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Ethnic Loyalty as an Explanatory Factor behind Individual Differences in Variation¹

Abstract

In this article I will discuss variation in the endangered Viena Karelian language and whether ethnic loyalty or the lack of it is connected to the variation in spoken language. I will also study whether people's loyalty to their own mother tongue and the use of it affect the degree to which they adopt contact-induced dialect variants into their speech. The results show that, even if a minority language speaker could speak a prestigious language well, he would not necessarily borrow elements from it very frequently, unless his ethnic loyalty was weak. In contrast, if a minority language speaker's ethnic loyalty is clearly weak and he openly admires another language besides his mother tongue, it shows in his speech as the frequent use of contact-induced variants. The results confirm the view that different phonological variants carry connotations about the group a person would like to belong to.

1. Introduction

Variation in endangered languages has only been studied to a limited degree until the present, and, for example, Walt Wolfram (2002) has called upon researchers to perform systematic analyses of the phenomenon. In this paper, I am going to describe the linguistic variation that occurs in the spoken form of the endangered Viena Karelian language of the 2000s and the factors that affect the individual differences. I am focusing on the phonological structure of the language and my objective is to find out what social factors affect the variation that occurs in it. My paper draws on the sociolinguistic study of variation and language contact research. It is necessary to combine the language contact theory with variation theory, since Viena Karelian is caught between two dominating languages – Russian and Finnish. The contact between Karelian and Russian has been

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studied widely, whereas research into the contact between the two closely cognate languages Finnish and Viena Karelian has been nearly non-existent (however, see Kunnas 2007). This article discusses the intersection between the two closely related languages and how their collision has affected the Viena Karelian language.

According to previous research, variation in spoken language is above all affected by social factors. It has been considered that not even the innovations that are natural to the structure of a language will spread unless its speakers are motivated to adopt them. (Chambers 2002; Schilling-Estes 2002b: 311.) A number of researchers have found that people choose to use features in their speech that are characteristically used by the group they want to belong to or within which they want to be accepted (Sturtevant 1947; McEntegart & Le Page 1982: 105; Kapanga 1998: 284; Bell 2001: 166; Labov 2001: 24). It has also been noticed that the speakers of a language tend to favour variants that reflect their own identity best (Milroy 1992: 202; Bell 2001: 165; Chambers 2002: 370; Thomas 2002: 186).² My objective here is to find out whether it is also the case with the endangered Viena Karelian language that the different phonological variants carry connotations of the group the speakers wish to identify themselves with (for further discussion on this, see, e.g., Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 1818; Andersen 1989: 15; Johnstone 1996: 16; Schilling-Estes 2002a: 390). In my view, the Viena Karelians have a truly multicultural identity: on the one hand, they are living in Russia in a Russian-speaking neighbourhood; yet, on the other hand, they usually seem to regard themselves as Karelians rather than Russians (see Kunnas, forthcoming). In addition to drawing from Russian and Karelian cultures, Viena Karelians are clearly influenced by Finnish culture; this can be seen in the Viena villages (for more detail, see Kunnas 2007). Thus, I am suggesting that even the linguistic variation that Viena Karelians display contains features indicating which group or groups they wish to identify themselves with.

My paper seeks to answer the following two questions:

- 1) Is it true that the more loyal a person is to his/her mother tongue and the use of it, the fewer contact-induced dialectal variants s/he will use?
- 2) Is ethnic loyalty, or the lack of it, associated even with the variations occurring in spoken language?

² In this paper, I am following a situative view of identity. According to it, identity is a dynamic and changing process, which is never finalised (Iskanius 2006: 40–41).

I will begin by giving a brief overview of the current status of Viena Karelian. Then I will present my data and the methods I am using to find answers to the above research questions. After that, in the analysis, I will consider variation in the light of two vowel combinations and discuss the possible reasons for the individual differences in variation. Finally, I will compare my results with those of previous research.

2. On the current status of Viena Karelian and its contacts with Finnish

It is usually considered that the Karelian language is divided into two main groups: Olonets Karelian and Karelian Proper. Karelian Proper can be divided further into Viena Karelian (or the northern dialects of Karelian Proper) and South Karelian (or the southern dialects of Karelian Proper). The area where Karelian is spoken in the Republic of Karelia can be seen in appendix 1. Viena Karelian is spoken in North Western Russia, close to the Finnish border (see appendix 2). It is the closest cognate language of Finnish and most Finns can quite easily understand Viena Karelian dialects. Viena Karelian and the eastern Finnish dialects have developed from a common proto language, Proto-Finnic, through a more recent eastern dialectal group, Old Karelian.

Over the past few years, it has been discussed whether the different varieties of Karelian should be treated as dialects or independent languages. For example, Salminen (1998) considers that Karelian Proper and Olonets Karelian should be classified as two distinct languages. Jeskanen (2005: 215, 271), too, claims that we should be talking about three distinct Karelian languages. In my view, we could, in fact, currently consider that there are three distinct Karelian languages: 1) Viena Karelian, 2) Olonets and 3) Tver Karelian. My view is primarily based on the views expressed by Viena Karelian layman informants. At least it seems that many Viena Karelians consider Olonets and Viena Karelian two different languages and think it is very hard for Viena Karelians to understand Olonets Karelian (Pasanen 2003: 116; Kunnas 2006). However, it has been decided that a single joint standard language should be developed on the basis of the varieties of Karelian. It remains to be seen whether that will ever come true. If a joint standard language is developed and welcomed by the speakers, we will perhaps have to reconsider the division of Karelian into separate languages.

Viena Karelian is a highly endangered language. At the beginning of the 2000s, there were an estimated 35 000 speakers of Karelian in the Republic of Karelia, but the number of the speakers of Viena Karelian was estimated at no more than some 8 000. The majority of the speakers are over fifty and most of the younger Karelians use and have a better command of Russian. The situation in Karelia is diglossic: Russian is the language of society, education and business, and the use of Karelian focuses on matters belonging to the intimate zone: it is used at home and in the sphere of personal hobbies and interests. Karelian is spoken mainly in small countryside parishes and it is only heard very rarely in towns.

The reason why Viena Karelian is so severely endangered is the policy of Russification, which lasted for several decades. From the 1950s to the 1970s people were not allowed to speak Karelian in schools or daycare centres, and parents were told to speak only Russian to their children. Considering the intensity of the Russification, it is a miracle that the Viena Karelian language has survived as a living language at all. The revitalisation of Karelian started in the late 1980s. Today, it is possible to study Karelian in schools and universities. Literature and newspapers are being published in Karelian, and you can hear Karelian on the radio and television. Yet, Karelian is considered a severely endangered language since it is only very seldom that it is transferred from generation to generation. In the past few years, there have been attempts to revitalise Viena Karelian through language nests (see, e.g., Pasanen 2008). Despite repeated efforts, the language nest activities have not spread as expected. There are currently language nests in Kalevala (former Uhtua) and Petrozavodsk.

Finnish population started to move to Viena Karelia as early as the beginning of the 17th century, and the Finnish immigration to the Western Viena Karelian villages, where even the data for this paper were collected, has been especially extensive (Suorsa 1989: 89–90; Pöllä 1995: 100–105). Further, many Viena Karelians have gone to Finnish-speaking schools, read Finnish literature and Finnish newspapers and magazines, and listened to Finnish being spoken on the radio and TV. (Kunnas 2007.) Numerous Viena Karelians also have relatives and friends in Finland with whom they keep in touch by correspondence and by meeting each other. Further, after the Soviet Union fell apart at the beginning of the 1990s, Finnish tourists were given the chance to make trips to the Viena Karelian villages. The Karelians and the Finnish tourists have had intense contacts. Since most Viena Karelian villages lack hotels and an infrastructure for tourism in

general, village people often accommodate tourists in their homes. Finnish tourists are a significant source of extra income for the Karelian people and, in fact, people are competing over who can accommodate Finnish tourists. Thus, Viena Karelians are constantly under a versatile influence of Finnish, which is bound to leave its mark on their language.

3. Data and method

I am seeking to answer the research questions presented in the introduction by looking into two sets of data: dialect and theme interviews. The dialectal data on which I am basing my analysis of the variation were collected in two Viena Karelian villages in 2001: Jyskyjärvi and Kalevala. There were a total of thirty informants³ and the data cover around twenty-eight hours of interviews. In addition to collecting the dialectal data, I compiled another set of data covering the informants' linguistic attitudes on the basis of theme interviews and questionnaires. The theme interview data cover some eight hours of interviews.

The informants in my study were between 62 and 89 years old. The majority were women; there were only three male informants. All of the informants were elderly for two reasons: first, the informants were the same that I had interviewed previously for my doctoral thesis (Kunnas 2007). In my thesis, I focused on the real-time changes in the Viena Karelian vowel sequences over a period of thirty years. As the comparative material had been collected at the turn of the 1970s when people seemed to think, even in Karelia, that dialectal studies could only be done with elderly speakers as informants, I had to tape people of the same age for reasons of comparability. Secondly, it was reasonable to analyze the speech of elderly informants because they represented the most typical speakers of Viena Karelian. Of course, there were also speakers of Viena Karelian under sixty in the villages; however, the younger the generation, the less its members would speak Viena Karelian. Further, many middle-aged and younger people spoke a variety of Karelian which had been subject to a rather high degree of attrition, and they probably would not have made it through an hour-long Karelian-speaking interview. (See Kunnas 2007: 28–29.)

There are several reasons why I only had three male informants in my study. Firstly, there are fewer men over sixty in Karelia than women over sixty. Men died in Stalin's persecutions and in the wars, and their life

³ I am using invented names to refer to the informants in this paper.

expectancy remains lower than that of women (Susiluoto 1999: 53, 138, 177; Federal State Statistics Service 2003). Also, the Karelian village men are often hard to reach in the summer. They are off on their daily duties – fishing, forest work, and other tasks – early in the morning. The men who do spend their days at home and could be reached are often in such poor condition that they would not make it through an hour-long interview. This was also the case in Virtaranta's study (1978: 189).

It was almost impossible to find informants who had lived in the same village their entire lives among the generation of Viena Karelians I studied. Most of my informants were evacuated to the Archangel Region or Komi in the period between the Finno-Soviet wars. Moreover, many of the informants were born or had spent their childhood in small Viena villages that were destroyed and cleared soon after the wars in the 1950s. The people of those small Viena villages were transferred to the regions of Kalevala or Jyskyjärvi in particular.

