

UNIVERSITY OF EÖTVÖS LORÁND  
FACULTY OF ARTS  
Doctoral School of Linguistics  
Hungarian Linguistics

LARISA SHIROBOKOVA

**UDMURT-RUSSIAN BILINGUALISM**  
**(UDMURT REPUBLIC, SARKAN REGION, MUVYR VILLAGE)**

PHD DISSERTATION

ABSTRACT

**Supervisors:**

Dr. **Jenő Kiss** MHAS, professor

Dr. **Magdolna Kovács** PhD, associate professor

Budapest, 2011

## **Topic of the dissertation**

In my dissertation, I intend to describe the linguistic situation of a bilingual community in a small Udmurt village, Мувыр 'Muvyr'. I examine the functions of the Udmurt and Russian languages and their distribution in the language use of the Udmurts. I study the special situation of the Udmurt language in order to clarify its position in the Udmurt society. According to the 2011 language law, Udmurt is the official language of the Udmurt Republic, along with the Russian. However, it is also labeled as an *endangered language* on the list of the UNESCO<sup>1</sup>. I give an overview of this situation in the light of the recent minority policy of the Russian Federation.

Russia is a multinational country. On the basis of the experience of multinational countries, we can claim that bilingualism and multilingualism are essential, and it is almost the unique possibility to avoid problems related to linguistic barriers, to enable communication between members of the society speaking different languages, and to optimize and organize complex international relations. In countries, republics where two or more languages are spoken, research on bi- and multilingualism plays an important role, since by studying these concepts it becomes possible to arrange their linguistic life and solve linguistic conflicts. Bilingualism is a rather complex multi-faceted phenomenon, determined by the multiplicity of social and other factors. This problem is extremely important recently for the linguists, sociologists, psychologists, teachers, cultural and other representatives of the Russian Federation, as there are more than a hundred nations and nationalities living in Russia, the material and non-material culture of which have unique characteristics.

## **The novelty of the research topic**

The dissertation can be considered up-to-date as it studies topics that are very little discussed in Russia due to political reasons. In Soviet-Russian works published as “sociolinguistic” studies, sociolinguistic topics rarely occur. The title of these works often referred to these areas, but they studied rather grammatical questions (cf. chapter 1.3.4 in detail). In Russia social, cultural and linguistic diversity are indeed present, and they are organized dynamically along the interests of various groups. So far only smaller studies have been published which include observations about the sociology of language, ecolinguistics and language policy. That is why, the novelty of my dissertation can be

---

<sup>1</sup><http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/themes/languages-and-multilingualism/endangered-languages/>

explained by the fact that only some short articles (e.g. Kondrateva–Iljina 2008) and one thoroughly written dissertation have been published about the Udmurt–Russian bilingualism applying a sociolinguistic approach. The thesis of Zsuzsa Salánki titled as „Present-day situation of the Udmurt language” (2007) is the first academic work which presents the study of the language use in the entire Udmurt Republic from a sociolinguistic point of view and it gives a general overview of the sociolinguistic situation of present-day Udmurt. So in this paper, I outline the methodological and pragmatic aspects of the sociolinguistic analysis of the national–Russian bilingualism relying on Salánki’s work. I intend to create a complex approach, which can be useful in the case of all the Finno-Ugric peoples and languages in Russia.

### **Topic of the research and research questions**

The topic of the dissertation is based on data collection carried out using various sociolinguistic methods on a sample consisting of 189 people. In my thesis, I studied the Udmurt-Russian bilingualism of Udmurt native speakers living in Muvyr village, more precisely characteristics of language use and language choice practices, the pragmatic aspects of code-switching, linguistic and social attitudes, knowledge concerning the language law, and the relationship between linguistic and ethnic identity. I compared the language use of elderly, middle-aged and younger members of the community. I considered the study of the following factors primary: (1) linguistic domains and possibilities of the use of the Udmurt and the Russian language, (2) factors causing code-switching, (3) the speakers’ attitudes concerning their dialect, standard Udmurt and code-switching, (4) language choice preferences, (5) speakers’ knowledge about the language law, their opinion and judgments concerning the Udmurt and the Russian language, (6) changes in the identity of the younger generation of Udmurts determined by language use and linguistic attitudes, (7) devising new language planning strategies based on the results of previous research which aim the maintenance of the Udmurt language in villages and the improvement of its prestige.

### **The aims of the research**

The main aim of my dissertation is the presentation of the ways how Udmurt–Russian bilingualism works on the basis of the sociolinguistic study carried out in Muvyr village in three generations of the Udmurt community. The research was based on a

representative sample and was carried out using questionnaires. In this paper, I study uniquely the Udmurt-Russian bilingualism of speakers whose mother tongue is Udmurt.

In order to reach the goals of this dissertation, I considered the completion of the following tasks also important:

- studying of the Soviet and Post-Soviet linguistic literature on bilingualism, emphasizing their main characteristics, as these kind of studies which give an overview of the Soviet-Russian academic literature have been published in Hungarian rather rarely,
- presentation of studies written both in Hungary and Russia about the situation of the Udmurt language from language sociological and ecolinguistic points of view, which might mean the beginnings of Udmurt sociolinguistics.

My further aim is to answer the following minor questions by dividing the main research question into parts in order to study it more thoroughly:

- To what extent the Udmurt and the Russian language is present at the different language domains, which language has a bigger role?
- What kind of differences can be found in the language use of various groups of the village's Udmurt community according to their age?
- What are the differences between the written and the spoken variety?
- What (individual and collective) bilingualism types are observable in this community?
- Are there any signs of language shift in the community under study, especially in case of the younger speakers?

Clarifying these questions and other issues discussed in the paper, enables us to devise optimal strategies for the maintenance and preservation of the Udmurt language and to impede assimilation. Consequently, one of my main aims is the outlining of strategies fitting in the theoretical frame and functions of language planning, which can bring about consciously carried out changes in the linguistic situation of the Udmurt people.

### **Methods of data collection and research**

Taking into consideration that the description of the linguistic situation is more reliable, the more various research methods are applied by the researcher, I tried to use several sociolinguistic methods in studying the questions mentioned above. I processed the data collected using a combination of empirical data collection methods, especially questionnaires, participant and passive observation, informal interviews using a

quantitative method based on statistical analyses. As a completion of the quantitative method, I also carried out a qualitative analysis in order to study questions related to code-switching. Besides apparent-time analysis, I carried out a real-time analysis as well (Trudgill 1997: 88) in order to examine the changes in the language in the young generation of Udmurts.

As a result, I combined different methods in the data collection process in order to acquire more reliable results. During fieldwork, I predominantly used the method of questionnaires, I applied three different ones. I adapted Salánki's (2007) questionnaires containing questions about language use, language choice, and attitudes. In compiling the questions concerning identity, I applied questionnaires used in bilingual studies (Bartha 1999, Borbély 2001). The questionnaire on language law and language myths I compiled myself.

