interview plan had to be adjusted with regard to the number and character of the focus groups. Since there was no chance of forming a focus group of representatives of Karelian media, and given that there are no Karelian Finn politicians or officials, it was only possible to carry out group interviews with the activists and the age focus groups. An adjusted question frame which faithfully

reflected the planned thematic structure of the group interviews was used (Appendices 3a and 3b).

The sampling frame for interviewees. Like the individual interviewees, the focus group interviewees were sampled with the help of the cooperating Karelian organisations and via networks of my own and of the other interviewees (for details, see the beginning of Ch. 3).

Selecting and contacting interviewees. The main selection criterion for interviewees in the focus group Karelian activists was activity with regard to central issues of language politics: the interviewees selected had been enthusiastically involved in, for instance, promoting the status of Karelian in Finland or expanding the domains of its use by writing books, creating Internet sites or making Karelian-language music. The criteria for selecting interviewees for the age focus groups were an active command of Karelian, dialectal representativeness, the ability to fit in with the gradually developing interview schedule and her/his willingness to travel to the place which was the most easily accessible for the participants and field-workers. The focus-group interviewees were contacted at the same time as those interviewed individually and in the same way (see the beginning of Ch. 3). Quite a lot of adjustment was needed to suit everyone's needs the different needs: for example, some people who had originally been chosen as participants of a focus group were in the end interviewed individually and replaced by someone else in the group interview.

The background information form. The interviewees filled in the same background information form as those interviewed individually (see Ch. 3 and Appendix 1).

Recording devices. The group interviews were all video recorded with a Panasonic HDC-TM700 Full HD 3MOS Camcorder and audio recorded as well with a Zoom H2 Digital Handy Recorder.

The interview with Karelian activists. The interview was made by Sarhimaa and Siilin, with the assistance of Joki, in the meeting room of the Orthodox synod in Helsinki on 12 February 2011. The interview was bilingual: Siilin and all but one interviewees spoke predominantly Karelian, Sarhimaa and one interviewee (FI-KRL-FGA-08m), predominantly Finnish. The interviewers took turns at moderating the discussion. All the participants were free to use the language they felt most comfortable with and to change languages whenever and as often as they wanted. The atmosphere was friendly and relaxed and no participant was particularly dominating. Most of the eight interviewees⁶⁶ knew each other at least superficially. They represented the Karelian Language Society, the Karelian Cultural Association and the Salmi Seura (the largest municipality association). Seven of them have had a tertiary education and

⁶⁶ Somewhat surprisingly, only one female interviewee was selected for the activist group. Given the selection criterion 'language-politically oriented activism', it proved to be impossible to achieve a gender balance for this group: the gender distribution of the language-politically oriented activists appears to be biased in favour of male Karelian speakers. Female Karelian speakers tend to be "multi-activists" who, regardless of their socio-economic background, eagerly participate in Karelian events and keep Karelian handicraft and culinary traditions alive.

work, or prior to retirement, worked in leading positions in their field. Six of the interviewees belong to the age cohort 50-64 (Identification codes: FI-KRL-FGA-01m; FI-KRL-FGA-04m; FIN-KRL-FGA-05m; FI-KRL-FGA-06m; FI-KRL-FGA-07f; FI-KRL-FGA-08m) and two to the age cohort 65+ (Identification codes: FI-KRL-FGA-02m; FI-KRL-FGA-03m). Six interviewees had had a monolingual Karelian childhood home (FI-KRL-FGA-01m; FI-KRL-FGA-02m; FI-KRL-FGA-03m; FIN-KRL-FGA-05m; FI-KRL-FGA-06m and FI-KRL-FGA-07f) and two a mixed Karelian and Finnish speaking childhood home (FI-KRL-FGA-04m and FI-KRL-FGA-08m). Four of those with a monolingual Karelian childhood home still speak mainly or only Karelian with their siblings, two interviewees use it sometimes and two use only Finnish. In one interviewee's own family only Karelian is spoken (FI-KRL-FGA-01m), three other interviewees speak Karelian and Finnish with their children and/or grandchildren (FI-KRL-FGA-02m; FI-KRL-FGA-04m and FI-KRL-FGA-07f), and two use only Finnish (FI-KRL-FGA-03m and FI-KRL-FGA-08m). The general attitude regarding the possibility of maintaining and revitalising Karelian in Finland was unanimously very positive.

The Interview with AG1 (18-29). The interview was carried out by Joki, with the assistance of Parppei, on 5 March 2011 in Nurmes. Three female Karelian speakers and one male participated in the interview. They did not know each other beforehand. Most of the questions were asked in Karelian and Finnish and some only in Finnish. Three participants (Identification codes: FI-KRL-FGAG1-01f; FI-KRL-FGAG1-02f and FI-KRL-FGAG1-03m) spoke only Finnish during the interview; the fourth (FI-KRL-FGAG1-04f), who had studied Karelian in her adult years, spoke almost exclusively Karelian. All the interviewees had learned some Karelian at home, three from their fathers (FI-KRL-FGAG1-01f; FI-KRL-FGAG1-03m and FI-KRL-FGAG1-04f) and one (FI-KRL-FGAG1-02f) from her mother. The Karelian-speaking parent of each family had also spoken some Karelian with her/his Finnish-speaking spouse. Three interviewees speak only Finnish with their siblings, the interviewee who has studied Karelian in adulthood (FI-KRL-FGAG1-04f) has always spoken some Karelian with her siblings and she also speaks Karelian with her small child every day. Two of the interviewees are students (FI-KRL-FGAG1-01f and FI-KRL-FGAG1-02f), two already have a degree and are doing post-graduate work (FI-KRL-FGAG1-03m and FI-KRL-FGAG1-04f). In the interview three of the interviewees mostly confined themselves to answering the questions and only one expressed more developed opinions (FI-KRL-FGAG1-04f) on such matters as the possibility of developing online teaching materials for Karelian. After the interview the interviewees said that the video camera had made them feel nervous. The attitude towards the maintenance and revitalisation of Karelian in Finland was unanimously cautiously positive.

The interview with AG2 (30-49 men). The interview was carried out by Joki, with the assistance of Parppei, on 4 March 2011 in Kuopio. The group consisted of four male speakers who all have an active command of Karelian and used it most of the time in the interview. They did not know each other beforehand. All four had learned Karelian alongside Finnish at home, two from their fathers (Identification codes: FI-KRL-FGAG2-01m and FI-KRL-FGAG2-04m) and two from their mothers (FI-KRL-FGAG2-02m and FI-KRL-FGAG2-03m). Only one of the interviewees spoke Karelian in his childhood and he still sometimes uses Karelian with

his siblings (FI-KRL-FGAG2-01m). Only one of the interviewees (FI-KRL-FGAG2-03m) has children; he speaks Finnish with them. Two of the interviewees have a vocational education (FI-KRL-FGAG2-01m and FI-KRL-FGAG2-02m) and two a university education (FI-KRL-FGAG2-03m and FI-KRL-FGAG2-04m); they all work in fields related to their education. The atmosphere was relaxed, there were no great differences of opinion and none of the interviewees was particularly dominant, although interviewee FI-KRL-FGAG2-04m seemed to be a kind of opinion leader with whom the others willingly went along. The attitude towards the future of Karelian in Finland was cautiously positive.

The interview with AG3 (30-49 women). The interview was made by Joki, with the assistance of Parpei, on 16 February 2011 in Joensuu. The group consisted of five women who did not know each other beforehand. The prepared questions were asked in Karelian, and additional questions in Karelian and Finnish. All the interviewees have an active command of Karelian and they all spoke Karelian during the interview, three of them most of the time (Identification codes: FI-KRL-FGAG3-01f; FI-KRL-FGAG3-04f and FI-KRL-FGAG3-02f) and two alternating with Finnish (FI-KRL-FGAG3-03f and FI-KRL-FGAG3-05f). One of the interviewees (FI-KRL-FGAG3-01f) parents were both Karelian speakers who communicated with each other in Karelian, but only her father spoke Karelian with her in her childhood; today her mother too sometimes speaks Karelian with her. She spoke both Karelian and Finnish with her siblings and this is still her practice. She considers both Karelian and Finnish her mother tongues but puts Karelian first. Two other interviewees (FI-KRL-FGAG3-02f and FI-KRL-FGAG3-04f) learned Karelian in childhood from their fathers; one of them (FI-KRL-FGAG3-02f) reports that from the 1960s onwards, her father began to use only Finnish at home. The last two interviewees (FI-KRL-FGAG3-03f and FI-KRL-FGAG3-05f) grew up in Finnish-speaking homes. One of them (FI-KRL-FGAG3-04f) spoke only Finnish with her siblings in childhood but today she uses Karelian and Finnish. Two interviewees speak Karelian and Finnish in their own families, one fairly regularly with her spouse and her grandchild (but not with her own child, (FI-KRL-FGAG3-02f), and the other (FI-KRL-FGAG3-05f) occasionally with her child. One interviewee has a vocational education (FI-KRL-FGAG3-01f) and four a university education (FI-KRL-FGAG3-02f; FI-KRL-FGAG3-03f; FI-KRL-FGAG3-04f and FI-KRL-FGAG3-05f); all work in fields related to their education. At the very beginning of the interview the atmosphere was slightly tense but the group soon relaxed and the discussion went smoothly. In the relaxed atmosphere the participants laughed a great deal, which sometimes made transcribing the interview difficult. The general attitude towards the future of Karelian was fairly optimistic.

The interview with AG4 (50-64). The interview was made by Joki, with the assistance of Parpei, on 15 February 2011 in Nurmes. Two participants, one female (FI-KRL-FGAG4-05f) and one male (FI-KRL-FGAG4-04m) knew each other well, but the other four, two female (FI-KRL-FGAG4-03f; FI-KRL-FGAG4-06f) and two male (FI-KRL-FGAG4-01m, FI-KRL-FGAG4-02m) had never met any of the participants beforehand. This group preferred to have the questions asked in Karelian and Finnish, and both languages were used in the discussion. The four interviewees who did not have any previous acquaintances in the group mostly spoke

Karelian, while the two who knew each other used Finnish more frequently than Karelian. Two of the interviewees (FI-KRL-FGAG4-01m and FI-KRL-FGAG4-06f) had had a monolingual Karelian childhood home, while four had grown up in families where both Karelian and Finnish were used (FI-KRL-FGAG4-02m; FI-KRL-FGAG4-03f; FI-KRL-FGAG4-04m and FI-KRL-FGAG4-05f). In the case of three of them, Karelian had been the language of the father, in the sense that it was the father who had spoken Karelian with the children while the mother used Finnish. All the informants speak both Karelian and Finnish in their own families. Two speak Karelian only with their spouse (FI-KRL-FGAG4-02m and FI-KRL-FGAG4-05f), three speak Karelian with their spouse and their children and/or grandchildren (FI-KRL-FGAG4-01m; FI-KRL-FGAG4-04m; FI-KRL-FGAG4-06f), and one speaks only Finnish in her own family (FI-KRL-FGAG4-03f). Five of the interviewees have a vocational education and one a university education (FI-KRL-FGAG4-05f). All work in fields related to their education. The atmosphere of the interview was relaxed from the beginning. The discussion stayed mostly on track, but at times various anecdotes led to other themes. The attitude towards the future of Karelian was throughout very optimistic.

The interview with AG5 (65+). The interview was made by Joki, with the assistance of Parpei, on 17 February in Kuopio. There were three male Karelian-speaking interviewees (FI-KRL-FGAG5-01m; FI-KRL-FGAG5-04m; FI-KRL-FGAG5-06m) and three female (FI-KRL-FGAG5-02f; FI-KRL-FGAG5-03f; FI-KRL-FGAG5-05f). Several of them knew each other, and the atmosphere was relaxed and even boisterous. This group preferred to have the questions asked in Karelian only, and Karelian was predominantly used by all but one interviewee (FI-KRL-FGAG5-05f). One of the interviewees (FI-KRL-FGAG5-02f) had an elementary education, two (FI-KRL-FGAG5-03f and FI-KRL-FGAG5-04m) vocational training, and three (FI-KRL-FGAG5-01m; FI-KRL-FGAG5-05f and FI-KRL-FGAG5-06m) a university education. All worked in fields related to their education before retirement. All had had parents who were Karelian speakers, and all but two (FI-KRL-FGAG5-06m and FI-KRL-FGAG5-05f) had had a monolingual Karelian childhood home. Today one (FI-KRL-FGAG5-05f) still speaks mostly Karelian with her siblings, two (FI-KRL-FGAG5-01m and FI-KRL-FGAG5-02f) use Karelian and Finnish, and one (FI-KRL-FGAG5-06m) uses only Finnish. Only one of the interviewees (FI-KRL-FGAG5-04m) sometimes speaks Karelian with the members of his own family (spouse and children). All the informants have grandchildren, but only one of them (FI-KRL-FGAG5-01m) speaks any Karelian with them. To some extent, the male speakers tended to dominate the discussion, which meandered in a typically Karelian manner, and the recording is characterised by overlapping speech.

3.4.2 The focus group interviews with Control Group representatives

Implementation of the ELDIA interview plan. A slightly adjusted list of frame questions was used, see Appendices 4a and 4b.

Selecting and contacting interviewees. The main criterion in selecting the interviewees was to find representatives of Finnish politicians, civil servants and the media who might be expected to have at least some background familiarity with Karelian in Finland so that it

would be possible to discuss the issues defined in the fieldwork interview template. Consequently, I tried to find politicians and public servants who had dealt with the official and/or legal issues around the status of Karelian and the applications for its support made by the Karelian Language Society, and journalists who had reported on these issues or on Karelian Finns, their language and culture. I also wanted the CG focus groups to be constituted in such a way that they consisted of speakers of each of the national languages of Finland, i.e. Finnish and Swedish.

In early November 2010 an official invitation was sent via e-mail to ten Finnish and Swedish-speaking Finnish politicians and civil servants. Seven of them agreed to take part, two refused and one did not reply at all. Possibly due to their Parliament election-related diligence. Perhaps because they were immersed in the upcoming Parliamentary election, which also made it fairly difficult to find a date that would suit all everyone, two of them cancelled their participation at the last moment and one simply failed to turn up. A similar official invitation was mailed to ten Finnish and Swedish-speaking journalists from the newspapers, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* (Swedish language), which have a national readership, the local newspaper, *Iisalmen Sanomat*, which serves an area with a present-day concentration of Karelian speakers, the public television networks, YLE and YLE FST5 (*Finlands Svenska Television*), the national radio stations, YLE and FSR (*Finlands Svenska Radio*) and a local radio station called *YLE Suomi: Pohjois-Karjalan Radio*, which serves North Karelia, where there are many speakers of Karelian. Seven journalists, representing all of the above except for YLE FST5, agreed to participate in the group interview. Two journalists from YLE television had been willing to participate, but one of them cancelled at the last minute.

The background information form. The interviewees filled in the same background information form as those interviewed individually.

Recording devices. The CG group interviews were all video recorded with a Panasonic HDC-TM700 Full HD 3MOS Camcorder and audio recorded with a Zoom H2 Digital Handy Recorder.

The interview with CG politicians and civil servants. The interview was carried out by Nuolijärvi and Sarhimaa with the assistance of Parppei on 10 February 2011 in Helsinki in the meeting room at the Institute for the Languages of Finland. Two male (FI-KRL-FGP-01m and FI-KRL-FGP-03m) and two female (FI-KRL-FGP-02f and FI-KRL-FGP-02f) interviewees participated in the interview. Two of them, one male (FI-KRL-FGP-01m) and one female (FI-KRL-FGP-02f), were members of Parliament who, at that time, served on the Legal Affairs Committee and the Constitutional Law Committee. The two civil servants (FI-KRL-FGP-03m and FI-KRL-FGP-02f) have permanent positions in the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Education and Culture. The questions were asked alternately in Finnish and Swedish, and the discussion was bilingual: two of the interviewees (FI-KRL-FGP-01m and FI-KRL-FGP-02f) and Nuolijärvi used both languages and the others used Finnish. All the interviewees had a university education. One interviewee (FI-KRL-FGP-02f) grew up in a bilingual Swedish-Finnish family, and her own family is bilingual as well. Another (FI-KRL-FGP-01m) had a monolingual

Finnish childhood home but his own family is Finnish-Swedish bilingual. The occupational background of the interviewees was very evident in the course of the discussion: for example, the civil servant from the Ministry of Education and Culture looked at Karelian-related issues from the viewpoint of educational management and the jurist from the viewpoint of law and the possibilities offered by legislation. However, all the interviewees also spoke about their personal experiences and reflected on the best possible ways of organizing minority legislation and societal relationships in a more general sense. The atmosphere was relaxed, the discussion lively and productive, and the interviewees all showed great interest in and understanding of the problems of minorities in Finland. The attitude towards the possibility of maintaining Karelian in Finland was fairly neutral and the role of Karelian speakers themselves was stressed.

Interview with representatives of CG media. The interview was carried out by Nuolijärvi and Sarhimaa with the assistance of Parpei on 11.2.2011 in Helsinki in the meeting room at the Institute for the Languages of Finland. Three male (FI-KRL-FGM-02m; FI-KRL-FGM-04m and FI-KRL-FGM-06m) and three female interviewees (FI-KRL-FGM-01f; FI-KRL-FGM-03f and FI-KRL-FGM-05f) participated in the interview. They represented the Finnish and the Swedish-speaking national press (FI-KRL-FGM-04m and FI-KRL-FGM-03f), the local press in an area with a concentration of Karelian speakers (FI-KRL-FGM-05f), Finnish television (FI-KRL-FGM-02m), Swedish-language radio (FI-KRL-FGM-06m) and local radio in North Karelia, which has a concentration of Karelian speakers (FI-KRL-FGM-01f). In selecting the interviewees, attention was paid to prior activity or at least the activity of associates in reporting on issues related to Karelian. During the course of the interview it came out that two of the interviewees, viz. the representatives of the local radio and the local newspaper (FI-KRL-FGM-05f and FI-KRL-FGM-05f) were actually Karelian speakers: they had both had Karelian-speaking fathers. The reporter from the national Finnish newspaper had grown up in a trilingual Finnish-Russian-Karelian family. The representatives of the Finland Swedish media grew up in monolingual Swedish homes but are both also fluent in Finnish. One of them (FI-KRL-FGM-03f) now has a Swedish-speaking family of her own, the other (FI-KRL-FGM-06m) a bilingual Finnish-Swedish one. Two interviewees (FI-KRL-FGM-05f and FI-KRL-FGM-05f) have a vocational education, and four a university education. The interview was predominantly bilingual and at one point trilingual: the Swedish-speaking Finns (FI-KRL-FGM-03f and FI-KRL-FGM-06m) used Swedish and Finnish, the Karelian Finns Finnish and at one point Karelian, and the rest of the participants Finnish. The discussion was very lively and productive, lots of different and differing viewpoints were expressed and debated. At the beginning there was a highly interesting discussion of the concept 'multilingualism'. Particularly disparate were the views on the relationships between the different varieties of Karelian and on its status. The interview also includes a long discussion on the opportunities for children and young people to learn Karelian. The atmosphere was pleasant and relaxed. The attitude towards the maintenance of Karelian was hopeful and cautiously positive, but it was stressed that there is a need for much more publicity in the media.

Conclusions

The fieldwork for the case study Karelian in Finland can be considered successful, despite the following unavoidable deviations from the general fieldwork plan. First, sampling of the younger cohorts of Karelian Finns for the questionnaire survey was not possible, because privacy protection legislation prohibiting samples based on religious affiliation, and thus the age structure of the survey questionnaire respondents is biased towards the older generations. Secondly, due to this, it was not possible to form age focus groups from the survey respondents and the participants of these had to be chosen using other criteria (explained above in Ch. 3 and 4). Nevertheless, the outcome was good: a sufficient number of responses were gained in the questionnaire survey for reliable statistical analyses, and all the focus group and individual interviews were conducted as required. As with the ELDIA case-studies elsewhere, the response rate of the Control Group remained modest, which confirms the general conclusion that majorities are not particularly interested in minorities.

The fieldwork was well supported by Karelian organisations and key stakeholders, and received an extremely positive response from everyone who was asked whether they were willing to give an individual interview or participate in a group interview, even when the person concerned did not agree to an interview. The fieldworkers were even told by one group of interviewees that as Karelian speakers for them to be invited to an interview was as great an honour as to be invited to the Independence Day Ball by the President of Finland. Probable reasons for such a generally positive attitude are that Karelian Finns have never really been studied before, that there had been quite a lot of advance publicity about ELDIA, and that the general consciousness of being Karelian had been strengthened by the decree amendment of December 2009 which for the first time ever officially recognised the existence of Karelian as a minority language in Finland.

The analyses of the background information sheets filled in by all interviewees suggest some interesting preliminary results or hypotheses. Firstly, regardless of age, those interviewees who have an active knowledge of Karelian tended to have had fathers who spoke Karelian with them and mothers who, even when they were Karelian speakers themselves, used only Finnish with them. Secondly, only one of the 52 interviewees had only had an elementary education, the others had all had a vocational education or a university education. It is notable that those who described their command of Karelian as good or very good tended to have had a university education.

3.5 Sociodemographic distributions in the survey data sets

As explained in Section 2.3, there is no information on the socio-demographic characteristics of Karelian Finns. Thus, it is not possible to say how well the ELDIA sample represents the minority group on the whole. Where relevant and possible, the Karelian Finn data is compared with the CG data and with statistical information available on the population of Finland at large. In short, it can be stated that the Karelian Finn sample is heavily skewed

towards the oldest generation of speakers and thus, e.g. has an over-representation of retired respondents living in families without children. Although the age distribution of the respondents undoubtedly reflects real trends among Karelian Finns in Finland today, it must be stressed that the sampling frame — the traditional Karelian municipality associations (see Sections 2.2.3 and 3.2.2) — has unquestionably biased the sample further, since the great majority of the members of these associations are elderly people. Consequently, the survey results cannot not be seen as a real picture of the situation, especially where the younger generations of Karelian Finns are concerned. The CG sample, which was drawn with random selection from the population register, turned out to be heavily biased towards female respondents, but it appears to reflect Finnish society in other respects fairly accurately, except that respondents with a basic education and those with children are slightly under-represented. Also, the CG sample does not include any respondents born outside Finland.

The size of the Karelian Finn sample. The final sample of Karelian Finns consisted of 356 respondents, which comfortably exceeded the minimum sample size originally specified for all ELDIA case studies, which was set at 300 responses. That this response rate is the second highest of all the ELDIA case studies seems to support the recurring observation made during the different project phases that members of this minority are very keen to contribute to the discussion of the status and state of Karelian in Finland.

The questionnaire in Finnish was preferred. The survey questionnaire was sent to Karelian speakers was made available in four language versions: Finnish, Olonets Karelian, Viena Karelian and South Karelian. The majority of respondents (80.06%) filled in the Finnish-language version and approximately one fifth (19.04%) chose one of the three Karelian versions. Of the 71 respondents who filled in a Karelian version, 34 had opted for the South Karelian version, 24 for the Olonets Karelian version and 13 for the North Karelian version. There were slightly more male respondents (11.4%) than female respondents (8.55%) among those who filled in a Karelian version (LangCode by Q01).

One might have expected the proportion of those choosing a Karelian-language questionnaire (19.04%) to be higher than it actually turned out to be, since the proportion of mother-tongue speakers of Karelia in the sample (Q07, for details, see Section 4.3.1) was much higher (27.89%). Moreover, the latter is very close to the 25.87% of those respondents who rated their ability to write Karelian as good (5.75%) very good (15.65%), or fluent (4.47%). However, considering there is as yet no widely accepted standard variety of Karelian (see Section 2.4.2), the fact that almost one fifth of the respondents still opted for a Karelian-language questionnaire could be read as a sign of the desire to be able to use Karelian in formal contexts as well as informal ones.

The Karelian questionnaire was chosen by the oldest generation in particular. The majority of the Karelian-language questionnaires (48) were filled in by respondents who were over 65 years old, amounting to 22.01% of the 218 respondents belonging to the oldest age cohort. 16 respondents in the second eldest cohort, i.e. 15.23% of those aged 50-64, chose a Karelian version. Only 4 respondents from the two youngest age cohorts chose a Karelian

version: three belonged to the age cohort 30-49, i.e. (12% of that cohort), and one to the age cohort 18-29 which consisted of only two respondents.

The results indicate that the choice of questionnaire language seems to reflect the general trends in the Karelian skills of Karelian Finns: there are more active users of Karelian in the oldest generation than in any of the younger generations.

The response rate varied across the age cohorts. The response rate varied considerably according to the age of the respondents. The age and gender distribution of the respondents is illustrated in Figure 1. The response rate was highest among respondents aged 65 years or over and about 32% of all the questionnaires returned were filled in by women in this age cohort and about 30% by men. The lowest response rate appeared among men aged under 29, who did not participate in the survey at all, and among women of the same age, whose responses constituted 0.58% of the total.

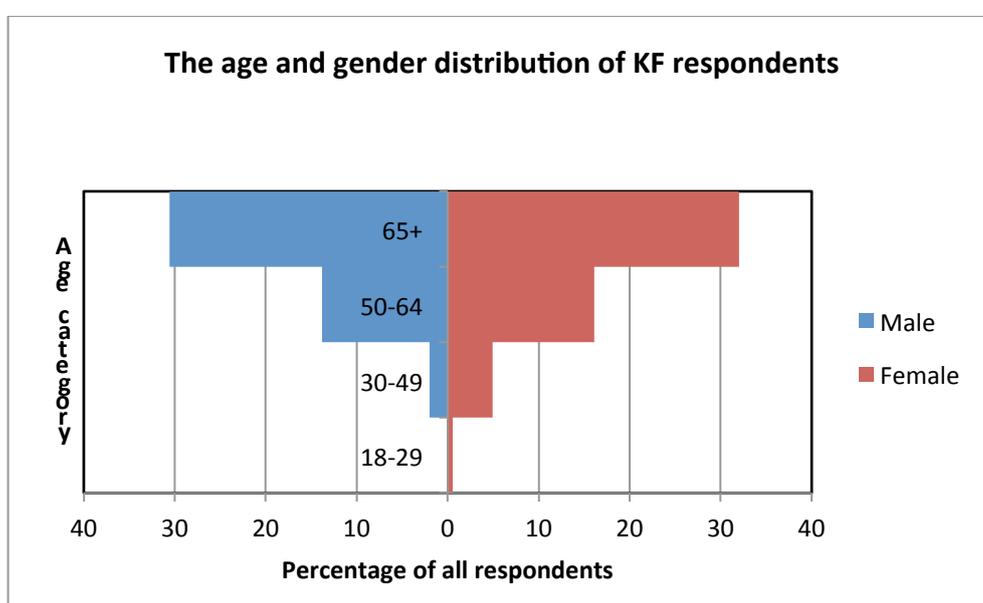


Figure 1. The age and gender distribution of KF respondents

The age distribution in the Karelian Finn data set is skewed towards the oldest Age-group. Over 62% of the respondents were older than 65 years, 30% were aged between 50 and 64, 7.14% between 30 and 49 and only 0.58% were aged between 18 and 29 years (Q02). Although there is no doubt that this is an accurate reflection of the age distribution among Karelian Finns today, it must be stressed that the sampling frame of the municipality associations (see Sections 2.2.3 and 3.2.2) has certainly skewed the sample further, since the great majority of the members of these associations are elderly people, and the outcome of the survey cannot be seen as giving the whole picture.

The gender distribution in the Karelian Finn data set is skewed towards female respondents. At the level of the whole Karelian sample data, the distribution of gender among the respondents is skewed towards women: 52.99% of all respondents were female and 47.01% male (Q01). As Figure 1 shows, gender distribution is noticeably different among the youngest two cohorts: in the cohort 30-49, male respondents constituted less than 30%

and in the cohort 18-29, there were no male respondents at all. This result should not, however, be read as an indication of that younger generations of Karelian Finns are predominantly women. Rather, it must be interpreted in terms of the sampling frame: it is most likely that fewer men than women in these age groups are members of Karelian Finn municipality associations. Moreover, the gender distribution of the Control Group survey was even more biased towards female respondents than the Karelian one, showing that women in general tend to be more responsive to surveys than men.

The majority of Karelian Finn respondents live in households without children. As might be expected on the basis of the respondents' age distribution, the majority of them reported that they lived in households without children: 56.7% reported that they lived with a spouse/partner and 33.33% reported that they lived alone. Only a scant 10% have children living in their household: 7.41% live with a spouse/partner and children and 1.99% are single parents; two people (0.57%) reported living in some other situation (Q03). This means that caution should be exercised in drawing any conclusions concerning the inter-generational transmission of Karelian to the children of today on the basis of the survey data.

Most Karelian Finn respondents have had a secondary or tertiary education (Q05). The majority of Karelian Finn respondents (76.92%) have had a secondary (39.05%) or a tertiary education (37.87%). In terms of secondary education this faithfully reflects the general educational pattern in Finland: in 2010, 39.2% of the population had completed a secondary education. However 37.8% of the then respondents had achieved a tertiary education, which is exactly 10% more than in the general population. Similarly, respondents with a basic education amounted to 21.6%, which is notably lower than the figure for the general population, which is 33.0%. Karelian Finn respondents with no formal education constituted 1.48% as compared to 2% in the Control Group sample (see below).

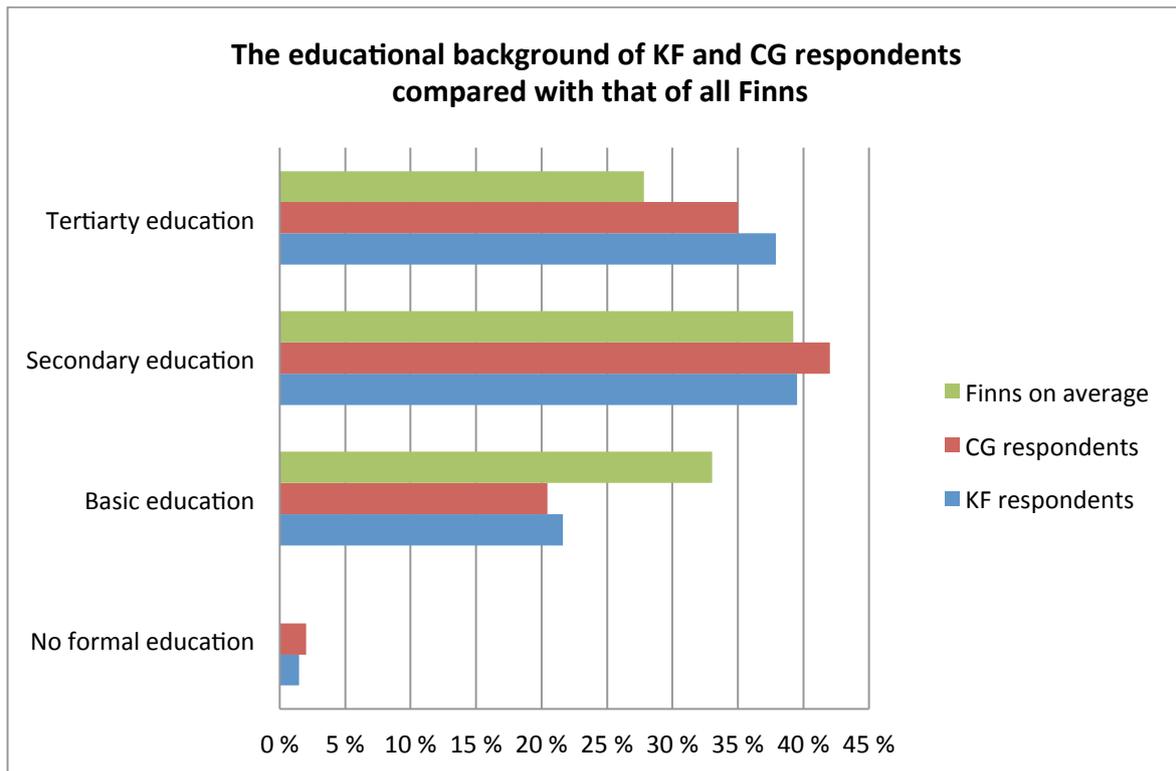


Figure 2. The educational background of Karelian Finn and CG respondents compared with that of all Finns

More Karelian Finn respondents than CG respondents have a tertiary education. As Figure 2 shows, a slightly higher proportion of the Karelian Finn respondents had had a basic or tertiary education than the CG respondents, while a somewhat higher proportion of the latter had completed a secondary education. Figure 2 also suggests that Karelian Finns might be slightly over-represented among Finns who have received a university education. This might be the case, but, given the “activist” bias of the Karelian sample caused by the necessity of sampling the Karelian Finn respondents from members of Karelian associations, it is not really possible to draw such a conclusion. Besides, as Figure 2 also shows, the proportion of CG respondents with a tertiary education is higher than that of the whole population as well, and it may rather be the case that educated people in general tend to participate in this kind of survey.

The educational level of Karelian Finns is significantly higher than that of their parents (Q12-Q13). The survey results testify to a significant rise in the educational level of Karelian Finns in comparison to their parents’ generation(s).

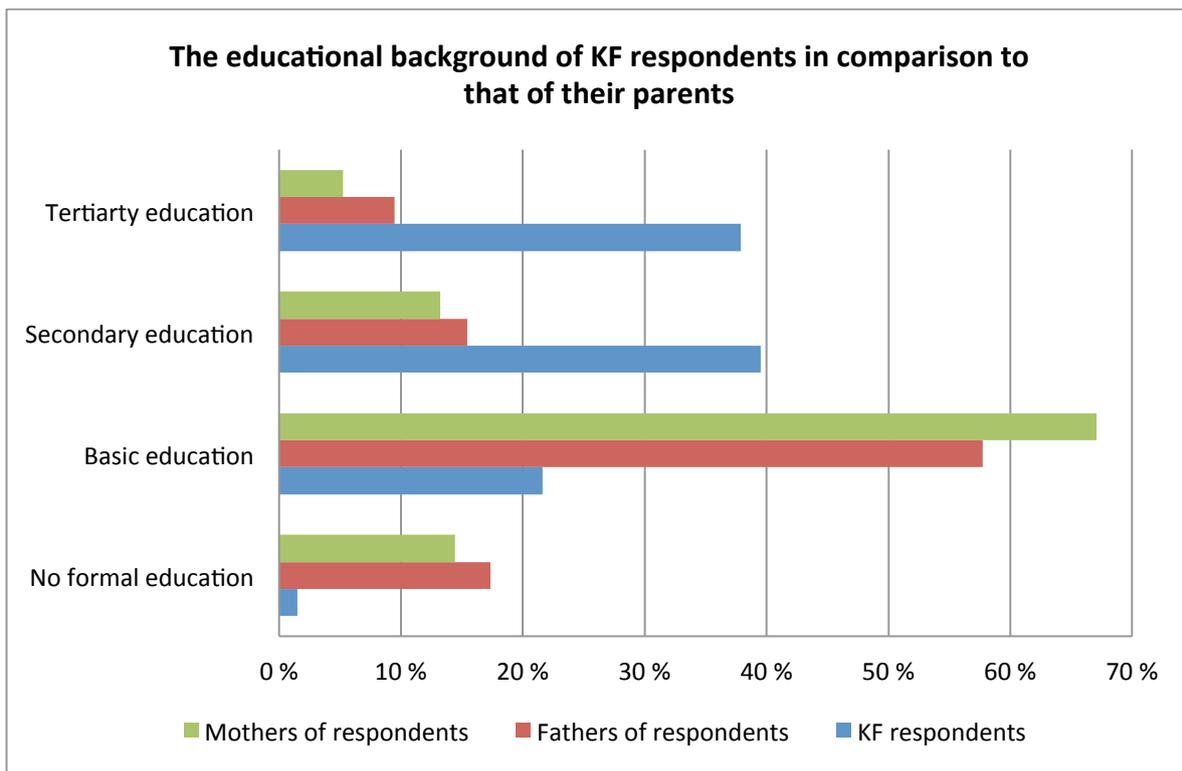


Figure 3. The educational background of Karelian Finn respondents compared to that of their parents

Significantly fewer of the respondents' parents had had a secondary or tertiary education than the respondents themselves: 15.46% of the respondents reported that their father had had a secondary education and 9.46% that he had had a tertiary education; of the mothers, 13.23% had had a secondary education and 5.23% a tertiary education. The parents' educational level is considerably lower than the average than that of Finns today (39.2% with a secondary and 27.8% with a tertiary education). This, too, is a reflection of the age bias of the sample. 57.73% of the fathers and 67.08% of the mothers of the survey respondents are reported to have received only a basic education; the rate in Finland today is 33%. 17.35% of respondents reported that their father had (had) no formal education at all; for the mother, the respective rate was 14.46%. It is most likely that the parents with no formal education were those of the oldest generation of respondents and the high percentages of parents with only a basic education can be similarly explained. In 1920, some 70% of 15-year-olds were literate, but in 1921 the Compulsory School Attendance Act came into force in Finland. This required the municipalities to provide all children aged 7 to 13 with compulsory basic education and by the 1930s, around 90% of all 7 to 15-year-olds attended a folk school (Fin. *kansakoulu*). The high rate of respondents' parents without any formal education is most probably due to the fact that, for financial reasons, municipalities in peripheral areas such as Border Karelia and Petsamo, where Karelian speakers lived, were given long transition periods for introducing compulsory schooling. In the remotest villages, compulsory basic education had not yet reached the entire school-age population when World War II broke out and their inhabitants were evacuated to other parts of Finland.

There are more retired than employed Karelian Finn respondents. 69.5% of the respondents reported being retired. 24.93% of them work outside of home, 5 respondents (=1.47%) work at home and another 5 are currently looking for employment; 2.64% reported working in other situations. (Q06B).

Moderate work-related mobility. 27 respondents work more than 50 km from home, 7 (=25.93%) of whom commute on a daily basis, 7 on a weekly basis and 13 (= 48.15%) less often (Q06C).

Place of birth and residential mobility were inquired about in the open-ended Q04, where respondents were asked to name their place of birth and the place (town, village/suburb) they live in now and for how long, and to list all the places they have lived in for more than 6 months during their life. For the purposes of the ELDIA data analysis, five main residential-pattern categories were established, in an attempt to cover the needs of each of the different case studies. The categories are: (1) Has never lived in a monolingual (Karelian) or bilingual (Karelian/Finnish) area; (2) Born in a monolingual (Karelian) or a bilingual (Karelian/Finnish) area and now living outside it, but having had lengthy periods of residence in it; (3) Born outside a monolingual (Karelian) or a bilingual (Karelian/Finnish) area and now living in such an area, or born inside such an area and now living outside it; (4) Born in a monolingual (Karelian) or bilingual (Karelian/Finnish) area and still living there, but having had extended periods of residence outside it; and (5) Born, grown up and still living in a monolingual (Karelian) or a bilingual (Karelian/Finnish) area. In the case of Karelian Finns, the terms “monolingual Karelian area” and the “bilingual Karelian/Finnish area” may be understood to refer to long-lost domiciles in pre-WWII Border Karelia or Viena Karelia or to the Karelian Republic, but not to any area within present-day Finland.

The majority of respondents have never lived in a monolingual Karelian or bilingual Karelian-Finnish area. The distribution of responses obtained for the Karelian Finn sample was as follows: 38.72% were born in a monolingual Karelian or bilingual Karelian/Finnish area, 59.89% have never lived in such an area, and 1.39% were born and live outside of monolingual or bilingual areas but have stayed in one or the other of them for lengthy periods of time.

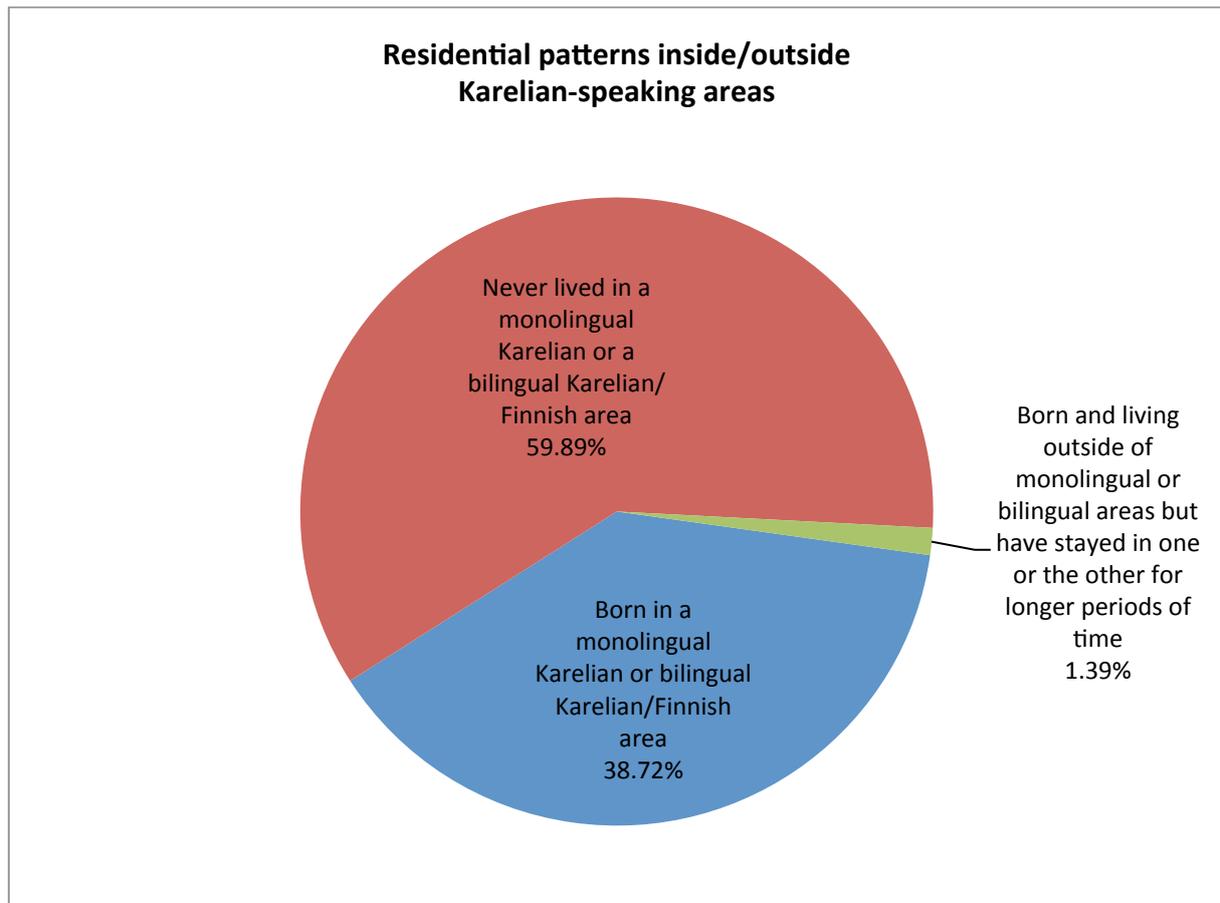


Figure 4. Residential patterns inside/outside Karelian-speaking areas

The response rate in the CG survey was much lower than in the Karelian Finn survey. The Control Group questionnaire was distributed in two language versions: Finnish and Swedish. The response rate was only 18.25%; 134 respondents (92%) chose the Finnish version and 12 (8%) the Swedish version. Since Swedish-speaking Finns constitute 5.75% of the Finnish population and the same proportion of questionnaires was sent out to this group, this means that Swedish-speaking Finns were more active in responding to the survey than the CG respondents, perhaps because members of a minority are more likely to be interested in minority-related issues in general.

The CG gender distribution was even more biased in favour of female respondents (Q01). The gender distribution presented in Figure 5 shows that 63% of the CG respondents were female and only 37% were male; only the age cohort 50-64 had approximately the same number of female and male respondents.

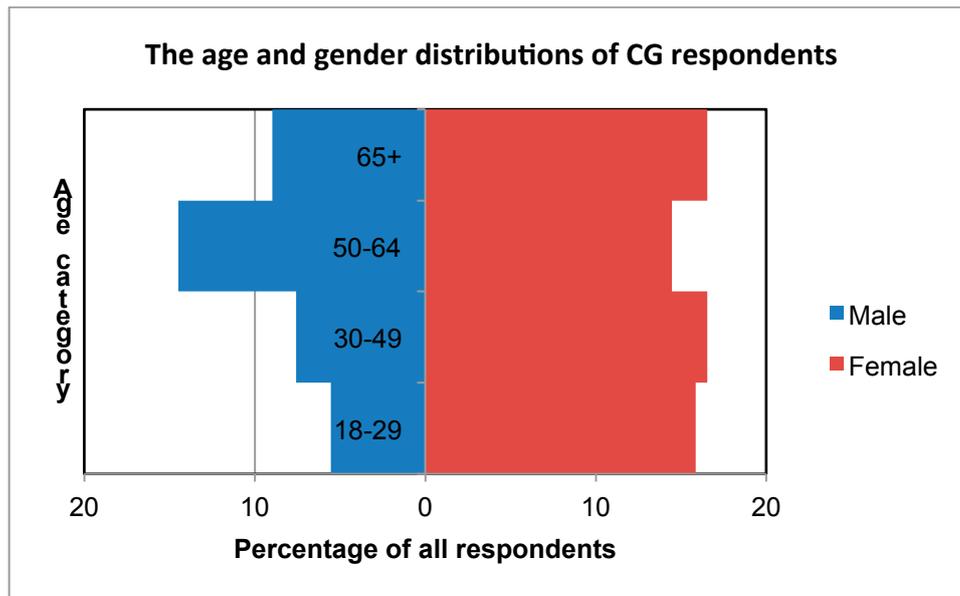


Figure 5. The age and gender distributions of CG respondents

The age distribution of CG respondents was more balanced than that of the Karelian Finn sample but the oldest age cohort was still overrepresented (Q02). In contrast to the age distribution among Karelian Finn respondents, the distribution of the CG respondents over the four age cohorts is fairly even: the youngest age group (18-29) comprised the lowest percentage of respondents at 21%, and the 50-64 age group the highest at 29%. 24% of the respondents were in the 30-49 age group 30-49 and 26% were in the oldest age group (65+), which appears to be over-represented in the sample: in 2010, people over 65 constituted 17.6% of the entire population (SVT-Väestöennuste).

Respondents with children are slightly underrepresented in the CG sample. The CG sample contains fewer respondents who live alone or with a spouse/partner than the Karelian Finn sample, and more respondents who live in families with children (Q03). 41% of the respondents reported living with a spouse or a partner, another 22% with a spouse/partner and child(ren), and 5% were single parents; 5% reported that they were still living with their parents. In 2011 about 40% of the adult Finnish population lived in families with children (see, SVT-Perheet), which means that respondents with children (27%) were somewhat under-represented in the CG sample. 25% of the respondents live alone, which is the same proportion as in the population at large (according to the *Suomen yksinelävien yhdistys*, the proportion of single people in the Finnish population is, 24% (<http://www.yksinelävät.fi/fakta/tilastoja.html>). Almost 4% of respondents reported living in “another” type of a household.

No CG respondents were born or live outside Finland (Q04). All 146 CG respondents were born in Finland and are still living there today; only one respondent reported living outside Finland at some point for a lengthy period of time.

The employment patterns of CG respondents reflect the general situation in Finland (Q06). The majority of CG respondents (52%) work outside the home or are in full-time study, while

6% work at home. This matches the situation in the country at large: at the end of 2010, 59% of the Finnish population was employed or in full-time study (Pocket Statistics). 30% of CG respondents reported being retired, which is identical to the proportion of retired people in the general population. Some 8% of the respondents reported being unemployed and/or searching for a job. The unemployment rate at the end of 2010 was 6% (Pocket Statistics), which means that the unemployed were slightly overrepresented in the sample. 4% of the respondents reported having “another” occupational situation.

Respondents with a basic education are underrepresented and those with secondary or tertiary education overrepresented in the CG sample (Q05). About 98% of the CG respondents had received a formal education: 20.42% of these reported having had a basic education (as compared to 33% of all Finns), 42.25% a secondary education (as compared to 39.2%), and 35.21% a tertiary education (as compared to 27.8%). Three respondents (2.11%) had had no formal education at all.

The educational patterns of CG respondents’ parents. About 77% of the mothers of CG respondents had had a basic (47.01%) or secondary education (29.85%). The corresponding percentages are slightly lower for the fathers, 44.27% of whom reported having a basic education and 28.24% a secondary education. A higher percentage of fathers had had a tertiary education (15.27%) than mothers (11.94%). 12.21% of fathers and 11.94% of mothers had not had any formal education.

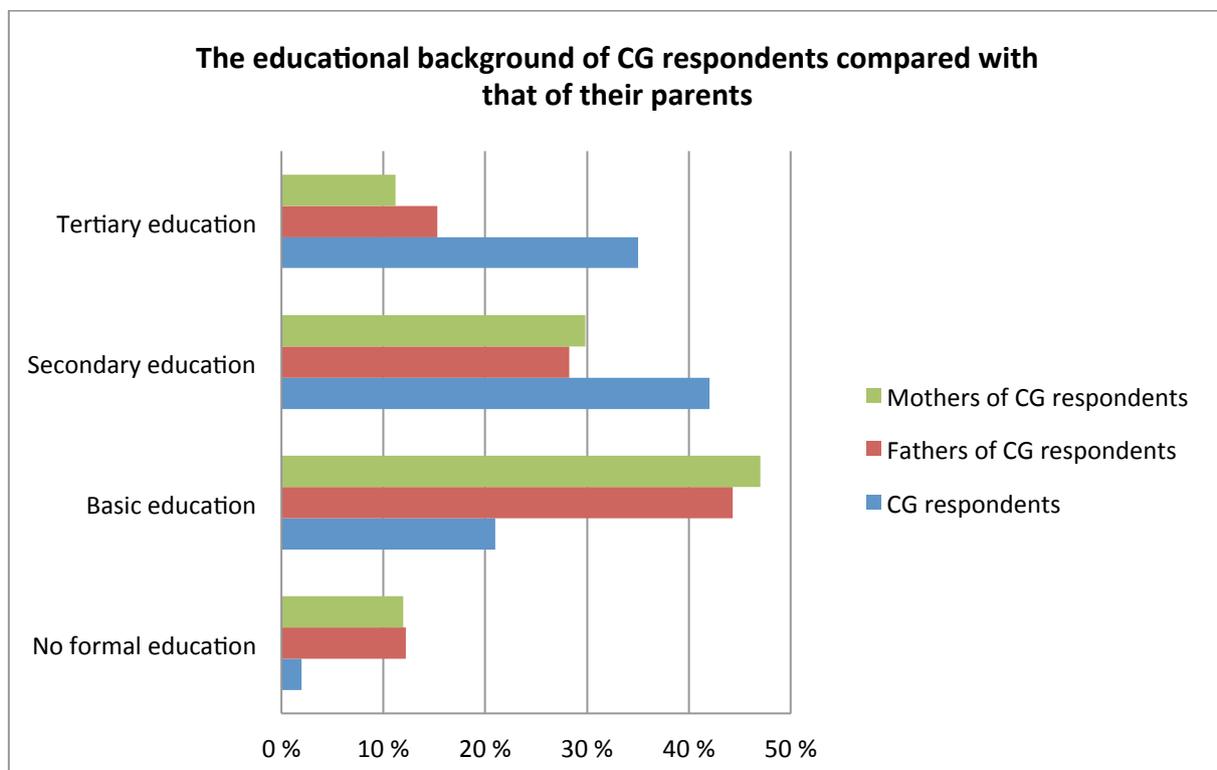


Figure 6. The educational background of CG respondents compared with that of their parents

The educational level of CG respondents is significantly higher than that of their parents (Q07 and Q08). As Figure 6 shows, CG respondents have had a higher level of education than

their parents' generation. Far fewer of them have had only a basic education or no formal education at all. Most notably, the proportion of respondents with a secondary or tertiary education is much greater: 13.21 percentage points higher for secondary education and 21.98 percentage points higher for tertiary education.

The educational level of Karelian Finns has improved even more than that of CG respondents. As Figure 7 below shows, more of the parents of Karelian Finn respondents had had no formal education (fathers: 17.35%, mothers: 14.46%) than those of CG respondents (fathers: 12.21%, mothers: 11.94%). More of the parents of Karelian Finn respondents had had a basic education (fathers: 57.73%, mothers: 67.08%) than those of CG respondents (fathers: 44.27%, mothers: 47%). On the other hand more of the parents of CG respondents had had a secondary education (fathers: 28.24%, mothers: 29.85%) than those of Karelian Finn respondents (fathers: 15.46%, mothers: 13.23%) and the same applied to tertiary education: 15.27% of the fathers and 11.19% of the mothers of the CG respondents had had a university education, as compared with 9.46% of the fathers and 5.23% of the mothers of the Karelian Finn respondents.

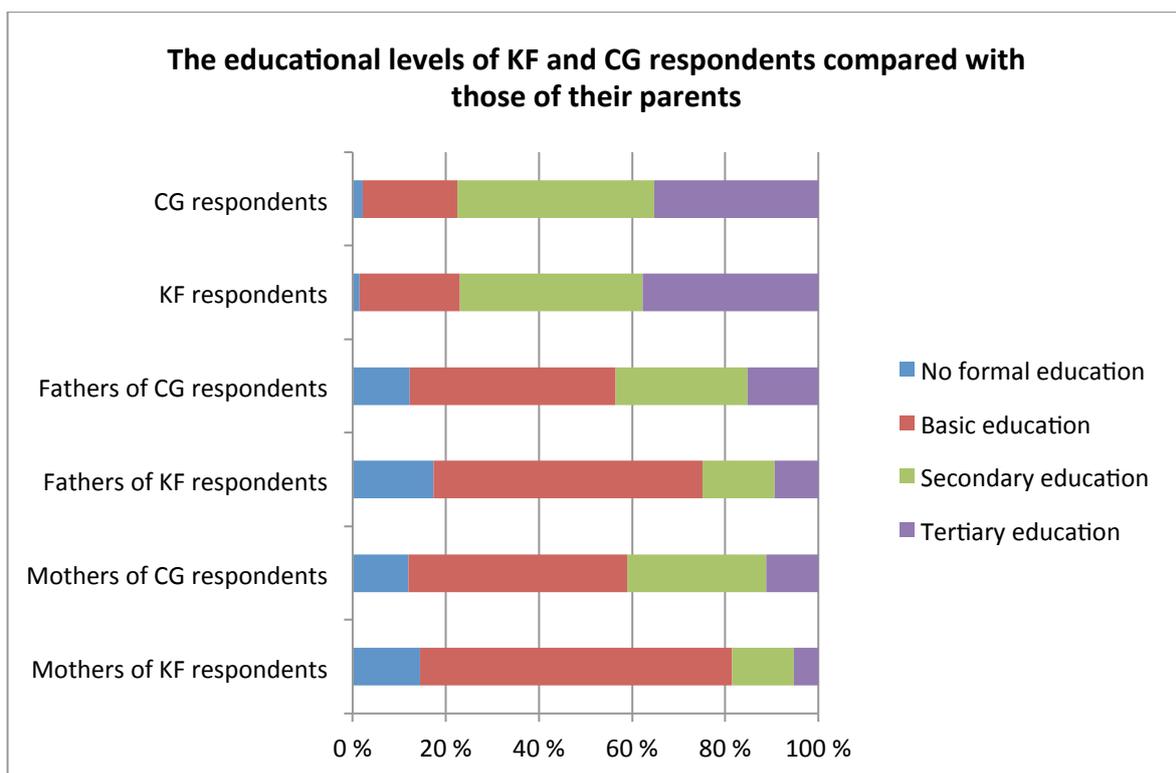


Figure 7. The educational levels of KF and CG respondents compared with those of their parents

This brief comparison of the educational levels of the respondents with those of their parents reveals that the differences in the levels of education between Karelian Finns and the rest of the population that were typical of earlier generations have now clearly disappeared: Karelian Finns are at least as well educated as the rest of the population.

3.6 The principles underlying the ELDIA data analyses (Section written in cooperation with Eva Kühhirt)

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

3.6.1 Minority languages as part of multilingualism in modern societies

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

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

which the Comparative Report of all the case studies will be produced. The observations on the patterns of multilingualism in Finland and especially among Karelian Finns are summarized below in Section 4.3.2.

3.6.2 The operational goal of ELDIA

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

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

The EuLaViBar will be the main product of ELDIA. It will be submitted to the European Council and made public at the end of the project in August 2013. Consequently, the specific methodological steps involved in creating a vitality barometer for any particular language cannot be spelled out in the current report. The full rationale behind the preparation of the survey questionnaire data by the linguists for the statistical analyses, as well as the instructions on classifying the questionnaire data in a manner which allows for calculating the case-specific barometer, will be discussed in detail in the Comparative Report. 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.

The following Section briefly introduces the ELDIA concept of language vitality and how it can be measured. The other Sections 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 systematically operationalised, firstly, Grin's concepts of "capacity", "opportunity" and "desire" (see, e.g. Grin 2006, Gazzola & Grin 2007), and, secondly, Strubell's idea of language-speakers as consumers of "language products" (see, especially, Strubell 1996; 2001). We have also developed a language vitality scale and operationalized it over the entire ELDIA survey questionnaire data. As can be seen further below in this Section, 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 (see Chapter 5). As mentioned, the principles of the operationalisations and the underlying theoretical and methodological considerations will be discussed and explained in detail in the Comparative Report. In sum, the EuLaViBar, and thus the data analyses, involve constitutive components on four different levels: Focus Areas (level 1) which each comprise several Dimensions (level 2), the Dimensions being split into variables (level 3) and the variables into variants (level 4).

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

- **Capacity** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar is restricted by definition to the subjective capacity to use the language in question and refers to the speakers' self-confidence in using it. The objective abilities to use a language are related to factors such as education and patterns of language use in the family, which are difficult to measure and impossible to assess reliably within ELDIA; they are thus excluded from the definition.
- **Opportunity** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to those institutional arrangements (legislation, education etc.) that allow for, support or inhibit the use of languages. The term refers to actually existing regulations and does not, therefore, cover the desire to have such regulations. Opportunities to use a given language outside institutional arrangements are also excluded from the Focus Area

Opportunity: the opportunities for using a given language in private life do not count as “opportunity” for the EuLaViBar, neither does the opportunity to use it in contexts where institutional and private language use intertwine or overlap (e.g. “private” conversations with fellow employees during the coffee break).

- **Desire** as a focus area of the EuLaViBar refers to the wish and readiness of people to use the language in question; desire is also reflected via attitudes and emotions relating to the (forms of) use of a given language.
- **Language Products** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to the presence of or demand for language products (printed, electronic, “experiential”, e.g. concerts, plays, performances, etc.) and to the wish to have products and services in and through the language in question.

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

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

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

- Community members’ attitudes towards their language and its speakers
- Community members’ attitudes towards other languages and their speakers
- Cross-generational language use
- Domain-specific language use
- The existence of legal texts in the minority language in question
- The existence of media

- Inter-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 vitality 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 revitalization are needed.
- 2 **Language maintenance is threatened.** Language use and transmission are diminishing or seem to be ceasing at least in some contexts or with some speaker groups. If this trend continues, the use of the language may cease completely in the more distant future.
→ Effective measures to support and encourage the use and transmission of the language must be taken.
- 3 **Language maintenance is achieved to some extent.** The language is supported institutionally and used in various contexts and functions (also beyond its ultimate core area such as the family sphere). It is often transmitted to the next generation, and many of its speakers seem to be able and willing to develop sustainable patterns of multilingualism.
→ The measures to support language maintenance appear to have been successful and must be upheld and continued.

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

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

3.6.4 Practical procedures in the data analyses

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

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 programs. All such questions were analysed questionnaire by questionnaire, in order to document how often each particular open-ended question was answered and how often it was answered in a particular way. In the open-ended questions, and in many of the closed questions, the respondents were given the option of commenting on their answer or adding something, e.g. the name of another language. When going through the questionnaires manually, the researchers made notes on such additions and

comments, summaries of which have been used in writing Chapter 5 of the current report. In order to make the open-ended questions suitable for the required statistical analyses, the results of the manual analyses were manually entered in tables provided in the WP5 Manual Sequel, which offered options for categorising the answers along the language vitality scale in the required, unified manner.

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 program 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 program was used to create orthographic interview transcriptions with basic and speech-turn segmentations. The transcription principles were jointly developed by researchers involved in the data analyses of the various case studies; the set of transcription symbols was discussed and confirmed at an ELDIA workshop in Oulu in August 2010. The transcription principles are summarised in Annex 2.

In the next step, the orthographic transcriptions were imported into the ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) program 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 of tagging the discourse topics is shown in the following table:

Tagging of the discourse topics	
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 4. Tagging of the discourse topics

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.

IV New data on legislation, media, education, language use and interaction

4.1 Summary of legal and institutional framework for Karelian and Estonian in Finland (Written by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark)

With the adoption of the 1919 Constitution and the 1922 Language Act, Finnish and Swedish were accorded the status of official languages, so Finland has been a bilingual state ever since its creation.⁶⁷ In addition, Sami languages and culture have been given a special position in the legal order in Finland. The right of the Sámi to use their language in dealing with authorities was introduced in 1991 in the Sámi Language Act. The 1999 Constitution guarantees the right of the indigenous Sámi people to maintain and develop their own language and culture and it also guarantees the right of the Sámi to linguistic and cultural self-government in their native areas.

The Karelian language remained for a long time outside all discussions concerning the languages of Finland and its protection became an issue only during the past few years. Until then it was generally considered a dialect of Finnish. A first major shift occurred in 2002 with regard to research on the Karelian language. The need to safeguard the Karelian language was discussed in Parliament in the context of budgetary allocations and as a result, the University of Joensuu (now part of the University of Eastern Finland) was provided with funds for a study on the position of the language and the measures needed to develop and maintain it in Finland. Partly as a result of increased knowledge but also awareness and activism within the Karelian Language Society and as a consequence of insights about the multiplicity of cultures and languages in Finland, in 2009, Karelian was granted by the legislator in Finland the protection guaranteed by relevant parts of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

While Estonian speakers are the fourth largest language group in Finland, after Finnish, Swedish and Russian, most of the Estonian-speakers are relatively recent immigrants who have not acquired Finnish citizenship (Grans 2012: 4). Estonian is not seen as a national minority language.

In Finland there is a long political and legal tradition in dealing with minorities and languages, but focusing on 'old' minorities. However, for a long time the legislation regulating education has foreseen the possibility of teaching in as well as teaching of other than the national languages and private schools providing foreign language medium teaching were

⁶⁷ The professional legal and institutional framework analysis of Karelian and Estonian in Finland was conducted by Lisa Grans in 2012, and her report has been published in its entirety in Working Papers of European Language Diversity (<http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:104756>).

foreseen by a law from 1963. Yet, there is no tradition of dealing with immigrant languages in legislation.

The lack of clarity as to which languages are entitled to what type of protection by the state is found to be problematic (Grans 2012: 60). The problem concerns the languages not explicitly mentioned in specific legislation. This is exemplified by the contradictory opinions of different ministries regarding the granting of support for measures to protect, maintain and develop the Karelian language. At the same time, the relevant authorities do not want to introduce legislation that specifically declares Karelian a minority language.

The official position is that if the state would list the minorities included in the notion 'other groups' in Section 17(3) of the Constitution, this will inevitably risk to exclude some groups that may appear in Finland in the future, and therefore, an open definition is preferable. The lack of unambiguous interpretation of the Constitution also leads to an unequal amount of attention being given to the different language groups. While Finland now reports to international human rights bodies on almost all languages that have long been spoken in Finland, it only reports on one immigrant language, Russian, and this only on the situation of the so-called 'old Russians'.

While there are language policy programmes for Romani, Sámi and the Sign Languages of Finland, there are as of yet no equivalent programmes for Karelian or Estonian.

Language diversity as a goal at societal level is implicit in the constitutional notion of two national languages and the collective constitutional right of linguistic groups to maintain and develop their own language and culture. While there is no Governmental policy that explicitly stresses multilingualism as a goal, multilingualism at the individual level has long been implicit in the education system, where learning 'the other national language' (i.e. Finnish for Swedish speakers and Swedish for Finnish-speakers) in primary school has until now been obligatory, as has the learning of foreign languages.

4.2 Summary of Media Analyses conducted in Finland (Written by Reetta Toivanen)

The aim of the media discourse analysis was to discover how minority languages, language maintenance, language loss and revitalization are discussed in the media of the majority language compared with that of the minority language. In addition, the research aimed at obtaining information about developments in interethnic relations in the countries studied. The underlying assumption shared by the separate country analysis was that the way in which the media comment on language minorities reveals a great deal about the context in which a language minority is trying to maintain and revitalize their mother tongue. The attitudes shared by those in the majority media explain, to a certain extent, the attitudes of the majority society towards the minority language communities. The opinions and attitudes

expressed in the minority media tell one about the challenges and opportunities the minority community is sharing with its own members.

The key questions of media discourse analysis can be summarized as follows: 1. How are minorities discussed in the majority and minority media? 2. How are the majority and minority media positioned or how do they position themselves and each other in the media? 3. How do the majority and minority media inform the public about what is going on in intergroup 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 issues concerning any change of status and situation of the minority language communities under investigation, three different periods were chosen for the actual analysis. The time periods chosen for closer media discourse analysis in Austria were first, February – April 1998, when the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities came into force; second, autumn 2005 (the decision to create a common Karelian standard written language), and third November 2010 – January 2011.

In Finland the analysis was carried out with a focus on the Karelian and Estonian language groups. This chapter summarizes the results of the media discourse analysis on the Karelian language minority media and the Finnish majority media.

The use of Karelian in the mass media has been relatively scarce in Finland. In the print media, it has mostly been used in the periodicals of the Karelian organizations. It is regularly used in the periodical *Oma Suojärvi* published by the Suojärvi Municipality Association. Sometimes there are news articles and informal articles written in Karelian in the periodical *Karjalan Heimo*, which is published by the Karelian Cultural Association, and in the weekly newspaper *Karjala* (Sarhimaa 2010: 87). There are periodicals aimed at Karelian Finns, such as *Nuori Karjala*, but their articles in Finnish. The data gathered for this analysis of Karelian-language media comes from three periodicals (*Karjalan Heimo*, *Nuori Karjala* and *Oma Suojärvi*) and one newspaper (*Karjala*). In addition, examples of new media (discussion forums and one blog) were analyzed.

The first choice to represent the majority media was *Helsingin Sanomat*, the biggest and most read newspaper in Finland. It is independent and non-aligned. Its articles are written only in Finnish. The other daily newspaper chosen was *Kaleva*, a regional newspaper published in Oulu, Northern Finland. Its political alignment is neutral. It is the most read

newspaper in Northern Finland and the fourth biggest of the seven-day Finnish newspapers⁶⁸.

At the beginning of 2000, Matti Jeskanen (2005) conducted a survey among Finland Karelians, in which 89% of those respondents who answered the question “How do you maintain your Karelian?” said that they read books and magazines written in Karelian (Jeskanen 2005: 250-51). Most of Jeskanen’s respondents read *Karjalan Heimo* but newspapers released in Russia, such as *Vienan Karjala* and *Oma Mua*, were also mentioned as popular. It must be emphasized here that for the preservation of the Karelian language in Finland reading is more important than speaking, chiefly because old people seldom have friends with whom they can speak their own language. Particularly for Karelians from the Border Karelian villages, reading is a very important way to keep up their knowledge of Karelian (Jeskanen 2005: 251). Both *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Kaleva*, write frequently on minorities, minority education, new laws and language use, but they seldom write about the Karelian-speaking minority of Finland. Most of the articles which address minority languages or language minorities have to do with Swedish-speaking Finns, Sámi communities in the North or immigrants.

Karelians and the Karelian language(s) are seldom mentioned in the Finnish media, and, when they are, most of the articles deal with Karelians living outside Finland or Karelians who have recently moved here. Language issues are seldom dealt with and in most cases language is mentioned in connection with other problems or issues. It can be said that in the majority media discourse minority language issues are dealt with quite often but the Karelian and Estonian language minorities are not represented.

Karelian speakers are few and the Karelian media very much concentrates on language maintenance and reporting on various language courses and activities. Most Karelian speakers are not part of a Karelian-speaking community, so reading in Karelian is an important way of maintaining their language. That Karelian is now officially recognized as a national minority language in Finland has not greatly improved its status quo, but it has of course raised some hopes that Karelian will continue to be spoken in the future and it has also strengthened the discourse in which members of Karelian minority dare to make claims (financial but also other support) to Finnish authorities.

Karelian is a national minority language, with an established minority community. The speakers and the activists are very few even though the numbers of following the Karelian media is much larger. The media expresses wishes and concerns regarding language revitalization but it seems to be a discourse which is not taken very seriously in the Finnish majority media. They remain rather invisible and the common knowledge of average Finns about Karelian Finns and their concerns remains correspondingly low. They are seen as a part of

⁶⁸ It is to be noted here that the results of the media analyses might have been a bit different, had the investigated majority media also included e.g. the daily-paper *Karjalainen* published in Joensuu or the three-times-a-week journal *Ylä-Karjala* which is published in Nurmes. [A.S.]

Finnish established society and the members are assumed to be more fluent in Finnish than in the minority language. In the longitudinal approach Karelian media gets over the years more visibility and the hopelessness towards maintaining Karelian language to the next generation changes dramatically towards high hopes for a real revitalization and boom in Karelian.

4.3 A sociolinguistic analysis of the survey and interview findings

This Section reports the results of the quantitative analyses of the questionnaire survey data and the qualitative analyses of the interview data.

4.3.1 Language use and interaction

This sub-section concentrates on informants' self-reported language use patterns and language skills. Questions concerning the mother tongue and cross-generational and inter-generational language use are discussed first, with particular attention to language transmission within the family. After that the focus switches to the contemporary use of Karelian in various domains. This is followed by a description of the role that the respondents assign to Karelian and certain other languages in the Finnish labour market. The final part of the section is concerned with language maintenance and discusses the survey results concerning such matters as the respondents' knowledge about the use of Karelian in Finland and their views on measures taken to support or inhibit it.

4.3.1.1 *The mother tongue(s)*

Open-ended Q07 in the minority questionnaire asked respondents to indicate their mother tongue, which was further defined as "the language(s) you learned first". 16.34% of those who answered this question, reported having more than one mother tongue. Most respondents (86.2%) reported Finnish as a mother tongue. 27.89% of them reported Karelian as a mother tongue. Swedish and Russian were each reported by two respondents (1.13%), and one person reported their mother tongue as Veps (0.28%).

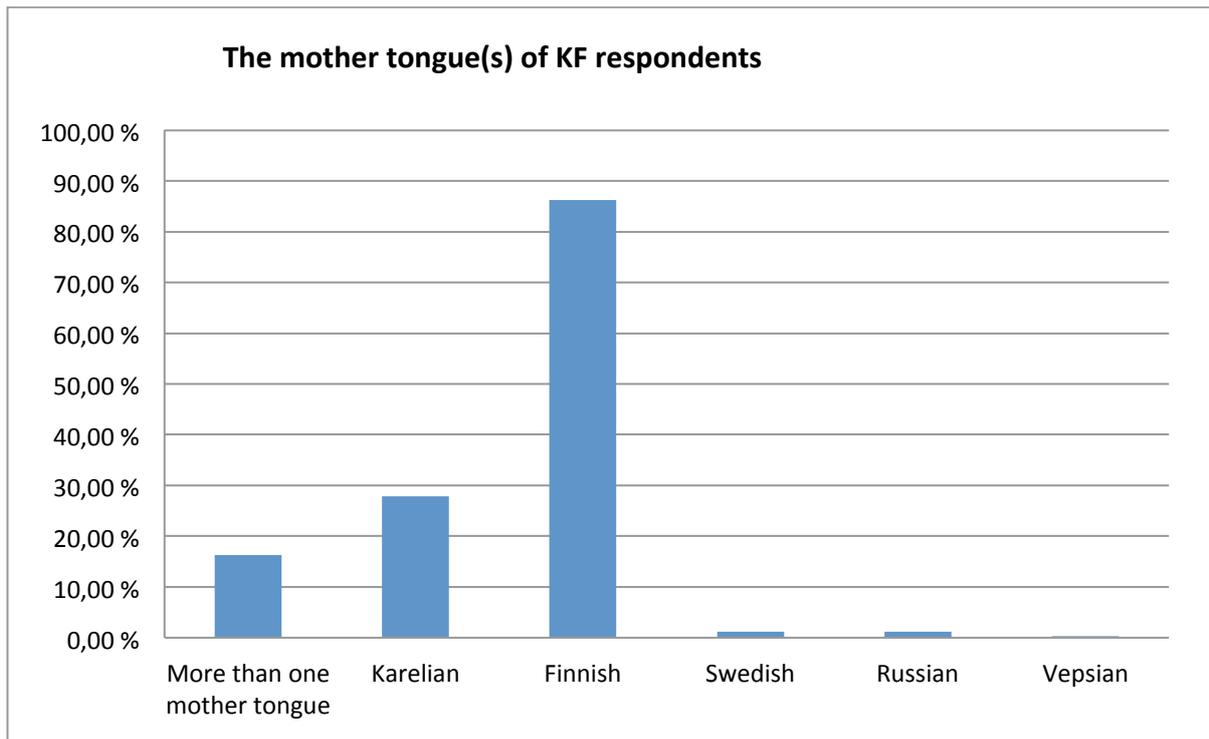


Figure 8. The mother tongue(s) of KF respondents

In the CG questionnaire the mother tongue was asked about in open-ended question 9 (Q09), which was answered by 145 respondents. Four of these (2.76%) indicated that they had acquired more than one language as a mother tongue and in every case, one of these languages was Finnish or Swedish. 132 respondents (91.3%) reported Finnish as a mother tongue and 12 respondents Swedish (8.27%). The other languages mentioned were English (two respondents; 1.38%), Russian (two respondents; 1.38%) and French (one respondent, 0.69%).

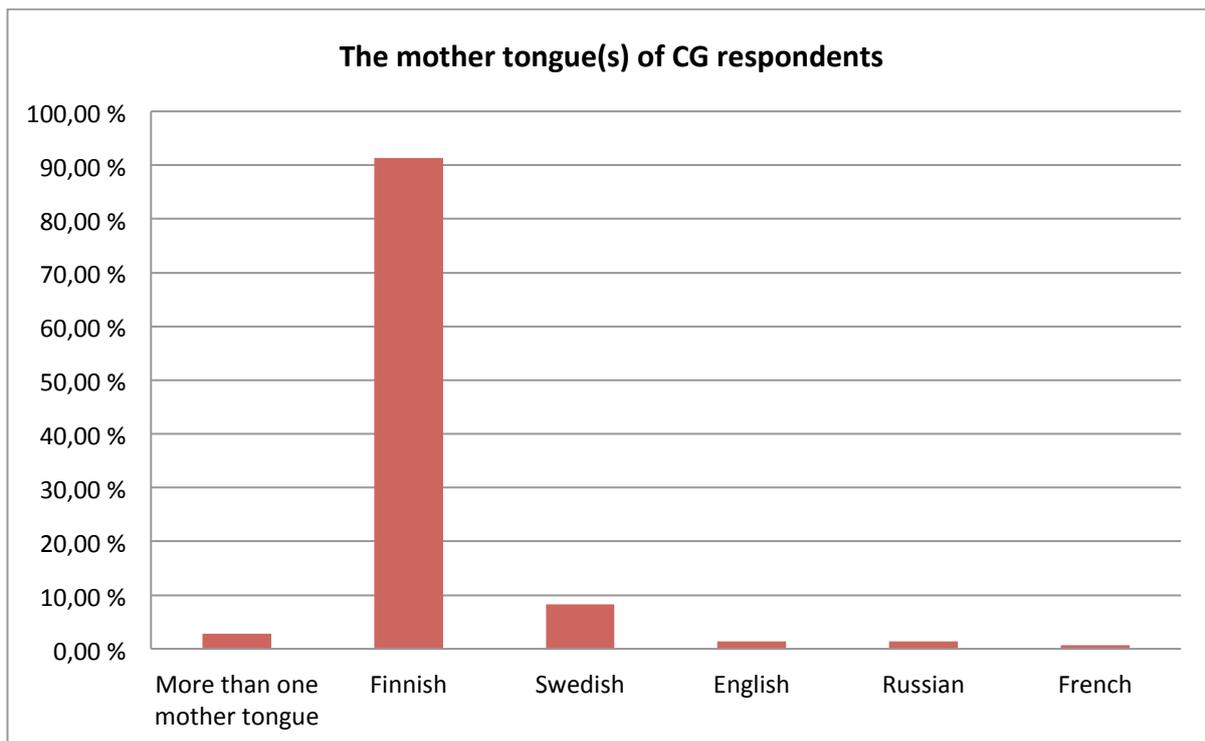


Figure 9. The mother tongue(s) of CG respondents

A comparison of the mother tongue profiles of Karelian Finn and CG respondents. A comparison of the Karelian Finn sample with the CG sample (Figure 10 below) reveals three respects in which the Karelian Finn respondents differ from those in the CG sample. Having more than one mother tongue (2.77%) and having a minority language as a mother tongue are less frequent phenomena among the CG respondents (3.45%) than among Karelian Finn respondents (29.3%), and fewer of the latter (1.13%) reported Swedish as a mother tongue than CG respondents (8.27%).

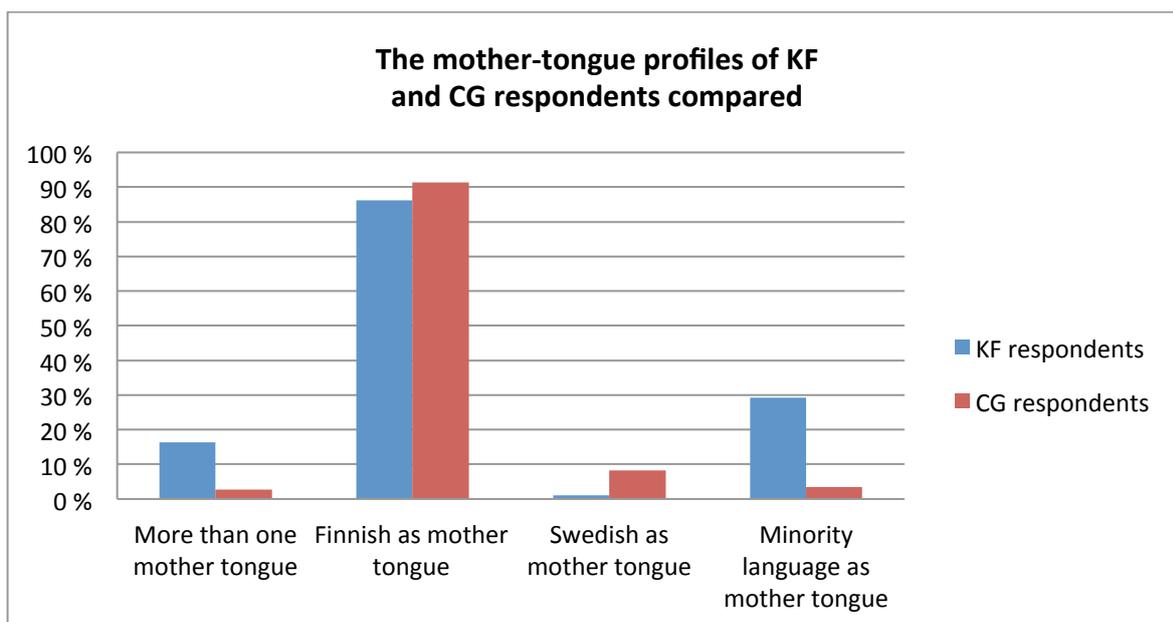


Figure 10. The mother-tongue profiles of KF and CG respondents compared

4.3.1.2 *Cross-generational and intra-generational language use*

This section explores language use patterns within families, paying special attention to language use between parents and children (cross-generational language use) and among siblings and between spouses (intra-generational language use). Patterns of cross-generational language use reveal to what extent there are or have been attempts within a given minority to transmit their language to the next generation; investigating this is crucial for determining the status of the language and the prospects of maintaining it. Patterns of intra-generational language use elucidate language vitality in terms of endogamous marriages and provide information on the role of the language in social relationships with relatives and friends. Information on language use patterns within families was gathered with questions Q10-Q21 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire and with questions Q10-Q11 in the CG questionnaire.

Cross-generational language use as reported by Karelian Finn respondents

In the Karelian Finn questionnaire, cross-generational language use among the members of the respondent's childhood family was mapped by questions Q15 – Q18: Q15 and Q17 asked about languages used by the parents with their children when the latter were still living in their childhood home, and Q16 and Q18 were about languages that the respondent's parents use with her/him today.

Languages parents used with Karelian Finn respondents in childhood⁶⁹ (Q15, Q17). As Figure 11 shows, exactly the same proportion of respondents, viz. 83.6% of all who answered the questions, reported their mother and father having used Finnish with them. Mothers were reported having used Karelian slightly more often (41.48% of responses) than fathers (39.11%), and mothers were also reported having used more than one language more frequently (28.3%) than fathers (24.6%). Four respondents reported that the mother had used Swedish (1.29%), seven mentioned Russian (2.25%) and one English (0.23%). The other languages used with respondents by their fathers were Swedish (1.21%, mentioned by three respondents); Russian (3.23%, mentioned by eight respondents) English and French (0.4%, mentioned by one respondent each).

⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the ELDIA questionnaire only asked about the languages that the parents used with the respondents; it did not ask which language or languages the latter used in their childhood and use today when talking to their parents.

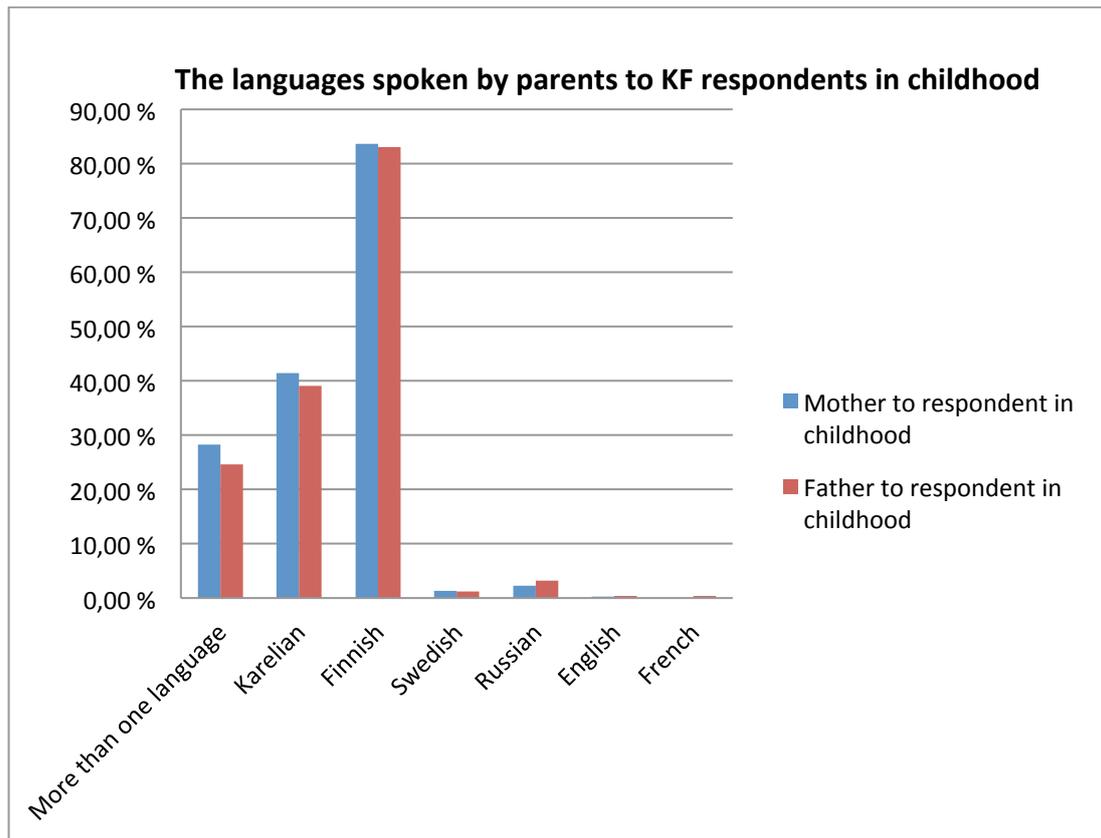


Figure 11. The languages spoken by parents to KF respondents in childhood

Languages used by parents with Karelian Finn respondents today (Q16, Q18). Almost 96% of the parents of the Karelian Finn respondents use Finnish with them today (96.25% of mothers and 95.35% of fathers). 20% of respondents reported that their mother speaks Karelian with them (in childhood: 41.48%), and 18.6% that their fathers do this (in childhood: 39.11%). More than one language was reported for 18.75% of mothers and 23.26% of fathers; for mothers, this is 10 percentage points less than that for similar language use in childhood (28.3%); for fathers the change is barely 1.5 points (in childhood 24.6%). Two respondents (2.5%) reported that their mothers use Swedish with them and one respondent's mother uses Russian (1.25%); two fathers were reported using Swedish and two Russian (4.65% each). The slight increase in the proportions of Swedish and Russian-speaking parents is not real but due to the smaller number of respondents whose parents are still alive: e.g. the 2.5% of mothers who use Swedish today actually consists of responses by two people, whereas the 1.29% of mothers who spoke Swedish to the respondent in her/his childhood is based on the information that four mothers did so.