In the theme interviews, I explored the informants' linguistic history, i.e., the degree to which they were using Karelian and other languages. I asked them what language they used, e.g., with their spouses and children. What language did they use at work? What language did they use whilst talking to, .e.g., their neighbours and friends? I also took up the informants' relationship with the revitalization of the Karelian language. Further, I asked the informants about whether they had, e.g., hobbies having to do with the Karelian language and culture, and whether they were following the Karelian-speaking media. I also asked the informants what kinds of contacts they had with Finns and the Finnish language and what they thought about the Finnish language and the different varieties of Karelian.⁴ The questions asked in the theme interview can be seen in appendix 3.

The data of language attitude studies are often associated with different problems of reliability (see Garrett et al. 2003: 8–9, 27–31). For example, analysing the use of a minority language just on the basis of how much the speakers of the minority language say they are using the language is rather unreliable, since the speakers of a minority language will typically claim they are using their mother tongue more than they actually are (e.g. Pfaff 1979: 294; Aikio 1988: 302; Sarhimaa 1999: 83; Pasanen 2003: 122).

⁴ I want to emphasise the fact that, although Viena Karelian is not my mother tongue, I performed all my research interviews in Viena Karelian and code-switched into Russian intermittently, in the way that Karelians do as well. My point was that, by adapting to the language of my speech partners, I could make them speak genuinely in their own dialect.

When a theme interviewer adopts a factual perspective in the interview, the reliability of the responses can be evaluated by comparing them with other studies (Alasuutari 2001: 91). I will be comparing the results of the attitude analysis in my study with Erkkilä's (2003) findings about the inhabitants of the village of Jyskyjärvi.⁵ I have also included questions that control each other in the theme interview.

I am using two indexes to analyse the informants' language attitudes and ethnic loyalty. The *Karelian index* reveals how loyal the informants had been to the Karelian language during their lifetime. This index is based on questions related to the language choices the informants had made in their personal and working lives, as well as degree to which the informants were using Karelian in different contexts at the time of the recordings. The more the informants showed they were in contact with the Karelian language, the higher the Karelian index was. For example, subscribing to a Karelian-language newspaper or magazine or having a hobby having to do with the Karelian language or culture gave higher Karelian indexes. The questions on which the Karelian index is based can be seen in appendix 4. Appendix 4 also shows the criteria by which the Karelian indexes have been calculated for each informant.

The second index I am using is the *Finnish index*. It reveals the informant's relation to the Finnish language. The questions on which the Finnish index is based were aimed at finding out to what degree the informant was in contact with Finns and the Finnish language, and whether the informant idealized the Finnish language in one way or another. There are many questions which I did not ask the informants directly, but figured out the answers myself on the basis of the whole interview or individual comments. It happened that the informants took up their relationship with the Finnish language during the interview, while we were talking about something else. I have considered these additional comments in my analysis as well. The questions on which the Finnish index is based are shown in appendix 5. Appendix 5 also shows the criteria by which the Finnish indexes have been calculated.

The examples I have picked from the data are presented in rough transliteration without diacritics and symbols. Two successive dashes indicate that part of the turn has been left out. A hyphen shows that the word is not complete. The periods and question marks have grammatical

⁵ Erkkilä used to live in the village of Jyskyjärvi. He wrote about many of the people in the village in his work titled *Vienan kuu* [The Viena Moon].

functions in the examples, whereas commas refer to a pause within the sentence. Proper nouns are written with initial capital letters.

4. Variation in the non-initial vowel combinations in Viena Karelian dialects at the turn of the 2000s

I will consider the variation in Viena Karelian in the light of the vowel combinations ending in *ia*, *iä*, *ea* and *eä* in the non-initial syllables.⁶ In my doctoral thesis (Kunnas 2007), I analyzed not only the above mentioned vowel sequences but also the vowel sequences ending in *oa-*, *öä-*, *ua-* and *yä*, as well as the *aa* and *ää* sequences. However, in this paper, I will only cover the first four vowel sequences, since it is with them that the connection between linguistic variation and language attitudes is the most obvious. First, I am going to consider the combinations *ia* and *iä* (hereafter the *iA* combination).

4.1 Representation of the *iA* combination

According to previous research, the vowel combinations *ia* and *iä* have been assimilated into *ie* diphthongs in the Viena Karelian dialects, e.g., *luati_a* >> *luatie* ‘to make’, *ečči_ä* >> *eččie* ‘to seek’ (Genetz 1880: 172; Ojansuu 1918: 108–110; Kettunen 1940: 294, 1960: 12; Zaikov 1987: 50, 99). Even instances of the *ii* variant as a continuation of the *iA* combination have been found in the region of the Viena Karelian dialects, e.g., *hyppi_{ii}* ‘to jump’ (Mustakallio 1883: 43). The shift *iA* > *ie* in the non-initial syllables can be considered fairly old, since the representation containing the diphthong *ie* is also found in Tver Karelian, spoken in inner Russia, where the Tver Karelians started to move as early as the 16th century. It is evident that the shift was in progress during that period at the latest.

⁶ The use of the endings *a* and *ä* in the names of the vowel combinations reveals what the vowel combinations in the non-initial syllables used to be like historically when the spirants had disappeared (e.g. **korke_{da}* > *korke_a* ‘high’). After this, the vowel sequences I am studying have gone through various changes and few of them are represented as ending in *a* or *ä* in today’s Viena Karelian dialects. Due to the rich variation we must, however, simplify the naming of the vowel combinations. This is why I have opted for what can be considered the historical name. This way of naming is also recognised and accepted by the researchers of the Karelian language (Professor Pekka Zaikov in a conversation 20 February 2007).

In the following, I will be looking at the representation of the *iA* combination in the dialects of Jyskyjärvi and Kalevala in the 2000s. I am using the infinitive of the verb *luatie* ('to make') to illustrate the variation.

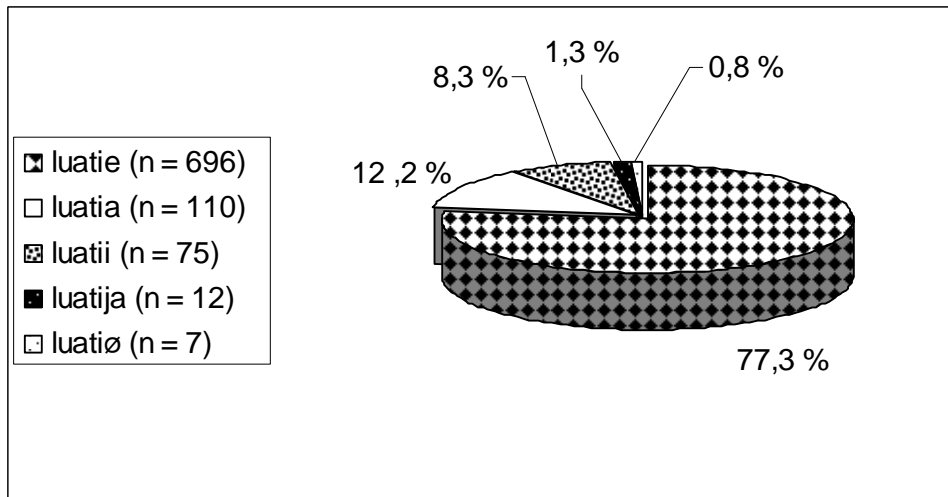


Diagram 1. Variation in the *iA* combination in the dialect of Jyskyjärvi.

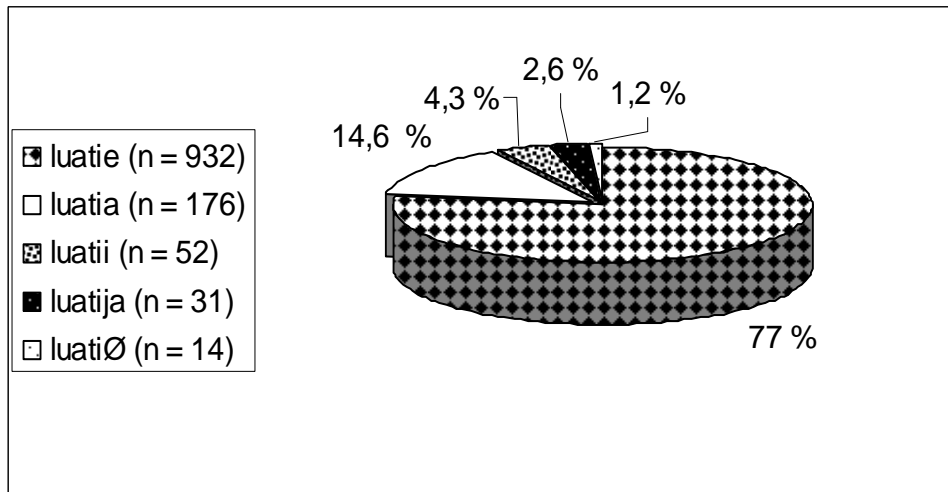


Diagram 2. Variation in the *iA* combination in the dialect of Kalevala.

Diagrams 1 and 2 show that the *iA* combination in the non-initial syllables in the dialects of the villages I studied was most typically represented as the diphthong *ie*, e.g.:

- (1) *miä-m pit-i luikki-e piha-lla*
 We-GEN have to-PST sneak-INF yard-ALL
 ‘We had to sneak out to the yard.’
- (2) *liävä-t kaikki pit-i luadi-e*
 cowshed-PL all have to-PST build-INF
 ‘All the cowsheds had to be built.’
- (3) *kivi-e pit-i lykki-e sinne*
 stone-PL-PAR have to-PST push-INF there
 ‘Stones had to be pushed there.’

The diphthong *ie* was clearly the predominant variant in the dialects of both Jyskyjärvi and Kalevala; yet the *iA* variant, which follows the Finnish model, came second in both villages, e.g.:

- (4) *siit alko-ma lehti-e riipi-ä*
 thereof begin-PST-PL-1 leaf-PL-PAR strip off-INF
 ‘We started stripping off leaves.’