Between 2005 and 2010, I carried out field work. Data collection involved using questionnaires on different topics:

**2005:** studying the Udmurt and Russian language use and language choice of the village's inhabitants, and linguistic attitudes in three generations (young, middle-aged, and elderly generation) including 189 informants (cf. chapter 4, *subsection 4.1.*, chapter 5, *subsection 5.1.*);

**2007:** field work on code-switching; the number of the informants was 10. I organized the first Udmurt sociolinguistic expedition for university students. During this field trip, I studied the knowledge of the language community concerning the language law involving 89 informants (cf. chapter 4, *subsection 4.2.*, chapter 5, *subsection 5.2.*);

**2010:** one informant participated in the study of code-switching in e-mails. 60 inhabitants of the village took part in the study in which I analyzed the opinion and judgments of the given speech community about their language (cf. chapter 4, *subsection 4.2.* and chapter 5, *subsection 5.3.*);

**2005, 2010:** 20 members of the younger generation of the village were included in a panel study on the identity of the younger generation determined by their language use and attitudes (cf. chapter 5, *subsection 5.4.*).

Additional sources were informal interviews recorded as audio material, data gathered by participant and passive observation and contemporary written sources created for non-linguistic purposes (e-mails, short messages).

First, I processed the collected data using the program Microsoft Office Excel. Second, I analyzed them and presented the processed material in figures and tables, finally,

I interpreted the results. I carried out a qualitative analysis on part of the data (e.g. concerning code-switching). At the premises, I recorded oral data considered to be relevant to the topic of the thesis during the completion of the questionnaires and informal conversations. Following this, I summarized this data in tables. The collected material in my dissertation was analyzed relying not only on statistical data, but I also applied my 20-year experience as a member of the community.

### **Location of the research**

I chose as the location of my research village Muvyr, in the Sharkan region in the Udmurt Republic. In this village, there has not been any research carried out concerning the linguistic situation and language attitudes of the Udmurt speech community. The number of inhabitants is 349 in Muvyr. According to the ethnic affiliation, 335 of the inhabitants are Udmurt, 12 are Russian, and 2 Tatars. I chose the given village as the object of my research, as I lived there for 20 years since my birth, and as a member of the community I am able to analyze the data and describe changes correctly, and the participant observation can be a stable, long-term process.

### **Informants**

The informants were chosen according to age, gender, profession using a judgment sample. On the basis of this, I could include 189 informants in the research. All of the informants are bilinguals. The main criterion in the study of the chosen speech community is the age-related distribution. Besides the age criterion, I did not define any other factors (gender, profession, etc.) as main characteristics, the choice was mainly based on practical considerations, as in my opinion 189 informants are not enough to divide them according to gender, profession, etc. as well. The studied speech community was divided into the following three age groups: young (13–30 years old), middle-aged (31–55 years old) and elderly (56– ) generation. The main criterion in this classification was the fact that people over 55 get retired and become less mobile, in the age group 31–55, almost all of the informants have families, have constant workplaces, the majority of them work locally or in the neighboring villages, and inhabitants of the village under the age 30 are either school children or working youth who find work in the regional centers or in cities. As opposed to the other age groups (young: 89 people, middle-aged: 67 people), the number of the older generation (33 people) is significantly lower, because elderly people are few due to high mortality rates. According to their gender, 105 women and 84 men participated in the

study. According to educational level, 48 percents of my sample included informants who study at school or university. In the analysis of linguistic changes, besides the real-time study I carried out a panel study as well, in which I received results from the comparison of data from the same informants but originating from different periods. The 20 people who participated in my panel study were school children and they lived in Muvyr village at the time of my first interviews (2005). Now they all live in towns, they have studied there for 3-4 years, and return to their home villages for weekends. In 2010, I repeated my previous study from 5 years before.

### **Scientific and practical significance of the thesis**

In my dissertation, I study the contemporary linguistic situation of the Udmurt community living on a relatively small area. This is extremely important, because studies of this kind help us to maintain the Udmurt language in the villages. Scientific novelty of the paper lays partly in the choice of its topic:

- study of the literature on the questions of bilingualism written by Soviet-Russian authors and articles on the Udmurt language published in Hungary and Russia applying a sociolinguistic approach,
- the first general study of the Udmurt–Russian bilingualism on a sample from a homogenous speech community,
- presentation of myths concerning the Udmurt language and their spreading within the Udmurt speech community,
- panel study on the linguistic behavior of the Udmurt youth,
- simultaneously with the analysis of the situation of the Udmurt language I intended to devise strategies fitting into language planning concerning Udmurts living in villages,
- coining the Udmurt sociolinguistic terminology,
- collection of the literature studying the Udmurt language from a sociolinguistic aspect in the form of a bibliography.

I have to emphasize the significance of this work, because, as I mentioned above, it is my thesis that takes new steps in the study of the Udmurt language from a sociolinguistic aspect after shorter articles (e.g. Kondrateva–Iljina 2008) and Salánki's dissertation with the title *Present-day situation of the Udmurt language*. My paper introduces a new approach into the Udmurt linguistics, namely the study of bilingualism from a linguistic point of view, as my work analyzes in detail the bilingualism of a community living in a

given area. Experience resulting from such studies provides knowledge to various fields of Udmurt linguistics.

The scientific and practical significance of the thesis lies in the fact that the complex study of Udmurt-Russian bilingualism, the lengthy, compact presentation of this phenomenon makes possible the study of other areas in the Udmurt Republic using the same methods. Applying the Udmurt sociolinguistic terminology I coined, further articles can be written about sociolinguistics in the Udmurt language. The material in this dissertation can be used at the Finno-Ugric departments to compile the material for lectures and seminars on sociolinguistics or bilingualism.

Articles and books which were written in Russia, Hungary, or abroad and focus on bilingualism and Finno-Ugric languages in Russia served as theoretical basis of my paper. Out of the many works on the general questions and types of bilingualism, I mainly relied on Jenő Kiss's university course book, *Társadalom és nyelvhasználat* [Society and language use] (1995) and Csilla Bartha's *A kétnyelvűség alapkérdései* [The basic questions of bilingualism] (1999). The short description and definition of basic terms occurring in the dissertation was partly adapted from Peter Trudgill's *Bevezetés a nyelv és társadalom tanulmányozásába* [Introducing language and society] (1997). Statistical data and main research fields concerning the Udmurt people and language draws on the thesis of Zsuzsanna Salánki: *Az udmurt nyelv mai helyzete* [Present-day situation of the Udmurt language] (2007). I read numerous instructive remarks about the language law in the Udmurt Republic in János Pusztay's monography, *Nyelvével hal a nemzet* [The nation dies with its language] (2006). In studying the language use practices of my informants, I applied the language domain group system created by Lanstyák and Simon (2002), because it is exactly these language domain groups on the basis of which it can be determined what role the external factors, i.e. which are independent from the speaker, can play in the language choice of the studied speech community. In the study of code-switching, I applied the terms base language and guest language terms following Lanstyák's matrix language model (2006). Bilingualism types of the studied speech community were categorized using the classification presented in Jenő Kiss's university course book (1995: 212–216), and Borbély (2006: 87) and Karmacsi (2007: 20), taking also Salánki's (2007: 59) typology into consideration. The study of myths concerning the Udmurt and the Russian language is based on Lanstyák (2007a, 2007b), the research on the speech community's ideas about their own language was inspired by Bartha's article, *Út a többnyelvűség felé* [Road to bilingualism] (2009). Questions of language planning were

studied on the basis of Haugen (1969), Kloss (1969), Cooper (1989), Skutnabb-Kangas (1997) and Rannut (2004).