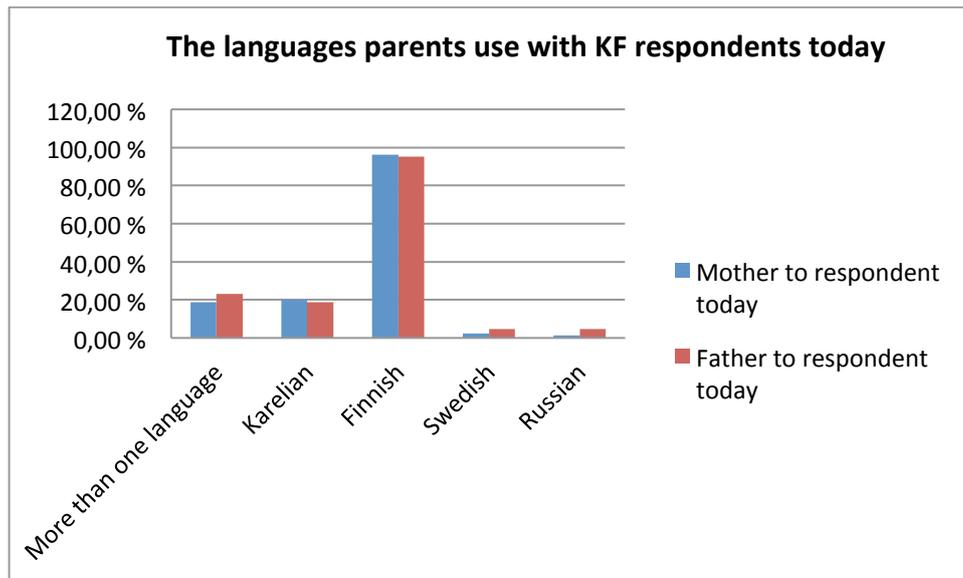


Figure 12. The languages parents use with KF respondents today

There has been a decline in the use of Karelian as a means of cross-generational communication between parents and children. When compared with the reported language use of parents in the respondents' childhood, the questionnaire results suggest that there has been an increase of about 12% in the use of Finnish, and a decrease of about 20% in the use of Karelian. In a longitudinal perspective, the results give a clear picture of the post-WWII decline of Karelian as a means of cross-generational communication within families.

Languages spoken to Karelian Finn respondents by grandparents. Open-ended questions Q10 and Q11 asked about the languages that maternal and paternal grandparents use or used with them. 15.97% of respondents reported that their maternal grandparents used more than one language; 17.07% reported that their paternal grandparents did so. 54.95% of maternal grandparents and 56.45% of paternal grandparents used Karelian with the respondent, while 58.15% of maternal grandparents and 57.49% of paternal grandparents used Finnish. Swedish was reported for 0.96% of maternal grandparents (three people) and for 1.39% of paternal grandparents (four people). Russian was used by 1.6% of maternal and 2.44% of paternal grandparents (five people and seven people, respectively). In short, the selection of languages grandparents used with respondents is basically the same as that of languages used by parents, with the exception of English and French, which were only reported for parents.

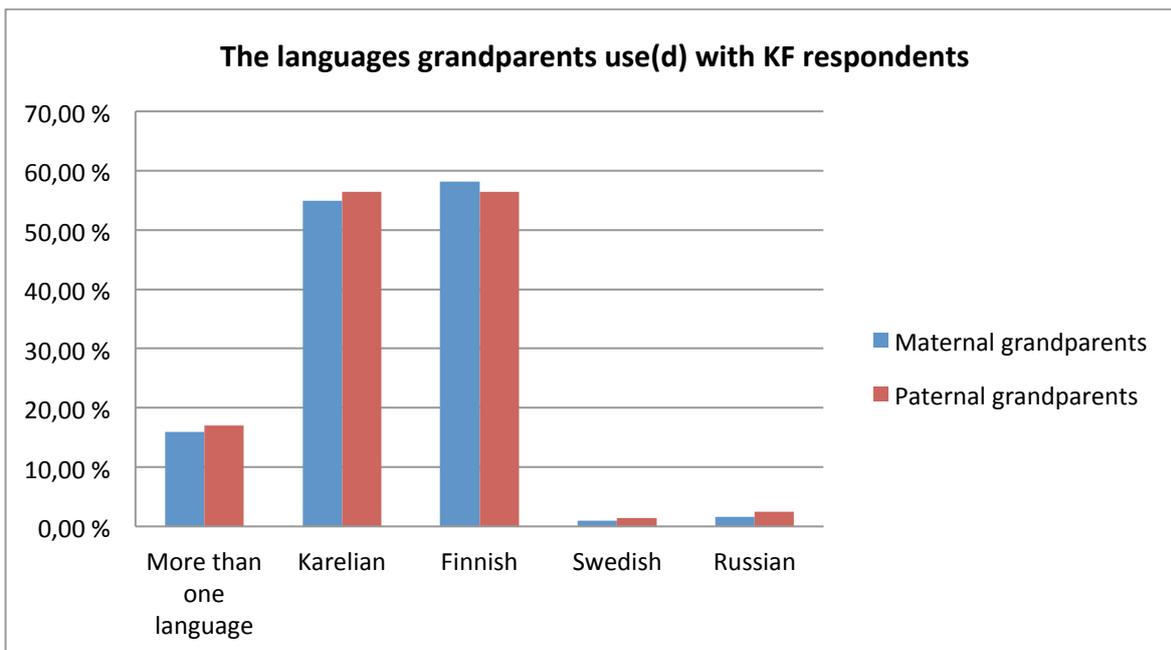


Figure 13. The languages grandparents use(d) with KF respondents

Language(s) Karelian Finn respondents use with their own children. Question Q21 inquired about the respondents’ language use with their own children, 10.87% of those who answered this question (five respondents) reported using more than one language with their children. 8.7%, use Karelian with them, 97.83% use Finnish, and Swedish, Russian, English and French are used by 2.17% each.

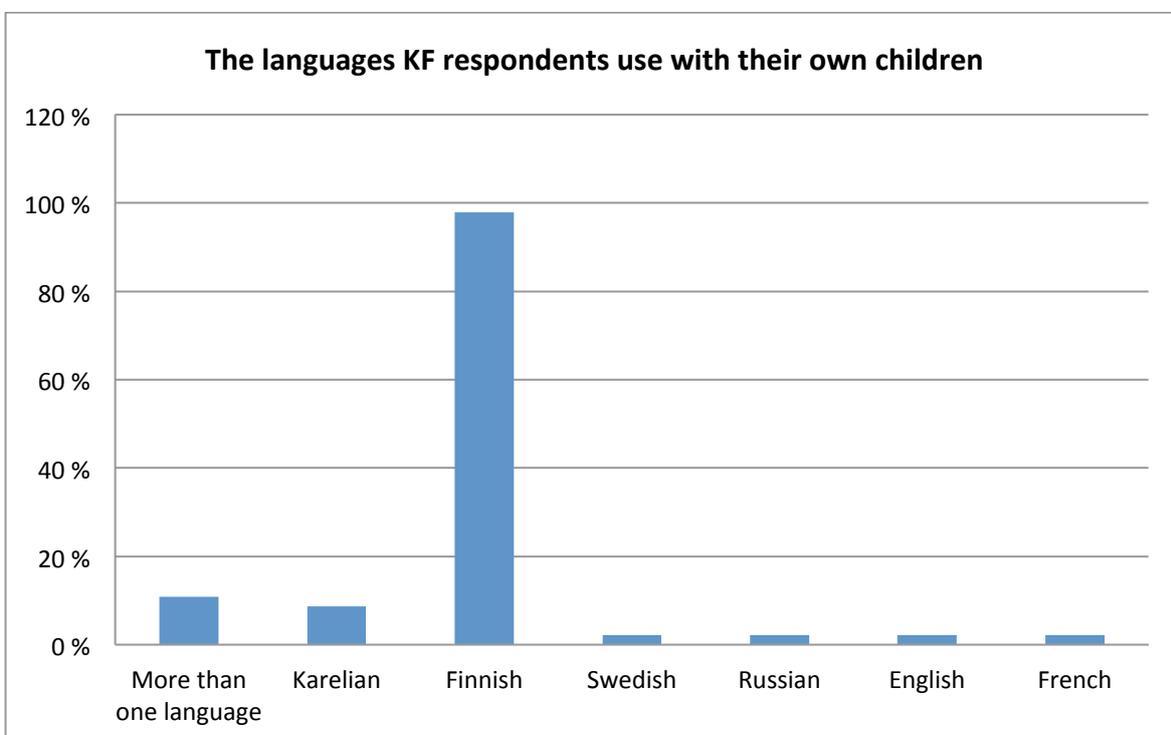


Figure 14. The languages KF respondents use with their own children

Patterns of cross-generational use of Karelian and Finnish in families of Karelian Finn respondents. Figure 15 below shows the results for cross-generational language use

patterns in the Karelian Finn sample with regard to Karelian and Finnish. They indicate a clear, steady increase in the use of Finnish from one generation to another and a correspondingly steady decline in the use of Karelian. Figure 15 also suggests that fewer of the respondents' parents use Karelian with them today than did in their childhood. This, however, is probably just an illusion, which, again, ultimately derives from the "activist" bias of the Karelian sample and the fact that 62% of the Karelian respondents belong to the age cohort over 65-year old and another 30% to the cohort 49-64. Since their parents, as a rule, spoke Karelian more fluently than any of the subsequent generations of Karelian Finns, the input of the 65+ generation in the figures for the use of Karelian in childhood must be overwhelming. Since that their parents are most probably no longer alive today, Fig. 15 should be read not as an indication that parents who earlier spoke Karelian with their children have ceased to do so but rather as a picture of the rapid decline of Karelian from one post-WWII generation to another.

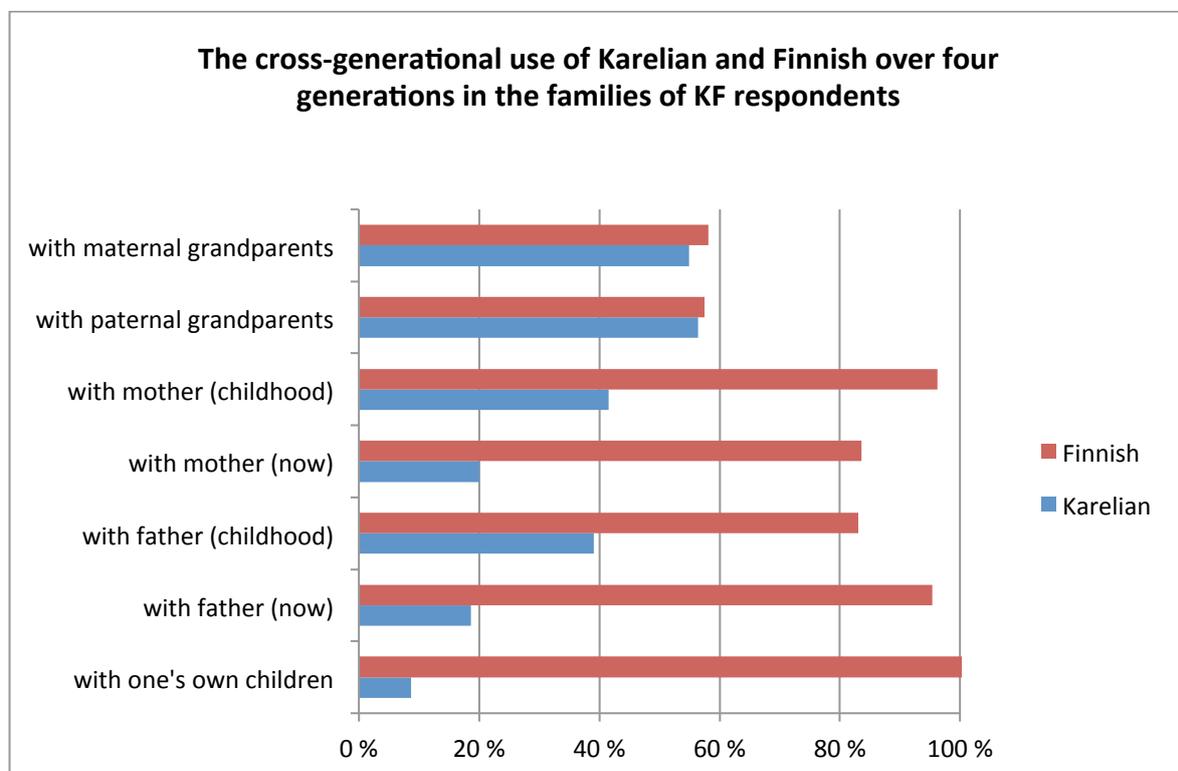


Figure 15. The cross-generational use of Karelian and Finnish over four generations in the families of KF respondents

Cross-generational language use as reported by CG respondents

Fewer than a fifth of CG respondents have a multilingual family background. CG respondents were asked about bilingualism and multilingualism in their family background in Q10: "Do you have any other languages than Finnish in your family background in the generation of your parents and grandparents?". The options were "yes", "no" and "I don't know", and if the answer was "yes" the respondents were asked to indicate which languages had been spoken in the family in earlier generations. Only 25 respondents, i.e. 17.24%, reported having languages other than Finnish in their family background; 23 of them had ticked the

option “yes”, and two people had written the name of a language in the open part of the question. The languages that were specified in the open part of the question included Finnish (22 people), Swedish (17 people), Karelian (4 people), German, English and Russian (mentioned by two people each), Ukrainian, Belorussian and Catalan (mentioned by one person each). Due to the way in which the open-ended data was manually analysed, it is not possible to indicate here what the language combinations were without going through all the data again. In brief, in 88% of cases, one of the languages in the “family multilingualism set” was Finnish and in 68% one was Swedish. In a fair number of families, both Finnish and Swedish is or has been spoken. At 16%, Karelian was the most frequently mentioned language, which indicates that alongside the national languages, Karelian is still part of family multilingualism, or at least has been so within living memory. Less common in multilingual families were German, English and Russian (all languages that were also given as a mother tongue by CGF respondents, cf. Section 4.3.1.1, and that are also the most common languages spoken by Finns, as will be shown further below).

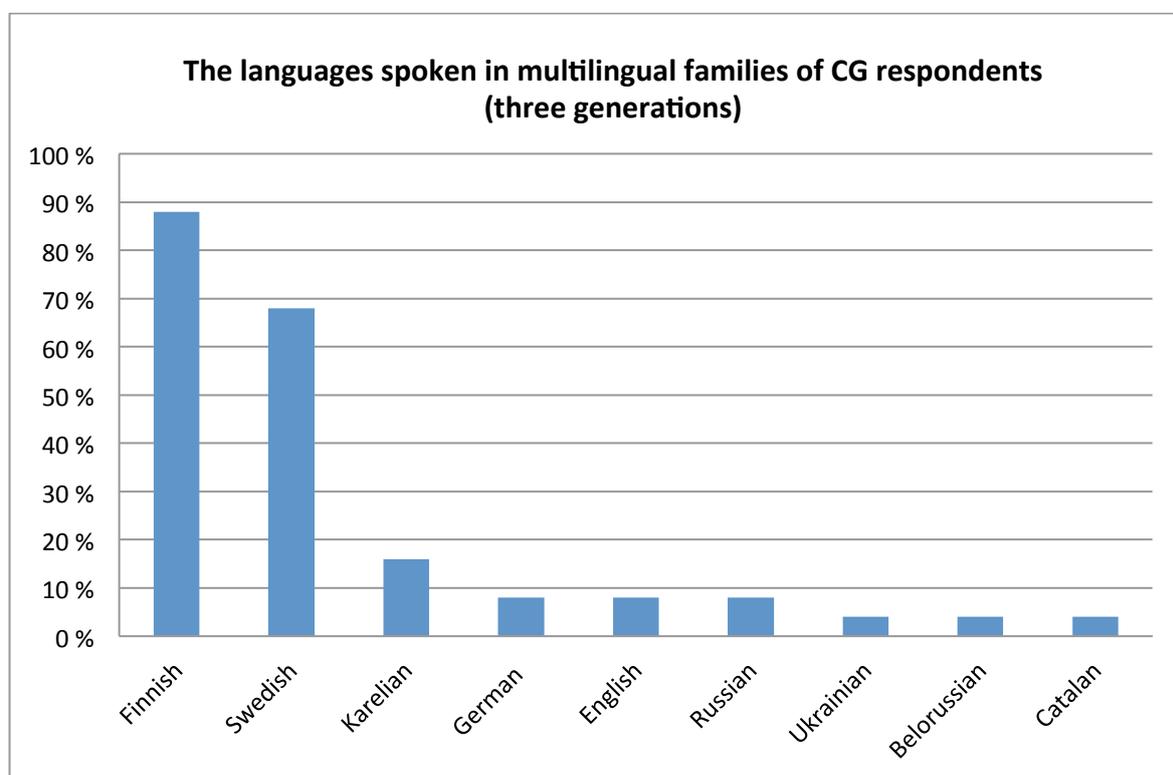


Figure 16. The languages spoken in the multilingual families of CG respondents (three generations)

Bilingualism and multilingualism in the family background of Karelian Finn and CG respondents: a brief comparison. In principle, all Karelian Finn respondents have a bilingual or multilingual family background, whereas this was the case with only 17.24% of CG respondents. As illustrated above, since WWII family bilingualism and multilingualism has steadily decreased in the families of Karelian Finn respondents. One can conclude from the data on the use of more than one language with one’s children (see Figure 14 above) that today it seems to be even less common among the descendants of Karelian Finns (10.87%) than it is among CG respondents, i.e. in Finnish society in general. The selection of languages

included in the “family multilingualism sets” of Karelian and CG respondents were largely the same: the three most frequent languages listed by both groups were Finnish, Karelian and Swedish. Other languages mentioned in both groups were Russian, English and French; there were a few occurrences of German, Ukrainian, Belorussian and Catalan in the CG sample and Veps in the Karelian sample.

Intra-generational language use as reported by Karelian Finn respondents

The following figure compares the use of Karelian with the use of Finnish within nuclear family:

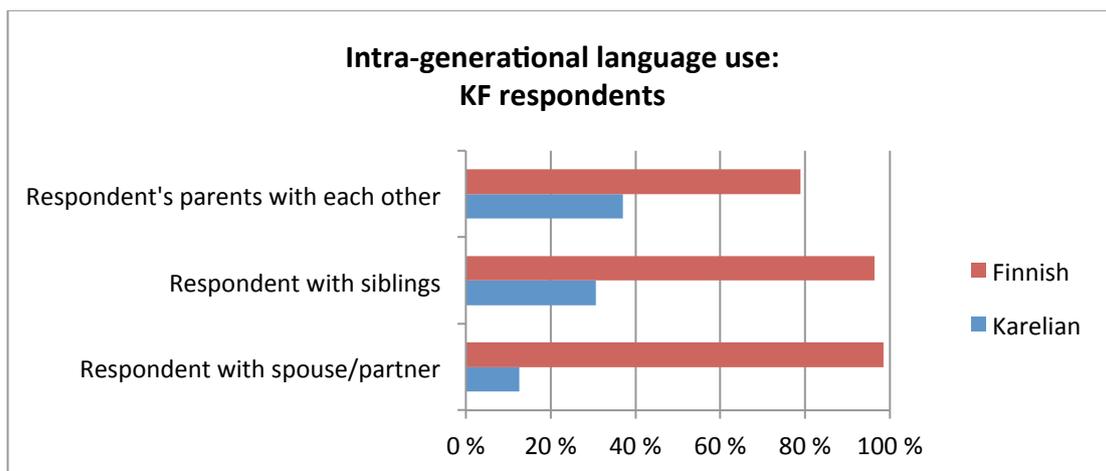


Figure 17. Intra-generational language use: KF respondents

Finnish is the most common language spoken by Karelian Finn respondents' parents to each other. Q14 in the minority questionnaire inquired about languages that the respondent's parents used or still use with each other. Of 321 respondents who had written something here, all 321 also answered the question in full, i.e. indicating the language or languages that the father spoke with the mother, and those that the mother spoke with the father. 134 of these (i.e. 41.4%) reported that their parents spoke or still speak more than one language, with each other and 187 reported having or having had parents who communicated with each other in one language only. In 37.07% (=119/321) of the answers given for Q14, Karelian was mentioned as one of the languages that are or were used by the respondent's parents between themselves; Finnish was indicated in 78.82% (253/321) of all answers. Russian was mentioned in 1.56% of the answers (5/321) and Swedish in 0.62% (2/321) of them.

Wide variety of spousal language use patterns among Karelian Finn respondents' parents.

A closer analysis of the data revealed different patterns of bilingual and multilingual language use between spouses. The patterns can be divided roughly into two categories: patterns involving monolingual language use, and patterns involving bilingual or multilingual language use. In what follows, the patterns are first briefly described, and their distribution in the data is then shown in Figure 17 further below.

Monolingual Karelian or Finnish language use between Karelian Finn respondents' parents.

49 respondents out of the 321 who had answered question Q14 reported having or having had parents who spoke exclusively Karelian with each other; 28 (57.14%) of these had filled in a Karelian version of the survey questionnaire. 85 respondents reported having or having had parents who spoke exclusively Finnish with each other; only 8 (9.41%) of these had filled in a Karelian version of the survey questionnaire.

Karelian and Finnish language use between Karelian Finn respondents' parents. 33 respondents reported having or having had a childhood home where the parents use(d) both Karelian and Finnish in their mutual communication. When looked at closer, the data revealed the following patterns in bilingual Karelian and Finnish language use among spouses: 1) bilateral bilingual use, i.e. each parent speaks or spoke both Karelian and Finnish to the other; 2) unidirectional bilingual use, i.e. only one of the parents speaks or spoke Karelian and Finnish to the other; 3) Karelian-Finnish semi-communication, i.e. one parent speaks only Finnish and the other only Karelian to the other; 4) bilateral bilingual language use involving languages other than Karelian and Finnish: one respondent had or had had parents who each spoke Finnish and Swedish to the other; 5) bilingual language use involving languages other than Karelian and Finnish: two respondents had parents who spoke Karelian and Russian with each other (bilateral bilingual language use), and one respondent's mother uses/used only Swedish when speaking to the father, whereas the father speaks or spoke both Swedish and Finnish to the mother (unidirectional bilingual language use). Somewhat surprisingly, both respondents whose parents used Finnish and Swedish amongst themselves had filled in a Karelian version of the questionnaire.

Multilingual language use between Karelian Finn respondent's parents. Two respondents reported having or having had parents who both spoke Karelian, Finnish and Russian to each other; both respondents had filled in the Finnish version of the questionnaire.

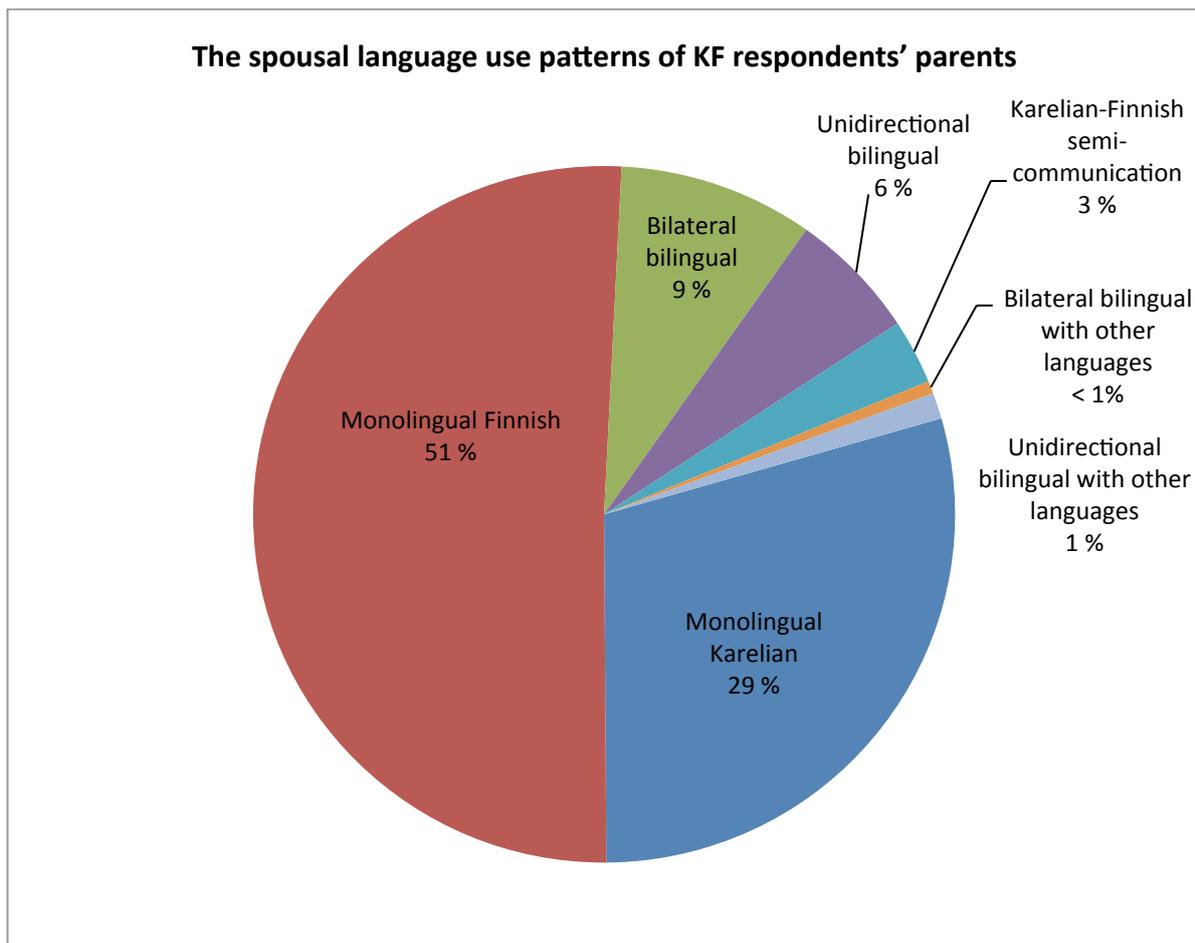


Figure 18. The spousal language use patterns of KF respondents' parents

Finnish is the main language used by Karelian Finn respondents with siblings. Open-ended question Q19 asked about the languages that respondents spoke with their siblings in childhood and today. The respondents were asked to report separately about the languages they used with their older siblings and their younger ones. In accordance with the instructions for all ELDIA analyses, the following discussion ignores the finer distinctions. Q19 was answered by 333 respondents, 29.13% (97 people) of whom reported speaking or having spoken more than one language with their siblings. 30.63% (102 respondents) reported speaking or having spoken Karelian, but almost all, viz. 96.40% (321 people), reported using or having used Finnish. 5 respondents (1.5%) reported using Swedish and 3 (0.9%) Russian.

The prevailing majority of Karelian Finn respondents speak Finnish with their spouse or partner. Open-ended question Q20 inquired about respondents' language use with their current spouse or partner. If more than one language is used, respondents were asked to describe in what kind of situations each language is used. The question was answered by 254 respondents, almost all of whom, viz. 98.43% of them (250 people) reported speaking Finnish with their spouse or partner.

Only roughly one tenth speak Karelian with their spouse or partner. 14.17% (36 respondents) reported using more than one language with their spouse or partner. 32 respondents (12.6%) reported using Karelian. Eight reported using Swedish (3.15%), five Russian (1.97%),

three English (1.18%), one German (0.39%), and one just “speaking another language” (0.39%).

Intra-generational language use as reported by CG respondents

The results concerning language use with the spouse or the partner among Control Group respondents are summarized in Figure 19:

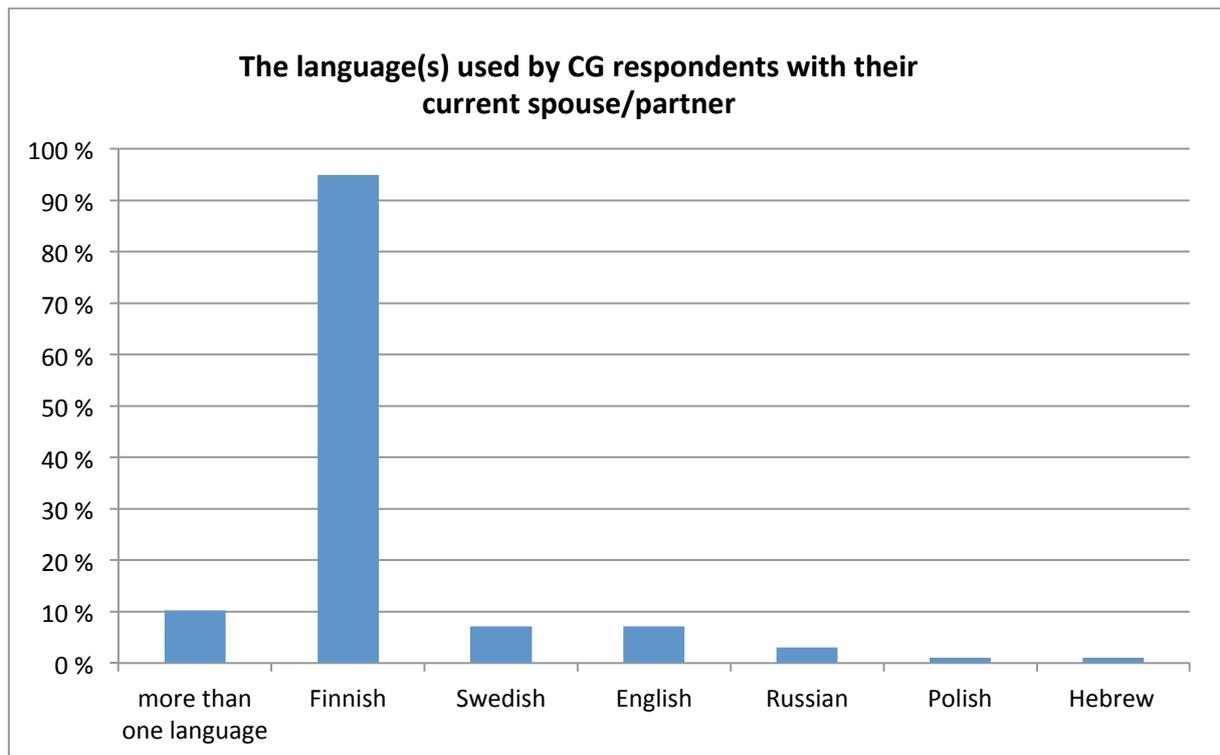


Figure 19. The language(s) used by CG respondents with their current spouse/partner

Only one tenth of the CG respondents use a language other than Finnish with their spouse/partner. Question Q11 of the Control Group questionnaire asked about language use with the spouse or partner. 98 respondents answered this question, ten of whom reported speaking more than one language with their current spouse or partner. The most commonly mentioned language in the free-form verbal answers was Finnish, which was indicated by 93 respondents. Swedish was mentioned by seven respondents, as was English. Other languages mentioned were Russian (three respondents), and Polish and Hebrew (one person each).

4.3.1.3 Self-reported language skills

The self-reported language skills of Karelian Finn respondents

In the ELDIA minority-survey questionnaire, questions Q28 – Q31 aimed at mapping respondents’ language skills in Karelian, Finnish, English, Swedish, German and French. Respondents were asked to rate how well they understand, speak, read and write Finnish, English,

Swedish, German and French. The grades used were “fluently” – “well” – “fairly well” – “poorly” – “not at all”. After these languages, which were listed in the above order, respondents were offered the possibility of adding another language or languages.

Receptive skills in the pre-defined set of languages were asked about in Q28 (understanding, i.e. comprehension of the spoken language) and Q30 (reading), active skills in Q29 (speaking) and Q31 (writing). Below, however, the results are presented and discussed by comparing reported Karelian skills with reported Finnish skills, and then looking at the results for English, Swedish, German, French and any other language(s).

Note that the results have been read directly from statistical tables without refined filtering of evaluations by respondents who all through questions Q28 – Q31 evaluated their skills in a given language with the option “not at all”. Thus, the scores for this category sometimes include ratings by respondents who have absolutely no knowledge of the language to be evaluated, although the option “not at all” was designed for respondents who have at least some skills in that particular language but wish to indicate that others are lacking, e.g. they are not able to speak it. The option “poorly” is also open to some degree of interpretation: on the one hand, as a grade it suggests a negative evaluation of skills (“badly”), on the other hand, when contrasted with the option “not at all” and with the fact that respondents fairly often took the opportunity of indicating their complete lack of knowledge of a particular language by giving no evaluation at all, the option “poorly” really means that the respondent has some proficiency in understanding/speaking/reading/writing the language in question. For the sake of consistency, in what follows the option “not at all” is read as “some skills are lacking”, and the option “poorly” as “having some skills”.

It is also important to note that “understanding” a language probably has a different meaning when used to refer to Karelian and Finnish, which most respondents have learned “in a natural way”, than it has when used to refer to Swedish, German and French, which most respondents have learned by way of formal instruction. In the context of Karelian and Finnish, “understanding” has probably been interpreted by respondents as ‘being able to make sense of thoughts expressed in Karelian or Finnish’, whereas in the context of English, German and perhaps Swedish, “understanding” may have been read as ‘understanding the language in its spoken form’ (“listening comprehension”) as contrasted to understanding it when reading it, which was mapped with questions about reading skills in the questionnaire as well.

For each language, the figure given for the number of respondents who rated their skills is an average based on the numbers of those rating each particular skill.

Over 90% of Karelian Finn respondents rated their skills in Karelian and almost 100% their skills in Finnish. 324 respondents (91%) rated their skills in Karelian. The “missing frequencies”, i.e. the number of those respondents who did not rate a particular skill in Karelian at all, was consistently slightly higher than that of those who did not rate the same skill in Finnish: 25 respondents did not rate their skills in understanding Karelian, 29 in

speaking it, 31 in reading it, and 43 in writing it; for Finnish the missing frequencies were highest for speaking (16) and writing (13), and lowest for understanding (5); reading skills were not rated by 11 respondents.

The results of the self-evaluation of Karelian skills are shown in Figure 21 and those of Finnish in Figure 22; they are discussed in detail below.

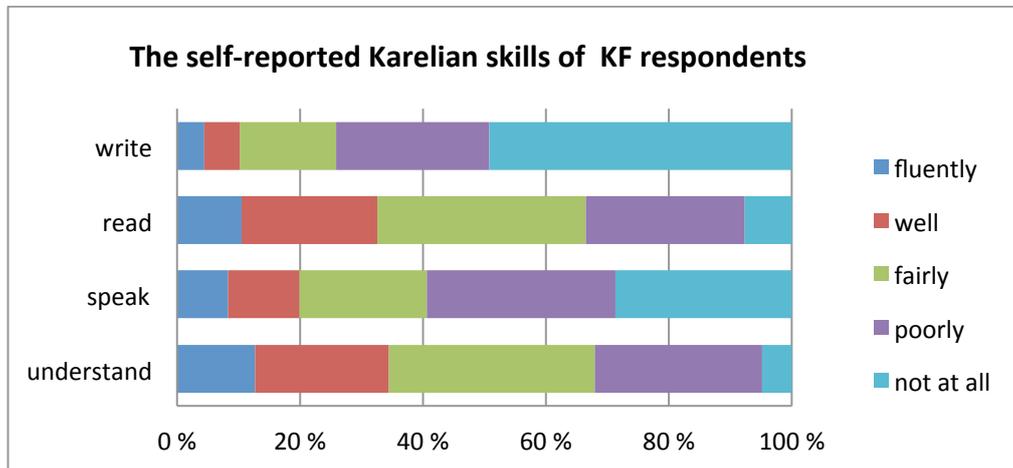


Figure 20. The self-reported Karelian skills of KF respondents

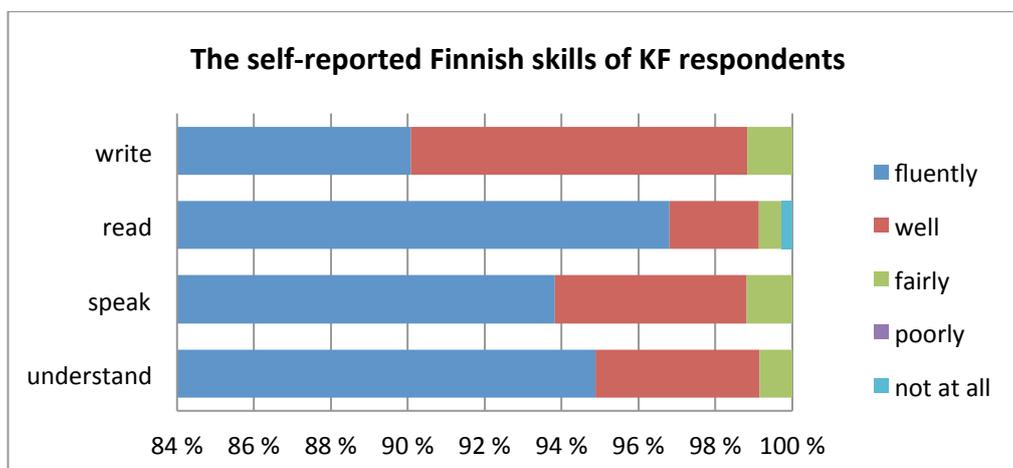


Figure 21. The self-reported Finnish skills of KF respondents

Self-reported skills in Karelian were consistently lower than those in Finnish. Even a brief look at the figures reveals that Karelian Finn respondents reported having significantly better active skills – speaking and writing – in Finnish than in Karelian. Passive skills – understanding Karelian and reading it – were reported as considerably better than active skills, but they, too, were rated lower in Karelian than in Finnish.

All Karelian Finn respondents reported understanding Finnish fluently to fairly well; one third report understanding Karelian fluently to well. Only 12.69% of the Karelian Finn respondents reported understanding Karelian at the highest level defined in the questionnaire, i.e. fluently, as compared to 94.87% for Finnish. 4.27% reported understanding

Finnish well, and the remaining 0.85% fairly well. Karelian was reported to be understood well (21.75%) or fairly well (33.53%) by 55.28% of the respondents. 27.19% reported understanding “some” Karelian (option “poorly”), and 4.83% reported not understanding Karelian at all. Altogether 67.97% of the respondents reported understanding Karelian fluently to fairly well while 100% of them reported being fluent to fairly good at understanding Finnish.

Almost all Karelian Finn respondents report reading Finnish fluently, a tenth report reading Karelian fluently, and a third read Karelian well or fairly well. Reading skills in Karelian are comparable with understanding skills: 66.48% read Karelian fairly well (33.85%) or well (22.15%), and 10.46% reported reading it fluently. Almost all respondents (96.81%) reported reading Finnish fluently and only one respondent (=0.29%) reported not being able to do it at all, although, interestingly, no respondent reported being unable to understand, speak or write any Finnish. 7.69% reported being unable to read Karelian and 25.85% reported being able to read it to some extent (option “poorly”).

A majority of Karelian Finn respondents report speaking Finnish fluently, less than half speak Karelian fluently to well, and roughly one third do not speak any Karelian. The reported ability of the Karelian Finn respondents to speak Finnish does not differ much from their ability to understand it: 93.82% of them reported speaking Finnish fluently, 5% well and 1.18% fairly well. In contrast, only 8.26% reported speaking Karelian fluently; 20.8% reported speaking it fairly well and 11.62% well. Altogether, those who reported speaking Karelian fluently to well constituted 40.68% of the respondents. 30.58% of the respondents reported speaking Karelian only to some extent (option “poorly”), and 28.75% reported not being able to speak it at all.

A majority of Karelian Finn respondents write fluently in Finnish and a quarter write fluently to fairly well in Karelian. Roughly half the Karelian Finn respondents (49.2%) reported being unable to write Karelian and 24.92% writing it only to some extent. 25.87% of them reported writing it fluently (4.47%), well (5.75%) or fairly well (15.65%). Writing skills in Finnish were reported slightly less often as fluent than were understanding, speaking or reading skills: 90.09% reported writing Finnish fluently, 8.75% well and 1.17% fairly well.

More than two thirds of Karelian Finn respondents answered questions concerning English skills. 277 Karelian Finn respondents (77.8%) rated their skills in understanding, reading, speaking and writing in English. The results are shown in Figure 22:

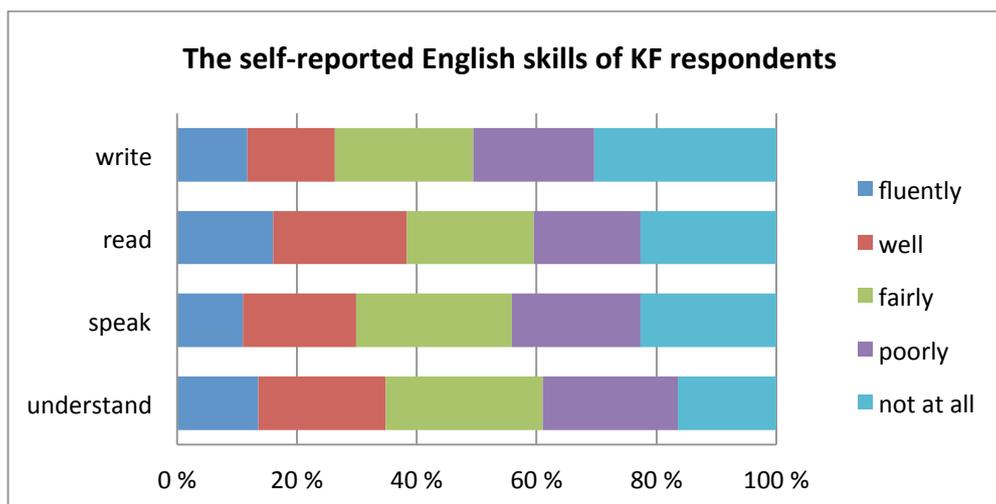


Figure 22. The self-reported English skills of KF respondents

Roughly half the Karelian Finn respondents reported having a fluent to fairly good command of English. Karelian Finn respondents' self-reported skills in understanding, reading, speaking and writing English are summarised in Figure 22 above. Understanding (spoken) English was reported as somewhat less developed than any other area of English proficiency: 41.97% of the respondents reported understanding English fluently to fairly well, compared with 55.11% for reading, 55.84% for speaking, and 50.55% for writing.

Receptive English skills were reported by Karelian Finn respondents as fluent or good more often than active skills. The skill in English given the highest rating, "fluent", was reading (16.06%) and that given the lowest rating was speaking (10.95%); 11.72% reported writing it fluently and 13.59% understanding it fluently. The proportion of those who rated each of the skills as good showed a similar trend towards receptive skills being better: 21.25% reported understanding (spoken) English well, 22.26% reading it well, 18.98% speaking it well and 14.65% writing it well.

Oral English skills were reported as fairly good more often than written skills. The survey results show a completely different pattern for the category of fairly good English skills: there is no trend towards receptive skills being rated as fairly good more often than active skills but in this category the highest value is scored by the skill of understanding (spoken) English (26.13%), closely followed by that of speaking it (25.91%). The active skill of writing it fairly well is reported slightly more frequently (23.08%) than the passive skill of reading it fairly well (21.17%).

Reading skills in English were reported as "poor" less frequently than other skills. The results for the category "poor" are fairly similar to those for "fairly good": 22.65% of the respondents reported understanding English poorly, slightly fewer (21.53%) speaking it poorly (21.53%) or writing it poorly (20.15%), and 17.88%, reading it poorly.

Almost a third of Karelian Finn respondents do not write English, roughly a fifth do not read or speak it, and fewer than a fifth do not understand it at all. The proportion of Kare-

lian Finn respondents who do not understand any English was 16.38%. 22.63% do not read or speak it, and 30.4% reported being unable to write it.

Almost four fifths of Karelian Finn respondents answered the questions on Swedish skills. 281 respondents (78.93%) rated their skills in Swedish. The results are shown in Figure 23:

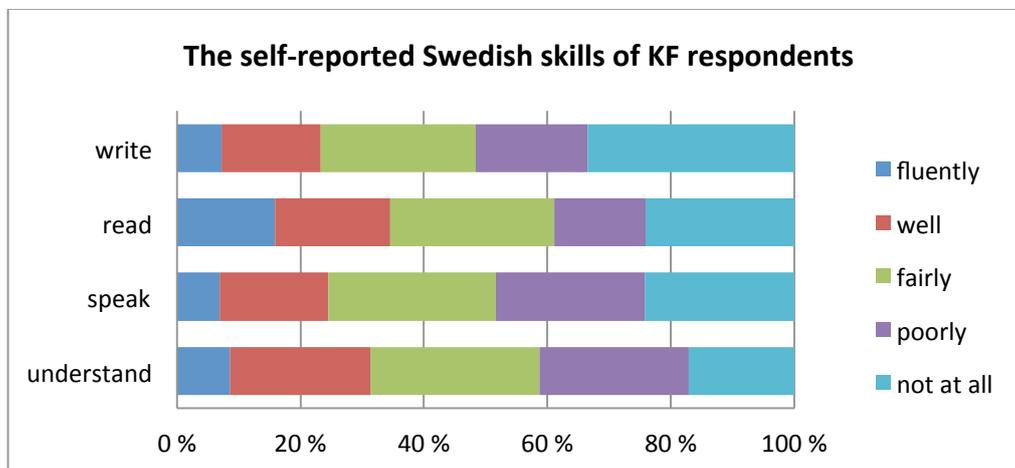


Figure 23. The self-reported Swedish skills of KF respondents

Roughly half the Karelian Finn respondents reported having fluent to fairly good Swedish skills and receptive skills were rated as better than active ones. As with English, the skill of writing Swedish was rated as rather less developed than other areas of Swedish proficiency: 48.36% of the respondents reported writing Swedish fluently to fairly well, as compared with 51.63% for speaking it, 58.7% for understanding it 58.7% and 61.16% for reading it.

Receptive Swedish skills were rated as fluent or good by Karelian Finn respondents more often than active skills, but less frequently than the respective skills in English. The highest rating for respondents' Swedish skills was most frequently given to reading skills (15.83%, cp. English: 16.06%), whereas speaking it had the lowest rating at 6.86% (cp. English: 10.95%); the proportion of those who reported writing Swedish fluently was 7.27% (cp. English 11.72%), and that of those understanding it fluently was 8.53%, (cp. English: 13.59%). As shown by the reference values for English, with the exception of reading skills, which were more or less equally often reported as fluent in Swedish and English, the results suggest that skills in Swedish are up to 6% less frequently rated as fluent than the respective skills in English. The proportion of those who rated their Swedish skills as good reveals a similar tendency towards receptive skills being rated as slightly better than active ones: 22.87% of respondents reported understanding (spoken) Swedish well (cp. English: 21.25%), 18.71% reading it well (cp. English: 22.26%), 17.69% speaking it well (cp. English: 18.98%) and 16% writing it well (cp. English: 14.65%). Compared to English, Swedish was reported to be slightly better understood and respondents reported writing it well slightly more often than writing English well; for reading and speaking, English skills were rated as good somewhat more often than Swedish skills.

Oral Swedish skills were rated as fairly good by Karelian Finn respondents more often than written skills and Swedish skills in general were rated as fairly good more often than English skills. The survey results suggest a completely different pattern for the category of fairly good Swedish skills: There is no bias towards receptive skills being rated fairly good more often than active skills: in this category the highest rating is given to the skill of understanding (spoken) Swedish fairly well (27.30%; cp. English: 26.13%), closely followed by speaking it (27.08%; cp. English: 25.91%). The skill of writing Swedish fairly well is reported by 25.09% of respondents (cp. English: 23.08%), and the skill of reading it fairly well by 26.62% of respondents (cp. English: 21.17%). A comparison with the corresponding English scores reveals that Swedish skills are rated to be fairly good more often than English skills are.

Reading skills in Swedish were less frequently rated as “poor” by Karelian Finn respondents than other skills; oral skills were rated as weaker and writing skill as stronger than those in English. The results for the category “poor” are fairly similar to those of “fairly well”: 24.23% of the respondents reported understanding Swedish poorly (cp. English: 22.65%), approximately as many (24.19 reported speaking it poorly (cp. English: 21.53%) or writing it poorly (18.18%, cp. English: 20.15%), and even fewer respondents, 14.75%, reported reading it poorly (cp. English: 17.88%).

A third of Karelian Finn respondents reported not being able to write Swedish, a quarter not being able to read or speak it and under a fifth not being able to understand it. The proportion of Karelian Finn respondents who reported not understanding any Swedish was 17.06% (cp. English: 16.38%). 24.1% reported not reading or speaking it (cp. English: 24.63%), and 33.45% (cp. English: 30.4%) being unable to write Swedish. The proportion of those without writing skills in Swedish was slightly higher than that of those unable to write English; otherwise the figures for Swedish and English are fairly similar.

Almost three quarters of Karelian Finn respondents answered questions concerning German skills. 257 respondents (72.19%) rated their skills in German. The results are shown in Figure 24:

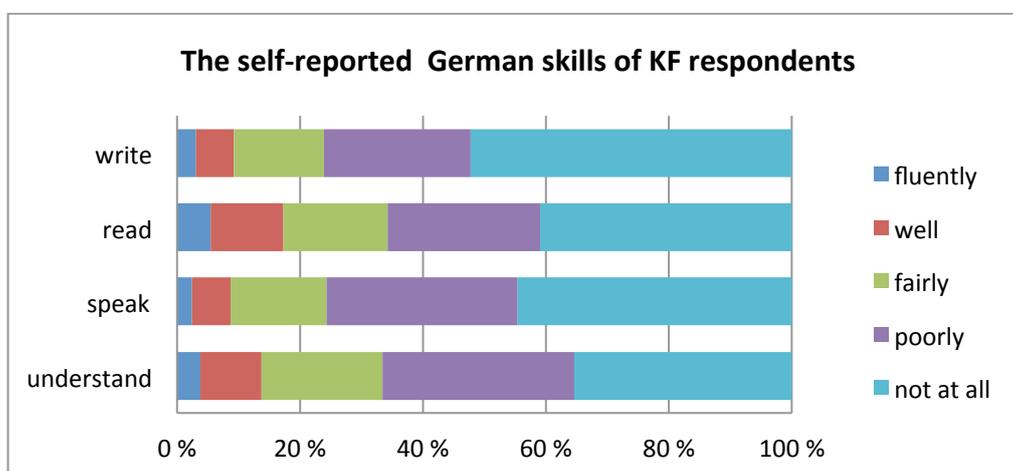


Figure 24. The self-reported German skills of KF respondents

One third of Karelian Finn respondents reported having fluent to fairly good passive skills in German, while only a quarter reported having active skills. The Karelian Finn respondents' self-reported skills in understanding, reading, speaking and writing German are shown in Figure 23 below. As with English, receptive skills in German were rated as better than active skills: one third of the respondents reported having a fluent to fairly good passive command of German, (33.46% for understanding and 34.25% for reading). A quarter of respondents reported having fluent to fairly good active skills: 23.85% of respondents reported writing in German fluently to fairly well which is very close to the figure for speaking it, viz. 24.3%.

Self-reported skills in German were reported as fluent far less frequently than was the case with English or Swedish. As with English and Swedish skills, the rating "fluent" was most frequently applied to reading skills: 5.51% of the respondents reported reading German fluently, which is more than 10 points lower than for Swedish (15.83%) or English (16.06%). Only 2.39% of the respondents reported speaking German fluently, which is much fewer than for Swedish (6.86%) and English (10.95%). The proportion of those who reported being able to write German fluently was 3.8%, which was somewhat lower than the respective score for Swedish (7.27%) and significantly lower than that for English (11.72%). Exactly the same proportion, 3.8%, reported understanding (spoken) German fluently; this was less than half the proportion of those who reported understanding Swedish fluently (8.53%) and roughly one third of the figure for English (13.59%).

Self-reported skills in German were reported as good far less frequently than was the case with English or Swedish. The proportion of those who rated their German skills as good reveals a similar tendency towards receptive skills being rated as better than active ones: 9.89% of respondents reported understanding (spoken) German well (cp. Swedish: 22.87%, English: 21.25%) and 11.81% reading it well (cp. Swedish: 18.71% , English: 22.26%), whereas 6.37% reported speaking it well (cp. Swedish 17.69%; English: 18.98%) and 6.15% writing it well (cp. Swedish: 16%; English: 14.65%). These figures show that far fewer respondents reported a good command of German than was the case with Swedish and, especially, English.

Fairly good German skills were reported less frequently than was the case with Swedish or English. As with Swedish and unlike English, there seems to be no real bias towards receptive skills in German being rated as fairly good more often than active ones. The rating "fairly well" was distributed relatively evenly over the different skills: it was most frequently given to understanding (19.77%; cp. Swedish: 27.30%, English: 26.13%), closely followed by reading (16.93%; cp. Swedish: 26.62%, English: 21.17%), speaking (15.54%; cp. Swedish: 27.08%, English: 25.91%), and writing (14.62%; cp. Swedish: 25.09%, English: 23.08%).

One third reported having some oral communication skills (understanding, speaking) in German and one quarter being able to read and write some German. The results for the category poorly are somewhat hard to interpret. In the context of Finland, where German is one of the languages commonly taught in schools, a "poor" command of German actually

means that respondent has some command of it but rates her/his skills as fairly modest. Spoken German was reported to be understood to some extent by 31.18% of respondents, and approximately as many (31.08%) reported being able to speak it to some extent. A comparison with the respective figures for understanding Swedish (24.23%) and English (22.65%), and for speaking Swedish (24.19%) and speaking English (21.53%), reveals that there are significantly more Karelian Finn respondents with only a modest oral competence in German than is the case with Swedish or English. The same applies to writing skills: 24.8% of respondents reported having some writing skills in German, as compared to 18.18% for Swedish and in 20.15% for English. Having some reading skill in German (24.80%) was revealed to be significantly more frequent among the respondents than having modest reading skills in Swedish (14.75) or in English (17.88%). In sum, far fewer respondents know German than Swedish or English, and they tend to rate the level of their German skills as lower than their skills in Swedish and, ever more so, in English.

German skills were rated as being on average 20% weaker than Swedish or English skills; more than half the respondents cannot write German, almost a half cannot speak it, a quarter cannot read it, and a third cannot understand it at all. The proportion of Karelian Finn respondents who reported not understanding German was 35.36% which was more than twice as many as those who do not understand Swedish or English (Swedish: 17.06%, English: 16.38%). 44.62% of respondents reported not being able to speak German, which is some 20% more than those who reported not speaking Swedish or English (cp. Swedish: 24.1%, English: 24.63%). The percentage of those who reported not reading in German, 24.8%, was the same as the proportion of those who reported not reading Swedish (24.1%) and English (24.63%). More than half the respondents, 52.31%, reported not writing German; again, this was roughly 20% more than what was reported for writing Swedish (33.45%) and some 18% more than for English (30.4%). The proportion of those without writing skills in German was significantly higher (roughly 20%) than was the case with Swedish or English. In sum, lacking German skills was reported roughly 20% more frequently than lacking Swedish or English skills.

Almost two-thirds of Karelian Finn respondents answered questions concerning proficiency in French. Across all investigated sub-skills, on average 215 respondents (60.39%) rated their skills in French. The results of the self-evaluation are summarised in Figure 25:

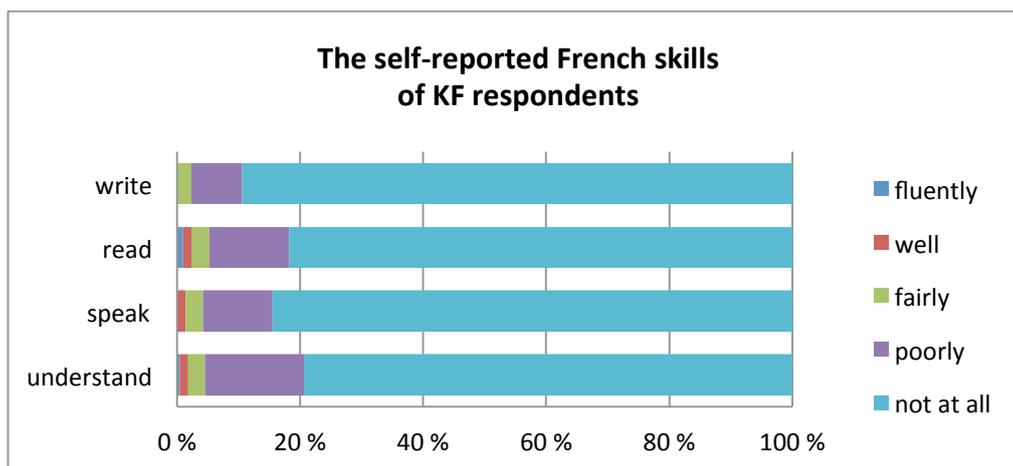


Figure 25. The self-reported French skills of KF respondents

Fluent skills were reported by Karelian Finn respondents only for reading and understanding French, and even then by fewer than one per cent of respondents. The reported French skills of Karelian Finn respondents are summarised in Figure 24. The proportion of those with fluent skills was less than one per cent (0.96% for reading and 0.45% for understanding). French was reported to be understood well (1.35%) or fairly well (2.69%) by a very small number of respondents (4.04%). 16.14% reported understanding it to some extent (poorly). 79.37% reported not understanding (spoken) French. 84.51% reported not speaking French, 11.27% reported speaking it to some extent, 2.82% reported speaking it fairly well and 1.41% well. 81.82% reported being unable to read French; 12.92% reading it to some extent (poorly), 2.87 % fairly well and 1.44% well. No respondent rated her/his own writing skills in French as fluent or even good. 2.31% reported to be able to write it fairly well and 8.33% to some extent (poorly). 89.35% reported not being able to write French at all. Knowing French appears to be more uncommon among Karelian Finn respondents than knowing any of the other specified languages (missing frequencies for questions concerning French are the highest of all the specified languages, ranging from 147 for reading to 133 for understanding; the missing frequency for speaking was 143 and 140 for writing). In sum, French skills were rated as significantly more modest than German skills, which were rated much lower than Swedish skills. Skills in English were reported as significantly better than those in any other language, especially with regard to oral communication skills.

Roughly a quarter of Karelian Finn respondents rated their skills in “other” languages of their own choice. 97 respondents took the opportunity to rate how well they understand a language or languages of their own choice. 94 respondents rated their speaking skills, 90 their reading skills and 85 their writing skills. There were a few respondents who reported proficiency in several other languages, but most respondents did not mention any additional languages here or mentioned just one.

The most common “other” languages chosen by Karelian Finn respondents were Russian, Italian and Spanish. In this section (Q28-Q31), the most frequently chosen language was Russian. The next most commonly chosen languages were Italian and Spanish, then Estonian and Greek. Languages that were less commonly chosen included Sami, Hungarian, Japanese,

Hebrew and the Kikuyu language. The results for “other” languages as a category are summarized in Figure 26:

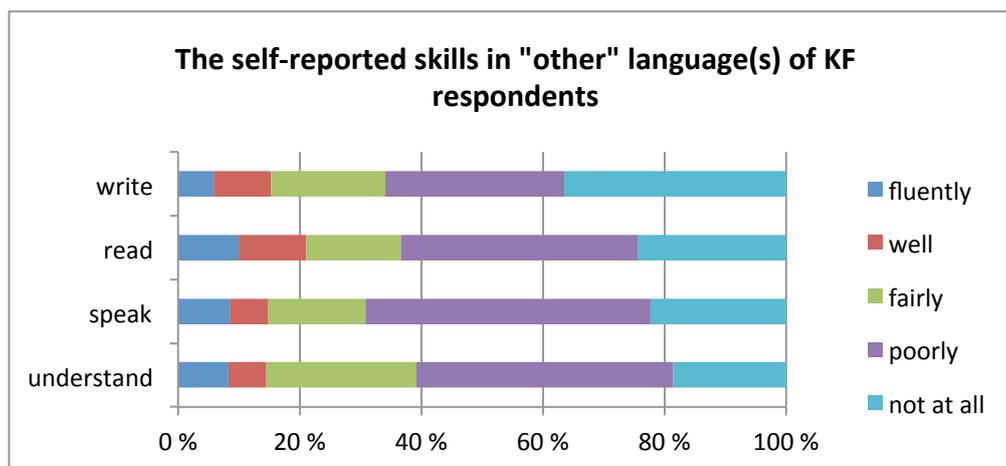


Figure 26 . The self-reported skills in "other" language(s) of KF respondents

A good third of Karelian Finn respondents reported a fluent or fairly good command of a language of their own choice. Averaging the responses for all skills, 35.20% of Karelian Finn respondents reported having a fluent (8.16%), good (8.27%) or fairly good (18.77%) command of a language of their own choice. Understanding skills were rated as fairly good to fluent by 39.18% of respondents, reading skills by 36.67%, writing skills by 34.11% and speaking skills by 30.85%. In other words, passive skills were rated slightly more often as fluent to fairly good than active skills.

A good third of Karelian Finn respondents reported knowing a language of their own choice only to some extent and a quarter lacked one or more skills. Averaging the figures for all skills, 39.34% Karelian Finn respondents reported having only some proficiency (option “poorly”) in a language of their own choice. Poor skills were reported most frequently for understanding (42.27%) and speaking (46.81%) and most seldom for writing (29.41%). A complete lack of one or more skills was reported by 25.45% of the respondents: lacking writing skills was reported most frequently (36.47%) and lacking the ability to understand the language most seldom (18.56%); the lack of reading skills was reported by 24.44% of the respondents and lacking oral skills by 22.34%.

Generalising summary of the self-reported language skills of Karelian Finn respondents.

Karelian and English are both slightly better understood than read, and better spoken than written. Finnish and Swedish, on the other hand, are slightly better read than understood when spoken, but, like Karelian English, better spoken than written. Comparing all the specified languages, Finnish is definitely the language which Karelian Finn respondents know best, English the language they know second best, and at the most general, group-average level, proficiency in Karelian is at the same level as that in Swedish. Languages listed individually by respondents under “other” are rated as known better than German which is, in turn, known better than French.

The self-reported language skills of CG respondents

In the CG questionnaire language skills were mapped by questions Q14 – Q17. The questions were formulated in the same way as in the Karelian Finn questionnaire, i.e. respondents were asked to rate how well they understand, speak, read and write Finnish, English, Swedish, German and French, using the scale fluently – well – fairly well – poorly – not at all. In the Swedish version of the questionnaire, Swedish (mother tongue) was listed first and Finnish third. After the specified languages respondents were given the opportunity of adding another language or languages and rating their skills in those as well.

In the ELDIA questionnaires the first slot was reserved for the mother tongue, so the sets of languages in questions Q14 to Q17 begin with Finnish in the Finnish version of the questionnaire and with Swedish in the Swedish version. The twelve respondents who chose to fill in the Swedish-language questionnaire had reported Swedish as their mother tongue or as one of their mother tongues, whereas those who had filled in the Finnish version included some people who had reported a mother tongue other than Finnish. Given the small number of such respondents, for the sake of brevity, the language in the first slot in the lists of languages is referred to simply as the “mother tongue”.

Almost all the CG respondents answered questions concerning mother-tongue skills. Averaging the figures for all skills, 98.64% of the respondents rated all skills in the language which was listed first, i.e. the mother tongue. The response rate for understanding was 100%; two respondents did not rate their speaking skills in Finnish/Swedish and three did not rate their reading and writing skills. The results of the self-evaluation of mother-tongue skills are summarised in Figure 27:

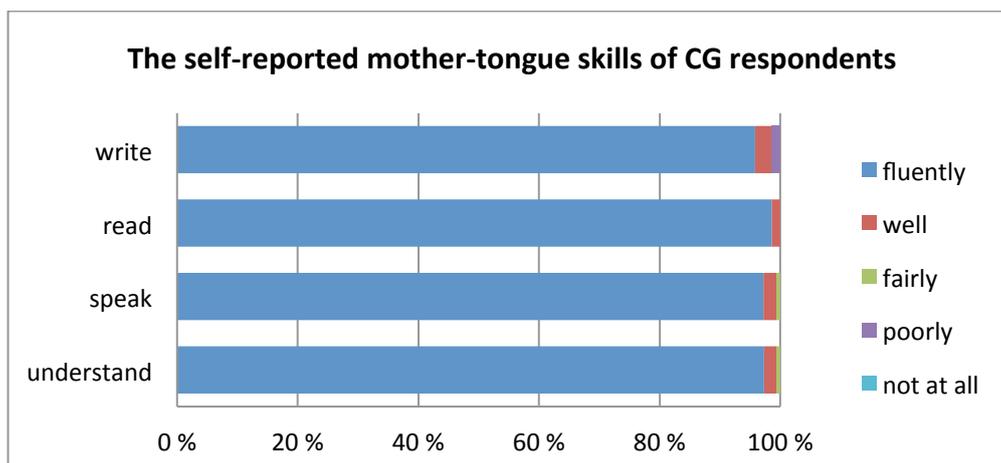


Figure 27. The self-reported mother-tongue skills of CG respondents

Native speakers of Finnish or Swedish reported fluency in all mother-tongue skills. Nearly all respondents (97.26%) reported understanding the mother tongue (either Swedish or Finnish) fluently. The remaining 3% reported understanding it well (2.05%) or fairly well (0.68%). The results for speaking were almost identical: 97.22% reported speaking the language fluently, 2.08% well and 0.69% fairly well. Reading skills in the mother tongue were even better: 99% of the respondents reported reading the mother tongue fluently; the

remaining 1% reported reading it well. Writing skills were rated only slightly lower than the other skills: 96% reported writing it fluently and 3% well.

Two thirds of CG respondents answered questions concerning skills in the other national language. The Finnish-language version of the survey questionnaire inquired about competence in Swedish and the Swedish-language version about competence in Finnish. For the sake of brevity, in what follows, Swedish in the Finnish questionnaire and Finnish in the Swedish questionnaire are referred to as “the other national language”, although a very small proportion of those who filled in the Finnish questionnaire reported a language other than Finnish as their mother tongue (for details, see Section xx above). The results are shown in Figure 28:

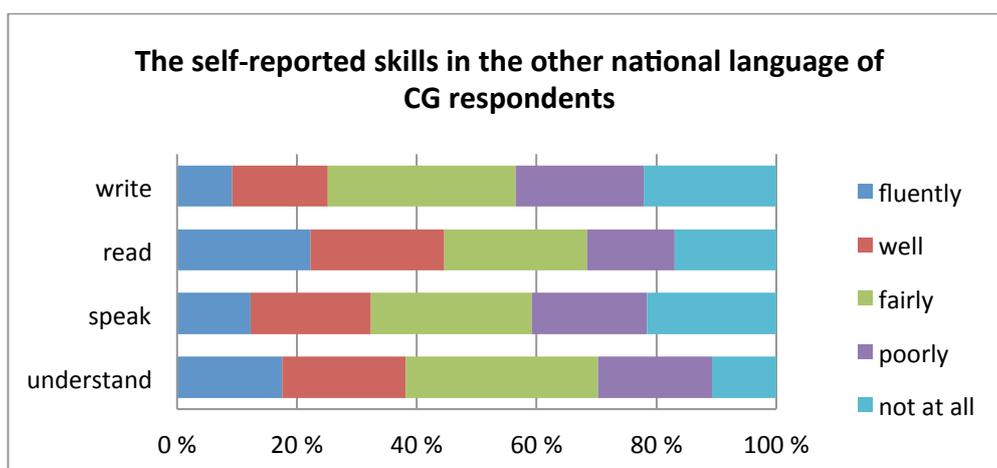


Figure 28. The self-reported skills in the other national language of CG respondents

Nearly two thirds of CG respondents reported a fluent to fairly good command of the other national language while one fifth reported having no command of it at all. Averaging the figures for all skills, the proportion of those CG respondents who reported having fluent to fairly good skills in the other national language was 63.6%. 18.57% reported having only some skills (the questionnaire option poorly), and 1.82% having no knowledge of the other national language at all.

Over two thirds of CG respondents reported fluent to fairly good skills in understanding the other national language, while one tenth reported not understanding it at all. 70.23% of CG respondents reported understanding the other national language fluently (17.56%), well (20.61%) or fairly well (32.06%). Nearly one fifth reported having a fairly modest level of understanding of it (19.08%), and roughly one out of ten respondents (10.69%) reported not understanding it at all. As pointed out earlier, it remains somewhat unclear how respondents have interpreted “understanding” here, i.e. whether they have rated their skills in understanding in the sense of Swedish or Finnish in general or in sense of the spoken language; given that another skill to be rated in the questionnaire was “reading”, it is possible that in the context of Finland and the fact that the other national language is an obligatory subject at school, “understanding” has been interpreted as ‘understanding Finnish/Swedish

when it is spoken by others”, since “listening comprehension” is one of the main language skills taught at school.

The results of self-rated reading skills in the other national language are very similar to the results for understanding it. 22.31% reported reading the other national language fluently, 22.31% reading it well, and 23.85% reading it fairly well. So almost 70% of CG respondents rated themselves as having fluent to fairly good reading skills, which is the same proportion as for understanding. 14.62% of respondents rated their reading skills as poor as compared to 19.08% for understanding. It can be concluded that those with a modest command of the language rated their reading skills rather more positively than their proficiency in understanding speech. On the other hand, a complete lack of reading skills was reported more frequently: 16.92% reported compared with 10.69% for understanding.

Receptive skills in the other national language were rated fluent or good more frequently than active skills. The receptive skills of reading and understanding the other national language were rated as fluent or good more frequently than the active skills were: 44.62% of respondents reported a fluent or good reading proficiency as compared to 38.17% for the same level of understanding, while 32.31% reported speaking it fluently or well as compared to 25.19% for writing.

CG respondents with a fluent to good command of the other national language reported their oral communication skills as better than their writing skills, while respondents with a modest command of the language rate the latter as better than the former. 59.23% reported speaking the **other** national language fluently (12.31%), well (20.0%) or fairly well (26.92%). The figures for writing skills were somewhat lower for “fluently” (9.16%) and “well” (16.03%), but significantly higher for “fairly well” (31.30%). Those with an at least fairly good active command of the language most frequently rated their active skills as fairly good. They also rated their oral skills as about 3% better than the ability to communicate in writing. Those, then, who speak and write the language to some extent (option “poorly”), rated their written communication skills as about 3% better than their oral skills.

Most CG respondents answered questions concerning English skills. 134 respondents (91.78%) rated their skills in understanding, reading, speaking and writing English. The results are shown in Figure 29:

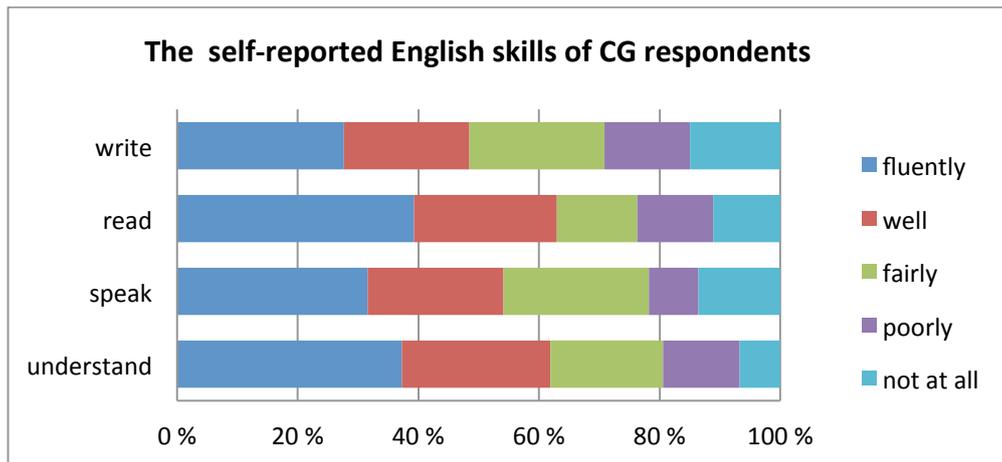


Figure 29. The self-reported English skills of CG respondents

Over three quarters of CG respondents reported a fluent to fairly good command of English. Averaging the figures for all skills, the proportion of CG respondents who reported having fluent to fairly good skills averaged 83.67%, which is 20% higher than for the other national language. An average of 13.42% reported having only some proficiency in English (the questionnaire option poorly), and an average of 13.06% reported having no knowledge of it.

Receptive English skills were rated as fluent to good more often than active skills. 62.96% of the CG respondents rated their skills in reading English as fluent or good and (61.94%) rated their understanding of the language at this level. Speaking and writing skills were somewhat less developed: 54.14% of the respondents rated the former as fluent or good and 48.51% the latter.

A third of CG respondents reported having fluent oral skills in English and a quarter rated their oral skills as fairly good. Almost a third of CG respondents (31.58%) reported being fluent speakers of English. 24.06% rated their oral skills as fairly good and 22.56% as good, 8.27% reported speaking it to some extent (poorly), and 13.53 “not at all”.

More than a third of CG respondents reported having fluent reading skills in English, a quarter good and a quarter fairly good. 39.26% of CG respondents reported reading English fluently, 23.7% of CG reading it well and 13.33% fairly well. In sum, of the 76.29% of CG respondents who reported reading English at least fairly well, the majority (62.96%) reported reading it fluently or well.

About one sixth of CG respondents cannot write or speak English, about a tenth cannot read it and a tenth cannot understand any English. Those who reported not possessing any English skills at all formed a fairly small minority of the CG respondents: 14.93% reported being unable to write English, 11.11% to read it, 13.53% to speak it, and 12.69% reported not understanding any English at all. In sum, CG respondents generally have a high proficiency in English.

Three quarters of CG respondents answered questions concerning German skills. 121 respondents (74.75%) rated their skills in German. The results are shown in Figure 30:

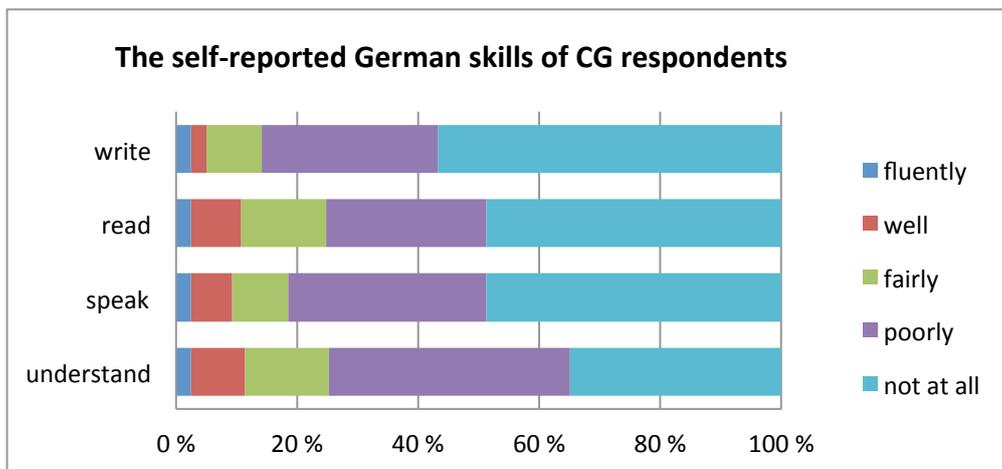


Figure 30. The self-reported German skills of CG respondents

German skills are significantly less common and weaker among CG respondents than those of the national languages and English. The German skills of CG respondents were on average 37% weaker than their English skills and 29.7% weaker than their skills in the other national language. More than a half (56.67%) do not write German at all (cp. English: 14.93%; the other national language: 22.14%), almost a half (48.76%) do not speak it at all (cp. English: 13.53%; the other national language: 21.54%), almost a half (48.76%) reported being unable to read it (cp. English: 11.11%; the other national language: 16.92%), and more than a third (34.96%) do not understand it at all (cp. English: 12.96%; other national language: 10.69%).

Only one fifth of CG respondents reported having fluent to fairly good passive skills in German, while a quarter reported having fluent to fairly good active skills. Fluent to fairly good skills were more frequently reported for active skills in German (26.59%) than for passive skills 20.99%. Understanding (spoken) German was rated as significantly weaker than that of reading: only 17.2% of respondents reported understanding German fluently (2.44%), well (8.94%) or fairly well (13.82%), whereas 24.79% rated reading it fluently (2.48%), well (8.26%) or fairly well (14.05%). One explanation for this might be that Finns with a knowledge of German tend to be middle-aged or older, since German is less commonly taught in schools nowadays, and they learned the language at a time when teaching in foreign languages paid less attention to listening comprehension than it does today.

CG respondents reported fluent skills far less frequently for German than for English or Swedish; completely lacking one or more skills was roughly evenly reported in all three languages. The proportion of CG respondents who reported being fluent in German was 2.5% for all skills. The contrast with the figure for English (33.94%) is striking, and difference from the figure for the other national language (15.35%) is also significant. 17.82% of those who rated their skills in German reported a complete lack of at least one skill, which is exactly the proportion as that for Swedish; for English, the figure was 13.06%.

CG respondents reported good skills significantly less frequently for German than for English or the other national language; fairly good skills were reported roughly as frequently as for English but significantly less frequently than for the other national language. 6.6% CG respondents rated having a good command of German and 16.5% having a fairly good command of the language, compared with 22.94% and 19.61% respectively for English and 19.74% and 28.53% for the other national language. The respondents reported having good German skills much less frequently than having good skills in English or the other national language. They reported their German skills as fairly good almost as frequently they did their English skills, while skills in the other national language were significantly more often rated as fairly good than those in German or in English.

One fifth of CG respondents reported having some oral communication skills in German and one seventh being able to read and to write some German. 20.68% of CG respondents chose the option “poorly” when rating their skills in understanding and speaking German. The proportion of those who reported being able to read and understand some German was 13.8%.

Three quarters of the CG respondents answered questions concerning French skills. 110 out of the 146 CG respondents (75.68%) rated their skills in French. The results are shown in Figure 31:

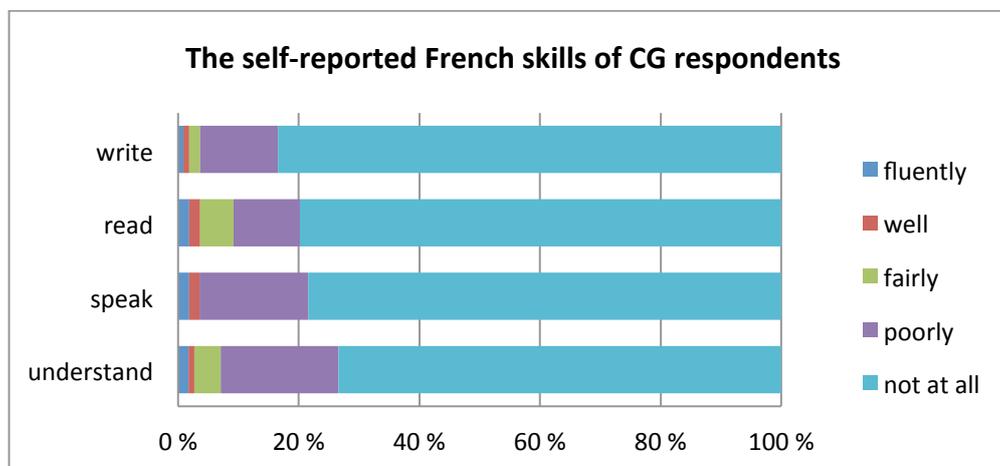


Figure 31. The self-reported French skills of CG respondents

Fluent and fairly good French skills were reported by less than 2% of CG respondents; oral skills were rated as significantly better than other skills. Averaging the figures for all skills, 1.58% of the respondents reported being fluent in French: just under 2% reported understanding (1.77%), speaking (1.8%) or reading (1.83%) it fluently and fewer than one per cent (0.92%) being fluent in writing it. 1.35% reported good skills. Again, speaking and reading skills (1.80%, 1.83%) were reported as good slightly more often than writing and understanding (0.92%, 0.88%) French well. The respondents’ skills were reported as fairly good rather more frequently, averaging 7.44%. Nearly one fifth (18.02%) of the respondents reported speaking French fairly well; the corresponding figures for reading, understanding and writing were 5.5%; 4.42%, and 1.83%. In sum, somewhat surprisingly the skill which CG

respondents most frequently rated as fluent to fairly good was speaking (21.6%). The passive skills were less frequently reported at this level of proficiency: 9.16% for reading and 7.07% for understanding. Only 3.67% of the respondents reported fluent to fairly good writing skills.

Roughly one sixth of CG respondents reported knowing French just a little; four out of five reported the lack of one or more skill. Averaging the figures for all skills, 15.33% of CG respondents reported knowing French to some extent (option “poorly”): 19.47% reported understanding it to some extent, 18.02% speaking it, 11.01% reading it and 12.84% writing it. Almost 80% of all respondents who rated their French skills reported completely lacking one or more skills (option “not at all”): 83.49% reported being unable to write French, 79.82% being unable to read it, 78.38% being unable to speak it, and 73.45% being unable to understand it.

Roughly one fifth of CG respondents answered questions concerning skills in “other” language(s). As with the Karelian questionnaire, the CG questionnaire gave respondents the opportunity to add a language of own choice and rate their proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading and writing it. 18.5% of the CG respondents did this. The languages most frequently mentioned were Spanish and Italian, followed by Russian. Estonian, Hebrew, Norwegian and Danish were mentioned by a couple of respondents each. Hungarian, Basque, Latin, Slovak, Portuguese and Japanese were each mentioned once. The results are shown in Figure 32:

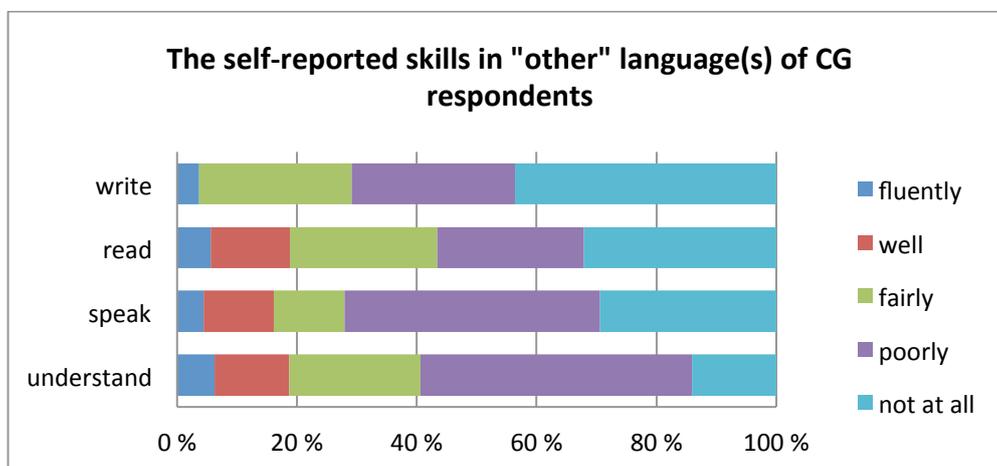


Figure 32. The self-reported skills in “other” language(s) of CG respondents

A good third of CG respondents reported a fluent to fairly good command of the language of their own choosing. Averaging the figures for all skills, 35.26% of those CG respondents who had chosen to add a language or languages reported having a fluent (4.99%), good (9.36%) or fairly good (20.9%) command of the language in question. Taken together, these ratings were reported more frequently for reading skills and understanding than for writing and oral skills.