There were also sporadic instances of the variants *ii-*, *ija-* and *iØ-*, e.g.:

- (5) *kaikki pit-i iče-n šuattu-a, luati-i*
 all have to-PST oneself-GEN be able to-INF make-INF
 ‘You had to be able to do everything by yourself.’
- (6) *ylen suuri-e moottori-ja*
 mighty big-PL-PAR motor-PL-PAR
 ‘mighty big motors’
- (7) *oma-h tapaha-h haluta-h tanssi*
 own-ILL way-ILL want-PASS dance-INF
 ‘You want to dance in your own way.’

The fact that the vowel combinations of the Viena Karelian dialects have many different variants is by no means surprising, since it is typical of endangered languages that they show great internal variation (see, e.g., Dorian 1994). Of course, rich variation is an essential feature of spoken languages everywhere, but the variation is generally even more extensive in minority languages, just as my data indicate. This seems to result from the fact that, besides the standard-language variants, prestige variants, and the

variants that could be said to represent the “old dialect”, the competing variants include variants that have emerged as a result of the attrition of the minority language. The language skills of the minority language speakers vary and the speakers may create their own grammatical systems that are individual to a certain degree. The community-specific, homogeneous language starts to shatter gradually and the social control of the linguistic community does not function as a force, eliminating linguistic innovations. (Paunonen 2003: 239–242.) In fact, Dorian (1994: 634) claims that linguistic variation in minority communities is essentially personal; he uses the term *personal-pattern variation* to refer to the phenomenon.

In my data, some of the sporadic variants could be simply considered individual lapses. However, I have not counted the single occurrences as mere slips, as I believe that they are indicative of the variation as a whole. For example, the variants of the type VØ would seem to be growing fairly widely more common in the Viena Karelian vowel combinations, which is probably Russian influence (see Kunnas 2007).

I believe that the variants with the sequence *iA* are phonological loans influenced by the Finnish dialects or the standard language of Finnish. However, it is difficult to define the age of these phonological loans. As I mentioned in section 2, the contacts between Finns and Viena Karelians began very early and, with the exception of the Soviet period, many Viena Karelians have been in contact with the Finnish language either in its written or its spoken form. But what are the individuals that use the most Finnish-based variants like? What do they have in common and what could explain the fact that they favour the contact-induced variant? In the following subsection I will be considering individual variation.

4.2 Individuals favouring the contact-induced variant

In the data collected in Kalevala, the relative share of the *iA* variant was 15.2 percentage points of all the *iA* sequences. I consider this percentage as a point of comparison. The informants whose idiolects contained more *iA* variants than the point of comparison were Palaka (f = 32/99), Katti (f = 19/63), Pekka (f = 27/91), Jyrki (f = 20/97), Jouki (f = 12/68) and Venla (f = 12/78). What did these people have in common? First, I will be looking at how high the Finnish index and the Karelian index were for the above informants and whether the frequent use of the *iA* variant was possibly linked to a high Finnish index.

Figure 1 shows the relative share of the *iA* variant in all the *iA* sequences in the idiolects of Palaka, Katti, Pekka, Jyrki, Jouki and Venla. Figure 1 also displays the informants' Finnish and Karelian index scores and the comparative indexes that show how high the Finnish or Karelian index is in the data from Kalevala on the average. The column showing the Finnish index is checkered, whereas the column showing the Karelian index is dotted.

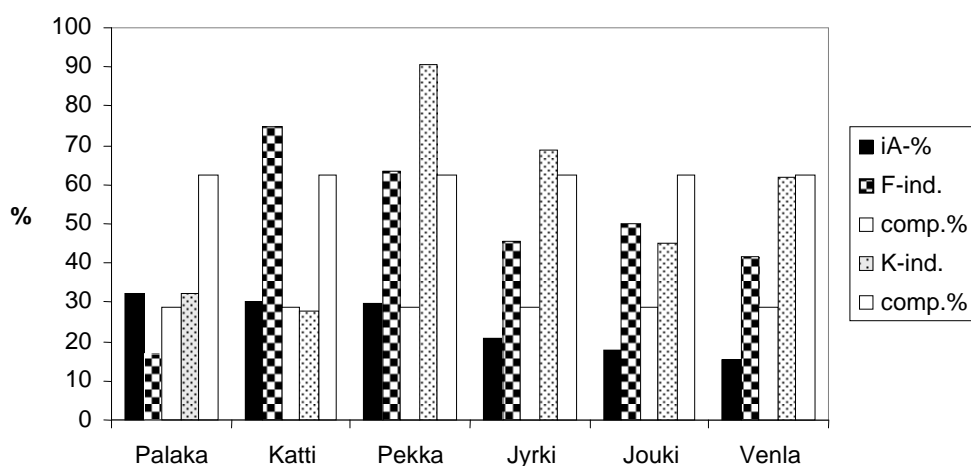


Figure 1. Relationship between the frequent use of the *iA* variant and the Finnish and Karelian indexes with certain informants in the data from Kalevala.⁷

The frequent use of the *iA* variant would seem to be associated with a Finnish index higher than the average. The only informant to display a Finnish index lower than the average is Palaka, who uses the *iA* variant the most frequently. In contrast, the Finnish indexes of Katti, Pekka, Jyrki, Jouki and Venla are all (considerably) higher than the average, and the Karelian indexes of Katti and Jouki are lower than the average, as could be expected.

How can we explain, then, that Palaka makes very frequent use of the *iA* variant? Palaka's Finnish index is rather low, which has to do with the fact that he did not have contacts with his Finnish friends and tourists

⁷ Abbreviations explained: *iA*-% = the relative share of the *iA* variant of all the *iA* sequences in the informant's idiolect; F-ind. = Finnish index score; K-ind. = Karelian index score; comp.% = Finnish or Karelian index score in the village data on the average.

during the interview period, although he said that he had previously had frequent contacts with them. Further, the *quality* of the Finnish contacts seems to be more important than their number: in the investigation of social networks, it has been noticed that *instrumental friends* in particular have a powerful effect on the informants' language use (Boissevain 1978). An instrumental friend refers to a person with whom people maintain warm relationships because they expect the relationship to turn out materially useful. Unlike *emotional friends*, instrumental friends are scarcely associated with emotional value by the informants. Even some of the Viena Karelians may want to maintain good relations with Finns partly because they send presents for Christmas and birthdays and pay well for staying in the villages. The interview with Palaka, too, gave the impression that he had been maintaining relations with Finns just because he was expecting money and presents from them. He said, for example, the following during the interview:

- (8) *kiitoksie paljo niillä, kaikilla [suomalaisille] – – paljon kiitoksie nii- niistä heijäm markoista.*

'Thanks a lot to all the Finns, thanks for their marks.'

Palaka's family members also show more solidarity towards Finnish than towards Viena Karelian. This is manifested by, e.g., the fact that Palaka's grown up son has started to teach his own children Finnish instead of Karelian, which is in Palaka's view a purely positive thing.

The fact that even Katti favours the *iA* variant, could be expected: she, too, has instrumental friends in Finland who send her presents. In addition, Katti says quite bluntly in the interview that she thinks Finnish is a better language than her own mother tongue Viena Karelian:

- (9) *Mie tykköän karjalaḡ kieltä – – a mutta suomeḡ kieltä oikein tykkyän. – – suomeḡ kieli, semmoni oikeim, pehmie semmoni – – oikein tykköän suomen – – oikein tykköän suomeḡ kieltä, – – kum paissah, suomeḡ kielellä ni miusta miellyttäy suomeḡ kieli. Se on, niim pehmie – – oikeim pehmieltä se tuntuu kum puhutah tai paissah. Miusta niim miellyttäy se heijey kieli. Suomeḡ kieliä [!] tykköän, vaik oḡ karjalaḡ kieli hyvä no suomeḡ kieltä tykköän oikein, on pehmie semmoni, lämmin semmoni – – miellyttäy. – – Karjalaisien kieli – – ei ole niim pehmie kun suomeḡ kieli. – – Karjalaḡ kieli – – ei ole niin, puhas – – kun suomeḡ kieli – – jotta karjalaksi – – et suata niin, puhtahasti sanu_ook kun suomi sanoo.*

'I like the Karelian language, but I really like the Finnish language. Finnish is so soft, it's such a soft one. I like, I really really do like Finnish. When people speak

Finnish, it pleases me. It's so soft, feels so soft when you hear people speak it. I find it so pleasant, the language Finns speak. I like the Finnish language; although the Karelian language is good, I really like Finnish. It's such a soft and warm one, it's so likeable. The Karelians' language isn't as soft as the Finnish language. Karelian isn't as pure as Finnish, so you cannot say things as purely in Karelian as you can in Finnish.'

It has been found in many language attitude studies that people often regard foreign varieties as *weird*, *coarse* and *unintelligible* (Dorian 1981: 87). Katti's language attitudes are quite to the contrary: she considers Finnish *purier* and *softer* than her own mother tongue and uses, e.g., the adjective *warm* to describe the Finnish language. In my view, example 9 shows clearly that Katti's ethnic loyalty is weak and the language for which she shows solidarity and which she regards as having the most prestige is Finnish. Thus, it is highly predictable that Katti's speech contains variants that can be considered phonological loans from Finnish. I see Katti as a good example of how language attitudes are always connected to people's linguistic self-esteem (see Mielikäinen & Palander 2002: 101). Katti, just as anybody else who considers his or her own variant as less valuable than another variety, suffers from *linguistic insecurity* according to Labov (1966: 474–480, 2001: 277–278) and Downes (1984: 167). Linguistic insecurity has been found to be especially typical of people living in the periphery, since it is often the varieties of large urban centres that are held in high value in peripheral regions, the high standard of living and the political and economic power concentrating on the centres. (Palander & Nupponen 2005: 48 and the reference literature mentioned.) As the use of Karelian focuses on the countryside and is rare in large cities, it is understandable that many Karelians regard Finland as the "centre of prestige". The same phenomenon has been encountered in, e.g., Great Britain: it is not necessarily the *urban* linguistic forms that enjoy the greatest prestige, but varieties that are simply associated with the image of a *more attractive lifestyle* (Trudgill & Giles 1978: 181–186; Palander & Nupponen 2005). As far as I understand, the reason why certain Viena Karelians regard Finnish as an ideal may have to do with the fact that the Finnish lifestyle is considered more attractive than the Karelian one. The (phonological) loans from Finnish are a good example of what can be called the transfer of prestige (this will be discussed in more detail in section 5): although the attractive Finnish lifestyle is unattainable to many Karelians, people may easily accommodate their idiolects to resemble the Finnish language more. Example 9 also shows that languages only seem to

have instrumental value to Katti and that she does not think about, e.g., what a person's mother tongue means to his or her identity. Katti even says she considers Viena Karelian a better language than Olonets Karelian just because Viena Karelian is an *instrument* by which communication with Finns is possible (Kunnas 2006: 239–240). In fact, Katti's opinions are based on instrumental language ideology (for more detail, see Kunnas 2006), and it is precisely people like Katti who make the extinction of minority languages faster.