### **The structure of the dissertation**

The structure of the dissertation includes the concept, aims, tasks, and logic of the research. The dissertation which has 240 pages consists of an introduction, five chapters which are intertwined, bibliography and appendix.

**Chapter 1** is the introduction. In the introductory chapter, I gave an overview of the dissertation, presented the topic, aims and tasks of the research. I defined the main research questions, the novelty of the thesis, the theoretical and practical significance of the paper, and I briefly presented research methods, locations and informants. In the following part of the introduction, I clarified the terms used in my research. The presentation of the Hungarian and international theoretical literature on the given research topic is arranged around the following basic concepts: bilingualism, mother tongue, types of bilingualism, domains of language use and language choice, code-switching, linguistic attitudes. In this chapter, I gave a brief overview of the Soviet and Russian literature on the general questions and theoretical background of bilingualism and multilingualism (if the literature is accessible<sup>2</sup>). I intended to present relevant literature in two phases divided along their nature and content, making references to given studies of some researchers in detail: the first phase is between the 1950s and 1980s (e.g. Deserijev 1966, Michailov 1969, Avrorin 1975), the second one started in the 1980s with the fall of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc and it continues even today (e.g. Michalchenko 1994, Belikov–Krysin 2001, Vachtin, –Golovko 2004, Kazakevich 2007). Following this, I presented Hungarian (e.g. Pusztay (2006), Salánki (2007) and Kozmács (2008)) and Russian sources on the linguistic situation in Udmurtia and Udmurt–Russian bilingualism. In studying the works from Russia, I emphasized their significance and results as they can be considered as first steps in Udmurt sociolinguistics (Pimenov 1976, Fenomen, Monography 2008, Udmurt-language home = Удмурт кыло дор 2010).

**In chapter 2**, I drew a general picture of the peoples living in the territory of the Udmurt Republic, I put special emphasis on the factors determining the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Udmurts. My dissertation is about the linguistic situation of a village in the Udmurt Republic. So I considered important to describe the linguistic circumstances of the

---

<sup>2</sup> Works in this topic can be found only in archives in Moscow. The collection and detailed analysis of these documents are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

given village. i.e. social, political factors determining the role of the Udmurt and the Russian language. It proved to be necessary to analyze short excerpts of the language law which has an impact on the linguistic situation of the Udmurt language. The descriptive analysis of the language law made it possible to describe how the de jure rights work in science, education and cultural life, and by comparing these results with the outcomes of an empirical study we obtain a general picture of the extent to which the Udmurt community uses the rights they are entitled to by the law regulating language use. I attached the results of the study on the identity of Udmurt living in the Udmurt Republic to this chapter. I presented the factors determining the ethnic identity of Udmurts. I described the evolvement, development and role of the Udmurt-language Internet in the life of the Udmurt youth. These data help to analyze the results of the quantitative study. In conclusion, I defined the (linguistic) factors strengthening or weakening the attitudes and ethnic identity of Udmurts.

**In chapter 3**, I presented the research location, the composition of the population. I described the history of the village, the number of the inhabitants, its distribution according to age, ethnicity, gender and educational level, and I outlined the institutional background of the village. The chapter also includes the account of the topics and research methods applied in the dissertation. In this chapter, I summarized the sources of my research and the circumstances of data collection. The chapter contains the description of the informants participating in the study, their distribution according to age, gender, and educational level. I gave a brief overview of information concerning the methods of data recording and the presentation of results.

**Chapter 4** is one of the main chapters of my dissertation, in which I processed and analyzed the collected data. This chapter discusses the language use and language choice practices of Udmurts living in Muvyr, the informants are divided according to their age. The first two parts of this chapter discuss the impact of bilingualism on the language use in the given village. In the first part, I study the language use habits of my informants applying sociolinguistic research methods, relying on the collected spoken data, and analyzing the data on the basis of linguistic domains. I studied the main characteristics of language use and choice in the Udmurt speech community in the following five domain complexes defined by Lanstyák and Simon (2002): (1.) The informant's active "personal" language use (active personal sphere, e.g. thinking, swearing, praying), (2.) The informants' passive "personal" language use (passive personal sphere, e.g. reading, language of media consumption), (3.) The informants' small community language use (e.g.

the language of communication with family members, friends), (4.) The informants' language use in less centralized public language domains (e.g. in the local post office, in the shop), (5.) The informants' language use in more centralized public language domains (e.g. in local administration, at workplace). I placed the answer categories on a 6-grade scale and I examined whether it is the exclusive or dominant use of either Udmurt and Russian, or the equal or mixed use of the two languages is characteristic of the given domain. Results concerning language use were presented in figures showing averages in percentages.

In the second part of chapter 4, I illustrated the language use of my informants in some of the domains presented above using 17 longer examples of code-switching. I presented the results concerning language use on the basis of the informants' self-report. However, in this part, language use is spontaneous and it can be observed in practice how informants use both language repertoires in everyday communication. The corpus used in the analysis of code-switching is based on audio recordings (altogether 6-hour data), and e-mails written to me.

After the analysis of this data, I presented the distribution of the Udmurt and the Russian language in the conclusion (functions of the languages used in the community), and I described the types of bilingualism present in the given speech community using the categories in Kiss (1995: 212–216) and Salánki (2007: 59).

**Chapter 5** contains the material resulting from the data collection, using this material it is possible to discuss the future of the Udmurt language. The chapter is divided into four parts.

The first part describes data on linguistic attitudes. With the help of the figures presenting the data in percentages, results can be observed more easily and it is clear to which extent the community regards the two languages in a positive or negative way. I included in the attitude study the standard and the every-day spoken variety of Udmurt. I intended to show how the community views the variety spoken by the informants themselves and the variety used in the oral and written media, and how changes in the Udmurt language are evaluated by the speakers. In order to get a complex picture, I summarized the opinion of some informants concerning language and language varieties in tables besides the presentation of the quantitative data of my research.