Almost two fifths of CG respondents reported knowing the language of own choice only to some extent and a quarter completely lacked one or more skills. Averaging the figures for all skills, 39.34% of the respondents reported having only some skills (option “poorly”) in the language in question. Poor skills were reported most frequently for understanding (42.27%) and speaking (46.81%), and most seldom for writing (29.41%). Writing skills were rated as poor by 38.89% of the respondents. Lacking one or more skills (option “not at all”) was reported by 25.45% of the respondents: the lack of the writing skills was reported most frequently (36.47%) and the lack of understanding most seldom (18.56%); the lack of reading skills was reported by 24.44% of respondents and the lack of oral skills by 22.34%.

The self-reported language skills of Karelian Finn respondents compared with those of Control Group respondents

The response rates for proficiency in Finnish were basically the same for Karelian Finn respondents and CG respondents. As Figure 33 shows, 96% of the Karelian Finn respondents rated their proficiency in Finnish. This figure is only slightly lower than that for CG respondents (98.6%). Given that 91% evaluated their proficiency in Karelian, the result agrees with the general observation that Finnish is the strongest language of the great majority of Karelian Finns.

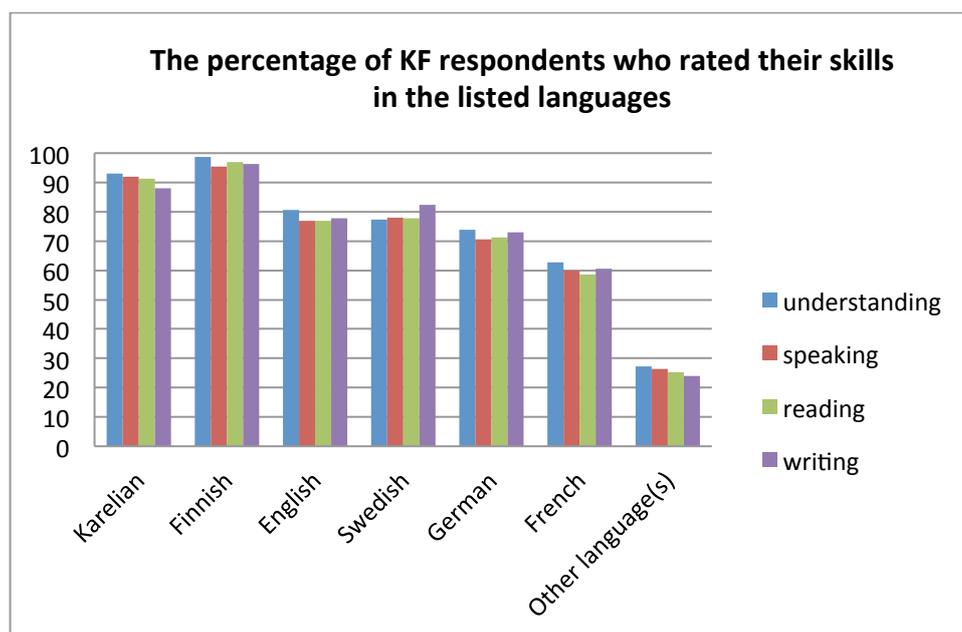


Figure 33. The percentage of KF respondents who rated their skills in the listed languages

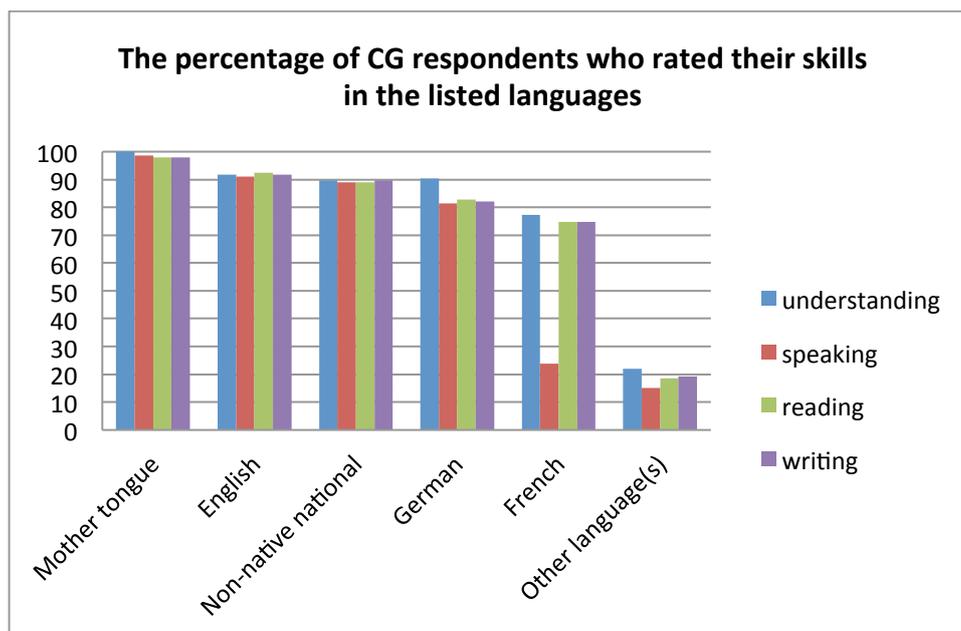


Figure 34. The percentage of CG respondents who rated their skills in the listed languages

Figures 33 and 34 reveal that there was a clearer difference in the average ratings for Swedish skills: an average of roughly 77% of the Karelian Finn respondents rated their Swedish skills compared with an average of 89% of the CG respondents. This most probably reflects the “age-bias” of the Karelian Finn sample again: as noted earlier, respondents belonging to the age cohort over 65 often had a limited education, and the likelihood of learning Swedish outside school in the traditionally Karelian-speaking areas in pre-WWII Finland was as little as it is in Eastern Finland today. For English and German the differences between the average ratings by Karelian Finn respondents and by CG respondents are even more noteworthy: two thirds of Karelian Finn respondents rated their English skills as compared to the overwhelming majority of CG respondents; German skills were rated by 72% of Karelian Finn respondents but by 84% of CG respondents. French skills were rated by approximately as many Karelian Finn respondents as CG respondents, i.e. by around 60% each. Skills in “other language(s) were rated significantly more often by Karelian Finn respondents (27.9%) than by CG respondents (18.65%). As Figure 32 shows, Karelian Finn respondents tended to rate all four skills equally frequently across all the languages, whereas for German and French CG respondents tended to rate their aural comprehension skills significantly more often than any other skill. Surprisingly, oral skills in French were rated roughly 50% less frequently than other French skills by CG respondents, although they were given better ratings than any of the other skills. In sum, these results suggest that Karelian Finn respondents have a rather more restricted knowledge of English and German than CG respondents, but this should not be generalized over all generations of Karelian Finns since it is likely to have been caused by the strong “age-bias” of the Karelian Finn sample towards people over 65 years old.

Karelian Finn respondents reported higher proficiency in Finnish than CG respondents whose mother tongue is Swedish did. Figure 35 further below shows the ratings (averaged for all skills) given to their Finnish skills by Karelian Finn respondents and Figure 36 the

ratings given by the twelve CG respondents who had reported Swedish as their mother tongue. Given the general representativeness of the CG sample and the fact that native Swedish-speakers were even slightly over-represented in it, it can be at least cautiously concluded that the self-rated Finnish skills of Karelian Finn respondents were significantly better than those of the native Swedish-speaking CG respondents. Some 5% of Karelian Finn respondents reported being good and 1% being fairly good at Finnish, compared to 23% and 13% of Swedish-speaking CG respondents. None of the former reported having only “some” Finnish skills, while 8% of the latter gave this rating. A tiny proportion of Karelian Finn respondents reported lacking some skill and on average 8% had not self-rated their Finnish skills at all; most of these respondents had a mother-tongue other than Finnish or Swedish and were in most cases recent first-generation immigrants in Finland.

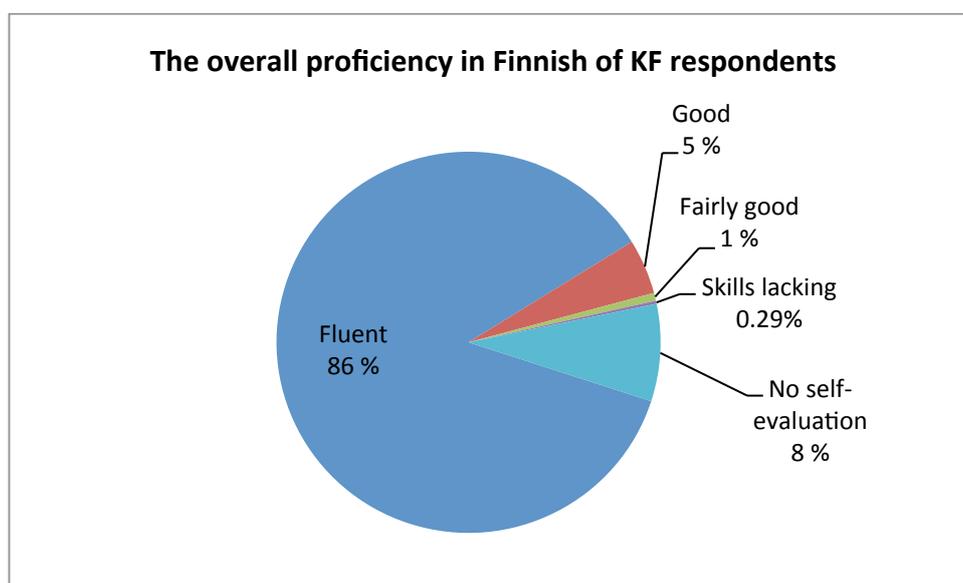


Figure 35. The overall proficiency in Finnish of Karelian Finn respondents

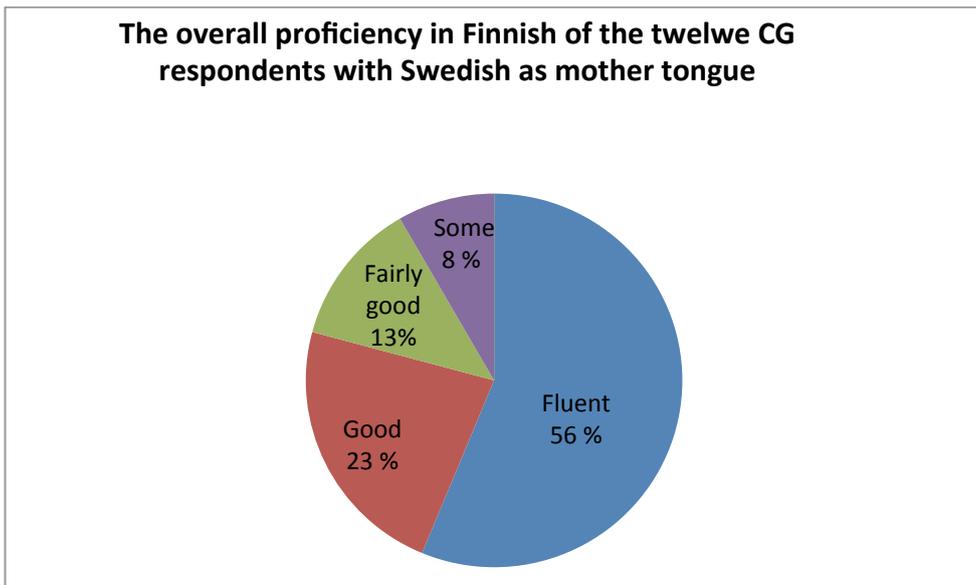


Figure 36. The overall proficiency in Finnish of the twelve CG respondents with Swedish as mother tongue

The self-rated proficiency in Finnish of Karelian Finn respondents is somewhat lower than that of CG respondents. Figure 37 below shows the proficiency in Finnish of CG respondents, i.e. the average of all self-rated Finnish skills. A brief comparison of Figures 35 and 37 reveals that the proportion of Karelian Finn respondents who rated themselves as fluent in Finnish was 10 percentage points lower, and Karelian Finn respondents rated themselves as good or fairly good slightly more frequently than CG respondents did. Furthermore, Karelian Finn respondents had left their Finnish skills unrated 6% more often than CG respondents, for whom the average “missing frequency” was only 2%; this difference is most likely due to the fact that none of the CG respondents had been born outside Finland or lived abroad for any great length of time.

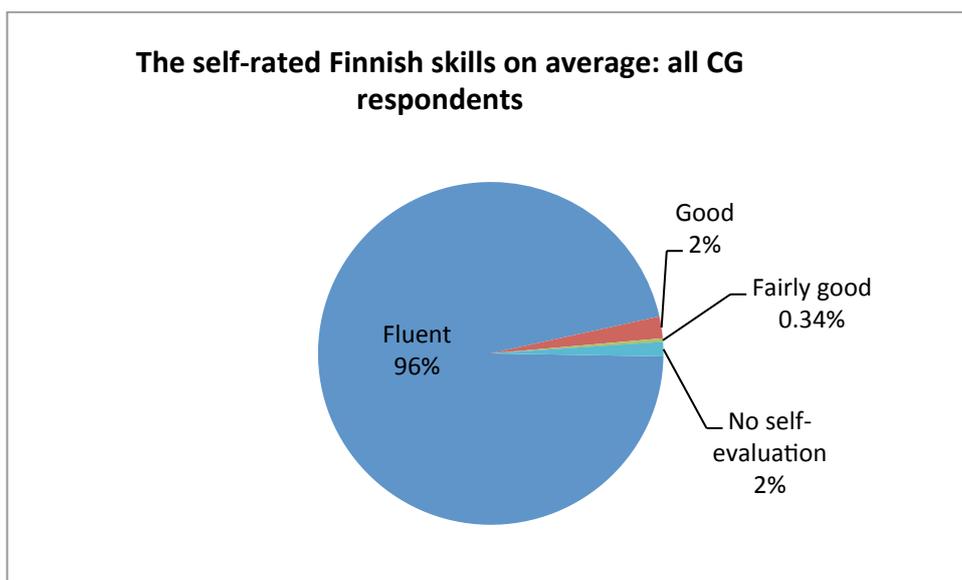


Figure 37. The self-rated Finnish skills on average: all CG respondents

Karelian Finn respondents rated their writing skills in Finnish slightly less highly than CG respondents whose mother tongue is Finnish did but they rated all their Finnish skills significantly more highly than Swedish-speaking CG respondents did. Figure 38 below compares the ratings for writing, reading, speaking and understanding Finnish given by Karelian Finn respondents with those given by CG respondents whose mother tongue is Swedish and those whose mother tongue is Finnish. The comparison does not reveal any major differences between the skills of Karelian Finn respondents and those of Finnish-speaking CG respondents, except that slightly more of the former reported having good rather than fluent writing skills (8.75% compared with 3.05%). Swedish-speaking CG respondents reported their best skill as reading Finnish and the worst as writing it; two thirds reported understanding Finnish fluently but only 50% considered themselves fluent in oral communication.

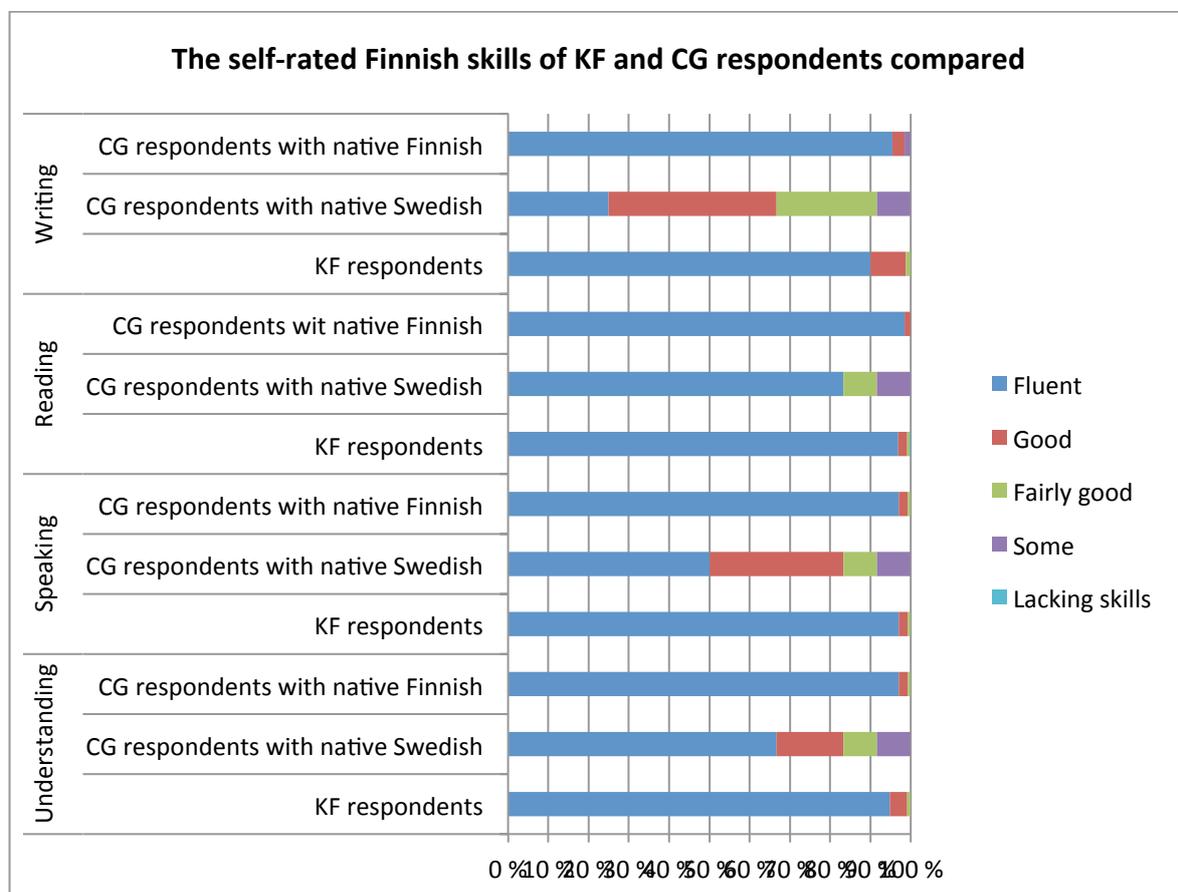


Figure 38. The self-rated Finnish skills of KF and CG respondents compared

The self-rated Swedish skills of Karelian Finn respondents were fairly similar to those of CG respondents whose mother tongue is Finnish. Figures 39 and 40 below show the average ratings of Swedish skills by Karelian Finn respondents CG respondents whose mother tongue is Finnish respectively. There do not seem to be any great differences between the two groups: Karelian Finn respondents reported having fluent skills in Swedish slightly (2%) more frequently than CG respondents did, but otherwise Karelian Finn respondents rated their skills as somewhat weaker than CG respondents did. Refraining from rating Swedish skills was slightly more common among Karelian Finn respondents than among CG respondents,

which might indicate that knowing Swedish is not as common among Karelian Finn respondents as it is among Finns in general.

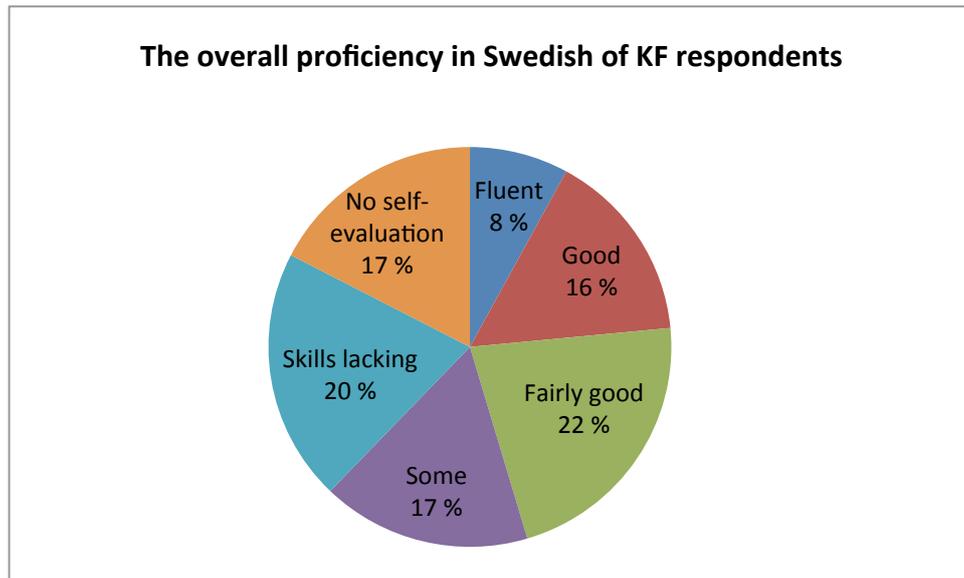


Figure 39. The overall proficiency in Swedish of KF respondents

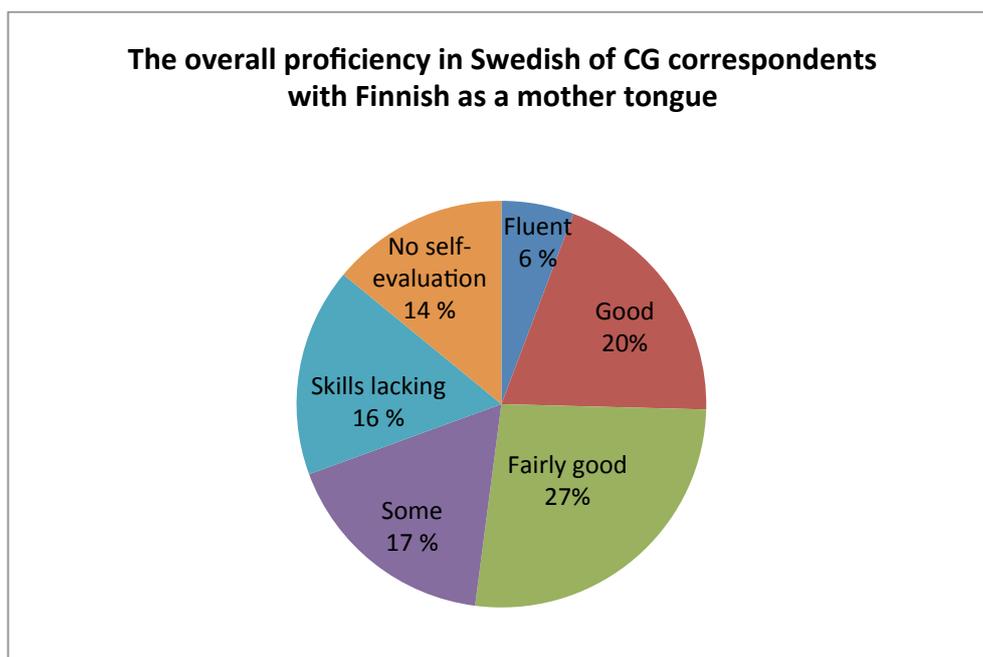


Figure 40. The overall proficiency in Swedish of CG correspondents with Finnish as a mother tongue

CG respondents reported lacking Swedish skills less frequently than Karelian Finn respondents did. As Figure 36 showed, none of the CG respondents with Swedish as mother tongue reported lacking skills in Finnish and none refrained from rating their Finnish skills. Figure 40 shows that fewer than one fifth of CG respondents with Finnish as a mother tongue reported not writing, reading or speaking Swedish; roughly one out of ten reported not understanding it at all. Thus, the CG results suggest that Finns in general may know Swedish somewhat

better than Karelian Finn respondents. However, considering the dominance of respondents older than 65 years and their more restricted opportunities of learning Swedish than those of contemporary Finns, this result should not be generalized over the entire Karelian minority but rather read as another consequence of the inherent “age bias” of the Karelian sample.

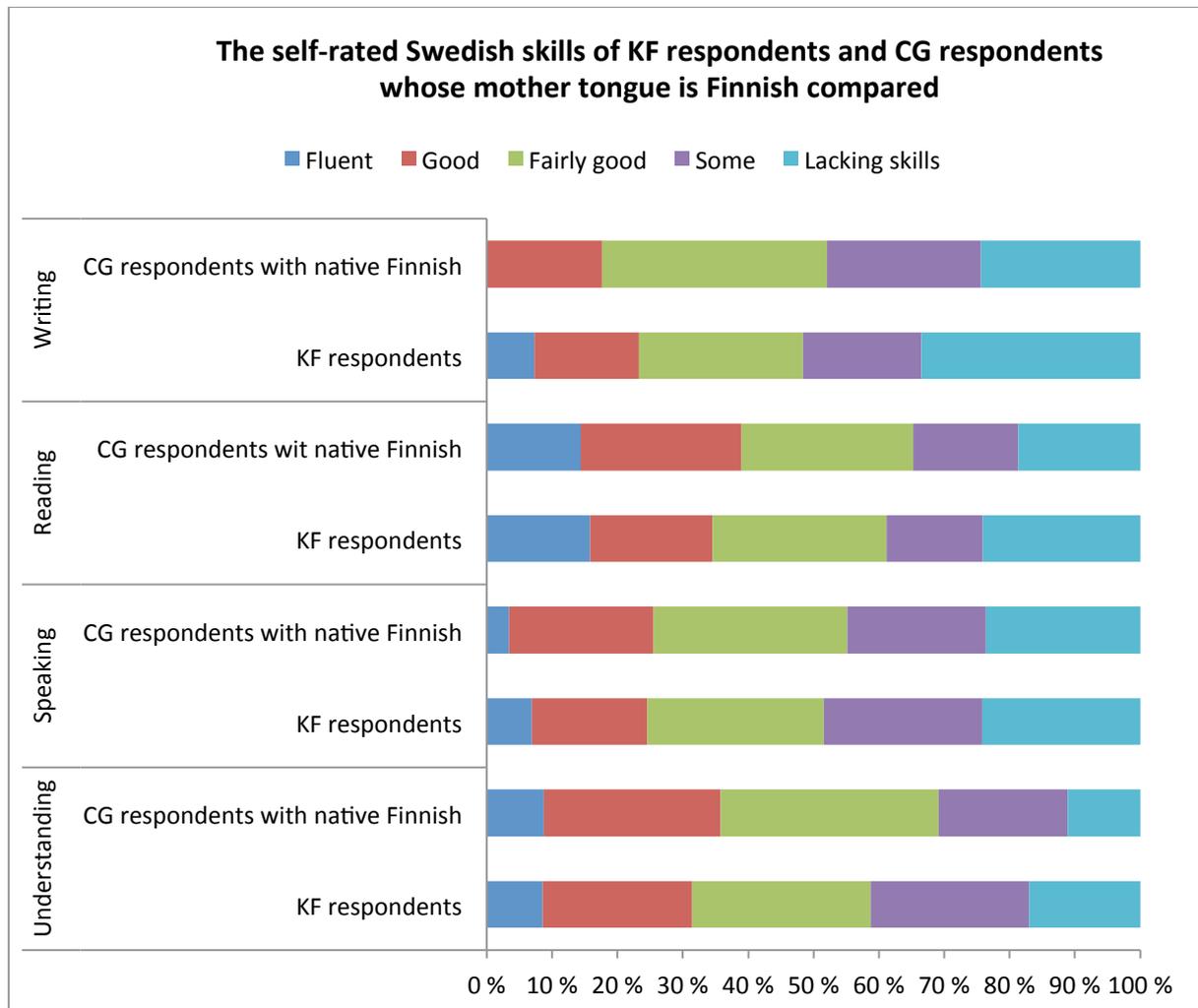


Figure 41. The self-rated Swedish skills of KF respondents and CG informants whose mother tongue is Finnish compared

Being fluent and “lacking” Swedish skills were reported more frequently by Karelian Finn respondents than by CG respondents. Except for understanding, which approximately as many Karelian as CG respondents rated as fluent, Karelian Finn respondents reported being fluent in Swedish somewhat more often than CG respondents with native Finnish did. The difference is particularly noticeable with regard to writing skills: about 7% of Karelian reported writing Swedish fluently but none of CG respondents did. On the other hand, Karelian Finn respondents also reported lacking one or more skills more frequently than CG respondents; only speaking skills were rated as lacking by Karelian and CG respondents more or less equally often.

CG respondents have a significantly higher level of proficiency in English. Figures 42 and 43 show great differences between the CG and Karelian Finn respondents. Only 11% of the Karelian Finn respondents rated their English skills as fluent compared with 32% of the CG respondents. In addition, 22% of the CG rated their English skills as good compared with only 16% of the Karelian Finn respondents. Another significant difference is that the great majority of the CG respondents (97%) rated their English skills but only 82% of the Karelian Finn respondents did so. It is reasonable to assume that the low response rate of Karelian Finn respondents is an indication of poor or non-existent skills in English. The comparison between the figures for the CG respondents and the Karelian Finn respondents shows that the former have a higher level of proficiency in English.

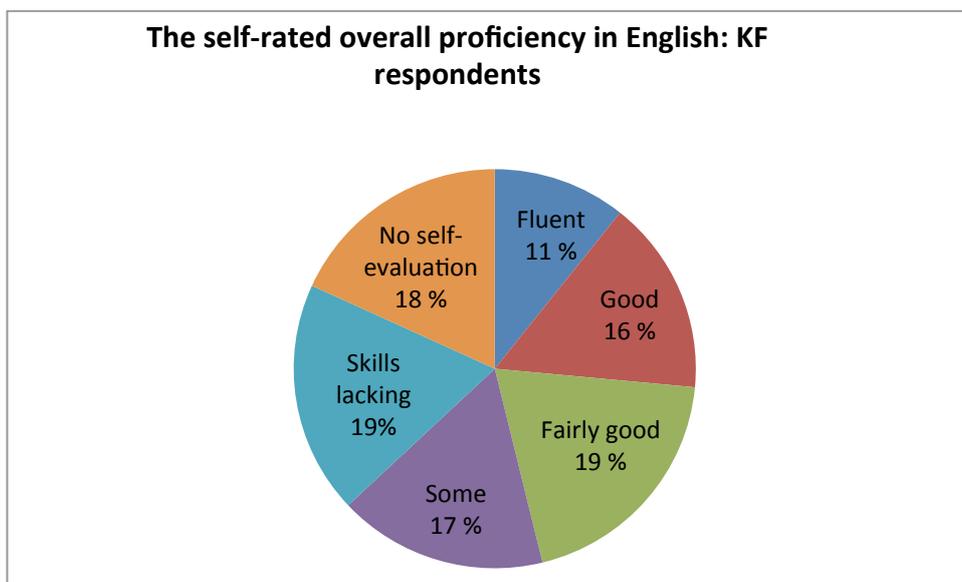


Figure 42. The self-rated overall proficiency in English: KF respondents

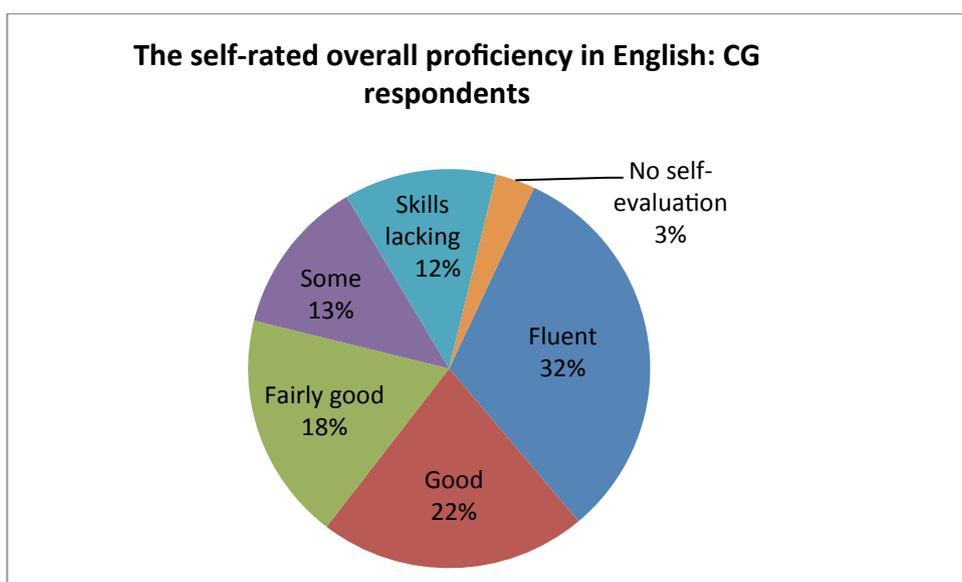


Figure 43. The self-rated overall proficiency in English: CG respondents

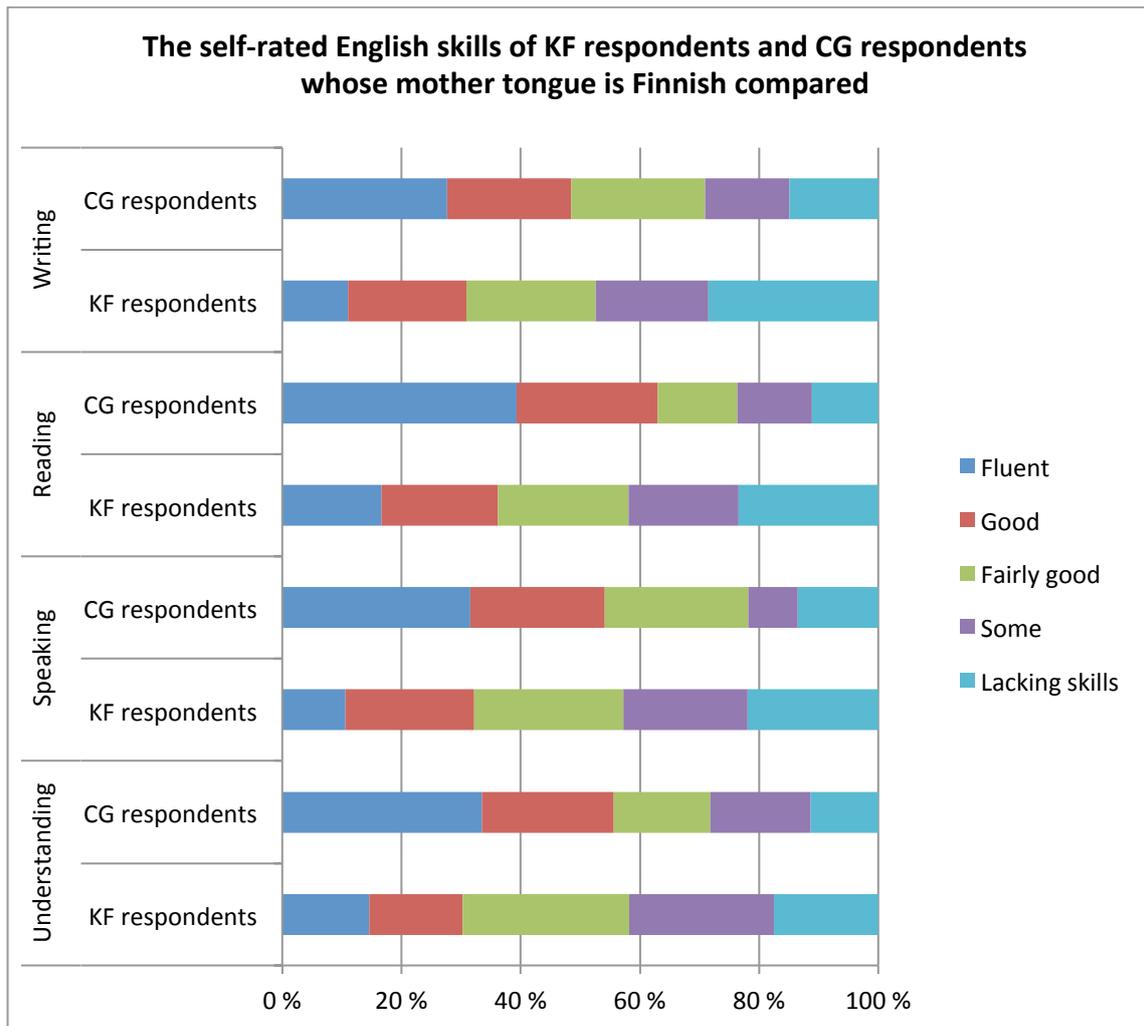


Figure 44. The self-rated English skills of KF respondents and CG respondents whose mother tongue is Finnish compared

Figure 44 above shows the differences between Karelian Finn respondents and CG respondents with regard to all English skills. The conclusion one can draw from the table is consistent with the results shown in Figures 42 and 43: the CG respondents have significantly higher levels of proficiency in each skill than the Karelian Finn respondents. For most skills the proportion of respondents who rated themselves as fluent was more than 20 percentage points higher in the CG than in the Karelian Finn group. The only exception was “writing”, where the difference was approximately 16 points. On the other hand writing was the skill which showed the biggest difference in the category “lacking skills”. The proportion of Karelian Finn respondents who reported lacking English skills was 15 points higher than for CG respondents. The proportion CG respondents reporting fluent skills was highest for reading, followed by understanding and speaking and lowest for “writing”. The figures for lacking skills are consistent with the results for fluent skills, i.e. highest for reading followed by understanding, speaking and writing. The results for the Karelian Finn respondents are not so consistently distributed. The ranking for fluent skills was: reading, understanding, writing and speaking, but for lacking skills it was understanding, reading, speaking and writing.

The German skills of the CG respondents and the Karelian Finn respondents are fairly similar. As shown by Figures 45 and 46, in total around 44% of KF respondents and around 44% of CG respondents reported having some degree of proficiency in German:

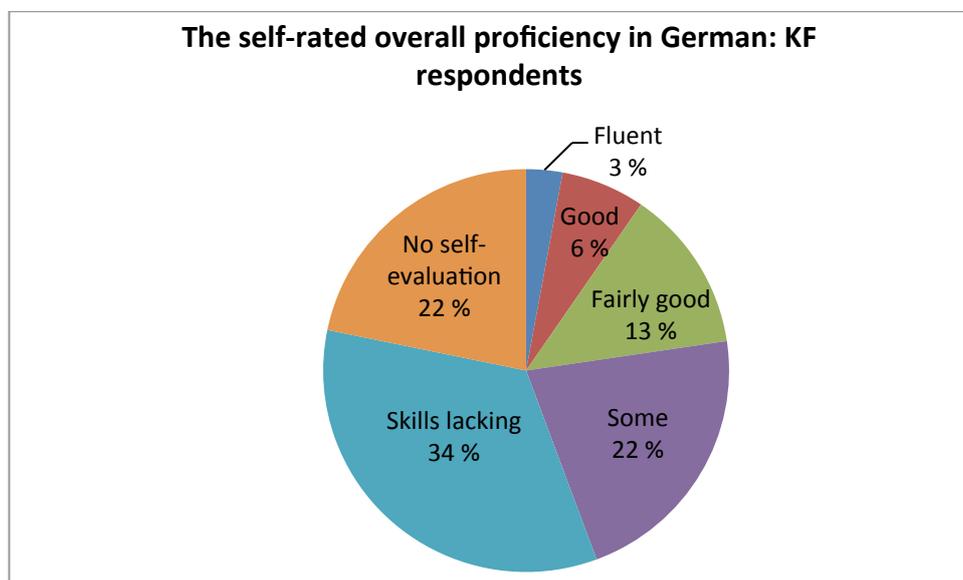


Figure 45. The self-rated overall proficiency in German: KF respondents

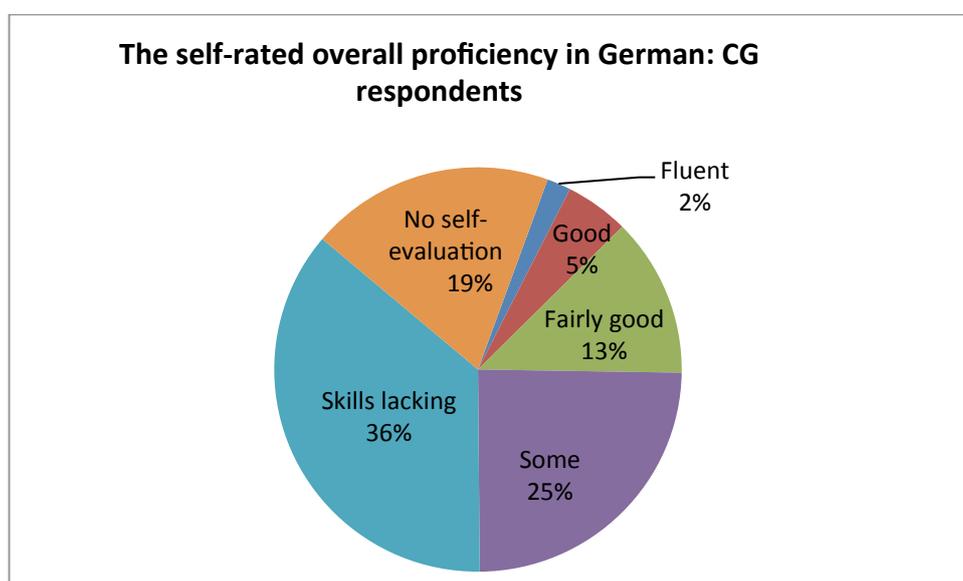


Figure 46. The self-rated overall proficiency in German: CG respondents

Figure 47 shows that the proportion of respondents reporting a higher proficiency (fluent and good) is slightly higher among the Karelian Finns for all skills except for speaking, whereas those reporting a lower proficiency (i.e. “some”) is higher among the CG respondents. Statistically, however, the differences between the groups are not significant.

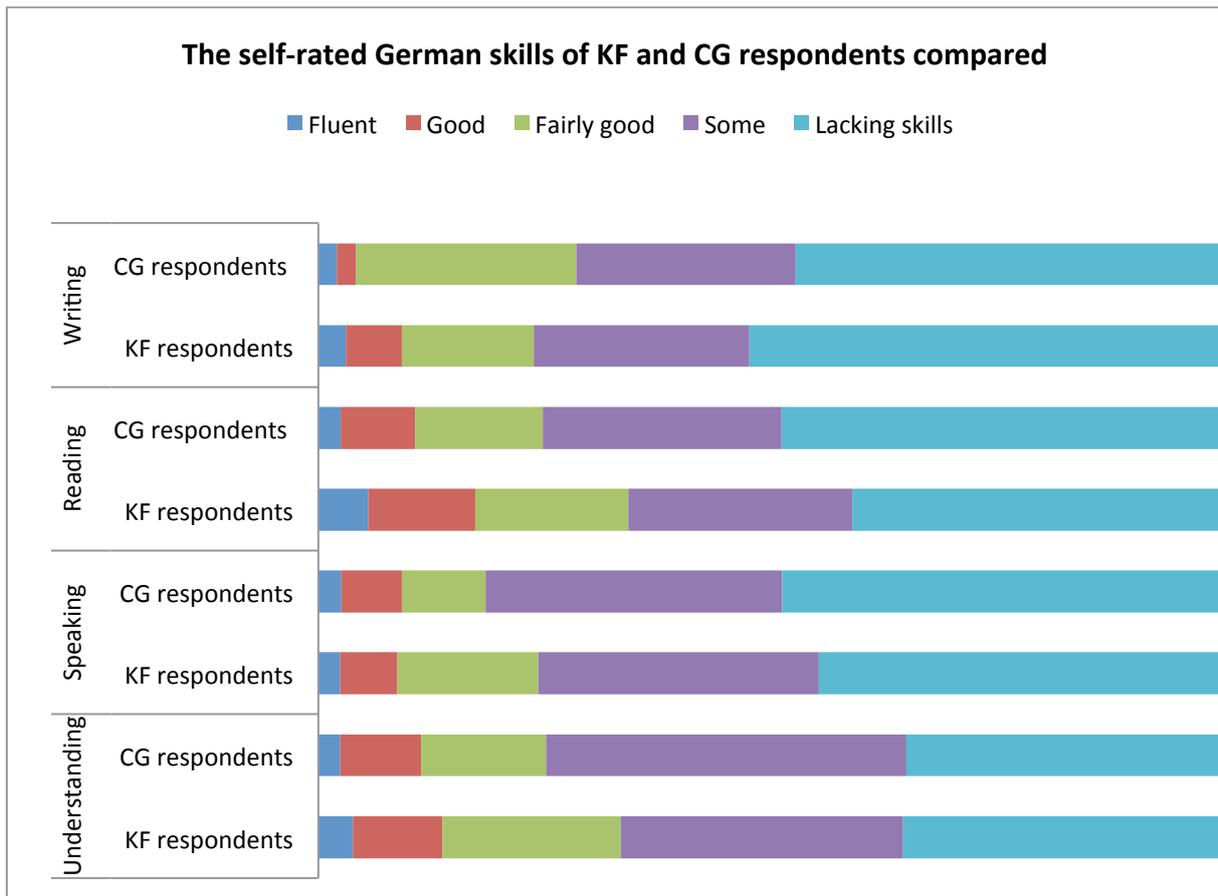


Figure 47. The self-rated German skills of KF and CG respondents compared

The overall level of proficiency in French of the CG respondents is higher than that of the Karelian Finn respondents. Figures 48 and 49 reveal that 20% of the CG respondents claim to have some degree of French skills compared with only 12% of Karelian Finn respondents. The figures for those lacking skills are fairly similar; the non-response rate, however, was 9 points higher for the Karelian Finn respondents than for the CG respondents. All in all the figures show that the degree of proficiency in French is fairly low in both groups and French is not commonly learned or used by either group.

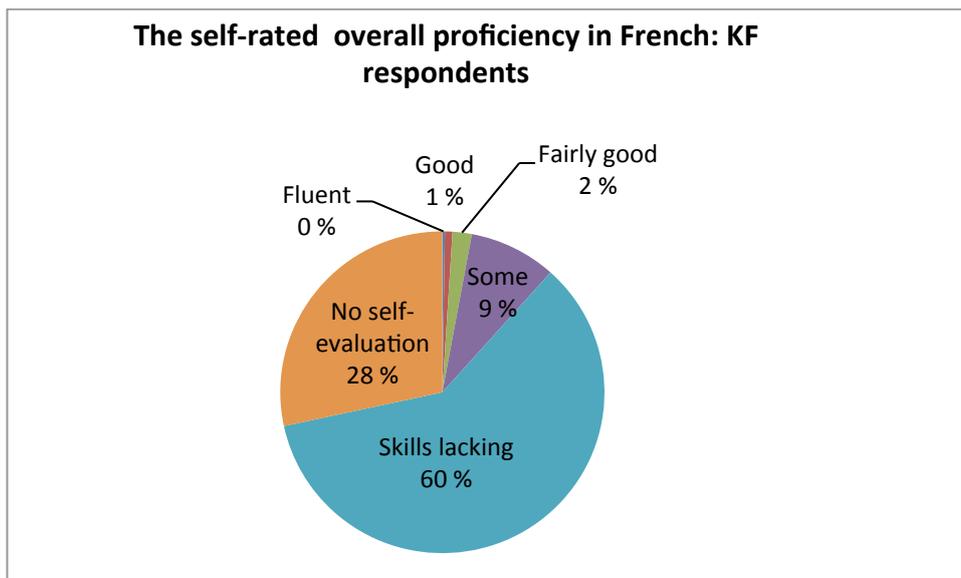


Figure 48. The self-rated overall proficiency in French: KF respondents

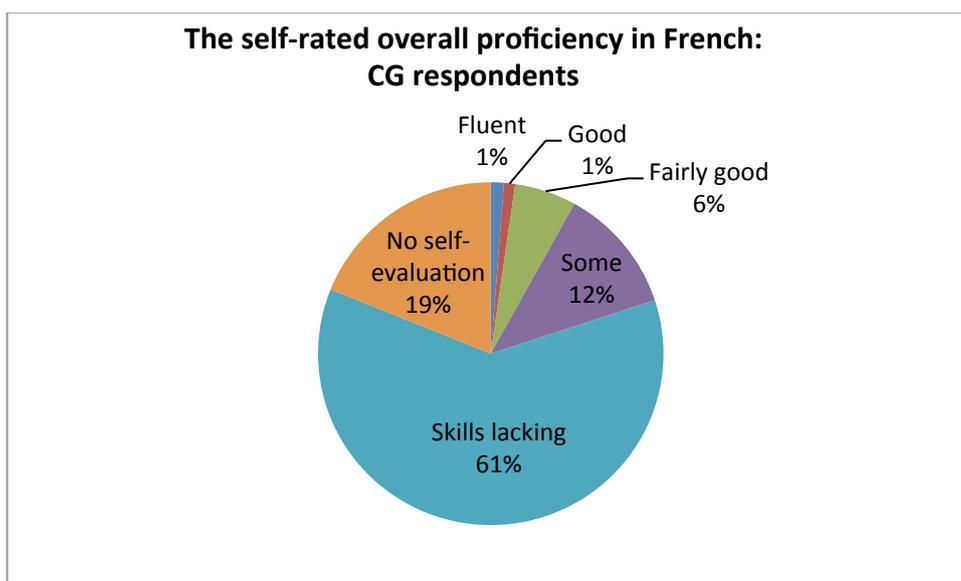


Figure 49. The self-rated overall proficiency in French: CG respondents

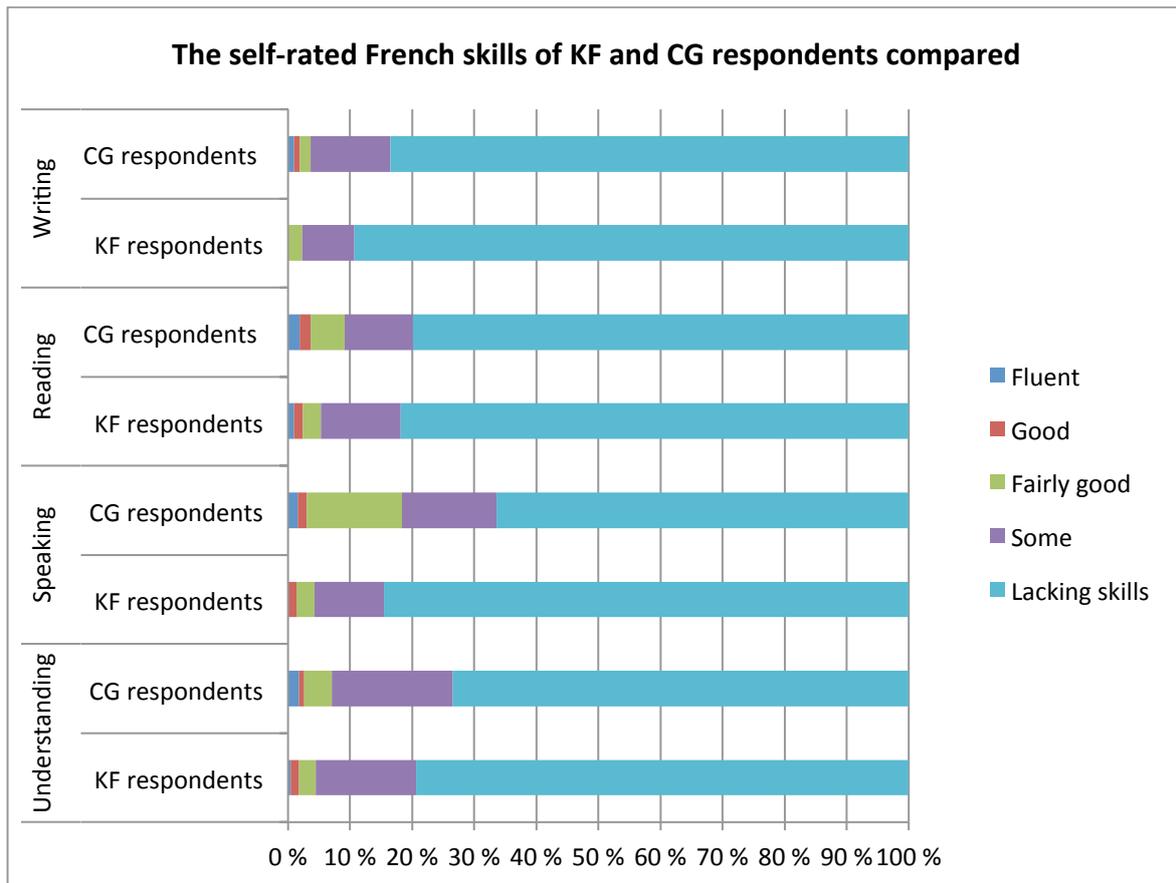


Figure 50. The self-rated French skills of KF and CG respondents compared

The proportion of fluent French skills reported by the CG respondents range from around 1.8% for understanding, speaking and reading to 0.9 for writing, and include all areas of competence. None of the Karelian Finn respondents reported writing or speaking French fluently. Overall, the ratings given by CG respondents were: understanding (26.5%), speaking (21.6%), reading (20.1%), and writing (16.5%). The figures for the Karelian Finn respondents are slightly different: understanding (20.6%), reading (18.1%), speaking (15.5%), and writing (10.7%). When a comparison is made with Figure 44 for English and Figure 47 for German, it appears that for all foreign languages, writing is the skill with the lowest ratings.

The level of self-rated proficiency in “other” languages of Karelian Finn respondents is significantly lower than that of CG respondents. Figures 51 and 52 below reveal that 59% of CG respondents reported having skills in a language other than English, German or French, but the overall level of proficiency is rather low since 29% reported having only some skills in the language in question. The corresponding figures for Karelian Finn respondents were 43% and 22%. The biggest difference between the groups concerns the proportions who reported lacking skills and the non-response rate. The proportion of Karelian Finn respondents reporting lacking skills is only 15% and thus 10 percentage points lower than that of the CG respondents. However, this difference is not a reliable indicator of the actual lack of skills since the non-response rate is 42% for the Karelian Finn respondents and only 16% for the CG respondents.

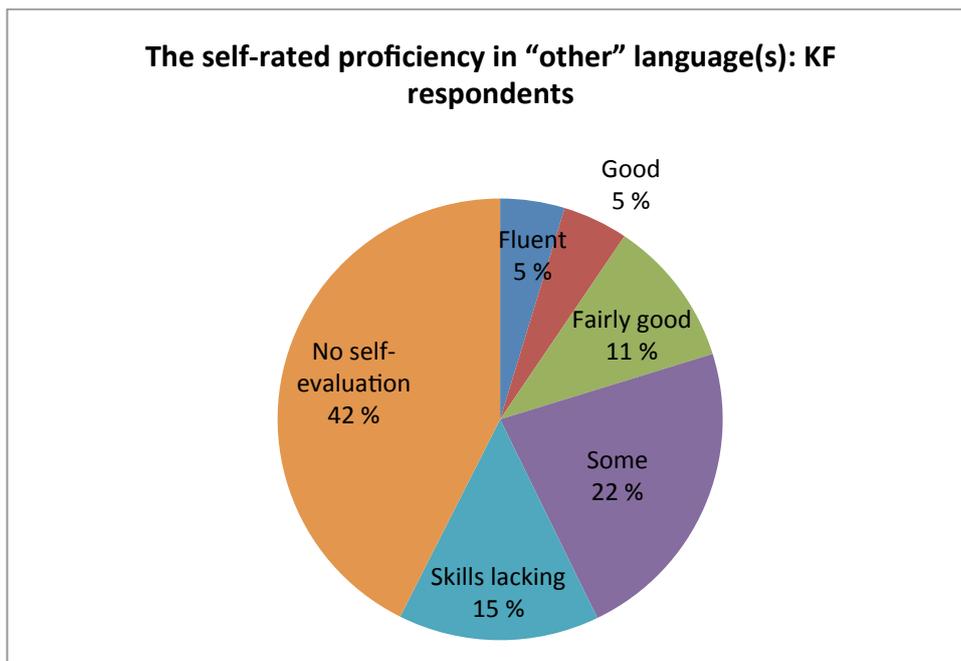


Figure 51. The self-rated proficiency in “other” language(s): KF respondents

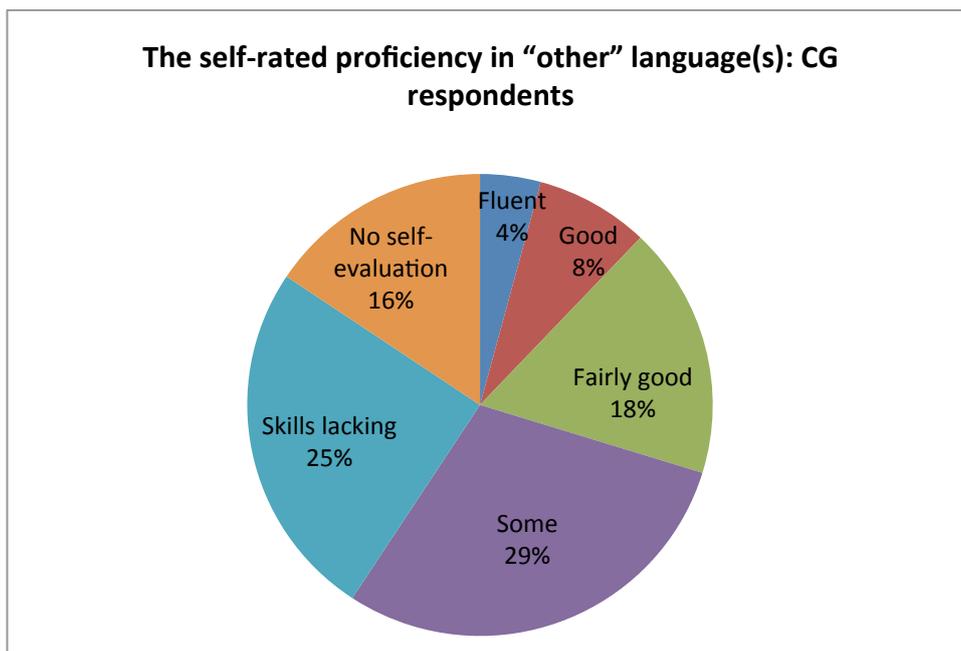


Figure 52. The self-rated proficiency in “other” language(s): CG respondents

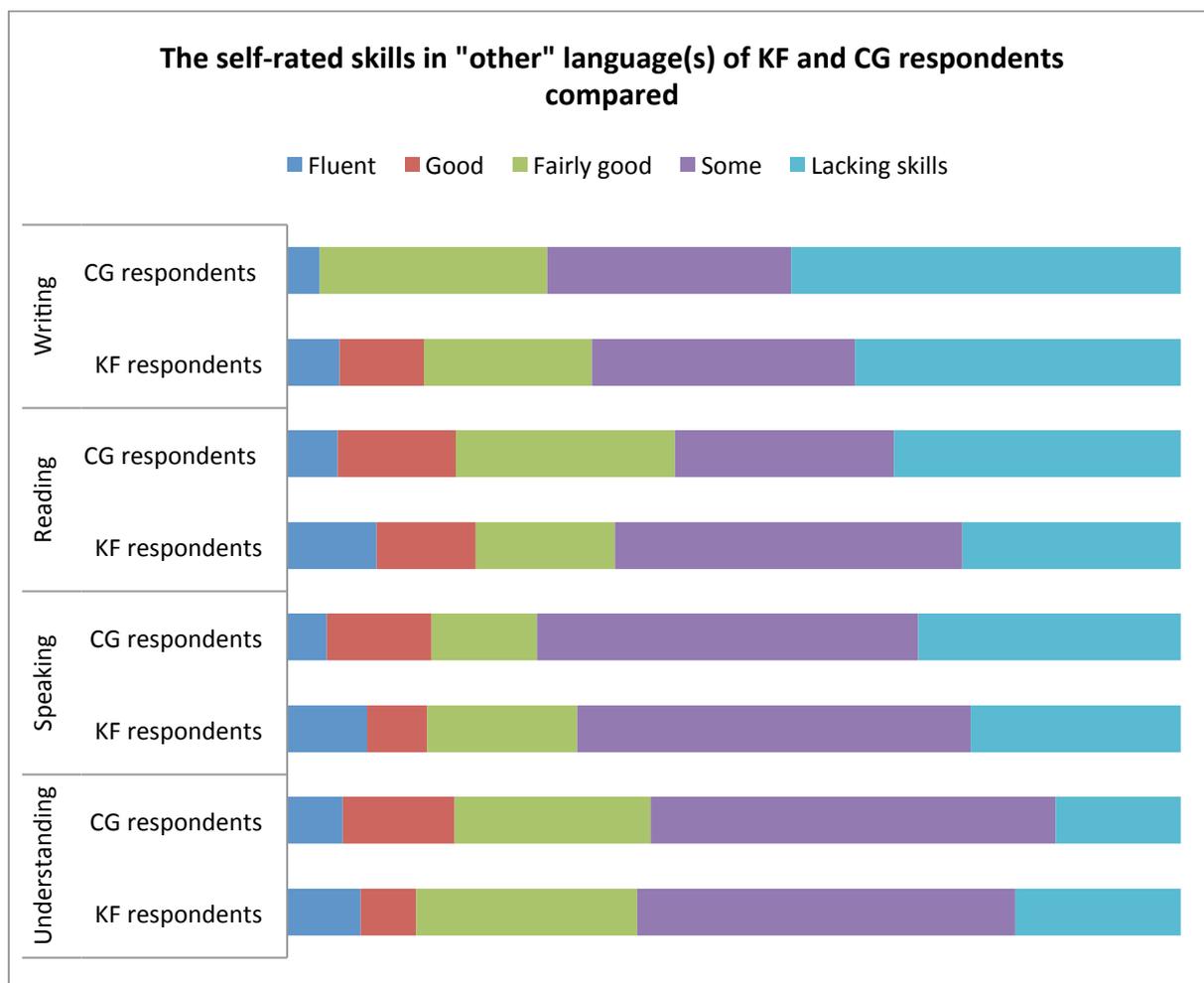


Figure 53. The self-rated skills in "other" language(s) of KF and CG respondents compared

4.3.1.4 Domain-specific language use

This section reports on the self-reported language use patterns of Karelian Finn and CG respondents across a wide variety of language use domains. The patterns described mainly concern the use of Karelian and Finnish, but brief accounts are also given of the use of English and the other languages discussed in the previous section. It should be noted that respondents were not asked about the use of Swedish across the different domains; as will be seen below, Swedish was sometimes added as "another" language by respondents themselves.

Question Q32A in the minority questionnaire sought to provide an overview of where and how widely Karelian is spoken in Finland today. Respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they use Karelian in twelve pre-defined domains. These included the domains of home, relatives, friends, neighbours, church, and community events which have been traditionally considered as the contexts that have primarily supported the maintenance of Karelian in Finland since World War II. In addition, following the ELDIA survey design, respondents were asked about the use of Karelian at work, at school, in shops, in the street, in the library, and in the offices of public authorities. Q32 was a multiple-choice question,

the options for indicating the frequency of using Karelian in these domains being “always”, “often”, “sometimes”, “seldom” and “never”. The results are shown in Figure 54:

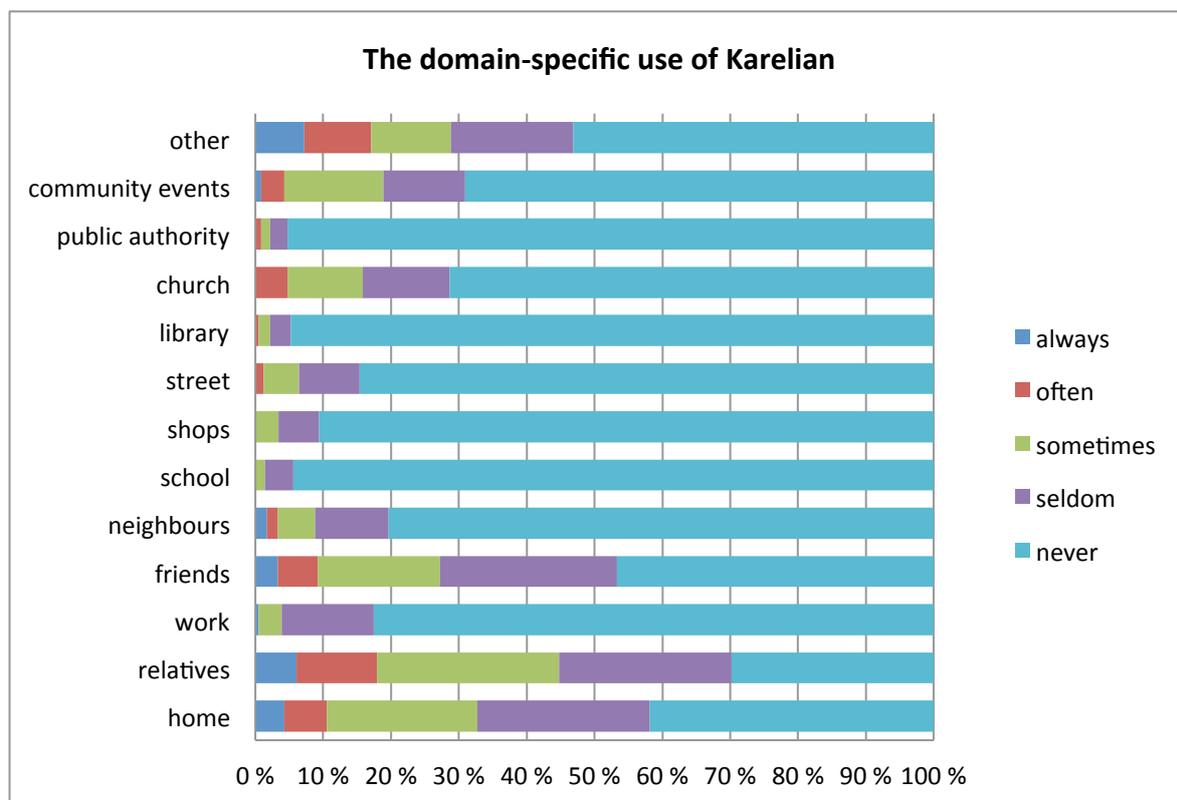


Figure 54. The domain-specific use of Karelian

Karelian is most frequently used in the private sphere, at home less than with relatives but more than with friends. In most of the investigated domains, Karelian is not used at all. About 95% of respondents reported never speaking Karelian when dealing with public authorities, in the library or at school; about 80% never use it in the street, with neighbours or at work, and about 70% never speak Karelian in church or at community events. It is used most widely in communication with relatives. 70% of respondents reported speaking at least some Karelian with their relatives, 17.7% of them regularly (6.1% “always” and 11.9% “often”), 26.9% “sometimes” and 25.4% “seldom”. One third of respondents (29.83%) reported never using it with their relatives. Karelian appears to be spoken somewhat less at home than with relatives: 58% reported speaking it at home (4.23% “always”, 6.34% “often”, 22.18% “sometimes”, and 25.35% “seldom”), but more than 40% (41.9%) reported never using Karelian there. In other words, today Karelian is a less frequent means of communication in the most intimate domain, the nuclear family, than within the extended family. This can be explained in terms of the radical increase in exogamic marriages, which began already during WWII and accelerated in the immediate post-war years. The third domain in which Karelian is still used actively is in communication with friends. Less than half (46.7%) the respondents reported never speaking Karelian with friends whereas 53.3% reported doing so at least some of the time. Again, the proportion of those who “always” speak Karelian with friends was low (3.31%), as was that of those who reported speaking it “often” (5.88%); the proportion of occasional users was notably higher: 18.01% reported speaking

Karelian with friends “sometimes” and 26.10% “seldom”. In sum, family and peer group are the most favourable environments for using Karelian in every-day communication.

The language of feasts, municipality events, language courses and trips to Russia. As Figure 54 also shows, Karelian is fairly commonly used in “other” domains, i.e. context(s) which were not pre-defined in the questionnaire but could be added by respondents themselves. 111 respondents took the opportunity of adding a domain here. Sometimes they described the domain category in fairly general terms (e.g. “social occasions” or “informal meetings”). The domains most frequently specified were Karelian feasts, events arranged by municipality associations, Karelian language courses, and trips to Russian Karelia. It is important to note that the relative proportion of those who reported “always” speaking Karelian in the “other” domain was 7.2%, which is the highest figure for the option “always” across all the domains. 9.9% of respondents reported using Karelian in the “other” domain “often”, 11.7% “sometimes” and 18% seldom.

One third reported using Karelian to some extent at church and at community events. As a rule, the majority of respondents never use Karelian outside the domains of family and friends or, if they do, they only use it intermittently. Within public domains, Karelian is most frequently used in church and in community events, where around 30% of respondents use it at least sometimes. Less than one per cent of respondents (0.9%) reported “always” using Karelian in community events such as club evenings or cultural festivals; 3.43% use it “often”, 14.59% “sometimes”, 12.02% “seldom” and 69.1% “never”. Around one third of respondents (28.6%) reported using Karelian at least to some extent in church, 4.7% “often”, 11% “sometimes” and 2.8% sporadically (“seldom”).

Karelian is used only occasionally with neighbours, at work, at school and in public spaces. Given that there are no purely monolingual Karelian settlements or neighbourhoods, most respondents never (80.3%) speak Karelian with their neighbours. Roughly 10.9% do so “seldom”, 5.4% “sometimes”, 1.7% “often” and 1.7% “always”. Karelian is used even less in the workplace: of the barely one fifth who reported using Karelian at work to some extent, 13.5% do so sporadically (“seldom”) and 3.5% sometimes; no one reported using Karelian “often”, but 0.4% reported using it “always”. Karelian is not used frequently in shops either: A mere 3.42% reported doing so “sometimes” and 5.98% “seldom”; 90.6% never use Karelian when shopping. Karelian is used in the street “often” by 1.28% of respondents, “sometimes” by 5.13% and sporadically by 8.97%; 84.6% of respondents reported “never” speaking Karelian in the street.

Karelian is used very rarely with public authorities, in libraries or at school. Karelian is “never” used at school by 94.4% of respondents. 4.2% reported using it “seldom” (4.17%) and 1.4% sometimes; no one reported using it “often” or “always”. 94.8% do not use Karelian in the library; 0.43% reported using it “often”, 1.7% sometimes and 3% sporadically. 95.2% of respondents never use Karelian when communicating with public authorities; less than one per cent (0.82%) reported using it “often”, 1.3% “sometimes” and 2.6% sporadically (“seldom”).

Even today Karelian is used more widely than is generally known. In sum, the results of the ELDIA survey confirm what Karelian Finns know from experience: today there is little opportunity to use Karelian outside the most intimate domains, i.e. with relatives, family and friends. Nevertheless, the survey data and interviews clearly indicate that Karelian is actually much more used than generally assumed. Despite the lack of a larger Karelian speech community, many Karelian Finns apparently actively seek out contexts (travelling, language courses, municipality societies and feasts) where they can use their heritage language.

Karelian Finn respondents use Finnish much more often in all domains than they do Karelian. Most of the respondents were satisfied with the options offered by the multiple-choice question, but some also made their own additions: Finnish was reported being used in volunteer work, societies, meetings and when travelling to Viena Karelia. The survey results concerning the domain-specific use of Finnish among Karelian Finn respondents are summarised in Figure 55:

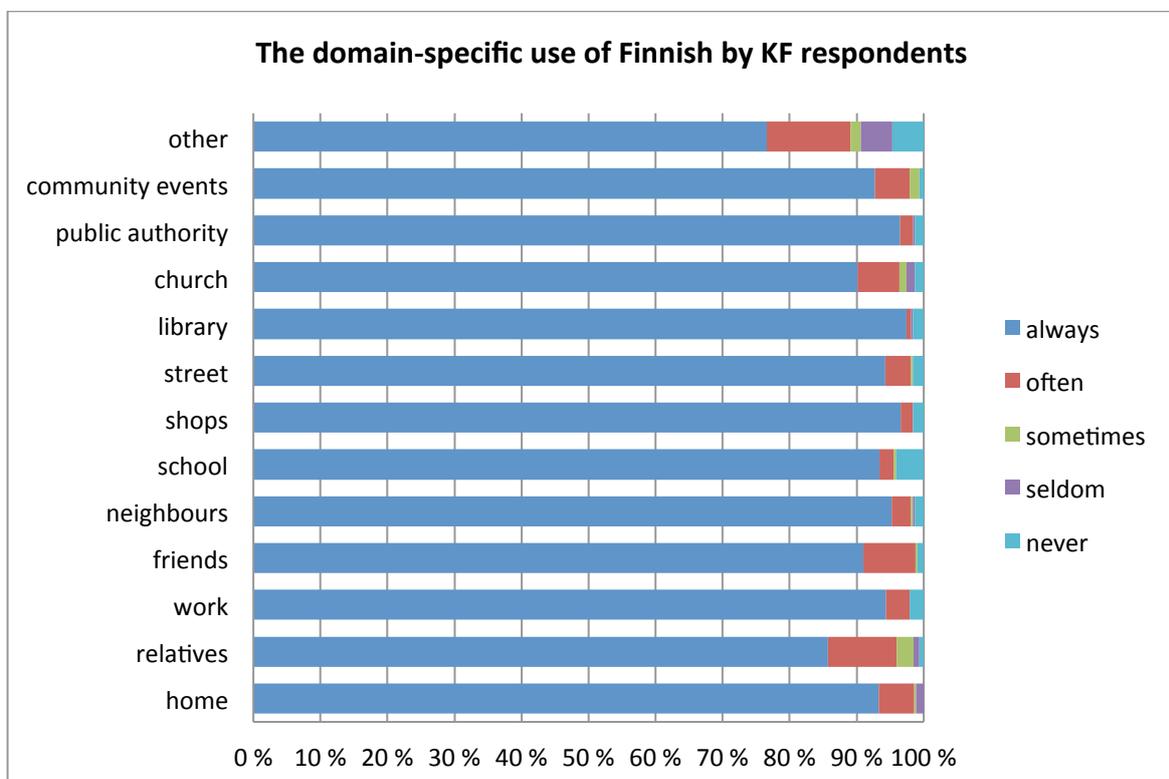


Figure 55. The domain-specific use of Finnish by KF respondents

Finnish is predominant in the public lives of Karelian Finn respondents; nearly all of them speak mostly Finnish in private sphere as well. As Figure 55 shows, Finnish is dominant in all domains but leaves more room for Karelian (and other languages) in the private sphere than in public life. Nevertheless, today Finnish is also the language that is primarily used by Karelian Finn respondents in the most intimate domains, too. All the respondents reported using Finnish at home: 93.27% had ticked the option “always” and 5.26% “often”, and very few reported speaking Finnish at home only “sometimes” (0.29%) or “seldom” (1.17%). Read the other way round, these figures indicate that a language other than Finnish is used within the

nuclear family at least to some extent by 6.7% of the respondents. Language use with relatives is slightly less Finnish-dominated: 85.76% of respondents reported “always” speaking it with relatives; only a very few speak Finnish with relatives “seldom” (0.93%) or “never” (0.62%). The proportion of those who reported speaking Finnish with their relatives “often” (10.22%) or “sometimes” (2.48%) was higher within the family. Finnish is “always” spoken more often with friends than with relatives (90.97%) but less frequently than within the nuclear family. Almost 8% (7.79%) reported speaking Finnish with friends “often”, very few only “sometimes” (0.31%) or “never” (0.93%).

Speaking Karelian is an act of identity. As the above discussion shows, no domain can be defined in which only Finnish is used by Karelian Finn respondents. As self-evident as this may seem at first sight, it is, in fact, one of the most important findings of the ELDIA survey: It shows that despite the undeniable dominance of Finnish, which very rapidly after WWII brought about the decline of Karelian in Finland, Karelian Finns even today occasionally take the rare opportunities of using their heritage language in public, sometimes even when communicating with public authorities. In doing so, they intentionally or unconsciously conduct what is called an “act of identity”, i.e. they assert that they are Karelian. From the ELDIA interviews it is clear that Karelian Finns very often have a double identity and consider themselves Karelian-speaking Finns, i.e. Karelian by “blood” but Finnish by nationality.

Response activity regarding the domain-specific use of Karelian was consistently lower than that of Finnish. As Figure 56 below shows, for all domains Karelian Finn respondents reported on their domain-specific use of Finnish more frequently than they did for Karelian, but they added another domain for using Karelian more often. This suggests that important contexts in which Karelian is actively spoken today are actually to be found outside the major domains of language use as these are commonly conceived in sociolinguistic research. In other words, a minority language can clearly be well maintained in domains which are generally seen as sociolinguistically marginal in contemporary societies. Figure 56 also reveals that in comparison to their response activity regarding the use of Finnish in a given domain, respondents had particularly frequently refrained from evaluating the extent to which they use Karelian in precisely those domains where they had reported using Karelian least, i.e. with neighbours and public authorities, at work, and in shops, streets, the library and church.

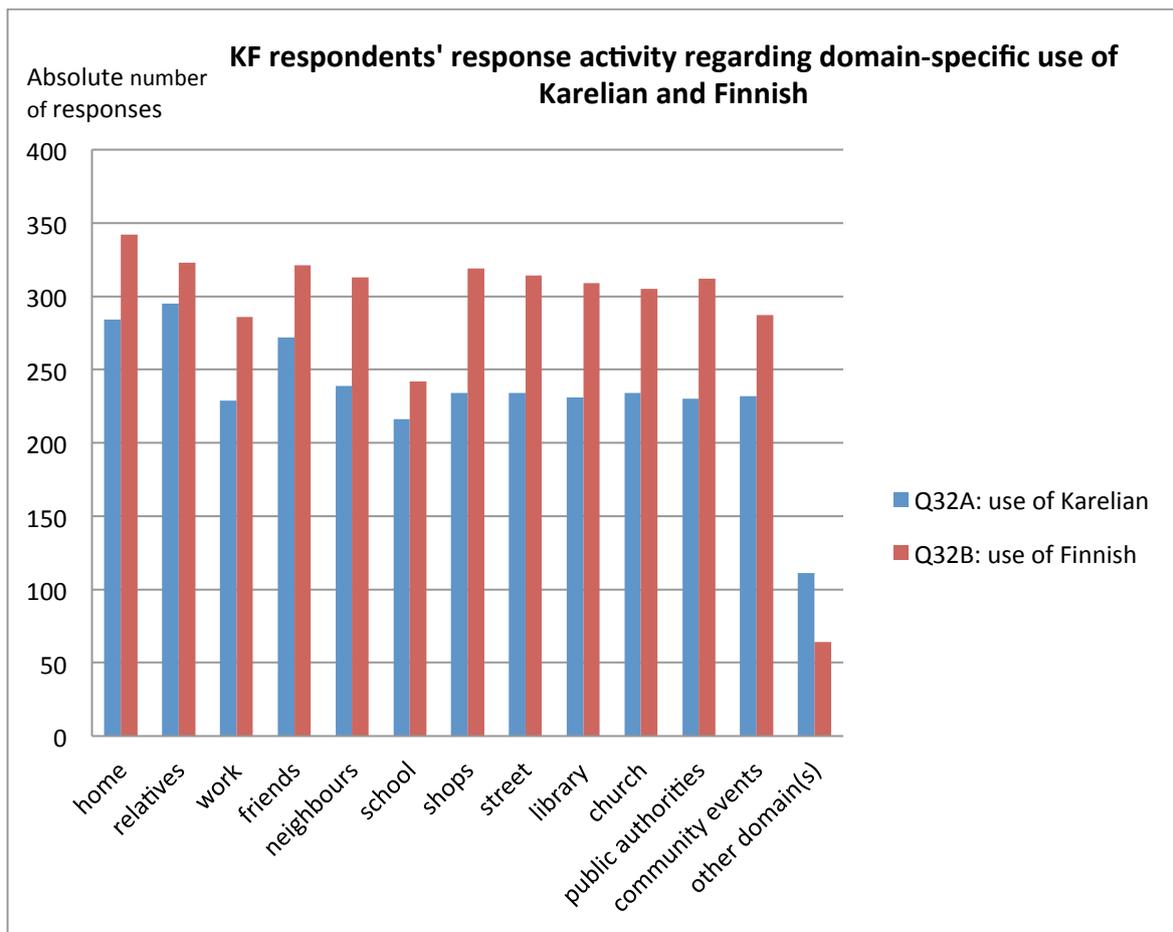


Figure 56. KF respondents' response activity regarding the domain-specific use of Karelian and Finnish

Domain-specific language use by CG respondents was mapped as well. Question Q18A in the CG questionnaire asked about domain-specific language use in the mother tongue (Q18A) and in the other national language (Q18C). As explained earlier, the term “mother tongue” refers to Finnish in the Finnish version of the questionnaire and to Swedish in the Swedish version, and the term “other national language” to Swedish or Finnish, respectively. The domains listed were the same as in the minority questionnaire, except that language use in community events was not included. The results regarding are summarised in Figure 57:

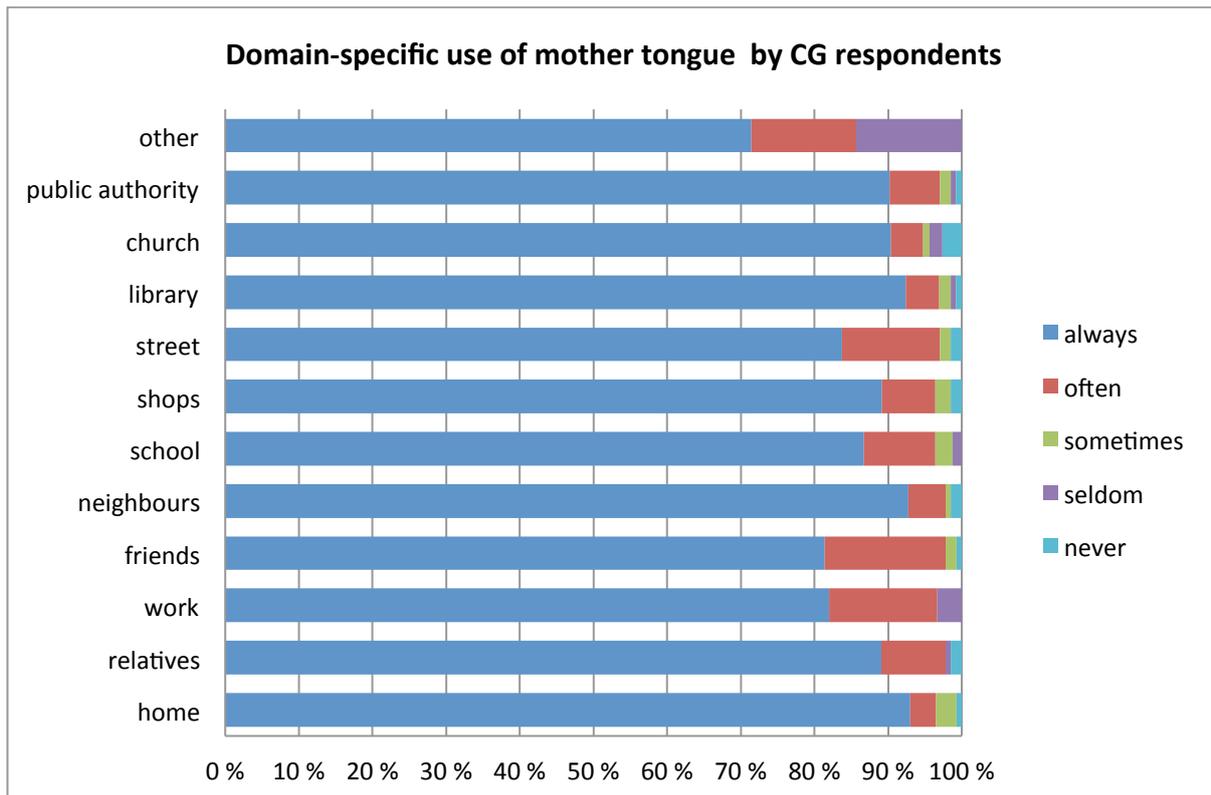


Figure 57. Domain-specific use of the mother tongue by CG respondents

Most of the CG respondents reported using the mother tongue most of the time in different domains. Over 90% of the CG respondents reported using the mother tongue “always” at home (93%), with neighbours (92.8%), at the library (92.4%), in church (90.4%) and with public authorities (90.2%). Over 80% used it “always” with relatives (89.1%), in shops (89.1%), at school (86.8%), in the street (83.7%), at work (82%) and with friends (81.4%). Although the percentages for “always” are very high in all domains, there are also always respondents who reported that they seldom or never use their mother tongue in a specific domain, although these never amounted to more than 2%. Only seven respondents had taken the opportunity of adding another domain: Finnish was additionally reported being used on the Internet by two respondents, in hobbies by one respondent, and with Finnish friends and relatives by two respondents who were not native speakers of Finnish.