The question arises why Pekka and Jyrki use the *iA* variant frequently, although their Karelian indexes are higher than the average. Pekka has read a lot of Finnish literature, so it is by no means peculiar that he uses the Finnish-based variant *iA* widely even in his speech. The fact that Pekka does not only have a high Finnish index *but also* a high Karelian index is explained by his general interest in languages and literature. Pekka has also read a large number of books and newspapers written (partly) in Karelian, and prepared Karelian glossary collections. Thus, even though Pekka has had wide contacts with the Finnish language and knows Finnish well, he seems to feel solidarity with the Viena Karelian language. Rampton (1995) has suggested that linguistic identity consists of two parts: *expertise* and *allegiance*. These two parts do not go hand in hand in practice. You can be loyal to a language that you are less proficient in, and vice versa: the language you master best in practice is not necessarily the language you identify yourself with, or the language that matters most to you emotionally. Therefore, expertise in a language does not require an affective relationship with the language. (See Iskanius 2006: 80–81.) This is true with Pekka, too: he seems to have expertise in the Finnish language; yet it is Viena Karelian he is loyal to.

Another interesting case among the informants is Jyrki. He displays a Karelian index and a Finnish index that are both higher than the average. In the theme interview, he seems to show solidarity for both languages. On the one hand, Jyrki makes efforts to preserve the Karelian language by speaking Karelian with some of his grandchildren, which is beginning to be rare in the Karelian villages. On the other hand, he is ready to abandon the Viena Karelian language and adopt the Finnish standard language instead. He thinks the Finnish standard language could well be used, e.g., in tuition in the Karelian schools, which did not seem to be a very widely accepted attitude in Viena Karelia. In my view, Jyrki's attitude reflects linguistic insecurity. Thus, as could be expected, the contact-induced prestige variant is very frequent in his idiolect.

All in all, it would seem that a frequent use of the *iA* variant is associated with a high Finnish index among the Kalevala informants. I have tested the correlation between the frequent use of the *iA* variant and a high Finnish index statistically, using the SPSS-program. Spearman's rank correlation test shows that there is a moderate correlation between a high Finnish index and the frequent use of the *iA* variant throughout the Kalevala data ($r = 0.52$), and the connection between these two is statistically significant ($p = 0.046$). The extensive use of the *iA* variant is probably also affected especially by frequent contacts with Finnish instrumental friends and linguistic insecurity. This was the situation in one of the villages I studied. In the following, I will be looking at how the frequent use of the *iA* variant in the data collected in Jyskyjärvi can be explained and whether the use of the variant is associated with a high Finnish index there, too.

In Jyskyjärvi, the relative share of the *iA* variant of all the sequences was 11.9 percent. I will be considering this figure as a point of comparison. The informants to display more *iA* variants than the average in their idiolects were Huoti ($f = 10/50$), Santra ($f = 13/70$), Oksenie ($f = 13/81$), Arina ($f = 10/64$), Manu ($f = 7/47$), Sylvi ($f = 7/48$), Marina ($f = 7/52$), and Lempi ($f = 9/73$). In the following, I will be looking into why they favoured the *iA* variant in their speech.

Figure 2 shows the relative share of the *iA* variant of all the *iA* sequences in the idiolects of the above mentioned informants. Figure 2 also shows the how the informants scored in the Finnish and Karelian indexes and the comparative indexes that indicate how high the Finnish or Karelian index was in the Jyskyjärvi data on the average. The column showing the Finnish index is checkered and the column indicating the Karelian index is dotted.

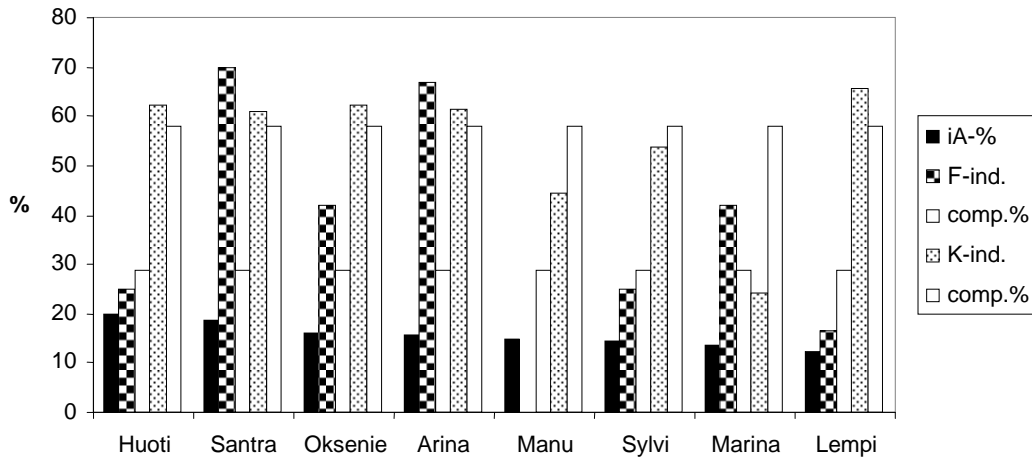


Figure 2. Relationship between the frequent use of the *iA* variant and the Finnish and Karelian indexes with certain informants in the data from Jyskyjärvi.⁸

Figure 2 shows that the frequent use of the *iA* variant is clearly associated with a high Finnish index with certain informants: the Finnish indexes of Santra, Oksenie, Arina and Marina are clearly higher than the average, so I would deem their use of the *iA* variant as predictable. It was especially predictable that Arina made frequent use of the *iA* variant, since both I and Erkkilä (2003) have noticed in our studies that Arina is a real fan of Finland: Arina “likes things that are Finnish. She reads Finnish newspapers and magazines and likes to buy Finnish food in the village stores.” (Erkkilä 2003.) As Arina clearly regards Finland and everything Finnish as prestigious, her frequent use of the Finnish-based variants could be expected.

Marina’s frequent use of the *iA* variant could also be expected, since not only is her Finnish index higher than the average, but her Karelian index is also lower than the average. In fact, Marina’s Karelian index was the lowest in the Jyskyjärvi data, and she did not appear to be very loyal to the Karelian language. Although Marina had been a member of a Karelian song and dance group for a while, it was not considered worthwhile in her family that Viena Karelian should be transferred to the following generations. I consider this as a sign of linguistic insecurity and deem it as

⁸ Abbreviations explained: *iA*-% = the relative share of the *iA* variant of all the *iA* vowel sequences in the informant’s idiolect; F-ind. = the Finnish index score; K-ind. = the Karelian index score; comp.% = the Finnish or Karelian index score in the village data on the average.

predictable that Marina would easily adopt contact-induced variants in her idiolect.

Thus, the frequent use of the *iA* variant among the Jyskyjärvi informants could be expected. But how can we explain the fact that, e.g., Manu, whose Finnish index was zero percent points, made frequent use of the *iA* variant? What about Huoti, Sylvi, and Lempi, whose Finnish indexes also remained lower than the average, why did they use the *iA* variant frequently, too?

First of all, the indexes are nothing but mechanical figures that may conceal many things. For example, Sylvi's Finnish index was slightly lower than the average; yet she had contacts with Finns. Sylvi had been to Finland personally, which was not very common among my informants. Sylvi's Finnish index was lower because she did not have instrumental Finnish friends. However, Sylvi's case proves that even emotional friends may have an impact on the idiolects of people speaking another variety. As expected, Sylvi's Karelian index was lower than the average.

How can we then explain the fact that Huoti made frequent use of the *iA* variant and displayed a Finnish index that was lower than the average? Huoti's Finnish index was lower because, among other things, he did not read any Finnish newspapers, magazines, or books. This was simply due to the fact that he could read neither Finnish nor Karelian. However, he did accommodate Finnish tourists in the summertime, which could lead to the occurrence of phonological loans even in his idiolect. It should also be noted that the Finnish index is based solely on the questions exploring overt language attitudes. It may well be the case that, e.g., Huoti's covert language attitudes favor Finnish and his idiolect therefore includes phonological loans from Finnish. For example, Kristiansen (2007) has noticed that covert language attitudes are the only ones that correspond to the direction of language change.

Manu's frequent use of the *iA* variant may, in turn, be a consequence of his residential history: Manu was born in the westernmost Viena Karelia. Many of the informants said that the Finnish influence had been stronger in the western Viena Karelian villages than elsewhere in Viena Karelia for a long time past (see Kunnas 2007: 43). Thus, the *iA* variant in Manu's speech may date from the old times.

Lempi's idiolect only displays a slightly more frequent use of the *iA* variant than the average. Although Lempi's Finnish index is lower than the average it does not mean that she has not been in contact with the Finnish language. Lempi went to a Finnish-speaking school with the exception of

the final grade, so she obviously knows Finnish well. During the Soviet regime, Lempi often used to read Finnish-language newspapers. One of Lempi's comments also shows that she regards Finnish as prestigious:

- (10) *suomeŋ kieli om mukava kuulla, mie tykkyän suomeŋ kieltä oikeiŋ kuunnella.*
 'It's nice to listen to the Finnish language. I like listening to Finnish.'

Although Lempi did not have many contacts with Finns or the Finnish language at the time when the interviews were made, her idiolect, too, contained phonological loans from Finnish, as could be expected.

All in all, the widespread use of the *iA* variant would seem to be associated with a high Finnish index more clearly in the Kalevala data than in the data from Jyskyjärvi. In Jyskyjärvi, the *iA* variant was also favoured by informants whose Finnish indexes were not higher than the average. No correlation was found between a high Finnish index and the frequent use of the variant in the Jyskyjärvi data in a statistical test, either. However, when the informants' personal history and Finnish contacts were observed at a deeper level, potential explanations for the frequent use of the *iA* variant could be found with most of the informants.