In the second part, having discussed attitude studies, I compare *de jure* rights and results of empirical studies concerning the implementation of these rights in order to provide a general picture of the extent the Udmurt community uses the language use rights

entitled to them by the law. Nobody has studied the impact of political decisions and regulations on the Udmurt and Russian language use of the Udmurt speech communities.

The third part contains the language myths concerning the Udmurt and the Russian languages, and the reactions of my informants to statements relying on these myths. As background information on the Udmurt linguistic situation, results of this study can be important in making decisions on language planning.

In the fourth part, I presented the research on the linguistic situation of the Udmurt youth on the basis of a real-time study. With the help of the panel study, I intended to analyze the language choice practices and linguistic attitudes of the Udmurt youth who had already moved from the given village to the city. On the basis of this study, we can presume that the prolonged stay in the city (university studies, working) brought about new linguistic habits. I consider the presentation of my results in this dissertation important, because I think that on the basis of the description of the schools' subtractive language policy described in the previous parts of the thesis and results of the earlier studies it is impossible to unambiguously determine what effect different factors have on the future of the Udmurt language. It is important to consider the following facts: in Udmurt villages where the majority of the inhabitants are Udmurt, teaching is in Russian and children are encouraged by their teachers to use uniquely Russian at school; or the influence on the Udmurt youth of the negative attitudes Udmurt parents have and their insufficient knowledge about bilingualism and believes in the language myths. In order to get a more complex picture of the influence of these factors, real-time and panel studies prove insufficient.

It is only through the analysis of the complex linguistic situation, especially through the study of the linguistic tendencies in the communities that we can get acquainted with the situation language planning strategies have to be based on, and that we will have the chance to influence the processes by conscious language planning. That is why, I discussed in this chapter my suggestions and ideas concerning language planning based on the language planning models by Haugen (1969), Kloss (1969), Cooper (1989), Skutnabb-Kangas (1997), and Rannut (2004). Results of my study convinced me that informants and also other Udmurts and representatives of other nationalities should be informed about the advantages of bilingualism. As part of my suggestions, I compiled a trilingual Hungarian–Udmurt–Russian sociolinguistic word list which I presented in this chapter in detail. This word list can be used as a language planning device as terminology enables the multi-faceted use of languages. The source of the Hungarian entries of the dictionary was the

Hungarian translation of Peter Trudgill's *Introducing language and society* and other Hungarian sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Kiss 1995, Bartha 1999), Russian entries were selected from the dictionary of sociolinguistic terms published in 2006. Udmurt entries I coined myself.

**The conclusion** contains the most important results of the research and conclusions drawn from it, and it also outlines possible directions of further research.

The final part of the dissertation includes the bibliography of general theoretical works and articles written about the Udmurt language from a sociolinguistic point of view, and it concludes with the appendices (questionnaires and word list). I paid special attention to the collection of the sociolinguistic literature on the Udmurt language in the form of a bibliography, because during my studies I also faced the problem of not knowing what to read, where to find relevant data. This bibliography can help in the future both teacher teaching sociolinguistics and students of Udmurt people and language, and also young linguists doing sociolinguistic research. The three types of questionnaires used in data collection were supplied with Hungarian translation. The **word list** containing the Udmurt sociolinguistic terms I coined contains altogether 84 entries (Udmurt words and expressions), with the help of which Udmurt sociolinguistic articles could be written. The coining of terminology is especially important in the case of minority peoples, as it is the token of the maintenance of their language. I am planning to translate my dissertation to Udmurt or Russian in order to make it available to more people in Udmurtia and Russia.

## **Results**

In my paper, I studied the bilingualism of the Udmurt speech community in the Udmurt Republic, Russia using a sociolinguistic approach. 189 informants living in the village Muvyr participated in my research, the analysis of the data was carried out according to age groups. Two languages define the linguistic picture of Muvyr: Udmurt and Russian. The study revealed language use customs and problematic areas. In this chapter, I present results of the research following the order of the given topics.

Bilingualism of my informants and the use of the two languages are regulated by the language law in the Udmurt Republic. In chapter 2, I analyzed excerpts from the language law. The presentation of the data is important, because in principle language law guarantees the use of the Udmurt language both at the governmental organs and in education, and official documents can also be issued in Udmurt. However, the actual situation reveals the contradiction that although the language law *de jure* provides the

rights, the de facto implementation of these rights often does not work, and this has an influence also on the language use. It has to be emphasized, however, that in the case of minority nations and languages, the maintenance and vitality of a language depends on both the state and the nations themselves in the 21st century, because a language can survive only in use, in practice. In Russia, as in other countries, members of all levels of society think that everything depends on the state and the laws, and people are waiting without doing anything for the state to provide for them. My studies show that both the Udmurt intelligentsia and Udmurt workers of the educational and administrative sphere are not yet ready for the improvement of the Udmurt language's prestige by the use of the Udmurt language in offices and other official domains. In the Udmurt Republic, there are still very few works published in Udmurt in the academic sphere, lectures at the Udmurt Faculty of the Udmurt State University are mainly in Russian, MA theses are prepared uniquely in Russian. On the basis of the data presented above, the following problem evolved: the people living in a minority situation do not intend to use the rights provided for them in the language law in practice. Analyzing the revitalization practices concerning the Udmurt language, it seems that due to the Udmurt youth, positive changes have started in the Udmurt Republic: by the possibility to use the Internet in Udmurt the scale of the Udmurt language domains multiplied. The technological development enables the presence of the minority language on the web and as a result the language acquires a better status, and speakers are inspired to use the minority language. This is indeed a positive development. However, lot of work still faces the Udmurts as they have to enhance these positive tendencies. By analyzing the not (exceptionally) linguistic factors contributing to the vitality of the Udmurt language, and to the strengthening and not weakening of the Udmurt identity, we can claim that despite of the positive tendencies the dominance of the weakening factors is still characteristic of our times.

I received the following results by the evaluation of language use questionnaires and by analyzing data acquired by participant observation during informal conversations:

*Language choice and language use*

To analyze the linguistic behavior of the informants, we have to take into consideration that almost 97 percents of Muvyr's population is of Udmurt nationality, therefore at the official language domains of the village the use of the Udmurt language is typical. Before studying the language use habits of the informants in five language domains, I separately analyzed data concerning the linguistic background which could not have been influenced by the informants themselves. Linguistic background was determined

by the following factors: ethnicity, mother tongue, data concerning the language of education, and the evaluation of language acquisition and the knowledge of Udmurt and Russian. During the analysis of the linguistic background, I realized that given factors influence the language use and choice of the informants, it proved to be important to take into consideration data provided by the informants concerning the place of language acquisition and the evaluation of their knowledge of languages.