With the exception of home and church, Finnish was reported being used “always” somewhat more frequently by Karelian Finn respondents than by CG respondents. A comparison of the self-reported exclusive use of Finnish in different domains by Karelian Finn respondents, and the exclusive use of the mother tongue as reported by CG respondents for different domains are summarised in Figure 58 below. It shows that the only domains in which Karelian Finn respondents use no other language but Finnish as often as CG respondents use only their mother tongue were at home and in church. The difference between the two groups is very slight with respect to the language used with relatives. For all other domains, Karelian Finn respondents reported using only Finnish somewhat more frequently than CG respondents reported using only their mother tongue.

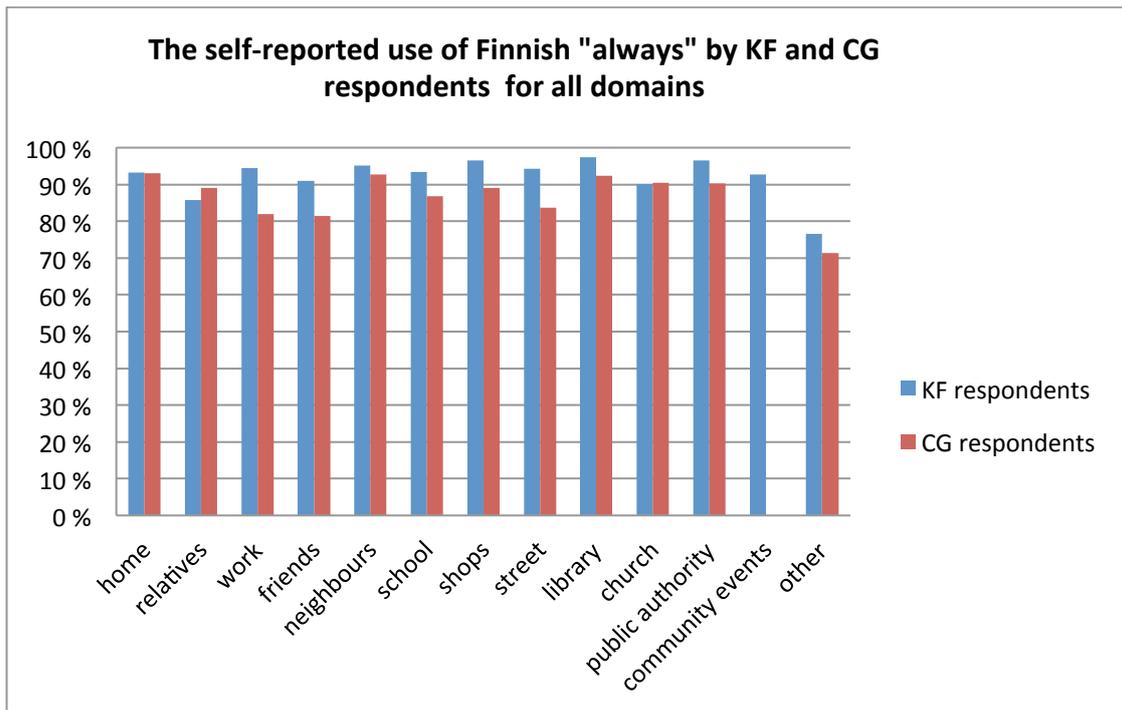


Figure 58. The self-reported use of Finnish "always" by KF and CG respondents for all domains

Minor differences between Karelian Finn and CG respondents reports on "never" using Finnish. Figure 59 below shows the Karelian and the CG data for the extent to which the option "never" was chosen in different domains. Karelian Finn respondents reported "never" using Finnish at work, at school and in "other" domains slightly more often than CG respondents did, CG respondents "never" using it at church slightly more often than Karelian Finn respondents.

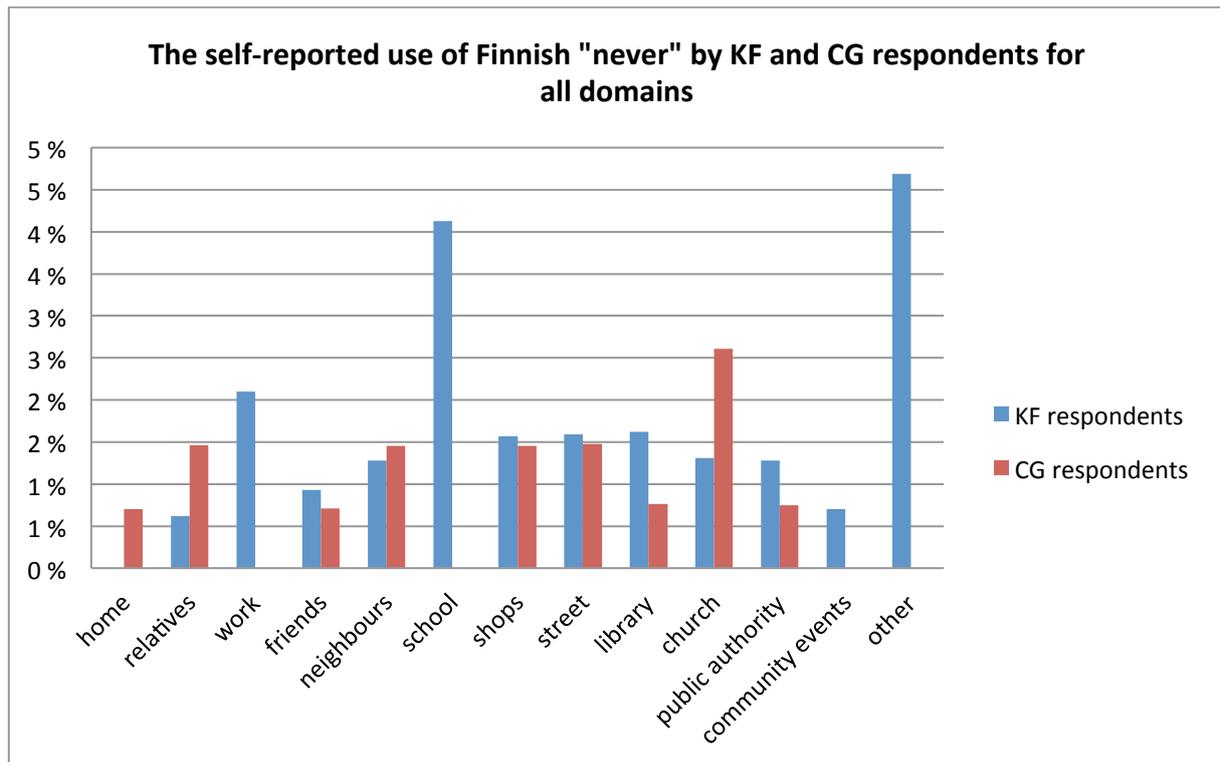


Figure 59. The self-reported use of Finnish “never” by Karelian Finn and CG respondents for all domains

Most CG respondents reported using the other national language “sometimes” or “seldom”. Q18 in the CG questionnaire asked about use of the other national language (Swedish in the Finnish questionnaire, Finnish in the Swedish version). The number of respondents who reported “never” using it ranged from 43.8% (at work) to 90.8% (in church). The percentages for “always” were fairly low in all domains, ranging between 0% (in shops, in the street, at church, with public authorities) and 5.6% (at work). The results are shown in Figure 60:

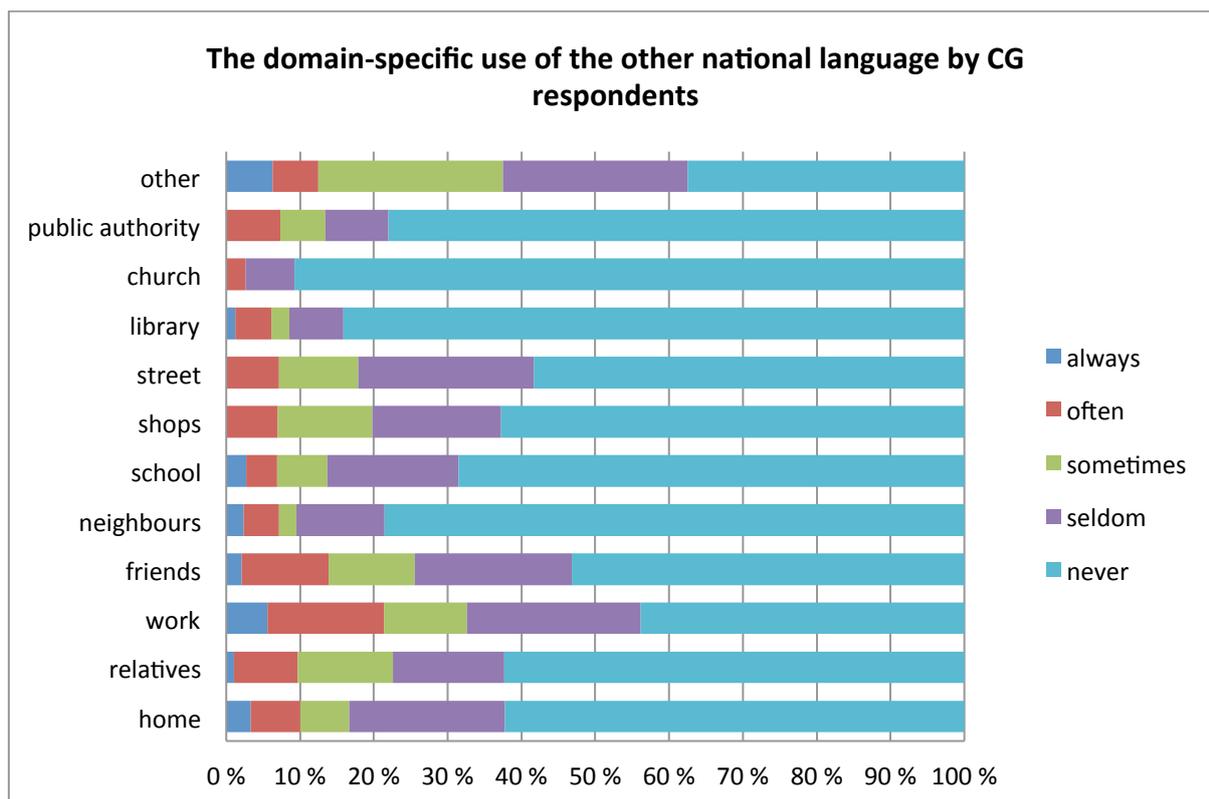


Figure 60. The domain-specific use of the other national language by CG respondents

Karelian Finn respondents reported speaking English and “other” languages mostly at work and in “other” domains, especially travelling. Question 32C in the minority questionnaire asked about the use of English or another language which respondents could specify themselves, and Question 32D about the use of another language which, again, was left for respondent to specify. The most commonly added language for both questions was Swedish. Quite a few respondents specified Russian, mentioning that they used it mainly while travelling or socializing with relatives. German and Estonian were added a few times each and Spanish, Italian, Greek, Sami, and Norwegian were mentioned once each. English and Swedish were often reported being used at work, whereas the other added languages were reported being mostly spoken in “other” domains; only German was reported being used mostly at home and with relatives, and sometimes also at work, with friends, and occasionally in shops and in the street. The option “Travelling” was not pre-specified in the questionnaire but many respondents added it. Even respondents who reported on their use of Swedish most commonly mentioned using it when travelling; only a few mentioned social occasions, such as communicating with friends or relatives, while two reported using it occasionally in work-related situations. The domain specified for Estonian, Spanish and Greek was always leisure travelling.

CG respondents reported using English relatively little in everyday life outside work. In the CG questionnaire the use of English (Q18B) was distinguished from the use of “other” languages (Q18C). The results are shown in Figure 61 further below. In brief, English is not frequently used in everyday life. The majority of the respondents reported using English “never”, “seldom” or just “sometimes”; These three frequency rates together amounted to

almost 100% in most domains: 92.6% at home, 95.3% with relatives, 97.6 with neighbours, 100% in shops, 98.8% in the street, 100% at the library, 98.5% in church and 97.5% with public authorities. For most of the domains, more than half the respondents indicated that they never use English, the sole exceptions being at school (83.3%), with friends (82.3%) and at work (68.6). The use of English at work was more common: only 18.6% of the respondents reported “never” using English in this domain. Most of the respondents, commenting on this question, mentioned travelling as an additional domain. Some respondents also mentioned communicating in English with foreign guests or occasionally being asked by tourists for advice, and a few mentioned work-related situations or working abroad. The Internet was also listed a few times.

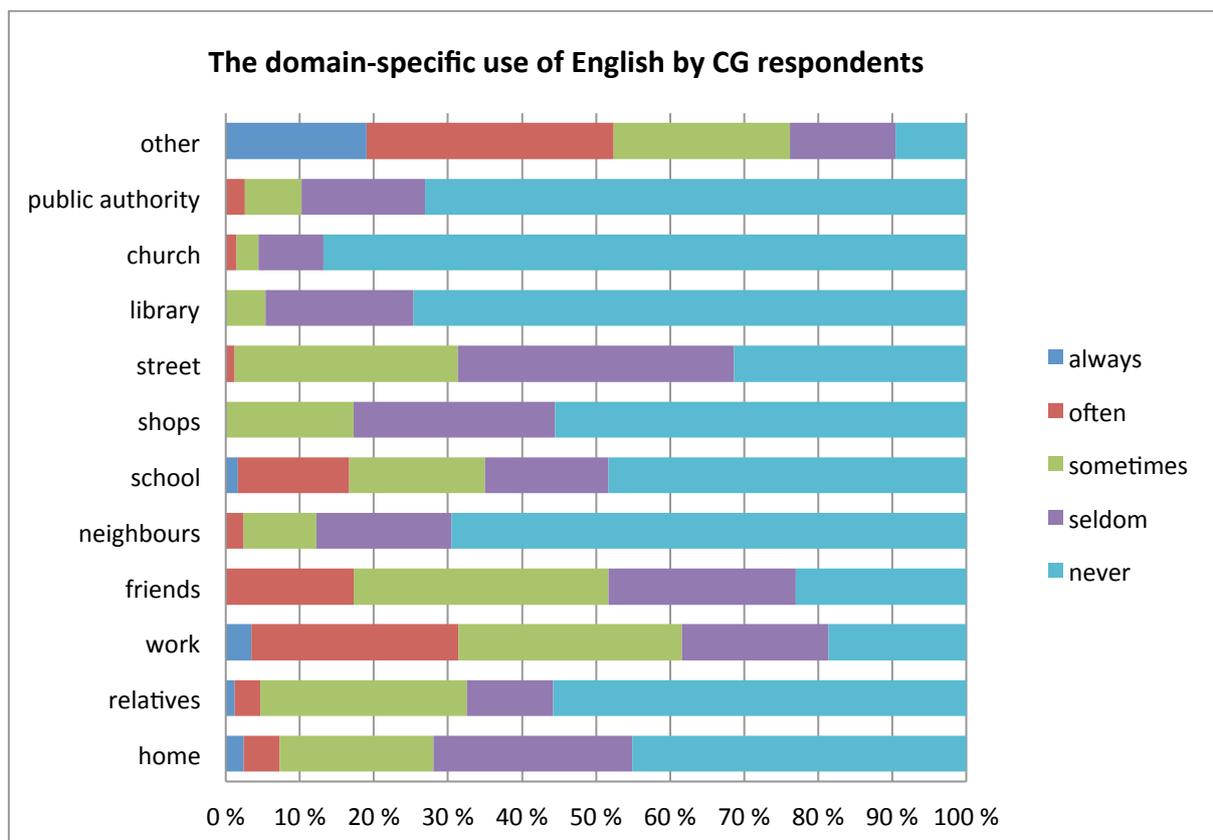


Figure 61. The domain-specific use of English by CG respondents

The domain-specific use of “other” languages is fairly similar to that reported by Karelian Finn respondents. The most frequently “other” language added by CG respondents was German, which was reported being used “sometimes” in work-related situations as well as with friends and when travelling. Spanish and Russian were used occasionally by some respondents, Spanish in work-related situations and Russian with friends. Other languages mentioned here were French, Italian, Hebrew and Polish, which were used by respondents who had friends or relatives speaking the language. Somewhat surprisingly, English was mentioned several times by CG respondents under the category “other” as well, although the use of English had already been mapped in the previous part of question Q18. Swedish, on the other hand, was mentioned by only eight CG respondents, who all reported using it when travelling.

A comparison of the Karelian Finn and CG survey results suggest some slight differences in the domain-specific use of the investigated languages, but most patterns of language use are fairly similar. Most notably, Karelian Finn respondents possess a language which, as a rule, CG respondents do not, viz. Karelian. As shown above, Karelian Finn respondents use their heritage language most frequently in private domains, especially with relatives, whereas the great majority of CG respondents predominantly use Finnish across all domains. The figures suggest that Karelian Finn respondents use only Finnish slightly more often across most of the domains than CG respondents do. The patterns of using English, Swedish and “other” languages appear to be quite similar in both groups. This, too, can be read as an indication of the high degree of integration into contemporary Finnish society of Karelian Finns today.

More than half the Karelian Finn respondents find it difficult to use Karelian, especially in official contexts. Q59 in the minority questionnaire, which was an open-ended question, asked whether it is easy to use Karelian in most situations. The respondents were also asked to say in what situations they feel that Karelian is not capable of expressing what they want to say. This question was answered by 277 respondents. More than a half were of the opinion that using Karelian is not easy in most circumstances, especially in official situations such as doing business at the bank or with public authorities. Courts, schools, hospitals and restaurants were also mentioned as examples of places and situations in which it is not possible to use Karelian. The fact that people do not understand it was given as a very common obstacle to using it on social occasions, except those in which everybody involved speaks or at least understands Karelian. The lack of an appropriate vocabulary in Karelian was pointed out in many answers, especially with regard to modern terminology, e.g. computers and technology. A few respondents also mentioned that their own proficiency in Karelian was inadequate for communicating effectively in most contexts.

The use of Karelian in fifteen public domains. Question Q61 in the minority questionnaire sought to map how widely Karelian is used in fifteen different public domains. Respondents were requested to tick one of the options “yes”, “no” and “I do not know”. The domains included the following: Parliament, the police station, the tax office, the health insurance office, the employment office, hospitals, the courts, ministries, regional and municipal offices, education, the printed media, radio, TV, advertisements in public spaces, and commercials in the media. The results are shown in Figure 62:

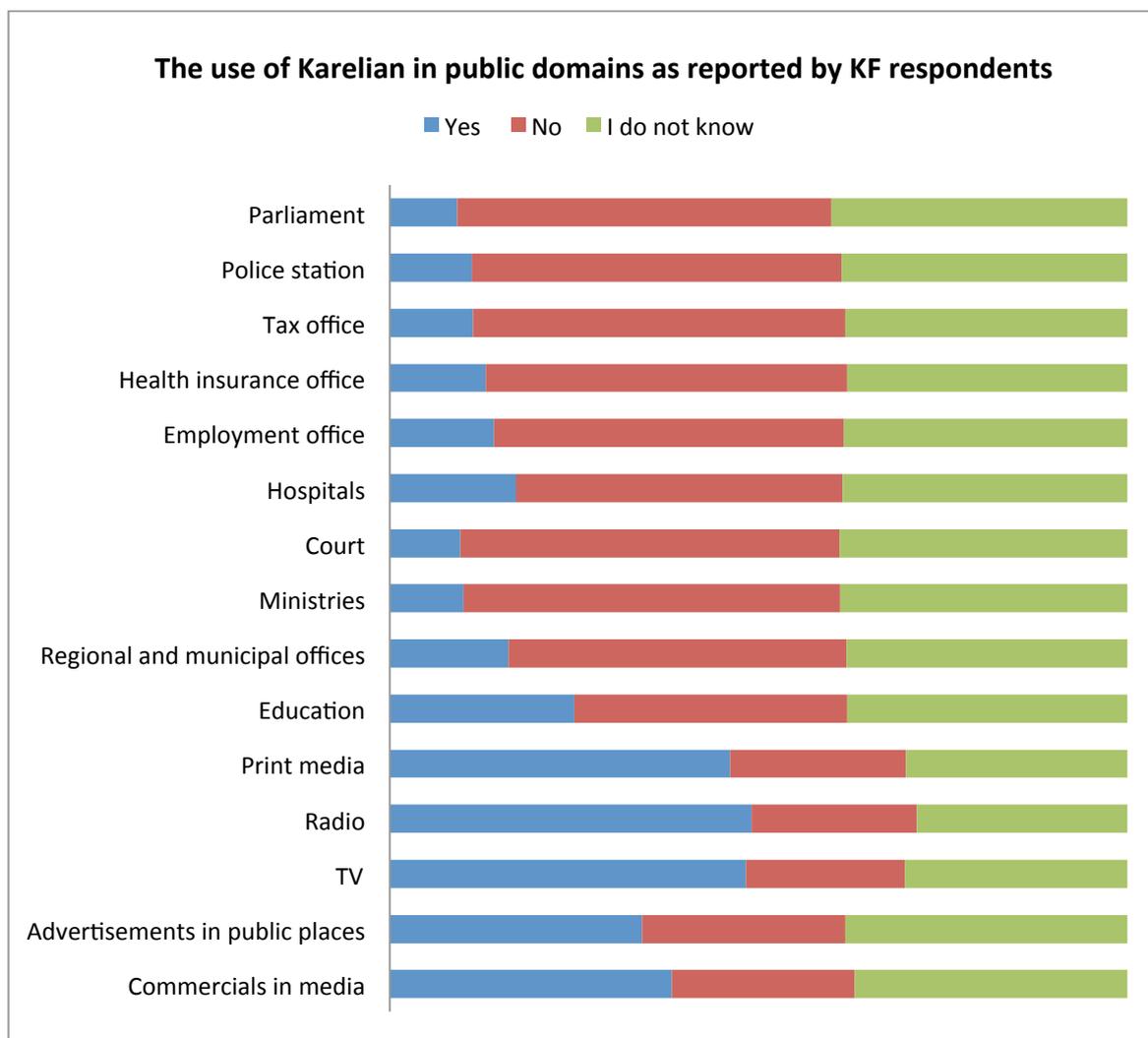


Figure 62. The use of Karelian in public domains as reported by KF respondents

One third of Karelian Finn respondents did not know whether Karelian is used in the specified public domains. Figure 60 shows that on average about one third of respondents (36.7%) had chosen the option “I don’t know”; for the domains of radio, TV and the print media the proportion was slightly lower at around 30%.

Almost a half reported knowing about the use of Karelian on the radio, TV and in the print media; a good third knew about Karelian in advertisements and commercials. The proportion of respondents, who knew about the use of Karelian on the radio, TV and in the print media was notably higher than the proportion of those who reported on the use of Karelian in any other domain: 49.08% of respondents reported knowing that Karelian is used in radio broadcasts, 48.31% that it is used on the TV, and 46.13 had seen Karelian used in the print media. The use of Karelian in commercials (38.2%) and in advertisements (34.17%) was reported by more than a third of respondents.

The use of Karelian in education was reported by a quarter of respondents. Exactly 25% of respondents knew about the use of Karelian in education. As described in Chapter 4, teaching in or about Karelian has not been available in Finnish schools, although it was taught for

a short time in the 1990s as an optional subject in one school in Nurmes. Consequently, when reporting on the use of Karelian in “education”, it is likely that respondents were thinking about the many Karelian language courses which are taught in folk high schools and adult education centres all over Finland today or about the Chair in Karelian at the University of Eastern Finland, which began teaching Karelian as a university subject in 2009.

Less than one fifth reported on the use of Karelian in health care, slightly more than a tenth on its use in dealing with local officials and less than a tenth on its use in state administration and the courts. 17.13% of respondents reported knowing about the use of Karelian in hospitals and 16.1% about its use in dealing with with regional or municipal officials. Karelian was believed to be used to some extent in health insurance offices (12.96%), employment offices (14.15), tax offices (11.31%) and police stations (11.08%). Around 10% of respondents thought that it is used in ministries (9.97%) and in the courts (9.6%), and 9% that it also is used in the Parliament. That one tenth of respondents claimed that Karelian is used in the state administration and the courts is surprising, since it contradicts not only common knowledge about the real state of affairs but also the fact that the majority of Finns, including politicians and decision makers, are still unaware of the very existence of the Karelian language. Yet question Q61 was answered by 324 respondents out of 356, and for the parts concerned with the Parliament, courts and ministries, the missing frequencies were 27, 33 and 35, respectively. Thus, regarding the use of Karelian in these domains, the survey results are statistically reliable. In reality, however, they probably need to be seen as another indication of the fuzziness of the concept “Karelian language”: the 30 or so respondents who chose the option “yes” for these three domains may well have been thinking about politicians such as Riitta Uosukainen and the late Johannes Virolainen, who sometimes used their native south-eastern dialects of Finnish on public occasions. It is not at all likely that Karelian has ever been used in the Parliament, court proceedings or in any ministry.

Opinions on the need for Karelian to be used in public domains divided both Karelian and CG respondents. Question Q39 in the minority questionnaire and question Q23 in the CG questionnaire asked about the need for Karelian to be used in the public sphere in Finland. Respondents were asked to agree or to disagree with seven statements, using the following five-step scale: “I completely agree”; “I agree”; “Difficult to say”; “I do not quite agree”; “I do not agree at all”. The statements to be evaluated were: Karelian should be used on TV/ in police stations/ in the Parliament, in hospitals, in courts, on the Internet, in the education system. The results are shown in Figure 63:

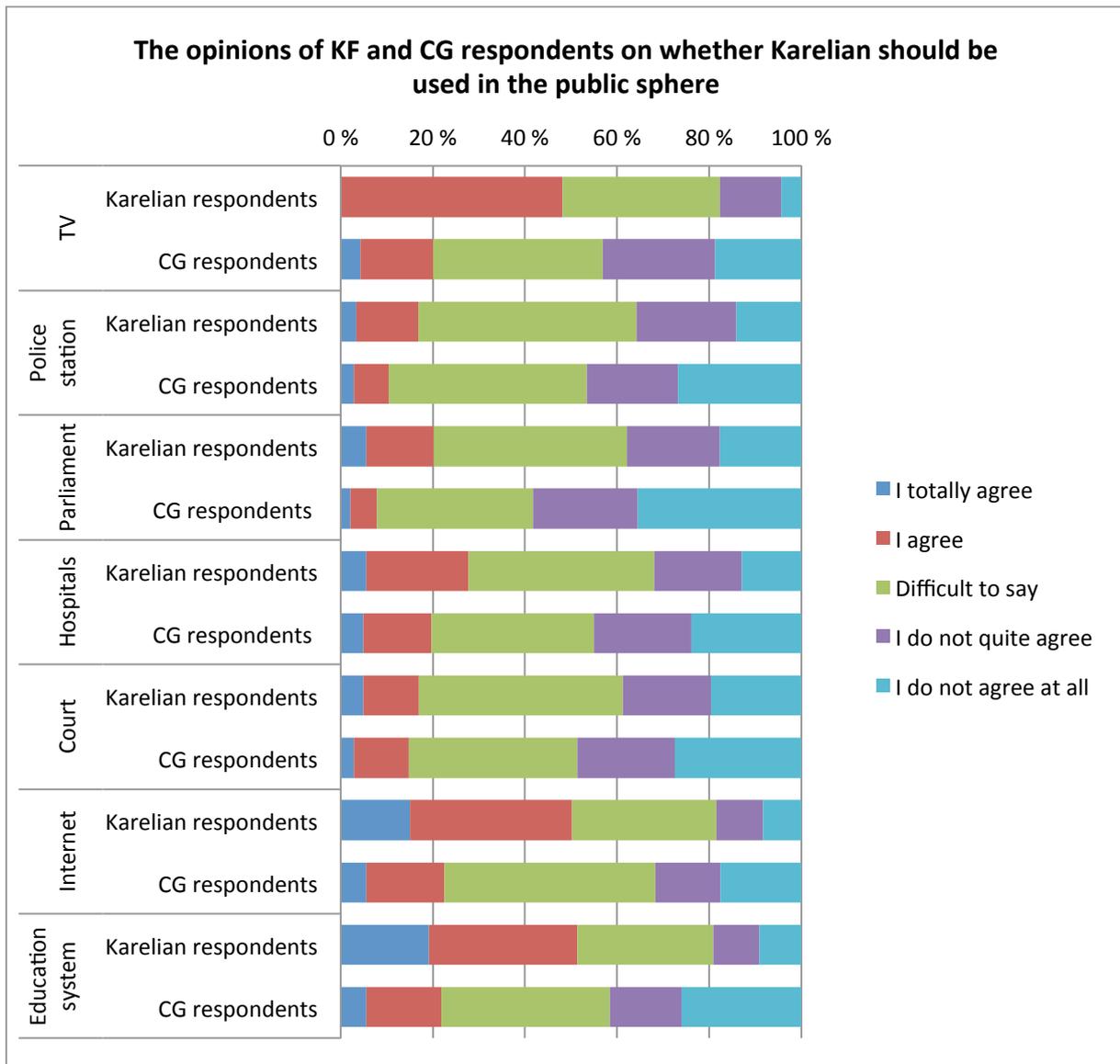


Figure 63. The opinions of KF and CG respondents on whether Karelian should be used in the public sphere

More than half the Karelian Finn respondents but only one fifth of CG respondents was in favour of the use of Karelian on TV, on the Internet and in education system; there was more CG resistance to the use of Karelian on TV than on Internet or in education. Figure 63 shows that CG respondents found it difficult to say whether Karelian should be used in any of the specified domains. The option most frequently chosen by Karelian Finn respondents, too, was “I don’t know”, except for three domains: TV, the Internet and the education system. More than half the Karelian Finn respondents held the view that their heritage language should be used in these domains: 61.27% were in favour of its use on TV, 50.16% of its use on the Internet, and 51.37% of its use in the education system. About 20% of CG respondents thought that Karelian should be used in these three domains. Approximately as many CG respondents were against its use on the Internet and in the education system, and more than 40% (43.3%) opposed its use on TV. Approximately 10% (9.91%) of Karelian Finn respondents and 24.5% of CG respondents indicated that they had some doubts about the

use of Karelian in the three domains in question. Slightly less than 10% of them were completely against it being used on the Internet and in the education system, but only 3% were against it being used on TV.

Roughly as many Karelian Finn respondents were in favour of the use of Karelian in police stations, Parliament and hospitals as were against it; twice as many CG respondents as Karelian Finn respondents completely opposed the use of Karelian in these domains. 16.82% of Karelian Finn respondents were in favour of Karelian being used at the police station, as were 10.4% of CG respondents; but 21.7% of Karelian Finn respondents and approximately as many CG respondents (19.7%) were doubtful about this. 14.07% of Karelian Finn respondents and slightly less than twice as many CG respondents (26.8%) completely rejected the idea of Karelian being used as the language of communication in police stations. 20.12% of Karelian Finn respondents and 7.8% of CG respondents were in favour of the use of Karelian in Parliament. 20.12% of Karelian and 22.7% of CG respondents were doubtful about it, while 17.68% of Karelian Finn respondents and roughly twice as many CG respondents (35.5%) rejected the idea. 27.69% of Karelian Finn respondents were of the opinion that Karelian should be used in hospitals, as were 19.7% of CG respondents. 19.08% of Karelian Finn respondents and 21.1% of CG respondents were doubtful, and the idea was rejected by twice as many of the latter (23.9%) completely rejected this idea as the former (12.92%).

Approximately as many Karelian Finn respondents as CG respondents were in favour of the use of Karelian in courts; resistance to this idea was notably stronger among CG respondents than among Karelian Finn respondents. 16.92% of Karelian Finn respondents and 14.8% of CG respondents reported being in favour of the use of Karelian in court. Roughly a fifth of Karelian (19.8%) and of CG respondents (21.1%) was hesitant about it. Over a quarter of CG respondents (27.5%) and about a fifth of Karelian Finn respondents (19.69%) rejected the idea.

In sum, Karelian and CG respondents agree on need for Karelian to be used on TV and the Internet but disagree with regard to its use in education. A fair proportion of Karelian Finn respondents wished for a greater use of Karelian in all the defined public domains, and as did a fair proportion of CG respondents. On the other hand, resistance to the use of Karelian was consistently greater among CG respondents than among Karelian Finn respondents. For each domain there were also Karelian Finn respondents who completely rejected the idea of Karelian being used at all, but resistance to the idea was consistently much lower among Karelian Finn respondents than among CG respondents. Karelian Finn respondents most strongly supported the use of Karelian on TV, the Internet and in the education system. These were also the domains in which the use of Karelian received the strongest support from CG respondents, who also gave a similar level of support (about 20%) for Karelian to be used in hospitals. The greatest opposition by CG respondents was to the use of Karelian in Parliament (35.5%), the courts (27.5%) and the education system (26.1%). Karelian Finn respondents were most opposed to the use of Karelian in the courts (19.69%), Parliament

(17.68%), and police stations (14.07%). The resistance of Karelian Finn respondents to its use in education was the second lowest after TV which, again, indicates the key role that Karelian Finns themselves assign to the education system in the maintenance and revitalization of their heritage language in Finland.

4.3.1.5 Languages and the labour market

Questions Q52, Q53 and Q54 in the minority questionnaire sought to map how Karelian Finn respondents see the roles of Karelian, Finnish and English in the labour market in Finland. In Q52 respondents were asked to give their opinion on the role of Karelian by evaluating the following four statements; “Knowing Karelian makes it easier to get your first job”; “Knowing Karelian makes it easier to improve your pay”; “Knowing Karelian improves your career prospects”; and “Knowing Karelian makes it easier to change jobs”. A five-step scale was used: “I completely agree”, “I more or less agree”, “It is difficult to say”, “I do not entirely agree” and “I do not agree at all”. The results are shown in Figure 64:

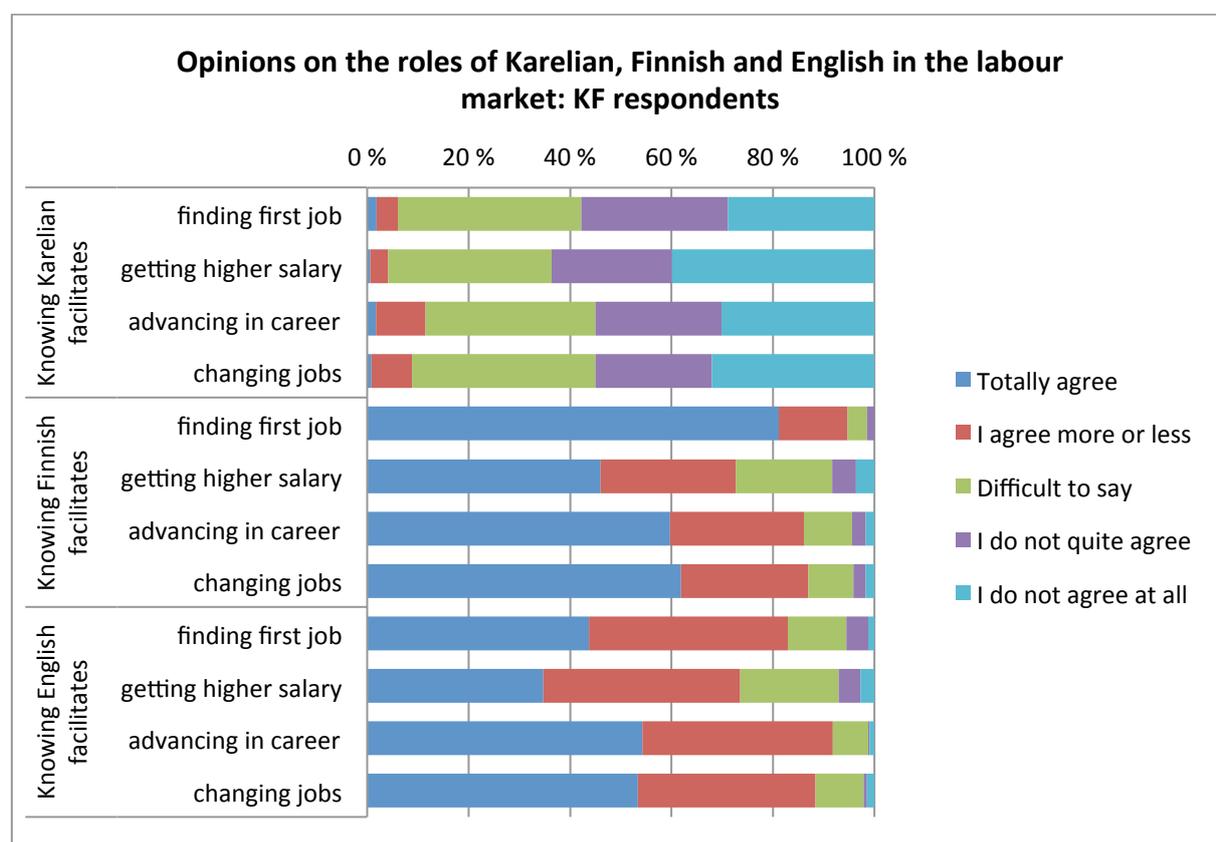


Figure 64. Opinions on the roles of Karelian, Finnish and English in the labour market: KF respondents

One third of the Karelian Finn respondents were not able to assess the labour-market value of their heritage language, while a quarter to a third reported seeing no labour-market value in knowing it. One third of Karelian Finn respondents found it difficult to say whether knowing Karelian is of any value in the labour market. The proportion of those who thought that Karelian had no value in the labour market varied from 39.94% with respect to getting more pay to 26.6% with respect to getting one’s first job.

The role of Karelian in the labour market was generally thought to be marginal in finding one's first job and in terms of pay, but slightly less so with regard to career prospects. Only 4.96% of respondents thought that knowing Karelian makes it easier to get one's first job, while 26.76% believed that it does not, and 26.76% were doubtful about it. 4.14% thought that knowing Karelian makes it easier to improve one's pay, 39.94% believed it does not, and 23.67% were doubtful about it. 11.54% thought that it improves one's career prospects, 30.18% did not, and 24.85% were doubtful. 8.82% thought that knowing Karelian makes it easier to change jobs, 32.06% did not, and 22.94% were doubtful.

Almost all Karelian Finn respondents thought that knowing Finnish makes it easier to find one's first job, and the majority that it advances one's career prospects but only three quarters that it makes it easier to get a pay increase. 94.67% of Karelian Finn respondents thought that knowing Finnish makes it easier to get one's first job. Interestingly, only 45.99% agreed that knowing Finnish makes it easier to improve one's pay, while 21.71% "more or less agreed" with this statement. While 72.7% agreed with the statement to some extent, almost a fifth (18.99%) found it difficult to say, which was the highest proportion of respondents expressing uncertainty with regard to some aspect of the role of Finnish in the labour market. Similarly, the relative proportion of those who did "not quite agree" was higher (4.75%) than it was for the other statements concerning the role of Finnish, as was that for those who completely disagreed (3.56%). 86.09% of Karelian Finn respondents agreed that knowing Finnish advances one's career prospects, 9.47% find it difficult to say, 2.66% do not quite agree and 1.78% don't agree at all. 86.98% thought that knowing Finnish makes it easier to change jobs, 8.88% found it difficult to say, 2.37% did not quite agree, and 1.78% did not agree at all.

Karelian Finn respondents thought that knowing English enhances career prospects and makes it easier to get one's first job and change jobs, but does not help to get better pay. Most respondents (91.77%) thought that knowing English advances one's career, and less than one per cent rejected this idea. 88.41% thought that it makes it easier to change jobs; 1.52% disagreed. 82.98% thought that it makes it easier to get one's first job, while only 1.22% rejected this idea. Again, the Karelian Finn respondents thought that language skills were less relevant for improving one's pay: 73.48% thought that knowing English makes it easier to get better pay, while 2.74% did not. The proportion of those who felt unable to evaluate the role of English in the labour market was highest for the statement about pay (19.51%) and lowest for career advancement (7.01%); 11.55% were not able to say whether knowing English plays a role in getting one's first job and 9.45% whether it makes it easier to change jobs.

In sum, knowing Finnish was seen as very important in the labour market, knowing English was also important, and knowing Karelian plays a minor role but may enhance career prospects. The survey results show that knowing Finnish is regarded as a very important factor in the labour market in Finland, especially when it comes to getting one's first job, for which knowing Karelian is thought to have little, if any, relevance. Knowing Finnish un-

doubtedly enhances career prospects, while knowing Karelian may enhance them to some extent. Finnish was seen as being significantly more important than Karelian in financial terms as well but was not thought to be particularly relevant in this respect. Language skills were consistently seen as being more important for obtaining employment than for getting better pay.

The views of CG respondents. The views of CG respondents on the role of Finnish, English and Karelian in the labour market in Finland were mapped in questions Q38, Q39 and Q40. Since the second ELDIA case study conducted in Finland is concerned with Estonian, CG respondents were also asked to evaluate role of Estonian in the labour market. Most Estonian-speakers in Finland are recent immigrants, who have come to Finland since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Comparing the CG views on the role of Karelian in the labour market with that of Estonian is quite interesting, and so the survey results concerning Estonian are included in the discussion of the CG data. Figure 65 shows the results of the statistical analyses of questions Q38-Q41 in the CG questionnaire:

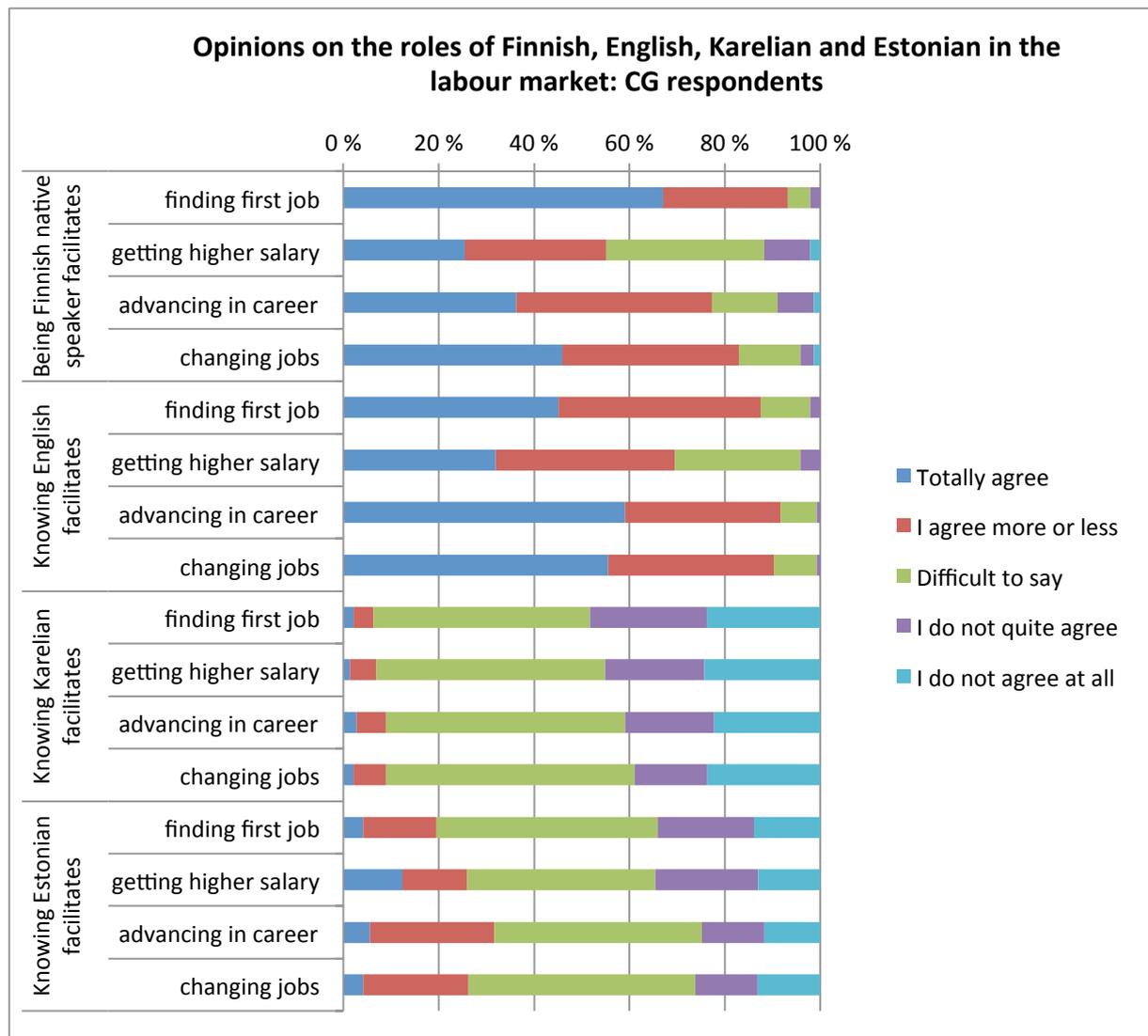


Figure 65. Opinions on the roles of Finnish, English, Karelian and Estonian in the labour market: CG respondents

The majority of CG respondents thought that being a native speaker of Finnish provides better prospects in the labour market. Most CG respondents (93.1%) thought that being a native speaker of Finnish makes it easier to find one's first job. More than half the respondents (55.2%) also thought that there is a correlation between being a native speaker of Finnish and improving one's pay; 11.8% did not. The remaining 33.1% chose the option "difficult to say". 77.4% of the respondents thought that there was a correlation between being a native speaker of Finnish and career advancement; 8.9% did not. 82.9% of CG respondents agreed with the statement that being a native speaker of Finnish also makes it easier to change jobs.

CG respondents thought that there is a correlation between being able to speak English and having better prospects in the labour market in Finland. 87.5% of CG respondents thought that knowing English makes it easier to find one's first job; only three people (2.1%) chose the "I do not quite agree" option, and nobody totally rejected the statement. Support for the statement that knowing English makes it easier to improve one's pay was slightly lower: 69.4% agreed completely (31.9%) or to some extent (37.5%). 4.2% did not quite agree, and 26.4% chose the option "difficult to say". 91.6% thought that it enhances career prospects, and 90.3% thought that it makes it easier to change jobs. These figures are even higher than those relating to Finnish.

CG respondents did not think that knowing Karelian or Estonian enhances one's prospects in the labour market. Only 6.3% (finding your first job) to 9.1% (advancing in your career) of the respondents thought that knowing Karelian improves your prospects in the labour market. The rest chose the option "difficult to say" (45.5%-52.1%), "I do not quite agree" (15.3%-24.5%) or "I do not agree at all" (22.2%-24.3%).

In order to be able to compare the opinions of Karelian Finn respondents and CG respondents concerning the roles of Karelian, Finnish and English in the labour market, an average was calculated for each grading option, starting with "I completely agree" and ending with "I do not agree at all". The averages for Karelian, Finnish and English for each group are shown in Figure 66:

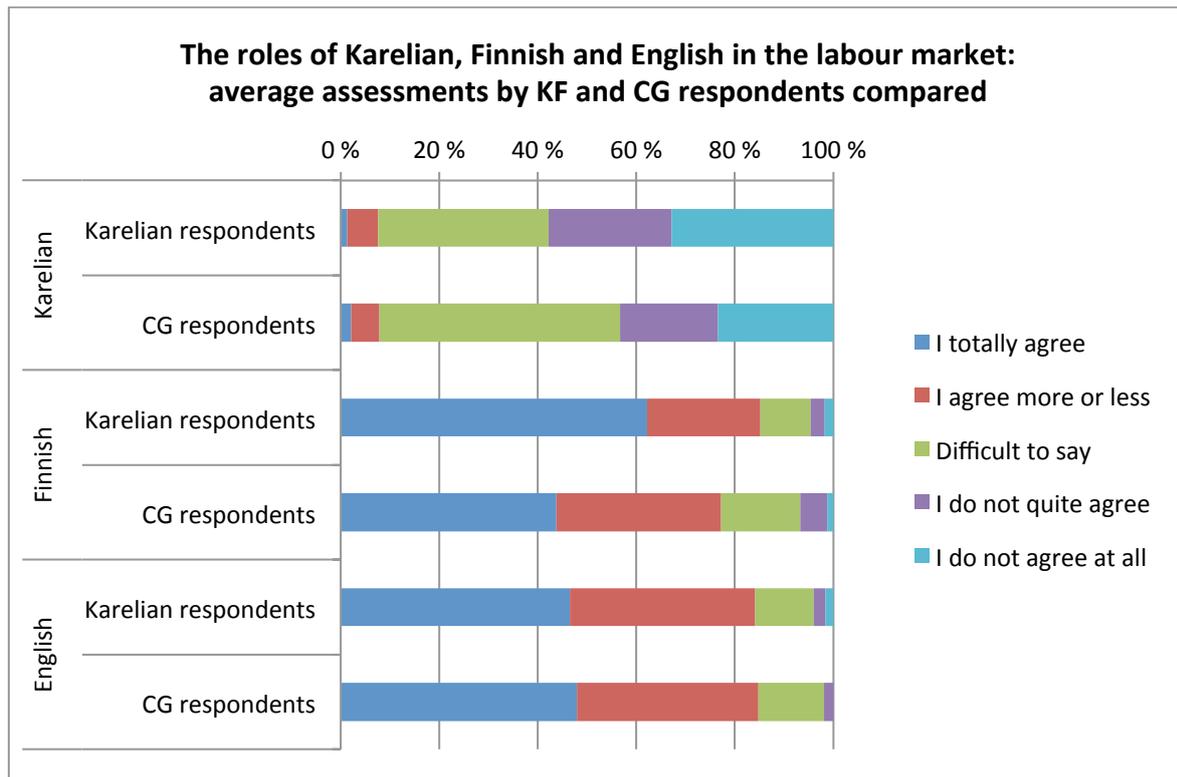


Figure 66. The roles of Karelian, Finnish and English in the labour market: average assessments by KF and CG respondents compared

Positive evaluations of the role of Karelian were equally frequent among Karelian Finn respondents and CG respondents but negative evaluations were significantly more frequent among the former than the latter. Figure 66 shows that barely 8% of respondents thought that Karelian has a positive value in the labour market. Surprisingly the average proportion of CG respondents who thought that Karelian might play some role was more or less the same (7.83%) as that of Karelian Finn respondents (7.52%). CG respondents also evaluated the role of Karelian less frequently in negative terms than Karelian Finn respondents: almost half the CG respondents (48.86%) chose the option “difficult to say”, compared with 33.85% of Karelian Finn respondents, while the proportion of Karelian Finn respondents (32.24%) who thought Karelian had no value in the labour market was significantly higher than that of CG respondents (23.48%). Similarly, fewer of the latter (19.84%) were doubtful about the role of Karelian than the former (24.56%). All in all, these results suggest that the role of Karelian in the labour market is seen as marginal, but by no means non-existent. The reason Karelian Finn respondents were more negative about the role of Karelian than CG respondents may be that Karelian Finn respondents have more experience in this matter whereas CG respondents felt that they did not have enough information and therefore did not want to choose either of the two negative options given in the questionnaire. Whether this should be seen as a sign of a positive attitude or as an indication of indifference is not clear.

Karelian Finn respondents assigned more importance to Finnish than CG respondents did. As Figure 66 shows, Karelian Finn respondents saw the role of Finnish in positive terms more frequently than CG respondents did: on average some 84% of Karelian Finn respondents

agreed with the questionnaire statements compared with some 77% of CG respondents. Karelian Finn respondents chose an option at the negative end of the scale less frequently (4.59%) than CG respondents (6.7%). These results may have at least two explanations. It may well be that they simply reflect the fact that for speakers of minority languages knowing the majority language is essential for success in the labour market. In this particular case, however, they may also be due to the fact that the question concerning Finnish skills was formulated differently in the CG questionnaire than in the Karelian questionnaire: CG respondents were asked to evaluate the importance of “being a native speaker of Finnish” whereas Karelian Finn respondents were asked to evaluate the importance of “knowing Finnish”.

Views concerning the role of English in the labour market were fairly similar in both groups: almost half the respondents thought that knowing English is beneficial, and only a tiny minority gave negative evaluations. On average about 84% of both Karelian Finn and CG respondents thought that knowing English improves one’s prospects in the labour market. The average proportion of those who had chosen the neutral option “it is difficult to say” was fairly low and similar in each respondent group: 11.88% of the Karelian Finn respondents and 13.37% of the CG respondents. The average proportion of Karelian Finn respondents who were doubtful about or completely rejected the role of English was roughly twice as high (3.96%) as that of CG respondents (1.91%).

4.3.1.6 Language cultivation and maintenance

Questions Q55, Q56 and Q60 in the minority questionnaire were designed to map respondents’ awareness of the existence of language planning institutions and activists seeking to cultivate and maintain Finnish (Q56) and Karelian (Q55, Q60) in Finland today. In question Q55 respondents were first asked whether there are institutions or people who cultivate Karelian and in Q56 whether these exist for Finnish. Q60 asked if there “are attempts to ‘save’ the Karelian language today”. In questions Q55 and 56 the predefined options were “no”, “yes” and “I don’t know”. Those who answered “yes” were requested to specify the institutions or people. The results concerning questions Q55 and Q56 are summarized in Figure 67:

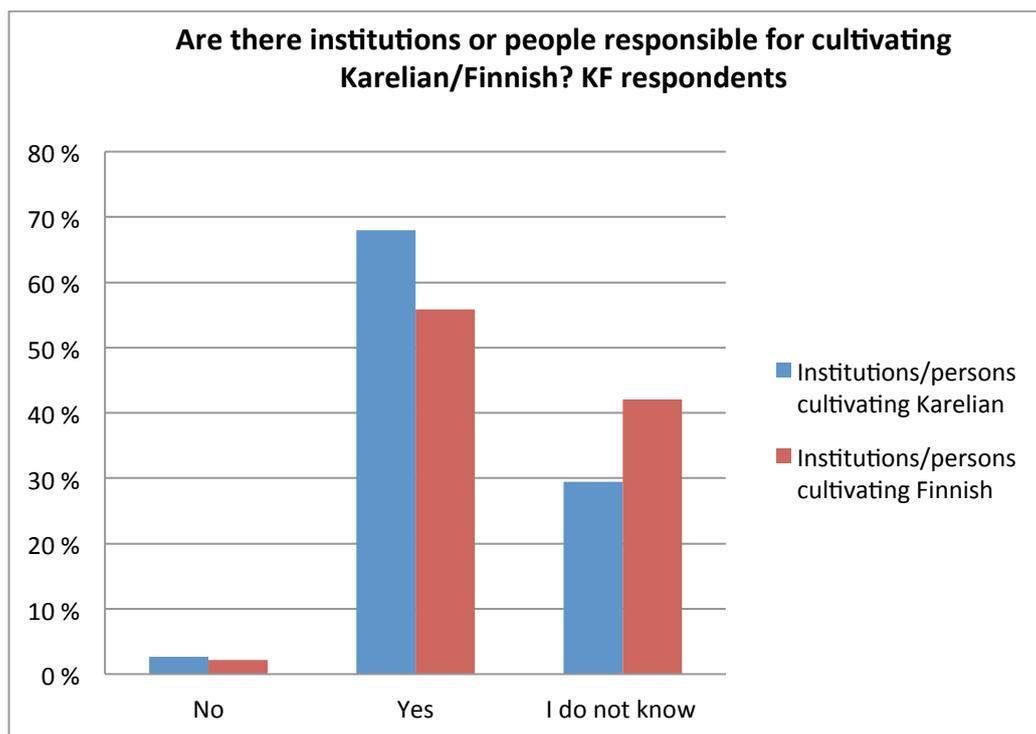


Figure 67. Are there institutions or people responsible for cultivating Karelian/Finnish? KF respondents

Karelian Finn respondents are more knowledgeable about institutions and people responsible for cultivating Karelian than they are about those for cultivating Finnish. As Figure 67 shows, the survey results suggest that more than half of the Karelian Finn respondents (55.83%) knew that there are institutions and people responsible for the cultivation of Finnish. 42% did not know, and 2.15% thought that there are no such institutions or people. Karelian Finn respondents were significantly more knowledgeable about such institutions and people with respect to Karelian: 67.94% reported knowing that they exist, 2.65% thought there are none, and 29.41% chose the option “I don’t know”. Only 4.5 of them did not answer the question.

The institutions most frequently mentioned were the Karelian Language Society and the Karelian League; Archbishop Leo and Paavo Harakka were the most frequently mentioned activists. The institution most frequently mentioned was the Karelian Language Society (Fin. *Karjalan kielen seura*), followed by the Karelian League (Fin. *Karjalan Liitto*). Many respondents also mentioned the Karelian Cultural Association (Fin. *Karjalan Sivistysseura*) and the Juminkeko Foundation (Fin. *Juminkeko-säätiö*). The University of Eastern Finland (often by its former name the University of Joensuu) was also frequently mentioned, as were adult education centres (Fin. *kansalaisopistot*). Municipal societies (Fin. *pitäjäseurat*) were most often mentioned as such and only a few respondents mentioned a specific society by name, e.g. the *Suojärven pitäjäseura*, the *Salmi-säätiö*, the *Salmi-seura* or the *Impilahti-seura*. The most frequently mentioned people were Paavo Harakka and Archbishop Leo, whose name was sometimes accompanied with a reference to the Orthodox Church of Finland as an

institution. Timo Munne, Marjukka Patrakka, Kari Koslonen, Matti Jeskanen and Raija Pyöli were mentioned once each.

The cultivation of Finnish was most frequently thought to be conducted by public educational institutions, the Institute for the Languages of Finland, and Association of Finnish Culture and Identity. Most answers mentioned schools, teachers, universities and/or the educational system as a whole. The Institute for the Languages of Finland (Fin. *Kotimaisten kielten keskus*) and the Association of Finnish Culture and Identity (Fin. *Suomalaisuuden Liitto*) were apparently familiar to the respondents, since they were also mentioned quite often. The Finnish Literature Society (Fin. *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura*) was mentioned by only a few respondents. Parliament and/or the government of Finland were mentioned in some answers and some respondents made the comment that cultivating and regulating the use of Finnish “is irrelevant, since we live in Finland”.

CG respondents knew very little about the cultivation of Karelian. Question Q45 in the CG questionnaire asked about the cultivation of Karelian in Finland. All but one of the CG respondents answered this question, but the results show that they are not well informed about the cultivation of Karelian: 77.2% chose the answer “I don’t know”, 15.2% reported being aware that it exists, and 2.15% thought that it does not. In the open-ended part of the question, the most frequently mentioned institution was “the Karelian Society” (Fin. *Karjala-seura*), although there is actually no society or association bearing that name, and the answers show that some CG respondents are aware of the existence of associations of Karelians or Karelian Finns in Finland but are not at all familiar with them. The Karelian League was mentioned once, as was the Finnish theatre in Petrozavodsk, which is the capital of the Karelian Republic. People who were mentioned included Jussi Junttila and Paavo Väyrynen. The former is clearly a private individual, while the latter is a long-time career politician; it is unclear what either of them have to do with the cultivation of Karelian.

Less than half the Karelian Finn respondents reported being aware of current efforts to maintain Karelian in Finland, while almost as many did not know whether there are such efforts. When asked in Q60 whether efforts are being made to preserve Karelian in Finland, 46.55% of Karelian Finn respondents answered “yes”, 45.35% that they do not know, and 8.11% “no”. In the open-ended part of the question, those who had answered “yes” were requested to list or describe some of the measures which they knew about.

Maintenance measures mentioned by KF respondents included status as a minority language, literature, and the language nest in Nurmes. The recently acquired status of Karelian as a minority language was mentioned in most answers in one form or another. Many respondents also listed language courses and Karelian-language literature, including dictionaries, the Kalevala and the New Testament, and many mentioned Karelian music as being more widely available today than ever before. Daycare in Karelian was frequently mentioned often, too, by which respondents probably meant the Karelian language nest in Nurmes (see Section 2.4.3). Some respondents praised both the Karelian-language and Finnish-language media for promoting awareness of Karelian. To some extent, the open-

ended answers overlapped with those to question Q56: some respondents mentioned the University of Eastern Finland and its Professorship in Karelian, the Karelian League (*Karjalan Liitto*), the Karelian Language Society (*Karjalan kielen seura*), the Orthodox Church and Archbishop Leo.

There was criticism of current measures and the very long delay in taking them. Several Karelian Finn respondents used the open-ended part of Q60 to criticize the level of practical support for the maintenance and advancement of Karelian. One respondent stressed that if everything that has been recently done for the language had been started 50 years earlier, maintaining Karelian as an active language and developing it as a modern means of communication would certainly have been possible.

Nearly half of Karelian Finn respondents think that Karelian should consciously be developed in order to make it better usable in formal and public domains. Question Q58 in the minority questionnaire inquired about the need to develop Karelian to make it more suitable as a means of communication in formal and public domains. Over 95% of the Karelian Finn respondents had actually answered the question. As shown in Figure 68, almost a half of them reported thinking it should, less than 15% did not consider developing more formal Karelian is necessary, and nearly 40% chose the option I don't know. The surprisingly high proportion of the unopinionated may well reflect the fact that Karelian so far does not have a commonly recognized standard and so people have difficulties in even imagining it could be used in formal contexts. Yet another reason for not being able to form an opinion on the issue might be that people could not make up their mind if there is a real need to develop Karelian for formal use in the first place, because all Karelian speakers in Finland know Finnish as well.

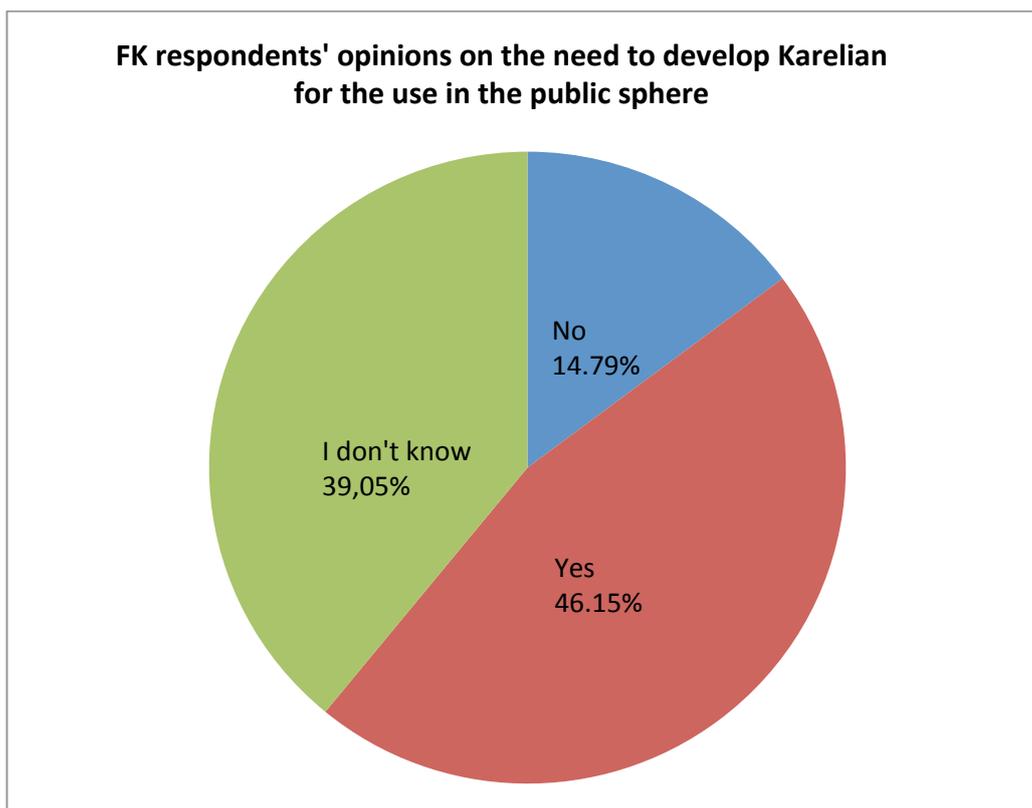


Figure 68. FK respondents opinion on the need to develop Karelian for the use in the public sphere

4.3.1.7 Support and lack of support for the use of Karelian

This Section reports on survey results concerning respondents' views on to what extent and by what means using Karelian has been supported. It begins with a discussion of Karelian Finn respondents' experiences of efforts to prevent parents from speaking Karelian to their children in the past and today, and then proceeds to map to what extent the cross-generational use of Karelian and Finnish has been and is supported.

Question Q22 asked Karelian Finn respondents whether there had been attempts in their childhood to prevent their parents from using Karelian with their children. They were asked to choose one of three options: "yes", "no" and "I do not know". Those who answered positively were asked to elaborate on their answer in question Q23, where they were offered the options "at home", "at school" and "elsewhere" and they were then asked to specify in each case how these attempts were manifested. Respondents were told that more than one option could be chosen in this question. Q24 asked whether respondents nowadays encounter opinions for or against Karelian being used with children and, if they do, to specify who expresses such views and in what form.

Fewer than one fifth of Karelian Finn respondents reported that in their childhood parents had been prevented from using Karelian with children. 333 of the respondents answered the question. Most of them (81.88%) reported that they had not experienced any attempts to prevent parents from using Karelian with their children. 52 (18.12%) reported knowing about cases where parents had been discouraged from speaking Karelian with their children.

The older and the better educated respondents were, the more frequently they seemed to know about such situations.

Opposition to using Karelian in cross-generation communication was most frequently expressed at school and justified by the need to assimilate into the Finnish-speaking environment and avoid harassment. In Q23 respondents most frequently specified school as the domain in which opposition to using Karelian in communication between parents and children were expressed: 30 respondents chose the option “school”, 19 chose “home” and 18 chose the option “elsewhere”. Thirty respondents in the oldest age group reported negative attitudes towards speaking Karelian in their childhood or youth, mostly at school. Teachers had required their Karelian pupils to speak Finnish and other children had called them names, suggesting that the newcomers were of Russian origin (“*ryssä*” ‘Russian’, “*ryssän lapsi*” ‘child of a Russian’). They had also been laughed at. In one case a middle-aged respondent born in Upper North Karelia mentioned that his teacher – also of Karelian origin – had firmly corrected pupils who had tried to use Karelian in school. Parents who had forbidden their children to speak Karelian at home as well as at school were reported to have had justified this by explaining that only in this way would the children learn proper Finnish, avoid harassment and assimilate smoothly into the Finnish-speaking population.

Fewer than one in ten respondents reported on current attempts to prevent someone speaking Karelian. 332 of the respondents answered question Q24 which asked whether opinions are expressed today for or against Karelian being used with children. One fifth of the respondents (21.39%) did not know, 71.08% answered “no”, and only 7.53% answered “yes”. Only a small number of respondents commented on their choice, mostly mentioning their own positive attitudes towards using Karelian with children: e.g. some respondents wrote that if Karelian is a parent’s mother tongue, the children should be encouraged to use it as well as the majority language. One middle-aged respondent regretted not having spoken Karelian to her children in their childhood. One elderly respondent wrote that his grown-up children hate Karelian and do not want to acknowledge their father’s Karelian background.

Respondents’ parents had given much more support for their use of Finnish than for their use of Karelian. When asked in Q34 whether their parents had encouraged them to use Karelian, 72.05% of the respondents answered negatively and only 27.95% positively. Parents strongly encouraged their children to use Finnish: in their answers to Q35, 77.42% of respondents reported that they had been encouraged to use Finnish and 22.58% wrote that their parents had not particularly encouraged them to speak Finnish. Most of the comments in the open-ended parts of questions Q34, Q35 and Q36, were by respondents who had not been encouraged by their parents to use Karelian. Some respondents actually wrote that the attitude towards languages at home had been neutral, and so children had been allowed to use Karelian and/or Finnish as they preferred. In some homes, however – especially immediately after WWII – the use of Finnish was deliberately encouraged in order to help the children to assimilate into Finnish society and avoid harassment; in these cases, using

Karelian was more or less actively discouraged. As for middle-aged and young respondents, many of these wrote that their parents did not know Karelian, and so they had had a monolingual Finnish childhood home.

Karelian has been and is supported in families as part of identity. Those respondents who elaborated on having been explicitly encouraged to use Karelian, wrote about how their parent(s) had explained that one should not forget one's own language ("*elä unoha omua kieltä*"). A number of respondents also wrote that although only one of their parents had known Karelian, they had been encouraged to learn it and use it alongside Finnish.

Parents' attitudes are often different today than they were earlier: many regret not having taught their children to speak Karelian. A number of respondents also wrote that their elderly parents who had not transmitted Karelian to their children had recently begun to encourage their now grown-up offspring to study Karelian. Since the majority of the respondents belong to two oldest age groups their children are already grown up and this was reflected in the answers: many respondents expressed their regret at not having taught their children to speak Karelian in their childhood. In some cases they pointed out that they had not learnt Karelian from their parents either. Some mentioned that their children had learned some Karelian from their grandparents. Some respondents wrote that they had tried to compensate for their negligence in the past by encouraging their adult offspring to learn Karelian by, for example, giving them Karelian literature and newspapers to read and music to listen to. Even though their grown-up children are not able to have an active conversation in Karelian, many respondents wrote that they tried to strengthen their passive knowledge of the language by telling them stories and family histories in Karelian, or by using Karelian proverbs and words in everyday speech. In some cases the grown-up children were interested in learning Karelian, in others they were not.

Respondents appear to encourage their children to use Karelian slightly more than their own parents did. When asked in Q36 if they try to get their own children to learn and use Karelian, 30.42% of the respondents answered that they do, which is 2.47% higher than the figure reported for their own parents (Q34). Some of the respondents were young parents with small children. Only two of these knew Karelian and reported actively speaking it with their children; a few others reported reading fairy tales to their children.

Using Finnish is seen as "self-evident" and "natural". Most respondents across all age groups mentioned in their comments to Q35 that using Finnish is "self-evident" or "natural" in Finland and they pointed out that there had been no need to encourage children to use it. As pointed out in the discussion of Question 34, in many families the language issue had not been raised at all. Many respondents reported that their originally Karelian-speaking parents had gradually started to use more and more Finnish, so that in the end Finnish had become the main language spoken at home. Some respondents also wrote that their parents had actively encouraged their children to use "standard Finnish", sometimes even when Karelian had remained the main language spoken within the family. Some elderly respondents also had quoted their Karelian-speaking parents saying things like "When in Rome, do as the

Romans do" (Fin. "*maassa maan tavalla*"), and "if we speak Finnish we become part of society".

More than half the CG respondents were in favour of Karelian instruction for the children of Karelian-speaking families. Question Q19 in the CG questionnaire asked respondents to evaluate four statements on languages: "It is acceptable for people living in this country to speak Finnish imperfectly"; "It is important for children whose parents speak Karelian to them to get teaching in Karelian at school too"; "It is important for children whose parents speak Estonian to them to get teaching in Estonian at school too", and "Too great a command of Finnish is required of people seeking employment (in this country)". Respondents were given five options to choose from, ranging from "I completely agree" to "I completely disagree". The proportion of those respondents who chose the option "I can't say" was fairly high, ranging between 21.6% and 26.6%. The majority of CG respondents (70.1%) found it acceptable that people who live in Finland speak Finnish imperfectly. 54.7% completely agreed with the statement that children whose parents speak Karelian to them at home should also learn Karelian at school. More than a quarter of the respondents (27.1%) agreed that the level of proficiency in Finnish which is demanded in the labour market is too high (considerable proficiency in Finnish is demanded of people seeking employment in Finland).

CG respondents appeared to feel more positively about teaching Karelian than about instruction of minority mother-tongues at school in general. When asked in question Q12 whether it is important for children to learn their first language or mother tongue at school, the majority of CG respondents (93%) chose the option "I do not know"; while 3% answered "yes" and 3% "no". Since more than a half the CG respondents supported Karelian teaching in schools, their attitude towards Karelian appears to be much more positive than that towards minority languages in general (Q19).

Only a small minority of CG respondents were aware of opinions being expressed on languages which should or should not be spoken to children. Q13 in the CG questionnaire asked about opinions on language use with children today. 45.5% chose "No", 7% "Yes" and 47.6% "I don't know". The question was ineptly formulated: First respondents were asked to answer "Have you come across opinions on whether one should/should not talk certain languages with children" by choosing one of the options, "Yes", "No" or "I do not know". If they had answered "yes" they were then asked to say who expressed such views and in what form. The formulation was evidently problematic for respondents and it is even more so for the interpretation of the results: Some respondents chose the option "Yes" but commented in such a way that it was not clear whether they had come across positive or negative views. Some who had answered "yes" did not comment at all and seven respondents simply listed the names of politicians, or wrote one word such as "media" or "teachers". According to one respondent, teachers emphasized the importance of mastering one's mother tongue. Another wrote that "there is a certain antithesis between Finnish, Swedish and Russian languages in Finland".

(Q20) Question 20 of the CG questionnaire asked if the respondent’s parents had talked about the importance of knowing Karelian, Estonian or Finnish. Two respondents mentioned “Karelian”. Their grandmothers had been Karelian-speaking and had encouraged them to learn the language. Ten respondents chose the option “Finnish”. Eight of them were from Finnish-speaking families, in which the importance of the mother tongue and speaking correctly had been emphasized. Two respondents with a Swedish-speaking background wrote that their parents had emphasized the need to master Finnish. The parents of 122 respondents did not speak about the importance of Karelian, Estonian or Finnish.

4.3.1.8 Attitudes towards Karelian Finns

This Section reports on the survey results concerning language attitudes from two viewpoints: who is expected to speak Karelian and how social contacts with Karelian speakers are regarded by Karelian Finn respondents, on the one hand, and CG respondents, on the other. Attitudes towards the Karelian language are discussed further below in the Section “Issues of Multilingualism”.

Question Q37 in the minority questionnaire explained that is common that people of a certain age or sex prefer to use one particular language rather than another and then asked the respondent to indicate to which extent they agree with the following statements: “Young boys are expected to use Karelian”, “Young girls are expected to use Karelian”, “Adult men are expected to use Karelian” and “Adult women are expected to use Karelian”. The results are presented in Table 5:

Results concerning statements about who is expected to use Karelian:				
KF respondents				
	young boys	young girls	grown-up men	grown-up women
I agree completely	1.25%	1.25%	2.82%	4.98%
I agree to some extent	5.31%	7.84%	21.94%	22.12%
Difficult to say	51.56%	50.47%	47.96%	46.73%
I disagree to some extent	23.75%	22.57%	15.05%	14.02%
I disagree completely	18.13%	17.87%	12.23%	12.15%

Table 5 . Results concerning statements about who is expected to use Karelian: KF respondents

Roughly half the Karelian Finn respondents found it difficult to say who is expected to use Karelian, while a good fifth were inclined to think that Karelian is expected to be used by adults rather than by teenagers, and more often by female than by male speakers. Table 5 shows that more than half the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed that young boys and girls are expected to use Karelian. Almost half the respondents took the same position with regard to adult men and women. Respondents appear to have found it more difficult to evaluate the statements with respect to men than to women, and easier to evaluate them with respect to adults than to young people. In the context of Finland, the formulation of the question does not make much sense, since nobody is “expected to” know Karelian today,

and this most probably explains the high number of those did not agree or disagree with the statements. 24.76% of respondents agreed, completely (2.82%) or partly (21.94%) that Karelian is expected to be used by grown-up men and slightly more (27.1%; 4.98% completely and 22.12% partly) that it is expected to be used by adult women. This suggests that today using Karelian might be seen, at least to some extent, to be more characteristic of women than of men. The Karelian survey respondents thought that young boys and girls were less likely to use Karelian. Interestingly, significantly more respondents chose the weaker expression of disagreement: 23.75% reported not quite agreeing with the statement that young boys are expected to use Karelian while 18.13% had chosen the option “I do not agree at all”. For young girls, the respective percentages were slightly lower: 22.57% did not quite agree and 17.87% did not agree at all. The results suggest that Karelian is a language which one does not expect to hear used by young people today, but respondents who think that it is at least possible that teenagers use Karelian (“I do not quite agree”) seem to outnumber those who rule the possibility out completely (“I do not agree at all”). As with women, young girls are more frequently expected to use Karelian than young boys: 6.56% of respondents agreed, completely or to some extent, with the claim that boys are expected to use Karelian, compared with 9.09% for girls.

Question Q38 in the minority questionnaire asked respondents to decide to what extent they agreed or disagreed with five statements concerned with socializing with Karelian Finns in terms of making friends, getting acquainted, working together, spending time with them, and marrying one. The question was answered by most Karelian Finn respondents: an average of 94% had evaluated the statements; the non-response rate (7.9%) was at its highest for the statements about the ease of marrying a Karelian Finn. The statistical results are summarized in Table 6:

Five statements about Karelian Finns: KF respondents					
“It is easy to	I agree completely	I agree to some extent	Difficult to say	I disagree to some extent	I completely disagree
make friends with	36.18%	48.82%	14.12%	0.59%	0.29%
be acquainted with	38.46%	47.93%	13.31%	0%	0.3%
marry	8.54%	12.5%	72.26%	3.66%	3.05%
cooperate with	20.06%	42.51%	35.33%	1.5%	0.6%
spend time with	36.01%	48.51%	14.29%	0.89%	0.3%
a Karelian-speaker”.					

Table 6. Five statements about Karelian Finns: KF respondents

Most Karelian Finn respondents reported finding it easy to get acquainted, make friends and spend time with other Karelian Finns; the majority also found it easy to work with them. As Table 6 shows, 86.39% of Karelian Finn respondents completely or to some extent agreed that it is easy to make friends with Karelian Finns, 85% agreed that it is easy to get to know them, and 84.52% that it is easy to spend time with them. Significantly fewer respondents (62.57%) agreed, completely or to some extent, that it is easy to work with Karelian speakers and the percentage of those who could not decide was significantly higher.

Only about 1% of the respondents disagreed with the statements and less than 15% found it difficult to decide.

One fifth of Karelian Finn respondents agreed that it is easy to marry a Karelian Finn. Only 21.04% of respondents agreed, completely or to some extent, with the statement “It is easy to marry a Karelian Finn”, while the proportion of those who found it difficult to say was very much higher than for any other statement (72.26%). 6.71% of the respondents disagreed with the statement. This result is rather confusing: it is very hard to believe that the majority of Karelian Finn respondents would regard Karelian Finns as people whom it is easy to get to know, make friends with, spend time with and work with, but not as potential marriage partners. The most likely explanation is simply that the chances of meeting and falling in love with someone who also happens to be a Karelian Finn are fairly slim today and respondents have therefore unconsciously understood the statement as referring to the ease of *finding* a Karelian Finn to marry.

In Q22 CG respondents were asked to respond to the same statements and most of them did so. The missing frequencies ranged between 1% and 2%. The results are shown in Table 7:

Five statements about Karelian speakers: CG respondents					
"It is easy to	I agree completely	I agree to some extent	Difficult to say	I disagree to some extent	I completely disagree
make friends	9.15%	21.83%	66.9%	2.11%	0%
become acquainted	8.51%	25.53%	63.83%	2.13%	0%
marry	2.88%	6.47%	86.33%	2.16%	2.16%
work	3.6%	19.42%	74.1%	1.44%	1.44%
spend time	6.38%	23.4%	67.38%	1.42%	1.42%
with a Karelian-speaker."					

Table 7. Five statements about Karelian speakers: CG respondents

One third of CG respondents agreed that it is easy to socialize with Karelian speakers; more than half could not decide. The majority of the CG respondents (63.8-86.3%) chose the option “difficult to say”. About a third agreed that it was easy to get to know (34.04%), make friends with (30.98%) and spend time with (29.78) with Karelian Finns and almost a quarter that it is easy to work with them (23.02%). 9.35% agreed that it is easy to marry one. Only a very small minority of CG respondents disagreed that it is easy to socialize with Karelian Finns, and, as with Karelian Finn respondents the highest disagreement rate concerned the ease of marrying one (4.32%).

CG respondents cannot distinguish Karelian Finns from speakers of other languages on the basis of their appearance. The above results are another indication of the extent to which Karelian Finns have become integrated into Finnish society. They also accord with those for question Q21 in the CG questionnaire which asked whether respondents are able to recognise speakers of the Finnish, Karelian and Estonian on the basis of their physical appearance: 95.8% of CG respondents reported not being able to do so. One respondent wrote that she recognises Karelians, commenting that “they look more lively”, and five

respondents mentioned Estonians: three wrote that they “look different”, one wrote that they “do not look like Scandinavians”, and one mentioned “different clothes”.

4.3.1 Issues of multilingualism

This Section examines attitudes towards multilingualism in Finland. It is important to note that the concept “multilingualism” is not entrenched in Finnish legislation or language policies. The word itself was not used in the survey questionnaire and it occurred only occasionally in the answers, but it was one of the major topics in the interviews.

4.3.2.1 Opinions on mixing languages

In Q33 of the Karelian Finn questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate their opinions on the following statements concerned with code-switching (“mixing languages”) and correctness of language:

Statement 1: “Karelian speakers frequently mix languages”.

Statement 2: “Only people with little education mix Karelian with other languages”.

Statement 3: “Young people often mix Karelian with other languages”.

Statement 4: “Older people speak Karelian correctly”.

Statement 5: “Mixing languages indicates a high degree of skill in the languages”.

Statement 6: “It is acceptable to mix languages”.

An average of about 10% of the Karelian Finn respondents did not answer Q33, which is a fairly high percentage of missing frequencies compared with those in the rest of the questionnaire. The missing frequencies ranged from 43 (Statement 3) and 32 (Statement 4). The results are presented in Figure 69:

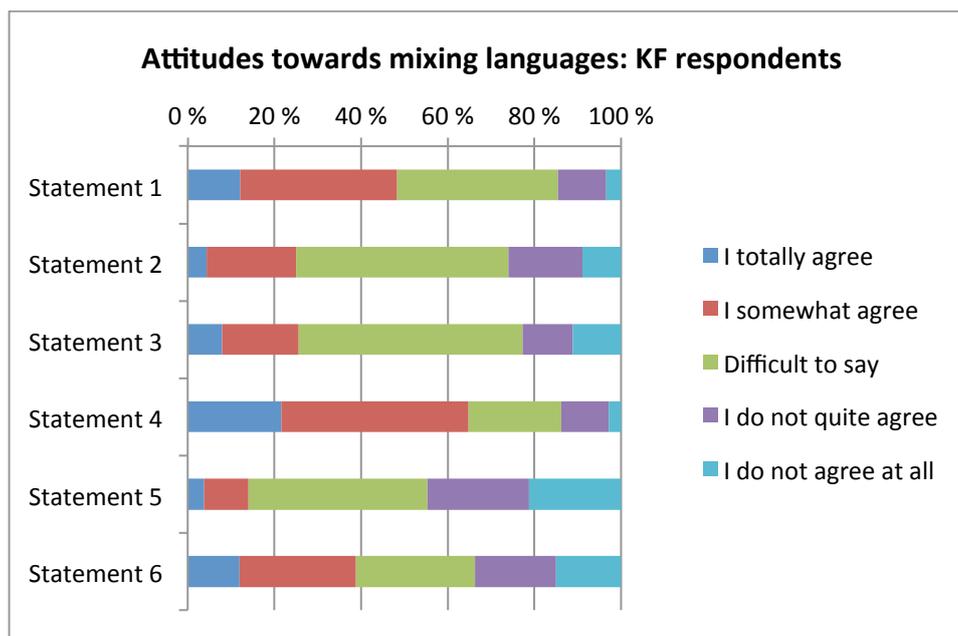


Figure 69. Attitudes towards mixing languages: KF respondents

Older speakers were identified as “correct” speakers of Karelian. The highest agreement rate, 64.81%, was with Statement 4, that old people speak Karelian correctly. 13.89% of respondents disagreed with the statement completely or to some extent, and 21.3% chose the option “Difficult to say”. The number of those who disagreed was the lowest for all the statements which also testifies to the broad agreement among Karelian speakers the older generation speak “pure” varieties of (Finnish) Karelian.