The above sections have dealt with the question of what kinds of individuals use the contact-induced *iA* variant most frequently and whether the use of the variant is associated with a high Finnish index. In the following, I will be discussing whether the frequent use of the most typical variant of the Viena Karelian dialects is possibly associated with a high Karelian index and a favourable attitude towards the Karelian language. I will be considering this in the light of the vowel combinations ending in *ea* and *eä* (hereafter the *eA* combination) in the non-initial syllables.

4.3 Representation of the *eA* combination

First, I will take a look at the picture previous research has given about the development of the *eA* combination in the non-initial syllables in the Viena Karelian dialects. Pekka Zaikov's (1987: 99, 118) study indicated that the historical *eA* combination is usually represented as the diphthong *ie* (e.g. *korkie* 'high'). However, prior research has shown that the diphthong *ie* is by no means the only form in the Viena Karelian dialects but that it has been accompanied by forms with the sequences *iA*, *ee*, and *ii* for a long time past, e.g. *korkia*, *korkee*, *korkii* 'high' (Mustakallio 1883: 43; Ojansuu 1905: 14, 1918: 109–110).

There have been diverging opinions about how the variant *ie* emerged in Karelian. According to Heikki Ojansuu (1905: 14, 1918: 118) the phonetic development progressed in the order *eA* > *iA* > *ie*. In Ojansuu's (1923: 10–11) view, the intermediate phase with the sequence *iA* could be regarded as certain, since forms like *korkia* 'high' and *pimiü* 'dark' were found in the different dialects. Lauri Kettunen (1910: 128) adopted a different view and considered that the diphthong *ie* had been preceded by a long *e*, e.g., in *korkee* 'high' (see also Leskinen 1998: 379). Kettunen (1910: 128) justified his view by claiming that the development *korkee* > *korkie* would be parallel to the respective phonetic development of the first syllable in the Karelian language (e.g. **tee* > *tie* 'road'). Similarly, Juho Kujola (1910: 24) suggested that the phonetic development would have progressed through an intermediate long-vowel phase.

Martti Rapola (1923: 18, 56) assumed that the *eA* combination had developed into the form with the diphthong *ie* through different lines of development in different syllabic positions: according to him, the development had followed the pattern *eA* > *ee* > *ie* in unstressed positions, whereas the pattern had been *eA* > *iA* > *ie* at the boundary of the syllables with a secondary stress. R. E. Nirvi (1932: 50–51) also adopted Rapola's view and considered that the phonetic development had followed the pattern *eA* > *ee* > *ie* at the absolute end of the word and the pattern *eA* > *iA* > *ie* in other positions. Kettunen (1940: 294), too, suggested later that the phonetic development in the change *eA* >> *ie* might have been different in different syllabic positions and that the diphthong *ie* might have been preceded by both the vowel sequence *ee* and the sequence *iA*.

In the following, I will be considering the representation of the *eA* combination in the non-initial syllables in the dialects of Jyskyjärvi and Kalevala in the 2000s. I will be using the infinitive form of the verb *lähtie* ('to leave') as an example whilst describing the variation.

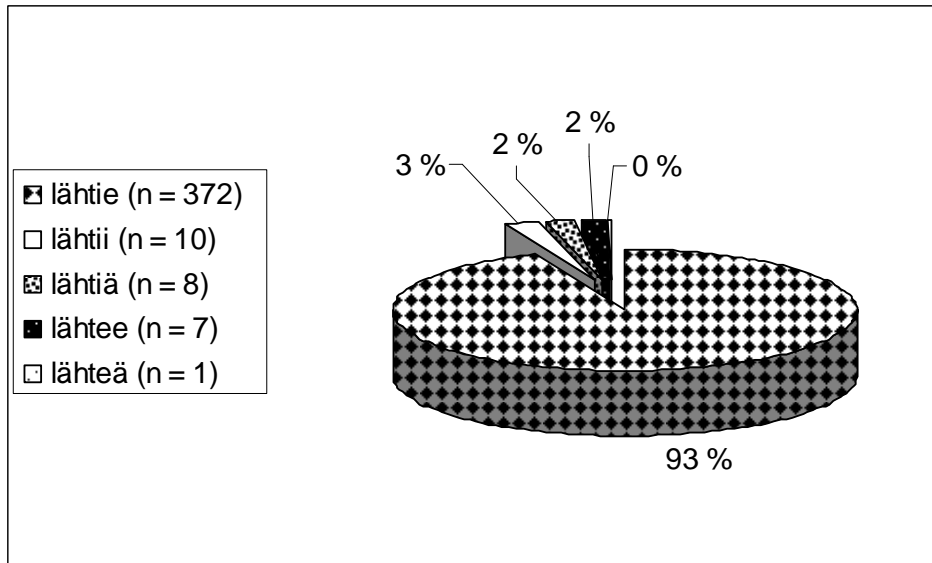


Diagram 3. Variation in the *eA* combination in the non-initial syllables in the dialect of Jyskjärvi.

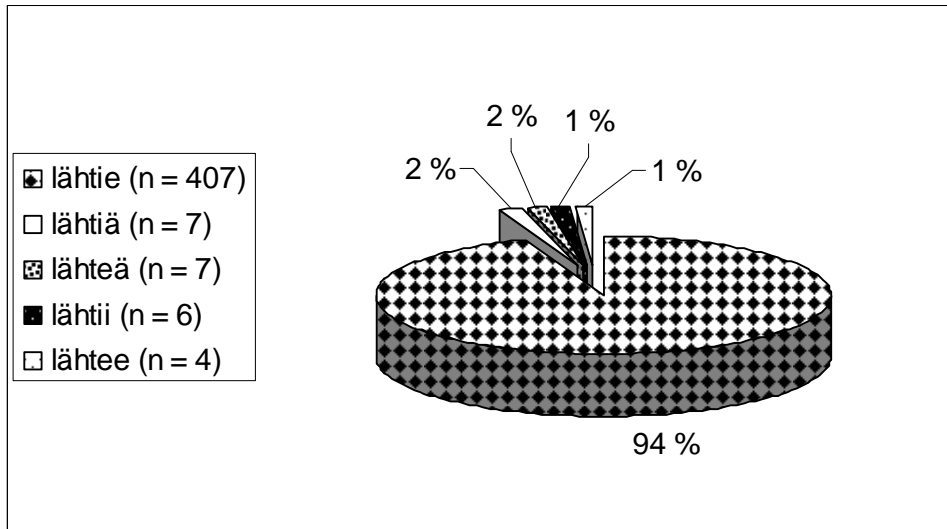


Diagram 4. Variation in the *eA* combination in the non-initial syllables in the dialect of Kalevala.

Diagrams 3 and 4 show that the *eA* combination in the non-initial syllables in dialects of the villages I studied was represented most often by the diphthong *ie* at the turn of the 2000s, e.g.:

- (11) *teä-n ei pie, ni-minne lähti-e*
 you-PL-2-GEN no have to nowhere leave-INF
 ‘You shouldn’t go anywhere.’
- (12) *en šuata nyt luki-e*
 NEG-SG-1 be able to-INF now read-INF
 ‘I can’t read now.’
- (13) *rauvvuškoivu-lla voi-t kaks kolm kertu-a kylpi-e*
 silver birch-ADE can-SG-2 two three time-PAR take a sauna-INF
 ‘You can bathe two or three times with a sauna whisk made of silver birch.’

The diphthong *ie* is clearly a predominant variant in the dialects of both Jyskyjärvi and Kalevala; its relative share of all the cases is over ninety percent. Neither the *eA* variant (e.g. *lähteä* ‘to leave’), which is used in many dialects of Finnish and is also a variant of standard Finnish, nor the *ee* variant (e.g. *lähtee* ‘to leave’), which is becoming more and more frequent in spoken Finnish in Finland, enjoy much popularity in the dialects of either village. The relative shares of variants other than the diphthong *ie* remain under five percent, e.g.:

- (14) *ei – – ollu-m meillä varo-a – – lähti-ä*
 no be-PPC us-ADE funds-PAR leave-INF
 ‘We couldn’t afford to leave.’
- (15) *aštumal e-mmä voi kulki-i*
 be walking-INF NEG-PL-1 can go-INF
 ‘We can’t go there on foot.’
- (16) *mie e-v voi n-ikunne lähte-e*
 I NEG-SG-1 can nowhere leave-INF
 ‘I can’t go anywhere.’
- (17) *e-t kerki-e levähty-ä ennen kuolemu-a*
 NEG-SG-2 have time-INF rest-INF before death-PAR
 ‘You’ll have no time to rest before death.’

When we compare the representation of the *iA* and *eA* combinations in the speech of the people of Kalevala and Jyskyjärvi, we notice that the Finnish-based variant (*-iA*) is relatively more frequent in the *iA* combination, whereas in the *eA* combination the most typical variant of the Viena

Karelian dialects (*-ie*) has retained its popularity better. In the following, I am going to consider whether a high Karelian index is possibly associated with the frequent use of the most typical variant of the Viena Karelian dialects (*-ie*) in the *eA* combination, and what other factors are common to the individuals who are using the most typical variant of the Viena Karelian dialects most frequently.

4.4 Informants making frequent use of the most typical variant of the Viena Karelian dialects

In the Jyskyjärvi data, the share of the *ie* variant of all the *eA* vowel sequences is 97.1% or more in the idiolects of Maikki (f = 47/47), Sylvi (f = 19/19), Uljana (f = 18/18), Lempi (f = 39/40) and Matro (f = 33/34). Figure 3 shows the percentages of their use of the *ie* variant, and their Karelian and Finnish index scores. Further, figure 3 also shows the average indexes in the Jyskyjärvi data. The column showing the Karelian index is dotted and the column showing the Finnish index is checkered.

