# THE USE OF THE KARELIAN LANGUAGE ONLINE: CURRENT TRENDS AND CHALLENGES

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Abstract. This article looks to analyze the use of the Karelian language on the internet and especially on social media platforms. The study is based on a survey carried out among Karelian speakers at the end of 2021. The survey was implemented in the Karelian language and received 161 responses, mostly from Finland, but also from Russia and other countries. The survey consists of questions related to the use of Karelian in daily life and online. The benefits, challenges, and needs related to the use of Karelian online are also explored. The results show that 40% of the respondents use the Karelian language online on a daily basis. Karelian is visible on all of the popular social media platforms, with the most popular being Facebook and Instagram, although the use of TikTok is still rare. However, it is considered that popular social media platforms would benefit from more content in Karelian, in order to support the visibility and revitalization of the Karelian language.

Keywords: internet, Karelian, language revival, minority language, social media

**DOI**: https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2022.13.2.09

### 1. Introduction

This paper investigates the use of the Karelian language on the internet, especially in the context of social media. The research data is based on a survey implemented among Karelian speakers at the end of 2021. The focus is on the daily use of Karelian online, from internet surfing, to private communication. Additionally, the behavior, habits, needs and challenges that Karelian speakers experience online are investigated. Moreover, the study explores what kind of Karelian language content is still missing, and how available resources in Karelian may be developed to support its language revitalization.

Activism, individual language use, and the linguistic identity of each speaker are increasingly emphasized in the revitalization and maintenance of what is a minority language. The use of digital devices and social media has increased consistently over the last years. But despite the dominance of English and other national or majority languages, speakers of minority languages have also gained access to use their own language online (Soria, Mariani & Zoli 2013: 73, DataReportal 2021a: 80). The internet offers an alternative to traditional media, and creating content is faster and obviously cheaper in digital format. There are many open access channels by which to reach the speakers of a minority language. The use of the language online offers an easy way to support the revitalization of a language, and speakers living apart from the language community especially benefit from the use of the language online. As a further observation, the COVID-19 pandemic has also encouraged people to go online, and in so doing, maintain their language skills.

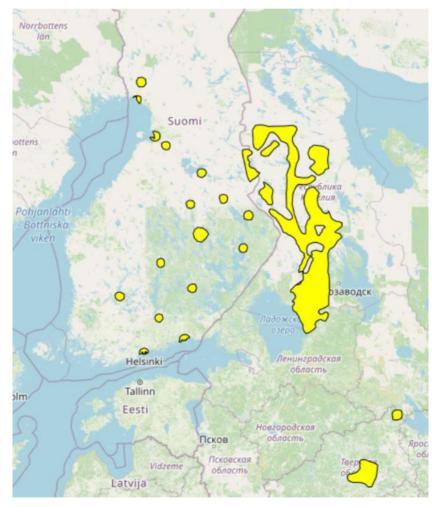
The research questions of this study are as follows: How are Karelianspeaking people using their language online? Which social media platforms are the most popular? What other online resources are Karelian speakers using? What are the main advantages and challenges of using Karelian online? How should content in Karelian be developed for supporting a revitalization of the Karelian language?

The structure of the article is as follows: after a short introduction, Section 2 presents the current situation of the Karelian language, and briefly addresses other research related to the use of minority languages on social media and the internet. In Section 3, the specifics of the research data are presented. Section 4 describes the use of the Karelian language in daily life and on the internet. In Section 5, the benefits and challenges of using social media and the internet are presented, as well as the emerging needs of the Karelian speakers involved. Section 6 summarizes and discusses the main results of the study. Section 7 concludes the article and offers some general remarks.

#### **Background** 2.

# 2.1. The Karelian language and its revitalization

Karelian is a Finnic language mainly spoken in Russia and in Finland. Most Karelian speakers in Russia are living in the Republic of Karelia and the Tver regions, as well as in cities including Saint-Petersburg and Moscow. In Finland, while the Karelian language is non-territorial, most of the speakers live in Eastern Finland, and also in Helsinki, Tampere, Jyväskylä, and Oulu (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Karelian-speaking territories (according to Roose et al. 2021).

Before the Second World War, most Karelian speakers in Finland lived in the Border Karelia region, which was ceded to the Soviet Union after the war. As a consequence, all of the region's inhabitants were relocated across Finland. Currently, the number of Karelian speakers is about 25,000 in Russia (2010) and 5,000–11,000 in Finland (Russian Census 2010, Sarhimaa 2017: 115). Linguistically, the Karelian language is divided into two main dialects: Olonets (or Livvi) Karelian, and Karelian Proper. The latter consists of Viena (North) Karelian and South Karelian (Koivisto 2018: 57).

Karelian is a minority language both in Finland and Russia, and is recognized as being critically endangered. The number of speakers is decreasing despite attempts to revitalize the language, and an intentional language revitalization has been on-going since the end of the 1980s. There is the possibility to study the language at the Petrozavodsk State University (in the Republic of Karelia, Russia) and at the University of Eastern Finland (in Joensuu, Finland). Karelian is taught at some schools in Russian Karelia and there has been a language nest working in Vedlozero (Vieljärvi) since 2017. There is also a Karelian newspaper *Oma Mua* published in Petrozavodsk, other media produced by the Karelia broadcasting company and Yle the Finnish national broadcasting company, as well as literature produced in Karelian. Nevertheless, the revitalization process is challenging because of a continuous lack of financial and human resources (for further reading, see Karjalainen et al. 2013, Munne 2013, Sarhimaa 2016).

Several studies have shown that a loss of language impacts a person's mental and physical health (Zamyatin, Pasanen & Saarikivi 2012: 29–30, see also Kunnas 2003). Specifically, linguistic and cultural belongingness helps a person to find both self-identity and meaning in life. For that reason, the revitalization of threatened languages is important, especially in terms of support for learners and existing speakers of the language. In the current context of internationalization and diasporic communities, because of the fragmentation of the community of speakers, staying connected through the internet significantly supports language vitality and revitalization.