The analysis of the given data showed a generational difference in the acquisition of the Udmurt and the Russian language: while the home acquisition of the Udmurt language is characteristic of 91–94 percents of elderly and middle-aged people, this reduced to 75 percents in the case of young people. The Russian language was learnt by the elderly and middle-aged generation outside the family domain, late bilingualism is characteristic of them. The acquisition of the Russian language started at home in 73 percents of the younger generation, from which we can infer the existence of early bilingualism, thus in the case of the younger speakers we find active bilingualism. It is questionable, however, whether it is a positive tendency regarding the maintenance of the Udmurt language that the number of young people who acquired the Russian language at home is continuously growing. At present, the aim of the Russian language education is not the teaching of standard Udmurt and Russian to the same extent, and not the enablement of bilingualism; their language submersion program (Skutnabb-Kangas 1997: 25) turns Udmurts into monolinguals by the suppression of the Udmurt language. My own experience show that children do not acquire the Russian language to a satisfactory level at school, however, Udmurt, especially standard Udmurt is put to a disadvantageous position as a result of this, because as I presented in my study, children are forced to be ashamed both of their mother tongue and their knowledge of Russian. Results concerning language proficiency show that self-evaluation of the informants' Udmurt and Russian proficiency displays great differences. The majority of the informants regarded their knowledge of Udmurt as very good or good, 30 percents, however, indicated that they do not speak their mother tongue too well, which is a disturbing result. Significant difference is detectable in the self-evaluation of the various generations concerning their knowledge of Russian. 90 percents of the elderly generation indicated that their level of knowledge is not very good, 10 percents of them claimed to speak Russian only little. 87 percents of the middle-aged generation claimed to speak Russian well, 84 percents of the younger generation judged their Russian knowledge as not very good. On the basis of the results, we can claim that despite the fact that the bilingual speech community uses both languages in everyday

communication, as a result of the stigmatization at school, the community does not regard its knowledge of Russian as good, at the same time they claim their Udmurt knowledge to be low as well. On the basis of my own experience and my participant and passive observations, I argue that these negative judgments lead to a situation when the children do not dare to speak either Udmurt or Russian at school, and the teachers are also not brave enough to use the Udmurt language to check whether students have understood them. These problems could be solved only through an extensive school campaign during which phenomena of languages and language use would be explained relying on the results of linguistic research.

Studying the language use characteristics of the Udmurt speech community in five domain complexes, we can claim that the use of the Udmurt and the Russian language displays dissimilarities in the different generations.

My research showed that the active “personal” language use of my informants, in the so called active personal sphere it is rather Udmurt which can be considered dominant in the case of elderly and middle-aged people, the young use both languages actively. Although in the personal sphere the speaker does not have to regard other people, the linguistic and social environment, in this case their educational level has an influence on the language choice of the informants, so time expressions and counting, which presuppose Russian-language schooling is dominantly Russian in the case of all three generations.

Studying domains connected to the passive personal sphere shows that on the domains of reading, listening to radio programs and watching television Russian has the leading role, as the pressure of the social environment can be felt to a greater extent in these cases. This situation can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, because of the insufficient functioning of book publishing in Udmurt (partly because of the inefficient organization of their distribution) and because of the low number of Udmurt language volumes in the local library (only 8 percents of the whole book stock), my informants cannot access books that have been published; on the other hand, due to the smaller selection informants have no interest in the Udmurt-language media. Out of the personal domains, the language of religion has to be considered with special emphasis. In sociolinguistic literature, religion is often presented as a device for language maintenance (cf. V. Borbély 1993: 85, Sándor 2000: 132). In this respect, my study among the Udmurts shows results which are significantly different from the ones presented in literature. My informants’ answers revealed the fact that 66–79 percents of the young do not go to church and they do not pray, thus religion does not have an important role in their lives and

language practices. The results of the elderly and middle-aged informants showed that although the language of prayer is Udmurt for 30–45 percents of them, religious literature translated into Udmurt is read only by 9 of them and only occasionally.

On the basis of studies concerning the language use of the informants in a small community and less centralized official domains, we can claim that these domains are unambiguously determined by extralinguistic factors, and they are characterized by two-way communication. According to the results of my study, it is rather the Udmurt language which is used in communication with family members and the smaller community in the older and the middle-aged generation, in the case of younger people the use of both languages is typical. The frequency of Russian is observable rather in the case of the younger generation when communicating with friends. As my research showed, the use of newer written text forms (SMS) is not characteristic for the older and the middle-aged generation, in case of the younger ones, Russian is dominant in this domain.

Results of my study show that in less centralized official domains, the Udmurt language use is rather dominant in the case of older and middle-aged people, even though political context, i.e. administrative pressure is present in these domains to some extent. This contradiction can be explained by the fact that this is a small rural community, the pressure coming from the officials is not strong, because all the people meeting in shops and at the doctor know each other. In case of young people, the use of both languages can be observed. As the analysis of the data shows, the language of conversations about politics and news is also strongly influenced by the linguistic and social environment, so they are rather conducted in a mixed code, 44 percents of the younger speakers use uniquely Russian for this purpose.

According to the results of my study, language choice options of the informants in the strongly centralized official domains are more limited than in the previous ones. However, the language choice in this case also depends on the mobility of the people and the location of their workplaces. Udmurt dominates if the informants work in the village, for the younger people Russian is the language used at work, as they find jobs rather in the regional center or in cities, and in this way they are compelled to use the Russian language.

Answering one of the central questions of my research, I can claim that there is a great difference in the use of the written and spoken varieties. The written language is mainly Russian and it strongly depends on the political context: official documents exist only in Russian, so the limited use of the mother tongue is a typical phenomenon. Writing e-mails and text messages as a new type of written form is more characteristic of the

younger generation, so it is also dominated by the use of Russian. The use of spoken language depends on several factors: personal context, linguistic and social environment and political context which have a great influence on the way the domains of use and functions of the languages differ in the various groups of the studied community.

Research results thus confirm that frequency of the Udmurt language is the highest in the linguistic domains connected to the personal sphere, in the public sphere it is somewhat lower, and it is the lowest in the official spheres controlled by the state; especially in the administrative/official written variety only the use of Russian is allowed. Except for this domain, I did not find any other situations in which the informants would not have used the Udmurt language at all.

#### *Code-switching*

It is known from sociolinguistic literature that bilingual environment influences the language choice of the informants. In everyday communication or correspondence, the mixing of the two languages is the practice to some extent. Examples analyzed in my thesis also showed that situative code-switching is present in the language use of the informants, it is sometimes Russian, sometimes Udmurt which is the dominant language depending on the topic of the conversation. So in the language use and choice habits of my informants, it can be observed how great the influence of the social context is in deciding between Udmurt and Russian, the choice depends especially on the language of the experience the conversation is about. If illnesses, the hospital in the region's center or work related topics are discussed, Russian receives a greater role. If personal life is the topic of the conversation, dialogues tend to be predominantly in Udmurt. On the basis of my observations and the recordings, we can claim that mixing of the Udmurt and the Russian language at classes in school has an important role. For instance, teachers switch to Udmurt in order to clarify the meaning of the material explained first in Russian and to get the information through to the children.