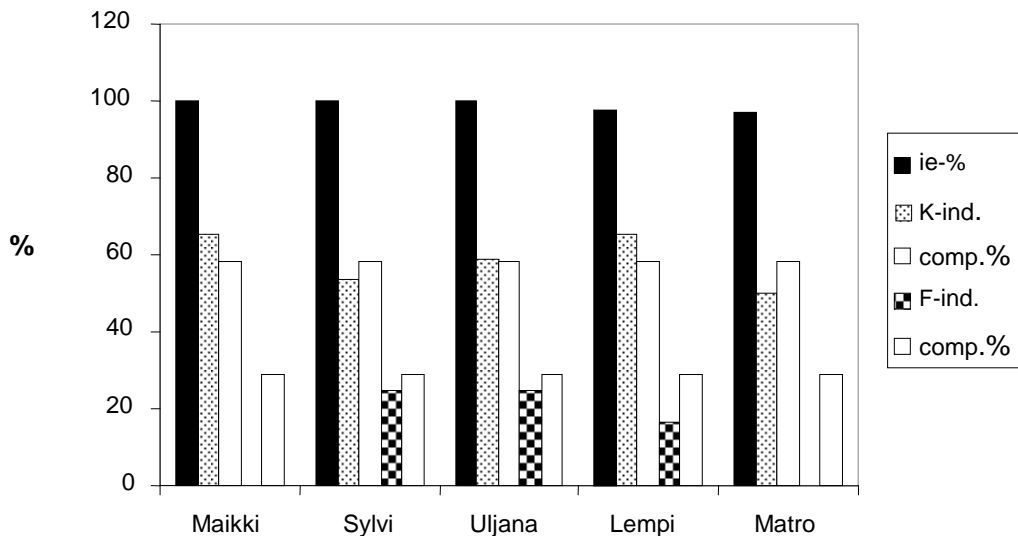


Figure 3. Relationship between the frequent use of the *ie* variant and the Karelian and Finnish indexes with certain informants in the Jyskyjärvi data.

Figure 3 shows that Maikki's idiolect contained the most frequent *ie* variants in the data of the turn of the 2000s. This was, in fact, predictable: Maikki's Karelian index score was above the average, whereas her Finnish index remained at zero. In addition, Maikki seemed to be interested in her

mother tongue: she had, e.g., collected Viena Karelian proverbs and riddles, and she only had sporadic contacts with Finns. In fact, it could be expected that people like Maikki would not easily catch contact-induced innovations.

The *ie* variant was also very common in the idiolects of Sylvi and Uljana at the turn of the 2000s. This was predictable in Uljana's case, since her Karelian index was slightly higher than the average, whereas her Finnish index was lower than the average. In contrast, the fact that Sylvi made frequent use of the *ie* variant was unexpected, considering that her Karelian index was lower than the average and that she, for example, used the Finnish-based *iA* variant more frequently than the average in the *iA* vowel sequence. To my knowledge, Sylvi showed solidarity for the Karelian language, although her Karelian index was lower than the average. The fact is that Sylvi had been subscribing to a Karelian newspaper previously and had participated in a Karelian singing and dancing group; the reason why she had given up these hobbies was that she had gone blind in one eye – not that she would have lost interest in the hobbies. If Sylvi's Karelian index had been counted years earlier, it would have been considerably higher. One of Sylvi's comments shows that she felt really annoyed that Karelian was no longer used as widely as previously:

- (18) *Kačokkua vain takapuolehenne – – pakajatta vielä i karjalaksi!*
 'Shove it up your arse – – you're gonna speak Karelian one day!'

This is what Sylvi said she told the Karelians who spoke Russian to her. It seems that Sylvi's favouring of the Finnish-based variant was limited to one specific vowel sequence – the *iA* sequence.

The fact that Lempi made frequent use of the *ie* variant could be expected, since her Karelian index was higher than the average and her Finnish index was lower than the average. Matro's frequent use of the *ie* variant was also predictable in the sense that his Finnish index score was zero. However, Matro's Karelian index was slightly lower than the average, but it probably only had to do with the fact that many of his neighbours and friends were Russian-speaking, which is why Matro, too, often had to speak Russian.

The majority of the informants in Jyskyjärvi making frequent use of the *ie* variant had Karelian indexes higher than the average. Further, the informants to favour the most typical variant of the Viena Karelian dialects

had lower Finnish index scores than the average, or their index scores remained at zero. Thus, the results would seem to support my hypothesis that ethnic loyalty can affect linguistic variation in the sense that people who are more loyal to their own language or dialect use the most typical variants of their own dialect in their speech. However, when the correlation between a high Karelian index and the frequent use of the *ie* variant was analyzed statistically over the entire Jyskyjärvi data, no statistically significant correlation was found. In the following, I will be looking into the situation in Kalevala.

The share of the *ie* variant of all the *eA* vowel sequences in the Kalevala data was 97.1% or more in the idiolects of Hilma (f = 29/29), Venla (f = 44/44), Palaka (f = 34/34), and Mari (f = 39/40). Figure 4 shows their percentages of using the *ie* variant and their Karelian and Finnish index scores as compared with the comparative indexes that indicate the average Karelian and Finnish index scores in the Kalevala data.

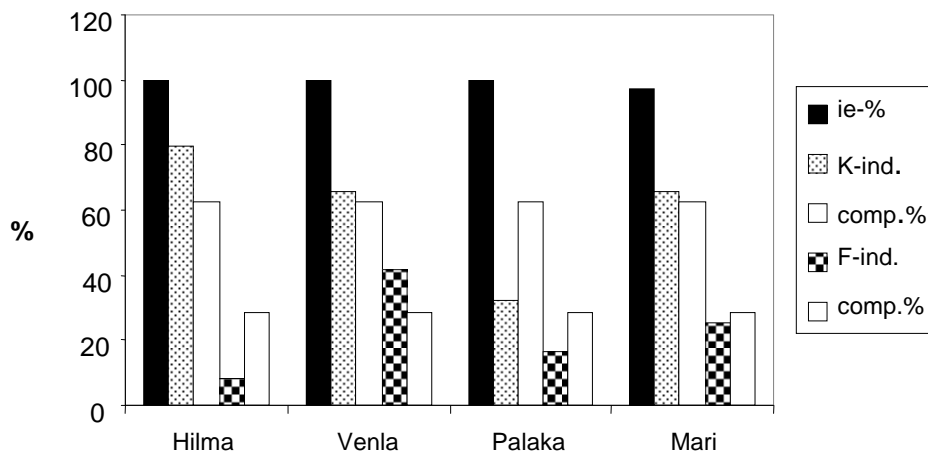


Figure 4. Relationship between the use of the *ie* variant and the Karelian and Finnish indexes with certain informants in the Kalevala data.⁹

Figure 4 shows that among the informants to favour the *ie* variant, the Karelian indexes of Hilma, Venla, and Mari were higher than the average, and that the Karelian indexes of all the informants who favoured the *ie* variant were higher than their Finnish indexes in each case. Contrary to what could have been expected, the *ie* variant was the only variant among

⁹ Abbreviations explained: *ie*-% = the relative share of the *ie* variant of all the *eA* sequences in the informant's idiolect; K-ind. = Karelian index; F-ind. = Finnish index; comp.% = Finnish or Karelian index in the data from the village on the average.

Palaka's *eA* vowel sequences. As has been mentioned before, Palaka was loyal to the Finnish language and he made, e.g., frequent use of the Finnish-based *iA* variant in the *iA* vowel sequences. Yet, it must be noted that there were no Finnish-based variants in the *eA* vowel sequences at the turn of the 2000s that would have been growing clearly more frequent. Since there were no such clear prestige variants coming from the outside, it is understandable that Palaka's representation of the *eA* vowel sequences did not show any variation, either.

It is also striking in the columns of figure 4 that Venla had a Finnish index above the average and that she made frequent use of the *ie* variant. Once again, we can conclude that the indexes hide many things that cannot be illustrated by sheer numbers. Venla's high Finnish index and her Karelian index, which is lower than the average, do not necessarily mean that she did not feel solidarity with the Karelian language. Although Venla had numerous contacts with Finns and the Finnish language, the theme interview seemed to indicate that Venla had a good linguistic self-esteem and that her attitude to Viena Karelian was positive. For example, Venla was worried about the fact that her grandchildren did not know Karelian:

- (19) – – *a bunukat ei suateta karjalaksi paissa. Olgalla [Venlan tytär] kun on siitä venäläini se i mies, ta kun on [lapsenlapset] venäläistä kouluo käyty ni ei suateta paissa karjalaksi – –. Mie vaikka kuin sanon että: “Pitäy opastuo teiäm pakajamah karjalaksi – –!” Kun oltais tässä miuḡ kera ka mie heiät opastaisin ka kun erikseh ollah, a siellä kotona, isä kun ov venäläini – –.*

‘The grandchildren can't speak Karelian. Since Olga [Venla's daughter] is married to a Russian man and the children have gone to a Russian school, they cannot speak Karelian. No matter how often I tell them that they should learn to speak Karelian! If they were here with me, I'd teach them Karelian, but since they're living in another place. At their home, with the Russian father – –.’

In other words, Venla has been trying to convince her grandchildren about how important it is to learn Karelian, but obviously without success. Today, Russian is not only spoken to children in mixed marriages, but it is used as the home language even in families with two Karelian parents.

All in all, the frequent use of the *ie* variant in the Kalevala data would also seem to be associated with a relatively high Karelian index and a lower Finnish index. Of course, there were exceptions, but it seemed that the informants' language attitudes and personal history explained why they favoured the *ie* variant. A statistically significant correlation between an *ie*-

variant preference and a high Karelian index did not appear in the data for Kalevala.

5. Consequences of the contact between Finnish and Viena Karelian at the phonological level

This paper has shown that the frequent use of the *iA* variant, which occurs especially in the *iA* vowel combinations of the non-initial syllables, is associated with a high Finnish index, and we have good reason to assume that it is a phonological loan from Finnish. However, it is difficult to pinpoint which variety of the Finnish language has provided the strongest model for the adoption of the phonological loans. An interesting observation is that the long-vowel variants, such as *ii* (e.g. *hyppiï* ‘to jump’) or *ee* (e.g. *lähtee* ‘to leave’) that are becoming general in the modern spoken Finnish have not started to grow more frequent in the Viena Karelian dialects – this is somewhat surprising.

The informants in the new Kalevala data to use the most Finnish-based variants were Pekka (21.9%, *f* = 59/270), Palaka (19.8%, *f* = 62/313), Vieno (12.6%, *f* = 27/214), Valentina (11.8%, *f* = 28/238), and Jyrki (11.3%, *f* = 32/283). These figures were obtained by counting all the Finnish-based variants in the dialect recordings made with the informants, after which their relative shares of all the variants were calculated.¹⁰ The percentages in the brackets show the share of Finnish-based variants in the informants’ speech at the turn of the 2000s.