# 2.2. Minority languages and social media

The visibility of minority languages on the internet and social media has been the focus of several previous studies. As examples: Wagner (2013) studied the presence of Luxembourgish on Facebook; Cunliffe & Dyfrig (2013) investigated the visibility of the Welsh language on YouTube; Ferré-Pavia et al. (2018) analyzed the internet and social media activity of ten language communities including Catalan, Galician, Basque, Welsh, Irish, Frisian, Breton, Corsican, Scottish Gaelic, and Sami; Outakoski, Cocq & Steggo (2018) studied Sami social media initiatives for strengthening languages; and Hiippala et al. (2019) investigated the linguistic landscape of geotagged social media content. Additionally, Johnson (2013) has explored the visibility of (minority) language from the perspectives of bilingualism and code-switching by studying the bilingual use of English and Welsh on Twitter.

The visibility and use of the Karelian language on the internet and social media have been investigated in several studies. The use of Karelian online has been investigated from the perspectives of translation studies, linguistic landscape, and language ideologies (Moshnikov 2016, Kuusi, Koskinen & Riionheimo 2019, Giloeva & Kok 2021, Moshnikov 2022). Karelian along with Basque, Breton and Sardinian was part of the Digital Language Diversity Project 2015–2018 (DLDP). During the project, the digital use of the languages mentioned above was studied from a broad perspective, from the use of the languages in internet services and software, to the visibility of the languages on social and digital media (see Salonen 2017 for the report on the Karelian language). Although the results represent a wide sphere of the digital usage of these languages, not all of them are relevant to the Karelian language. Particularly, there is a significant difference between the numbers of speakers and the levels of language status and revitalization, and for that reason, it is difficult to investigate the digital use of Karelian and compare it for example with Basque using the same survey, since many services are simply not available in Karelian.

The active use of Karelian on social media and on the internet has been increasing over the past few years. The Karelian language is used in Facebook posts, tweets, Instagram captions, on TikTok, and on other popular applications. A similar trend can be seen in the context of the Sami languages, where the number of Facebook groups, hashtags on Twitter and Instagram, and Wikipedia articles have significantly increased over the last decades (Lindgren & Cocq 2017: 134). Aside from social media, Karelian is also used in private messaging, audio and video calls. Discussions in Karelian are being held in various closed social media groups, but also openly, for example on Twitter. On the other hand, some Karelian-speaking activists have faced outright hate speech, and have had to explain their right to use their own language (Kurko 2021, Kurki 2022).

All of these aspects of the use of Karelian online offer invaluable data for language development and further language revitalization, especially for organizations supporting the Karelian language and culture, as well as educational institutions and authorities. Online data also shows the diversity of the use of Karelian online. From this perspective, this study is one of the first that investigates how Karelian people use the Karelian language online.

# 3. Specifics of the research data

The usage of the Karelian language online was investigated using a survey implemented through the Webropol online analysis and survey tool. The online survey was carried out among Karelian speakers at the end of 2021. The link to the survey was shared among Karelian speakers via social media networks such as Facebook, VK (VKontakte), Twitter, and Instagram, and also during online events and meetings. The survey consisted of 32 questions, including yes/no questions, multiple answer questions, open questions, and questions relating to the participants' background information. A total of 161 participants took part in the survey. The questionnaire was implemented in Karelian, and participants could decide for themselves which language they used for answering the open questions. Each participant could voluntarily give their contact information to take part in further related research. Thus, the participants represent a particular type of people, in that they have at least a good passive knowledge of Karelian, and they are active users of the internet. Consequently, the results of the study describe this particular group, and not all Karelian speakers.

The age distribution of the participants is presented in Figure 2. The respondents represented different age groups, with slightly more respondents from the age group of 30–44 years. In this study, I compare two age groups with each other: Group 1 includes the answers given by participants up to 44 years old (n=68), and Group 2 includes participants older than 45 years old (n=92). The reported gender distribution of participants is not equal, with 62% of responses being received from women, 32% from men, and 6% from other denominations.

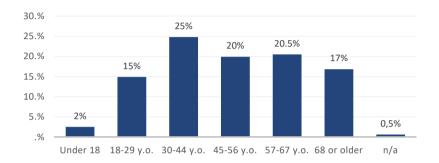


Figure 2. Age distribution of the participants.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding location: 85% of the respondents reported themselves as living in Finland, 9% in Russia, and 5% of the respondents lived in other countries (including Sweden, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Luxemburg, and Estonia). Regarding urbanization, 65% of the respondents lived in cities and 32% in rural areas. A general trend of urbanization is visible in the research, although the low participation rate from Russia may slightly distort the results. The link to the survey was shared among Karelian communities in the VK social network. However, it is difficult to explain why there is such a big gap between the number of participants from Finland and Russia. Probably, either passivity and also perhaps a fear of consequences are reasons why Karelian-speaking people from Russia ignored the survey, especially given that the survey was conducted by a foreign institution. In the context of 'foreign agent' discourse, the current political situation in and surrounding Russia is also likely to have had a significant impact on peoples' attitudes (see Suutari & Davydova-Minguet 2019).

Distribution into the different age groups has been done according to the models of Statistics Finland (Tilastokeskus).