#### *Types of bilingualism*

I intended to define the bilingualism types characteristic of the given speech community on the basis of its typical linguistic domains and language use habits. Besides Salánki's dissertation, I did not have any literature on the bilingualism types among the Udmurts, I formed my statements mainly on the basis of my own research and experience. During my research, I realized that the description of bilingualism types in a given speech community is not an easy task, and to fulfill this assignment, the studies conducted by Salánki and me are insufficient. I consider it important to describe what types are

characteristic of the given speech community on the basis of the competence in each languages, but I can only presume what the actual language proficiency of my informants are like, as its evaluation was based on self report, in a subjective way, thus the question needs further study. However, on the basis of my results, I can argue that in the case of the older and the middle-aged generation bilingualism is mainly adult, subsequent, artificial, while in the case of the younger generation childhood, simultaneous, natural bilingualism is the typical case, also signs of subtractive bilingualism (shift to Russian) have shown. These results are ambiguous for the time being, still they need to be taken into consideration in language planning. It is also important to inform the teachers about the fact that contemporary education in the Udmurt villages does not rely on the mother tongue proficiency of minority children, and it aims to make the children culturally Russian dominant.

*Language attitudes influencing language choice, knowledge concerning the language law, preconceptions about the Udmurt and the Russian language*

In this study, attitude questions concern the way informants relate to their mother tongues and their attitudes toward bilingualism: attitudes toward their dialect, standard Udmurt, the mixed variety, present-day situation of the Udmurt language, usefulness of bilingualism, teaching of the Udmurt language. Beside these, I applied questions concerning the language preference of the informants.

Summarizing the answers obtained, I can claim that linguistic attitudes of the studied speech community show a positive self-image. Results of the studies concerning mixed speech and bilingualism have to be discussed in detail. Empirical study of the question concerning mixed speech showed that younger informants have more positive attitudes towards code-switching, and they consider it as a natural strategy in their language use, middle-aged and elderly speakers condemn code-switching even though they use it actively. Research on bilingualism as a phenomenon shows that on the one hand all age groups of the studied speech community relate positively both to their mother tongue and to the phenomena of bilingualism, they appreciate that they can speak two languages. Attitudes of the younger generation towards the Udmurt language are predominantly neutral ones, positive to a smaller extent, but by no means negative. On the other hand, it has to be emphasized that the majority of them sees no use of bilingualism. Consequently, both in this speech community and in the entire Udmurt Republic it is essential that the more speakers possible are informed about issues of code-switching and bilingualism on the basis of scientifically relevant results and databases, assuring this way the use of both

languages by achieving sufficient competence in both languages. These tasks should be carried out now as the opinion of my informants regarding the contemporary Udmurt language is still positive as research has showed this. The necessity of studying and teaching the Udmurt language was emphasized by more people than expected. Consequently, we can claim, especially in the light of the positive answers of the young generation that the maintenance of the Udmurt language is guaranteed. There are some remarks and observations made by my informants during the completion of the questionnaire and informal conversations, which I summarized in table 16 and 17 and which should be considered in language planning as they demanded the need for more television and radio programs in the native language and co-operation with Udmurt families for the sake of the maintenance of the Udmurt language.

In the given speech community, the results obtained at the study of language attitudes suggest that in the case of the older and the middle-aged generation the Udmurt language has an obvious, still hidden prestige, especially the variety spoken by them. These informants have no way of expressing their opinion and they do not know about the advantages of being bilingual. As a result, they feel ashamed that they are Udmurts and that they can speak Udmurt. It is a very important problem which has to be solved in the process of language planning.

By presenting knowledge of the informants concerning the language law valid in the territory of the Udmurt Republic, I intended to draw attention to problems which are important as regards the future of the Udmurt language and language planning. During the analysis of the data, I encountered the problem that informants are often unaware of the rights concerning the use of their mother tongues. As outcomes of the study also prove, the absence of this knowledge results in that people start to believe in language myths, preconceptions, which reinforce negative attitudes of Udmurt speakers, and in this way it changes their language use for the benefit of the Russian language.

Having studied the opinion of my informants on the stereotypes and preconceptions concerning the Udmurt language, I argue that the enhancement of linguistic consciousness, popularization of linguistic views would be important in the Udmurt Republic for cultural and social reasons as well. Summarizing the data obtained in the study, generally the picture seems promising, as informants' answers show that ideologies coming from the majority society have less institutionalized in this speech community. However, it is predominantly the informants between 17 and 30 whose answers about bilingualism should be taken into consideration, because this generation is now bringing up children, so their

opinions, preconceptions can influence their children and the whole society in the attitude formation process. It has to be underlined that for example 40 percents of the informants believe that the children are harmed by the simultaneous acquisition of two languages. In language planning, these and other false conceptions have to be taken into consideration. The appropriate evaluation of the Udmurt and the Russian language and the formation of the adequate linguistic views have to be transmitted especially through school and education.

The presentation of linguistic attitudes and preconceptions in my thesis was important in order to reveal the influence they had/have had on the young Udmurt generation. Results of the real-time study carried out among young people who were born, graduated from primary and secondary school in the village, then moved to the cities (the panel studies conducted in 2005 and 2010 analyzed the language preferences of the informants) show that the extent to which Udmurt language is used is reduced due to the influence of the social environment, depending on the time spent in the urban surroundings. As a result, language is not the primary symbol of ethnic identity anymore, it is forced in the background.

On the basis of the full study, we can presume that the results I obtained during research (e.g. the insufficient knowledge of questions of bilingualism) strongly influence later the language use of the Udmurt youth.

It would be beneficial if the future generation of Udmurt intelligentsia could accept its inheritance with fewer traumas and without mental and linguistic rupture, which could be achieved in the present situation by thoroughly prepared language planning as my research indicated.

Therefore, the description of the complex linguistic situation in the given speech community, results obtained through research provide important background information on the basis of which a language planning campaign of the Udmurt language could be started. My study showed that language revitalization and enhancement efforts can only be really successful providing that they are launched on the initiation of the speech community, thus the interests and will of the speech community has to be taken into consideration at all times. Considering these, my suggestions on language planning also place the co-operation of educational institutions, family and society in the center.

## Conclusions

Having seen a general overview of the main factors determining the linguistic situation of the studied speech community, the following conclusions can be drawn summarizing the main results of the research.