Mixing languages was recognized as a widespread phenomenon among Karelian speakers. 48.29% of respondents agreed, completely or to some extent, with Statement 1 that language mixing is a widespread phenomenon among Karelian speakers. 14.56% of the respondents disagreed either completely or to some extent. More than a third of the respondents, 37.15%, chose the option “Difficult to say”. Given the age distribution of Karelian Finns, what made it difficult for the respondents to decide may have been that they do not know enough young speakers of Karelian to be able to evaluate their language habits.

A quarter of respondents thought mixing Karelian with other languages was typical of young people and the less educated. 24.87% of the respondents agreed with Statement 2, “Only less-educated people mix languages” and 25.86% disagreed. Nearly half the respondents, 48.9%, chose the option “Difficult to say”. Similarly, 25.56% agreed, completely or to some extent, with Statement 3 “Young people mix Karelian with other languages”, while 22.68% did not. More than half the respondents (51.76%) chose the option “Difficult to say”. The reason for the large numbers of respondents choosing this option may be that they did not know enough active speakers of Karelian to feel confident about making a judgement either way.

Less than a sixth of the respondents thought mixing languages indicates a high degree of skill in the languages. The lowest rate of agreement, 13.97%, was with Statement 5: that lan-

guage mixing indicates a high degree of skill in the languages. This statement also attracted the highest rate of disagreement, 44.76%. 41.27% refrained from giving an opinion.

More than a third of the respondents considered language mixing acceptable and more respondents approved of it than disapproved of it. 38.76% of respondents agreed with the statement that language mixing is acceptable, 22.75% disagreed with it, and 27.5 chose the “difficult to say” option.

Those who refrained from an evaluation of the statements outnumbered those who agreed or disagreed with them. Except for Statement 4, that older people speak Karelian correctly, the numbers of respondents who refrained from evaluating the statements by choosing the option “difficult to say” outnumbered those who agreed or disagreed with them. As noted above, the likeliest explanation for this lies in the socio-demographics of speakers of Karelian today: they often know very few if any other speakers of the language and therefore find it difficult to generalize about language mixing patterns and their acceptability.

4.3.2.2 The future of various languages

Question Q40 in the minority questionnaire asked respondents to give their opinion on the future of various languages by agreeing or disagreeing with the statements “Karelian/ Finnish/English/Swedish/ Some other language will be used more widely in the next 10 years”. Figure 70 shows the results:

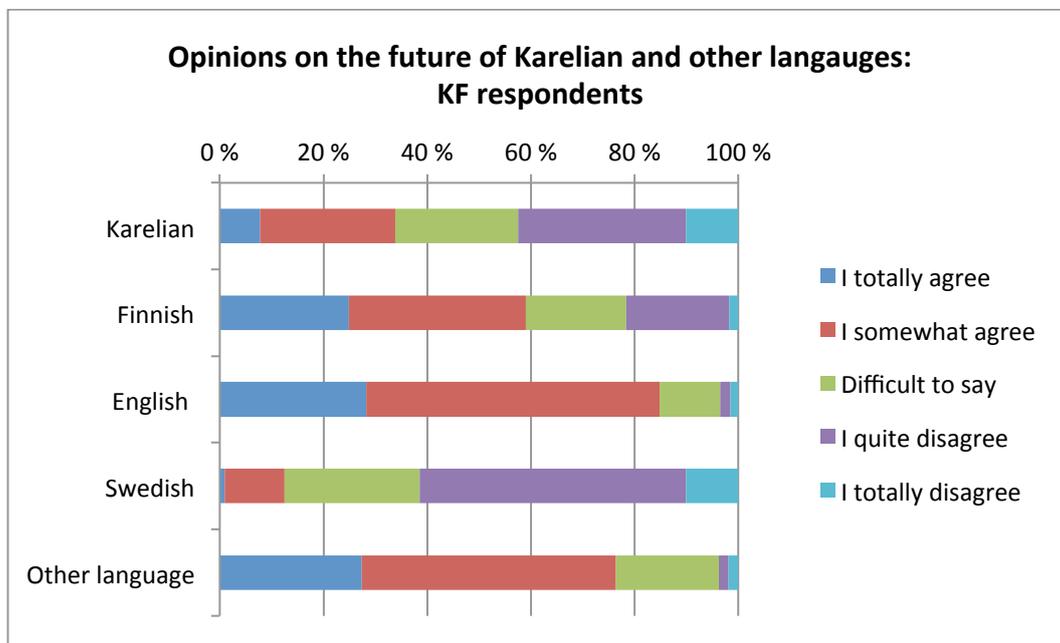


Figure 70. Opinions on the future of Karelian and other languages: KF respondents

One third of respondents thought that Karelian will be used more widely in the next ten years, while two fifths did not. 33.83% respondents agreed with the statement “Karelian will be used more widely in the next 10 years”, completely (7.72%) or to some extent (26.11%). Almost 10% more respondents (42.43%) disagreed with the statement, and 10%

respondents less (23.74%) chose the option “Difficult to say”. Yet, given that the decline of Karelian in Finland is such an evident and widely known phenomenon, this result is quite positive: it means that there are actually a significant number of Karelian Finns who believe that current efforts to maintain and to revitalise the language in Finland will be successful.

More than half of the respondents thought that Finnish will be used more widely in the next ten years. 59.05% of respondents agreed with the statement that Finnish will be used more widely in the next 10 years. It is interesting that the proportion of those who agreed completely (24.93%) was significantly lower than that of those who agreed only to some extent (34.12%). The slight scepticism of the latter probably has to do with the steady expansion of English in many domains in Finland today. Those who did not think that Finnish will be in wider use in the future constituted 21.66% of respondents; 19.29% refrained from giving an opinion.

Roughly one tenth of the respondents thought that Swedish will be used more widely in the next ten years, while three fifths did not. The prospects of Swedish being used more extensively than today were seen as likely by 12.54% of Karelian Finn respondents, which constitutes only a third of the proportion of those who believed in a brighter future for Karelian. The proportion of those who disagreed with the statement was significantly higher (61.49%), too, than that of those who did not believe in the chances of Karelian being used more in the future (42.43%). The proportion of those who refrained from giving an opinion with regard to Swedish (25.97%) was slightly higher than that of those who found it difficult to evaluate the prospects of Karelian (23.74%). In sum, Karelian Finn respondents thought it more likely that their heritage language will be used more widely than will be the case with Swedish.

Most Karelian Finn respondents thought that English and other foreign languages will be used more widely in the next ten years. 84.82% of respondents agreed, completely or to some extent, that English will be used more widely in the next ten years. Only a tiny minority of 3.57% disagreed, and the proportion of those who found it difficult to say was the lowest for all the statements (11.62%). The opportunity of adding another language was ignored by the majority of the respondents. The language which was mentioned most frequently by those who did add one was Russian. English (surprisingly), Spanish and German were mentioned a few times each, Sámi was mentioned by two respondents. Some respondents had written here “several languages”, adding a comment on the continuously rising immigration to Finland. The total proportion of those who thought that some other language would be in wider use (76.4%) was somewhat lower than for English but the proportions of those who refrained from giving an opinion (10.88%) or disagreed (3.72%) were close to those for English.

CG respondents were asked about the future of Karelian, Finnish, Swedish, English and other languages in Q24 which was formulated in exactly the same way as Q40 in the minority questionnaire. The CG results are presented in Figure 71:

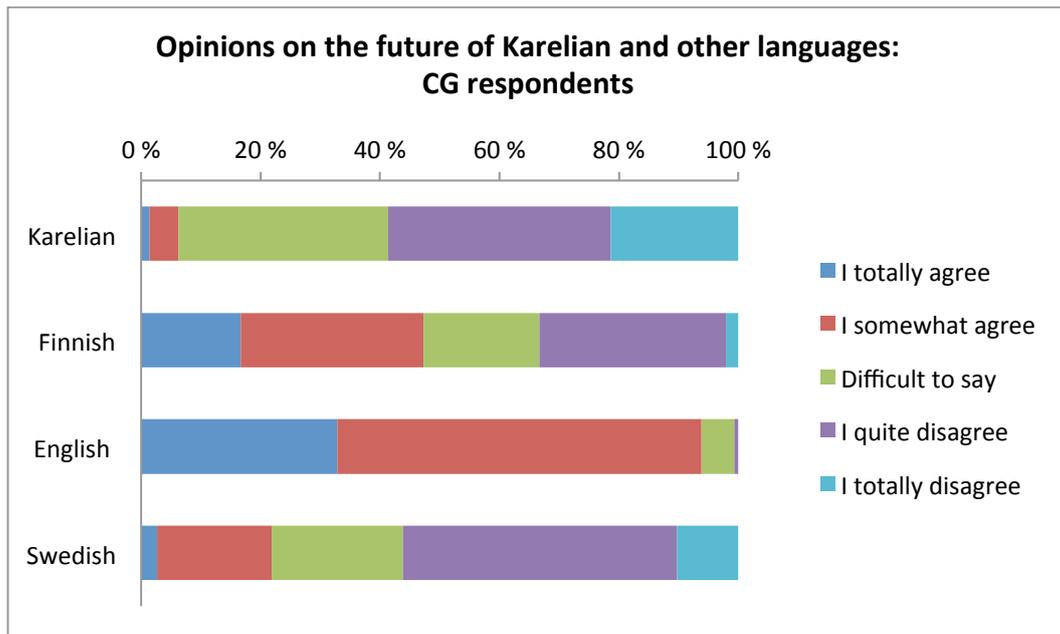


Figure 71. Opinions on the future of Karelian and other languages: CG respondents

Roughly one in twenty CG respondents thought that Karelian will be in wider use, three fifths did not, and a third refrained from giving an opinion. CG respondents were shown to be much more sceptical about the future wider use of Karelian than Karelian Finn respondents: only 6.2% thought that its use will increase in the future whereas 58.6% disagreed completely (21.4%) or to some extent (37.2%). 35.2% of CG respondents refrained from giving an opinion.

Significantly fewer CG respondents than Karelian Finn respondents thought that the use of Finnish will increase. 47.3% of the CG respondents agreed with the statement that the use of Finnish will increase in the next ten years, which is 12 percentage points less than the proportion of Karelian Finn respondents who did so. 33.4% of CG respondents disagreed with the statement, 2.1% completely and 31.3% to some extent. In comparison to the 19.88% of Karelian Finn respondents, the proportion of those CG respondents who disagreed to some extent was notably higher whereas the proportion of those who disagreed entirely was roughly the same in both groups. The proportion of those who refrained from giving an opinion was very similar, too: 19.4% for CG respondents and 19.29% for Karelian Finn respondents. In sum, Karelian Finn respondents thought that Finnish was more widely to be used than today while CG respondents were more sceptical about it. One possible explanation is that Karelian Finn respondents were thinking about their own minority group and interpreted the question in terms of the use of Finnish among Karelian Finns, whereas CG respondents interpreted the question more generally.

CG respondents more positive than Karelian Finn respondents about prospects of Swedish getting used more in ten years: one fifth thought in it; yet in general prospects of Swedish were evaluated to be fairly slim. The results for Swedish are significantly more negative than for to the Finnish. 19.8% of CG respondents agreed, entirely (2.7%) or to some extent (19.2%) with the statement that Swedish will be used more in ten years. Almost as many

respondents had found it difficult to say (21.9%) and had thus refrained from taking a stand. 56.2% disagreed with the claim, 45.9% to some extent and 10.3% entirely. A brief comparison of the results with results of the minority survey reveal that CG respondents saw the future of Swedish in somewhat more positive terms than Karelian Finn respondents do, both when evaluated on the basis of agreements but also on the basis of disagreements with the statement: Karelian Finn respondents had disagreed about 5% more frequently than CG respondents.

Slightly more CG respondents than Karelian Finn respondents thought that the use of English will increase. 93.9% of CG respondents agreed that English will be used more widely in the next ten years, 61% to some extent and 32.9% completely. Only 5.5% of CG respondents chose the option “Difficult to say”, only one person had chosen “I do not quite agree”, and nobody entirely disagreed. Thus, the pattern was much the same as for Karelian Finn respondents: relatively few respondents found it difficult to decide what to think about the future of English. The proportion of those who agreed that the use of English will increase was about 9 percentage points higher among CG respondents than Karelian Finn respondents. One explanation for this result might be, again, the age bias of the Karelian sample: perhaps people belonging to older generations see the role of English as less central than the young, in whose lives English already plays an important role.

4.3.2.3 The perceived characteristics of various languages

In questions Q41, Q42 and Q43 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire and in questions Q26, Q27 and Q28 in the CG questionnaire respondents were asked to indicate their impressions of how Karelian, Finnish and English sounds in terms of various pairs of antonyms (for instance: soft vs. hard). The questions involved a five-point scale: The options at the ends of the scale stood for an intense degree of the characterisation (e.g. very soft or very hard), the option in the middle stood for neutrality (neither soft nor hard), and the options between an end and the neutral midpoint stood for a statement in favour of one or the other of the defined characteristics (i.e. either for soft or for hard, depending on the relative location of the option at the continuum). In order to average out a scale score for each of the five options, the data for each antonym pair were processed with the Semantic Differential Analysis (SDA)⁷⁰; the analyses were conducted by Iwana Knödel who also created a template which was then used to produce the diagrams below. The results of the Semantic Differential Analyses could be discussed with varying foci. In what follows, the focus will lie on elucidating the similarities and the differences in the perception of Karelian, Finnish and English by Karelian Finn respondents and by CG respondents.

⁷⁰ The scale scores (x) were calculated using the formula $x = \frac{a+2b+3c+4d+5e}{y}$.

The variables a to e stand for the number of answers that were given for the options „very A1”, “A1”, “neither A1 or A2”, “A2” and “A2”, respectively; the number preceding a variable symbol indicates the corresponding multiplication factor. Y stands for the total number of answers that were actually given to the question at issue (i.e. *frequency*; *missing frequencies* (m.f.) were, naturally, excluded).

The perceived characteristics of Karelian

The results of the Semantic Differential Analyses of the Karelian Finn data and the CG data regarding the perceptions of how Karelian sounds are summarised in Diagram 1; in all the diagrams, the Karelian Finn results are presented with spotted lines in blue and the CG results with continuous lines in red:

Diagram 1. The perceived characteristics of Karelian by KF and CG respondents

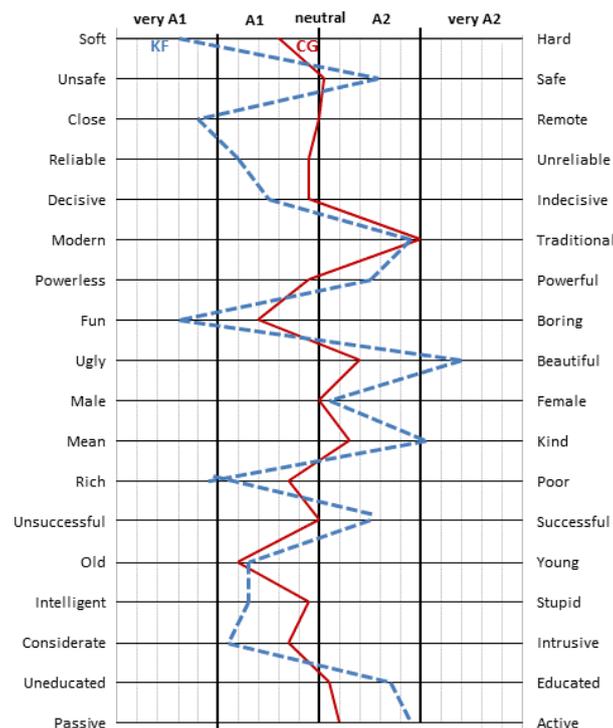


Diagram 1 . The perceived characteristics of Karelian: KF and CG respondents

Karelian is perceived positively and in the similar terms by both groups. Firstly, with only one exception which is that CG respondents mildly preferred the adjective powerless over powerful, either group did not characterise Karelian with any of the clearly negative epithets suggested in the questionnaire. Secondly, except for the three clear cases where the scale score for CG lies exactly at the neutral midpoint but that for Karelian clearly indicates a value (i.e. very close vs. remote, very safe vs. unsafe, and successful vs. unsuccessful), both groups chose exactly the same adjectives for characterising the sound of Karelian. In the light of the results, it can be concluded **Karelian is generally perceived in Finland as soft, fun, rich, considerate, beautiful, kind, traditional, old, intelligent, educated and active.**

Karelian is also generally perceived as very traditional and as neutral in terms of femininity or masculinity. In both questionnaires there were three word pairs which, in the context of describing how a language sounds, would probably strike most people neither negative nor positive, viz. old vs. young, modern vs. traditional, and male vs. female. Karelian Finn respondents as well as CG respondents seem to have had no difficulty in describing Karelian

in the terms of the first two pairs: both groups reported perceiving Karelian old and (very) traditional. Defining Karelian in terms of masculinity and femininity, however, seems to have been problematic: while the average scale score for the Karelian Finn results suggests a tiny preference for perceiving Karelian as feminine, the CG results indicate no preference at all.

Karelian Finn respondents associate more intense positive characterisations with Karelian than CG respondents do. Only one epithet, viz. traditional, received in the CG data a scale score which through the intensifier “very” indicates intense perception. Karelian Finns themselves, however, reported perceiving Karelian not only very traditional but also **very soft, very close, very fun, very rich, very beautiful and very kind**. As stated earlier, CG respondents, too, characterised Karelian with the adjectives soft, fun, rich, considerate, beautiful and kind, yet in a clearly lesser degree than Karelian Finns did. Similarly, the observation that Karelian Finns in general perceive the characteristics of Karelian more positively is clearly supported by the results concerning the adjectives **intelligent, educated and active**, and especially so to the epithets **reliable, decisive and safe**: the scale scores for the CG results concerning the three last-mentioned adjectives actually were quite close to the neutral midpoint of the continuum.

CG respondents perceive Karelian neutrally in regard to many antonym pairs given in the questionnaire. Firstly, while Karelian Finns perceive the sound of Karelian as very close, CG respondents reported finding it **neither close nor remote**. Secondly, Karelian Finns perceive Karelian **reliable, decisive, safe and successful** whereas CG respondents chose to characterise the sound of Karelian in these terms **only sporadically** (reliable and decisive) **or not at all** (safe and successful).

In sum, a closer look at the results confirms the general observation that Karelian is perceived principally positively by both groups. However, CG respondents seem to be far less opinionated than Karelian Finns in regard to the perceived characteristics of Karelian. The result may ultimately reflect the very weak visibility of Karelian-speakers and the Karelian language in the Finnish society: A minority language which is seldom if at all heard in the public sphere is not likely to evoke particularly emotional or personally experienced perceptions of its characteristics in speakers of the majority language. It also is noteworthy that the characteristics of Karelian which were perceived most strongly by CG respondents were traditional, old and fun – all epithets which belong to the stereotypical portrait of Karelians and the Karelian varieties in general. For Karelian Finns themselves, however, Karelian clearly appears to be, very affectionately, the language of emotions and empathy, rather than that of societal success or effectiveness: The results of the Semantic Differential Analyses clearly show that Karelian Finns perceive the sound of their ethnic language very close, very rich, very considerate, very beautiful, very soft and very kind but were confined with the non-intensified option when characterising it with the terms reliable, decisive, safe, successful, intelligent, educated, active and powerful.

The perceived characteristics of Finnish

Question Q42 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire and question Q26 in the CG questionnaire inquired about the characteristics of Finnish. The results of the Semantic Differential Analyses are summarised in Diagram 2:

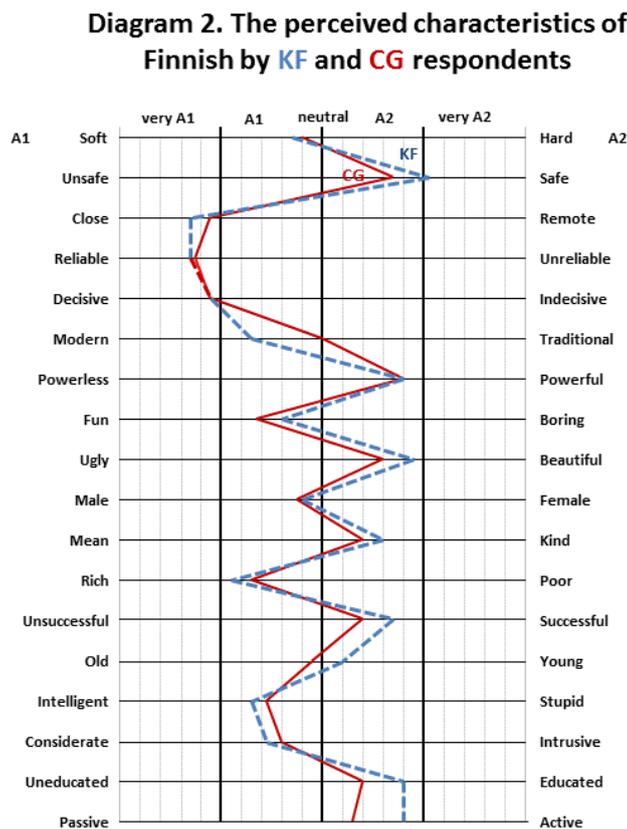


Diagram 2. The perceived characteristics of Finnish: KF and CG respondents

The perceptions of Finnish by Karelian Finn and by CG respondents are even more similar than their perceptions of Karelian. As with Karelian, the same, positive terms are used by both groups to characterise the perceived sound of the Finnish language. Both Karelian Finns and CG respondents perceive Finnish as **very close, very reliable and very decisive** and characterise it as **soft, fun, rich, considerate, beautiful, kind, successful, intelligent, educated, active and powerful**. Both groups also appeared to perceive the sound of Finnish as **slightly male and slightly soft**.

In comparison to the results concerning Karelian, the differences in the intensity of perceiving the characteristics of Finnish are in many cases just slight. As pointed out earlier, Karelian Finns perceive certain positive characteristics of Karelian clearly more intensely than CG respondents. As shown by Diagram 2, there are far less few differences regarding the intensity with which the two groups perceive the characteristics of Finnish. However, **Karelian Finns perceive Finnish slightly less fun and slightly more intelligent, considerate, beautiful, kind and rich** than CG respondents do.

Somewhat surprisingly, Karelian Finns also perceive Finnish slightly closer than CG respondents do. It is not possible to explain this result without conducting statistical factor analyses. However, it is possible that the outcome reflects the fact that among CG respondents there also were Swedish-speaking Finns as well as respondents with another mother tongue than Finnish, who might not be quite as fluent in Finnish as Karelian Finns are and who therefore may not perceive Finnish as close to their hearts as some other language. As the results regarding the mother tongue (see Section 4.3.1, Figure 8) indicate, for the majority of Karelian Finns a mother tongue or one of them.

Karelian Finns perceive Finnish noticeably more educated, active and successful than CG respondents do. It seems very natural that Finnish as the socially dominant majority language is associated more strongly with education, activeness and successfulness by Karelian Finns than by CG respondents for whom the question of the significance of Finnish in these respects in Finland probably has not substantiated that often.

Karelian Finns also perceive Finnish as very safe while CG respondents characterise it as safe. This outcome probably results from the very different status of Finnish as the dominant language as compared with Karelian as a fairly invisible minority language in Finland as well: Speaking Karelian involves in most public or semi-public contexts a risk of not being understood or even of becoming stigmatized whereas opting for Finnish as the means of communication counts as a safe choice.

The two groups have different perceptions of the sound of Finnish in regard to its relative age and modernity. Karelian Finns characterise the sound of Finnish as slightly young and clearly modern, whereas CG respondents perceive it slightly old but neutral in terms of modernity.

In sum, Karelian Finns' perceptions of the characteristics of Finnish differ from those by CG respondents mainly in that Karelian Finns lend more value to the societal significance of Finnish in terms of the perceived educated-ness, activeness, successfulness and safeness of the sound of Finnish. It also is interesting that while the intensified adjectives characterising Karelian in the perception of Karelian Finns were all adjectives of affection, emotions and empathy (very beautiful, close, soft, fun, rich, considerate, kind) , three out of the four intensified adjectives chosen by Karelian Finns to characterise Finnish (reliable, decisive, safe) rather represent reasoning and societal value. Consequently, the survey results support the general impression gained through the ELDIA interviews that Karelian is the genuine language of hearts for Karelian Finns, whereas Finnish, as close and as dear it may be, nevertheless is more the language of reasoning and of coping successfully in the Finnish society. Interestingly enough, except for very close, the adjectives that received an intensified scale score for the CG data are all adjectives of reasoning, too (i.e. very reliable and very decisive). The result suggests that unlike Karelian Finns who perceive their ethnic

language in many affectionate terms, Finns in general do not seem to attach exclusively deep emotions to theirs. The difference in the attitudes most likely derives from that a group which has to fight for the right to speak and to maintain its own language also feels more passionate about it than a group whose language is well maintained at the moment.

The perceived characteristics of English

The results of the Semantic Differential Analyses of the Karelian Finn data and the CG data regarding the perceptions of how Karelian sounds are summarised in Diagram 3:

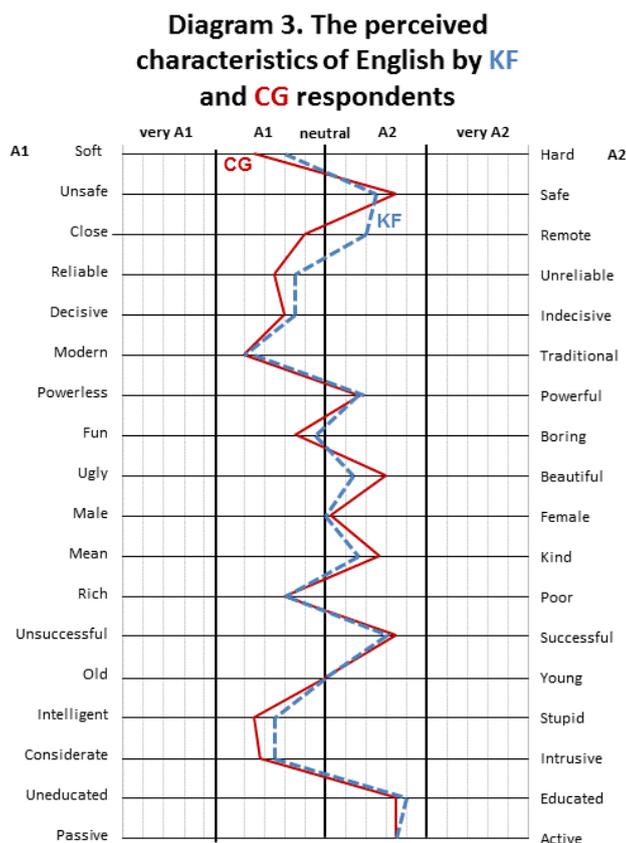


Diagram 3. The perceived characteristics of English: KF and CG respondents

The sound of English is perceived by Karelian Finns and by CG respondents equally positively in terms of modernity, powerfulness, richness, successfulness and activeness but in general CG respondents are even more favourable inclined towards English. As shown by Diagram 3, CG respondents perceive English slightly more soft, safe, decisive, fun, intelligent and considerate than Karelian Finns do. The Diagram also reveals noticeable differences between the two groups in regard to the perceived reliability, beautifulness, kindness, intelligent-ness and considerateness: for all these characteristics, the scale score for the CG results is clearly higher than that for the per se positive Karelian Finn results.

Both groups perceive English sounding neutral in regard to age.

Karelian Finns find the sound of English neutral in terms of masculinity or femininity whereas CG respondents perceive it slightly feminine.

The two groups differ from each other profoundly in regard to the perceived closeness of how English sounds: Karelian Finns perceive it remote while CG respondents perceive the sound of English to some extent as close. The most likely explanation to this result is the age-bias of Karelian Finn respondents which was clearly in favour of the oldest generations who have not learned English at school; a similar age difference can be seen in the more balanced CG sample (also see the results of the questions concerned with English skills as summarised in Figures 22 and 29 in Section 4.3.1). The lack of English skills among the oldest generations of Karelian Finns also was reflected in that fewer than two quarters of Karelian Finn respondents gave their perceptions of English in the first place, and the incidence of missing frequencies was remarkably high: an average of 30.6% of the respondents refrained from making a choice between any particular pair of words. In other words, on average rather less than 70% of respondents recorded their perceptions of English, compared with 82% for Karelian and Finnish. In brief, characterizing English in the terms given in the questionnaire appears to have been more difficult for Karelian Finn respondents than was the case with Karelian or Finnish.

In sum, none of the perceived characteristics of English were reported by either group using intensifiers which suggests that no particularly strong feelings are associated with how English sounds. In general CG respondents appear to feel more positively about it which, however, quite likely has to do with the differences in the respondents' age distribution in the Karelian Finn and the CG samples rather than with any other group-specific affectations.

4.3.2.4 Patterns of multiple language use and attitudes towards multilingualism among Karelian Finn respondents

Finnish is more prevalent than Karelian in all domains, and it is the language which Karelian Finns know best. The results of the domain analyses in Section 4.3.1.4 showed that Finnish is dominant in the public lives of Karelian Finns in all investigated domains, and that nearly all of them use Finnish than more Karelian in the private sphere as well. The analyses of the self-reported language skills (see Section 4.3.1.3) showed that almost all Karelian Finn respondents rated all their Finnish skills (speaking, writing, understanding and reading) as at least "fairly good", whereas only about a third rated their Karelian skills at the same level of proficiency. This result is on a par with the finding that over 86% of Karelian Finn respondents reported Finnish as a mother tongue, while only 28% gave Karelian as their mother tongue or a mother tongue alongside Finnish.

Some Karelian Finns deliberately use Karelian in the public sphere. However, there also were some participants in the focus group interviews who, like the following speaker, claimed that they use Karelian everywhere, regardless of whether other people understand them or not:

minä kyllä käytän sitä, omua kieltä, karjalan kieltä, jokapäiväisessä elämässä joka päivä. kun, ristikansat ellendäh minua da-, tai päinvastoin ni mie käytän aina karjalan kieltä. (FI-KRL-FGAG4-01m)

'I use it, my own language, the Karelian language, in my everyday life every day. When people understand me and, or when the other way around [they do not understand] I always use Karelian'

A number of speakers also reported speaking Karelian at work. Some like to tease the non-Karelians a little by using Karelian with other Karelian Finns as a kind of secret code:

meillä kyllä, krhöm töissä on yks suojärveläistaustainen rouva jonka kanssa myö aina joskus kahvihuoneessa ihan muitten kiu- kiusaks sitte pagisemmo karjalakse ja hyö eivät ellennä mitä myö sanomme. (FI-KRL-FGAG3-05f)

'At work there's this woman whose roots are in Suojärvi with whom every now and then I speak Karelian in the coffee room just to tease the others, they do not understand what we say'.

Others have undertaken to acquaint the Finnish-speaking surroundings familiarise other Finns with the sound of Karelian: Anneli Lujanen, a Karelian Finnish radio reporter who worked for the Finnish state broadcasting company, YLE, in Joensuu was in the habit, in her broadcasts, of talking about such topics as the day's weather in Karelian.

Karelian is mainly used with relatives, family and friends, and, to a lesser extent, in activities related to the language itself and to the Karelian Finnish cultural heritage.

Karelian Finns have very few opportunities of using Karelian outside the most intimate domains, but they still use it surprisingly actively: as shown earlier, 70% of the respondents speak it at least some of the time with the relatives, 58% at least some of the time at home, and 53% at least some of the time with friends. They also look for opportunities to use it at church, at Karelian feasts, at municipality association meetings, on language courses and when travelling to Russia.

Karelian-Finnish bilingualism has largely given way to Finnish monolingualism, especially within the nuclear family. The survey data and the interviews with Karelian Finns show that the patterns of multiple language use have changed dramatically since World War II. Most notably, Karelian Finn respondents use Karelian in their own nuclear families far less than their parents did: as shown in Section 4.3.1.4, today only one in ten speaks at least some Karelian with their spouse and very few use it actively with their own children to any extent. The vast majority speak only Finnish at home. At the group level, i.e. without taking into account the effect of their ages, the language use patterns in the respondents' childhood homes had very often involved bi- or multilingual language use, with the parents speaking Karelian and Finnish with each other and with the children, and the children using both languages when communicating with each other.

Yet even in mostly Finnish-speaking Karelian Finn families there are those who consider themselves as Karelian-Finnish bilinguals. When asked if they consider themselves mono-, bi- or multilingual, the interviewees expressed very varying opinions. In most interviews, the informants put a lot of effort into defining what being bilingual means. There was a fairly broad consensus within several focus groups that one must be able to think in Karelian and many interviewees were of the opinion that this must be habitual: As a middle-age woman put it:

mie olen kaksikielini. da duumaiccen kai dielot, karjalaksi da suomeksi da sit, () toicci helbombi on, karjalaksi sano kai- kaikki sanat da hel- helbombi on kirjottua da icie ilmasta karjalaksi ja, parembaset sanat löytyy da kaikki van, nygöi en tiijä, täs juohtuuko ni mitä mieleh. (FI-KRL-FGAG3-01f)

'I am bilingual. Because I think everything in Karelian and in Finnish and then, sometimes it is easier to say everything in Karelian – all the words and it is easier to write and to express myself in Karelian and, I find better words and all but, now I do not know if anything else occurs in my mind'.

As an interviewee in another group pointed out, however, defining bilingualism can also be problematic if one does so on the basis of the language in which one thinks:

mie tuumaiccen enimmölläh tiettäväine suomeksi toici tuumaiccen karjalakse. () no se enämbi on ku kai hänel et, pysyy mieles. a toici sit voi, () duumaiija da paista, anglien kiöldygi samah luatuh (FI-KRL-FGAG2-04m)

'I think mostly in Finnish of course, sometimes I think in Karelian. Well that is more. Like with him, to keep [my Karelian] alive. But sometimes I can think and speak English in the same way'.

After a longish analysis, the interviewee somewhat shyly defines himself as a bilingual, although pointing out that he is hesitant about it, since Karelian is not his mother tongue:

himottais sanuo olen kaksikielini. olen suomen da karjalankielini vai ((laughs)) en tiijä, huikee on sannoo. ku ei ole mugai miul ei ole muamankieli (FI-KRL-FGAG2-04m)

'I'd love to say that I'm bilingual. I'm Finnish-speaking and Karelian-speaking. But ((laughs)) I don't know, I'm ashamed of saying so, since [Karelian] is not my mother tongue'.

In the light of the interviews, being bilingual is not necessarily seen as a permanent state of affairs: another middle-age male informant (FI-KRL-FGAG2-03m) said that he would define his childhood-self as primarily Karelian-speaking, but he would not necessarily say the same about himself today, even though he consciously tries to think in Karelian in order not to forget the language, now that he does not have many people he could talk to in Karelian.

Many Karelian Finns regret that they did not have the opportunity to learn Karelian at home, and many regret not having transmitted Karelian to their own children when they were small. One of the recurrent themes in the interviews was how Karelian had been given up as a means of communication within the family. As the murmurs of agreement by the

other members of the focus group show, this middle-aged female speaker expresses the experiences of many other families too:

ka miun perheh ni, miun vahnin, velli on, roinu nelläkymmenseitsemän, da mie kuuskymme yks. a me-, muut eivät, eivät pagise karjalakse. mi oon se ainut. et, heidy on kiusattu koulus, minuu ei oo. et miul ei semmosta, semmosta oo. ((General murmur of agreement)) miul ei muamo da tuatto eivät, eivät pagissu karjalakse. kodis. ((General murmur of agreement)) ihan vai sen tagii et lapsie ei sit kiusattas. ((General murmur of agreement)) ne opastus suomen kieleh. (FI-KRL-FGAG3-02f.)

‘See, in my family, my eldest brother was born in 1947, and I was born in 1961. With us -, the others don’t speak Karelian. I am the only one. Because they were bullied at school, I wasn’t. That I don’t have such, such [experiences]. ((General murmur of agreement)). To me mother and father didn’t, didn’t speak Karelian. At home. ((General murmur of agreement)) just so that the children wouldn’t be bullied then. ((General murmur of agreement)) They learned Finnish.’

Several interviewees in the two oldest age groups said that today they regret not having taught their children Karelian, and interviewees in the youngest two age groups recurrently spoke about wishing their own family had not given in to pressure to use Finnish. Many of those who did not learn Karelian at home have in adulthood started going to language courses to learn it:

no minul ei kois paistu karjalakse, muga kui, () kostjat tultih t- ta rodnat ni sillo, allettih paginal. minä vasta nygöi, () nygöi, v- uosituhat keskes olen opastunnu, vähä vähiä, () vabaaopistol da k-, () kaiken moisil kurssiloil ta, tuota vähä vähiä sit. (FI-KRL-FGAG4-02m.)

‘Well I was not spoken to in Karelian at home, only when there were guests or relatives, then they [parents] began to speak Karelian. Only now, in the mid-2000s have I have learned, little by little, at the Adult Education Institute and in all kinds of courses and, little by little then’.

A number of Karelian Finns have started reviving Karelian consciously in their own families. The interviews made it clear that today many Karelian Finns are trying to make Karelian part of their patterns of domestic language use. Thus an elderly male interviewee talked about his increasing use of Karelian at home:

nygöi minä olen, erähii vuosii minul, miele- mielespiettävy on, ni pagisoo karjalakse ni, olembo harrastannu mollembat jo, saman aigua kymmenen vuottu, enembi kymmenty vuottu. a nygöi opimmo, enemmän suammo olla toinen toisen ker. opimmo ainos enembi paista vai karjalakse (FI-KRL-FGAG4-02m.)

‘Now I am -, for a few years I’ve had a lady friend who speaks Karelian and we’ve both been learning [Karelian] for as long, for ten years already, over ten years. And now we’re learning, we can be with each other more. We’re learning all the time to speak only Karelian more often’.

Another Karelian Finn speaks Karelian with her husband who is a Finnish speaker but has now learned Karelian so well that she claims he is even more fluent than she is herself:

ja sit mie kois puhun, miun ukon keh, hää o ruocci, ihan ei ni midää karjalastu, syntyperä pa- mut, hiän paremmin pagisoo ku mie. hiä pystyy lugemaa uuvet sanat da Kalevalat karjalakse () mie en viel niin, nii hyvin, pysty sitä tekemäh. (FI-KRL-FGAG3-02f.)

‘and then I speak at home with my husband, he is Finnish, has no Karelian background whatsoever, but he speaks better than I do. He can read new words and the Kalevala in Karelian, I cannot do that well yet, that well I can’t do it.’

A young Karelian Finn woman describes her efforts to revive Karelian in her own family as follows:

Kyllä mä kotona sitte, krhöm, niinku omien lastenki kanssa nii joitaki sanoja viljelen niinku suomen seassa karjalakse? muamoo ja kyly ja kaikki sellaset ihanat sanat ni; a sitte tuota, krhöm, iha just välillä, ja niinkun puhutaankin, et silleen (-) väärin mutta niinku si- sillee tavallaa ja, ja sitte joitaki sanoja mitä käyttää, ja tota, tuota tuota, () sitte miun lasten isä on kans Suojärve tausta ja hän itseasiassa aika hyvin sitä, livviä puhuu ni, sit joskus just tämmösiä et onks se kobracu vai mobikka niin niinku. ((All laugh)) tai kartosku vai potakka, ((Everyone laughs)) keskustelujä käyvää ja joskus on niinku huvikseen päätetty että puhutaan kotikielenä karjalaa, se oli aika hauskaa niinku yhen illan ajan. ((Everyone laughs)) siihen se sitten jäi. ((General murmur of acceptance)). (FI-KRL-FGAG3-03f.)

‘I do at home, like with my own children I “cultivate” some Karelian words in my Finnish, *muamo* [‘mother’] and *kyly* [‘sauna’] and all those beautiful words. And then well, only every now and then, we also speak, so that (-) wrong but like like in a way and, and then some words that one uses, and so, so so, then the father of my children also has a Suojärvi background and he actually speaks it quite well, Olonets Karelian, then sometimes just things like is it [a mobile phone] a *kobracu* or a *mobikka* like. ((All laugh)) Or [whether “potato” is] *kartosku* or *potakka* ((Everyone laughs)), we have discussions and at times we have like for fun decided that we’ll speak Karelian as our domestic language, it was like good fun for one evening ((Everyone laughs)). Then it was given up.’

In the various interview groups there were also interviewees who, like the following speaker, make serious efforts to teach some Karelian to their grandchildren:

miul on nyt viien kuukauen ikäne bunukka. da sille mie pajatan karjalakse da, da tuota, () pagisen hänelle.”. (FI-KRL-FGAG3-05f)

‘I have now a five-month old grandchild. I sing to her/him in Karelian, and, and so, talk to her/him.’

Karelian Finns have a positive attitude toward multilingualism and perceive it as very beneficial for the individual. What knowing several languages means for the individual was not asked about in the Karelian Finn survey, but it was one of the topics discussed in the

focus groups and individual interviews. In almost all the interviews, multilingualism was described with the word “richness” which was explained by a middle-aged female interviewee as having access to a wide of ways of expressing oneself:

ja on, () että enemmä- enembi on sanoloi kui, millä sanua da ilmasta icie da sanontoloi da kaikkie. (FI-KRL-FGAG3-01f)

‘it means that there are more- more words than -, words with which one can express herself, and idioms and everything’.

Several interviewees of varying ages also pointed out that knowing Karelian alongside Finnish helps with foreign language learning. For example, one young woman said that knowing Karelian helps one to learn Russian pronunciation, since both languages have similar sounds which Finnish does not have.

Karelian Finns think that the Finnish society has become more open and more tolerant of other languages and cultures lately, but there is still work to be done. The interviewees generally believe that today Finnish society is more open and tolerant of multilingualism and multiculturalism than in the past, and that it is now socially (more) acceptable to speak Karelian, too. When asked whether their own Karelian-Finnish bilingualism has been a benefit or a drawback, the interviewees generally considered it to be a benefit but many also pointed out that in the past it was often a drawback. Bad experiences were not restricted to the evacuees’ generation: several middle-aged interviewees also said that there had been incidents in their own lives when being a Karelian speaker or trying to promote Karelian had caused problems. A male teacher recalled his pupils repeatedly claiming that there is no point in knowing or learning a language like Karelian: nobody speaks it anyway, and in Finland everyone should only speak Finnish. The teacher suggested ironically that the easiest way of solving the problems caused by a multiplicity of languages is for everyone in the world to speak the same language:

no voimmohan kacuo vähän luajemmalti. () kaikki opastutah pagisemah vai ki- kiinan kieltä. () sit on muailmas kebei eliä. ” (FI-KRL-FGAG2-04m)

‘well, we can also take a wider perspective. Everyone will learn to speak only Chinese. Then it will be easy to live in the world’.

The pressing need to educate children and young people in tolerance was explicitly expressed by a male speaker who wanted to be able to bring up the next generation to be open-minded about matters of language:

ku annettas omil lapsil, se () suvaiccus. suomalaisien-, muihen suvaiccus” (FI-KRL-FGAG2-04m) ‘if only we could give our own children, that tolerance. Towards Finns-, towards others’.

Karelian Finns see Swedish and the Sámi languages as a natural part of Finland’s multilingualism but criticize the one-sidedness of societal discussions of language matters. The interviewees see Swedish as an integral part of multilingualism in Finland but appear to be rather irritated by the way in which Swedish monopolises societal discussion of multilingualism. As a young Karelian Finn woman put it:

mie oon pari kertaa tehny silleen et ku on tästä ruotsi kysymyksestä keskusteltu, et pitäskö täällä niinku et voisko venäjää opiskella, toisena kielenä tai mikä on ni, mie oon alkanu karjalaks pagisemah, esimerkkinä siitä että, että on muitaki toisia kieliä ku se ruotsi. (FI-KRL-FGAG3-05f.)

‘A couple of times I’ve done that, when this Swedish question has been discussed, that should one like, that could Russian be learned as a second language or whatever it is, then I’ve started speaking Karelian as an example that there are actually other languages than Swedish.’

In several focus group discussions, the three Sámi languages spoken in Finland were mentioned as examples of how Karelian should be supported by Finnish society.

Knowing English is seen as vital for success in the modern world and knowing other foreign languages is seen as a bonus. As shown in Section 4.3.1.4, Karelian Finns use English and other foreign languages primarily at work and when travelling. Proficiency in languages is regarded as a normal part of modern life: knowing many languages provides greater opportunities in the labour market, but it also enhances one’s leisure activities, because it helps one to get to know new countries, cultures and people.

4.3.2.5 Patterns of multiple language use and attitudes towards multilingualism among CG respondents

The patterns of multiple language use by CG respondents reflect a functional division between the mother tongue and several formally learned foreign languages. The analyses of the CG data on the respondents’ mother tongues and the languages spoken in their families today and in previous generations revealed very little bi- or multilingualism. The analyses of the data on self-reported language skills and language use in different domains showed that in addition to the other national language the CG respondents know at least English. It also showed that language skills tend to accumulate: there were individuals who reported having an active command of several foreign languages, often including very exotic languages such as Kikuy and Japanese. In private domains as well as in most public domains, CG respondents use Finnish, predominantly or exclusively, whereas Swedish and foreign languages are primarily used for work and travelling.

The results are presented in the following order: first, CG attitudes to language learning in general, second, their attitudes towards the existence and use of various languages in Finnish society and, finally, their attitudes towards diversity in Finnish society in a wider sense. This is followed by a summary of what this study has found out about the CG respondents’ attitudes towards Karelian Finns and the visibility of Karelian and its speakers in Finnish society.

Question Q42 in the CG questionnaire asked whether there are languages that are thought to be especially easy to learn, and Q43 whether there are languages that are thought to be especially difficult to learn. The questionnaire gave the options “yes” and “no”, and the possibility of commenting on one’s answer. The results are shown in Figures 72 and 73:

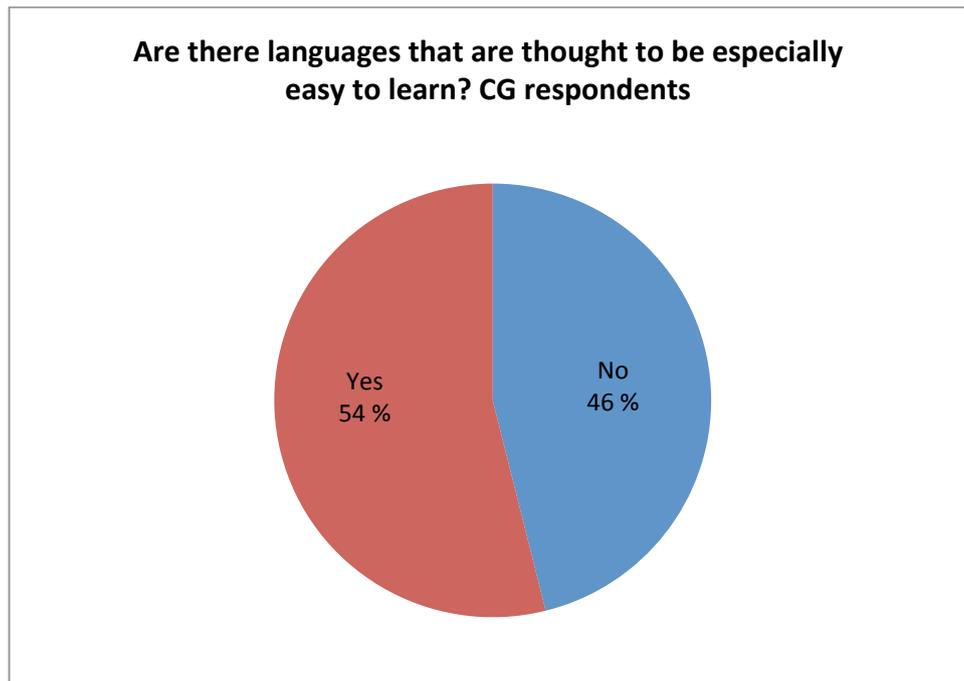


Figure 72. Are there languages that are thought to be especially easy to learn? CG respondents

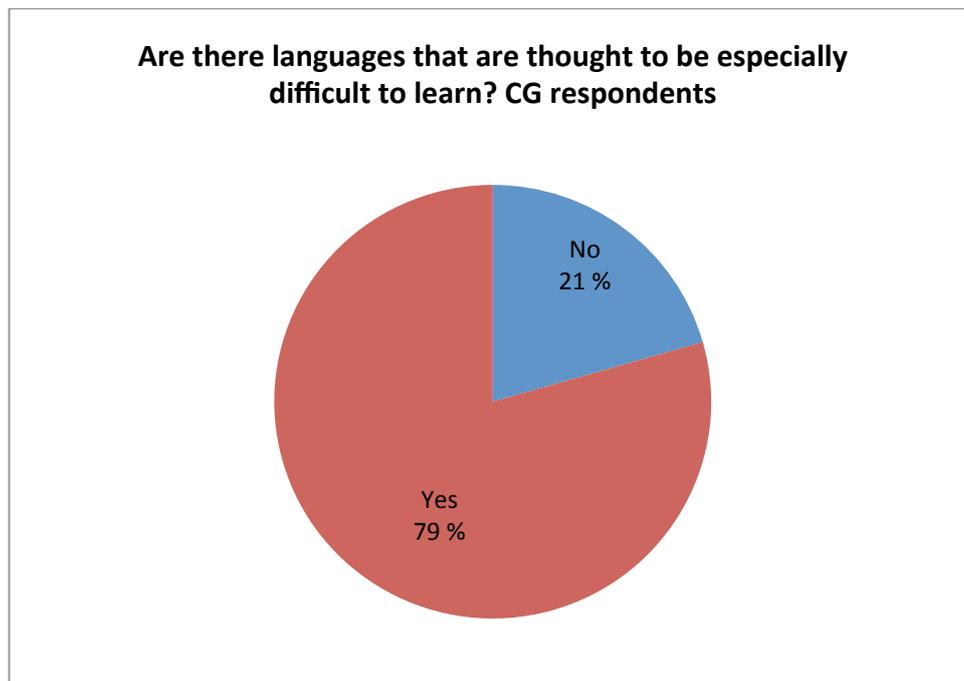


Figure 73. Are there languages that are thought to be especially difficult to learn? CG respondents

CG respondents regard learning foreign languages as hard work. The Figures above show that good half of the CG respondents think that there are languages which are especially easy to learn, while almost four fifths are of the opinion that there are languages which are especially difficult to learn. In the open-ended part of Q42, the language most commonly mentioned as easy to learn was English. Swedish and Estonian were mentioned occasionally,

as were Spanish and German. Russian was mentioned a few times, while Japanese, Esperanto and Karelian were mentioned once each. The comments in Q43 were much more heterogeneous. The languages that were most frequently mentioned were Finnish, Russian, Chinese and Japanese. German and French were also listed quite often and Latin, Hebrew and Polish were mentioned a few times each. Several respondents wrote “all the languages using a different alphabet”, and several mentioned Asian and African languages in general. A couple of respondents commented that all foreign languages are considered difficult to learn.

The attitudes of the CG respondents towards the existence and use of different languages in Finnish society were mapped by question Q19, which asked the respondents to evaluate the following four statements concerning linguistic diversity in Finland with regard to Finnish, Estonian and Karelian:

Statement 1: “It is acceptable for people to speak Finnish imperfectly.”

Statement 2: “It is important that children whose parents speak Karelian with them also have lessons in Karelian at school.”

Statement 3: “It is important that children whose parents speak Estonian with them also have lessons in Estonian at school.”

Statement 4: “Too great a command of Finnish is required of people seeking employment.”

The respondents were given five options to choose from, ranging from “I completely agree” to “I completely disagree”. The results are presented in Figure 74:

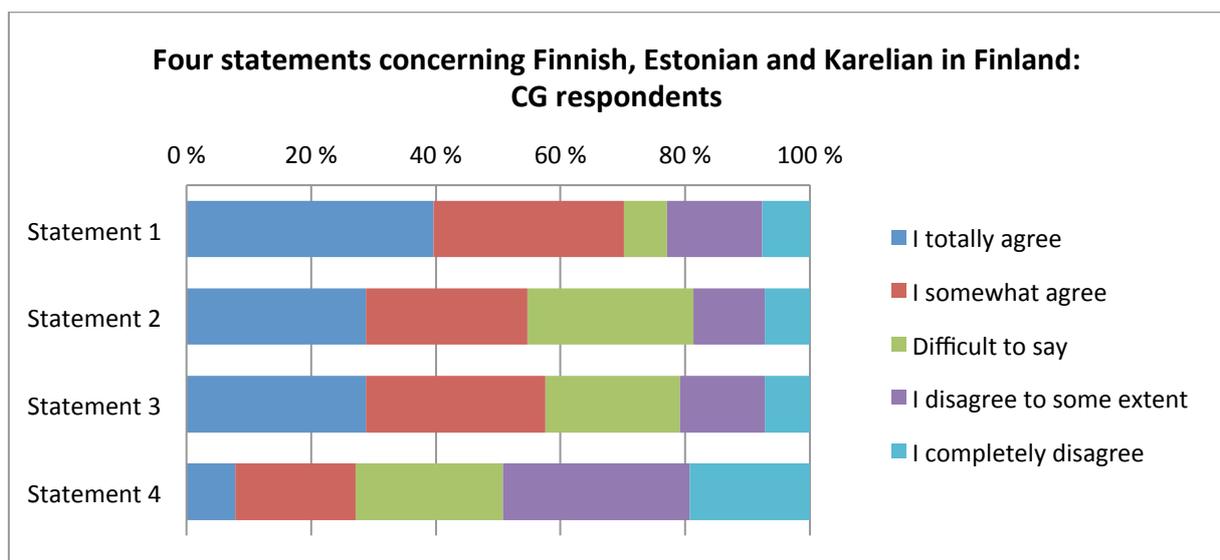


Figure 74. Four statements concerning Finnish, Estonian and Karelian in Finland: CG respondents

More than half CG respondents were in favour of teaching in Karelian for children of Karelian-speaking families. The proportion of respondents who found it difficult to evaluate the statements was consistently fairly high, ranging between 21.6% and 26.6%. Most CG

respondents (70.1%) found it acceptable for people who live in Finland to speak Finnish imperfectly. Roughly half (54.7%) (completely) agreed with the statement that children whose parents speak Karelian with them at home should also have lessons in Karelian at school. More than a quarter of the respondents (27.1%) agreed with the statement that the level of proficiency in Finnish required in the labour market is too high. A high degree of proficiency in Finnish is required of people seeking employment in Finland.

CG respondents appeared to feel more positively about teaching in Karelian than about the teaching of minority mother-tongues at school in general. When asked in question Q12 in a more general form whether it is important for children to be taught their first language or mother tongue at school, the majority of CG respondents (93%) chose the option “I do not know”; 3 % chose “yes” and 3% “no”. Given that more than half the CG respondents were in favour of Karelian teaching at school, they would seem to have a more positive attitude towards Karelian than towards minority languages in general.

Only a few CG respondents had been explicitly encouraged to learn (proper) Finnish or to learn Karelian or Estonian. Question Q20 of the control group questionnaire asked if the respondent’s parents had talked about the importance of knowing Karelian, Estonian and Finnish. Two respondents each said that they had had a Karelian-speaking grandmother who had encouraged them to learn the language. Ten respondents reported having been encouraged to learn Finnish: eight of them were from Finnish-speaking families, in which the importance of the mother tongue and correct speaking had been generally emphasized, and two respondents with a Swedish-speaking background said that their parents had emphasized the need to master Finnish.

CG respondents’ views about diversity in the Finnish society. Question Q44 in the CG questionnaire asked the respondents to give their opinion on six statements which sought to map their attitudes towards diversity in the Finnish society. The five-point scale ranged from “It completely agree” to “I completely disagree”, and the statements to be evaluated were the following:

Statement 1: “It would be a good thing if our society became more diversified.”

Statement 2: “It is nice to hear different languages being spoken on the streets of my hometown.”

Statement 3: “I would like to have speakers of Karelian in my neighbourhood.”

Statement 4: “I would like to have speakers of Estonian in my neighbourhood.”

Statement 5: “I think the state spends too much taxpayers’ money on supporting Karelian.”

Statement 6: “I think the state spends too much taxpayers’ money on supporting Estonian.”

The results are shown in Figure 75:

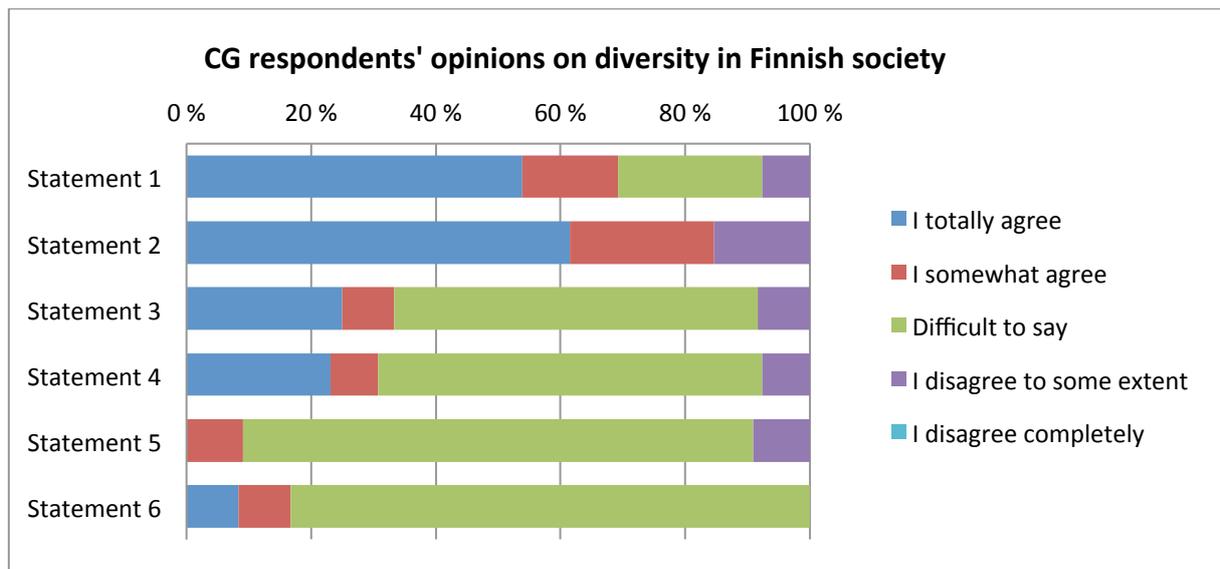


Figure 75. CG respondents' opinions on diversity in Finnish society

CG respondents are in favour of diversity in principle but show far less overt acceptance when asked about diversity in their own neighbourhood. Two thirds of the CG respondents think that in principle, increasing diversity in Finland would be a good thing, while only less than a tenth are to some extent opposed to it. Even more respondents (84.62%) enjoy hearing different languages spoken around them, but the proportion of those who do not is higher (15.38%) than that of those who were generally against increasing diversity (7.69%). Interestingly, only roughly a quarter reported were positively in favour of Karelian Finns and Estonians as neighbours. On the other hand, fewer than 10% did not like the idea of having such neighbours, and no one was categorically against it. Most of the CG respondents chose the option “Difficult to say”, which probably means that such a possibility has never arisen in their lives and they do not feel they know enough about Karelian Finns or Estonians living in Finland to have an opinion about their desirability as neighbours.

Three-quarters of the CG respondents found it difficult to say whether there should be state subventions for Karelian or Estonian, but those who did express an opinion were more critical of support for Estonian than for Karelian. Figure 75 suggests that most of the CG respondents do not know enough to have an opinion about the appropriateness of state financial support for the two languages. It is noteworthy that no respondent completely agreed with the statement that too much state money is spent on supporting Karelian, and that the number of respondents (9.09%) completely disagreeing with it was the same as the number of those who agreed with it to some extent. 16.66% agreed with the statement that Estonian gets too much state support and no one disagreed with it. In sum, while the common attitude towards Karelian Finns is mostly neutral, the CG respondents appear to have a slightly less positive attitude towards Estonian-speakers and their needs than towards Karelian-speakers and theirs; it is important to remember that up to now (November 2012), Karelian Finns have received very little financial aid towards reviving and maintaining their language, whereas Estonian speakers have been able to receive all the

benefits provided by Finnish legislation on the rights of migrants (for details, see Section 2.4.1).

CG respondents cannot distinguish Karelian Finns from speakers of other languages on the basis of their appearance. Another reason for Karelian Finns being accepted more readily than Estonian speakers is undoubtedly that Karelian Finns are an integral part of Finnish society. This is shown by the GC responses to statements relating to how easy it is to socialize with Karelian Finns that were discussed in Section 4.3.1.8 and the results of question Q21, which asked whether the CG respondents are able to recognise speakers of Finnish, Karelian and Estonian on the basis of their physical appearance. 95.8% of CG respondents reported not being able to do so. One respondent wrote that she recognises “Karelians”, commenting that “they look more lively”, and five respondents mentioned Estonians: three wrote that they “look different”, one that they “do not look like Scandinavians”, and one mentioned “different clothes”.

The neutral to positive attitude towards Karelian Finns is not reflected in the CG opinions on increasing the visibility of Karelian in the public sphere. To sum up so far, the responses and comments of the CG respondents indicated a neutral to positive attitude towards Karelian Finns and the Karelian language. However, as the analyses of question Q23a showed, they were not very receptive to suggestions of a wider public use of Karelian on the TV, in police stations, in the parliament, in hospitals, in the courts or in the educational system.

4.3.3 The awareness and understanding of language legislation

This and the following three Sections focusses on the respondents’ awareness and understanding of institutional support for multilingualism and the use of Karelian in Finnish society. This section discusses the survey results with regard to their perception of multilingualism as officially endorsed, while the subsequent sections concentrate on institutional support specifically in terms of legislation. It is important to note that although most of the questions in the questionnaire actually had to do with legislation per se, many respondents were apparently unable to distinguish between legislation proper and other forms of institutional support for minority languages, including such prevalent social practices as discrimination in the workplace. Their responses suggest that they interpreted the fairly general formulations of the questions in various different ways.

4.3.3.1 Support and inhibition of multiple language use

Question Q44 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire asked the respondents whether they thought that there is legislative support for the use of Karelian. Four options were given: “Yes”, “No”, “Some” and “I don’t know”. The question was answered by all but 20 respondents. It was one those questions where the proportion of the missing frequencies was very low and the results can be taken as reliable. The results are shown in Figure 76:

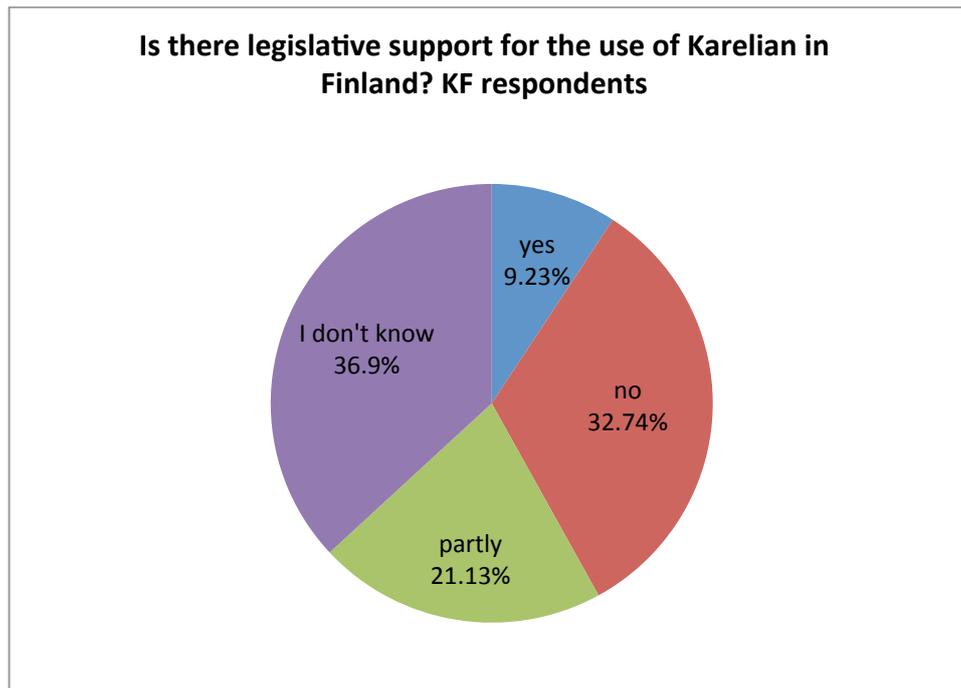


Figure 76. Is there legislative support for the use of Karelian in Finland? KF respondents

Less than a tenth of Karelian Finn respondents thought that there is legislative support for Karelian, about a fifth that there is some support, and about a third that there is none. As Figure 76 also shows, slightly more (32.74%) of the Karelian Finn respondents thought that there is no legislative support for Karelian than that there is at least some (30.36%). A third did not know whether there is such legislation.

Many Karelian Finn respondents knew about the decree amendment of December 2009; some stressed that it has not had any concrete consequences yet. If they had chosen “yes” or “some”, the respondents were requested to specify how this support was manifested. Here the respondents most often wrote comments which showed that they were aware of the decree amendment of December 2009 (see Section 2.4.1). Several respondents wrote just one word, “status”, others a few words such as “Karelian as an official language” and “official minority language”. A number of respondents wrote in a way that indicated that they did not know the exact nature of the amendment, specifying “some kind of an official status” or “rights of a minority language”, for example. A few respondents took the opportunity to express doubts about the practical significance of the new official status of Karelian; one wanted to stress that “there are hardly any speakers of the language left”. Several wrote that the change in the status of the language had not led to any legislative action which would promote the use of Karelian or lend support to the efforts to maintain it.

The difference between legislation and other forms of institutional support appeared to be unclear to many respondents. In the open-ended part of this question, several respondents mentioned the establishment of a professorship in Karelian at the University of Eastern Finland. Many also gave as examples Karelian daycare (in Nurmes), and publications in Karelian. Public support for municipal societies and those attempting to preserve Karelian was

also mentioned a few times. None of these measures are actually supported by any legislative action.

The CG respondents were asked the same question in question Q29. It was answered by all but two respondents. The results are shown in Figure 77:

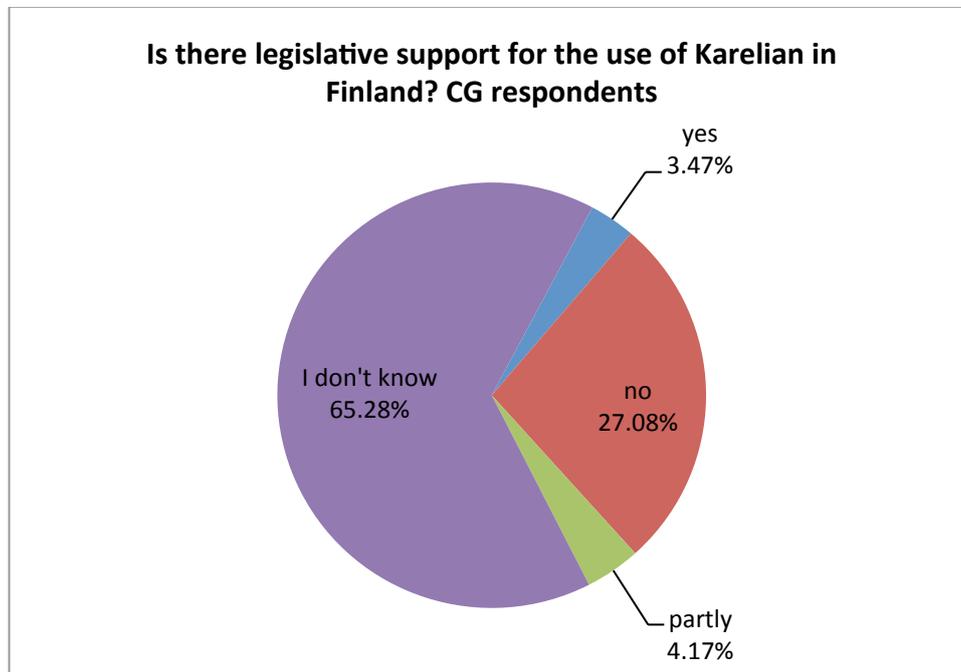


Figure 77. Is there legislative support for the use of Karelian in Finland? CG respondents

CG respondents knew less about legislation support than Karelian Finns. A comparison of the CG results with the Karelian Finn results shows that CG respondents were considerably less knowledgeable than Karelian Finns about whether there is legislative support for Karelian: two thirds of them did not know whether any such legislative support exists, whereas two thirds of Karelian Finns thought they knew enough about the legislation to be able to decide whether it supports Karelian or not and just over a third did not.

Slightly more than a quarter of CG respondents thought that there is no legislative support for Karelian, and less than a tenth that there is at least some. Somewhat surprisingly, significantly more CG respondents (27.08%) than Karelian Finn respondents (32.74%) were of the opinion that the legislation in Finland does not support the use of Karelian to any extent; I would have expected that the minority itself rather than the others had thought so. The result also shows that those Finns who are not directly involved, have mostly not even heard of the decree amendment or at least do not remember it which might mean that they have not understood its significance for the Karelian language. Having closely observed how the media reported on the amendment in December 2009, I think that it would have been difficult for anyone who does not follow the Karelian Finnish media to learn about it in the first place, since the reporting in the Finnish media was very sparse.

The notions of the CG respondents about how Karelian is supported and what legislative support means were even vaguer than those of the Karelian Finn respondents. Seven CG

respondents added an additional comment in the open part of question Q29. The comments of the four respondents who had chosen the option “yes” were different from each other: one wrote that they “had noticed the sentence [*sic*] on the Internet”, another that “current support is enough, there is no need for more”, the third mentioned “supporting education in Russia”, and the fourth “public support for Karelian culture”. The respondent who had chosen the option “partly” wrote that “dialects are fashionable and Karelian is like a dialect”. Disregarding the questionnaire instructions, two respondents who had chosen the option “no” also added a comment: one expressed the desire that Karelian should be supported, and the other made the remark that “it is fun to listen when speakers of Karelian are speaking their language”.

Question Q45 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire asked the respondents to say whether legislation in Finland inhibits the use of Karelian. This question was answered by all but 14 respondents. The results are shown in Figure 78:

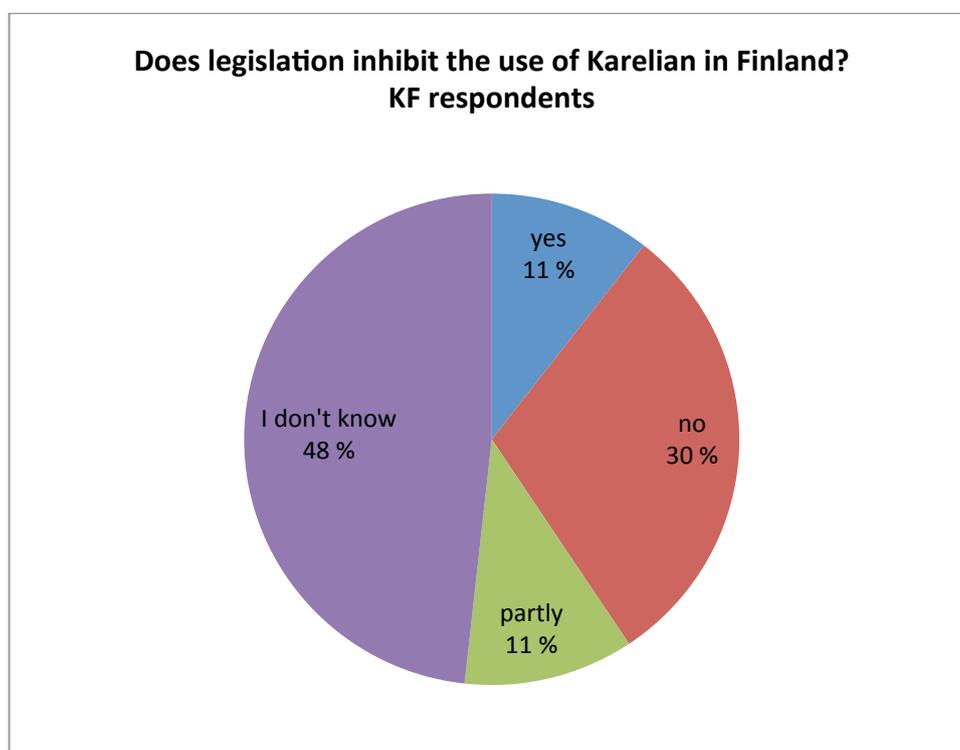


Figure 78. Does legislation inhibit the use of Karelian in Finland? KF respondents

Almost half the Karelian Finn respondents did not know whether legislation inhibits the use of Karelian, just under a third thought it does not, and just over a fifth that it does. A comparison of the results concerning awareness of legislative support for Karelian (Figure 76) with those concerning awareness of legislative obstacles (Figure 78) suggests that Karelian Finns are more uncertain about whether there are laws which inhibit the use of Karelian than they are about the existence of legislative support for the language: while about a third of the respondents did not know about the latter, almost two thirds did not know about the former.

A legal bar preventing the use of Karelian were identified in education legislation, another major problems are the non-existence of legislation which one of the reasons for the decreasing number of Karelian-speakers in Finland. In the open part of question Q45 several of those respondents who had answered “yes” or “partly” took the opportunity to explain their views. Many of them thought that insufficient or faulty legislation has caused a lack of opportunities to study Karelian at school. Another problem mentioned in many of comments is the lack of legislation itself: “there are no binding laws concerning the use of Karelian on official occasions, for example, or in institutions”. Again, some of the comments showed that respondents had had difficulties in separating legislation from from other factors. For example, one respondent wrote that Karelian is generally considered useless by decision-makers and many noted the lack of speakers of Karelian as a legal obstacle to its use. One respondent wanted to stress that the number of Karelian speakers would be very different today if Karelian had been given minority language status in 1940.

CG respondents were asked about legislative obstacles to the use of Karelian in question Q31. Again, the response rate was very high: only one respondent did not answer the question. The results are shown in Figure 79:

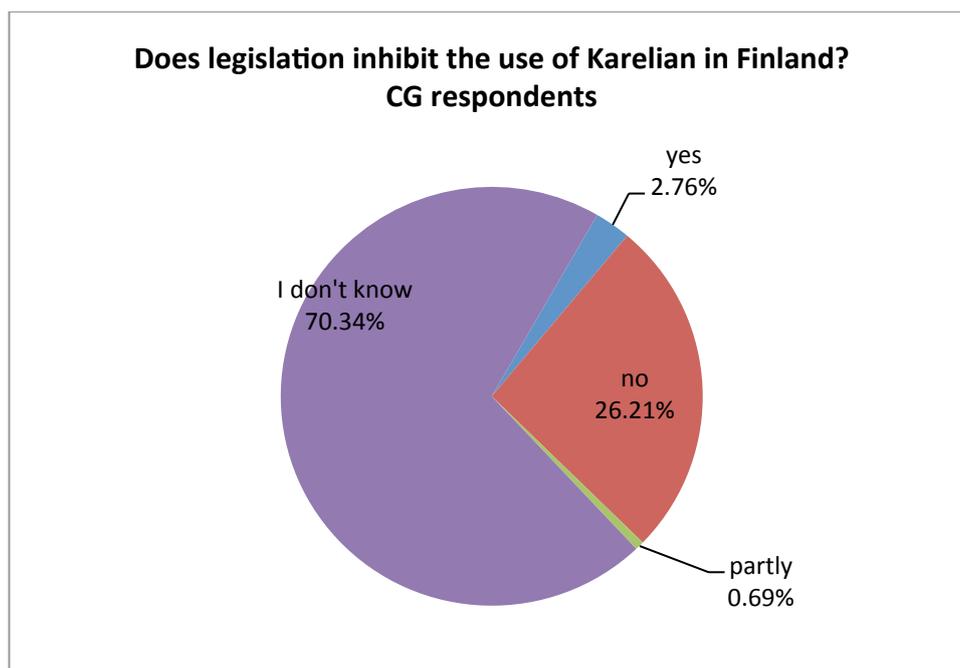


Figure 79. Does legislation inhibit the use of Karelian in Finland? CG respondents

Just over a quarter of CG respondents thought that legislation does not hinder the use of Karelian and less than one out in twenty that it does. A comparison with the results for the Karelian Finn group shows that considerably fewer CG respondents (3.45%) than Karelian Finn respondents (21.64%) thought that legislation hinders the use of Karelian. Only three CG respondents added an explanation: two wrote that “the Karelian language has no official status”, and a third that no legislation has been published in Karelian. Again, the proportion of CG respondents who chose the option “I do not know” was very much higher (70.3%) than that of Karelian Finn respondents (48.25%).

Question Q46 asked the Karelian Finn respondents whether they think that legislation supports knowing and using many languages in the area they live in. The response rate was high and only 18 respondents refraining from answering the question. The results are shown in Figure 80:

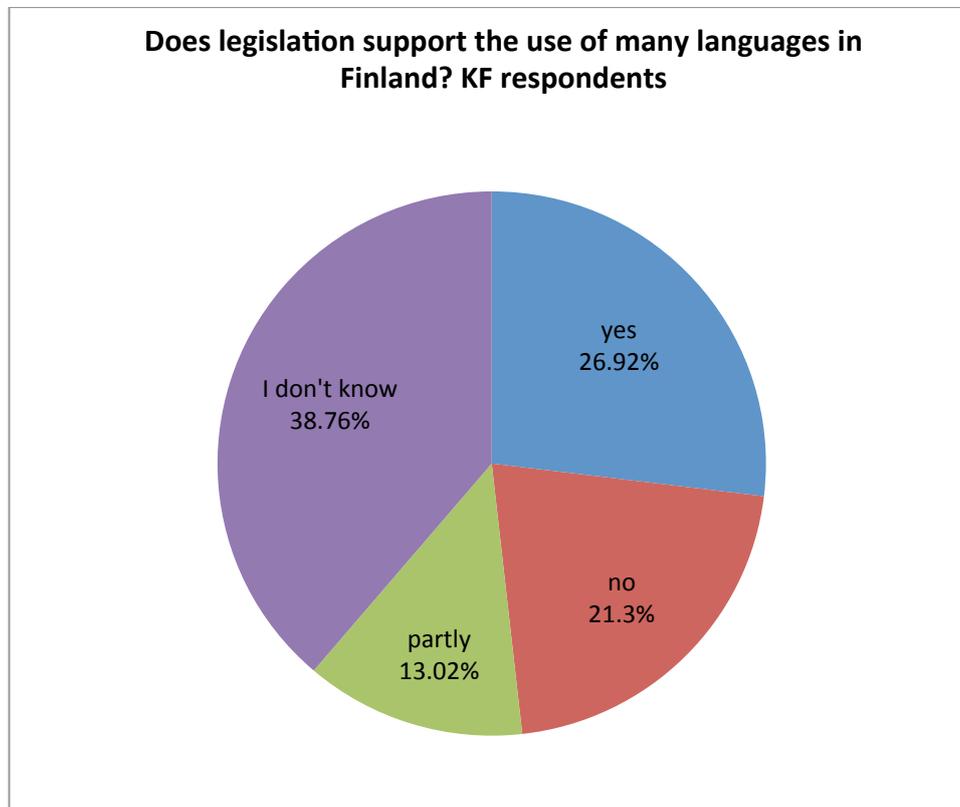


Figure 80. Does legislation support knowing and using many languages? KF respondents

More than a third of the Karelian Finn respondents thought that legislation supports knowing and using several languages, one fifth that it does not, while two out of five did not know. The results show that 61.24% of Karelian Finn respondents are aware of the existence of language legislation concerning the area where they live. Comments in the open-ended part, where those who had chosen the options “yes” or “partly” could be more specific, suggest that “the area where you live” had most often been understood as referring to the whole of Finland; only a small number of respondents had interpreted it as referring to a smaller unit, such as a province or a town.

Support for Swedish and the Sámi language(s) together with the teaching of Swedish and foreign languages at school were identified as forms of legal support for multilingualism in Finland. As examples of how multilingualism is supported in Finland as a whole, respondents most frequently mentioned the possibility or requirement to learn a wide variety of languages in Finnish schools. They particularly often mentioned *pakkoruotsi* (‘compulsory Swedish’), thus referring to the statutory right and obligation of each citizen to learn the other national language at school. Many respondents also mentioned “support for Swedish in Finland”; several mentioned the Sami languages together with Swedish. Also mentioned were language courses aimed at adults.

Support for migrant languages and bilingual legislation and practices were given as instances of areal legislative support. Those Karelian Finn respondents who had interpreted “area” as a smaller unit mentioned bilingual legislation and practices (Finnish-Swedish) and immigration-related language issues as examples of how legislation supports multilingualism. To some extent, however, the answers to this question overlapped with those that other Karelian Finn respondents gave in the open-ended part of question Q51 (see further below), which asked whether there is legislation concerned with rewarding multilingual skills on the labour market.

The CG respondents were asked only about legislative support for multilingualism. The results of Q33 are presented in Figure 81:

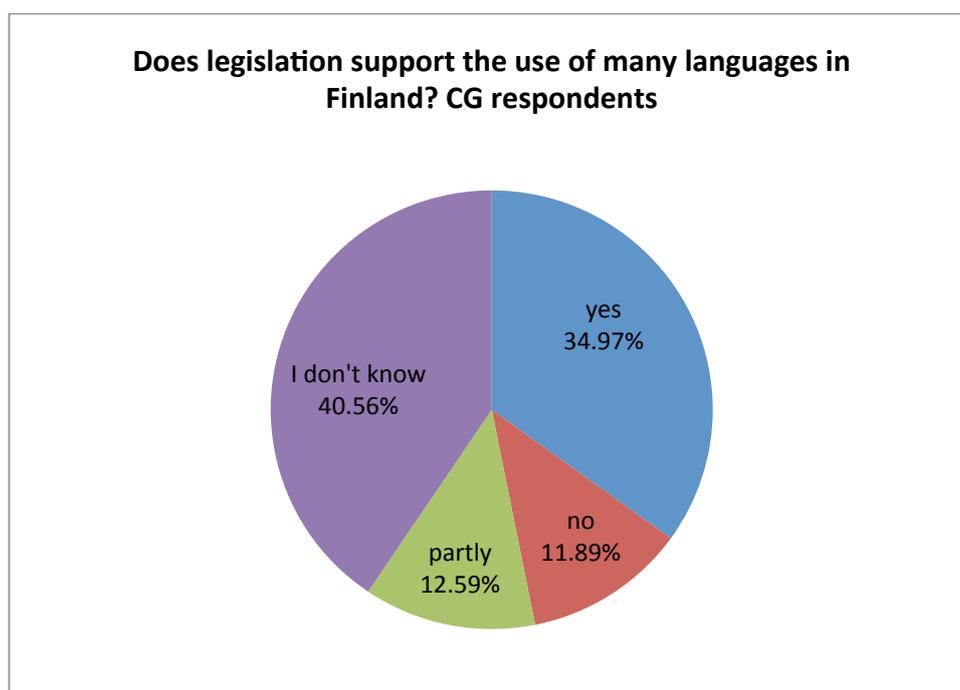


Figure 81. Does legislation support the use of many languages? CG respondents

Again, the response rate was high: only three CG respondents did not answer the question.