As mentioned in Section 2, the Karelian language is critically endangered. Karelian has several dialects and written forms, but there are also some variations and even misunderstandings in naming the dialects of Karelian. Furthermore, knowledge of the existence of the Karelian language is still weak, especially in Finland. Among Finnish people, it is still common to think that the Karelian language is not an independent language, but rather a dialect of Finnish spoken in North and South Karelia (see Sarhimaa 2017: 9). However, in Russia, people are usually aware that Karelian and Finnish are different languages. In this research, for the purpose of avoiding misunderstanding, the survey was conducted using Livvi Karelian. The preface to the survey mentioned that the research was about the Karelian language. However, the survey also includes Ludic (which is closely related to Karelian), and according to the latest research is described as an independent language (Pahomov 2017: 286), despite the long-standing Russian research tradition of retaining it as a dialect of Karelian (Zaikov 2000: 27). The survey did not attract Ludic speakers, and only one respondent reported consuming online content in Ludic. The number of Ludic speakers is counted in hundreds, and most of them are elderly people (Pahomov 2017: 40). Thus, the aspect of high age can be also a reason for a lower use of computers and smartphones among Ludic speakers.

Another issue is more ideologically oriented, and relates to the dialect choice of the survey. The implementation of the survey in Livvi Karelian can be criticized by speakers of other dialects. However, the dialects of Karelian are mutually intelligible (Sarhimaa 2017: 46, Novak et al. 2019: 416), despite there being significant differences between their written standards (see Sarhimaa 2016: 20). In studies of minority languages, the use of one of the associated dialects is seen as preferable to the use of a majority language (here, either Russian or Finnish). Since the author is a speaker of Livvi Karelian, it was obvious to conduct a survey in that dialect. Karelian is also a common language for Karelian people living in Finland and Russia. However, the use of Livvi Karelian prompted some feedback from the speakers of other dialects. Besides claims that the language of the survey was not understandable, some people needed to translate the survey into their own dialect. Since the volume of the multidialectal content has increased over recent years, it was decided to keep the survey as monodialectal, and conducting the survey in different dialects of Karelian would have required from three to five different dialect versions of the survey in addition to Finnish and Russian languages. As a further consideration, besides the reported difficulties in understanding the survey, some people can also find it challenging to read in Karelian, and there are many speakers (especially among the older generation) who cannot read texts written in Latin letters (see Karjalainen et al. 2013: 109).

#### 4. The use of Karelian in daily life and online

# 4.1. The use of Karelian in general

According to the survey, 17% of the respondents speak Karelian daily, 6% three or four days per week, 12% one or two days per week, and 16% more rarely than every week (Figure 3). 40% reported that they do not speak Karelian, but can understand it, and write (6%) or read and listen to Karelian (34%). Previous research shows that reading and understanding the language through listening are common for the Karelian-speaking community (Salonen 2017: 8). 9% of the respondents reported using Karelian in other ways, in most cases as a combination of the variants shown in Figure 3. For some participants, it was difficult to evaluate how often they spoke Karelian because it depends on who they had the possibility to speak to. However, 83% of the respondents reported at the end of the survey that they either knew or spoke Karelian in some form.

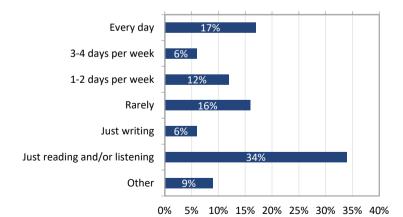


Figure 3. Using of Karelian by the respondents.

In regard to speaking Karelian: 31% of the respondents reported that they had five or more people to speak Karelian with, 15% three or four, and 26% one or two. But 28% of the respondents reported that they did not have anybody to talk Karelian with (Figure 4). Interestingly, in the younger age group (44 or younger) this percentage is higher (55%). Among people 45 years old or older, 70% reported having more than five persons to speak Karelian with. But among respondents younger than 44 years, just 30% had five or more people to speak Karelian with, which reflects that the younger generation has fewer possibilities to use Karelian in their daily life.

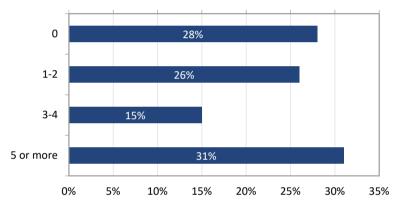


Figure 4. The number of people respondents can speak Karelian with.

Most of the respondents spoke Karelian with friends (59%), family members (75% including parents, grandparents, children, and other relatives), or with colleagues 22% (Figure 5). It is worth mentioning that respondents from the age group 45+ speak Karelian significantly more with other relatives and with friends, while respondents younger than 44 years tend to use Karelian more with friends. The result shows that nowadays the role of grandparents is not as significant as before (Zamyatin, Pasanen & Saarikivi 2012: 72, 145), and there are many new domains for practicing and learning language. In addition, there could be also a psychological aspect where for some language learners it is easier to speak and practice the language with people who have the same level, and there can be a higher barrier to start speaking the language with grandparents if they are considered as native or original speakers of Karelian.

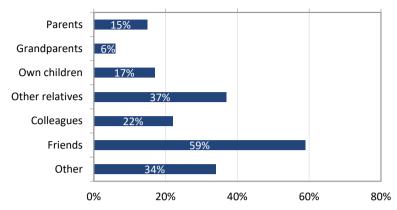


Figure 5. The groups of people respondents can speak Karelian with.

A significant number of the respondents (34%) reported other people with whom they can speak Karelian (Figure 5). These include organization or association activists, journalists, language course students, online friends, neighbors, and other parties. In addition, 29% of the respondents used Karelian at work, and 62% see themselves as language activists.

# 4.2. Digital use of Karelian

The results show that 40% of the respondents search for content in Karelian every day (Figure 6), 27% three or four days per week, and 19% one or two days per week. 14% reported searching for content in Karelian less frequently.