1. In the phase of L1-dominant bilingualism, the L1 linguistic socialization in the family was rather monolingual, had been carried out in a multigenerational family context, including the grandparents as well. The bilingualism of this generation is characterized by Udmurt dominance, which is reduced only in thematic layers that are closer to the reality spheres of the majority. In the case of the younger generation, it is already an L2-dominant bilingual development which is the typical tendency, i.e. the Russian language is also present to a great extent during the socialization starting at home.
2. There is a division of labor between Udmurt and Russian in the given community, the use of the Udmurt language is limited due to the restricted language use possibilities.
3. Even though the Udmurt and the Russian language have a set division of labor, the functions are changing due to personal and community reasons, and linguistic and extralinguistic factors, in favor of the Russian language, in the expense of Udmurt.
4. At domains, in which the topic of the conversation and language use is connected to contemporary modern society (e.g. sociology, politics), Russian is prevailing, in other domains, where informants discuss everyday issues, traditional culture, rural and family life, it is rather the Udmurt language which is used.
5. A special feature of the bilingualism of the studied village is that earlier L1 dominance is replaced by dynamic bilingualism which involves reducing competence in Udmurt from generation to generation and contrary to this growing competence in the majority language.
6. Consequences of the assimilation process which are outcomes of the increased mobility in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Soviet educational system and the decreasing prestige of the smaller Finno-Ugric languages as opposed to Russian are also detectable in the younger generation of Udmurts.
7. While members of the nation's elite (minority representatives of politics, education culture and economy), the Udmurt community itself, the Udmurt speakers

do not realize that they are also responsible for the maintenance of their language, the Udmurt language has very low chances of survival.

8. As bilingual education is only an idea or a plan in Udmurt language planning, having seen the situation of the Udmurt language, we cannot wait longer; we have to take things into our own hands. The purpose of the schools in Udmurt villages has to be changed: it is not the teaching of the Udmurt and Russian grammar that should be in focus, which results in subtractive education, but the mother tongue of the students has to be taught in an additive way, thus replace subtractive bilingualism with balanced bilingualism.

The following picture can be drawn of the linguistic situation of the studied community.

The minority community lives every day in an Udmurt–Russian bilingual environment. Bilingualism of this community seems to be stable to some extent, but young people are attracted by the Russian language use. We cannot talk about an extremely strong language shift situation, because Udmurt is present at many domains. However, gradual language shift is detectable, which can be illustrated by the language use habits of younger people. Remarks and concerns of the informants on the Udmurt language demonstrate that conscious language planning is needed. Although in the last years, important steps have been taken towards revitalization that were aimed against the shrinking of the Udmurt language, Udmurts living in villages are less involved in these projects. Because of this and other factors described in the dissertation, the given speech community shows the signs of language shift and maintenance at the same time.

I cannot claim that I analyzed every aspect of the bilingualism in the given village. However, I might argue that I could provide an overview of the language use of a village in the Udmurt Republic, I described the linguistic behavior of a speech community and how the linguistic behavior depends on extralinguistic factors, determined by implementation of the language law guaranteeing the use of both standard languages.

## **Directions and methods of further research**

My research highlighted minor areas of the field which require further study.

I consider important to study the bilingualism of Udmurt children, and the compilation of a pedagogical method for bi- or trilingual children on the basis of the results in order to provide assistance to Udmurt parents living in cities in achieving that their children could speak Udmurt as well.

Further study of the community along various factors (gender, educational level) besides the age criterion is justified. In the methodological part of my dissertation, I indicated that I did not plan to analyze the language use of my informants according to gender and educational level, as 189 people is not enough to categorize the informants along these lines. This would be possible only if a complex study, involving the entire population of the village would be carried out. Part of the data has already been collected, it would be important to represent the results as soon as possible.

The thorough analysis of the language use of the Russian-speaking inhabitants living in the village is missing from my thesis, so I consider it necessary to carry out such an analysis in the future, although Russians do not represent a significant part of the population.

A study on the Udmurt and Russian proficiency of the population would be extremely essential, since the proficiency evaluation was based on self-report in this paper as I mentioned above. Moreover, studies on the language and language use of the youth, especially that of the internet genres (e.g. chat, e-mails, forums, web pages, etc.) are necessary.

In the future, one of the important tasks would be the study of the grammatical characteristics of the code-switching of Udmurts and Russians living in the village. This study would reveal the grammatical outcomes of the direct contact between two languages which are typologically and genetically different.

It is a fact that language use and language choice practices change through time, that is why real-time studies (Trudgill 1997: 88) are needed to confirm statements about linguistic changes and language shift situations in a given speech community in order to measure the extent to which speech of the community has changed in a given time. By carrying out real-time studies, I can verify and explain the results of apparent-time studies (Trudgill 1997: 47) conducted in the studied speech community.

I consider it important and necessary to continue the study of Udmurt language myths in future research. The collection of the Udmurt and Russian language myths and myth-type statements should be planned, their truth value revealed.

The choice of the adequate research method and data collection technique is crucial in the study of the enlisted topics. I consider necessary to record longer interviews to rectify flaws in the questionnaires and to reveal the multiplicity of attitudes.

Finally, I have to emphasize how important is to translate works about Udmurt–Russian bilingualism written in Hungarian or other languages (mainly English) to Udmurt and Russian.

### **The approbation of the dissertation**

I participated at the following conferences and seminars with papers and posters which discussed the topic of the dissertation or other relevant questions: WEFUM (Netherlands, Groningen, 2007), Félúton 4 and Félúton 5 (Budapest ELTE, 2008, 2009), XXIV. International Finno-Ugric Students' Conference – IFUSCO (Finland, Helsinki 2008), Seminar on Finno-Ugric Minorities. Ethnic and Linguistic Context of Identity: Finno-Ugric Minorities (Finland, Helsinki, 2009), XII. International Conference on Minority Languages (Estonia, Tartu, 2009), New trends in Uralistics (Szeged, 2009), seminar “Improvement of the competence of possible co-workers in the Sámi–Komi linguistic center” ’Повышение компетенции возможных сотрудников саамского/коми языкового центра в с. Ловозеро’ (Norway – Russia, Kolta island, 2010), XI. International Congress for Fenno-Ugric Studies (Hungary, Piliscsaba, 2010). Articles discussing the most important statements of the dissertation and topics relevant to it were published in various publications in Hungary, Finland, and Russia.