The informants to favour Finnish-based variants in the new Kalevala data had all gone to a Finnish-speaking school for some time, part of the primary school at the minimum. In addition, Vieno had gone to a Finnish-speaking high school. With the exception of Palaka, all the informants

¹⁰ The Finnish-based variants in the *iA* sequence include the *iA* variant based on the Finnish standard language (*hyppiä* ‘to jump’) and the *ii* (*hyppiï* ‘to jump’) which is growing more frequent in modern spoken Finnish. In the *eA* sequence, the Finnish-based variants include the *eA* variant (*lähteä* ‘to leave’) based on Finnish standard language and the *ee* variant (*lähtee* ‘to leave’), which is becoming more frequent in modern spoken Finnish. I have limited the variants in this way because, as far as I understand, the Viena Karelians had heard and seen these Finnish-based representations in the vowel sequences of the non-initial syllables the most frequently. Thus, I have not counted all the representations of the Finnish dialects because I cannot know how often the Viena Karelians had really heard these forms. In fact, I have only counted variants that are either common in modern spoken Finnish or that occur in written Finnish. (On the features generalized in modern spoken Finnish, see Mantila 1997: 16–19.)

could read Finnish; in fact, Pekka said he read Finnish better than Karelian. All the informants who said they could read Finnish had read newspapers, magazines or books written in Finnish. Further, Vieno was in correspondence with her Finnish acquaintances. Among the informants to make frequent use of the Finnish-based variants, only Valentina did not have contacts with Finns. At least in the light of the Kalevala data, it would seem that the Finnish standard language had been the most important model for Viena Karelians when they were adopting phonological loans. Although many of them had had face-to-face contacts with Finns, many of the variants that are becoming common in modern spoken Finnish had not started to become more frequent in Kalevala – at least not by the time of the study. We must, however, also take into account that when Finns meet their Viena Karelian friends, they may be speaking in a more standard-language manner than usual in order to make sure that they are understood. Thus, Viena Karelians may have adopted standard-language variants even during face-to-face contacts.

In the new Jyskyjärvi data, the informants to use Finnish-based variants the most frequently were Oksenie (13.8%, $f = 54/390$), Arina (12.9%, $f = 29/225$), Manu (10.8%, $f = 19/176$), Aino (10.3%, $f = 33/319$) and Santra (10.2%, $f = 27/264$). The percentages in the brackets show the share of the Finnish-based variants in the informants' idiolects at the turn of the 2000s. Among the informants to favour the Finnish-based variants in the new Jyskyjärvi data, everybody else but Manu had done at least part of their primary school education in Finnish. Further, Santra could read Finnish, and Arina and Oksenie could even write in Finnish. All the informants who could read Finnish read lots of Finnish newspapers, magazines or books. Oksenie had even used Finnish in her work. Among the informants who made frequent use of the Finnish-based variants in Jyskyjärvi at the turn of the 2000s, everybody else but Oksenie and Manu had contacts with Finns. Santra and Arina had gone to school in Finland. The Jyskyjärvi data seems to support my hypothesis that standard Finnish has been an important model for Viena Karelians when they have been adopting phonological loans.

The results of my study show that the vowel sequences ending in *A* in the non-initial syllables in the dialects of Jyskyjärvi and Kalevala include variants that can be considered phonological loans from Finnish. This phenomenon can probably be described by the term *long-term accommodation* (see Trudgill 1986: 11–38). Trudgill (1986) defines long-term accommodation as a situation where an individual's language has

changed because he has been in contact with people speaking another variety (see also Kerswill 2002: 680). The accommodation is believed to be especially frequent when two very closely cognate languages are in contact with each other (van Coetsem 1988: 13; see also Bortoni-Ricardo 1985: 89–97).

I find the contact between Viena Karelian and Finnish to be a model example of long-term accommodation, since the contact between the languages has been very long-lasting. The Viena Karelian dialects were already influenced by Finnish when they were born, and the contact between the languages has continued ever since as a result of active trade relations, an open state border, and the temporary official status of the Finnish language. Although the contacts between the speakers of the Finnish and Viena Karelian languages were broken for almost 50 years after the Second World War, there have been efforts to rebuild the contacts since the 1990s; and at the beginning of the 2000s, the contacts were possibly more active than ever before.

I believe that the Speech Accommodation Theory (e.g. Giles & Powesland 1997 [1975]) explains why phonological loans have grown more frequent in Viena Karelia: the speakers accommodate their language towards the recipients' speech in order to gain their approval. Even in this study, it became evident that Finland and Finns are associated with strong prestige in many places in Viena Karelia, so it is understandable that many Karelians want to gain Finns' approval by accommodating their own language towards the language Finns speak. John Earl Joseph (1987: 31) also explained the influence of the prestige variety on another variety by what has been called prestige transfer. According to Joseph, people want to imitate individuals who they hold in high esteem because of their material (or physical) characteristics. It is often the case that people who enjoy better material conditions have gained prestige in the eyes of people living in less favourable material conditions. Because it is difficult for the people belonging to the latter group to attain the material level of the group they admire, it is usual that prestige is transferred to the other characteristics of the prestigious group – characteristics that are easy to imitate and adopt. Language is one such characteristic. (Joseph 1987: 31.) Although the attractive lifestyle of Finns is unattainable to many Viena Karelians, it is easy for them to accommodate their language to resemble Finnish more.

Many studies have shown that people who are the least loyal to their local community adopt linguistic innovations more easily than people who are more loyal to their community (e.g. Ito & Preston 1998; Edwards 1992;

see also Vaattovaara 2009). This study does not address the informants' loyalty to their place of living but assesses rather how loyal they were to their own language and how that affected the variation in the language at the time of the study. The results would seem to indicate that the link between ethnic loyalty and the frequent use of contact-induced variants is not always significant; however, my data also contain examples of how these two go closely hand in hand. For example, Katti was clearly more loyal to Finnish than her own mother tongue Viena Karelian, and this was reflected in her frequent use of contact-induced variants. In fact, it does seem that even minority language speakers adopt new linguistic innovations in case the adopters believe that they will gain something through the adoption of the innovation (Milroy & Milroy 1997: 204). On the basis of the present study and previous research (e.g. Milroy 1992; Milroy & Milroy 1997), it would thus seem that whilst analyzing the motives for linguistic changes, an explanation based on the idea of group identity or solidarity is more satisfactory than a mere reference to the prestigious status of the upper social classes.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed the variation which occurs in the endangered Viena Karelian language and whether ethnic loyalty or the lack of it is connected to the variation in spoken language. I have also studied whether people's loyalty to their own mother tongue and the use of it have an effect on the degree to which they adopt contact-induced dialect variants into their speech. These research questions I have attempted to answer, on the one hand, by looking at the variation in the vowel combinations ending in *iA* and *eA* in the non-initial syllables in Viena Karelian dialects, and secondly, by investigating how the language attitudes and ethnic loyalty of the informants I studied affected their linguistic choices.

I have considered ethnic loyalty and its degree in the light of two indexes – the Karelian index and the Finnish index. Although the results would seem to indicate that the Karelian and Finnish indexes are fairly closely associated with linguistic variation, it must be noted that the indexes I calculated for my informants are quite mechanical as figures, and that they hide many things. With some informants, there was a clear connection with the indexes and the linguistic variation – however, this was not nearly the case with all of the informants. In fact, with many of the informants, the index did not even provide a truly correct picture of their

loyalty to the Karelian or Finnish language, since many of them had not been able to influence, e.g., which language they were using most in their everyday lives and whether they had hobbies related to the Karelian language. A good example of this is Sylvi. She had previously taken part in a Karelian-speaking song and dance group, but she had had to give up her hobbies against her own will after she had gone blind in one eye. Although Sylvi had a Karelian index lower than the average, she seemed to show solidarity for Karelian. Thus, it was predictable that Sylvi favoured the most typical variants of the Viena Karelian dialects. My study would seem to prove that an analysis based on sheer index scores would actually have given a partly misleading picture about how the informants' language attitudes and linguistic variation were related to each other. Thus, one must always be cautious with the interpretation when using indexes as analytical tools, and consider carefully what is hidden behind the scores. It would also be desirable that new well-functioning parameters should be developed for the measuring of ethnic loyalty. Instead of calculating indexes, we could use multivariate methods to analyse the nature of the questions concerning identity and ethnic loyalty that have the highest correlation with the frequent use of certain variants. In my view, it would be worthwhile to study not only overt language attitudes but also covert attitudes in the future. For example, in Denmark, it has been noted that it is *only* the covert language attitudes that have an effect on the direction of language change (Kristiansen 2007). Perhaps ethnic loyalty could be revealed in more depth by studying both overt and covert attitudes. The listening tests that are currently very popular in folk linguistics could also prove useful in the study of minority languages: besides exploring overt attitudes, the informants would be made to listen to samples of different varieties, after which they would be told to evaluate the samples both in their own words and, e.g., according to the model of the semantic differential. Listening tests and their results might yield deeper knowledge about people's ethnic loyalty than mere theme interviews.

Despite the discussion above, the results of my study would seem to confirm the view that different phonological variants carry connotations about the group a person would like to belong to, or the one which he would like to be approved by. Further, the results show that even if a minority language speaker could speak the prestigious language well, he would not necessarily borrow elements from it very frequently, unless his ethnic loyalty was weak. In contrast, if a minority language speaker's ethnic loyalty is clearly weak and he openly admires another language than

his mother tongue, it shows in his speech as frequent use of contact-induced variants.