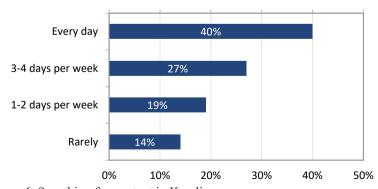
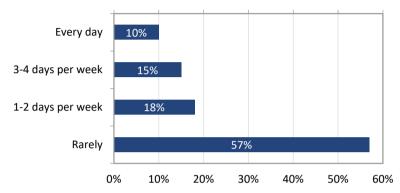


Figure 6. Searching for content in Karelian.

Creating content in Karelian was more challenging for the respondents (Figure 7), and 57% of the respondents reported that they produced content in Karelian less frequently than once a week, or not at all. However, 10% of the respondents created content in Karelian every day, and 33% on a weekly basis.



**Figure 7**. Creating content in Karelian.

Figures 8 and 9 show the use of different dialects of Karelian on the internet. Figure 8 consists of answers related to consuming content, and Figure 9 concerns creating content in different dialects of Karelian. As we can see from both figures, most of the respondents are consuming and creating content in Livvi Karelian (65%), whereas 27% of the respondents are consuming the content in South Karelian, and slightly less (25%) are creating content in that dialect. 25% of the respondents reported consuming content in Viena Karelian, but only 12% create content in the dialect.

36% of the respondents consume the Karelian content in different dialects. There is a notable difference between age groups, and a higher percentage of respondents from the age group younger than 44 years old consumes content in different dialects of Karelian (60%).

Figures 8 and 9 also show that there is lack of content published in Tver Karelian and Ludic. Just 5% of the respondents reported consuming content in Tver Karelian, and 1% in Ludic (Figure 8). Also, only 2% produce content in Tver Karelian, and none produce content in Ludic. As mentioned before in Section 3, Ludic is critically endangered and the number of speakers is counted in hundreds, and the online visibility of the language is almost not existent.

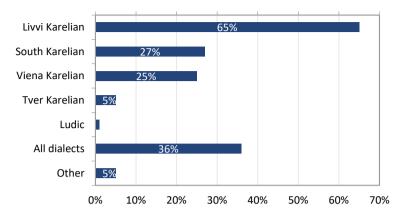


Figure 8. Consuming content in different dialects of Karelian.

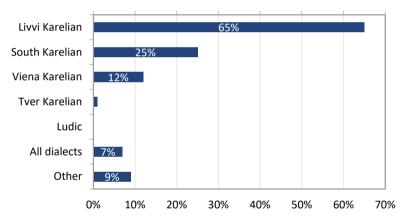


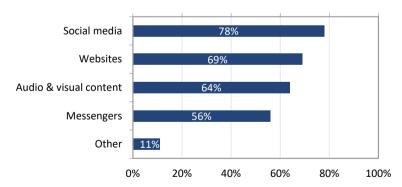
Figure 9. Creating content in different dialects of Karelian.

While 36% of the respondents reported consuming Karelian content in different dialects (Figure 8), only 7% produced content in different dialects of Karelian (Figure 9). This result correlates with the fact that while the visibility and use of different dialects is more acceptable among the community, creating multidialectal content is challenging.

Among other variants (5% and 9% respectively), respondents mentioned the dialect of their own village or region (Salmissa puhuttua, engl. 'Spoken in Salmi'). Some respondents also commented on the naming of the Karelian dialects. Most of the comments related to the South Karelian dialect, and some speakers are calling it 'Proper Karelian': Varzinaiskarjalaksi. Suvikarjala on Lappeenrannan seuvvul; Varsinkarjalua; Varzinkarjalaks myö meijä kieldä kucutah 'In Proper Karelian. South Karelian is spoken in the Lappeenranta region; It is Proper Karelian; we call our language Proper Karelian'. However, some representatives of the Karelian community do not accept the current division of Karelian into several dialects, and claim that there are in fact several Karelian languages (see Jeskanen 2019).

## 4.3. The use of Karelian on the internet and in social media

Figure 10 shows the type of Karelian content respondents consume. As we can see from the results, the most popular channel is social media (78%), followed by websites (69%) including internet news, Wikipedia, and online e-books. 64% use audio and visual content which includes, for example, YouTube music and videos, radio, and tv programs. 56% of the respondents use Karelian in private messages (messenger services and e-mails), and also during phone and video calls. Among the other options chosen (11%), respondents mentioned Discord channels, Spotify, Yle uudizet karjalakse ('Yle News in Karelian'), available online research materials, and online Karelian courses. The use of websites and social media is slightly more popular in the younger age group (age 44 or younger), while audio and visual content and messengers (including calls and emails) are also popular in the older age group (age 45+).



**Figure 10**. Type of content in Karelian.

Figure 11 describes the social media platforms respondents were using in general. Examining this in more detail, Figure 12 shows the platforms respondents use to consume content in Karelian, and

Figure 13 shows the platforms where respondents are publishing their own content in Karelian. As we can see from Figure 11, Facebook is the most popular social media platform among the respondents (77%), and also the most popular platform used for searching (69%) and publishing (54%) content in Karelian (Figures 12 and 13).

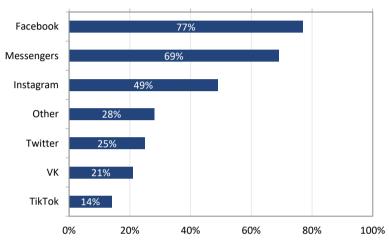


Figure 11. The use of social media in general (in any language).

Figure 11 also shows the other social media platforms respondents use, and after Facebook, 69% of the respondents use private communication applications (Facebook Messenger, WhatsApp, Telegram), Instagram (49%), Twitter (25%), VK (21%), and TikTok (14%). There is a big gap between the two age groups, and 75% of the users of Instagram, 74% of the users of Twitter, and 70% of the users of TikTok are younger than 44 years old. At the same time, among respondents older than 45 years, just 25% use Instagram, 26% Twitter, and 30% use Tik-Tok. Among other social media applications that were reported (28%, Figure 11), the respondents mentioned Discord, Snapchat, YouTube, LinkedIn and some others.