Two fifths of CG respondents did not know whether legislation supports multilingualism or not, while almost half think that it does and one out of ten that it does not. When compared with the respective results of the Karelian Finn survey, it can be concluded that Karelian Finns believe in legislative support significantly less than the CG respondents: While 47.56% of CG respondents believe in it full or partly, only 39.94% of Karelian Finns reported doing so. On the other hand, 21.3% of Karelian Finns reported thinking that multilingualism is not supported by the Finnish legislation, while the same was thought only by 11.89% of CG respondents.

The forms of legislative support were largely the same as those identified by Karelian Finn respondents, but Swedish and Sámi were put into a wider context than in the Karelian Finn survey. Additional comments tended to be fairly similar. Most respondents mentioned the wide range of languages taught in Finnish schools, a few pointing out, somewhat

ambiguously, that “studying some languages is obligatory”. Again Swedish was mentioned many times in the context of school but also in that of Finnish society in general: for example, the obligation of officials to be able to speak Swedish was repeatedly mentioned. Some commented that Swedish does not need all the support it is given today. Support for the Sami languages was mentioned by some respondents, as were interpretation services offered to immigrants.

4.3.3.2 The existence of legal texts in Karelian

Question Q47 asked the Karelian Finn respondents whether legislation supporting knowing and using many languages is available in Karelian. All but 19 respondents answered the question. The results are shown in Figure 82:

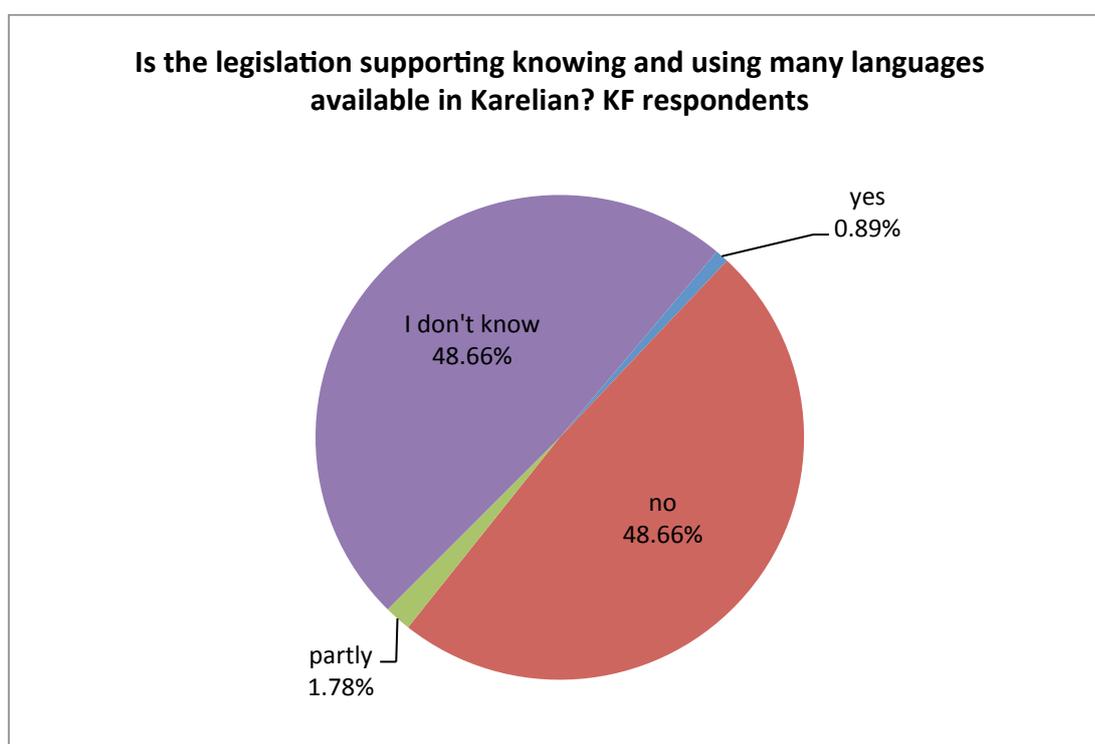


Figure 82. Is legislation supporting knowing and using many languages available in Karelian? KF respondents

Nearly half the Karelian Finns did not know whether such legislation is available in Karelian, nearly half thought that it is not and only very few individuals thought it was. Figure 83 shows that about half the Karelian Finn group is well informed regarding the existence of legislation in Karelian, while another half is not.

4.3.3.3 The fairness of language legislation

Both surveys contained a question about the fairness of language legislation: “Are the speakers of different languages treated equally in your area and country?” The results for the Karelian Finn respondents are shown in Figure 83:

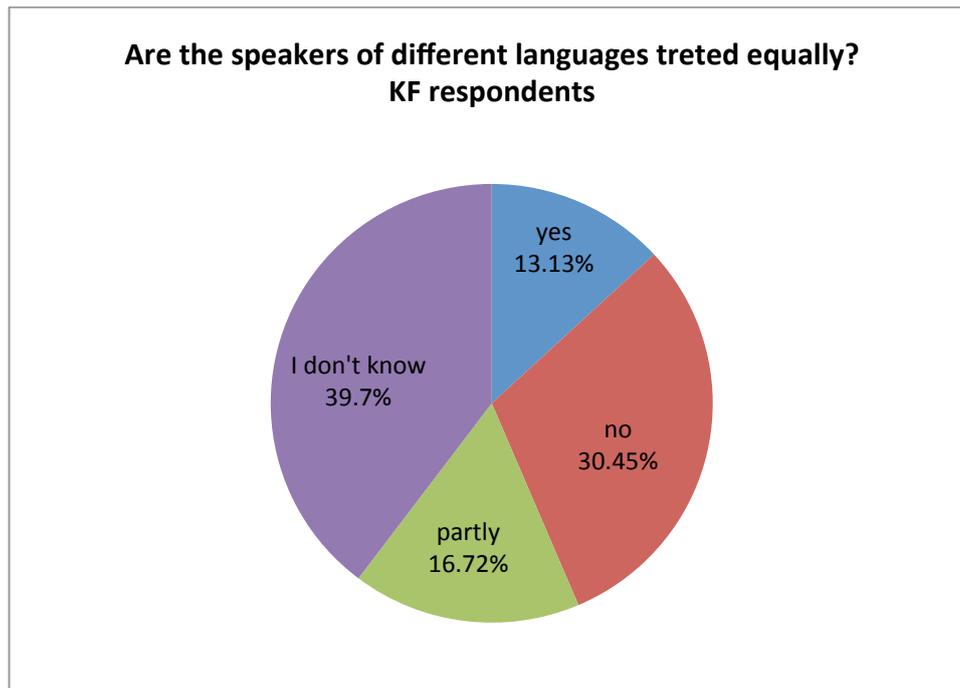


Figure 83. Are the speakers of different languages treated equally? KF respondents

The opinions of the Karelain Finn respondents were distributed fairly equally between the positive and negative answers. 29.25% thought, completely or to some extent, that legislation treats the speakers of different languages equally, while 30.45% thought that this is not the case. More than a third of the respondents did not know and 21 people refrained from answering.

The examples given concerned Swedish and migrant languages; Swedish was presented as a positive as well as a negative case. The wording of the question and the formulation of the options resulted in comments by both respondents who thought that speakers of all languages are treated equally and those who did not. Again, the position of Swedish-speakers in Finland was by far the most common topic in the comments. Some respondents mentioned the legal status of Swedish as a positive example of equality, while some claimed that Swedish-speakers are treated better than Finnish-speakers or, especially, the speakers of other minority languages. Most respondents considered it a positive thing that speakers of other languages – Russians or other immigrants – were able to get services on their own language. Some respondents praised the Finnish system which provides public services in several languages, while others considered the availability of multilingual services insufficient. A few respondents mentioned that the existing legislation is appropriate but that Finns tend to be prejudiced towards those whose speech or behaviour differs from that of the majority, so there is sometimes discrimination in practice.

The results of Q36 in the CG questionnaire are presented in Figure 84:

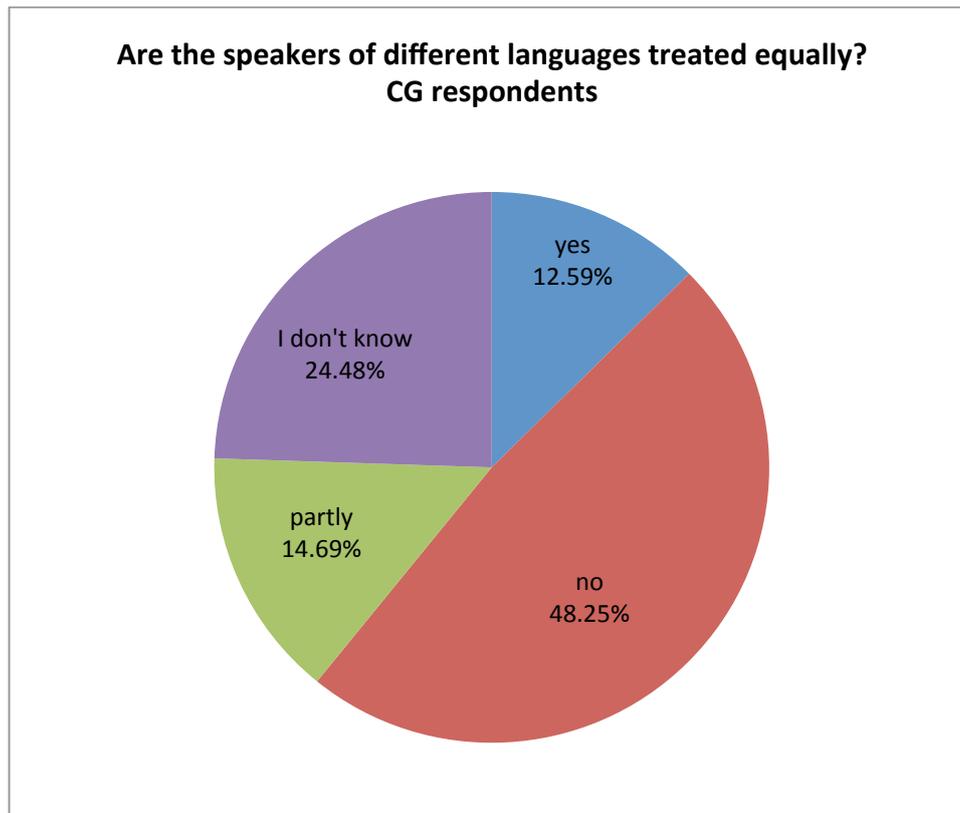


Figure 84. Are the speakers of different languages treated equally? CG respondents

More CG respondents than Karelian Finn respondents thought that the speakers of different languages did not get equal treatment. As Figure 84 shows, almost half the CG respondents thought that speakers of different languages are not treated equally. The proportion of those who thought they do receive equal treatment was 27.28% which is slightly lower than the corresponding proportion of Karelian Finn respondents (29.25%). Only 24.48% chose the option “I don’t know”, compared with 39.7% of the Karelian Finn respondents. Only three people refrained from answering the question.

The comments were fairly general in nature. About half the respondents who commented on Q36 expressed opinions supporting their view that speakers of different languages are treated equally in Finland, or at least that efforts are made in that direction, for example, by providing interpretation services for migrants. The other half claimed that only Finnish-speaking citizens are able to fully function in society and that “others” tend to be ignored, e.g. when employees are being hired or promoted. One respondent wrote that there are legal quotas for Swedish speaking people in universities but did not specify whether this was an indication of equal or non-equal treatment.

4.3.3.4 Legislation on languages in the labour market

Question Q51 in the Karelian Finn survey asked if there is any legislation or other form of regulation concerning employee benefits or bonuses paid for knowing different languages. The results are shown in Figure 85:

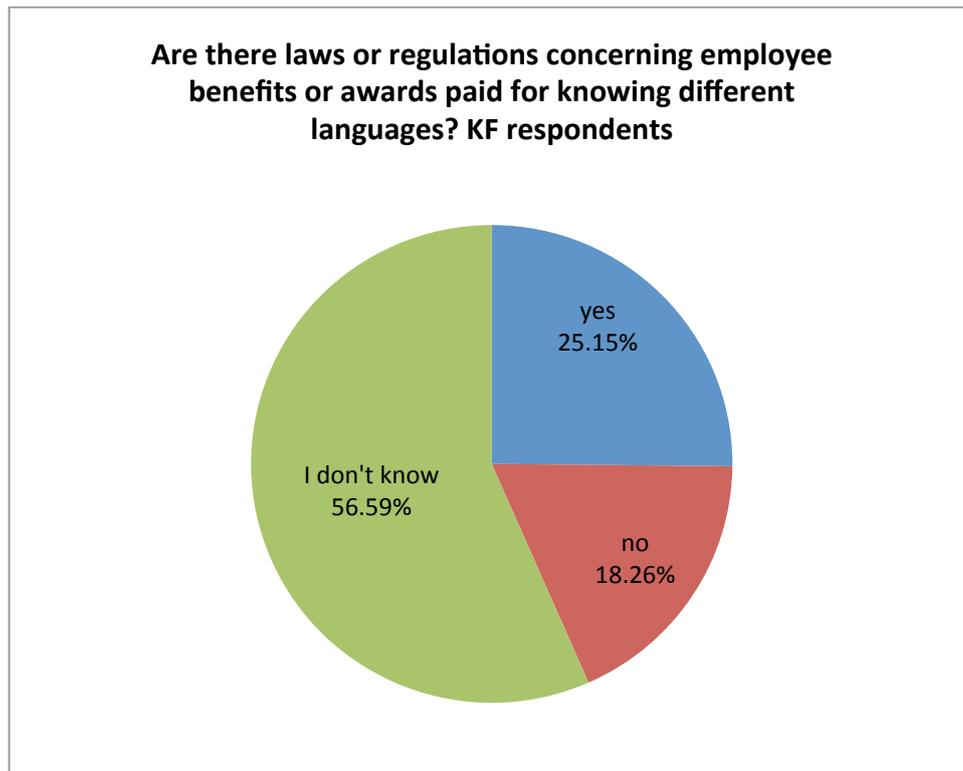


Figure 85. Are there laws or regulations concerning employee benefits or awards paid for knowing different languages? KF respondents

A quarter of Karelian Finn respondents thought that rewarding knowledge of different languages is officially regulated, almost one in five that it is not, and the rest did not know whether regulation exists or not. Most of the respondents who commented on this question mentioned supplements that are paid for using foreign language(s) in many service-related fields. Many mentioned the knowledge of Swedish required of civil servants and the corresponding requirement to know Sami in the Sámi homeland was indicated in some answers, too. Several respondents also mentioned “the quotas for Swedish-speakers in university entrance examinations”.

In the CG questionnaire, the same inquiry was put slightly differently in Q37: “*Onko Suomessa lainsäädäntöä tai muita säännöksiä, mitkä tukevat eri kielten taitoa työmarkkinoilla?*” ‘Are there laws or other regulations in Finland, which support knowing different languages in the labour market?’ The results are presented in Figure 86:

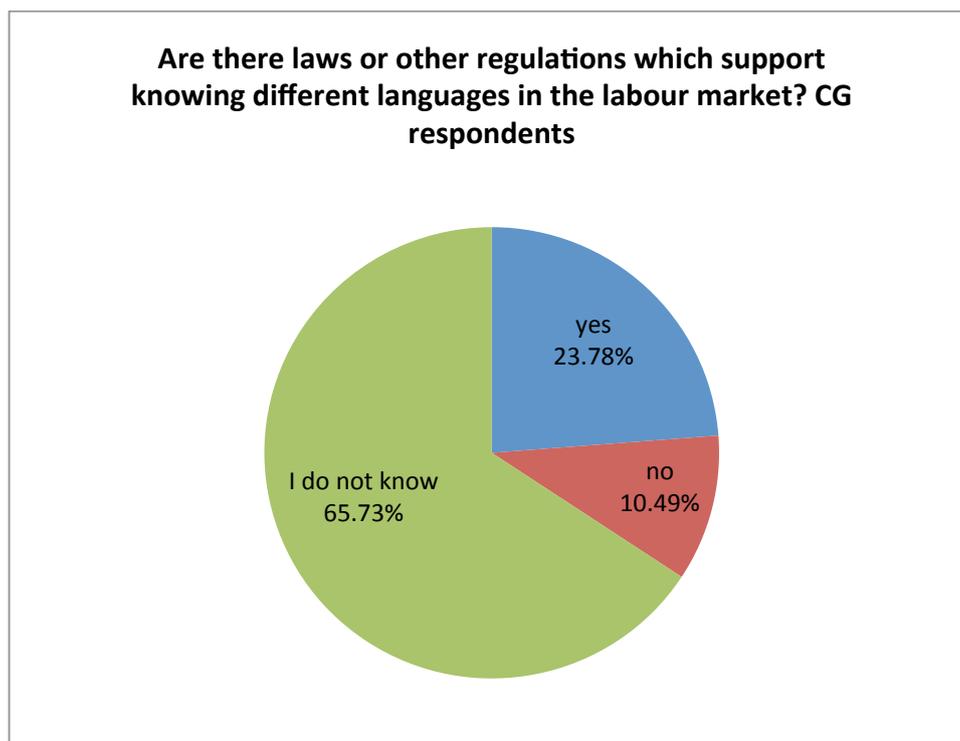


Figure 86 . Are there laws or other regulations which support knowing different languages in the labour market? CG respondents

The CG respondents reported more often than Karelian Finn respondents not knowing whether there laws or other regulations which support knowing different languages in the labour market. The proportion of those who thought that there is such regulation was about the same as among Karelian Finns (23.78% vs. 25.15%), while significantly less fewer CG respondents (10.49%) than Karelian Finn respondents (18.26%) thought that there is no such regulation.

Practical implications mentioned in the open part concentrated on Swedish and Swedish-speaking Finns. All CG respondents who had added comments in the open part mentioned either “language legislation which affirms the status of Swedish alongside Finnish”, and some gave examples such as the obligation of all civil servants to have a certain level of proficiency in Swedish, and the right of Swedish-speaking Finns to get services in Swedish if they so wish.

4.3.3.4 Legislation concerning languages in education

Question Q48 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire inquired whether there are laws regulating the use of Karelian in school teaching in Finland in general, or in the area where the respondent lives. The results are shown in Figure 87:

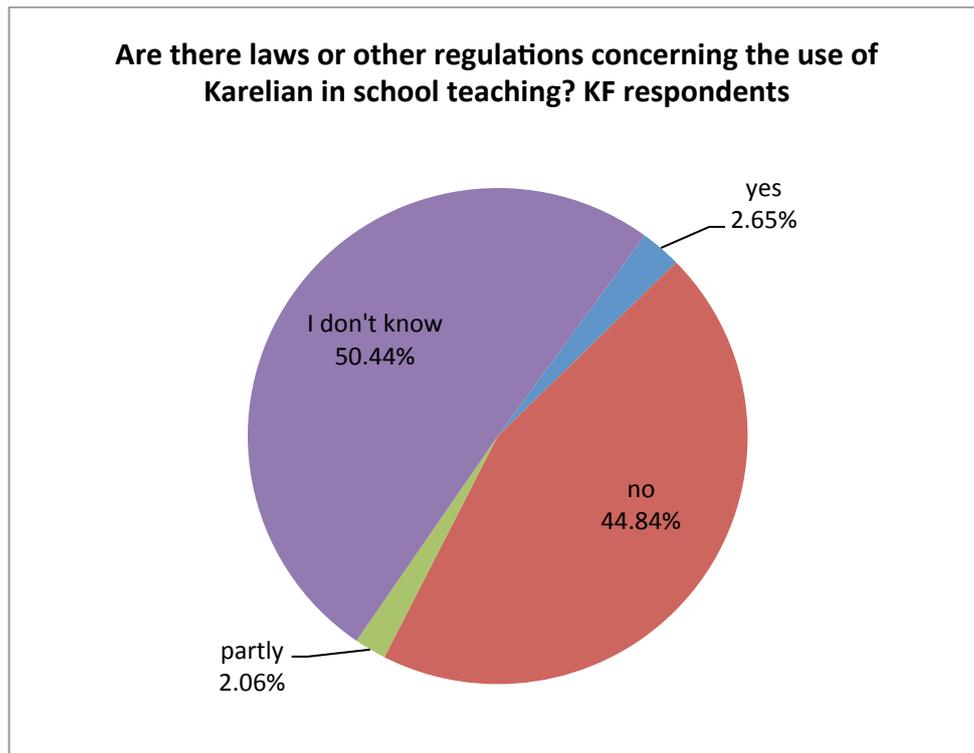


Figure 87. Are there laws or other regulations concerning the use of Karelian in school teaching? KF respondents

Half the Karelian Finn respondents did not know whether there are laws concerning the use of Karelian in school teaching; only one twenty thought that there is, while almost 45% believed there is not.

The results of open-ended part of the question showed that many respondents may not have understood the question correctly. Question Q48 was commented on by fewer than 20 respondents. The recently gained status of Karelian as a minority language was mentioned several times. The University of Eastern Finland was mentioned by several respondents and a few wrote that it is possible to teach Karelian in schools when there are enough Karelian-speakers in the area. The Karelian classes which were taught in the 1990s in Valtimo by Paavo Harakka were mentioned by one respondent, and the Karelian daycare centre in Nurmes was mentioned by a couple of respondents.

Question Q49 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire asked whether there are laws or other regulations concerning teaching about the Karelian language in schools. The results are presented in Figure 88:

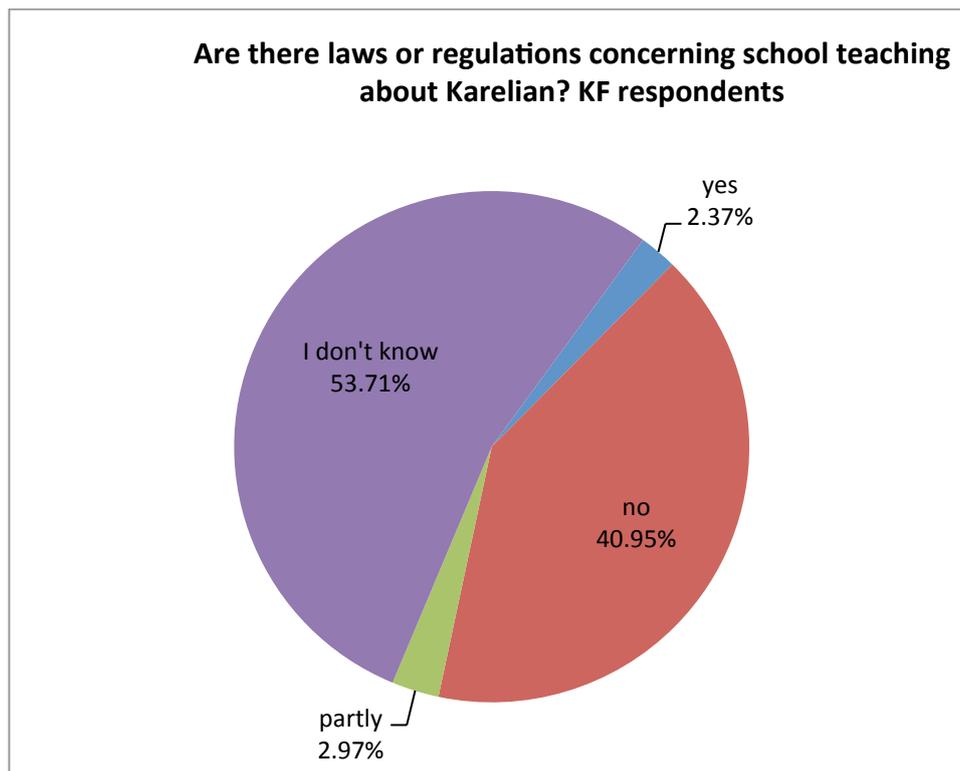


Figure 88. Are there laws or other regulations concerning school teaching about Karelian? KF respondents

Over half the Karelian Finn respondents do not know whether school teaching about Karelian is officially regulated, one in twenty thought that it is and more than 40% that it is not.

The comments testify to respondents' confusion concerning what the question meant. Only ten respondents commented on Q49. A few wrote that "Karelian should be taught in schools", some mentioned the professorship at the University of Eastern Finland, a few stated that teaching Karelian in schools has been planned. One respondent answered simply "new law", another "North Karelia", and yet another "South Karelia".

In the CG questionnaire, the respondents were asked in question Q34 whether there are laws and regulations concerning the teaching of Karelian as a school subject. The results are shown in Figure 89:

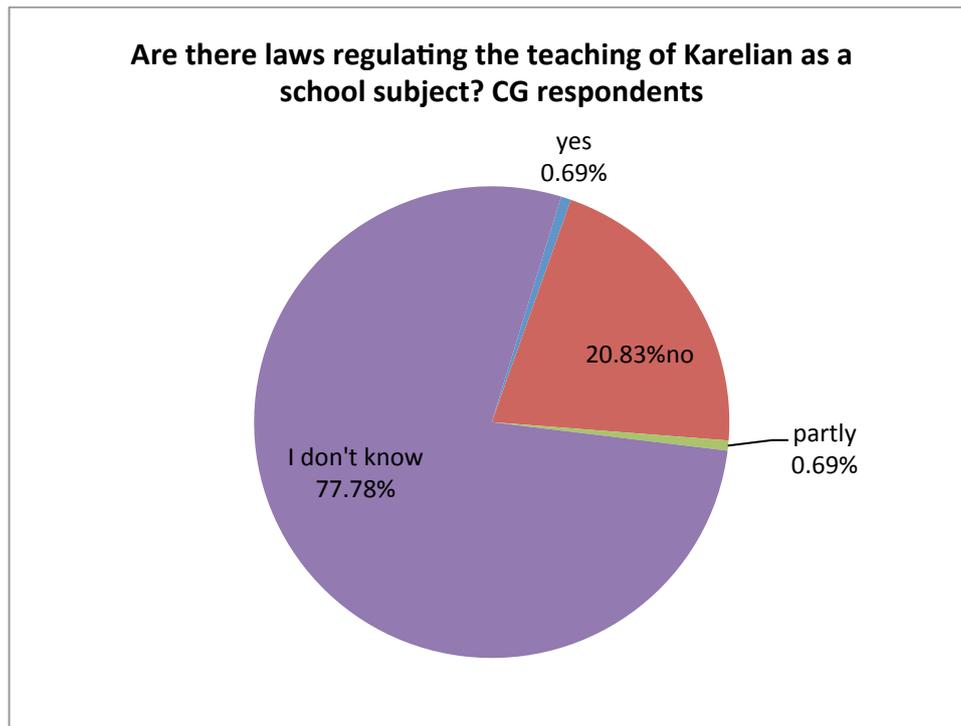


Figure 89. Are there laws regulating the teaching of Karelian as a school subject? CG respondents

Most CG respondents did not know whether teaching Karelian as a school subject is regulated by law or not, one fifth believing that it is not, and fewer than 2% believing that it is. The comments in the open-ended part all pointed out the same thing, viz. that in elementary schools pupils are expected to receive at least some mother-tongue instruction.

Conclusions. The Karelian Finn respondents seemed to be better informed about legislation and regulations concerning Karelian than the CG respondents, and somewhat better informed on those concerning other languages spoken in Finland. A notable proportion of both groups do not know about such matters at all. This may well indicate a more general lack of interest in questions of law but it may also simply reflect the fact that until quite recently, the rights of Karelian Finns to use, maintain and develop their language have not been recognised in Finland. The CG results suggest that Finns know about language legislation concerning Swedish, Sami and migrant languages to some extent known. For both groups, distinguishing legislative support for different languages from other forms of institutional support was problematic, and this may indicate that information on legislation and regulations is not particularly clear or readily available.

4.3.4 Media

4.3.4.1 Media consumption and the active use of languages in the (modern) media

Question Q62 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire asked the respondents to tell about their media consumption, using a seven point scale (every day; many times a week; every week; every month; more seldom; never; not available in this language). Part A focused on Karelian-language media, Part B on Finnish-language media, and Part C on English-language

media or media in some other language. Part D gave the respondents the possibility of adding another language, but only a few people took the opportunity to do this. As Figure 90 shows, the response rate varied largely between the different parts:

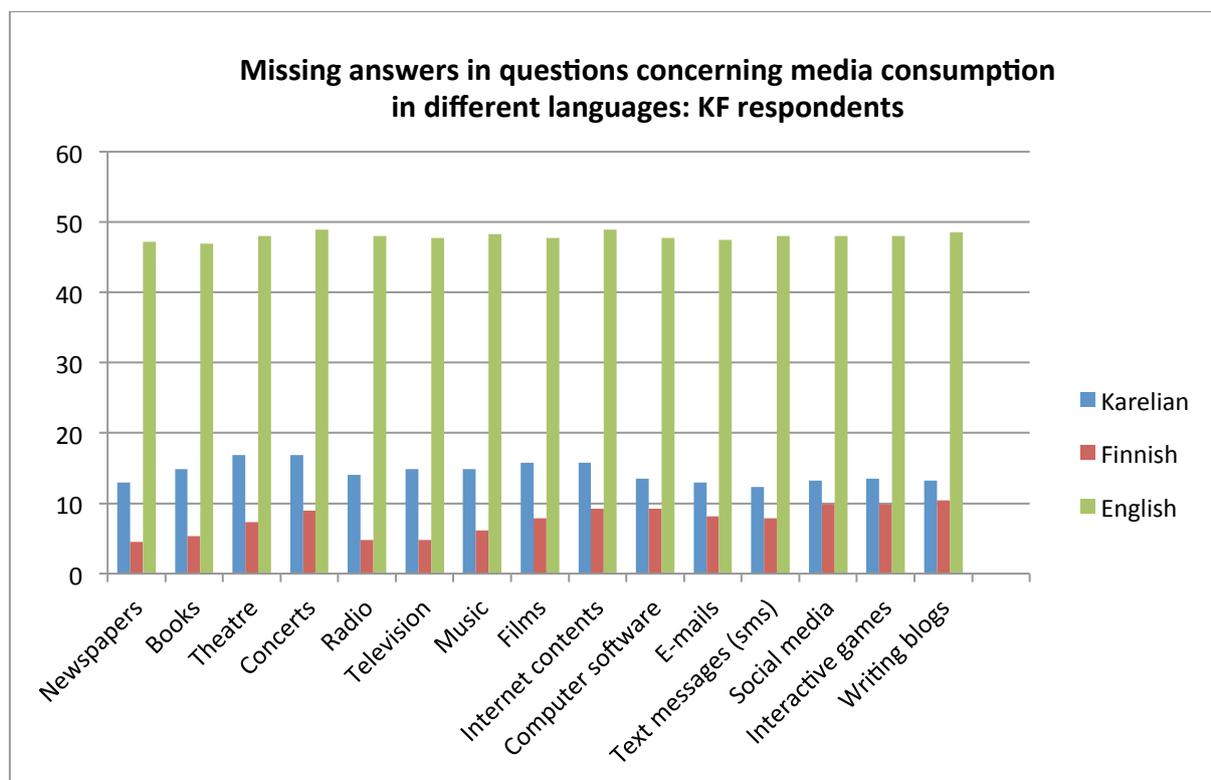


Figure 90. Missing answers in questions concerning media consumption in various languages: KF respondents

The Karelian Finn respondents frequently left the questions on English-language media consumption unanswered. The proportions of missing answers were lowest for Finnish (4.49-10.39%) and highest for English (46.91-48.88%); for Karelian they ranged from 12.36% to 16.85%. Given the results of the self-reported language skills, such a result was to be expected: since the majority of the Karelian Finn respondents belonged to the oldest age group, many do not have a good command of English or have never learned it. Another reason for not answering the questions on English-language consumption may be that they came last: completing a long questionnaire can be very tiring, especially if one has to answer the same type of questions with respect to several languages.

There is a clear difference in missing answers for Karelian and Finnish with regard to traditional and electronic media. As Figure 90 shows, for Karelian the answers to questions concerning use of electronic media had slightly fewer missing answers than those concerning traditional media; for Finnish the results were the other way around. One explanation might be, again, the age-bias of the Karelian Finn respondents. It may also be that Karelian Finn respondents have discovered the potential for using Karelian offered by electronic media, and that consequently they actually use these more often than they do electronic media in Finnish.

Independence of time and place may add to the attractiveness of the new media. Note that the “not available” answers for the use of Karelian are lower for electronic media than for traditional media. This might be due to the lack of dependence on time and place of the former, which makes them a particularly convenient way of filling in the gaps in Karelian-language traditional media.

The results for Karelian-language media consumption (Q62A) are shown in Figure 91:

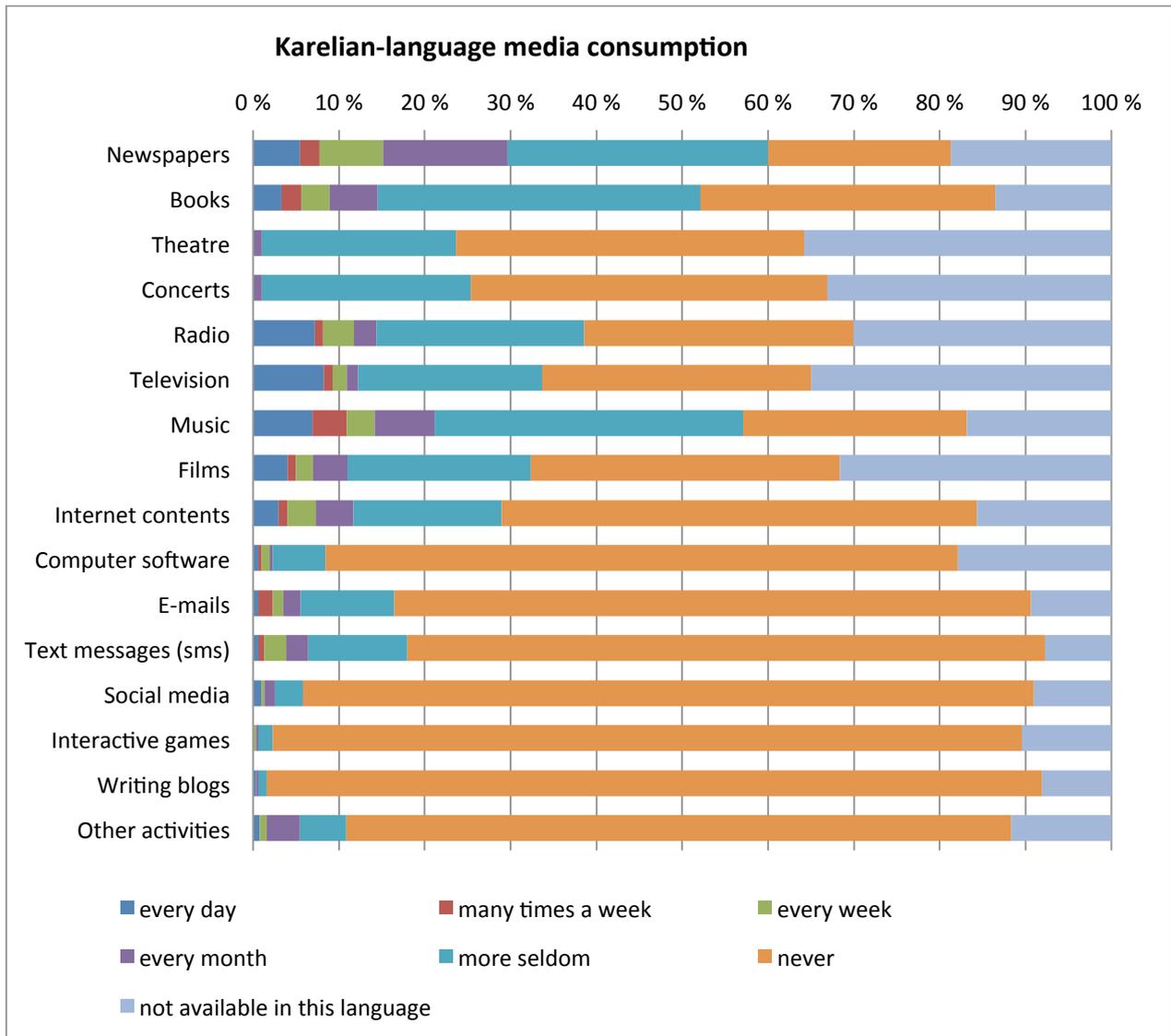


Figure 91. Karelian-language media consumption

The main results can be summarised as follows:

- On average 55% of Karelian Finn respondents never use any form of Karelian-language media.
- The media which are seen as least available in Karelian are theatre (35.81%), television (34.98%), concerts (33.11%), films (31.67%), and radio (30.67%), followed by computer software (17.86%) and internet content (15.67%).

- Electronic media in Karelian are seen as more available than traditional media, but Karelian Finns make more use of the latter.
- The most commonly used types of Karelian-language media comprise newspapers, music and books, followed by radio, television, films and internet content: more than half the Karelian respondents (60%) read Karelian newspapers. Almost as many listen to Karelian-language music (57.09%) and read books in Karelian (52.14%). Karelian films and radio and television programmes in Karelian are used by a third of the respondents. 28.99% reported using Karelian-language internet content at least to some extent.
- Internet content is the type of electronic media which was reported to be consumed in Karelian most often (28.99%). This is followed in popularity by e-mail (17.94%) and text-messages (16.46%).
- Karelian-language computer software is used at least occasionally by less than a tenth of the respondents (8.43%).
- About 5% of the respondents use Karelian when communicating via social media.
- Least used in Karelian are interactive games (2.26%) and writing blogs (1.61%).
- Karelian-language media are most often used irregularly: on average 17.2% of the respondents reported using them occasionally (the option “more seldom”), while 8.63% reported using them monthly (3.2%), weekly (1.9%), several times a week (0.9%) or daily (2.63%).
- The Karelian-language media most commonly reported as being used daily were television (8.25%), radio (7.19%), music (6.93%), newspapers (5.48%), films (4%), books (3.3%) and internet content (3%). The results for television and radio are quite surprising, since there are no regular Karelian-language broadcasts in Finland in either medium, let alone any that are broadcast daily.
- The Karelian-language media most commonly reported as being used several times a week were music (3.96%), books (2.31%), newspapers (2.26%) and e-mail (1.61%).
- The Karelian-language media most commonly reported as being used weekly were newspapers (7.42%), radio (3.59%), books (3.3%), internet content (3.3%), text messages (2.56%) and e-mail (1.29%).
- The Karelian-language media most commonly reported as being used monthly were newspapers (14.52%), music (6.93%), books (5.61%), internet content (4.33%), films (4%) and “other” (3.88%). “Other” media included, according to the comments written in the open-ended part of Q62A, writing stories and booklets in Karelian. One respondent wrote that they were currently translating some Orthodox service texts into Karelian, and another that they give lectures in Karelian. Active text-production

in Karelian was actually mapped in following question, Q63, which the respondents had not seen yet, which explains why some respondents listed under “other” media situations in which they actively produce texts themselves

As Figure 92 shows, Karelian Finns use Finnish-language media much more extensively and frequently than they use any of the media available in Karelian:

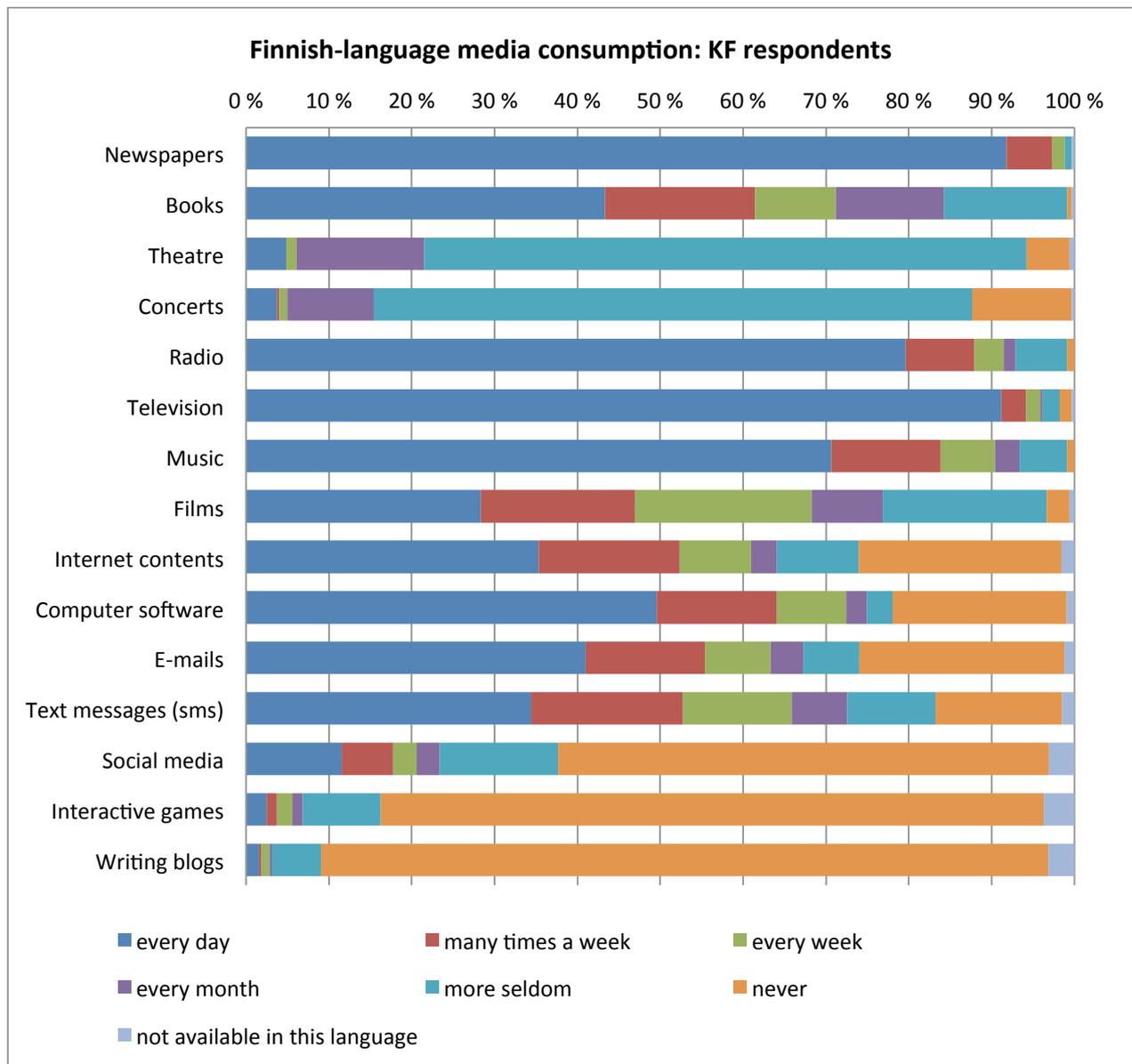


Figure 92. Finnish-language media consumption: KF respondents

The main results are as follows:

- Averaged for all categories, 73% of the Karelian Finn respondents use Finnish-language media, 25.82% of them never do so and 1.68% do not have Finnish-language media at their disposal. The incidence of “never” answers was highest for writing blogs (81.82%) and playing interactive games (70.83%), followed by attending concerts (16.67%), using computer software (14.58%), using internet content (13.89%) and using e-mail (13.89%).

- Most of the Karelian Finn respondents make good use of Finnish-language media: over 99% of them at least sometimes consume Finnish-language newspapers, books, films and radio, 98.22% watch television and 96.65% films, and 94.24% go to the theatre. The ratio of the “never” answers was low for all the traditional types of media, ranging between 12.04% for concerts and less than one per cent for television, books, radio and music, and very high for some types of electronic media, viz. writing blogs (87.77%), playing interactive games (80.06%) and using social media (59.19%).
- All the Finnish-language media are readily available to Karelian Finns: the proportions of “not available” answers were very low, ranging from barely 4% for interactive games to 0.29% for television.
- The types of the Finnish-language media which are most commonly consumed by the Karelian Finn respondents are television (99.32%), newspapers (98.62%), music (98.6%), radio (97.93%), books (96.42%) and films (95.07%).
- Although the traditional types of media are more popular among the Karelian Finn respondents than electronic ones, some of these, too, are used actively: over 80% of them reported at least sometimes writing or receiving text messages, almost 80% using Finnish-language computer software and 74% writing e-mail and using internet content in Finnish. Over a third (37.69%) reported using Finnish at least sometimes in the social media, some 16% when playing interactive games, and 18.47% for writing blogs.
- The types of electronic media which the respondents reported using least in Finnish were social media (66.2%), interactive games (26.39%) and writing blogs (16.09%).
- Finnish-language media are consumed regularly by 56.58% on average: 37.8% daily, 10.12% several times a week, 7.51% weekly and 5.89% monthly. The option “more seldom” was chosen by 16.19%.
- More than half the respondents make daily use of newspapers (91.76%), television (80.69%), radio (71.3%), music (70.66%) and computer software (50%); over 40% make daily use of Finnish-language books (43.32%) and e-mail (40.98%).
- The Finnish-language media which were most often reported as being used several times a week included films (18.6%), text messages (18.29%), books (18.1%), internet content (17.03%), computer software (14.55%), e-mail (14.37%) and music (13.17%).
- The Finnish-language media which were most often reported as being used weekly were films (21.34%), text messages (13.11%), books (9.79%), internet content (8.67%) and e-mails (7.95%).

- The Finnish-language media which were most often reported as being used monthly included theatre (15.45%), books (13.06%), concerts (10.49%), films (8.54%) and text messages (6.71%).

A comparison of Karelian Finn respondents' patterns of media consumption in Karelian and in Finnish shows that

- While only interactive games (2.78%), blogging (2.1%) and computer software (0.69%) were reported as unavailable in Finnish, all the various types of Karelian-language media were all reported as unavailable by between 10% and 30% of the respondents. Since the supply of Karelian-language media and cultural products is limited (for details, see Sections 2.2.3 and 2.4.3), these results should not be interpreted as necessarily indicating lack of interest.
- In Karelian as well as in Finnish, traditional media are favoured over electronic media.
- Those types of media which are most consumed in Karelian, i.e. newspapers, music and books, are also among the media which are used most in Finnish.
- While the rate of Finnish-language media consumption is close to 100% for the most popular types (television, newspapers, music, radio, books and films), the highest rate for Karelian-language media consumption is 40 percentage points lower for traditional media and even lower for electronic media. Again, the scarcity of Karelian media has to be taken account when interpreting these results. By no means do these figures unequivocally reflect the demand for Karelian-language media: most probably they reflect the shortage of supply.
- Finnish-language media are consumed frequently and regularly but Karelian-language media only occasionally.
- The interview data show that many Karelian Finns wish they had the opportunity to watch regular Karelian-language news broadcasts on television or listen to them on the radio. Several interviewees also said that one of the most effective ways of reviving and maintaining Karelian in Finland would be to make it visible and heard, especially on the television. The focus group of 30 to 49-year-old women became so excited about the possibility of making Karelian known to people via television that they jointly created the narrative framework for a Karelian Finnish TV-series to be called *Čomat da uruat* ('the bold and the beautiful') – a soap opera faithful throughout to the best traditions of the genre: *druamua. siinä olisi kylliči druamua. kylliči ja piälliči. nii karjalani, saippuasarja. 'drama. There would be enough drama there. Enough and even more. So Karelian, a soap opera.'*

The results for the Karelian Finn respondents' English-language media consumption are presented in Figure 93:

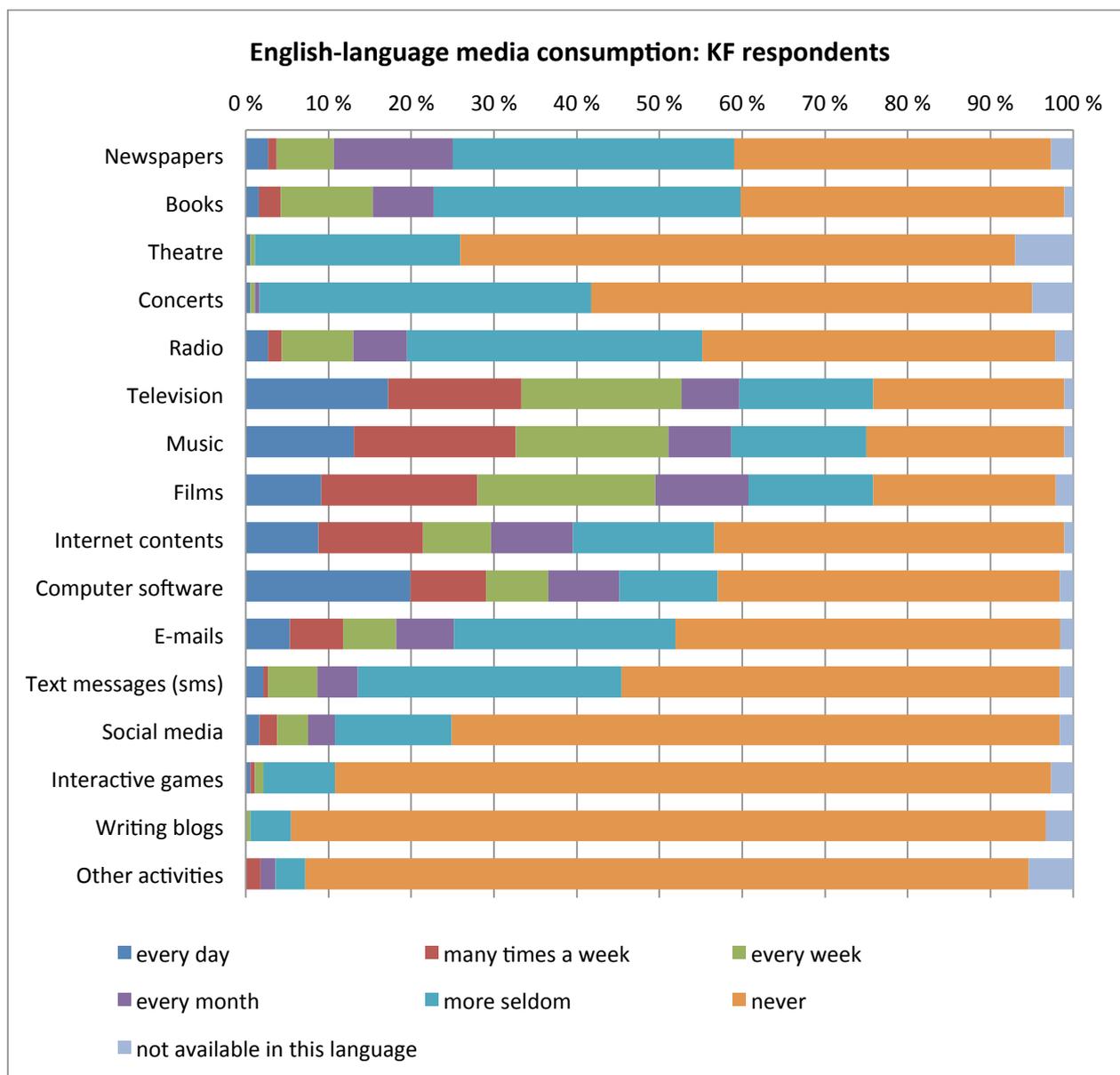


Figure 93. English-language media consumption: KF respondents

The main results are the following:

- Averaged for all categories, 50% of Karelian Finn respondents reported never using English-language media. The share of non-users is thus very close to the 55% of those who reported never using Karelian-language media. However, it should be stressed that almost half the Karelian Finn respondents did not answer this question at all, compared with only 20% for Karelian. Thus, in reality Karelian-language media are used by a much greater number of the respondents than English-language media.
- Those who do use English-language media, rated their availability as nearly as good as that of Finnish-language media and considerably better than that of Karelian-language media. Unavailability rates were low and ranged between 7.3% for theatre and 1.08% for television.

- The media which the Karelian Finn respondents use most commonly in English are television, films and music, followed by books, newspapers, computer software, internet content and e-mail. 75% of those who answered the question watch television and films and listen to English-language music at least sometimes. Close to 60% read newspapers and books in English regularly or at least sometimes, and a good 50% listen to the radio, use internet content and computer software and write and/or receive e-mail. Again, these figures, which superficially appear higher than the corresponding rates for using Karelian-language media, should not be directly compared with the latter: for instance, 75% of the 188 people who answered the question concerning reading newspapers in English makes 141 people, and 60% of the 310 people who answered the question on reading newspapers in Karelian makes 186 people.
- As one might expect from the results concerning Finnish and Karelian, most of the Karelian Finn respondents never write blogs, play internet games or use social media in English either.
- Slightly more of those who use English-language media do so regularly than irregularly: where an average of 24.7% chose the option “more seldom”, 24.7% on average reported using them daily (5.36% on average), several times a week (6.13% on average), weekly (7.5% on average) or monthly (5.26% on average).

In addition to Karelian, Finnish and English, some Karelian respondents reported on their media consumption in Swedish, German, Russian and some other languages. In the open-ended part of Q62C, Swedish-language media and culture were mentioned most often; some respondents reported reading Swedish-language newspapers and watching Swedish-language television weekly. Media consumption in Swedish was irregular. Other languages that were mentioned in the open-ended part of the question were German, Russian, Spanish, Estonian, Sámi and Greek. Media consumption in foreign languages was mostly regular: no respondent was using such media or cultural products daily but many were doing so weekly or monthly.

The media consumption of the CG respondents was mapped by question Q47. As was the case with the Karelian Finn respondents, the proportion of those who did not answer the question at all was very high for English and “other” foreign languages:

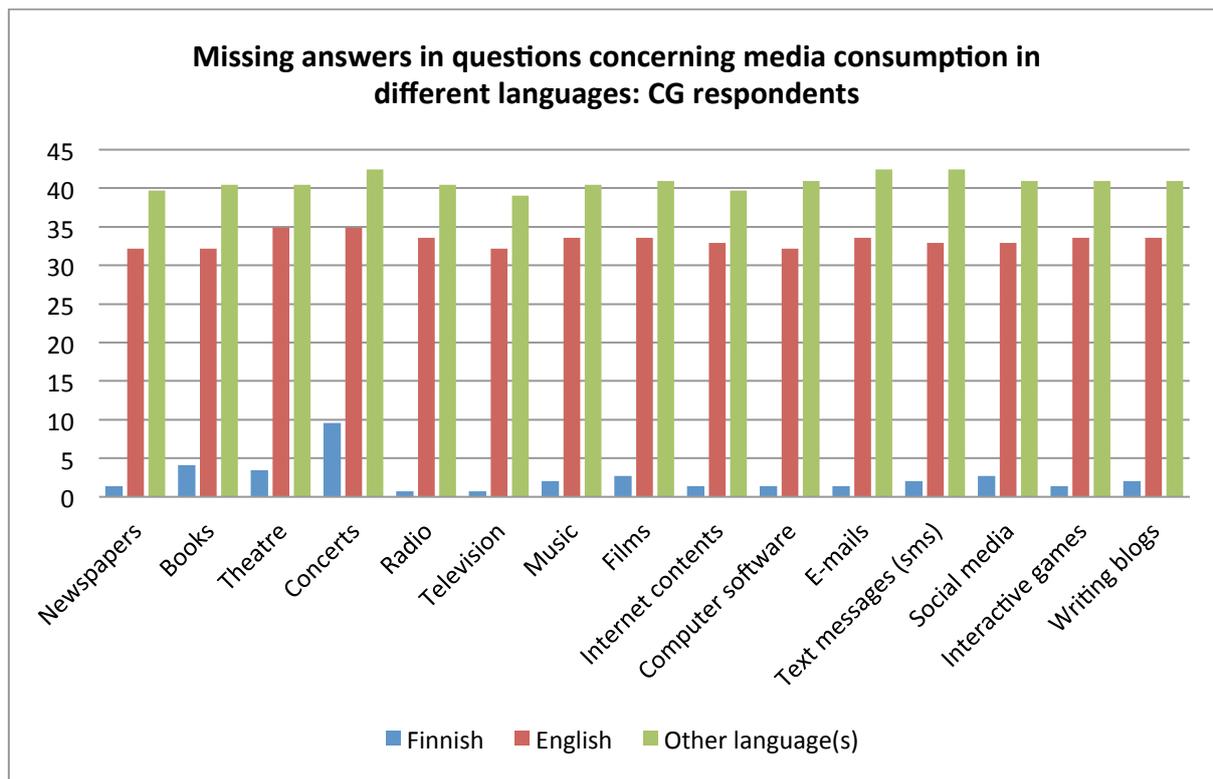


Figure 94. Missing answers in questions concerning media consumption in different languages: CG respondents

Question Q47A asked the respondents to report on their Finnish-language media consumption. The results are shown in Figure 95:

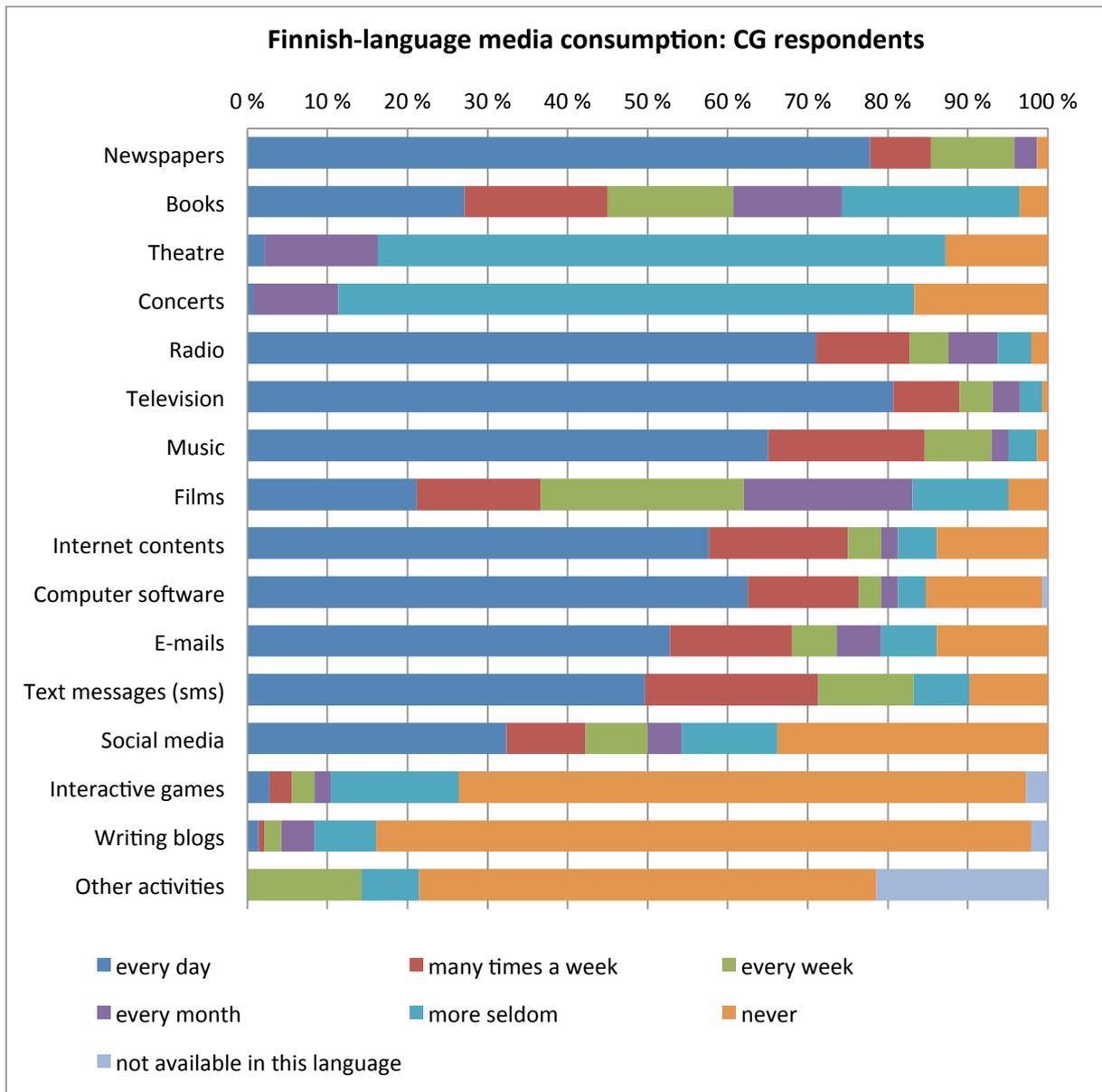


Figure 95. Finnish-language media consumption: CG respondents

The results reveal similarities to Finnish-language media consumption by the Karelian Finn respondents but there are also differences:

- On average, the CG respondents reported using Finnish-language media slightly more often (77%) than the Karelian Finn respondents did (73%); correspondingly, slightly more Karelian Finns (25.82%) than CG respondents (21.2%) reported never using Finnish-language media.
- The proportion of those who reported the unavailability of media was much the same for each group: 1.68% for the CG respondents and 1.39% for the Karelian Finn respondents.
- The same traditional media appear to be used most by both groups, over 90% of whom consume Finnish-language newspapers, books, radio, television, music and

films. Over 90% of the Karelian Finns go to Finnish-language theatre at least occasionally, compared with 87.23% of the CG respondents; Karelian Finns also go to concerts a little more often (87.65%) than the CG respondents (83.34%). The last two results may reflect the different age-distributions of the two groups, in that the theatre and concerts tend to be favoured by the old rather than the young.

- Like the Karelian Finns, the CG respondents' consumption of traditional Finnish-language media is greater than that of electronic media, but the difference is much smaller in the CG data: 94.6% of the CG respondents use traditional media and 59.6% use electronic media compared with 97% and 51% respectively of the Karelian Finn respondents; thus, the difference between the average consumption rates is 39 percentage points in the CG data and 46 percentage points in the Karelian Finn data.
- Similarly to the Karelian Finns, particularly high proportions of the CG respondents never write blogs (81.82%) or play interactive games (70.83%).
- The CG respondents use Finnish social media significantly more often (66.2%) than the Karelian Finns (37.69%).
- Both groups consume Finnish-language media on a regular basis. On average, 61.33% of the CG respondents use them regularly: 37.8% daily, 10.13% several times a week, 7.51% weekly and 5.89% monthly; 15.77% chose the option "more seldom". These patterns are fairly similar to those reported by the Karelian Finns, 37.2% of whom use Finnish-language media daily, 8.78% several times a week, 5.8% weekly and 4.75% monthly.
- More than half the CG respondents make daily use of Finnish-language television (80.69%), newspapers (77.78%), radio (71.03%), music (65.03%), computer software (62.5%), internet content (57.64%) and e-mail (52.78%). Almost half the CG respondents (49.65%) send or receive text messages daily.
- The CG results are identical to those in the Karelian Finn data with respect to the daily use of television and the radio. For the daily use of other media in Finnish there are interesting differences. Most notably, more of the Karelian Finns read Finnish newspapers on a daily basis (91.76%) than the CG (80.69%). Also, more of them seem to listen to Finnish music every day (70.66%) than the CG (65.03%). Another interesting difference is that while only 27.14% of the CG respondents reported reading Finnish-language books every day, 43.32% of the Karelian Finn respondents did so.
- The media which the CG respondents reported using several times a week were most often text messages (21.68%), music (19.58%), books (17.89%), internet content (17.36%), films (15.49%), e-mail (15.28%), computer software (13.89%), radio (11.72%) and social media (9.86%). These are similar to the frequencies reported by the Karelian Finn respondents.

- The media which the CG respondents use most often every week were films (25.35%), books (15.71%), newspapers (10.42%) and text messages (11.89%). These are also similar to the frequencies reported by the Karelian Finn respondents..
- The media which the CG respondents reported using every month most often were films (21.3%), theatre (14.18%), books (13.57%) and concerts (10.61%). A comparison with the Karelian Finn data suggests that the monthly use of Finnish-language books, theatre and concerts is similar for each group, but that the figure for films is much higher for the CG respondents (21.3%) than for the Karelian Finns (8.54%). Another major difference is that while 6.71% of the Karelian Finn respondents use text messages once a month, none of the CG respondents do so.

The results for the CG respondents' English-language media consumption are shown in Figure 96:

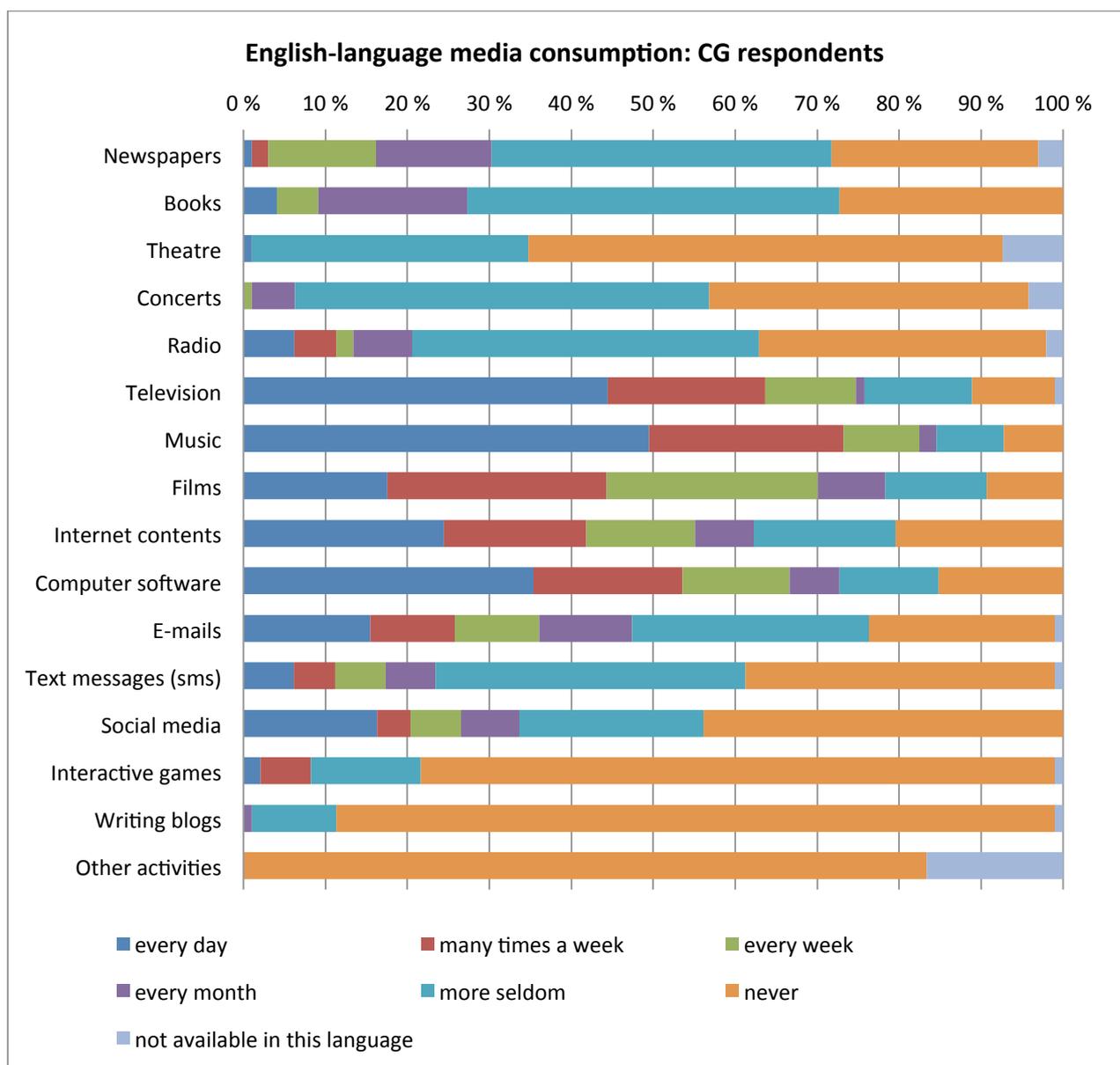


Figure 96. English-language media consumption: CG respondents

The main results can be summarised as follows:

- On average 60.14% of the CG respondents use English-language media at least to some extent, which is about 10 percentage points more than the figure for Karelian Finn respondents.
- The average perception of the unavailability of English-language media (2.4%) was much the same as for the Karelian Finn respondents (2.56%). Yet, there were clear differences between what was reported as unavailable: none of the CG respondents reported that English-language books, music, films, internet contents and computer software and the social media were unavailable, whereas all the specified types of media were reported as unavailable by some of the Karelian Finn respondents.
- The CG respondents consume English-language media to a considerably greater extent than the Karelian Finn respondents. To give just a few examples, over 90% of the CG respondents listen to music (92.72%) and watch films (90.72%) in English; almost as many watch English-language television programs (88.88%) and use English-language computer software (84.84%). 76.29% send or receive e-mail written in English, 72.72% read books and 71.71% read newspapers, 62.89% listen to English-language radio, 61.22% use English in text messaging and 56.84% go to English-language concerts. The explanation for this is undoubtedly the age-bias of the Karelian Finn sample.
- The CG respondents also use English-language media more regularly: on average, 35.81% of them reported regular use: 13.97% daily, 8.63% several times a week, 7.27% weekly and 5.93% monthly. 24.33% chose the option “more seldom”, which was the same proportion as for Karelian Finns. The proportion of regular CG users, however, was 11 percentage points higher than that of the Karelian Finns, the main difference between the groups being that twice as many CG respondents reported using English media on a daily basis as Karelian Finn respondents.

4.3.4.2 Active text production in different languages

Question Q63 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire asked about the respondents’ active use of Karelian, Finnish and English in seven predefined situations: writing letters, writing a diary, writing texts and poems, writing songs, performing songs, reciting poetry and performing theatre. They were also given the opportunity of adding a situation of their own choice.

As Figure 97 shows, the rates of missing answers were extremely high in questions concerning the use of English:

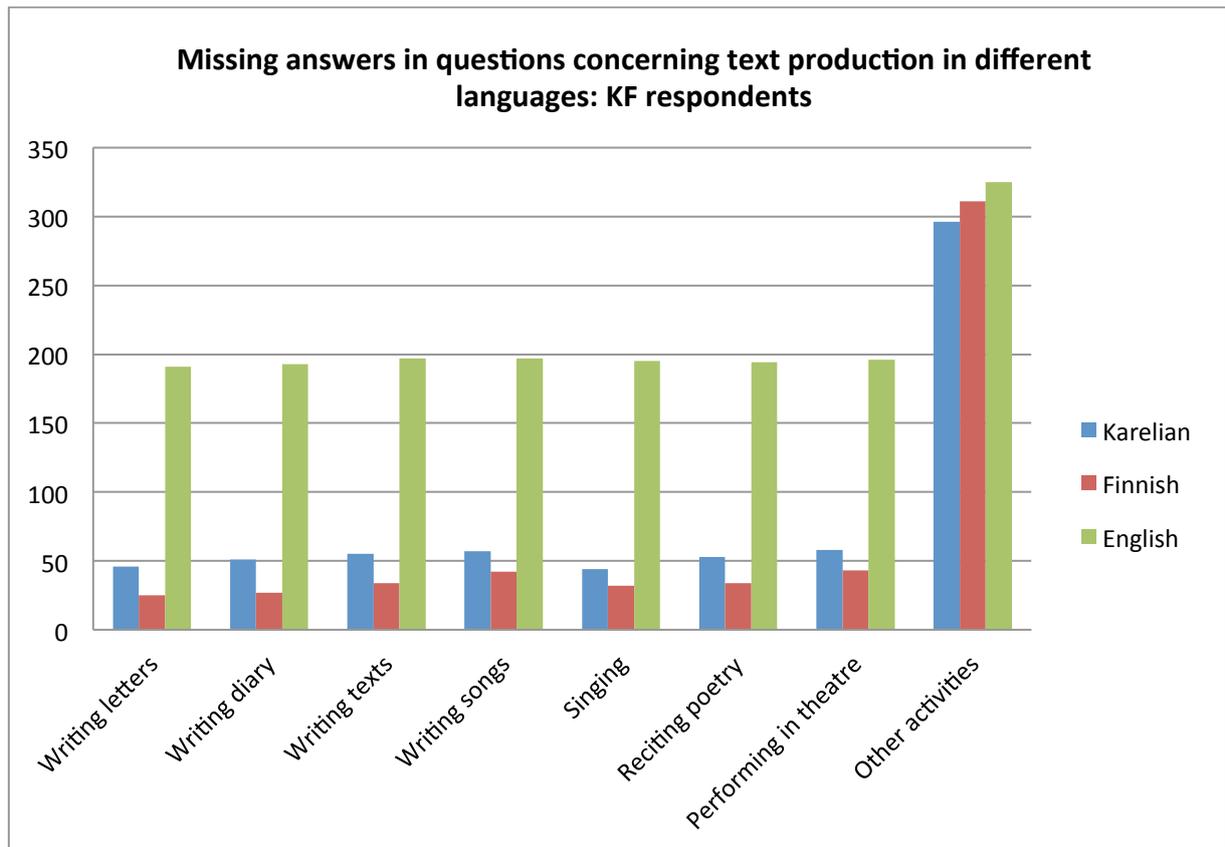


Figure 97. Missing answers in questions concerning text production in different languages: KF respondents

Averaging the responses for all categories, 82 (23%) of the 356 Karelian Finn respondents did not answer a question concerning the use of Karelian, 68 (19.1%) did not answer a question concerning the use of Finnish, and 211 (59.2%) did not answer a question concerning the use of English. Also note that very few respondents took the opportunity to add a situation of their own choice. The high numbers of missing answers in the questions concerning English constitute a problem for the analysis of the results; I shall return to this further below.

The results concerning the respondents' text production in Karelian are shown in Figure 98:

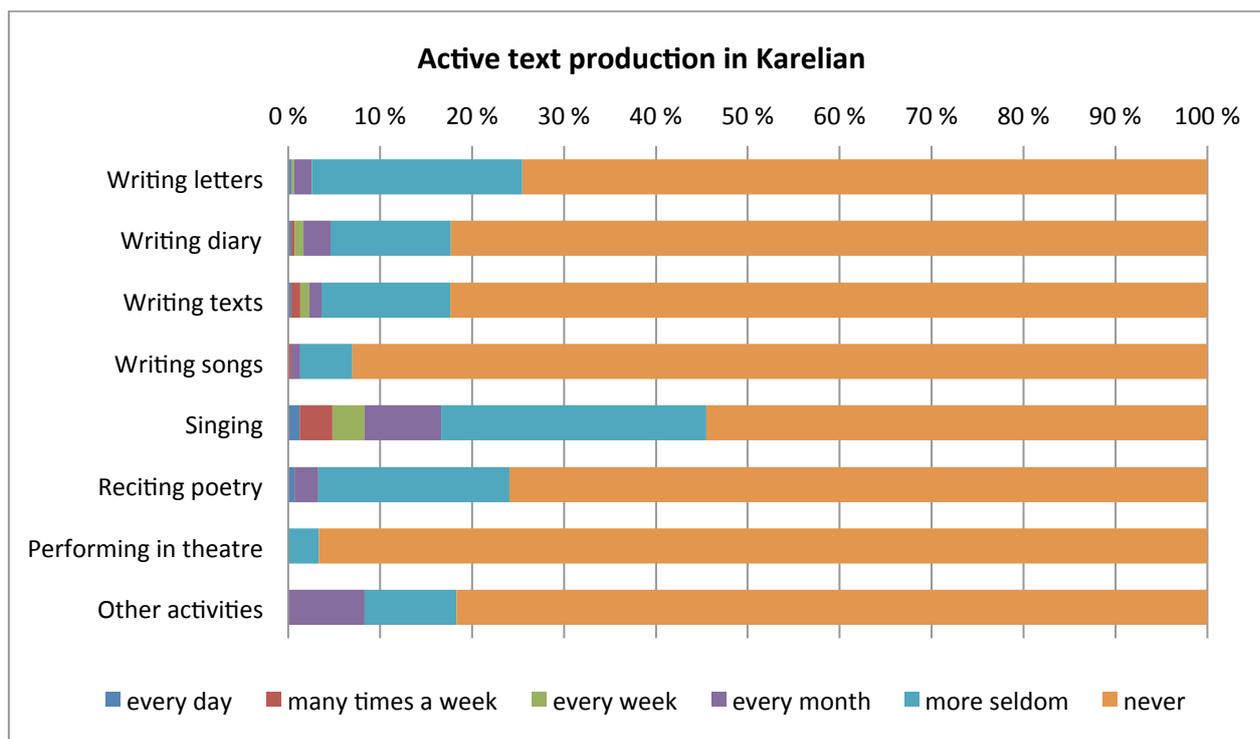


Figure 98. Active text production in Karelian

The main results can be summarized as follows:

Most of the respondents do not write in Karelian: Averaging the responses in all categories, 80.11% of the respondents never write in Karelian and those who do (19.88%) who do write most often write letters (25.48%), a diary (17.7%) or texts and poems (17.6%). 7% write songs in Karelian.

Writing in Karelian is something that most respondents do irregularly: Averaging the responses in all categories, 13.9% of the respondents chose the option “more seldom” and only 3% write daily (0.24%), several times a week (0.41%), weekly (0.57%) or monthly (1.8%).

The most common activity by far is singing and a quarter of the respondents recite poetry in Karelian. 45.52% of the Karelian Finn respondents sing in Karelian at least sometimes: 28.85% irregularly, 8.33% every month, 3.53% every week, 3.53% several times a week, and 1.28% every day. A quarter of the respondents (24.09%) recite poetry in Karelian at least sometimes: 20.79% irregularly, 2.64% monthly and 0.66% every day.

Very few act in plays. 3.36% of the respondents sometimes perform on stage in Karelian. 18.33% of the respondents reported using Karelian in an “other activity”, 10% “more seldom” and 8.33% monthly. These “other activities” included “studying Karelian in language courses”, “at the university”, “collecting Karelian folklore”, “teaching in Karelian”, and “writing stories and booklets in Karelian”.

The results for the Karelian Finn respondents’ active text production in Finnish are shown in Figure 99:

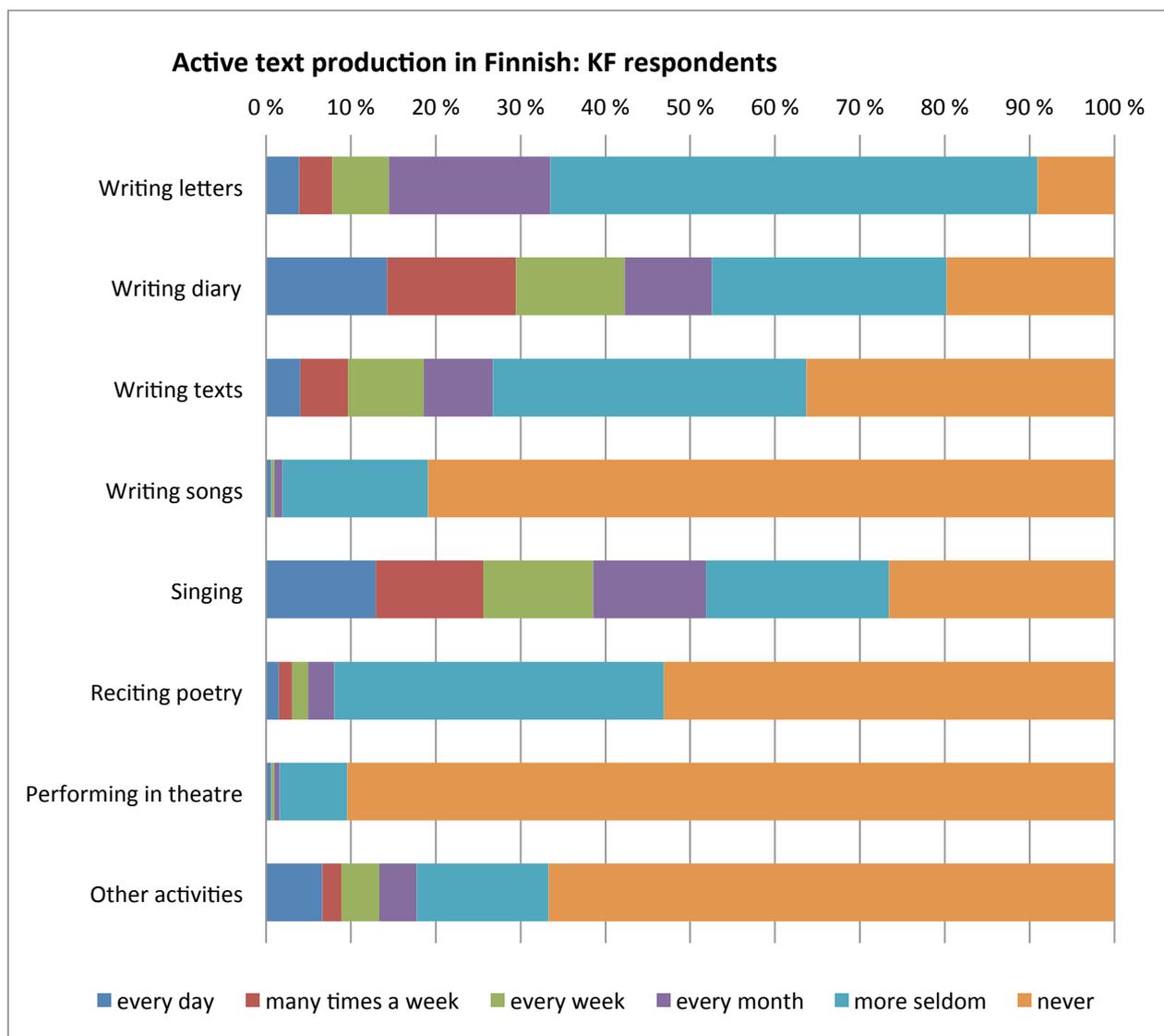


Figure 99. Active text production in Finnish: KF respondents

The results for text production in Finnish show both similarities to and differences from the patterns of text production in Karelian:

The Karelian Finn respondents write and perform considerably more in Finnish than in Karelian: Averaging the responses in all categories, 52.15% write and perform in Finnish, while 47.84% do not, compared with 19.88% and 80.11% respectively for Karelian.

The preference for writing in Finnish is clear: 57.4% of the respondents write letters in Finnish, 25.48% in Karelian; 36.96% write texts and poems, 17.6% in Karelian, and 27.66% write a diary in Finnish, 17.7% in Karelian. 17.2% write songs in Finnish, 7% in Karelian.

Roughly half write and perform in Finnish regularly and half irregularly. Of the 52.14% who use Finnish in the investigated activities, slightly more reported doing so on irregularly: 27.89% chose the option “more seldom”, while 24.25% reported using Finnish daily (5.59%), several times a week (5.14%), weekly (6.04%) or monthly (7.48%).

Finnish is most often used for writing letters. While singing was shown to be the most common way of using Karelian, Finnish is most often used for writing letters (90.94%) diaries (80.25%) and singing. 73.44% of the respondents sing in Finnish at least sometimes and over 50% of them do so regularly. Thus, Karelian Finns sing gladly but more often in Finnish than in Karelian.

The Karelian Finn respondents sing regularly in Finnish but irregularly in Karelian. Singing in Finnish is something 51.84% of the Karelian-Finn respondents do regularly: 12.96% daily, 12.65% several times a week, 12.96% weekly and 13.27% every month. Singing in Karelian was reported as being a rather more irregular activity: 28.85% of the respondents reported singing in Karelian irregularly and 16.67% regularly.

The Karelian Finn respondents also recite poetry and perform on stage more often in Finnish than in Karelian. While a quarter of the Karelian Finn respondents sometimes recite poetry in Karelian, almost half them (46.89%) recite poetry in Finnish at least occasionally. 38.82% do so irregularly and 8.07% regularly: 1.55% daily, 1.55% several times a week, 1.86% weekly and 3.11% every month. 9.59% perform on stage in Finnish at least sometimes, which is about three times as many as those who do this in Karelian. Most of them clearly perform as a hobby: 7.99% do so “more seldom” and 1.6% daily (0.64%), weekly (0.32%) or monthly (0.64%).