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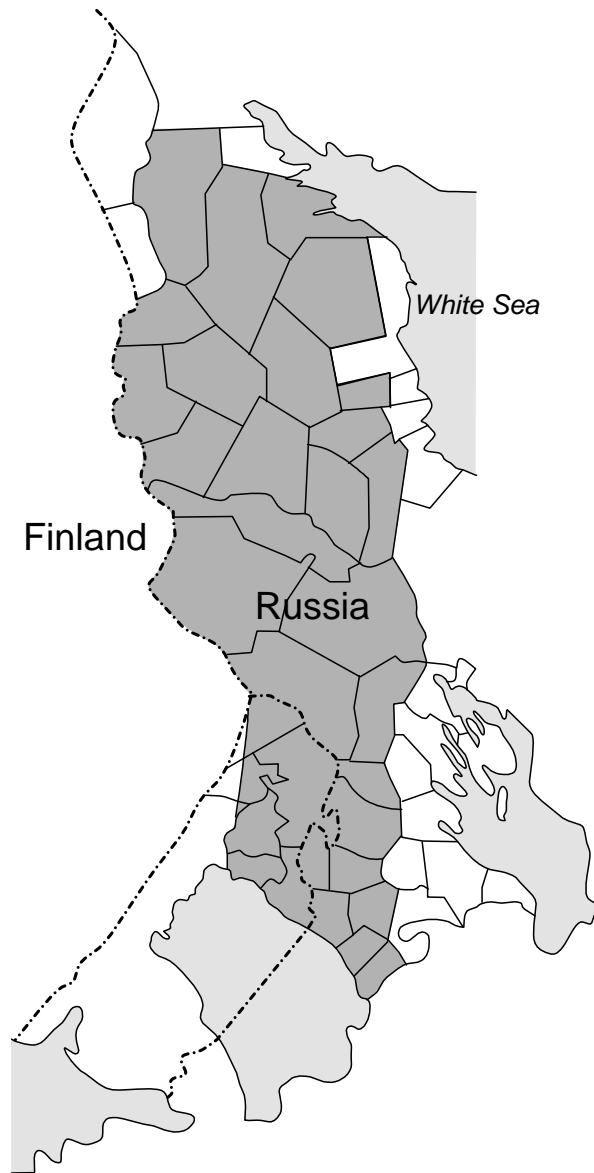
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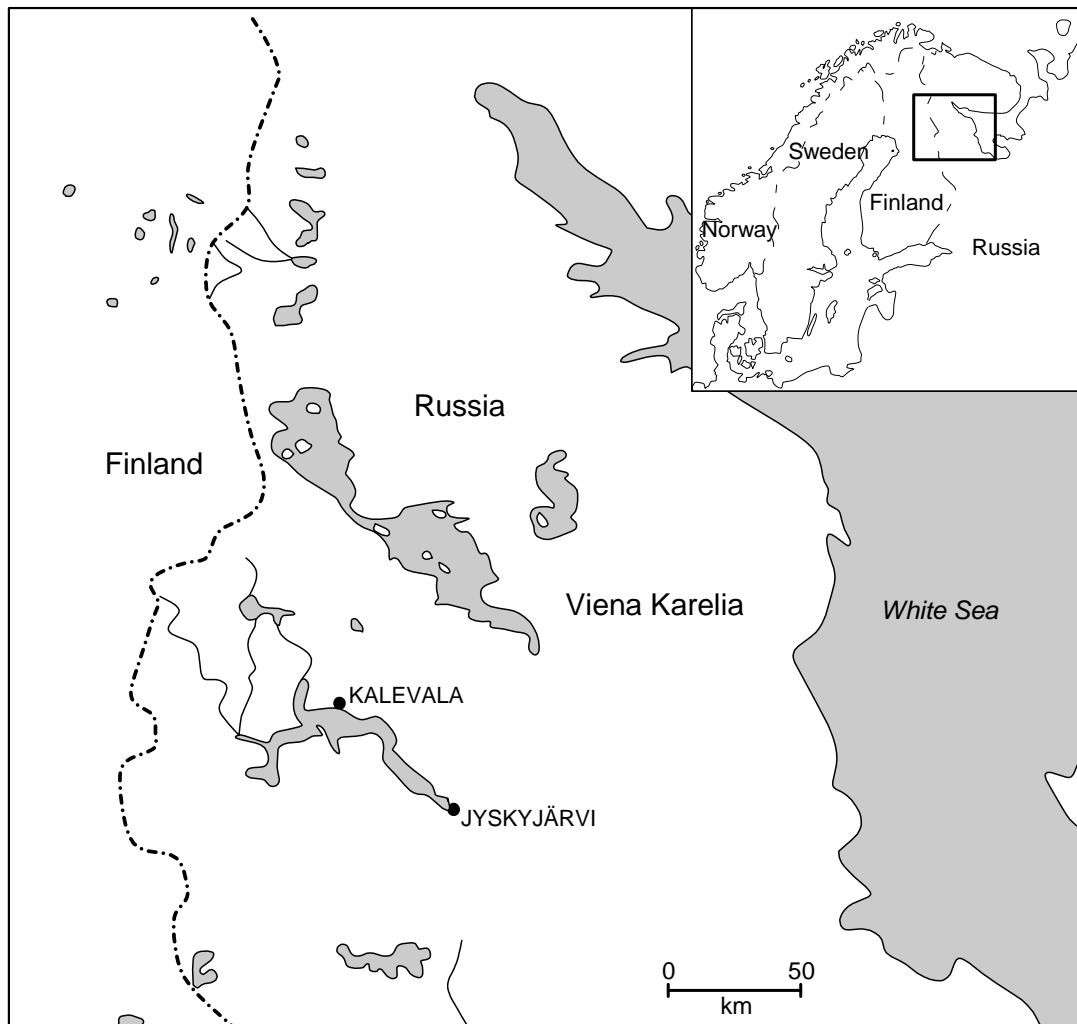
Appendix 1

The speech area of Karelian in the Republic of Karelia



Appendix 2

Map of Viena Karelia



Appendix 3

Questions of the theme interview

CHILDHOOD LANGUAGE

1. What is your mother tongue? What language was spoken at your home when you were a child?
2. What languages were spoken in your school?
3. Was Finnish or Karelian taught in your school? How many lessons a week?
4. For how many years did you go to school?
5. What village did you go to school in?
6. When did you learn Russian?

LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION, WORKING LIFE, AND FAMILY

7. Did you continue your studies after primary school? Where and for how long?
8. What language have you been using in working life?
9. What nationality is your spouse? What language do you speak with him/her?
10. Did you speak Karelian to your children when they were small? What language do you speak with them currently? What language do you speak with your grandchildren?

CURRENT LANGUAGE USE AND USE OF THE KARELIAN LANGUAGE IN DIFFERENT SITUATIONS

11. What is your best language? What language do you use most?
12. What language do you speak most with your neighbours and friends?
13. What language do you speak most with your relatives?
14. What language do you speak in a) the grocery store; b) the post office; c) the bank?
15. Are there topics you only talk about in Karelian or Russian?
16. How well do you think you a) speak; b) write; c) read in Karelian?
17. Do you subscribe to any Karelian or Finnish newspapers or magazines?
18. Do you read Finnish or Karelian literature?
19. Do you watch Karelian shows on TV?
20. Do you listen to Karelian programmes on the radio?

21. Do you have a hobby related to Karelian culture?
22. How do you feel about the fact that Viena Karelian and Olonets are separate standard languages?
23. Do the children of this village still speak Viena Karelian?
24. Do you think the Karelian language should be preserved? Do you believe in its revitalisation?
25. What should be done to prevent the Karelian language from dying?

CONTACTS WITH FINNS AND VIEWS OF HOW FINNISH AFFECTS KARELIAN

26. Do you have relatives, friends, or acquaintances in Finland? How many are they and where do they live?
27. Do your Finnish friends come and visit you? How often?
28. Do you keep in touch with Finns by phone?
29. Have you been in correspondence with Finns?
30. Have you been to Finland yourself? How many times and in which regions?
31. Do you accommodate Finnish tourists?
32. Do you think that Finnish has affected the Viena Karelian you speak? In what ways? How do Finnish and Viena Karelian differ from each other?

Appendix 4

The Karelian index and the criteria for calculating it

Abbreviations explained: Ka = Karelian, Ru= Russian.

The figures in the columns show how many points each of the answers give.

	Ka	Ka + Ru	Ru + Ka	Ru
1. What language has the informant spoken in his/her working life?	3	2	1	0
2. What language has the informant spoken with his/her spouse?	3	2	1	0
3. What language has the informant spoken with his/her children?	3	2	1	0
4. What language has the informant spoken with his/her grandchildren?	3	2	1	0
5. What language does the informant speak most in his/her everyday life?	3	2	1	0

6. What language does the informant speak with his/her neighbours and friends?	3	2	1	0
7. What language does the informant speak most with his/her relatives?	3	2	1	0
8. Does the informant read Karelian newspapers and magazines?		reads a lot 2	reads some 1	does not read 0
9. Does the informant watch Karelian TV shows?			yes 1	no 0
10. Does the informant listen to Karelian radio programmes?			yes 1	no 0
11. Does the informant have a hobby related to Karelian culture?			yes 1	no 0

12. Does the informant believe in the revitalisation of the Karelian language?		yes 2	hesitates 1	no 0
13. Does the informant or one of his/her family members make efforts to promote the use or study of the Karelian language?			yes 1	no 0

The index was calculated as follows: a personal score was calculated for each informant. The maximum score for all the questions was 29, but since all the informants did not answer all the questions (e.g. the informants who did not have children did not answer questions 3 and 4), the maximum score was lower in some cases. The personal score was multiplied by one hundred and divided by the maximum score. Thus, each informant received a figure between one and one hundred, showing his/her loyalty to the Karelian language.

Appendix 5

The Finnish index and the criteria for calculating it

1. Does the informant have Finnish friends?		yes 1	no 0
2. Does the informant have Finnish instrumental friends?		yes 1	no 0
3. Does the informant accommodate Finnish tourists?	often 2	occasionally 1	never 0
4. Can the informant write in Finnish?		yes 1	no 0
5. Does the informant read Finnish newspapers and magazines?	reads a lot 2	reads some 1	does not read 0
6. Does the informant read Finnish books?	reads a lot 2	reads some 1	does not read 0
7. Does the informant idealize the Finnish language and everything Finnish?		yes 1	no 0

8. Does the informant admit that Finnish has affected his/her spoken language?		yes 1	no 0
9. Has the informant used Finnish in his/her working life?		yes 1	no 0

The index was calculated as follows: a personal score was calculated for each informant. The maximum score for all the questions was 12, but since all the informants did not answer all the questions (e.g. question 8), the maximum score was lower in some cases. The personal score was multiplied by one hundred and divided by the maximum score. Thus, each informant received a figure between one and one hundred, showing his/her loyalty to the Finnish language.