Although Facebook is the most popular channel (69%), Karelianspeaking people also consume content in Karelian from Instagram (38%), messenger services (31%), Twitter (24%), VK (22%), and Tik-Tok (16%) (Figure 12). In 2017, Facebook was reported as virtually the only channel where Karelian was used (Salonen 2017: 12). However, by the end of 2021, the use of the Karelian language had spread to other social media platforms as well, and among other applications, respondents mentioned Discord, YouTube, Spotify, and Tumblr.

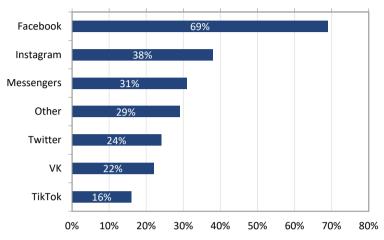


Figure 12. Searching for content in Karelian.

In regard to publishing content, the percentage shares can be seen to drop a bit more (Figure 13). Facebook is still the most popular channel on which to use the Karelian language (54%), especially among those respondents aged 45+ years old. Surprisingly, 35% of the respondents use Karelian in messenger services, 26% use Karelian on Instagram, and 15% on Twitter and VK. Only 2% of the respondents use Karelian on TikTok. The use of Karelian on Instagram is especially popular among the younger respondents (age 44 or younger), where 84% of the respondents from that age group use Karelian on Instagram, in contrast to only 16% of those aged 45+. The situation is similar on Twitter, with 67% of the users of Twitter being younger than 44 years old, and 33% aged 45+. A significantly large proportion of the respondents also indicated other channels (29%, Figure 13) where Karelian is used, and these included Discord, LinkedIn, Viber, Tumblr, and Fediverse. However, some respondents mentioned that they did not create any content in Karelian.

For participants living in Russia, VK is the most popular channel to consume (93%) and create (86%) content in Karelian. However, the number of participants living in Russia was low (n=15). In Russia, after YouTube, VK is the second most popular social media platform with

74 million users, while Facebook has only 8.9 million users (according to DataReportal 2021b: Russian Federation). However, no respondents living in Russia mentioned YouTube as a channel to create the content in Karelian, and just a few respondents mentioned Facebook.

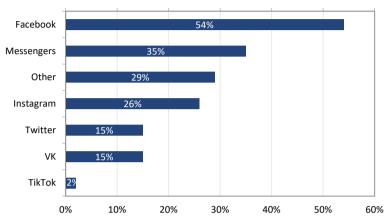


Figure 13. Creating own content in Karelian.

As we can see from Figures 12 and 13, consuming content in Karelian is more popular among Karelian speakers than creating content themselves. Writing or producing content can be challenging, not just because of any weak language proficiency, but also because of a lack of interest in publishing or commenting on something in Karelian or any other language. Thus, some users are seen to be passively following others and simply surfing the internet and social media.

According to the survey, Facebook is the most popular forum used among Karelian speakers.<sup>2</sup> But the study shows that other platforms are getting users interested in content produced in Karelian as well. Lately, especially on Instagram and Twitter, the Karelian language has become more visible, and research on tweets in Karelian supports this observation (Moshnikov & Rykova, forthcoming), and the use of Karelian in private communication is also seen as important for language maintenance and revitalization.

According to Digital 2021: Global Digital Overview, worldwide Facebook is the most popular social media network with 2,18 billion users (DataReportal 2021a: 93).

As extensions of social media communication channels, there are several semi-public chats running on instant messaging platforms such as WhatsApp and Telegram. For example, the cloud-based Telegram service has public chats and channels related to the learning of the Karelian language, all of which are available by searching *karjalan kieli* or *карельский язык*. These chats can feature Karelian books that are available online, or short posts mainly related to the lexicon in Karelian. Karjalan kieli joka päivä ('Karelian every day') consists of one-word messages with some illustrations for learning Karelian words, and similar chat groups exist on the WhatsApp platform. A further example of the use of Karelian online appears in the messages used in private communications.

As an additional feature, there is a separate localization platform that can be used to translate Telegram's interface (https://translations. telegram.org/), and each user can voluntarily localize any language. According to Telegram's policy, users can suggest translations and vote for the best ones, making Telegram localization a community-driven effort.<sup>3</sup> Similar interface translation has been done for Livvi Karelian Wikipedia and also the Proper (Viena) Karelian version of VK.

# 5. The use of Karelian online: personal benefits, challenges and needs

#### 5.1. Benefits

In this study, 92% of the respondents reported that the visibility and use of the Karelian language online supports their language skills. The possibility to use Karelian online is one of the new domains which gives Karelian speakers a channel through which to use the language. For many participants, the internet is the only way they can use and maintain their language skills. For others, the internet is the only place for them to learn the language (comments 1–4). The following respondent comments offer a picture of their language use online.

<sup>3</sup> https://telegram.org/faq#q-can-i-translate-telegram

- Voibi käyttie kieldy joga päiviä, hos ei ole paginkanzua lähäl, ei kieli (1) unohtu 4
  - 'Makes it possible to use the language every day, and if there is nobody to speak Karelian with, the language will be not forgotten.'
- (2) Mie en pakaja karjalakse koissa sentäh miun mies on suomalaini ta hiän ei pakaja karjalakse. Vietän äijän aikoa internetas ta pakajan internetystävien kera karjalua.
  - 'I do not speak Karelian at home since my husband is Finnish and he does not speak Karelian. I am spending a lot of time on the internet, and speak Karelian with my online friends.'
- (3) Eihäi minul olis nimittustu karjalan kielen maltuo, en nähnys karjalastu paginua internetas!
  - 'I would not have any knowledge of Karelian if I had not seen Karelian on the internet.'
- (4) Turun linnas ei järjestetäh nimidä karjalan kielen kursiloi da en ole yliopistos. Kai miun karjalan kielen käyttö on internetas. Tahtozin opastuo enembi ga ei ole muudu mahtolližuttu ku internet. :(
  - 'There are no Karelian courses to take here in Turku, and I am not at the university. All of my use of Karelian is on the internet. I would like to study more, but the internet is the only option.'