The use of Finnish in an “other activity” was reported twice as often as was Karelian. 33.33% of the respondents use Finnish actively in an “other activity”, 17.77% regularly and 15.56% irregularly. “Other activities” included “studying”, “writing books” and “reading and/or writing stories in Finnish”.

The third part of question Q63 asked about the respondents’ active text production in English. The results are shown in Figure 100:

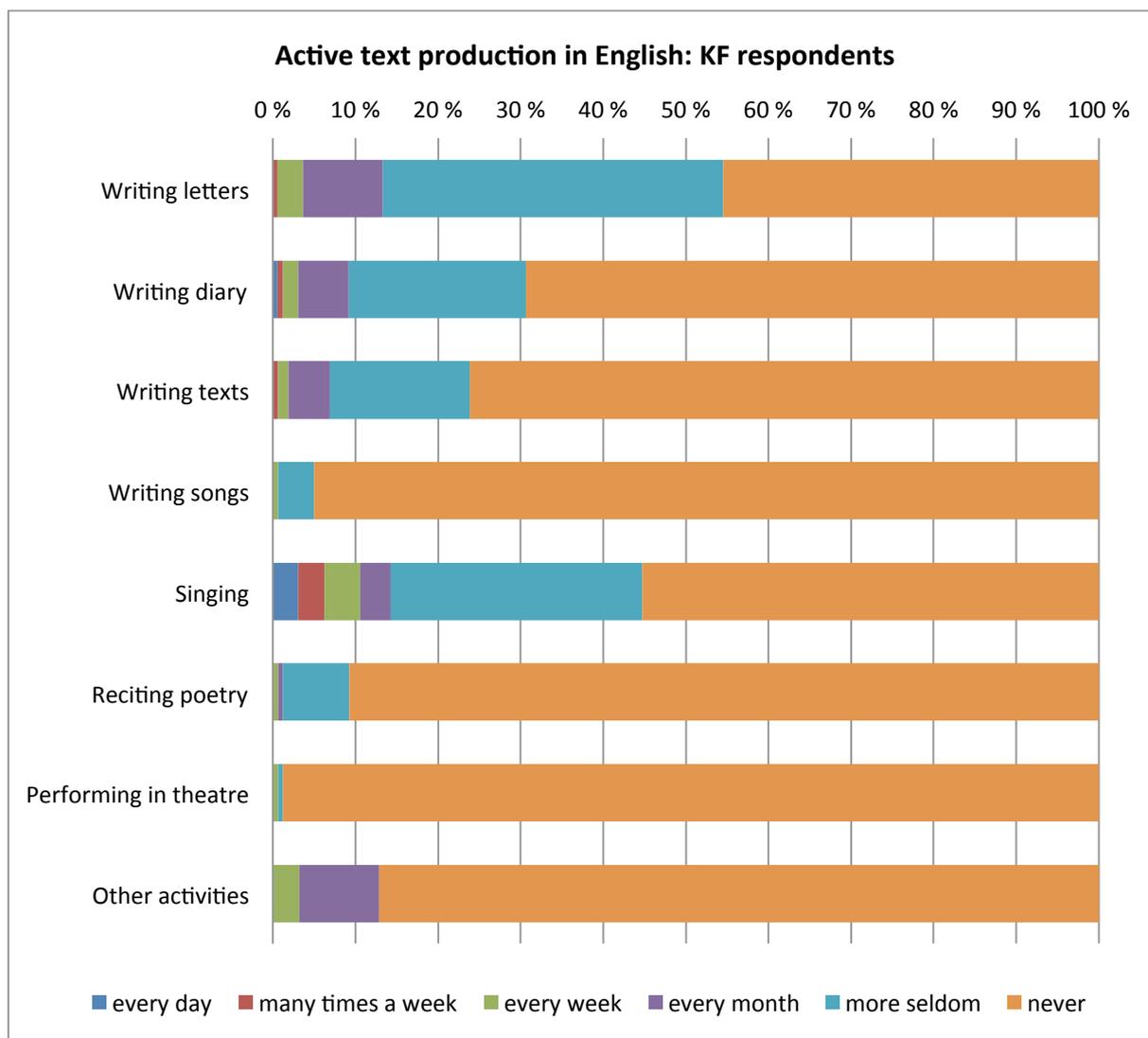


Figure 100. Active text production in English: KF respondents

The results English cannot be compared with those for Karelian or Finnish. As mentioned at the beginning of this Section, the very high numbers of missing answers in this part of the question constitute a problem. The relative figures in the statistics are always based on the number of all those who actually answered the question. Thus, Figure 100 shows, for instance, that 59.03% of the Karelian Finn respondents who answered the question sing in English. This figure cannot, however, be simply compared with that for singing in Karelian, which was 45.52%, nor can one draw the conclusion that Karelian Finn respondents sing more in English than they do in Karelian. In reality, many more Karelian Finns sing in Karelian: the figure for singing in English is based on the responses of 161 respondents while the figure for Karelian is based on those of 312 and thus of the total number of Karelian Finn respondents, 356, 72 reported singing in English and 142 singing in Karelian.

In other words, the data does not allow for a direct comparison of the results for the use of English with those for the use of Karelian or Finnish. In sum, it can only be stated that those Karelian Finn respondents who reported on their active text production in English do so as follows:

The Karelian Finnish respondents who responded to this question do not use English very much for producing or performing texts: Averaging the responses for all categories, 77.2% reported never using in English in the investigated activities, 22.78% reported doing so to some extent.

Writing and performing in English are occasional activities: 22.78% of the respondents reported using English at least sometimes: 15.39% reported doing so occasionally and only 7.39% regularly. 4.36% reported using English every month, 1.94% weekly, 0.62% several times a week and 0.46% every day. This suggests that even those who use English regularly do so rather seldom.

English is most often used in writing letters (67.89%), singing (59.03%) and writing a diary (39.85%). The most common activities turned out to be the same three as for Karelian and Finnish, although Karelian was most used in singing (45.52%), secondly in writing letters (25.48%) and thirdly in writing a diary (17.7%). Finnish is most used in writing letters (90.94%), secondly in writing a diary (80.25%) and thirdly in singing (73.44%).

Finally, Figure 101 gives an overview of the extent to which the Karelian Finn respondents reported using Karelian, Finnish and English in the specified activities:

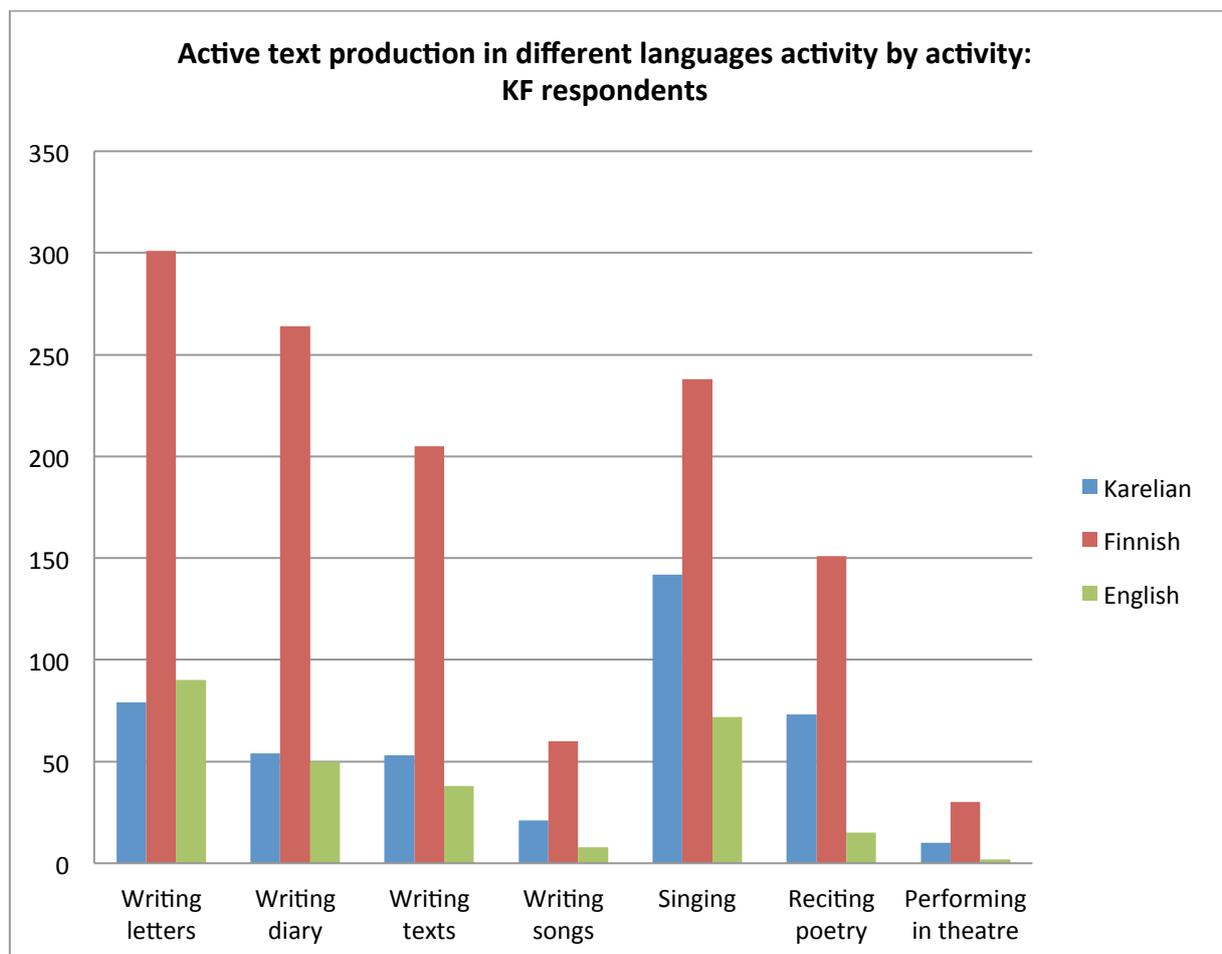


Figure 101. Active text production in different languages activity by activity: KF respondents

Unlike the stacked bar figures, Figure 101 is based not on the relative but on the absolute frequencies of all positive answers. The “never”-answers have been omitted. When presented this way, the results for the use of Karelian, Finnish and English can be compared with each other: “this number of respondents out of 356 reported using Karelian/Finnish/English at least to some extent when engaged in the activity at issue”. The figure makes it very clear that whichever of the specified activities they are doing, most of the Karelian Finn respondents primarily use Finnish, although Karelian and English are also used to varying degrees. Except for writing letters, Karelian is used by more respondents than English is.

4.3.5 Language learning and education

4.3.5.1 The role of formal and informal learning in acquiring Karelian and Finnish

Questions Q8 and Q9 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire sought to map where and from whom the Karelian Finn respondents learned Karelian and Finnish. The questions were open-ended which meant that there was a great deal of variation in the formulation of the answers. Analysis of the results revealed eight patterns:

- 1 Both languages were learned at home.
- 2 Karelian was learned at home, Finnish at school.
- 3 Karelian was learned at home, Finnish in a natural way outside the home.
- 4 Karelian was learned at home, some Finnish at home and more at school.
- 5 Finnish was learned at home, Karelian at home and at school.
- 6 Finnish was learned at home, Karelian at school.
- 7 Finnish was learned at home, Karelian via self-study.
- 8 Finnish was learned at home, Karelian has not been learned at all.

The distribution of the patterns in the survey data is presented in Figure 102:

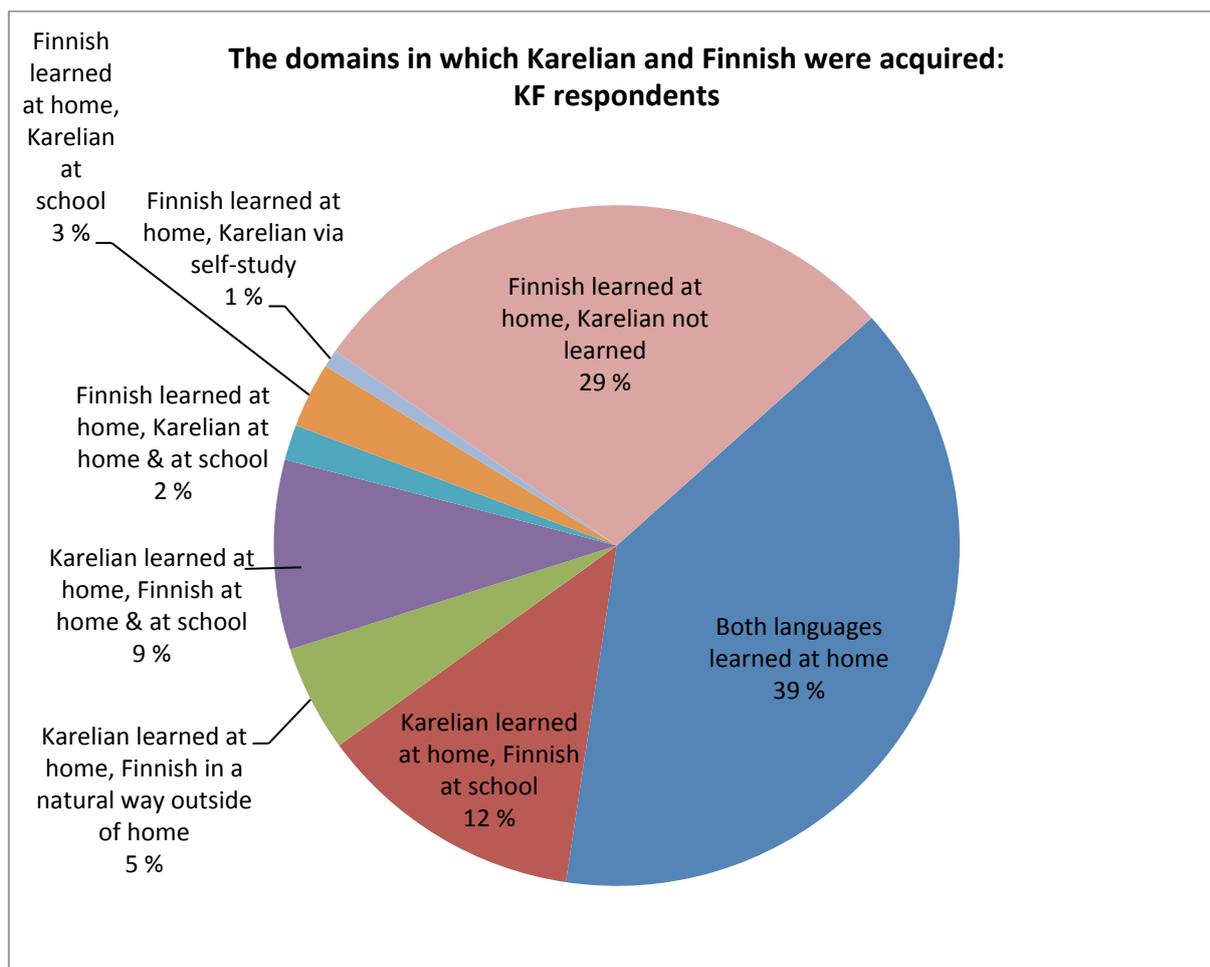


Figure 102. The domains in which Karelian and Finnish were acquired: KF respondents

Less than a third of the Karelian Finn respondents reported not having learned Karelian at all. As the figure shows, the second commonest pattern with the frequency of 28.65% is clearly that the respondent learned Finnish at home and has not learned Karelian anywhere.

Those who know Karelian have most often learned both Karelian and Finnish at home. 54.71% of those respondents who had learned Karelian had learned both Karelian and Finnish at home. It is important to note that many of the respondents wrote that they had learned Finnish from their parents but Karelian from their grandparents. Interestingly, several people mentioned their in-laws as the main source of their Karelian skills.

Almost a fifth of the respondents had learned Karelian at home and Finnish only after starting school. 17.71% of those who had learned Karelian learned Finnish only after going to school: *školašpäi 7-vuodizena* 'at school when I was seven years old'.

More than one in ten respondents had learned Karelian at home, some Finnish at home and more Finnish at school. Such respondents constituted 12.61% of all those who reported having learned Karelian. They wrote that they had learned "Karelian at home" and "some Finnish from the neighbours" or "Karelian at home" and "Finnish at school and from the Finnish children" (*školašpäi da Suomen lapsil*). Some mentioned that they learned "proper

Finnish” only at school. Many referred to the absolute necessity of learning Finnish: *evakossa pakon sanelemana* ‘when forced to do so as evacuees’.

Less than one tenth reported having learned Karelian at home and Finnish in a natural way outside the home. 7.07% of the respondents who reported having learned Karelian wrote that they had learned Karelian at home and Finnish outside home but did not mention having learned it at school. Many of such respondents wrote “I do not remember how I learned Finnish” and a couple stated “I am Finnish”, but the majority of the respondents just wrote *itsestään* ‘as a matter of course’, “after the war” or “in place X”.

Less than one out of twenty reported having learned Finnish at home but Karelian at school. These 4.34% of the respondents form a somewhat surprising group, given that with the exception of a couple of years in the 1990s when Karelian was taught as a voluntary subject in Nurmes, it has not been possible to learn Karelian at school in Finland. In the Karelian Republic, too, there has been Karelian teaching in schools only since the 1990s, and only locally. In the Karelian Finn survey data, the respondents who presented this pattern of learning Karelian and Finnish all belonged to the oldest age group and wrote that they had started school in Viena Karelia before World War II, when the schools there had Finnish as the language of instruction; they had learned Karelian at school from their Karelian-speaking class mates.

A few respondents reported having learned Finnish and Karelian at home and Karelian also at school. The 2.35% of the Karelian Finn respondents who belong to this group wrote that they had supplemented their Karelian skills by means of language courses and two mentioned the courses taught in Valamo.

A couple of respondents reported having learned Finnish at home and Karelian via self-study. The 1.13% of the respondents who have been classified in this group wrote that they had learned Karelian “as a tourist and from the papers, e.g. Heimosanomat, and from books” and “from different people when working in the tourism business” or just simply: *ičeopastundal* ‘by self-study’.

4.3.5.2 The language of teaching

Questions Q25, Q26 and Q27 in the Karelian Finn questionnaire mapped the respondents’ experiences with language use at school. Questions Q25 and Q26 asked about the medium of instruction in general: the respondents were told explicitly in the beginning of this questionnaire section that these questions do not concern language classes but the language in which they had been taught other subjects.

Question Q25 aimed at finding out whether there had been only one language of instruction or several. The question was formulated as a statement (‘I was taught in one language only’), and two fixed options were given: ‘Yes’ and ‘I was taught in several languages’. Those who chose the first option were requested to specify the language. Question Q25 was answered by 341 respondents; this response rate was one of the highest in the whole Karelian Finnish

survey. As Figure 103 shows, nearly all had been taught in one language only and only 3.81% had had teaching in more than one language:

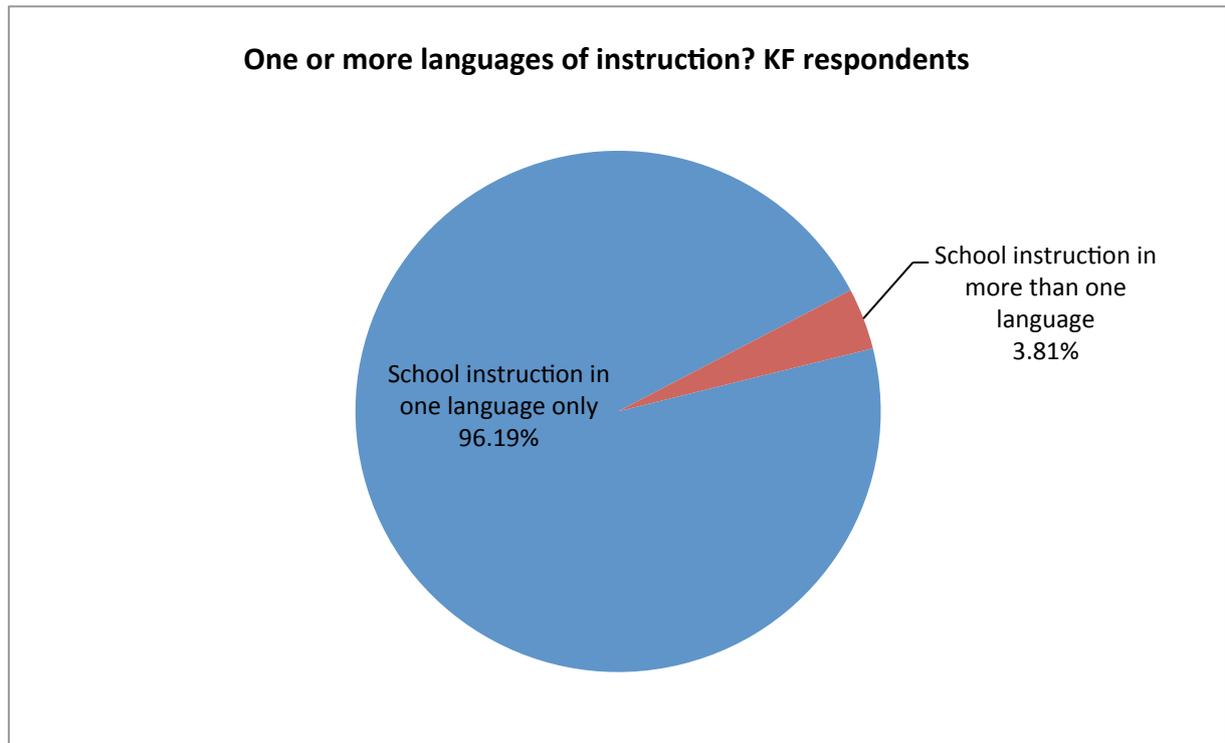


Figure 103. One or more languages of instruction? KF respondents

339 respondents gave Finnish as the only language in which they had been taught at school, three respondents reported having been taught only in Karelian (0.88%), eight only in Swedish (2.35%) and five (1.47%) only in English.

Those respondents who had been taught in only one language were asked to proceed to question Q27, while those who had been taught in more than one language were asked to specify in question Q26 the language(s) in which they had been taught in pre-school, primary school and secondary school. The questionnaire gave two fixed options, Karelian and Finnish, and the respondents could add one or two other languages.

The results showed that only a few respondents had ever been taught in Karelian; rather more had been taught in a language other than Finnish. Two respondents (0.56%) had had Karelian as the language of teaching in pre-school, seven (1.97%) in primary school and four (1.12%) in secondary school. 15 respondents reported having been taught in a language other than Karelian or Finnish.

V The ELDIA Language Vitality Barometer for Karelian in Finland

This chapter presents and discusses briefly a graphic illustration of the language vitality barometer for Karelian in Finland. The illustration is the product of years of teamwork within the ELDIA research project. The work was initiated in 2010 by Jarmo Lainio, who was responsible for planning the ELDIA data sampling and created the basic structure of the survey questionnaires. The illustration in its present form was first drafted by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, the content structure of the barometer is based on the ELDIA data analysis design developed by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt. Katharina Zeller made a major contribution to the graphic design. In the course of the ELDIA project, many other researchers have participated in the discussion and contributed to the contents and the design of the barometer as well.

Since the Language Vitality Barometer for Karelian in Finland is part of the European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar), which is the joint intellectual property of the ELDIA consortium, the radar chart presented in Figure 103 must not be used without making reference to ELDIA.

Figure 104 illustrates the vitality of Karelian in terms of Capacity, Opportunity, Desire, and Language Products; the length of the lines and the numbers indicate the vitality scores, the colour scheme under the radar chart shows which slice refers to which dimension, and the shades of the colours indicate the degree of vitality: the darker the shade, the more severely endangered the language:

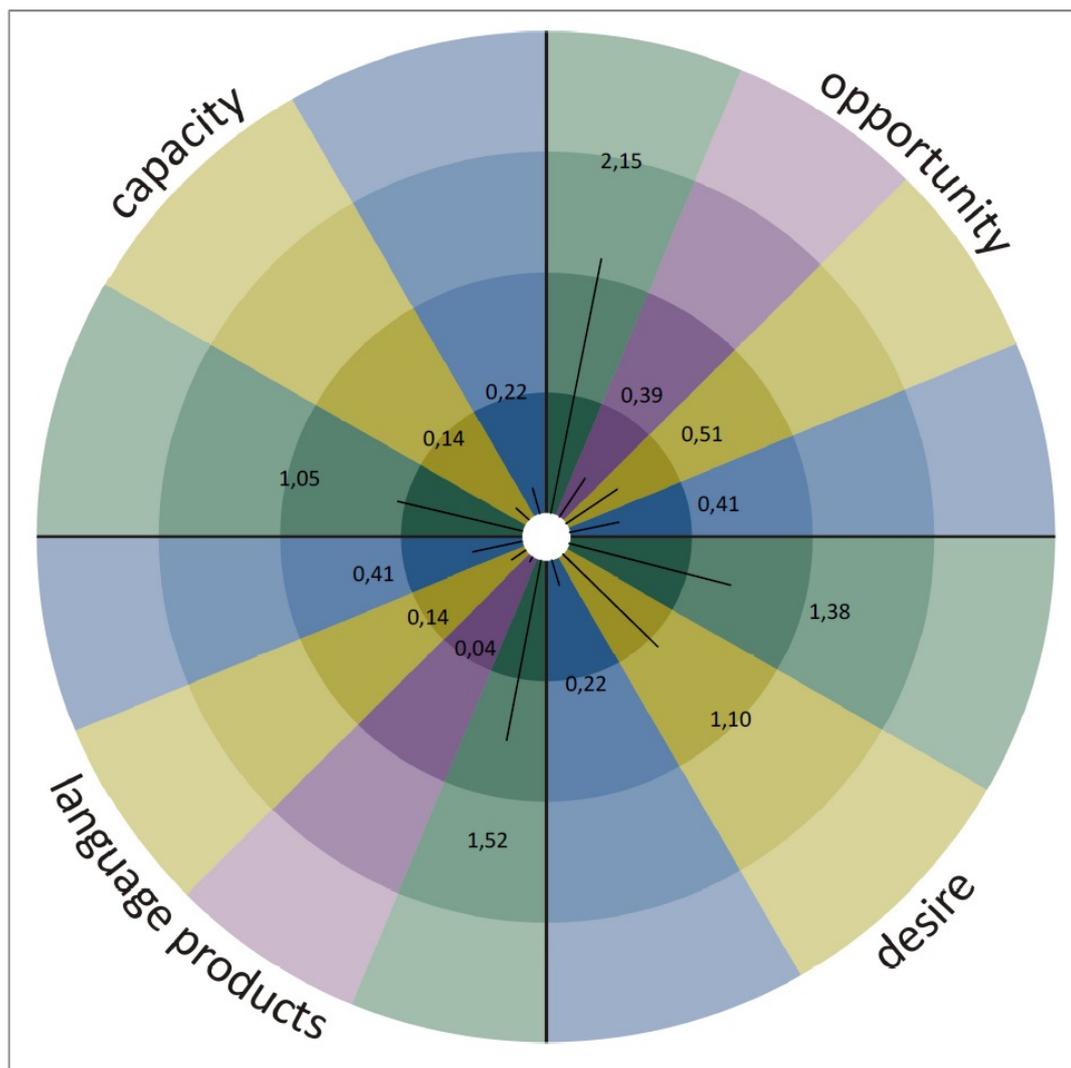
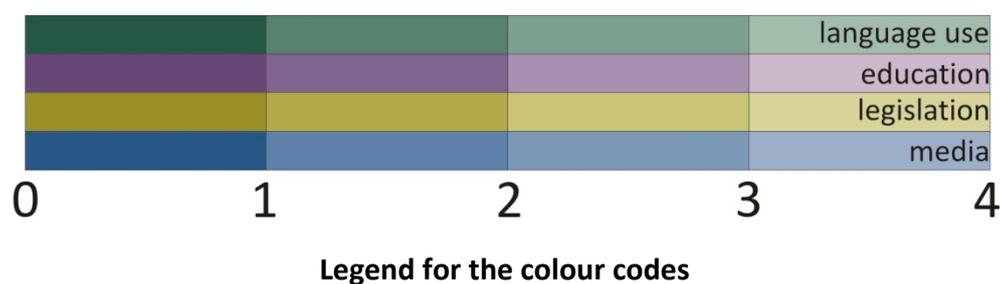


Figure 104. The ELDIA Language Vitality Barometer for Karelian in Finland



The grades of language vitality indicated by the colour scheme are defined as follows:

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 to support and promote the language in its maintenance and revitalization 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 Figure 104 shows, the language vitality barometer comprises four levels. The first consists of four focus areas, Capacity, Opportunity, Desire and Language Products; in the illustration these are indicated by the black lines which divide the circle into four parts. The second level comprises four dimensions, Language Use & Interaction, Education, Legislation and Media, which are shown as slices within each focus area. The third and the fourth level components of the barometer are not overtly visible in the illustration but underlie the lines and figures which indicate the strength of Karelian in each dimension. In calculating the Language

Vitality Barometer for a given language, the dimensions have been analyzed using carefully constructed sets of variables (level 3). Each variable has been split into variants (level 4). The calculation of the EuLaViBar scores is based on an operationalization system which grades the language-maintaining effects of the various types of answers which the respondents have given in a particular survey question. As mentioned in Section 3.6, the scoring procedure is explained in detail in the final products of the entire ELDIA project, i.e. the Comparative Report (Laakso, Sarhimaa, Spiliopoulou Åkermark and Toivanen 2013) and the EuLaViBar toolkit.⁷¹

The main purpose of Figure 104 is to identify those areas where Karelian in Finland needs particular attention and support and thus aid decision-makers in directing financial and political support appropriately and Karelian Finns in understanding the risks their language is currently facing. In what follows, I shall summarise the information given by the Figure focus area by focus area.

5.1 Focus Area Capacity

In ELDIA “Capacity” is defined in terms of the language user’s self-confidence regarding her/his language skills. For the EuLaViBar, Capacity is calculated on the basis of survey results concerning the dimensions of Language Use and Interaction, Legislation and Media. A wide range of questions was taken into account when calculating the mean score for Language Use and Interaction: Q7 about the mother tongue, the questions regarding the cross-generational (Q10, Q11, Q15-18, Q21) and intra-generational language use (Q14, Q19, Q20), the questions mapping self-reported language skills in Karelian (Q28A-Q31A), the question about the use of Karelian in various intimate and formal domains (Q32A, Q59), and the questions concerning parental support for learning and using Karelian (Q34-Q36). The mean score for the dimension Legislation is based on the results of Q47, which asked about the availability of legislation in Karelian, and that for the dimension Media is calculated from the results of Q62A and Q63A, which asked about media consumption and active text production in Karelian.

In the focus area Capacity, Karelian shows signs of being acutely endangered. The overall mean score of the focus area Capacity is 0.93, which is very low: it does not even reach grade 1 in the language vitality scaling system. This indicates that with regard to this focus area, Karelian shows signs of being severely endangered. Of the three dimensions, Language Use and Interaction achieved the highest score: 1.05. This score, too, is very low but it indicates nevertheless that there still are speakers of Karelian in Finland.

The EuLaViBar scores for the other two dimensions are much lower: the score for Legislation is 0.14 and thus only slightly above zero, which indicates that legislative support for Karelian in this focus area is almost non-existent. The EuLaViBar score for the dimension Media is

⁷¹ Available as an open-access document under <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:301101>.

slightly higher at 0.22. Given the scarcity of Karelian-language media, a low score was to be expected. However, the survey revealed although electronic media in Karelian is seen as more available than traditional media the respondents make more use of the latter. This strongly suggests that as far as Karelian Finns are concerned, the ELDIA survey questionnaire may have placed too much importance on mapping language use in such a wide variety of electronic media as it did; the barometer score for media use would be higher if, for example, the questions about using Karelian when playing interactive games or blogging did not have the same weight as reading newspapers and listening to the radio.

The EuLaViBar scores can be broken down into their constitutive parts on the survey question level, and so it is possible not only to draw conclusions regarding the role of the individual social and psychological forces and factors in a given context but also to identify the most critical points which should be tackled with language revitalization measures. For statistical reasons, however, the barometer scores for the open-ended questions were calculated as an average for the entire set of the open-ended questions involved in a given Focus Area, and so it is not possible to track the weight of the individual open-ended questions underlying a given barometer score in the way that's possible for the closed questions.

In total 19 questions contributed to the barometer score for Capacity; thereof 11 were closed questions whose individual scores are detectable in the statistical data. As shown in Table 8, the overall score for Capacity was affected highly negatively by a fair number of factors:

The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions which contributed to the overall EuLaViBar score for Capacity		
Question		EuLaViBar score
Q28A	Being able to understand Karelian	2.10271903
Q30A	Being able to read (in) Karelian	2.01846154
Q59	The experienced easiness of using Karelian in most situations	1.77617329
Q29A	Being able to speak Karelian	1.40061162
Q36B	Urging children to learn and use Karelian	1.21666667
Q34	Parents efforts to support the use of Karelian	1.11801242
Q31A	Being able to write (in) Karelian	0.91373802
Q62A	Karelian-language media consumption	0.41273585
Q32A	Using Karelian in the investigated domains	0.37352525
Q47	The (experienced) availability of language legislation in Karelian	0.13872832
Q63A	Producing actively texts in Karelian	0.13308824
Capacity overall mean score		0.93

Table 8. The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions contributing to the overall EuLaViBar score for Capacity

The overall Capacity score is affected highly negatively by the scores of survey questions concerned with the use of Karelian and the use of the Karelian-language media, as well as by the lack of language legislation in Karelian. Very few actively produce Karelian-language texts themselves which, naturally, has to do with the fact also visible in the Table that people

are not able to write in Karelian (presumably, due to the lack of a common standard). The EuLaViBar score for the consumption of the Karelian-language media is critically low as well which might suggest that people do not know about them or do not find or have an access to them easily enough. Given the equally low score for Karelian-language use in the investigated domains, the scarce use of the Karelian-language media may, however, also reflect the in ELDIA attested advanced reduction of the domains of use of Karelian as well. Yet another factor which showed a highly negative effect on the overall Capacity score is the lack of language legislation in Karelian.

Notable negative effects on the overall Capacity score can be detected through the results concerning the support by families to children in learning and using Karelian, as well as through those concerning one's own ability and the experienced easiness of speaking Karelian in all possible situations. Again, some of the notably negative scores are interconnected in an obvious way: Being unable to speak Karelian directly correlates with families not having supported children in learning and using the language. In the light of these EuLaViBar scores, families very obviously will have to take a more active role in acquainting children with Karelian. The low score for the easiness of speaking Karelian in all possible situations probably also reflects the deficit Karelian skills in at least two different ways: On the one hand, one does not feel comfortable speaking Karelian if she does not feel confident in her own skills, on the other hand, even a fluent Karelian-speaker most likely does not feel comfortable speaking in Karelian if the other interlocutors do not know it or know only a little bit.

The alarmingly low Capacity score also reflects the wide-spread lack of even passive skills in Karelian among Karelian Finns. As Table 8 reveals, even the highest EuLaViBar scores for individual survey questions barely reached the language maintenance level 2 which defines a language "only" threatened. Yet again we can detect clear interdependencies with the other factors which affected the overall Capacity score negatively. Firstly, that there were survey respondents who reported not even understanding Karelian or understanding it badly also reflects the lack of intergenerational language transmission in families; this, however, may have meant that Karelian was not spoken in the respondent's childhood family at all, but it also may derive from lacking (parental) support to learning and using Karelian. The relative low score for reading skills in Karelian, for its part, undoubtedly reflects the lack of a Karelian written standard and the scarcity of written materials available in the language in the first place.

5.2 Focus Area Opportunity

The EuLaViBar is designed to serve as a tool for identifying areas where a given language should receive especially effective societal support. Consequently, Opportunity is defined in ELDIA in terms of opportunities offered by institutional arrangements. In total eighteen questions from the survey questionnaire were identified as items providing information on Opportunity as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar. On the basis of respondents' self-reporting,

however, what actually can be gained is their perceptions about the extent to which the existing institutional arrangements provide her/him with the Opportunity to use, the state of affairs in the reality.

The mean score for the dimension Language use and Interaction was calculated on the basis of questions Q22-Q24 concerning support for and inhibition from using Karelian, questions Q55, Q58 and Q60 concerning language maintenance and questions Q59 and Q61, which mapped the respondents' domain-specific language use. The mean score for the dimension Education was calculated on the basis of questions Q8 concerning the first acquisition of Karelian, questions Q25 and Q26A concerning the language of teaching, and question Q27 which asked the respondents to specify their mother tongue. The mean score for the dimension Legislation was based on the results of questions Q44, Q45 which asked about the legislative support to or prohibition of the use of Karelian (respectively), of question Q47 inquiring about the availability of language legislation in Karelian, and questions Q48 and Q49 which were concerned with the use of Karelian at schools. The mean score for the dimension Media derives from question Q62A.

In the Focus Area Opportunity Karelian is a severely threatened language. The EuLaViBar mean score for Opportunity is 1.04, which means that Karelian is in the lower half of the category of severely threatened languages – and barely even there. Again, the dimension with the highest mean score is for Language use and Interaction: 2.15. As could be anticipated on the basis of all the results discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, the vitality scores are very low for the dimensions Education, Legislation and Media. The score for Education is 0.39 and for Legislation 0.51, which is nevertheless higher than the score for Legislation in the Focus Area Capacity. The mean score for the fourth dimension, Media, was 0.41. In sum, that the overall score for Opportunity falls between grades 1 and 2 is largely due to the rather more positive result for Language Use and Interaction, which indicates that although language shift from Karelian to Finnish is already fairly extensive and will continue unless effective revitalization measures are taken, there still is a solid basis for reversing the shift.

Out of the eighteen survey questions which provided information on Opportunity, sixteen were closed questions and received an individual EuLaViBar score. The questions and their scores are presented in Table 9:

The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions which contributed to the overall EuLaViBar score for Opportunity		
Question		EuLaViBar score
Q55	Awareness of institutions which cultivate Karelian	3.60937500
Q60	Awareness of attempts to save Karelian	3.47317073
Q22	Non-awareness of attempts to inhibit the use of Karelian	3.27526132
Q58	Need to develop Karelian for use in the public sphere	2.78571429
Q45	Using Karelian is not inhibited by legislation	2.70157068
Q59	The experienced easiness of using Karelian in most situations	1.77617329
Q61	The experienced possibilities to use Karelian in defined public domains	1.41870629
Q44	The (experienced) legislative support to the use of Karelian	1.25471698
Q62A	Karelian-language media consumption	0.41273585
Q49	The (experienced) existence of regulations on school teaching about Karelian	0.33333333
Q48	The (experienced) existence of regulations on teaching Karelian at school	0.29761905
Q47	The (experienced) availability of language legislation in Karelian	0.13872832
Q26A	Karelian as a language of teaching at school	0,06460674
Q27B	Karelian-language teaching in primary school	0.04494382
Q27A	Karelian-language teaching in pre-school	0.02247191
Q27C	Karelian-languageteching in secondary school	0,02247191
Opportunity overall mean score		1.04

Table 9. The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions contributing to the overall EuLaViBar score for Opportunity

The overall EuLaViBar score for Opportunity is highly negatively affected by the reported scarce consumption of Karelian-language media, and even more so by the non-existence of regulations concerning the use of Karelian as the language of teaching and concerning the teaching of Karelian as a school subject. As devastating as Table 9 is, it actually gives a somewhat more positive impression of the state of affairs than that is in the reality: The few respondents who reported having been taught in Karelian at school either referred to their childhood in the pre-World-War-II Border Karelia or had emigrated to Finland from Russian Karelia as adults and reported thus on their experiences there. In Finland Karelian has never been an official language of teaching at schools, neither has it been a regular school subject until it in the autumn of 2013 was taken into the curriculum of the school of Eastern Finland in Joensuu. There also are no laws or other regulations which would *per se* regulate the use of Karelian as a language of teaching or as a school subject. The EuLaViBar score for question Q47 should be a round zero as well: no legislation in Finland is available in Karelian.

Notable negative effects on the overall score for Opportunity were shown by the results of the survey questions concerned with the legislative support to the use of Karelian, the possibilities to use it in the public sphere, and the easiness of speaking it in all possible situations. Here the key issue appears to be the lack of a proper legislative support to the use of Karelian: Karelian Finn respondents do not seem to experience the constitutional right of “all other groups” to use and to develop their languages as a particularly strong support to the use of Karelian in the public sphere, and this possibly then also is reflected in the experienced easiness of using Karelian in the public.

The frighteningly low overall score for Opportunity is affected somewhat positively by the score for question Q45 which inquired about an perceived inhibition through legislation to use Karelian, and by the reported wish that the language be developed to meet the challenges of a public use. The scores for these questions indicate a maintenance level in the upper part of level 2, approaching to level 3 at which language maintenance is achieved to some extent and the language is supported institutionally and used in various contexts and functions. The by itself fairly modest score for the experienced need of developing Karelian appears to testify to a moderately strong strive for better institutional Opportunity in the future, and it definitely should be noted as an encouraging start for the impending language revitalisation attempts.

The scores for two questions concerned with existing language revitalisation measures and one question concerned with obstacles on using Karelian locate Karelian in Finland to the language maintenance category 3 and affect thus the overall Opportunity score positively. Yet another positive sign that can be read from the barometer results is that respondents are well aware of the attempts to revitalise and to develop Karelian and of the institutions which work for these goals. At the moment the maintenance of Karelian in Finland is not experienced being threatened by attempts to inhibit people from using it. The latter, however, may be explained, at least to some extent, by the almost complete invisibility of the Karelian language in the Finnish society: As shown above, Karelian is used very seldom outside of the most intimate domains, and so the speakers probably do not engage very often in situations where someone might want to prevent them using it. Nevertheless, these results should also be highlighted positively in developing and implementing revitalisation measures.

5.3 Focus Area Desire

In the ELDIA research design, Desire refers to the wish, the willingness and the readiness to use a given language, and it is reflected in perceptions, attitudes, and emotions related to (the forms of) its use. The Focus Area of Desire consists of three dimensions: Language Use and Interaction, Legislation and Media. The mean score for the dimension Language use and Interaction is based on the results of the following questions: question Q7 about the mother tongue, the questions concerning language use in families and with relatives (Q10, Q11, Q14-Q21), the questions concerning language skills in Karelian (Q28A-Q31A), questions Q22-Q24 and Q34-Q36 concerning support for and inhibition from using Karelian, the questions concerning the domain-specific use of Karelian (Q32, Q39, Q59 and Q61), the questions concerning the respondents' attitudes towards Karelian, Karelian Finns and other languages and their speakers (Q33, Q37-Q43), and the questions concerning the role of different languages in the labour market (Q52-Q54). The mean score for the dimension Legislation is based on the results of questions Q44-46 and 50, and that for the dimension Media on the results of questions Q62 and Q63.

In the focus area Desire, Karelian is a severely threatened language. The EuLaViBar mean score for the Focus Area Desire is 1.29, which again places Karelian in the category of

severely threatened languages. Again, the dimension Language Use and Interaction has the highest score: 1.38.⁷² The score for Legislation, 1.10, is somewhat lower, but it is still the highest of the Legislation scores in the Karelian barometer. As the results of questions Q44, Q45, Q46 and Q50 revealed, there were roughly as many Karelian Finn respondents who thought that legislation in Finland supports Karelian and that speakers of different languages are treated equally as there were those who thought it inhibits the use of Karelian and that speakers of different languages are not treated equally. This being the case, the highest mean score for Legislation in the Karelian barometer is actually largely due to the fact that roughly 40% of the Karelian Finn respondents were of the opinion that the Finnish legislation supports multilingualism in general. The barometer score for the dimension Media is very low: 0.22. In interpreting the results of the dimension Media in terms of Desire, it is vitally important to keep in mind that there are no Karelian-language media published daily or even several times a week, and thus the finding that the Karelian Finn respondents use Karelian-language media irregularly is not just a matter of Desire: it also a reflection of the shortage of Language Products.

Out of the 34 survey questions which provided information on Desire, fourteen were closed questions and received an individual EuLaViBar score. The closed questions and their EuLaViBar scores are presented in Table 10:

⁷² Together with the similar results concerning Capacity and Opportunity, this result suggests that the relative strength of the dimension Language Use and Interaction within the barometer might somehow have to do with the fact it is scored on the basis of many more questions than the other dimensions are.

The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions which contributed to the overall EuLaViBar score for Desire		EuLaViBar score
Question		
Q60	Awareness of attempts to save Karelian	3.47317073
Q22	Non-awareness of attempts to inhibit the use of Karelian	3.27526132
Q58	Wish for developing Karelian for use in the public sphere	2.78571429
Q45	Using Karelian is not inhibited by legislation	2.70157068
Q38	The experienced easiness of socializing with Karelian-speakers	2.15730337
Q28A	The perceived readiness to understand Karelian	2.10271903
Q30A	The perceived readiness to read (in) Karelian	2.01846154
Q39	Opinions on the use of Karelian in the public sphere	1.89767255
Q59	The experienced easiness of using Karelian in most situations	1.77617329
Q37	Opinions on who is expected to use Karelian	1.53089888
Q61	The experienced possibilities to use Karelian in defined public domains	1.41870629
Q29A	The perceived readiness to speak Karelian	1.40061162
Q36B	Urging children to learn and use Karelian	1.21666667
Q44	Legislative support to the use of Karelian	1.25471698
Q34	Parents' efforts to support the use of Karelian	1.11801242
Q52	Opinions on the role of Karelian in the labour market	1.10533708
Q62A	Karelian-language media consumption	0.41273585
Q32A	Using Karelian in the investigated domains	0.37352525
Q63A	Producing actively texts in Karelian	0.13308824
Desire overall mean score		1.31481259

Table 10. The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions contributing to the overall EuLaViBar score for Desire

The overall score for Desire is affected highly negatively by the EuLaViBar scores for active text production in Karelian, using Karelian in the investigated domains and the Karelian-language media consumption. The scores suggest that the wish of, the willingness to and readiness for actively using the language is very weak at the moment, and a lot of encouraging and support is needed in these areas if Karelian is to be revitalized in Finland.

Notable negative effects on the overall Desire score were shown by how Karelian is perceived and supported in the Finnish society in general but also in the families. Additionally to the already discussed possibilities to use Karelian in public domains (Q61), the legislative support (Q44) and the experienced easiness of using Karelian in a wide variety of domains (Q59), a EuLaViBar score between 1 and 2 characterizes the perceived role of Karelian in the labour market (Q52) and the perceived opinions on the use of Karelian in the public sphere (Q39). Together these results reflect perceptions and attitudes which decisively contribute to the acutely low maintenance level for Karelian in Finland in regard to the wish, willingness and readiness of using Karelian as a means of communication with full rights within the Finnish society. The results concerning the micro-level of families affect the overall score equally negatively: Children are not encouraged and supported in learning Karelian at home, and the general view tends to be that Karelian is a language which is not

expected to be spoken by young people. Yet another notable negative effect on the Desire overall score comes from the score for the perceived readiness of speaking Karelian (Q29A).

The overall Desire score is affected slightly more positively by the scores for the perceived passive skills in Karelian and the experienced easiness of socializing with Karelian-speakers, as well as by those for the lack of inhibitive legislation and the wish for developing Karelian to better meet the challenges of public use. The EuLaViBar scores for the questions at issue here range from 2.0 for reading in Karelian to 2.8 for developing the language for public use, and locate thus Karelian on the language maintenance level 2, indicating that the language is threatened.

5.4 Focus Area Language Products

Language Products refer to the existence of products and services in and through a given language or the demand for and wish for such products and services. That Language Products are included in the barometer as the fourth Focus Area comes from the fact that the ELDIA research agenda was from the very beginning of the project planning heavily influenced by the idea of “glocalization” (new localism), and one of the cornerstones of “glocalisation” is the translation of traditional cultural forms into the modern media. The Focus Area Language Products also makes it possible to enrich Françoise Grin’s COD model (Capacity-Opportunity-Desire) with the insights of the Catherine Wheel model by Miquel Strubell which claims, briefly, that the more language products are available, the greater the demand for them will be and the greater the demand for language products, the more of them will be produced.

The Focus Area Language Products contains all four dimensions. The barometer score for the dimension Language Use and Interaction is calculated from the results of questions Q39 and Q61. The former mapped the respondents’ demands for language products that would facilitate the use of Karelian on television, at the police station, in hospitals, etc. The latter mapped the respondents’ perceptions of the existence of the language products which make it possible to use Karelian in fifteen different public domains, including the tax office, the social security office and various municipal offices. The mean score for the dimension Education is calculated from the results of questions Q25 and Q26 concerning the language(s) of school instruction and Q27 concerning the use of Karelian as the language of instruction at the different school levels. The score for the dimension Legislation is based on the results of question Q47 concerning the availability of legislation in Karelian, and the score for the dimension Media is based on the results of Q62A which asked about the extent to which the respondents use fifteen listed Karelian-language media (including newspapers, internet content, computer software, etc.)

In the Focus Area Language Products Karelian is an acutely endangered language. The EuLaViBar mean score for the Focus Area Language Products is 0.52, which is the lowest Focus Area score in the language vitality barometer for Karelian. As with the three other

Focus Areas, the score for the dimension Language use and Interaction is by and far the highest: 1.52. For most of the domains listed in Q39, the respondents were split fifty-fifty between those who were in favour of the use of Karelian and those who were not; in those domains where the division of responses was not evenly distributed, there was usually a majority in favour of the use of Karelian in the domain in question. The negative effect of such answers on the barometer mean score for the dimension Language Use and Interaction was reinforced by the fact that in question Q61 a considerable number of the respondents reported not knowing about whether Karelian is used in the listed domains. The mean score for the dimension Legislation is extremely low (0.14) but it should really be zero, since there is actually no legislation in Karelian and the score simply reflects the mistaken impression of a couple of respondents that there is such legislation. The mean score for the dimension Education is the lowest of all dimension scores in the language vitality barometer for Karelian: 0.04. This score, too, would actually be zero if it reflected the real situation in Finland, which is that it has not been possible to get teaching in Karelian, and learning the language at school was only possible for a couple of years in the 1990s, when it was taught as an optional subject in Nurmes. Judging by the interview data, those respondents who reported having been taught in Karelian at school were most probably referring to their childhood in the ceded areas before the Second World War. The barometer score for Media is 0.41, which indicates that there are very few Karelian-language media available. The analyses of question Q62 showed, however, that although the respondents think that electronic media are more available than traditional media, they make more use of the latter. As pointed out above, there are no traditional media in Karelian published daily or even several times a week. Ultimately the score is a more reflection of the supply of than the demand for language products in Karelian.

The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions contributing to the overall EuLaViBar score for Language Products		
Question		EuLaViBar score
Q39	Opinions on the use of Karelian in defined public domains	1.89767255
Q61	The experienced possibilities to use Karelian in public domains	1.41870629
Q62a	Karelian-language media consumption	0.41273585
Q47	The experienced availability of language legislation in Karelian	0.13872832
Q26A	Karelian as a language of teaching at school	0.06460674
Q27B	Karelian-language teaching in primary school	0.04494382
Q27A	Karelian-language teaching in pre-school	0.02247191
Q27C	Karelian-language in secondary school	0.02247191
Language Products overall mean score		0.45350120

Table 11. The individual EuLaViBar scores of the closed questions contributing to the overall EuLaViBar score for Language Products

5.5 A brief word of conclusion

The EuLaViBar-based calculations indicate a very alarming state of language endangerment for Karelian in Finland: with respect to the Focus Areas Capacity and Language Products it is

an acutely endangered language and with respect to the Focus Areas Opportunity and Desire it is a severely threatened one.

The interview data and some of the survey results show that Karelian Finns have taken many steps themselves to maintain and revitalise their language and culture, but until quite recently, there has been no legal or institutional support for these efforts. Currently the situation seems to be changing, slowly but, it is to be hoped, surely: since Karelian was included in the list of the languages on which Finland obliges itself to report to the European Council, new possibilities of financial and moral support have opened up.

The ELDIA consortium stresses that the EuLaViBar must never be used to conclude that some language is not “worth” institutional and/or financial support: The barometer helps to identify the conditions that threaten the maintenance of a particular language, those that promote its maintenance, and those that need to be improved.

It should be emphasised that the proper use of the EuLaViBar in policy and decision-making means directing active support to areas characterized by low language-vitality scores.

The language vitality barometer for Karelian makes it clear that effective measures need to be taken and taken promptly. Annex I further below summarises the most apparent policy recommendations that can be drawn on the basis of the ELDIA data and their analyses. There has been a long history of neglect of the linguistic rights of Karelian Finns, and revitalising their language should therefore be considered a matter of the highest priority in the years to come!

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Annex 1. Policy recommendations

The results of the case study concerned with the Karelian language in Finland and conducted within the framework of the EU-FP7 project ELDIA in 2010-2013 were processed into a European Language Vitality Barometer, i.e. a research-based assessment of the current sociolinguistic state and status of this autochthonous minority language. The barometer shows that Karelian is an acutely to severely endangered language. Its revitalization and maintenance as an integral part of the historical, contemporary and future linguistic landscape of Finland call for immediate effective, systematical and long-span measures on behalf of the minority community itself as well as on that of the Finnish society in general.

The societal visibility of the Karelian minority is to be decisively improved. The descendants of the Karelian-speakers but also of all other Finns, especially decision-makers and those who implement language policies in practice need to be provided with profound information on the Karelian language and culture and on the historical role of the language and its speakers in Finland. A key role is played by the mass media (newspapers, journals, radio, television and the internet) as well as by public servants and institutions. In order to enhance the societal visibility of the Karelian minority in Finland,

- the mass media needs to offer articles and programs providing actual and accurate information on the Karelian language and culture in Finland. Television and the radio need to provide nationwide fora for Karelian language courses and for Karelian-language films, TV-series and children's programs;
- public servants and institutions need to publish in Karelian directives as well as instructions for using the public services;
- public servants and institutions need to use the mass media for making public the decisions concerning the Karelian language and other issues relating to the Karelian minority and thus add knowledge about the Karelian minority and its rights in the Finnish society.

The Karelian language and identity are to be empowered to meet contemporary and future challenges. The main responsibility for creating the contents needed for revitalizing and developing the Karelian language and culture in Finland needs to be shouldered by the minority itself. In order to empower the Karelian language, culture and identity in Finland, the community needs to

- develop and maintain possibilities of getting acquainted with the Karelian language and culture within the framework of informal get-togethers and modern free-time activities which correspond to the interests of children, adolescents, adults and seniors, respectively;

- support the mutual networking of all the existing and the evolving communities of Karelian-speakers in order to revive the wide fellow-feeling which has got lost during the decades of diaspora;
- encourage Karelian Finns of all generations in producing modern Karelian cultural products, irrespective of their level of active command of the Karelian language;
- actively recruit and encourage people who can write fiction or non-fiction in Karelian, produce talking books and electronic books, music products, films, video recordings, textbooks, and create Karelian-language internet contents and internet services;
- widen the scope of the Karelian-language journal *Karjal Žurnualu* and, in order to reach the widest possible readership, to continue offering a paper version alongside the digital version.

An official revitalisation program is to be made for Karelian in Finland. The ELDIA case study revealed that many young-generation Karelians want to become active in revitalizing Karelian but do not know how to find a framework for doing that. The ELDIA survey also revealed that among the Karelian-speakers and their descendants there is a lot of unused pedagogical and other expertise which currently is urgently needed for revitalizing Karelian in Finland. In order to take the resources into an effective use, it is utmost important that an official revitalization program along the lines of the Sámi revitalization plan established in 2012 also is created in cooperation by the central state officials and the representatives of the Karelian minority.

Long-span financial support to reviving and strengthening Karelian language skills is to be guaranteed. In the light of the case study results, the members of the Karelian minority as well as the respondents to the control group survey considered as the most important step that a new generation of children will be provided the possibility of acquiring Karelian and that the gained Karelian skills will be maintained and developed further at all educational levels. The view fully corresponds to the scholarly understanding: An endangered language can be revitalized and maintained only by means of effective support to its intergenerational transmission in families. Long-span financial support is needed especially to

- organising Karelian-language child-care and elementary instruction;
- establishing Karelian language in school curricula;
- developing intensive small-group instruction of Karelian at schools;
- intensifying and developing the instruction of Karelian in adult education institutions, vocational schools and the university;
- producing teaching and learning materials for schools, adult and continuing education, including materials for open-distance learning;
- producing Karelian-language literature, especially children's and adolescents' literature and internet contents;

- planning and organising teacher training and the training of early-childhood educators;
- developing the university instruction and the research of Karelian spoken in Finland.

In order to monitor and to assess the development, the EuLaViBar survey is to be repeated among the Karelian minority in 2016/2017.

Annex 2. Transcription

The transcriptions of the interviews were done using the softwares Transcriber and ELAN; the procedure and its principles are explained in more detail in Section III/6.4.2. The transcription was fairly coarse. In principle, the normal orthography of the language in question was used, with the following additional symbols (note that the full stops, commas, and question marks are used to indicate intonation, not the syntactic structuring):

1. INTONATION

At the end of prosodic unit

- . descendent intonation
- , stable intonation
- ? rising intonation

2. PAUSES

- () pause

3. SPEECH RATE AND AMPLITUDE

AHA (CAPITALS) indicate speech that is louder than the surrounding talk

4. OTHER SYMBOLS

(()) indicates editorial comments, e.g., ((click)), ((laughing)), ((sneeze))

impos- (hyphen) indicates incompleting word

-- indicates removed sequence

[!] indicates a form which is contrary to expectation

Annex 3: A note on the questionnaires

The target group (Karelians in Finland) and the control-group questionnaires of the ELDIA survey were developed jointly for the whole ELDIA project and translated from the master versions into the minority and majority languages of each case study (with some further modifications for the questionnaires used in the multilingual Northern Calotte area, i.e. the case studies on Meänkieli, Kven, and North Sámi). The central research design required the use of the same questionnaire across all the ELDIA case studies, despite the fact that not all questions were equally meaningful for all target groups: Some questions may have seemed strange or irrelevant to the respondents of a certain target group, although the same questions have retrieved important information in some other ELDIA case study.

The planning of the ELDIA fieldwork suffered from various problems which finally led to the partner in charge, the University of Stockholm, withdrawing from the project. The planning of the questionnaire was severely delayed due to problems in the organisation and leadership of this work phase and in the information flow between project partners; the pilot versions of the questionnaires could not be properly tested, and both the master questionnaire and its translations had to be finalised under extreme time pressure. Thus, the final versions of the questionnaires, while excessively long and generally experienced as complicated and challenging, still contained some flaws, errors and misleading formulations. Learning from these experiences, the ELDIA consortium provided a new, amended version of the master questionnaire. The revised questionnaire is included in the *EuLaViBar Toolkit*, which has been published on the ELDIA project website (www.eldia-project.org).

For the case study Karelian in Finland, the English-language master questionnaire was translated to Finnish by Kari Djerf, and to Livvi Karelian by Martti Penttonen, Viena Karelian by Pekka Zajkov, and South Karelian by Paavo Harakka. The final layout was created by Katharina Zeller (University of Mainz).

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5 Koulutus, merkitkää suorittamanne korkein tutkinto:

- Ei muodollista tutkintoa
- Kansa- tai peruskouluaste _____ vuotta
- Lukio tai ammatillinen toisen asteen koulutus (ammattikoulut ym.: _____ vuotta
- Korkea-asteen koulutus:
_____ vuotta / mikä tutkinto? _____

6 A) Mikä on ammattinne? _____

B) Mikä seuraavista vaihtoehdoista kuvaa parhaiten pääasiallista toimintaanne:

- Työskentelen tai opiskelen kodin ulkopuolella
- Työskentelen kotona (esim. kotiäiti/-isä, maatalousyrittäjä)
- Olen eläkkeellä
- Etsin työtä tai olen työttömänä
- Jokin muu, mikä? _____

C) Oletteko työssä toisella paikkakunnalla siten, että työmatkanne on yli 50 km yhteen suuntaan: Ei, siirtykää kysymykseen 7. Kyllä, kuinka usein teette työmatkanne:

- päivittäin
- viikoittain
- kuukausittain
- Jokin muu, mikä? _____

B. KIELENKÄYTTÖÄ KOSKEVAT TAUSTATIEDOT

7 Mikä/mitkä on/ovat äidinkielenne (kieli/kielet, jonka/jotka olette oppinut ensimmäiseksi)?

8 Missä ja keneltä opitte karjalan kielen?

9 Missä ja keneltä opitte suomen kielen?

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Isovanhempienne puhekieli (jos he ovat/ovat olleet elossa teidän elinaikananne):

10 Mitä kieltä/kieliä isovanhempanne äidin puolelta käyttivät/käyttävät puhuessaan kanssanne:

11 Mitä kieltä/kieliä isovanhempanne isän puolelta käyttivät/käyttävät puhuessaan kanssanne:

Vanhempienne taustatiedot

12 Mikä on/oli isänne korkein koulutustaso:

- Ei muodollista tutkintoa
- Kansa- tai peruskouluaste _____ vuotta
- Lukio tai ammatillinen toisen asteen koulutus (ammattikoulut ym.: _____ vuotta
- Korkea-asteen koulutus
_____ vuotta / mikä tutkinto? _____
- En tiedä

13 Mikä on/oli äitinne korkein koulutustaso:

- Ei muodollista tutkintoa
- Kansa- tai peruskouluaste _____ vuotta
- Lukio tai ammatillinen toisen asteen koulutus (ammattikoulut ym.: _____ vuotta
- Korkea-asteen koulutus
_____ vuotta / mikä tutkinto? _____
- En tiedä

Vanhempienne puhekieli:**14** Mitä kieltä/kieliä vanhempanne puhuvat/puhuivat keskenään?

- Isä ja äiti eivät asuneet yhdessä/olleet tekemisissä keskenään tai jompi kumpi oli kuollut.
- Vanhempani olivat yhdessä/ tekemisissä keskenään

Isä äidille: _____ Äiti isälle: _____

15 Mitä kieltä/kieliä äitinne puhui teille lapsuudessanne?

- Äiti ei läsnä tai elossa, siirtykää kysymykseen 17
- Merkitkää, mitä kieltä/kieliä hän puhui ja missä tilanteissa (jos useampaa kuin yhtä kieltä):

16 Mitä kieltä/kieliä äitinne puhuu teille nykyisin?

- Äiti ei läsnä tai elossa.
- Merkitkää, mitä kieltä/kieliä hän puhui ja missä tilanteissa (jos useampaa kuin yhtä kieltä):

17 Mitä kieltä/kieliä isänne puhui teille lapsuudessanne?

- Isä ei läsnä tai elossa, siirtykää kysymykseen 19
- Merkitkää, mitä kieltä/kieliä hän puhui ja missä tilanteissa (jos useampaa kuin yhtä kieltä):

+

+

18 Mitä kieltä/kieliä isänne puhuu teille nykyisin?

Isä ei läsnä tai elossa.

Merkitkää, mitä kieltä/kieliä hän puhui ja missä tilanteissa (jos useampaa kuin yhtä kieltä):

Kielenkäyttö sisarustenne kanssa:

Ei sisaruksia, siirtykää kysymykseen 20

19 Mitä kieltä/kieliä käytätte tai käytitte sisarustenne kanssa?

a. teitä vanhempien sisarusten kanssa:

lapsuudessa _____

nykyisin _____

b. teitä nuorempien sisarusten kanssa :

lapsuudessa _____

nykyisin _____

Kielenkäyttö puolison/kumppanin kanssa:

Ei puolisoa eikä kumppania, siirtykää kysymykseen 21.

20 Mitä kieltä tai kieliä käytätte puolisonne/kumppaninne kanssa?

Jos käytätte useampaa kuin yhtä kieltä, kuvailkaa missä tilanteissa eri kieliä käytätte:

+

+

Kielenkäyttö huollettavien (alle 18 v.) lastenne kanssa:

Ei huollettavia lapsia, siirtykää kysymykseen 22

21 Kuinka monta huollettavaa lasta teillä on ja mitä kieltä/kieliä puhutte heidän kanssaan?

Minulla on _____ huollettavaa lasta.

Mitä kieltä tai kieliä käytätte vanhimman ja nuorimman lapsenne kanssa?

a. Vanhimman lapsen kanssa: _____

b. Nuorimman lapsen kanssa: _____

Kasvatus ja näkemykset kielenkäytöstä pienten lasten kanssa

22 Oliko lapsuudessanne pyrkimyksiä, joiden mukaan karjalan kieltä ei saanut käyttää lasten kanssa puhuttaessa?

En tiedä Ei Kyllä

Jos vastasitte "En tiedä" tai "Ei", olkaa hyvä ja siirtykää kysymykseen 24!

23 Missä tilanteissa tällaisia näkemyksiä esitettiin: (voitte vastata useampaan kuin yhteen vaihtoehtoon)

Kotona, kertokaa millä tavalla: _____

Koulussa, kertokaa millä tavalla: _____

Muissa yhteyksissä, kertokaa kuka esitti ja millä tavalla: _____

24 Entä esitetäänkö nykyisin näkemyksiä, joiden mukaan karjalan kieltä pitää tai ei pidä käyttää lasten kanssa puhuttaessa?

En tiedä Ei Kyllä, kertokaa kuka tällaisia näkemyksiä esittää ja millä tavalla?

Kielenkäyttö koulussa

Mitä kieltä tai kieliä käytettiin koulussanne opetuskielenä tai -kielinä ?

Huom: kysymyksissä 25-26 ei kysytä kielitunneilla annettua opetusta, vaan eri aineiden opetuksessa käytettyä kieltä tai kieliä.

25 Minua on opetettu vain yhdellä kielellä.

Kyllä, millä? _____

siirtykää kysymykseen 27.

Minua opetettiin useammilla kielillä

26 Kuvatkaa tarkemmin mitä opetuskieltä tai -kieliä käytettiin eri kouluasteilla?

	Karjala	Suomi	Muut kielet	
			_____	_____
Esikoulu (lastentarha)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Peruskoulu (kansakoulu)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Toisen asteen koulutus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27 Oliko teillä äidinkielen opetusta (karjalan kielellä) koulussa?

Esikoulussa (lastentarhassa): Ei Kyllä, kuinka monta tuntia viikossa? _____ h

Peruskoulussa (kansakoulussa): Ei Kyllä, kuinka monta tuntia viikossa? _____ h

Toisen asteen koulutuksessa: Ei Kyllä, kuinka monta tuntia viikossa? _____ h

C. KIELITAITO

Seuraavissa kysymyksissä pyydämme teitä arvioimaan kielitaitoanne. Merkitkää vaihtoehto jokaiselle eri kielen taidolle.

28 Ymmärrän seuraavia kieliä:

	Sujuvasti	Melko hyvin	Kohtuullisesti	Huonosti	En ymmärrä
Karjala	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englanti	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruotsi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Saksa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ranska	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

29 Puhun seuraavia kieliä :

	Sujuvasti	Melko hyvin	Kohtuullisesti	Huonosti	En puhu
Karjala	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englanti	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruotsi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Saksa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ranska	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

30 Luen tekstejä seuraavilla kielillä:

	Sujuvasti	Melko hyvin	Kohtuullisesti	Huonosti	En lue
Karjala	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englanti	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruotsi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Saksa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ranska	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

+

+

31 Kirjoitan tekstejä seuraavilla kielillä:

	Sujuvasti	Melko hyvin	Kohtuullisesti	Huonosti	En kirjoita
Karjala	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englanti	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruotsi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Saksa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ranska	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

D. KIELEN KÄYTTÖ

32 Kertokaa seuraavaksi, millaisissa tilanteissa käytätte seuraavia kieliä (merkitkää vastauksenne vain niihin kohtiin, joihin osallistutte).

A. Karjala

	Aina	Usein	Joskus	Harvoin	Ei koskaan
Kotona	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sukulaisten kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Työssä	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Naapurustossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Koulussa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupassa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kadulla	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirkossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Viranomaisten kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Yhteisön tilaisuuksissa *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Muissa tilanteissa, missä ** _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Yhteisön tilaisuuksilla tarkoitetaan paikallisia tilaisuuksia, kuten asuinalueenne klubi-iltoja, kulttuuritilaisuuksia ym.

** Voitte lisätä muita kielenkäyttötilanteita tarpeen mukaan.

+

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+

B. Suomi

	Aina	Usein	Joskus	Harvoin	Ei koskaan
Kotona	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sukulaisten kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Työssä	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Naapurustossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Koulussa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupassa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kadulla	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirkossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Viranomaisten kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Yhteisön tilaisuuksissa *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Muissa tilanteissa, missä **	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Yhteisön tilaisuuksilla tarkoitetaan paikallisia tilaisuuksia, kuten asuinalueenne klubi-iltoja, kulttuuritilaisuuksia ym.

** Voitte lisätä muita kielenkäyttötilanteita tarpeen mukaan.

Jos ette käytä muita kieliä tällaisissa tomissanne, siirtykää kysymykseen 33!

C. Englanti / muu kieli (mikä?): _____

	Aina	Usein	Joskus	Harvoin	Ei koskaan
Kotona	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sukulaisten kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Työssä	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Naapurustossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Koulussa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupassa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kadulla	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirkossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Viranomaisten kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Yhteisön tilaisuuksissa *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Muissa tilanteissa, missä **	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Yhteisön tilaisuuksilla tarkoitetaan paikallisia tilaisuuksia, kuten asuinalueenne klubi-iltoja, kulttuuritilaisuuksia ym.

** Voitte lisätä muita kielenkäyttötilanteita tarpeen mukaan.

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D. Kieli (mikä?): _____

	Aina	Usein	Joskus	Harvoin	Ei koskaan
Kotona	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sukulaisten kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Työssä	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Naapurustossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Koulussa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupassa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kadulla	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirkossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Viranomaisten kanssa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Yhteisön tilaisuuksissa *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Muissa tilanteissa, missä **	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Yhteisön tilaisuuksilla tarkoitetaan paikallisia tilaisuuksia, kuten asuinalueenne klubi-iltoja, kulttuuritilaisuuksia ym.

** Voitte lisätä muita kielenkäyttötilanteita tarpeen mukaan.

E. ASEENTEET ERI KIELIÄ KOHTAAN JA HALU KÄYTTÄÄ KIELIÄ**Kielten sekoittaminen**

33 Mitä mieltä olette seuraavista väittämistä, jotka koskevat kielten sekoittamista? Merkitkää vaihtoehto, joka vastaa parhaiten mielipidettänne.

	Täysin samaa mieltä	Jokseenkin samaa mieltä	En osaa sanoa	Jokseenkin eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Karjalan puhujat sekoittavat usein kieliä keskenään.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Vain vähän koulutusta saaneet ihmiset sekoittavat karjalaa muiden kielten kanssa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nuoret sekoittavat usein karjalaa muiden kielten kanssa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Vanhemmat ihmiset puhuvat karjalaa virheettömästi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kielten sekoittaminen osoittaa suurta kielitaitoa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kielten sekoittaminen on hyväksyttävää.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Karjalan ja suomen kielten tukeminen

34 Tukivatko vanhempanne teitä käyttämään karjalan kieltä?

- Ei Kyllä

Kommentteja

35 Tukivatko vanhempanne teitä käyttämään suomen kieltä?

- Ei Kyllä

Kommentteja

36 Jos teillä on omia lapsia, yritättekö saada heitä oppimaan ja käyttämään karjalan kieltä?

- Ei omia lapsia, siirry kysymykseen 37
- Minulla on lapsia: yritättekö saada heitä oppimaan ja käyttämään karjalan kieltä?
- En
- Kyllä, kuvailkaa miten?
-
-

+

+

Asenneväittämiä karjalan kielen käytöstä eri väestöryhmissä

37 Voidaan olettaa, että eri ikäiset ja eri sukupuolta olevat ihmiset käyttävät mieluummin tiettyä kieltä kuin jotain toista. Mitä mieltä olette alla olevista väittämistä?

	Täysin samaa mieltä	Jokseenkin samaa mieltä	En osaa sanoa	Jokseenkin eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Nuorten poikien odotetaan käyttävän karjalaa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nuorten tyttöjen odotetaan käyttävän karjalaa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Aikuisten miesten odotetaan käyttävän karjalaa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Aikuisten naisten odotetaan käyttävän karjalaa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

38 Seuraavassa esitetään muutamia väittämiä karjalan kielen puhujista. Mitä mieltä olette alla olevista väittämistä?

	Täysin samaa mieltä	Jokseenkin samaa mieltä	En osaa sanoa	Jokseenkin eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Karjalan kielen puhujien kanssa on helppo ystävystyä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen puhujien kanssa on helppo tulla tutuksi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen puhujien kanssa on helppo mennä naimisiin.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen puhujien kanssa on helppo työskennellä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen puhujien kanssa on helppo viettää aikaa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

+

+

Karjalan kielen käyttö

39 Mitä mieltä olette karjalan kielen käyttämisessä julkisissa tehtävissä? Mitä mieltä olette alla olevista väittämistä?

	Täysin samaa mieltä	Jokseenkin samaa mieltä	En osaa sanoa	Jokseenkin eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Karjalan kieltä pitäisi käyttää tv-ohjelmissa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäisi käyttää poliisiasemalla.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäisi käyttää eduskunnassa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäisi käyttää sairaaloissa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäisi käyttää oikeuslaitoksessa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäisi käyttää internetissä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäisi käyttää koulutuksessa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Eri kielten merkitys tulevaisuudessa

40 Arvioikaa, miten alla esitettyjen kielten merkitys muuttuu seuraavan kymmenen vuoden aikana.

	Täysin samaa mieltä	Jokseenkin samaa mieltä	En osaa sanoa	Jokseenkin eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Karjalan kieltä käytetään seuraavan 10 vuoden aikana enemmän kuin nykyään.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kieltä käytetään seuraavan 10 vuoden aikana enemmän kuin nykyään.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englannin kieltä käytetään seuraavan 10 vuoden aikana enemmän kuin nykyään.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruotsin kieltä käytetään seuraavan 10 vuoden aikana enemmän kuin nykyään.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kieltä _____ käytetään seuraavan 10 vuoden aikana enemmän kuin nykyään.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

+

+

Mielikuvat kielistä

Seuraavassa kysymme teiltä mielikuvia karjalan ja suomen kielistä sekä englannin kielestä seuraavien sanaparien avulla. Merkitkää vastauksenne asteikolla 1-5, esimerkiksi:

	1	2	3	4	5	
kaunis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ruma

41 Karjalan kieli kuulostaa

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmeältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	kovalta				
epävarmalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmalta				
läheiseltä	<input type="checkbox"/>	etäiseltä				
luotettavalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	epäluotettavalta				
päätäväiseltä	<input type="checkbox"/>	jahkailevalta				
nykyaikaiselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	perinteiseltä				
voimattomalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	voimakkaalta				
hauskalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	tylsältä				
rumalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauniilta				
miehekkäältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselliselta				
ilkeältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	kiltiltä				
rikkaalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	köyhältä				
epäonniselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyksekkäältä				
vanhalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorelta				
älykkäältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	tyhmältä				
huomaavaiselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	tunkeilevalta				
sivistymättömältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	sivistyneeltä				
passiiviselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiiviselta				

42 Suomen kieli kuulostaa:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmeältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	kovalta				
epävarmalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmalta				
läheiseltä	<input type="checkbox"/>	etäiseltä				
luotettavalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	epäluotettavalta				
päätäväiseltä	<input type="checkbox"/>	jahkailevalta				
nykyaikaiselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	perinteiseltä				
voimattomalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	voimakkaalta				
hauskalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	tylsältä				
rumalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauniilta				
miehekkäältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselliselta				
ilkeältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	kiltiltä				
rikkaalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	köyhältä				

epäonniselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyksekkäältä				
vanhalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorelta				
älykkäältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	tyhmältä				
huomaavaiselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	tunkeilevalta				
sivistymättömältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	sivistyneeltä				
passiiviselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiiviselta				

43 Englannin kieli kuulostaa:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmeältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	kovalta				
epävarmalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmalta				
läheiseltä	<input type="checkbox"/>	etäiseltä				
luotettavalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	epäluotettavalta				
päätäväiseltä	<input type="checkbox"/>	jahkailevalta				
nykyaikaiselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	perinteiseltä				
voimattomalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	voimakkaalta				
hauskalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	tylsältä				
rumalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauniilta				
miehekkäältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselliselta				
ilkeältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	kiltiltä				
rikkaalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	köyhältä				
epäonniselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyksekkäältä				
vanhalta	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorelta				
älykkäältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	tyhmältä				
huomaavaiselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	tunkeilevalta				
sivistymättömältä	<input type="checkbox"/>	sivistyneeltä				
passiiviselta	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiiviselta				

Kielilainsäädäntö

44 Tukeeko maanne tai alueenne lainsäädäntö karjalan kielen käyttöä?

Ei Kyllä Osittain En osaa sanoa

Jos vastasitte ”kyllä” tai ”osittain”, määritelmä tarkemmin, millä tavoin:

45 Vaikeuttaako maanne lainsäädäntö mielestänne karjalan kielen käyttöä?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En osaa sanoa

Jos vastasitte ”kyllä” tai ”osittain”, määritelkää tarkemmin, millä tavoin:

46 Tukeeko lainsäädäntö mielestänne usean kielen osaamista ja käyttöä sillä alueella missä asutte?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En osaa sanoa

Jos vastasitte ”kyllä” tai ”osittain”, määritelkää tarkemmin, millä tavoin:

47 Entä ovatko ko. lait saatavilla karjalan kielellä?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En osaa sanoa

Jos vastasitte ”kyllä” tai ”osittain”, määritelkää tarkemmin, millä tavoin:

48 Onko maassanne tai alueellanne lakeja, joissa säädetään karjalan kielen käyttämisestä kouluopetuksessa?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En osaa sanoa

Jos vastasitte ”kyllä” tai ”osittain”, määritelkää tarkemmin, millä tavoin:

49 Onko maassanne tai alueellanne lakeja, joissa säädetään karjalan kieltä käsittelevästä opetuksesta?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En osaa sanoa

Jos vastasitte ”kyllä” tai ”osittain”, määritelkää tarkemmin, millä tavoin:

50 Kohdellaanko eri kielten puhujia ja eri kieliä tasavertaisesti maassanne ja asuinalueellanne?

Ei Kyllä Osittain En osaa sanoa

Jos vastasitte "kyllä" tai "osittain", määriteltäkö tarkemmin, millä tavoin:

Kieli ja työmarkkinat

51 Onko maassanne lainsäädäntöä tai muita säännöksiä eri kielten taidon tuomista eduista tai palkkioista?

Ei Kyllä En osaa sanoa

Jos kyllä, niin millaisia lakeja tai säännöksiä?:

52 Merkitkää, mitä mieltä olette karjalan kielen asemasta yleensä työmarkkinoilla seuraavien väittämien suhteen:

	Täysin samaa mieltä	Jokseenkin samaa mieltä	En osaa sanoa	Jokseenkin eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Karjalan kielen osaaminen helpottaa ensimmäisen työpaikan löytämistä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen osaaminen vaikuttaa myönteisesti palkkaan.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen osaaminen parantaa mahdollisuuksia edetä uralla.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen osaaminen parantaa mahdollisuuksia vaihtaa työpaikkaa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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53 Merkitkää seuraavaksi, mitä mieltä olette suomen kielen asemasta yleensä työmarkkinoilla seuraavien väittämien suhteen:

	Täysin samaa mieltä	Jokseenkin samaa mieltä	En osaa sanoa	Jokseenkin eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Suomen kielen osaaminen helpottaa ensimmäisen työpaikan löytämistä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen osaaminen vaikuttaa myönteisesti palkkaan.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen osaaminen parantaa mahdollisuuksia edetä uralla.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen osaaminen parantaa mahdollisuuksia vaihtaa työpaikkaa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

54 Merkitkää seuraavaksi, mitä mieltä olette englannin kielen asemasta yleensä työmarkkinoilla seuraavien väittämien suhteen:

	Täysin samaa mieltä	Jokseenkin samaa mieltä	En osaa sanoa	Jokseenkin eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Englannin kielen osaaminen helpottaa ensimmäisen työpaikan löytämistä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englannin kielen osaaminen vaikuttaa myönteisesti palkkaan.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englannin kielen osaaminen parantaa mahdollisuuksia edetä uralla.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englannin kielen osaaminen parantaa mahdollisuuksia vaihtaa työpaikkaa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Kielenhuolto ja oikeakielisyys

55 Tiedättekö onko maassanne joitain instituutioita, järjestöjä tai henkilöitä, jotka toimivat aktiivisesti karjalan kielen vaalimiseksi (esim. kehittämiseksi, edistämiseksi ja sääntelemiseksi)?

- Ei Kyllä En osaa sanoa

Jos kyllä, luetelkaa tietämänne instituutiot, järjestöt tai henkilöt:

56 Tiedättekö onko maassanne joitain instituutioita, järjestöjä tai henkilöitä, jotka toimivat aktiivisesti suomen kielen vaalimiseksi (esim. kehittämiseksi, edistämiseksi ja sääntelemiseksi)?

- Ei Kyllä En osaa sanoa

Jos kyllä, luetelkaa tietämänne instituutiot, järjestöt tai henkilöt:

57 Onko karjalan kielestä olemassa puhdasta kielimuotoa?

- Ei Kyllä En osaa sanoa

Jos kyllä, niin kuka puhuu puhdasta kieltä ja missä tilanteissa? _____

58 Onko karjalan kieltä mielestänne tarvetta kehittää niin, että sitä voi käyttää nykyistä paremmin yhteiskunnallisissa ja julkisissa asioissa tai tehtävissä?

- Ei Kyllä En osaa sanoa

59 Onko karjalan kieltä helppoa käyttää useimmissa tilanteissa?

- Kyllä
 Ei, kertokaa, missä tilanteissa karjalan kielellä ei voi ilmaista tarvittavaa asiaa?

F. JULKINEN JA YKSITYINEN KIELENKÄYTTÖ

Kielenkäyttö ja kielen säilytyskokemukset

60 Onko karjalan kielen säilyttämiseksi tehty toimenpiteitä viime aikoina?

- En tiedä
 Ei
 Kyllä, kertokaa millaisia säilytystoimenpiteitä on tehty? _____

61 Voidaanko karjalan kieltä käyttää maassanne tai alueellanne seuraavissa yhteyksissä ?

	Kyllä	Ei	En osaa sanoa
Eduskunnassa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poliisilaitoksella	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Verotoimistossa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sairausvakuustoitimistossa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Työvoimatoimistossa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sairaaloissa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Oikeuslaitoksessa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ministeriöissä	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aluevirastoissa ja kunnanvirastoissa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koulutuksessa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lehdistössä	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radiossa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
TV:ssä	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ulkomainoksissa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tv-, lehdistö- ja radiomainoksissa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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G. KULTTUURIN KULUTUS, TIEDOTUSVÄLINEIDEN JA UUSMEDIAN KÄYTTÖ ERI KIELILLÄ

62 Kuinka usein seuraatte mediaa tai osallistutte aktiivisesti seuraaviin toimintoihin eri kielillä?

A. Karjalan kieli

	Päivittäin	Useita kertoja viikossa	Viikoittain	Kuukausittain	Harvemmin	Ei koskaan	Tarjontaa ei ole tällä kielellä
Luen sanomalehtiä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luen kirjoja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn teatterissa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn konserteissa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen radiota(uutisia, puheohjelmia ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Katson tv:tä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen musiikkia	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Katson filmejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Seuraan internet-sisältöjä (kotisivuja, uutisia, blogeja ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän tietokoneohjelmia tällä kielellä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan sähköpostiviestejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan tekstiviestejä (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän sosiaalista mediaa (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetin keskustelupalstat ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Pelaan interaktiivisia pelejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan blogeja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muu, mikä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>						

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B. Suomen kieli

	Päivittäin	Useita kertoja viikossa	Viikoittain	Kuukausittain	Harvemmin	Ei koskaan	Tarjontaa ei ole tällä kielellä
Luen sanomalehtiä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luen kirjoja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn teatterissa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn konserteissa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen radiota(uutisia, puheohjelmia ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Katson tv:tä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen musiikkia	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Katson filmejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Seuraan internet-sisältöjä (kotisivuja, uutisia, blogeja ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän tietokoneohjelmia tällä kielellä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan sähköpostiviestejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan tekstiviestejä (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän sosiaalista mediaa (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetin keskustelupalstat ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Pelaan interaktiivisia pelejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan blogeja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muu, mikä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>						

Jos ette koskaan käytä muita kieliä tässä yhteydessä, olkaa hyvä ja siirtykää kysymykseen 63!