For other participants, the internet is a place where they learn a new vocabulary, not just from the dialect of Karelian they speak, but also from other dialects. Some respondents also pointed out the possibility to improve their writing skills and contemporary vocabulary (5–6).

- Suan harjaitustu tekstan kirjuttamizeh da muuloin murdehien ellendä-(5) mizeh
  - 'I am practicing writing in Karelian, but also understanding other dialects.'
- Se gu pidät puaksuh kirjuttua da lugie eri teemoih. Nygyaigazihgi. 'You must write and read about different topics. Also related to modern life.'

<sup>4</sup> The spelling of the examples is original, translation into English is done by the author of the article.

Overall, the use of Karelian online supports and maintains the language skills of Karelian speakers. As mentioned in Section 4, many speakers of Karelian do not have anyone to speak Karelian with, and in the responses, the importance of the internet was emphasized. The respondents also mentioned that they read much more in Karelian from the internet than they did from traditional books. Notably, using the internet is easier (especially through a mobile phone), and the social aspect is also important, as many speakers of Karelian found new friends and gained support for learning the language. Respondents also mentioned that because of the internet, they got to know who actually speaks Karelian, and started to speak and text with them in the Karelian language.

## 5.2. Challenges

Some 37% of the participants reported struggles and insecurity regarding their use of Karelian online. Most of the reported challenges related to their personal knowledge of the language, including challenges with writing skills, a lack of vocabulary and useful dictionaries, and technical issues mostly related to the use of the Karelian alphabet with special characters ( $\check{c}$ ,  $\check{z}$ ,  $\check{s}$ ).

As an additional complication, for some contexts, the words that are needed are difficult to find either because they do not exist in Karelian, or because there is a varied use of the new vocabulary. Some respondents (7–8) commented:

- (7) Mie en malta vie ylen hyvin kirjuttua karjalaksi, da tuagieh on jygiedä kirjuttua putilleh.
  - 'I cannot write well in Karelian, and often it is difficult to write the correct way.'
- (8) Äijän pidäy uuzii somesanoloi kudamii ei toinah ole karjalan kieles. Da ollou, nennii eule sanakniigois. Toiči tahton kirjuttua midätah, ga en malta karjalakse da kirjutan sit suomekse. Sit on vähäzen huigie tundo, hos vaiku tiijängi gu ei ni pie olla.
  - 'There is a need for a new vocabolary related to social media. And there is not a new word in the dictionary. Sometimes I would like to write something, but I cannot write it in Karelian and so I write in Finnish. I feel a bit guilty because of that, but I know there is no reason to feel this way.'

Another issue is related to language purism, the fear of making mistakes, and having overall doubts of whether to use Karelian as the language of communication as some other users may not understand the decision, or may have some negative attitudes related to the use of Karelian (9–11).

- (9) Pelkään jonkin verran kielipurismia. 'I am somewhat afraid of language purism.'
- (10) En tiiä, maltanko oikein kirjuttua ta sentäh en kirjuta äijän karjalakse. 'I do not know whether I am writing correctly, and that's why I am not writing much in Karelian.'
- (11) Erähät ristikanzat ovat sidä mieldy, gu vai pidäy Suomessa suomekse kirjuttua, gu hyö ei ellendä. 'Some people are thinking that in Finland you must only write in Finnish, because they do not understand you.'

Some respondents mentioned that they have encountered some dialectic controversies related to the quality of each dialect, and debates about which dialect is better and the most original. Others regretted the poor quality of Karelian content, and the overall lack of content available online (12–14).

- (12) karjalan murre ryhmässä olen saanut palautetta että Salmissa puhuttu on Livviä eikä kuulu murteisiin vaan on oma kieli. Ei suvaittu hakisemista. 'On the Karelian dialect group, I got some feedback that the language spoken in Salmi is Livvi Karelian, and it is not a dialect but an independent language. They did not like my way of speaking.'
- (13) murrehkiistua tulou vastah. ei ole šuorah viäritetty, ka on ikävä lukie kommenttija, mit ei vaštua tovellista tilannehta. Kaikista kipein on se murrehkiista, ken on parempi ta oikeimpi. 'I see some dialect fights. I did not get any straight feedback, but it is a pity to read some comments which do not correspond to reality. The
- (14) On vaikea löytää karjalankielellä olevia tekstejä sosiaalisesta mediasta ja ylipäätään.

worst thing is this dialectic fighting as to who is better and right.'

'It is difficult to find texts in Karelian from social media and in general.'

Using Karelian was not straightforward, and 14% of the respondents even had some negative experiences related to their use of the Karelian language online. Karelian speakers have often had to explain the origin of the language, refute false claims about the questioning of the existence of the language, and explain that Karelian is not a dialect of Finnish. Others had to defend their right to speak Karelian, including explanations of why they used Karelian instead of a majority language. Speakers of the latter often do not understand Karelian, and the respondents mentioned that their 'Karelianess' was questioned because they are not evacuees from Karelia, and for that reason, do not have the right to speak Karelian. Some Karelian speakers living in Finland were asked to speak Finnish, or even called *ryssä* which is a pejorative expression for 'Russian'. Some have been bullied, been given unfriendly or derogative looks/glances, comments and smiles, and even been made the object of jokes. However, there were others who reported that while they had not had any negative experiences themselves, but they had seen negative comments on social media and had supported those to whom the comments had been addressed.

### 5.3. Needs

The respondents were also asked what kind of Karelian language content Karelian speakers are missing. Almost 100 respondents shared their thoughts about content in Karelian that they were missing on the internet. Generally, Karelian speakers would like to have as much content in Karelian as is available in the majority languages, covering a range of content. But more specific suggestions included audio and video content for all age groups, and especially for children and young people such as animation, music, videos, and podcasts in Karelian (15–16).

- (15) Hos midä nuorih niškoi! Muuzikkua, videodu, podcastua... 'Any content for young people! Music, videos, podcasts...'
- (16) Kaikenmostu. Kacottavua dai lugiettavua, kuuneltavua. Kinuo, mul'tful'mua, muuzikkua, kižua, paici ligemistu.
  'All kinds. Some content to watch, read, and listen to. Movies, animations, music, games. All except reading.'

Some respondents mentioned the need for modern content related to everyday life. Especially, authentic content where native speakers of Karelian are speaking to each other is missing (such as interviews, talks, videos, posts, programs). Other respondents felt that easy accessibility to content is important, as many speakers of Karelian lack accessible dictionaries, e-books, audiobooks, language learning applications and materials, games, and comics (17–19).

- (17) Tahtozin kuulla karjalakse midätah podcastii, da lugie enämbi ristikanzuloin argipäivän dielolois. Tiettäväine sežo tahtozin gu olizi karjalakse lapsien progammoi; kačoizin varmah myös nennii! 'I would like to listen to some podcasts and read more about peoples' everyday life. Of course, I would like to have more programs for children; I would like to watch them as well!'
- (18) Vetävää opiskelumateriaalia, että saisi alkeet haltuun. Duolingotyyppistä! 'Some attractive learning materials for studying basics. Something like Duolingo!'
- (19) Helppoja opetusvideoita tai muita sellaisia, jotka innoatavat opiskelemaan karjalan kieltä. Videoiden/materiaalin tulisi olla helposti saatavilla ia lövdettävissä.
  - 'Easy video lessons or something inspiring for learning Karelian. Videos and materials should be accessible and easy to find.'

Overall, the role of visual content is important for the Karelian speakers. The participants in this study also mentioned the equal use and visibility of all dialects of Karelian online, as well as information in Karelian related to Karelian culture and history. Also, it was felt that current news should be published in all dialects of Karelian, and in the context of online and social media use, the creation and use of a modern vocabulary are important for Karelian speakers.

#### Discussion 6.

While the visibility of the Karelian language in both physical and virtual linguistic landscapes is limited (Moshnikov 2016: 283), the use of the language on social media is growing. The internet and social

media offer an accessible way for people to join the Karelian-speaking community by using the Karelian language online and sharing content. The use of Karelian on social media by individuals is more informal and flexible in comparison to the formal language use seen on websites. The content represented on social media shows the daily life of speakers, their thoughts and feelings, and allows for interaction with other users. This social media interaction also includes speakers and learners of the language from places outside of the core area of the community (Outakoski, Cocq & Steggo 2018: 29), which is an important aspect for language maintenance and vitality.

The study shows that 91% of the respondents use the Karelian language on the internet (Figure 14). While this observation can be criticized as being somewhat meaningless since answering a survey on Karelian is already a demonstrable part of using Karelian online, for the research issues featured in the study, it was important to clarify this point. Furthermore, since 9% of the respondents answered the question negatively, it was shown to be necessary.

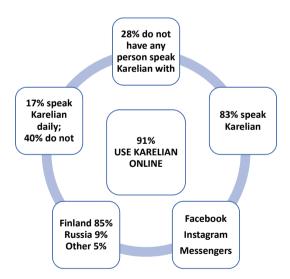


Figure 14. Highlights of the participants' background information.

Most of the respondents live in Finland, and for that reason, the results of the survey can be generalized mostly to a Finnish context. Just 9% of the respondents live in Russia (see also Section 3). Today,

Karelian speakers living in Russia are even more isolated from Finnish and other Karelians because of the war in Ukraine and the blocked or restricted access to social media networks such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter in Russia (see AP news 2022).

17% of the respondents speak Karelian daily, and 40% do not speak it actively, but can understand it, and can write, read, or listen to Karelian. 28% of the respondents reported not having anybody to talk Karelian with, a higher percentage of which stem from the younger generation. However, this is likely to motivate them to use the language online. Also, respondents aged 44 or younger reported speaking Karelian more with friends, while those aged 45+ speak Karelian mostly with relatives but also with friends. Although the use of Karelian varies, 83% of the respondents reported at the end of the survey that they speak Karelian at some level. Besides Karelian, respondents also speak Finnish (96%), English (82%), Swedish (68%), and Russian (42%).

The study shows that respondents from the age group of 44 and younger are using Karelian more on social media and websites, while those aged 45+ also prefer to consume audio and visual content, as well as to conduct private communication in Karelian. The use of the Karelian among the younger respondents is more versatile, and the younger generation is using Karelian on different social media platforms, and especially on Instagram. For older respondents, Facebook is the most popular social media platform for them to use Karelian (compare Salonen 2017: 12).

This study offers a brief view of the use of Karelian among Karelian speakers at the end of 2021. The importance of the visibility of Karelian online is emphasized, and the younger generation aged 44 or younger creates slightly more content in Karelian than those aged 45 or older. The results of the survey show that the majority of the respondents were searching for content in Karelian every day, but found it challenging to create content themselves. In the data, 57% of the respondents were using Karelian online less frequently than once per week, or even not at all. Encouraging these respondents to use Karelian online can be seen as an important aim for maintaining the vitality of the language, and for creating a versatile virtual linguistic landscape in Karelian. Additionally, language learners are also looking for different contexts of how the language is used, and an online context helps to provide this.