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C. Englanti / Muu kieli (mikä?):

	Päivittäin	Useita kertoja viikossa	Viikoittain	Kuukausittain	Harvemmin	Ei koskaan	Tarjontaa ei ole tällä kielellä
Luen sanomalehtiä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luen kirjoja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn teatterissa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn konserteissa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen radiota(uutisia, puheohjelmia ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Katson tv:tä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen musiikkia	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Katson filmejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Seuraan internet-sisältöjä (kotisivuja, uutisia, blogeja ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän tietokoneohjelmia tällä kielellä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan sähköpostiviestejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan tekstiviestejä (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän sosiaalista mediaa (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetin keskustelupalstat ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Pelaan interaktiivisia pelejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan blogeja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muu, mikä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>						

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D. Kieli (mikä?): _____

	Päivittäin	Useita kertoja viikossa	Viikoittain	Kuu-kausittain	Harvemmin	Ei koskaan	Tarjontaa ei ole tällä kielellä
Luen sanomalehtiä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luen kirjoja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn teatterissa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn konserteissa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen radiota(uutisia, puheohjelmia ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Katson tv:tä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen musiikkia	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Katson filmejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Seuraan internet-sisältöjä (kotisivuja, uutisia, blogeja ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän tietokoneohjelmia tällä kielellä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan sähköpostiviestejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan tekstiviestejä (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän sosiaalista mediaa (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetin keskustelupalstat ym.)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Pelaan interaktiivisia pelejä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjoitan blogeja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muu, mikä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>						

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63 Aktiivinen kielten käyttö eri tilanteissa. Kuinka usein käytätte eri kieliä seuraavissa asioissa?

A. Karjalan kieli

	Päivittäin	Useita kertoja viikossa	Viikoittain	Kuukausittain	Harvemmin	Ei koskaan
Kirjoitan kirjeitä	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan päiväkirjaa tai muistiinpanoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan tekstejä, runoja ym.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan lauluja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Laulan	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Lausun runoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Esiinnyn teatterissa	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>					

B. Suomen kieli

	Päivittäin	Useita kertoja viikossa	Viikoittain	Kuukausittain	Harvemmin	Ei koskaan
Kirjoitan kirjeitä	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan päiväkirjaa tai muistiinpanoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan tekstejä, runoja ym.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan lauluja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Laulan	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Lausun runoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Esiinnyn teatterissa	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>					

Jos ette koskaan käytä muita kieliä tässä yhteydessä, kysely päättyy tähän. Paljon kiitoksia aktiivisuudestanne!

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C. Englanti / Muu kieli (mikä?): _____

	Päivittäin	Useita kertoja viikossa	Viikoittain	Kuu-kausittain	Harvemmin	Ei koskaan
Kirjoitan kirjeitä	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan päiväkirjaa tai muistiinpanoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan tekstejä, runoja ym.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan lauluja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Laulan	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Lausun runoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Esiinnyn teatterissa	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>					

D. Kieli (mikä?): _____

	Päivittäin	Useita kertoja viikossa	Viikoittain	Kuu-kausittain	Harvemmin	Ei koskaan
Kirjoitan kirjeitä	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan päiväkirjaa tai muistiinpanoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan tekstejä, runoja ym.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjoitan lauluja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Laulan	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Lausun runoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Esiinnyn teatterissa	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>					

Kysely päättyy tähän. Paljon kiitoksia vaivannäöstänne ja aktiivisuudestanne!

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5 Opastundu, ilmoita korgevin tutkindo:

- Ei muvvolista tutkinduo
- Kanzu- libo perusškola: _____vuottu
- Gimnuazii libo ammatilline toizen astien opastundu (ammattiškolat i m.i.): _____vuottu
- Korgien astien opastundu: _____vuottu. Mittuine tutkindo _____

6 A) Mittuine ammatti sinul on? _____

B) Mittuine vaihtoehto parahite kuvuau sinun piäruaduo:

- Ruan libo opastun koin ulkopuolel
- Ruan kois (ezim. kodiruavot, fermeru)
- Olen eläkkeheläine
- Ečin ruaduo libo olen ruavotoi
- Mitah muu, mi? _____

C) Ruatgo toizel paikkukunnal, kudamah ruadomatku on enämbi 50 km yhteh suundah?

- joga päiviä
- joga nedälii
- joga kuudu
- kuitah muuten, sellitä? _____

B. KIELENKÄYTTYÖ KOSKIJAT TAUSTUTIIJOT

7 Mi kieli/mit kielet sinul on/ollah muamankielenny (kieli/kielet, kudaman/ kudamat olet opastunnuh enzimäi)?

8 Mis da kenel opastuit karjalan kielen?

9 Mis da kenel opastuit suomen kielen?

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Sinun isovahnembien paginkieli (migäli hyö elettih/eletäh sinun aigah):

10 Mittumua kiely/kielii sinun isovahnembat muaman puolel käytettih/käytetäh sinunke paistes:

11 Mittumua kiely/kielii sinun isovahnembat tuatan puolel käytettih/ käytetäh sinunke paistes?

Sinun vahnembien taustutijot

12 Mituine on/oli sinun tuatan korgevin opastustazo:

- Ei muvvollistu tutkinduo
- Kanzu- libo perusškola: _____ vuotta
- Gimnuazii libo ammatilline toizen astien opastus (ammattiškolat i m.i.): _____ vuotta
- Korgien astien opastundu: _____ vuotta. Mituine tutkindo _____
- En tiijä

13 Mituine on/oli sinun muaman korgevin opastustazo:

- Ei muvvollistu tutkinduo
- Kanzu- libo perusškola: _____ vuotta
- Gimnuazii libo ammatilline toizen astien opastus (ammattiškolat i m.i.): _____ vuotta
- Korgien astien opastundu: _____ vuotta. Mituine tutkindo _____
- En tiijä

Vahnembien paginkieli:

Ku se ei päinne, toizin sanojen ku yksi vahnembis on kuolluh libo ei elänyh perehenke yhtes, pane, ole hyvä, merkine: «ei päe»

14 Mittumua kielder/kielii sinun vahnembat paistah/paistih keskenäh:

- Ei päi
- Pädy, merkiče, ole hyvä:

Tuatto muamale: _____ Muama tuatale: _____

15 Mittumua kielder/kielii muamo pagizi sinule lapsennu?

- Muamo ei elänyh sinunke: siirry kyzymykseh 17
- Mainiče, mittumua kielder/kielii häi pagizi mittuzesgi tilandehes (ku ollou paissuh monelgi kielel):

16 Mittumua kielder/kielii muamo pagizou sinule nygöi?

- Muamo ei elä libo ei ole yhtevytty häneh.
- Mainiče, mittumua kielder/kielii häi pagizou mittuzesgi tilandehes (ku paissou monelgi kielel):

17 Mittumua kielder/kielii tuatto pagizi sinule lapsennu?

- Tuatto ei elänyh sinunke, siirry kyzymykseh 19
- Mainiče, mittumua kielder/kielii häi pagizi mittuzesgi tilandehes (ku ollou paissuh monelgi kielel):

18 Mittumua kieldy/kielii tuatto pagizou sinule nygöi?

- Tuatto ei elä libo ei ole yhtevytty häneh.
- Mainiče, mittumua kieldy/kielii häi pagizi mittuzesgi tilandehes (ku ollou paissuh monelgi kielel):

Kielenkäyttö sizäreksienke:

Ei ole/olluh sizäreksii: siirry kyzymykseh 20

19 Mittumua kieldy/kielii käytät libo käytit sizäreksienke?

a. iččiedäs vahnembien sizäreksien ker:

lapsennu _____

nygöi _____

b. iččiedäs nuorembien sizäreksien ker:

lapsennu _____

nygöi _____

Kielenkäyttö puolizon/partn'oranke:

Ei puolizuo/partn'orua: siirry kyzymykseh 21.

20 Mittumua kieldy/kielii käytät puolizon/partn'oran ker?

Ku käyttänet enämbi migu yhty kieldy, sanele mittuzes tilandehes käytät kudamuagi kieldy

Kielenkäyttö huollettavien (alle 18 v.) lapsien ker:

ei elätettävii lapsii: siirry kyzymykseh 22.

21 Äijängo elätettäviä lastu sinul on da midä kiely/kielii pagizet heijän ker?

Minul on _____ elätettäviä lastu.

Mittumua kiely/kielii käytät vahniman da nuoriman lapsen ker?

a. Vahniman lapsen ker: _____

b. Nuoriman lapsen ker: _____

Kazvatus da mielet kielen käytös pienien lapsien ker

22 Oligo sinun lapsusaijas pyrgimyksii estiä vahnembii käyttämäs karjalan kiely lapsien ker paistes?

En tiijä

Ei

Oli

Migäli vastait "En tiijä" libo "Ei", siirry kyzymykseh 24

23 Mittuzis tilandehis nengomat pyrgimykset ozutettihes: (voit vastata moneh vaihtoehtoh, ei vai yhteh)

Kois, sanele kui: _____

Školas, sanele kui: _____

Toizis tilandehis, sanele ken da kui: _____

24 Ongo nygöi nägemyksii, ku lapsienke paistes ei pie käyttöä karjalan kiely?

En tiijä

Ei

On, sanele ken da kui moizii nägemyksii ezittäy?

Kielenkäyttö školás

Huom: kyzymykses 25-26 ei kyzellä kieliurokoil annettuu opastustu, a toizien ainehien opastukses käytetty kiely libo kielii!

25 Mittumua kiely libo kielii teijän školás käytettih opastuskielenny libo kielinny?

- Minuu opastettih vaiku yhtel kielel, mittumal? _____
siirry kyzymykseh 27
- Minuu opastettih eri kielil. Jatka kyzymykseh 26.

26 Sellitä tarkembi, mittumua opastuskiely libo -kielii käytettih opastukses eri tazoloil?

	karjalan kieli	suomen kieli	Muut kielet	
			_____	_____
Eziškola (päivykodi)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Perusškola (kanzuškola)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Toizen astien škola	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27 Oligo teil muamankielen opastustu (karjalan kielel) školás?

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---|---------|
| Eziškolás (päivykois) | <input type="checkbox"/> Ei | <input type="checkbox"/> Muga: äijängo čuassuu nedälis? | _____ h |
| Perusškolás (kanzuškolás) | <input type="checkbox"/> Ei | <input type="checkbox"/> Muga: äijängo čuassuu nedälis? | _____ h |
| Toizen astien opastukses | <input type="checkbox"/> Ei | <input type="checkbox"/> Muga: äijängo čuassuu nedälis? | _____ h |

C. KIELENMALTO

Tuliolois kyzymyksis pyvvämmö sinuu arbuamah omua kielenmaltuo. Valliče vaihtohto jogahizen kielen maltole.

28 Ellendän nämii kielii:

	hyvin	aiga hyvin	kudakui	pahoi	ni vouse en malta
karjalan kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomen kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
anglii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruočči	<input type="checkbox"/>				
germuanii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
frantsii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

29 Pagizen nämii kielii:

	hyvin	aiga hyvin	kudakui	pahoi	ni vouse en malta
karjalan kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomen kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
anglii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruočči	<input type="checkbox"/>				
germuanii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
frantsii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

30 Luven tekstoi nämil kielil:

	hyvin	aiga hyvin	kudakui	pahoi	ni vouse en malta
karjalan kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomen kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
anglii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruočči	<input type="checkbox"/>				
germuanii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
frantsii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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31 Kirjutat tekstua nämil kielil:

	hyvin	aiga hyvin	kudakui	pahoi	ni vouse en malta
karjalan kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomen kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
anglii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruočči	<input type="checkbox"/>				
germuanii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
frantsii	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

D. KIELEN KÄYTTÖ

32 Sanele, mittuzis tilandehis käytät eri kielii (täytä vaiku kohtat, kudamat pätäh sinule).

A. Karjal

	Ainos	Puaksuh	Toiči	Harvah	Nikonzu
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susiedoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Laukas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Uuličal	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virguniekoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sotsializis tapahtumis *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toizis tilandehis, mis** _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sotsializil tapahtumil tarkoitammo paikallizii tapahtumii, nengomii kui kluubuillat, kul'ttuurutapahtumat i m.i.

** Voit lizätä kielenkäyttötilandehii tarbehen mugah.

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B. Suomi

	Ainos	Puaksuh	Toiči	Harvah	Nikonzu
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susiedoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Laukas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Uuličal	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virguniekoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sotsializis tapahtumis *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toizis tilandehis, mis**	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sotsializil tapahtumil tarkoitammo paikallizii tapahtumii, nengomii kui kluubuillat, kul'tuurutapahtumat i m.i.

** Voit lizätä kielenkäyttötilandehii tarbehen mugah.

Ku et käyttäne toizii kielii nengomis tilandehis, siirry kyzymykses 33!

C. Anglii/muu kieli (mi?) _____

	Ainos	Puaksuh	Toiči	Harvah	Nikonzu
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susiedoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Laukas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Uuličal	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virguniekoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sotsializis tapahtumis *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toizis tilandehis, mis**	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sotsializil tapahtumil tarkoitammo paikallizii tapahtumii, nengomii kui kluubuillat, kul'tuurutapahtumat i m.i.

** Voit lizätä kielenkäyttötilandehii tarbehen mugah.

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D. Kieli (mi?) _____

	Ainos	Puaksuh	Toiči	Harvah	Nikonzu
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susiedoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Laukas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Uuličal	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virguniekoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sotsializis tapahtumis *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toizis tilandehis, mis**	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sotsializil tapahtumil tarkoitammo paikallizii tapahtumii, nengomii kui kluubuillat, kul'tuurutapahtumat i m.i.

** Voit lizätä kielenkäyttötilandehii tarbehen mugah.

E. KOHTAVUMINE ERI KIELIENKE DA HIMO KÄYTTIÄ KIELII**Kielen sevoittumine**

33 Midä mielidy olet al luveteldulois väittehis koskijen kielen sevoittumistu? Merkiče vaihtoehto, kudai parahite vastuau sinun mielidy.

	Täyzin samua mielidy	Kudakui samua mielidy	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mielidy	Täyzin eri mielidy
Karjalan kielen pagizijat puaksuh sevoitetah kielii.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Vai vähä opastunnuot ristikanzat sevoitetah Karjalan kielidy toizien kielienke.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nuoret sevoitetah puaksuh karjalan kielidy toizien kielienke.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Vahnemmat rahvas paistah karjalan kielidy hairehettah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kielen sevoittamine ozuttau maltuo käyttöä eri kielii.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kielen sevoittamine pidäy hyväksyö.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Karjalan da suomen kielien kannattamine

34 Kuhkutettihgo sinun vahnembat sinuu käyttämäh karjalan kiieldy?

- Ei Muga

Kommentuarieloi

35 Kuhkutettihgo sinun vahnembat sinuu käyttämäh suomen kiieldy?

- Ei Muga

Kommentuarieloi

36 Ku sinul ollou omii lapsii, opitgo suaha heidy opastumah da käyttämäh karjalan kiieldy?

- Ei ole omii lapsii, siirry kyzymykseh 37
- Minul on lapsii ga en opi suaha heidy opastumah da käyttämäh karjalan kiieldy.
- Minul on lapsii da opin suaha heidy opastumah da käyttämäh karjalan kiieldy.
- Sanele, kui?
-
-

Väittehii karjalan kielen käytös rahvahaliston eri kategourielois

37 Voibi arbailla, ku eri igähizet da eri sugupuoldu olijat ristikanzat käytetäh parembi yhty kieldy migu midätahto tostu. Midä duumaičet al ezitettylöis väittehis?

	Täyzin samua mieldy	Kudakui samua mieldy	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mieldy	Täyzin eri mieldy
Nuoris poijis vuotetah, ku hyö käytetäh karjalan kieldy.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nuoris tyttölöis vuotetah, ku hyö käytetäh karjalan kieldy.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Aiguzis miehis vuotetah, ku hyö käytetäh karjalan kieldy.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Aiguzis naizis vuotetah, ku hyö käytetäh karjalan kieldy.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

38 Al väittehii karjalan kielen pagizijois. Midä duumaičet nämis

	Täyzin samua mieldy	Kudakui samua mieldy	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mieldy	Täyzin eri mieldy
On helpo ystävystyö karjalan kielen pagizijoinke.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helpo tuttavuo karjalan kielen pagizijoinke.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helpo naija karjalan kieldy pagizii.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helpo ruadua karjalan kielen pagizijoinke.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helpo viettiä aigua karjalan kielen pagizijoinke.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Karjalan kielen käyttämine

39 Midä duumaičet karjalan kielen käytändäs julgizis ruadolois? Midä duumaičet al olijois väittehis?

	Täyzin samua mielidy	Kudakui samua mielidy	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mielidy	Täyzin eri mielidy
Karjalan kielidy pidäs käyttöä tv-ohjelmis.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielidy pidäs käyttöä politsiiazemal.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielidy pidäs käyttöä parlamentas.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielidy pidäs käyttöä bol'ničäs.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielidy pidäs käyttöä suuvos.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielidy pidäs käyttöä Internetas.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielidy pidäs käyttöä opastukses.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Kielien merkičys tulies aijas

40 Arbua, kui al luvetelduloin kielien merkičys muuttuu tulieloin kymmenen vuvven aigua

	Täyzin samua mielidy	Kudakui samua mielidy	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mielidy	Täyzin eri mielidy
Karjalan kielidy käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuvven aigua enämbi migu nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielidy käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuvven aigua enämbi migu nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Anglien kielidy käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuvven aigua enämbi migu nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruočin kielidy käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuvven aigua enämbi migu nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kielidy _____ käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuvven aigua enämbi migu nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Mielikuvat kielis

Kyzymmö sinun mielikuvii karjalan, suomen da anglien kielees sanapuaroin vuoh. Merkiče vastavus asteikol 1-5, ezimerkikse

	1	2	3	4	5	
čoma	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tuhmu

41 Karjalan kieli minun korvah kuuluu:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	koval				
ebävarmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmal				
lähäzel	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittozel				
luotettaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebäluotettaval				
piättäjäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	prähkäjäl				
nygyaigazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	perindehellizel				
väittömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	vägeväl				
vesseläl	<input type="checkbox"/>	igäväl				
tuhmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	čomal				
miehekkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	naizellizel				
ilgiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	ystävällizel				
bohatal	<input type="checkbox"/>	keyhäl				
menestymättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyjäl				
vanhal	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorel				
älykkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	tolkuttomal				
huomuavazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	tungettelijal				
ebäkul'turnoil	<input type="checkbox"/>	kul'turnoil				
passiivizel	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivizel				

42 Suomen kieli minun korvah kuuluu:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	koval				
ebävarmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmal				
lähäzel	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittozel				
luotettaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebäluotettaval				
piättäjäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	prähkäjäl				
nygyaigazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	perindehellizel				
väittömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	vägeväl				
vesseläl	<input type="checkbox"/>	igäväl				
tuhmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	čomal				
miehekkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	naizellizel				
ilgiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	ystävällizel				
bohatal	<input type="checkbox"/>	keyhäl				

menestymättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyjäl				
vanhal	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorel				
älykkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	tolkuttomal				
huomuavazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	tungettelijal				
ebäkul'turnoil	<input type="checkbox"/>	kul'turnoil				
passiivizel	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivizel				

43 Anglien kieli minun korvah kuuluu:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	koval				
ebävarmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmal				
lähäzel	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittozel				
luotettaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebäluotettaval				
piättäjäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	prähkäjäl				
nygyaigazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	perindehellizel				
väittömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	vägeväl				
vesseläl	<input type="checkbox"/>	igäväl				
tuhmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	čomal				
miehekkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	naizellizel				
ilgiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	ystävällizel				
bohatal	<input type="checkbox"/>	keyhäl				
menestymättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyjäl				
vanhal	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorel				
älykkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	tolkuttomal				
huomuavazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	tungettelijal				
ebäkul'turnoil	<input type="checkbox"/>	kul'turnoil				
passiivizel	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivizel				

Kielizakonanluajindu

Kui rahvas ellendetäh zakonoi

44 Kannatetahgo sinun muan libo alovehen zakonat karjalan kielen käyttöö?

Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" tai "ozittain", sanele tarkembi, kui:

45 Vaigevutetahgo sinun muan zakonat sinun mieles karjalan kielen käyttö?

- Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" tai "ozittain", sanele tarkembi, kui:

46 Kannatetahgo zakonat sinun mieles monen kielen maltuo da käyttö alovehel, kus elät?

- Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" tai "ozittain", sanele tarkembi, kui:

47 A voibigo zakonoi lugie karjalan kielel?

- Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" tai "ozittain", sanele tarkembi, kui:

48 Ongo teijän muas libo alovehel zakonoi, kudamis siändelläh karjalan kielen käyttämizes školaopastukses?

- Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" tai "ozittain", sanele tarkembi, kui:

49 Ongo teijän muas libo alovehel zakonoi, kudamis siändelläh, mittuzii tiedoloi opastukses annetah karjalan kieleh näh?

- Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" tai "ozittain", sanele tarkembi, kui:

50 Vastatahgo eri kielien pagizijoi da eri kielii tazaverdazesti teijän muas da teijän eländyalovehel?

Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" tai "ozittain", sanele tarkembi, kui:

Kieli da ruadotorrut

51 Ongo teijän muas zakonoi libo muudu siändyö eri kielien malton tuomis edulois libo palkivolois?

Ei Muga En malta sanuo

Migäli "muga", sellitä mittuzii zakonoi libo siändölöi?

52 Ozuta, midä mielä olet karjalan kielen stuatusas ruadotorrul al luvetelduloih väittehieh näh:

	Täyzin samua mielä	Kudakui samua mielä	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mielä	Täyzin eri mielä
Karjalan kielen malto kebjendäy enzimäzen ruadopaikan suandua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen malto vaikuttau pozitiivizesti palkah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen malto parendau mahtoloi piästä edehpäi omas ruavos.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen malto parendau mahtoloi vaihtua ruadopaikkua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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53 Ozuta, midä mieldy olet suomen kielen stuatusas ruadotorrul al luvetelduloih väittehih näh:

	Täyzin samua mieldy	Kudakui samua mieldy	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mieldy	Täyzin eri mieldy
Suomen kielen malto kebjendäy enzimäzen ruadopaikan suandua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen malto vaikuttau pozitiivizesti palkah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen malto parendau mahtoloi piästä edehpäi omas ruavos.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen malto parendau mahtoloi vaihtua ruadopaikkua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

54 Ozuta, midä mieldy olet anglien kielen stuatusas ruadotorrul al luvetelduloih väittehih näh:

	Täyzin samua mieldy	Kudakui samua mieldy	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mieldy	Täyzin eri mieldy
Anglien kielen malto kebjendäy enzimäzen ruadopaikan suandua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Anglien kielen malto vaikuttau pozitiivizesti palkah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Anglien kielen malto parendau mahtoloi piästä edehpäi omas ruavos.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Anglien kielen malto parendau mahtoloi vaihtua ruadopaikkua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Kielenhuolto da puhtaskielizys

55 Tiijätgo, ongo teijän muas institutsieloi, järjestölöi libo rahvastu, kuduat aktiivizesti toimitah karjalan kielen akkiloiččemizekse (ezim. kehittämizekse, kannattamizekse da siändelemizekse)?

Ei Muga En malta sanoa

Migäli vastait "muga", luvettele net institutsiet, järjestöt libo rahvas:

56 Tiijätgo, ongo teijän muas institutsieloi, järjestölöi libo rahvastu, kuduat aktiivizesti toimitah suomen kielen akkiloiččemizekse (ezim. kehittämizekse, kannattamizekse da siändelemizekse)?

Ei Muga En malta sanoa

Migäli vastait "muga", luvettele net institutsiet, järjestöt libo rahvas:

57 Ongon karjalan kielel olemas puhdastu kielimuoduo?

Ei Muga En malta sanoa

Migäli vastai "muga", ken pagizou puhdastu kieldy da mittuzis tilandehis?

58 Onko sinun mieles tarvehtu kehittä karjalan kieldy muga, ku sidä vois nygösty parembi käyttöä yhteiskunnallizis da julgizis azielois da ruadolois

Ei Muga En malta sanoa

59 Ongon karjalan kieldy helppo käyttöä enimis tilandehis?

Muga

Ei. Sanele, mittumis tilandehis karjalan kielel ei voi sanuo tarvittavua aziedu?

F. JULGINE DA YKSITYINE KIELENKÄYTTÖ. KIELENKÄYTTÖ DA KIELEN ELÄVYTTÄMIZEN PRAKTIEKKU

Kielen käytändy da elavuttamizen nero

60 Ongo jälgiaijal olluh toimehii karjalan kielen säilyttämizekse?

- En tiijä Ei Muga. Sanele, mittuzii toimehii on olluh?

61 Voigo karjalan kielydy käyttöä teijän muas libo alovehel al luveteldulois paikois?

	Muga	Ei	En malta sanuo
Parluamentas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politsiiazemal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Verotoimistos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Voimattomusstrahovkutoimistos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ruadovägitoimistos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bol'ničäs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suuvos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ministerstvas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aloveh-, libo kunnanvirastos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Opastukses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lehtistös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radivos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
TV:s	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ulkorekluamois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tv-, lehti- da radivorekluamois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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G. KUL'TUURAN KULUTUS, TIJOTUSVÄLINEHIEN DA UVVEN MEEDIEN KÄYTTÖ ERI KIELIL

62 Puaksuhgi luvet meediedy libo kävyt eri kielizis tapahtumis?

A. Karjal

	Joga päiviä	Moni kerdua nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvem- bah	Nikonzu	Ei tarita täl kielel
Luvn sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvn kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn kontsertas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen radivuo (uudizii, paginohjelmua i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kačon tv:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen muuzikkua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kačon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvn internettua (kodisivuloi, uudizii, blogiloi i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehohjelmii täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähköpoštuviestii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstuviestii (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sotsialistu meediedy (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetan paginformat i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizii kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan blogii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muudu, midä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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B. Suomi

	Joga päiviä	Moni kerdua nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvem- bah	Nikonzu	Ei tarita täl kielel
Luvén sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvén kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn kontsertas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen radivuo (uudizii, paginohjelmua i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon tv:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen muuzikkua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvén internettua (kodisivuloi, uudizii, blogiloi i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehohjelmii täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähköpoštuviestii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstuviestii (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sotsialistu meediedy (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetan paginformat i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizii kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan blogii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muudu, midä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Ku Sinä et käytä toizii kielii, eisty kyzymykseh 63!

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C. Anglien kieli / Muu kieli, mi? _____

	Joga päiviä	Moni kerdua nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvem- bah	Nikonzu	Ei tarita täl kielel
Luvn sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvn kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn kontsertas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen radivuo (uudizii, paginohjelmua i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon tv:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen muuzikkua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvn internettua (kodisivuloi, uudizii, blogiloi i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehohjelmii täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähköpoštuviestii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstuviestii (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sotsialistu meediedy (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetan paginformat i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizii kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan blogii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muudu, midä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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D. Muu kieli, mi? _____

	Joga päiviä	Moni kerdua nedälis	Joga nedälii	Joga kuudu	Harvem- bah	Nikonzu	Ei tarita täl kielel
Luvn sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvn kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn kontsertas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen radivuo (uudizii, paginohjelmua i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon tv:dy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen muuzikkua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvn internettua (kodisivuloi, uudizii, blogiloi i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehohjelmii täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähköpoštuviestii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstuviestii (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sotsialistu meediedy (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetan paginformat i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizii kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan blogii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muudu, midä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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63 Aktiivine kielen käyttö eri tilandehis. Puaksuhgo käytät eri kielii al luveteldulois azielois?

A. Karjal

	joga päiviä	moni kerdua nedälis	joga nedälii	joga kuudu	harvem- bah	nikonzu
Kirjutan kirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan päivykirjua libo mustohpanoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstoi, runoloi i m.i.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sanelen runoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ozuttelen teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu, mi? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. Suomi

	joga päiviä	moni kerdua nedälis	joga nedälii	joga kuudu	harvem- bah	nikonzu
Kirjutan kirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan päivykirjua libo mustohpanoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstoi, runoloi i m.i.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sanelen runoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ozuttelen teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu, mi? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Ku et nikonzu käyttäne toizii kielii nämis tilandehis, kyzely lopeh täh. Suuri passibo aktiivizuos!

C. Anglien kieli / Muu kieli, mi? _____

	joga päiviä	moni kerdua nedälis	joga nedälii	joga kuudu	harvem- bah	nikonzu
Kirjutan kirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan päivykirjua libo mustohpanoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstoi, runoloi i m.i.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sanelen runoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ozuttelen teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu, mi? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. Muu kieli, mi? _____

	joga päiviä	moni kerdua nedälis	joga nedälii	joga kuudu	harvem- bah	nikonzu
Kirjutan kirjazii	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan päivykirjua libo mustohpanoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstoi, runoloi i m.i.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sanelen runoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ozuttelen teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu, mi? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kyzely lopeh täh. Suuri passibo vaivannägemizes da aktiivizuos!

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5 Opassunta, ilmoita korkeimman tutkinnon:

- Ei mimmoistakana tutkintuo
- Peruskoulu, montako vuotta: _____
- Gimnasija libo ammatillini opassunta (ammattikoulu ta muu semmoni): _____ vuotta
- Korkien astien opassunta: _____ vuotta / mimmoni: _____

6 A) Mimmoni ammatti siula on? _____

B) Mimmoni vaihtoehto parahiten kuvuau siun piäruatuo:

- Ruan libo opassun kojien ulkopuolella
- Ruan koissa (esim. kotiruavot, fermeri)
- Olen eläkeläini
- Ečin ruatuo libo olen ruavotoin
- Muuta: _____

C) Ruatko toisessa kylässä tai linnassa, kunne ruatomatka on enämpi kuin 50 km yhteh suuntah?

- joka päivä
- joka netäli
- joka kuukausi
- toini tapa, selitä? _____

B. KIELENKÄYTTYÖ KOSKIJAT TAUSTATIIJOT

7 Mikä kieli/mit kielet siula on/ollah muamonkielenä (kieli/kielet, kuta/ kuita olet opastun ensimmäiseksi)?

8 Missä ta keneltä opassuit pakajamah karjalaksi?

9 Missä ta keneltä opassuit pakajamah suomeksi?

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Siun ämmön ta ukon pakinakieli (mikäli hyö eletäh siun aikah):

10 Mitä kieltä/kielie sinun ämmö ta ukko muamon puolelta käytettih/käytetäh siun kera paissessa:

11 Mitä kieltä/kielie siun ämmö ta ukko tuaton puolelta käytettih/ käytetäh siun kera paissessa:

Siun vanhempien taustatijot

12 Mikä on/oli siun tuaton korkein opassustaso:

- Ei nimimmoista tutkintuo
- Kansa- tai peruskoulu: _____ vuotta
- Gimnasija libo ammatillini toisen astien opassus (ammattikoulut ta muut semmoset): ____ v.
- Korkien astien opassunta:
_____ vuotta / mimmoni tutkinto _____
- En tiijä

13 Mimmoni on/oli siun muamon korkein opassustaso:

- Ei nimimmoista tutkintuo
- Kansa- tai peruskoulu: _____ vuotta
- Gimnasija libo ammatillini toisen astien opassus (ammattikoulut ta muut semmoset): ____ v.
- Korkien astien opassunta:
_____ vuotta / mimmoni tutkinto _____
- En tiijä

Vanhempien pakinakieli:

Jos se ei sovi, toisin sanoin jos yksi vanhemmista on kuollun tahi ei elän perehen kera yhdessä, ni pane, ole hyvä, merkki "ei sovi".

14 Mitä kieltä/kielie siun vanhemmat paissah/paistih keskenäh?

- Ei sovi
- Sopiu, merkiče ole hyvä :

Tuatto muamolla: _____

Muamo tuatolla: _____

15 Mitä kieltä/kielie muamo pakasi siula lapsena?

- Muamo ei elänyn siun kera: siirry kysymykseh 17
- Mainiče, mitä kieltä/kielie hiän pakasi erähissä tilantehissa (ku ollou paissun monellaki kielellä):

16 Mitä kieltä/kielie muamo pakajau siula nyt?

- Muamo ei elä libo ei ole yhtevyttä häneh.
- Mainiče, mitä kieltä/kielie hiän pakajau erilaisissa tilantehissa (ku paissou monellaki kielellä):

17 Mitä kieltä/kielie tuatto pakasi siula lapsena?

- Tuatto ei elän siun kera, siirry kysymykseh 19
- Mainiče, mitä kieltä/kielie hiän pakasi erilaisissa tilantehissa (ku ollou paissun monellaki kielellä):

18 Mitä kieltä/kielie tuatto pakajau siula nyt?

- Tuatto ei elä libo ei ole yhtevyttä häneh.
- Mainiče, mitä kieltä/kielie hiän pakasi erilaisissa tilantehissa (ku ollou paissun monellaki kielellä):

Kielenkäyttö sisareksien kera:

Ei ole/ollun sisareksie: siirry kysymykseh 20

19 Mitä kieltä/kielie käytät libo käytit sisareksien kera?

a. iččie vanhempien sisareksien kera:

lapsena _____

nyt _____

b. iččie nuorempien sisareksien kera:

lapsena _____

nyt _____

Kielenkäyttö puolison/partńoran kera:

Ei puolisuo/partńorua: siirry kysymykseh 21.

20 Mitä kieltä/kielie käytät puolison/partńoran kera?

Kun käyttänet enämpi kuin yhtä kieltä, sanele mimmosissa tilantehissa käytät kutaki kieltä

Kielenkäyttö (alle 18 v.) lapsien kera:

Ei elätettävie lapsie: siirry kysymykseh 22.

21 Montako elätettävyä lasta siula on ta mitä kieltä/kielie pakajat heijän kera?

Miula on _____ elätettävyä lasta.

Mitä kieltä/kielie käytät vanhimpien da nuorimpien lapsien kera?

a. Vanhiman lapsen kera: _____

b. Nuorimman lapsen kera: _____

Kasvatus ta mielet kielen käytössä pienien lapsien kera

22 Oliko siun lapsusajassa pyrkimyksie estyä vanhempie käyttämässä karjalan kieltä lapsien kera paissessa?

En tiijä

Ei

Oli

Mikäli vastasit "En tiijä" libo "Ei", siirry kysymykseh 24

23 Mimmosissa tilantehissa tämmöset pyrkimykset oltih : (voit vastata moneh vaihtoehtoh, ei vai yhteh)

Koissa, sanele kuinka: _____

Koulussa, sanele kuinka: _____

Toisissa tilantehissa, sanele ken ta kuinka: _____

24 Onko nyt semmoista, jotta lapsien kera paissessa ei pie käyttyä karjalan kieltä?

En tiijä

Ei

On, sanele ken ta kuika moisie pakinoita on ollun?

Kielenkäyttö koulussa

Huom: kysymyksissä 25-26 ei kysellä kielitunnilla annettua opassusta, a toisien ainehien opassuksessa käytettyä kieltä!

25 Mitä kieltä libo kielie teijän koulussa käytettih opassuskielenä libo kielinä?

Milma opassetih vain yhellä kielellä, millä? _____

siirry kysymykseh 27

Milma opassetih eri kielillä. Jatka kysymykseh 26.

26 Selitä tarkemmin, mitä opassuskieltä libo -kielie käytettih opassuksessa eri tasoloilla?

	karjalan kieltä	suomen kieltä	Muuta	
			_____	_____
Esikoulussa (päiväkoti)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Peruskoulu (kansakoulu)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Toisen astien koulu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27 Oliko teilä muamonkielen opassusta (karjalan kielellä) koulussa?

Esikoulussa (päiväkoissa) Ei Kyllä: Montako tuntie netälissä? _____ h

Peruskoulussa (kansakoulussa) Ei Kyllä: Montako tuntie netälissä? _____ h

Toisen astien opassuksessa
(gimnuazijassa/ammatillisesaa
opassuksessa): Ei Kyllä: Montako tuntie netälissä? _____ h

C. KIELENMALTAMINI

Allaolijoista kysymyksistä pyvvämmä silma arvuamah omua kielenmalttamista. Valiče vaihtoehto jokahisen kielen maltttamisella.

28 Ymmärrän näitä kielie:

	hyvin	aika hyvin	kutakuinki	pahoin	en yhtänä malta
karjalan kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomen kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
englanti	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruočči	<input type="checkbox"/>				
saksa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ranska	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

29 Pakajan näitä kielie:

	hyvin	aika hyvin	kutakuinki	pahoin	en yhtänä malta
karjalan kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomen kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
englanti	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruočči	<input type="checkbox"/>				
saksa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ranska	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

30 Luven tekstie näilä kielillä:

	hyvin	aika hyvin	kutakuinki	pahoin	en yhtänä malta
karjalan kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomen kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
englanti	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruočči	<input type="checkbox"/>				
saksa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ranska	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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31 Kirjutan tekstie näilä kielillä:

	hyvin	aika hyvin	kutakuinki	pahoin	en yhtänä malta
karjalan kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomen kieli	<input type="checkbox"/>				
englanti	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruočči	<input type="checkbox"/>				
saksa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ranska	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

D. KIELEN KÄYTTÖ

32 Sanele, mimosissa tilantehissa käytät eri kielie (täytä vain ne kohat, kut sovitat siula).

A. Karjala

	Aina	Useičči	Toičči	Harvah	Nikonsa
Koissa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susietojen kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Koulussa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupassa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Uuličalla	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikössä	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virkamiehien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sosialisissa tapahtumissa *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toisissa tilantehissa, missä ** _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sosialisilla tapahtumilla tarkotamma paikallisie tapahtumie, semmosie kuin kluubi-illat, kul'tuuritapahtumat ta muut semmoset

** Voit lisätä kielenkäyttötilantehie tarpehen mukah.

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B. Suomi

	Aina	Useičči	Toičči	Harvah	Nikonsa
Koissa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susietojen kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Koulussa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupassa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Uuličalla	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikössä	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virkamiehien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sosialisissa tapahtumissa *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toisissa tilanteissa, missä **	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sosialisilla tapahtumilla tarkotamma paikallisie tapahtumie, semmosie kuin kluubi-illat, kul'tuuritapahtumat ta muut semmoset

** Voit lisätä kielenkäyttötilantehie tarpehen mukah.

Kun et käyttäne toisie kielie semmosissa tilanteissa, siirry kysymykseh 33!

C. Englanti/muu kieli (mikä?): _____

	Aina	Useičči	Toičči	Harvah	Nikonsa
Koissa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susietojen kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Koulussa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupassa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Uuličalla	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikössä	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virkamiehien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sosialisissa tapahtumissa *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toisissa tilanteissa, missä **	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sosialisilla tapahtumilla tarkotamma paikallisie tapahtumie, semmosie kuin kluubi-illat, kul'tuuritapahtumat ta muut semmoset

** Voit lisätä kielenkäyttötilantehie tarpehen mukah.

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D. Kieli (mikä?) _____

	Aina	Useičči	Toičči	Harvah	Nikonsa
Koissa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susietojen kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Koulussa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupassa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Uuličalla	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastossa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikössä	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virkamiehien kera	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sosialisissa tapahtumissa *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toisissa tilanteissa, missä **	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sosialisilla tapahtumilla tarkotamma paikallisie tapahtumie, semmosie kuin kluubi-illat, kul'tuuritapahtumat ta muut semmoset

** Voit lisätä kielenkäyttötilantehie tarpehen mukah.

E. JOUVUMMA VASTAH ERI KIELIEN KERA TA HIMO KÄYTTYÄ KIELIE**Kielten sevottamini**

33 Mitä mieltä olet alla luvetelluista väittehistä kielen sevoittamisesta? Merkiče vaihtoehto, ku parahiten vastuau siun mieltä.

	Täysin samua mieltä	Kutakuinki samua mieltä	En malta sanuo	Kutakuinki eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Karjalan kielen pakinoiccijat sevoitetah Karjalan kieltä toisih kielih.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Vai vähän opastunnuot pakinoiccijat sevoitetah Karjalan kieltä toisih kielih.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nuoret sevoitetah useicci karjalan kieltä toisih kielih.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Vanhempi rahvas paistah karjalan kieltä hairehettah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kielten sevoittamini näyttäy malttamista käyttöä eri kielie.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kielten sevoittamini pitäy hyväksyö.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Karjalan ta suomen kielten kannattamini

34 Käsettihkö siun vanhemmat silma käyttämäh karjalan kieltä?

Ei Kyllä

Kommentteja

35 Käsettihkö siun vanhemmat silma käyttämäh suomen kieltä?

Ei

Kommentteja

36 Ku siula ollou omie lapsie, yrititkö suaha heitä opastumah ta käyttämäh karjalan kieltä?

Ei ole omie lapsie, siirry kysymykseh 37

Miula on lapsie ka en yrittän suaha heitä opastumah ta käyttämäh karjalan kieltä.

Miula on lapsie ta yritin suaha heitä opastumah ta käyttämäh karjalan kieltä.

Sanele, kuinka?

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Väittehie karjalan kielen käytös rahvaliston eri kategourielois

37 Voipi arvailta, jotta eri ikähiset ta eri sukupuolta olijat ihmiset käytetäh parempi yhtä kieltä kuin mitänih toista. Mitä mietit alla esitetyistä väittehistä?

	Täysin samua mieltä	Kutakuinki samua mieltä	En malta sanuo	Kutakuinki eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Nuorilta poijilta vuotetah, ku hyö käytetäh karjalan kieltä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nuorilta tyttölöiltä vuotetah, ku hyö käytetäh karjalan kieltä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Aikusilta miehiltä vuotetah, ku hyö käytetäh karjalan kieltä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Aikusilta naisilta vuotetah, ku hyö käytetäh karjalan kieltä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

38 Alla väittehie karjalan kielen pakinoiccijoista. Mitä mietit näistä

	Täysin samua mieltä	Kutakuinki samua mieltä	En malta sanuo	Kutakuinki eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
On helppo ystävystyö karjalan kielen pakinoiččijan kera.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helppo tuttavustuo karjalan kielen pakinoiččijan kera.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helppo naija karjalan kiieldy pakinoiččijua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helppo ruatua karjalan kielen pakinoiččijan kera.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helppo viettyä aikua karjalan kielen pakinoiččijan kera.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Karjalan kielen käyttämini

39 Mitä mietit karjalan kielen käytännöstä julkisissa ruatoloissa? Mitä mietit alla oljoista väitteistä?

	Täysin samua mieltä	Kutakuinki samua mieltä	En malta sanuo	Kutakuinki eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Karjalan kieltä pitäis käyttyä tv-ohjelmissa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäis käyttyä poliisiiasemalla.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäis käyttyä parlamentissa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäis käyttyä sairualassa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäis käyttyä oikeuslaitoksissa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäis käyttyä Internetissa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieltä pitäis käyttyä opassuksessa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Kielien merkitys tulijana aikana

40 Arvua, kuinka alla luveteltujen kielien merkitys muuttuu tulijan kymmenen vuuvven aikana.

	Täysin samua mieltä	Kutakuinki samua mieltä	En tiijä mitä sanuo	Kutakuinkin eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Karjalan kieltä käytetäh tulijan 10 vuuvven aikana enämpi mitä nyt.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kieltä käytetäh tulijan 10 vuuvven aikana enämpi mitä nyt .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englannin kieltä käytetäh tulijan 10 vuuvven aikana enämpi mitä nyt .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruočin kieltä käytetäh tulijan 10 vuuvven aikana enäi mitä nyt .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kieltä _____ käytetäh tulijan 10 vuuvven aikana enäi mitä nyt .	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Mielikuvat kielistä

Kysymmä siun mieltä karjalan, suomen ta englannin kielestä sanaparien avulla.

Merkiče vastahus asteikolla 1-5, esimerkiksi:

	1	2	3	4	5	
kaunis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tuhmu

41 Karjalan kieli miun korvassa kuuluu:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmiellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	kovalla				
epävarmalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmalla				
läheisellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittosella				
luotettavalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	epäluotettavalla				
piättäväisellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	tuskallisella				
nykyaikasella	<input type="checkbox"/>	perinteellisellä				
lievällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	väkävällä				
vesselällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	ikävällä				
tuhmalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	kaunehella				
miehekkähällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	naisellisella				
ilkiellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	ystävällisellä				
pohatalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	keyhällä				
menestymättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyjäl				
vanhalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorella				
älykkähällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	tolkuttomalla				
huomuavasella	<input type="checkbox"/>	tunkettelijalla				
epäkul'turnoilla	<input type="checkbox"/>	kul'turnoilla				
passiivisella	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivisella				

42 Suomen kieli miun korvassa kuuluu:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmiellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	kovalla				
epävarmalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmalla				
läheisellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittosella				
luotettavalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	epäluotettavalla				
piättäväisellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	tuskallisella				
nykyaikasella	<input type="checkbox"/>	perinteellisellä				
lievällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	väkävällä				
vesselällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	ikävällä				
tuhmalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	kaunehella				
miehekkähällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	naisellisella				
ilkiellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	ystävällisellä				
pohatalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	keyhällä				

menestymättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyjäl				
vanhalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorella				
älykkähällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	tolkuttomalla				
huomuavasella	<input type="checkbox"/>	tunkettelijalla				
epäkul'turnoilla	<input type="checkbox"/>	kul'turnoilla				
passiivisella	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivisella				

43 Englannin kieli miun korvassa kuuluu:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmiellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	kovalla				
epävarmalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmalla				
läheisellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittosella				
luotettavalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	epäluotettavalla				
piättäväisellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	tuskallisella				
nykyaikaisella	<input type="checkbox"/>	perinteellisellä				
lievällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	väkävällä				
vesselällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	ikävällä				
tuhmalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	kaunehella				
miehekkähällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	naisellisella				
ilkiellä	<input type="checkbox"/>	ystävällisellä				
pohatalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	keyhällä				
menestymättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyjäl				
vanhalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorella				
älykkähällä	<input type="checkbox"/>	tolkuttomalla				
huomuavasella	<input type="checkbox"/>	tunkettelijalla				
epäkul'turnoilla	<input type="checkbox"/>	kul'turnoilla				
passiivisella	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivisella				

Kielisakananluajinta

Mite maltetah pakinoiccijat kielisakanat

44 Hyväsytähkö siun man libo alovehen sakanat karjalan kielen käyttö?

Ei Kyllä Osittain En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait "kyllä" libo "osittain", sanele tarkemmin, kuinka:

45 Luajitahko siun muan sakonat siun mielestä karjalan kielen käyttöä vaikiemmaksi?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait ”kyllä” libo ”osittain”, sanele tarkemmin, kuinka:

46 Kannatetahko sakonat siun mielestä monen kielen malttamista ta käyttöä alovehella, missä elät?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait ”kyllä” libo ”osittain”, sanele tarkemmin, kuinka:

47 A voipiko sakonoja lukie karjalan kielellä?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait ”kyllä” libo ”osittain”, sanele tarkemmin, kuinka:

48 Onko teijän muassa libo alovehella sakonoja,joissa miäritelläh karjalan kielen käyttämistä koulun opassuksessa?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait ”kyllä” libo ”osittain”, sanele tarkemmin, kuinka:

49 Onko teijän muassa libo alovehella sakonoja,joissa miäritelläh karjalan kielen käyttämistä koulun opassusainehena?

- Ei Kyllä Osittain En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait ”kyllä” libo ”osittain”, sanele tarkemmin, kuinka:

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50 Hyväksytähkö eri kielten pakisjoita ta eri kielie tasavertasesti teijän muassa ta teijän eläntäalovehella?

Ei Kyllä Osittain En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait "kyllä" libo "osittain", sanele tarkemmin, kuinka:

Kieli ta ruato

51 Onko teijän muassa sakonoja libo muuta siäntyö eri kielten malttamisen tuomista etuloista libo palkinnoissa?

Ei Kyllä En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait "kyllä", sanele tarkemmin, mimmosie?

52 Sano, mitä mieltä olet karjalan kielen statuksesta ruavossa alla luvetelluih väittehij:

	Täysin samua mieltä	Kutakuinki samua mieltä	En tiijä mitä sanuo	Kudakui eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Karjalan kielen malttamini keventäy ensimmäisen ruatopaikan suantua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen malttamini vaikuttau positiivisesti palkkah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen malttamini parentau mahtuo piässä etehpäin omassa ruavossa.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen malttamini parentau mahtuo vaihtua ruatopaikkua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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53 Sano, mitä mieltä olet suomen kielen statuksesta ruavossa alla luvetelluih väitteih:

	Täysin samua mieltä	Kutakuinki samua mieltä	En tiijä mitä sanuo	Kudakui eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Suomen kielen malttamini keventäy ensimmäisen ruatopaikan suantua .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen malttamini vaikuttau positiivisesti palkkah .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen malttamini parentau mahtuo piässä etehpäin omassa ruavossa .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen malttamini parentau mahtuo vaihtua ruatopaikkua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

54 Sano, mitä mieltä olet englannin kielen statuksesta ruavossa alla luvetelluih väitteih:

	Täysin samua mieltä	Kutakuinki samua mieltä	En tiijä mitä sanuo	Kudakui eri mieltä	Täysin eri mieltä
Englannin kielen malttamini keventäy ensimmäisen ruatopaikan suantua .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englannin kielen malttamini vaikuttau positiivisesti palkkah .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englannin kielen malttamini parentau mahtuo piässä etehpäin omassa ruavossa .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Englannin kielen malttamini parentau mahtuo vaihtua ruatopaikkua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Kielenhuolto ta puhaskielisys

55 Tiijätkö, onko teijän muassa instituuttija, järjestöjä libo rahvasta, kut aktiivisesti toimitah karjalan kielen suojelemiseksi (esim. kehittämiseksi, kannattamiseksi ta siäntelemiseksi)?

- Ei Kyllä En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait ”kyllä”, luvettele ne instituutit, järjessöt libo rahvas:

56 Tiijätkö, onko teijän muassa instituuttija, järjestöjä libo rahvasta, kut aktiivisesti toimitah suomen kielen suojelemiseksi (esim. kehittämiseksi, kannattamiseksi ta siäntelemiseksi)?

- Ei Kyllä En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait ”kyllä”, luvettele ne instituutit, järjessöt libo rahvas:

57 Onko karjalan kielessä olemassa puhasta kielimuotuo?

- Ei Kyllä En tiijä mitä sanuo

Mikäli vastait ”kyllä”, ken pakajau kieltä ta missä tilantehissa: _____

58 Onko siun mielestä tarvetta kehittyä karjalan kieltä niin, kuin sitä vois nykyistä parempi käyttää yhteiskunnallisissa ta julkisissa asioloissa ta ruatoloissa?

- Ei Kyllä En tiijä mitä sanuo

59 Onko karjalan kieltä helppo käyttää enemmän kuin nykyissä tilantehissa?

- Kyllä
 Ei. Sanele, mimmosissa tilantehissa karjalan kielellä ei voi sanuo tarvittavua asieta?

F. JULKINI TA YKSITYINI KIELENKÄYTTÖ. KIELENKÄYTTÖ TA KIELEN ELVYTTÄMISEN PRAKTIKKA

Kielenkäyttö ta elvyttämini

60 Onko viime aikana ollut toimintua karjalan kielen säilyttämiseksi?

- En tiijä Ei Kyllä. Sanele, mimmoista toimintua on ollut?

61 Voiko karjalan kieltä käyttää teijän muassa libo alovehella alla luvetuissa paikoissa?

	Kyllä	Ei	En tiijä mitä sanuo
Parlamentissa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politsijiasemalla	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Verotoimissossa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Voimattomusstrahovkatoimissossa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ruatoväkitoimissossa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bol'ničassa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Oikeuslaitoksessa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ministerstvassa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aloveh-, libo kunnanvirassossa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Opassuksessa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lehissä	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radivossa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
TV:ssä	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ulkoreklamoissa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tv-, lehti- ta radivoreklamoissa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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G. KUL'TUURAN KULUTUS, TIJOTUSVÄLINEHIEN TA UUVVEN MEEDIAN KÄYTTÖ ERI KIELILLÄ

62 Luvetko usein meedijua libo käyt eri kielisissä tapahtumissa?

A. Karjala

	Joka päivä	Monta kertua netälissä	Joka netäli	Joka kuukausi	Harvem-pah	Nikonsa	Ei tarita tällä kielellä
Luvn sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luvn kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn teatrassa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn kontsertassa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen radivuo (uutisie, pakinaohjelmua ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kaçon tv:tä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen musikkie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kaçon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luvn internettua (kodisivuloja, uutisie, blogija ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän tietokonehohjelmie tällä kielellä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan sähköpoštiviestie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan tekstiviestie (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän sotsialista meedijua (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetin pakinaforumie ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kisuan interaktiivisie kisoja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan blogie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muuta, mitä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>						

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B. Suomi

	Joka päivä	Monta kertua netälissä	Joka netäli	Joka kuukausi	Harvem- pah	Nikonsa	Ei tarita tällä kielellä
Luven sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luven kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn teatrassa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn kontsertassa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen radivuo (uutisie, pakinaohjelmua ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kaçon tv:tä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen musikkie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kaçon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luven internettua (kodisivuloja, uutisie, blogija ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän tietokoneohjelmie tällä kielellä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan sähköpoštiviestie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan tekstiviestie (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän sotsialista meedijua (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetin pakinaforumie ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kisuan interaktiivisie kisoja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan blogie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muuta, mitä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>						

Kun et nikonsa käyttäne toisie kielie, siirry kysymykseh 63!

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C. Englannin kieli / Muu kieli, mikä? _____

	Joka päivä	Monta kertua netälissä	Joka netäli	Joka kuukausi	Harvem- pah	Nikonsa	Ei tarita tällä kielellä
Luven sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luven kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn teatrassa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn kontsertassa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen radivuo (uutisie, pakinaohjelmua ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kaçon tv:tä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen musikkie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kaçon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luven internettua (kodisivuloja, uutisie, blogija ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän tietokonehohjelmie tällä kielellä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan sähköpoštiviestie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan tekstiviestie (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän sotsialista meedijua (Chat, Face-book, Twitter, Internetin pakinaforumie ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kisuan interaktiivisie kisoja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan blogie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muuta, mitä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>						

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D. Muu kieli, mikä? _____

	Joka päivä	Monta kertua netälissä	Joka netäli	Joka kuukausi	Harvem- pah	Nikonsa	Ei tarita tällä kielellä
Luven sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luven kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn teatrassa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käyn kontsertassa	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen radivuo (uutisie, pakinaohjelmua ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kaçon tv:tä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kuuntelen musikkie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kaçon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Luven internettua (kodisivuloja, uutisie, blogija ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän tietokonehohjelmie tällä kielellä	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan sähköpoštiviestie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan tekstiviestie (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Käytän sotsialista meedijua (Chat, Face- book, Twitter, Inter- netin pakinaforumie ta muuta semmoista)	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kisuan interaktiivisie kisoja	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Kirjutan blogie	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muuta, mitä: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>						

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63 Aktiivini kielten käyttö eri tilanteissa. Kuinka usein käytät eri kielie alla luvetuissa asioissa?

A. Karjala

	Joka päivä	Monta kertua netälissä	Joka netäli	Joka kuukausi	Harvem-pah	Nikonsa
Kirjutan kirjasje	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan päiväkirjua libo muistohpanoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan tekstie, runoja ta muuta semmoista	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan lauluja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Laulan	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Sanelen runoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Näyttelen teatrassa	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>					

B. Suomi

	Joka päivä	Monta kertua netälissä	Joka netäli	Joka kuukausi	Harvem-pah	Nikonsa
Kirjutan kirjasje	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan päiväkirjua libo muistohpanoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan tekstie, runoja ta muuta semmoista	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan lauluja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Laulan	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Sanelen runoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Näyttelen teatrassa	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>					

Kun et nikonsa käyttäne toisie kielie näissä tilanteissa, kysely loppuu täh. Suuri passipo!

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C. Anglien kieli / Muu kieli, mi? _____

	Joka päivä	Monta kertua netälissä	Joka netäli	Joka kuukausi	Harvem-pah	Nikonsa
Kirjutan kirjasje	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan päiväkirjua libo muistohpanoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan tekstie, runoja ta muuta semmoistai.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan lauluja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Laulan	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Sanelen runoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Näyttelen teatrassa	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>					

D. Muu kieli, mi? _____

	Joka päivä	Monta kertua netälissä	Joka netäli	Joka kuukausi	Harvem-pah	Nikonsa
Kirjutan kirjasje	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan päiväkirjua libo muistohpanoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan tekstie, runoja ta muuta semmoista	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Kirjutan lauluja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Laulan	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Sanelen runoja	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Näyttelen teatrassa	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Muu, mikä? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>					

Kysely loppuu täh. Suuri passipo vaivannävöstä ta aktiivisuudesta!

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5 Opassunda, ilmoita korgehin tutkindo:

- Ei muovollista tutkinduo
- Kanza- libo perusškola: _____ vuotta
- Gimnuaza libo ammatilliini toizen astien opassunda (ammattiškolat i m.i.): _____ vuotta
- Korgien astien opassunda: _____ vuotta / miitus tutkindo _____

6 A) Miitus ammatti siul on? _____

B) Miitus vaihtoehto parahite kuvuau siun piäruaduo:

- Ruan libo opassun koin ulkopuolel
- Ruan kois (ezim. kodiruavot, fermeri)
- Olen eläkkehel
- Etšin ruaduo libo olen ruavotoi
- Mitahto muu, mi? _____

C) Ruatgo toizel paikkakunnal, kunne ruadomatka on enämbi 50 km yhteh suundah?

- joga päiviä
- joga nedälie
- joga kuuda
- kuitahto muuten, sellitä? _____

B. KIELENKÄYTTYÖ KOSKIJAT TAUSTAT'IIJOT

7 Mi kieli/mit kielet siul on/ollah muamoinkielennä kieli/kielet, kudaman/ kudamat olet opastunnuh enzimäzeksi?

8 Mis da kenespäi opassuit karjalan kielen?

9 Mis da kenespäi opassuit suomen kielen?

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Siun isovanhembien paginakieli (migäli hyö elettih/eletäh siun aigah):

10 Miittumua kieldä/kielie siun isovanhemmat muamoin puolel käytettih/käytetäh siunkel paisses:

11 Miittumua kieldä/kielie siun isovanhemmat tuatoin puolel käytettih/ käytetäh siunkel paisses?

Siun vanhembien taustat'ijot

12 Miitus on/oli siun tuatoin korgehin opassustazo:

- Ei muovollista tutkinduo
- Kanza- libo perusškola: _____ vuotta
- Gimnuaza libo ammatilliñi toizen astien opassunda (ammattiškolat i m.i.): _____ vuotta
- Korgien astien opassunda:
_____ vuotta / miitus tutkindo _____
- En t'ijä

13 Miitus on/oli siun muamoin korgehin opassustazo:

- Ei muovollista tutkinduo
- Kanza- libo perusškola: _____ vuotta
- Gimnuaza libo ammatilliñi toizen astien opassunda (ammattiškolat i m.i.): _____ vuotta
- Korgien astien opassunda:
_____ vuotta / miitus tutkindo _____
- En t'ijä

Vanhembien paginakieli:

Kui se ei pätene, toizin sanoen kui toine vanhemmis oloh kuolluh libo ei ole elänyh yhes, pane, ole hyvä, merkintä: " ei päje".

14 Mii tusta kieldä/kielie siun vanhemmat paissah/paistih keskenäh?:

- Ei päje
- Pädöö: merkitše, ole hyvä :

Tuatto muamoil: _____ Muamo tuatoil: _____

15 Mii tusta kieldä/kielie muamo pagizi siul lapsenna?

- Muamo ei elänyh miunkel: siirry kyzymykseh 17
- Mainitše, mii tusta kieldä/kielie häi pagizi mittuzesgi tilandehes (kui ollou paissuh monel kielel):

16 Mii tusta kieldä/kielie muamo pagizou siul nygöi?

- Muamo ei elä libo ei ole yhtevyttä häneh.
- Mainitše, mii tusta kieldä/kielie häi pagizou mittuzesgi tilandehes (kui paissoh monel kielel):

17 Mii tusta kieldä/kielie tuatto pagizi siul lapsenna?

- Tuatto ei elänyh siunkel, siirry kyzymykseh 19
- Mainitše, mii tusta kieldä/kielie häi pagizi mittuzesgi tilandehes (kui oloh paissuh monel kielel):

18 Miiatusta kieldä/kielie tuatto pagizou siul nygöi?

- Tuatto ei elä libo ei ole yhtevyttä häneh.
- Mainitše, miiatusta kieldä/kielie häi pagizi mittuzesgi tilandehes (kui olloh paissuh monel kielel):

Kielenkäyttö sisäreksien ker:

Ei ole/olluh sizäreksie: siirry kyzymykseh 20

19 Miiatusta kieldä/kielie käytät libo käytit sizäreksien ker?

a. ittšiedäs vanhembien sizäreksien ker:

lapsenna _____

nygöi _____

b. ittšiedäs nuorembien sizäreksien ker:

lapsenna _____

nygöi _____

Kielenkäyttö puolizon/partn'oran ker:

Ei puolizuo/partn'orua: siirry kyzymykseh 21.

20 Miiatusta kieldä/kielie käytät puolizon/partn'oran ker?

Kui käyttänet enämbi kui yhtä kieldä, sanele miittumas tilandehes käytät kudamuagi kieldä

Kielenkäyttö huollettavien (alle 18 v.) lapsien ker:

eule elätettävie lapsie: siirry kyzymykseh 22.

21 Äijängö elätettäviä lasta siul on da midä kieldä/kielie pagizet heijän ker?

Miul on _____ elätettäviä lasta.

Miitusta kieldä/kielie käytät vanhimman da nuorimman lapsen ker?

a. Vanhimman lapsen ker: _____

b. Nuorimman lapsen ker: _____

Kazvatus da mielet kielen käytös pienien lapsien ker

22 Oligo siun lapsusaijas pyrgimyksie estiä vanhembie käyttämäs karjalan kieldä lapsien ker paisses?

En t'ijä

Ei

Oli

Migäli vastait "En t'ijä" libo "Ei", siirry kyzymykseh 24

23 Miittumas tilandehis nengozet pyrgimyksiet ozutettih: (voit vassata moneh vaihtoehtoh, ei vai yhteh)

Kois, sanele kui: _____

Školas, sanele kui: _____

Toizis tilandehis, sanele ken da kui: _____

24 Ongö nygöi nägemyksie, kui lapsien ker paisses ei pie käyttöä karjalan kieldä?

En t'ijä

Ei

On, sanele ken da kui moizie nägemyksie ezittää?

Kielenkäyttö školás

Huom: kyzymykses 25-26 ei kyzellä kieliurakoil annettuo opassusta, eigä toizien ainehien opassukses käytettyö kieldä libo kielie!

25 Miiustä kieldä libo kielie teijän školás käytettih opassuskielennä libo -kielinnä?

Minuo opassettih vai kui yhel kielel, miittumal? _____

siirry kyzymykseh 27

Minuo opassettih eri kielil. Jatka kyzymykseh 26.

26 Sellitä tarkembah, miiustä opassuskielä libo -kielie käytettih opassukses eri tazoloil?

	karjalan kieli	suomen kieli	Muut kielet	
			_____	_____
Eziškola (päiväkodi)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Perusškola (kanzaškola)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Toizen astien škola	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27 Oligo teil muamoinkielen opassusta (karjalan kielel) školás?

Eziškola (päiväkodi) Ei Muga: äijängo tšuassuo nedälis? _____ h

Perusškola (kanzaškola) Ei Muga: äijängo tšuassuo nedälis? _____ h

Toizen astien opassukses Ei Muga: äijängo tšuassuo nedälis? _____ h

C. KIELENMALTANDA

Tulielois kyzymykses pyvvämmö sinuo arvioimah omua kielenmaltandua. Vallitše vaihtoehto jogahizen kielen maltannal.

28 Ellennän nämie kielie:

	hyvin	aiga hyvin	kudakui	pahoin	ni vouse en malta
karjala	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
anglie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruottši	<input type="checkbox"/>				
germuanie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
frantsie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

29 Pagizen nämie kielie:

	hyvin	aiga hyvin	kudakui	pahoin	ni vouse en malta
karjala	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
anglie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruottši	<input type="checkbox"/>				
germuanie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
frantsie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

30 Luven tekstie nämil kielil:

	hyvin	aiga hyvin	kudakui	pahoin	ni vouse en malta
karjala	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
anglie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruottši	<input type="checkbox"/>				
germuanie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
frantsie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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31 Kirjutan tekstie nämil kielil:

	hyvin	aiga hyvin	kudakui	pahoin	ni vouse en malta
karjala	<input type="checkbox"/>				
suomi	<input type="checkbox"/>				
anglie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
ruottši	<input type="checkbox"/>				
germuanie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
frantsie	<input type="checkbox"/>				
muu, mi: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

D. KIELEN KÄYTTÖ

32 Sanele, miittumis tilandehis käytät eri kielie (täytä vai net kohat, kudamat päjetäh siul).

A. Karjala

	Ainos	Tuagieh	Toittši	Harvah	Nikonza
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susiedoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kavul	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virganiekkoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sosializis tapahtumis *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toizis tilandehis, mis** _____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sosializil tapahtumil tarkoitammo paikallizie tapahtumie, semmozie kui kerhoillat, kul'ttuuratapahtumat i m.i.

** Voit lizätä kielenkäyttötilandehie tarbehen mugah.

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B. Suomi

	Ainos	Tuagieh	Toittši	Harvah	Nikonza
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susiedoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kavul	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virganiekkoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sosializis tapahtumis *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toizis tilandehis, mis**	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sosializil tapahtumil tarkoitammo paikallizie tapahtumie, semmozie kui kerhoillat, kul'ttuuratapahtumat i m.i.

** Voit lizätä kielenkäyttötilandehie tarbehen mugah.

Kui et käyttänne toizie kielie nengozis tilandehis, siirry kyzymykseh 33!

C. Anglie / muu kieli (mi?): _____

	Ainos	Tuagieh	Toittši	Harvah	Nikonza
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susiedoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kavul	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virganiekkoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sosializis tapahtumis *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toizis tilandehis, mis**	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sosializil tapahtumil tarkoitammo paikallizie tapahtumie, semmozie kui kerhoillat, kul'ttuuratapahtumat i m.i.

** Voit lizätä kielenkäyttötilandehie tarbehen mugah.

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D. Kieli (mi?): _____

	Ainos	Tuagieh	Toittši	Harvah	Nikonza
Kois	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Rodnien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruavos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ystävien ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Susiedoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Školas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kaupas	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kavul	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirjastos	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kirikös	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Virganiekkoin ker	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Sosializis tapahtumis *	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Toizis tilandehis, mis**	<input type="checkbox"/>				
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>				

* Sosializil tapahtumil tarkoitammo paikallizie tapahtumie, semmozie kui kerhoillat, kul'ttuuratapahtumat i m.i.

** Voit lizätä kielenkäyttötilandehie tarbehen mugah.

E. KOHTUAMIINI ERI KIELIENKEL DA HIMO KÄYTTIÄ KIELIE

Kielen sevoittumiini

33 Midä miellä olet al luveteldulois väittechis koskijen kielen sevoittumista? Merkitše vaihtoehto, kudai parahite vastuau siun miellä.

	Täyzin samua miellä	Kudakui samua miellä	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri miellä	Täyzin eri miellä
Karjalan kielen pagizijat tuagieh sevoitetah kielie.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Vai vähän opastunnuot ristikanzat sevoitetah Karjalan kieldä toizien kielienkel.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nuoret sevoitetah tuagieh karjalan kieldä toizien kielienkel.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Vanhemi rahvas paissah karjalan kieldä hairehettah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kielen sevoittamiini ozuttaa häi maltaa käyttiä eri kielie.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kielen sevoittamiini pidää hyväksyö.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Karjalan da suomen kielien kannattamiini

34 Kuhkutettiho siun vanhemmat sinuo käyttämäh karjalan kieldä?

- Ei Muga

Kommentuarieloi

35 Kuhkutettiho siun vanhemmat sinuo käyttämäh suomen kieldä?

- Ei Muga

Kommentuarieloi

36 Kui siul olloh omie lapsie, opitgo suaha heidä opastumah da käyttämäh Karjalan kieldä?

- Ei ole omie lapsie, siirry kyzymykseh 37
- Miul on lapsie, ga en opi suaha heidä opastumah da käyttämäh karjalan kieldä.
- Miul on lapsie da opin suaha heidä opastumah da käyttämäh karjalan kieldä.
- Sanele, kui?
-
-

Väittehie karjalan kielen käytös rahvaliston eri kategourielois

37 Voit arvioija, kui eri igäzet da eri sugupuolda olijat ristikanzat käytetäh paremmin yhtä kieldä kui midätahto toista. Midä duumaitšet al ezitettylöis väittehis?

	Täyzin samua mielä	Kudakui samua mielä	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mielä	Täyzin eri mielä
Nuoris poijs vuotetah, jotta hyö käytetäh karjalan kieldä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nuoris tyttölöis vuotetah, jotta hyö käytetäh karjalan kieldä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Aiguzis miehis vuotetah, jotta hyö käytetäh karjalan kieldä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Aiguzis naizis vuotetah, jotta hyö käytetäh karjalan kieldä.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

38 Al väittehie karjalan kielen pagizijois. Midä duumaitšet näis

	Täyzin samua mielä	Kudakui samua mielä	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mielä	Täyzin eri mielä
On helppo ystävystyö karjalan kielen pagizijoinkel.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helppo tuttavustuo karjalan kielen pagizijoinkel.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helppo naija karjalan kieldä pagizija.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helppo ruadua karjalan kielen pagizijoinkel.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
On helppo viettiä aigua karjalan kielen pagizijoinkel.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Karjalan kielen käyttämini

39 Midä duumaitšet karjalan kielen käytännäs julgizis ruadolois? Midä duumaitšet al olevis väittehis?

	Täyzin samua mielä	Kudakui samua mielä	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mielä	Täyzin eri mielä
Karjalan kieldä pidäis käyttöä tv-ohjelmis.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieldä pidäis käyttöä politsieazemal.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieldä pidäis käyttöä parlamentas.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieldä pidäis käyttöä bol'nišas.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieldä pidäis käyttöä suuvos (oikeuves).	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieldä pidäis käyttöä Internetas.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kieldä pidäis käyttöä opassukses.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Kielien merkitys tulies aijas

40 Arvioi, kui al luvetelduloin kielien merkitys muuttuu tulieloin kymmenen vuuen aigua

	Täyzin samua mielä	Kudakui samua mielä	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mielä	Täyzin eri mielä
Karjalan kieldä käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuuen aigah enämbi kui nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kieldä käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuuen aigah enämbi kui nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Anglien kieldä käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuuen aigah enämbi kui nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Ruotšin kieldä käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuuen aigah enämbi kui nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Kieldä _____ käytetäh tulieloin 10 vuuen aigah enämbi kui nygöi.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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Mielikuvat kielis

Kyzymmö siun mielikuvie karjalan, suomen da anglie kiele sanapuaroin vuoh. Merkitše vastavus asteikol 1-5, ezimerkiksi

	1	2	3	4	5	
tšoma	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	tuhma

41 Karjalan kieli minun korvah kuuluu:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	koval				
ebävarmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmal				
läheizel	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittozel				
luotettaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebäluotettaval				
piättäjäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	prähkäjäl				
nygyaigazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	perindehellizel				
vägevättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	vägeväl				
vesseläl	<input type="checkbox"/>	igäväl				
tuhmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	tšomal				
miehekkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	naizellizel				
ilgiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	ystävällizel				
bohatal	<input type="checkbox"/>	köyhäl				
menestymättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyjäl				
vanhal	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorel				
älykkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	tolkuttomal				
huomuavazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	tungettelijal				
ebäkul'tturnoil	<input type="checkbox"/>	kul'tturnoil				
passiivizel	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivizel				

42 Suomen kieli minun korvah kuuluu:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	koval				
ebävarmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmal				
läheizel	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittozel				
luotettaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebäluotettaval				
piättäjäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	prähkäjäl				
nygyaigazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	perindehellizel				
vägevättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	vägeväl				
vesseläl	<input type="checkbox"/>	igäväl				
tuhmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	tšomal				
miehekkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	naizellizel				
ilgiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	ystävällizel				
bohatal	<input type="checkbox"/>	köyhäl				

menestymättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyjäl				
vanhal	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorel				
älykkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	tolkuttomal				
huomuavazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	tungettelijal				
ebäkul'tturnoil	<input type="checkbox"/>	kul'tturnoil				
passiivizel	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivizel				

43 Anglien kieli minun korvah kuuluu:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	koval				
ebävarmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	varmal				
läheizel	<input type="checkbox"/>	loittozel				
luotettaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebäluotettaval				
piättäjäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	prähkäjäl				
nygyaigazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	perindehellizel				
vägevättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	vägeväl				
vesseläl	<input type="checkbox"/>	igäväl				
tuhmal	<input type="checkbox"/>	tšomal				
miehekkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	naizellizel				
ilgiel	<input type="checkbox"/>	ystävällizel				
bohatal	<input type="checkbox"/>	köyhäl				
menestymättömäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	menestyjäl				
vanhal	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuorel				
älykkähäl	<input type="checkbox"/>	tolkuttomal				
huomuavazel	<input type="checkbox"/>	tungettelijal				
ebäkul'tturnoil	<input type="checkbox"/>	kul'tturnoil				
passiivizel	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivizel				

Kielizakonanluajinda

Kui rahvas ellennetäh zakonoi?

44 Kannatetahgo siun muan libo alovehen zakonat karjalan kielen käyttöö?

Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" libo "ozittain", sanele tarkembah, kui:

45 Vaigevutetahgo siun muan zakonat siun mieles karjalan kielen käyttö?

Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" libo "ozittain", sanele tarkembah, kui:

46 Kannatetahgo zakonat siun mieles monen kielen maltandua da käyttö alovehel, kus elät?

Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" libo "ozittain", sanele tarkembah, kui:

47 A voibigo zakonoi lugie karjalan kielel?

Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" libo "ozittain", sanele tarkembah, kui:

48 Ongo teijän muas libo alovehel zakonoi, kudamis siännellä karjalan kielen käyttämizes školaopassukses?

Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" libo "ozittain", sanele tarkembah, kui:

49 Ongo teijän muas libo alovehel zakonoi, kudamis siännellä, midä karjalan kieles opastetah školas?

Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" libo "ozittain", sanele tarkembah, kui:

50 Suvaijaago eri kielien pagizijoi da eri kielie tazaverdazesti teijän muas da teijän eländäalovehel?

Ei Muga Ozittain En malta sanuo

Migäli vastait "muga" libo "ozittain", sanele tarkembah, kui:

Kieli da ruadodoroga

51 Ongo teijän muas zakonoi libo muuda siändyö eri kielien malttannas tuomis edulois libo palkkivolois?

Ei Muga En malta sanuo

Migäli "muga", sellitä miittumie zakonoi libo siändölöi?

52 Ozuta, midä mielä olet karjalan kielen stuatusas ruadodorogal al luvetelduloih väittehih näh:

	Täyzin samua mielä	Kudakui samua mielä	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri mielä	Täyzin eri mielä
Karjalan kielen maltanda kevendää enzimäzen ruadopaikan suandua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen maltanda vaikuttaa pozitiivizesti palkkah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen maltanda parandaa mahollisuuksie piässä iellehpäi omas ruavos.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Karjalan kielen maltanda parandaa mahollisuuksie vaihtua ruadokohtua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

53 Ozuta, midä miellä olet suomen kielen stuatusas ruadodorogal al luvetelduloih väittehieh näh:

	Täyzin samua miellä	Kudakui samua miellä	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri miellä	Täyzin eri miellä
Suomen kielen maltanda kevendää enzimäzen ruadopaikan suandua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen maltanda vaikuttaa pozitiivizesti palkkah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen maltanda parandaa mahollisuuksie piässä iellehpäi omas ruavos.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Suomen kielen maltanda parandaa mahollisuuksie vaihtua ruadokohtua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

54 Ozuta, midä miellä olet anglieh kielen stuatusas ruadodorogal al luvetelduloih väittehieh näh:

	Täyzin samua miellä	Kudakui samua miellä	En malta sanuo	Kudakui eri miellä	Täyzin eri miellä
Anglieh kielen maltanda kevendäh enzimäzen ruadopaikan suandua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Anglieh kielen maltanda vaikuttah pozitiivizesti palkkah.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Anglieh kielen maltanda parandah mahollisuuksie piässä iellehpäi omas ruavos.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Anglieh kielen maltanda parandaa mahollisuuksie vaihtua ruadokohtua.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Kielenhuolto da puhaskielizyys

55 T'ijätgö, ongo teijän muas institutsieloi, järjestölöi libo rahvasta, kudamat aktiivisesti toimitah karjalan kielen akkiloittšemizeksi (ezim. kehittämizeksi, kannattamizeksi da siändelemizeksi)?

- Ei Muga En malta sanoa

Migäli vastait "muga", luvettele net institutsiet, järjestöt libo rahvas:

56 T'ijätgö, ongo teijän muas institutsieloi, järjestölöi libo rahvasta, kudamat aktiivisesti toimitah suomen kielen akkiloittšemizeksi (ezim. kehittämizeksi, kannattamizeksi da siändelemizeksi)?

- Ei Muga En malta sanoa

Migäli vastait "muga", luvettele net institutsiet, järjestöt libo rahvas:

57 Ongon karjalan kielel olemas puhasta kielimuoduo?

- Ei Muga En malta sanoa

Migäli vastai "muga", ken pagizou puhasta kieldä da miittumis tilandehis? _____

58 Onko siun mieles tarvehta kehittä karjalan kieldä muga, jotta sidä vois nygöstä paremmin käyttöä yhteiskunnallizis da julgizis azielois da ruadolois

- Ei Muga En malta sanoa

59 Ongon karjalan kieldä helppo käyttöä enimmis tilandehis?

- Muga
 Ei. Sanele, miittumis tilandehis karjalan kielel ei voi sanuo tarvittavua azieda?

F. JULGIŃI DA YKSITYŃI KIELENKÄYTTÖ. KIELENKÄYTTÖ DA KIELEN ELVYTTÄMIZEN PRAKTIEKKA

Kielen käytändö da elavuttamizen nero

60 Ongö jälgiaijal olluh toimie karjalan kielen säilyttämizeksi?

- En tiijä Ei Muga. Sanele, miittumie toimie on olluh?

61 Voigo karjalan kieldä käyttöä teijän muas libo alovehel al luveteldulois kohis?

	muga	ei	en malta sanuo
Parlamentas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politsieazemal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Verotoimissos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
voimattomanrahvahantoimissos (KELA)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ruadovägitomissos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bol'nitšas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suuvos (oikeuves)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ministerstvas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aloveh-, libo kunnanvirastos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Opassukses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lehissös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radivos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
TV:s	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ulkorekluamois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tv-, lehti- da radivorekluamois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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G. KUL'TTUURAN KULUTUS, TIIJOTUSVÄLINEHIEN DA UUVEN MEEDIAN KÄYTTÖ ERI KIELIL

62 Tuagiehko luvet meedieda libo kävyt eri kielizis tapahtumis?

A. Karjala

	joga päiviä	Monta kerdua nedälis	joga nedälie	joga kuuda	Harvem- bah	Nikonza	Ei tarita täl kielel
Luvn sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvn kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn konsertas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen radivuo (uudizie, paginaohjelmie i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Katšon tv:da	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen muuzikkua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Katšon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvn internettua (kodisivuloi, uudizie, blogiloi i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehohjelmie täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähköpoštaviestilöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstaviestilöi (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sosialista meedieda (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetan paginafoorumat i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizie kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjoitan blogie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muuda, midä?: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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B. Suomi

	joga päiviä	Monta kerdua nedälis	joga nedälie	joga kuuda	Harvem- bah	Nikonza	Ei tarita täl kielel
Luvén sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvén kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn konsertas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen radivuo (uudizie, paginaohjelmie i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Katšon tv:da	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen muuzikkua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Katšon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvén internettua (kodisivuloi, uudizie, blogiloi i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehohjelmie täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähköpoštaviestilöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstaviestilöi (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sosialista meedieda (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetan paginafoorumat i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizie kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjoitan blogie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muuda, midä?: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kui et käyttänne toizie kielie, eissy kyzymykseh 63.

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C. Anglien kieli

	joga päiviä	Monta kerdua nedälis	joga nedälie	joga kuuda	Harvem- bah	Nikonza	Ei tarita täl kielel
Luvén sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvén kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn konsertas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen radivuo (uudizie, paginaohjelmie i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Katšon tv:da	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen muuzikkua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Katšon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvén internettua (kodisivuloi, uudizie, blogiloi i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehohjelmie täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähköpoštaviestilöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstaviestilöi (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sosialista meedieda (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetan paginafoorumat i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizie kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjoitan blogie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muuda, midä?: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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D. Muu kieli, mi? _____

	joga päiviä	Monta kerdua nedälis	joga nedälie	joga kuuda	Harvem- bah	Nikonza	Ei tarita täl kielel
Luvén sanomulehtie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvén kirjua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kävyn konsertas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen radivuo (uudizie, paginaohjelmie i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Katšon tv:da	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kuundelen muuzikkua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Katšon kinuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luvén internettua (kodisivuloi, uudizie, blogiloi i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän tiedokonehohjelmie täl kielel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan sähköpoštaviestilöi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstaviestilöi (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käytän sosialista meedieda (Chat, Facebook, Twitter, Internetan paginafoorumat i m.i.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kižuan interaktiivizie kižoi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjoitan blogie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muuda, midä?: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

+

20

25

+

63 Aktiiviini kielen käyttö eri tilandehis. Tuagiehgo käytät eri kielie al luveteldulois azielois?

A. Karjala

	joga päiviä	monta kerdua nedälis	joga nedälie	joga kuuda	harvem- bah	nikonza
Kirjutan kirjazie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan päiväkirjua libo muistohpanoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstie, runoloi i m.i.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sanelen runoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ozuttelen teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu, mi? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. Suomi

	joga päiviä	monta kerdua nedälis	joga nedälie	joga kuuda	harvem- bah	nikonza
Kirjutan kirjazie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan päiväkirjua libo muistohpanoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstie, runoloi i m.i.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sanelen runoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ozuttelen teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu, mi? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kui et nikonza käyttänne toizie kielie näis tilandehis, kyzely loppih täh. Suuri passibo aktiivizuuves!

C. Anglien kieli / Muu kieli, mi? _____

	joga päiviä	monta kerdua nedälis	joga nedälie	joga kuuda	harvem- bah	nikonza
Kirjutan kirjazie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan päiväkirjua libo muistohpanoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstie, runoloi i m.i.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sanelen runoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ozuttelen teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu, mi? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. Muu kieli, mi? _____

	joga päiviä	monta kerdua nedälis	joga nedälie	joga kuuda	harvem- bah	nikonza
Kirjutan kirjazie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan päiväkirjua libo muistohpanoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan tekstie, runoloi i m.i.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirjutan pajoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pajatan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sanelen runoloi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ozuttelen teatras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu, mi? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kyzely loppih täh. Suuri passibo vaivannägemizes da aktiivizuuves!