Most of the Karelian content online is created in Livvi Karelian, and content in other Karelian dialects is scarcely available. The speakers of other Karelian dialects should therefore be encouraged to create content in their own dialect as well as Livvi Karelian, and different authorities and organizations must strive to create multidialectal content for supporting the linguistic identity of the speakers of other dialects of Karelian. A positive result of the study is that 36% of the respondents were consuming content in different dialects, and especially among the younger age group, the percentage is high. The Karelian language community is used to seeing multidialectal content since the *Oma Mua* newspaper publishes articles in different dialects, and for example, *Viestit-Karjala* offers news in dialects of Karelian, and also the Veps and Finnish languages. Given this situation, the *Yle uudizet karjalakse* service can feasibly expand its dialectal variability as well, as at the moment the Karelian news from Yle is available only in Livvi Karelian.

The respondents reported that online content in Karelian is mostly accessible via social media, although Karelian speakers are also looking for information in Karelian from traditional websites. However, the number of Karelian language websites is very limited, and has decreased during the last few years (Moshnikov 2022). While a website contains more static information, social media is more flexible and works better for sharing information and interacting with and between users. The availability of online audio and visual content is also important for Karelian speakers, as well as channels of private communication such as messengers (including video and audio calls) and emails. Obviously, the visibility of Karelian on different social media platforms encourages speakers and different communities to create content in Karelian, and supports language use and learning. Representatives of indigenous or minority communities are using social media networks in innovative ways to reinforce the use and visibility of minority languages (Outakoski, Cocq & Steggo 2018: 27). Therefore, different organizations could take this into account to expand their audiences, by adding content in Karelian.

The study shows that most of the participants appreciate the possibility to use the Karelian language online. Access to the internet gives people the opportunity to use and improve their language skills, while also keeping Karelian speakers involved in the Karelian-speaking community. Most of the challenges related to the use of the Karelian

language online are related to the fear of making mistakes, a lack of vocabulary, and the fear of being judged by other speakers. Also, as a technology issue, it emerged that some Karelian speakers have difficulties using a Karelian keyboard.

Among other things, the most mentioned need of Karelian speakers was related to the amount of content available in Karelian, and as such, any new content produced in Karelian is going to be seen as an improvement since there is a big gap between the resources and services that are available in Karelian, compared to other languages. The most important identified area of development is to create audio and video content using a contemporary vocabulary that is suitable for different age groups, and which especially targets the younger generation.

Moving beyond general use, the use of the Karelian language as a language of science is very limited. However, the survey itself has proven important for the self-identity of the Karelian speakers who responded, as the following comment illustrates:

(20) Tämä <...> on minun elokses enzimäine tiijustelu karjalakse, da olen muga hyväs mieles gu vaiku luven tädä da kirjutan minun vastavuksii! 'This is a first time in my life I am answering any survey in Karelian. I feel so good already just because of reading this in Karelian and writing my answers!'

## 7. Conclusion

The use of Karelian online supports speakers' language skills and linguistic identity. The content in Karelian shows not just the specifics of the language used online, but also the linguistic choices that are made. Especially, since 28% of the respondents did not have anyone to speak Karelian with, the role of internet is emphasized. Social media networks play an important role for Karelian speakers, especially access to Facebook and the growing use of Instagram and Twitter. The study shows that the use of Karelian on different platforms is more versatile among the younger generation, and they are also using Karelian more with their friends and colleagues, and not so much with family members or grandparents. Besides social media, traditional websites, other audio and visual content, and private communication are also important for Karelian speakers. According to the study, the use of Livvi Karelian dominates among other dialect forms. But the equality of content in other dialects of Karelian is important for the speakers and the language revitalization as a whole, and the versatility of the dialects brings new dimensions to the development of the language.

Despite the growth in language use on social media, the study also shows that a significant share of the respondents was consuming content, but not creating it themselves. Language revitalizing initiatives can take this into account by encouraging users to use Karelian more actively online, by way of initiatives such as flash mobs, quizzes, or even paid content development. As influencers are often seen to be promoting goods and services online, the use of minority languages can also be promoted in this way. Overall, the popularization of the language among speakers and expanding it to new domains are an important part of language revitalization.

# Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers of this article for their work and helpful suggestions. My colleagues Maria Kok and Eugenia Rykova found time to read and comment on the manuscript, so thank you for your help and comments. This research is based on work supported by the Onnenmäki Foundation.

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Kokkuvõte. Ilia Moshnikov: Karjala keele kasutus veebis: hetkeseis ja väljakutsed. Artikkel analüüsib karjala keele kasutust internetis, keskendudes eriti sotsiaalmeedia platvormidele. Uurimus põhineb andmetel, mis on kogutud karjala keele kõnelejatelt 2021. a lõpus. Küsitlusele vastas 161 informanti, peamiselt Soomest, aga ka Venemaalt ja mujalt. Küsitlus oli koostatud karjala keeles. Esitatud küsimused puudutavad karjala keele kasutamist igapäevaelus ja veebis. Uuritakse ka seda, mida peetakse karjala keele veebis kasutamisel kasulikuks, mida aga väljakutseks, samuti vajadusi, mis karjala keele veebis kasutamisel esile tõusevad. Tulemused näitavad, et 40% vastanutest kasutab karjala keelt veebis igapäevaselt. Karjala keel on esil kõikidel populaarsetel sotsiaalmeedia platvormidel, mille hulgast tõusevad esile Facebook ja Instagram. Seevastu TikTokis kasutatakse karjala keelt veel harva. Peetakse vajalikuks, et populaarsetel sotsiaalmeedia platvormidel oleks rohkem karjalakeelset sisu, sest see toetaks karjala keele nähtavust ja revitalisatsiooni.

Märksõnad: internet, karjala keel, keele revitalisatsioon, vähemuskeel, sotsiaalmeedia