## Bibliography

- Avrorin 1975. Аврорин В. А. Проблемы изучения функциональной стороны языка (К вопросу о предмете социолингвистики). Ленинград.
- Bartha Csilla 1999. A kétnyelvűség alapkérdései. Beszélők és közösségek. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.
- Bartha Csilla 2009. Út a többnyelvűség felé? – Nyelvideológiák, attitűdök és nyelvcseré: a kétnyelvűséggel kapcsolatos elképzelések szerepe a kisebbségi nyelvek megőrzésében. In: Borbély Anna – Vanconé Kremmer Ildikó – Hattyár Helga. (szerk.) Nyelvideológiák, attitűdök és sztereotípiák. 15. élőnyelvi konferencia. Párkány (Szlovákia), 2008. szeptember 4-6. 141–155.
- Belikov–Krysin 2001. Беликов В. И., Крысин Л. П. Социолингвистика. Москва.
- Borbély Anna 2001. Nyelvcseré. Szociolingvisztikai kutatások a magyarországi románok közösségében. MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézetének Élőnyelvi Osztálya, Budapest.
- Borbély Anna 2006. Nyelvválasztási szokások a 21. század elején hat magyarországi kisebbségi közösségben. In: Tóth Ágnes – Vékás János (szerk.) Egység a különbözőségben. Az Európai Unió és a nemzeti kisebbségek. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Budapest. 2006. 85–101.
- Cooper, Robert L. 1989. Language Planning and Social Change. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deserijev 1966. Дешериев Ю. Д. Закономерности развития и взаимодействия языков в советском обществе. Москва.
- Fenomen 2002. Смирнова С. К., Губогло М. Н. и др. (ред.) Феномен Удмуртии. Том 2. Постигание суверенности: становление государственности Удмуртской Республики. Кн.1. Сфера законодательной власти. Москва–Ижевск.
- Fenomen 2003. Смирнова С. К., Губогло М. Н. и др. (ред.) Феномен Удмуртии. Том 5. Национальное строительство и межэтнические отношения: Материалы научно-практических конференций и «круглых столов». Москва–Ижевск.
- Haugen, Einar 1969. Language Planning, Theory and Practice. In: The Ecology of Language. Essays by Einar Haugen. Selected and introduced by Anwar S. Dil. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1972. 287–295.
- Karmacs Zoltán 2007. Karmacs Zoltán Kétnyelvűség és nyelvelsajátítás. Rákóczi-füzetek XXV. Ungvár.
- Kiss Jenő 1995. Társadalom és nyelvhasználat. Szociolingvisztikai alapfogalmak. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.
- Kloss, Heinz 1969. Research Possibilities on Group Bilingualism: A Report. Quebec: International Center for Research on Bilingualism.
- Kondratyeva – Ijina 2008. Кондратьева Н. В., Ильина Н. В. Функционирование и статус удмуртского языка среди удмуртского населения Удмуртской республики. Языковое и

этническое возрождение в Удмуртии: от политики к культурному разнообразию: коллективная монография. Ижевск: Удмуртский государственный университет. 74–105.

Kozmács István 1998. Az udmurtok. In: Udmurtia. Finnugor kalauz. (szerk.: Csepregi Márta) Panoráma Kiadó. 91–107.

Lanstyák István 2006. Nyelvből nyelvbe. Pozsony: Kalligram.

Lanstyák István 2007a. A nyelvi tévhitekről. In: Domonkosi Ágnes – Lanstyák István – Posgay Ildikó (szerk.) Műhelytanulmányok a nyelvművelésről. Dunaszerdahely–Budapest. 154–173.

Lanstyák István 2007b. Általános nyelvi mítoszok. In: Domonkosi Ágnes – Lanstyák István – Posgay Ildikó (szerk.) Műhelytanulmányok a nyelvművelésről. Dunaszerdahely–Budapest. 174–212.

Lanstyák István – Simon Szabolcs 2002. A magyar es a szlovák nyelv választása három szlovákiai magyar településen. In: Kisebbségkutatás 11/2, 344–358. (forrás: [http://www.hhrf.org/kisebbségkutatás/kk\\_2002\\_02/cikk.php?id=1112](http://www.hhrf.org/kisebbségkutatás/kk_2002_02/cikk.php?id=1112) 2011.03.03.)

Michajlov 1969. Михайлова М. М. Двужычие (принципы и проблемы). Москва.

Michalcsenko 1994. Михальченко В. Ю. Языковые проблемы новой Российской Федерации. In: Язык-культура-этнос. Москва. 1994. 176–183.

Monográfia 2008. Языковое и этническое возрождение в Удмуртии: от политики к культурному многообразию: коллективная монография. Под научной редакцией К. Уильямса, А. Баранова, А. Фёдоровой, В. Воронцова. Ижевск: Удмуртский государственный университет.

Pimenov 1977. Пименов В. В. Удмурты. Опыт компонентного анализа этноса. Ленинград.

Pusztay János 2006. Nyelvével hal a nemzet. Budapest.

Rannut, Mart 2004. Раннут Март Пособие по языковой политике. Таллинн.

Salánki Zsuzsanna 2007. Az udmurt nyelv mai helyzete. (kézirat)

Sándor Anna 2000. Anyanyelvhasználat és kétnyelvűség egy kisebbségi magyar beszélőközösségben, Kolonban. Pozsony.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove 1997. Nyelv, oktatás és a kisebbségek. Kisebbségi adattár VIII. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány.

Trudgill, Péter 1997. Bevezetés a nyelv és társadalom tanulmányozásába. Szeged.

Udmurt nyelvű otthon 2010. Удмурт кыло дор=Дом, где живёт удмуртский язык. Сост. Триину Ояр, пер. с эстонского и выру языков Н.А. Пчеловодовой. Ижевск.

V. Borbély Anna 1993. Az életkor, a nem és az iskolázottság hatása a magyarországi románok román és magyar nyelvhasználatára. In: Hungarológia 1993/3. 73–85.

Vachtyin – Golovko 2004. Вахтин Н. Б., Головкин Е. В. Социоллингвистика и социология языка. Санкт-Петербург.

## ARTICLES REFLECTING ON OR RELATING TO SPECIFIC TOPICS OF THE DISSERTATION

### Articles:

**Az udmurt nyelv és anyanyelvi oktatásának mai helyzete** [Contemporary situation of the (L1) teaching of the Udmurt language].

**In:** Anyanyelv-pedagógia online journal. 2008. Nr. 3–4 (<http://www.anyanyelvpedagogia.hu/cikkek.php?id=121>)

**Az Udmurt Köztársaság nyelvtörvénye: „de jure” és „de facto”** [The language law of the Udmurt Republic: “de jure” and “de facto”].

**In:** Uralisztikai Tanulmányok 19. Ünnepi írások Bereczki Gábor tiszteletére. Szerk. Bereczki András – Csepregi Márta – Klíma László. Budapest, 2008. 758–761.

**Универсальные языковые мифы в удмуртском языке** [Universal language myths in the Udmurt language].

**In:** Пермистика 12: Диалекты и история пермских языков во взаимодействии с другими языками: Сб. статей / Удм. гос. ун-т. Кафедра удмуртского языка и методики его преподавания. Ижевск: Издательский дом «Удмуртский университет», 2009. 365–368.

**Билингвизм и универсальные языковые мифы** [Bilingualism and the universal language myths].

**In:** Вестник. Современный русский язык: Функционирование и проблемы преподавания. № 24. Будапешт, 2010. 134–137.

### **Ethnic Identity and Udmurt people.**

**In:** Ethnic and Linguistic Context of Identity: Finno-Ugric Minorities. Uralica Helsingiensia 5. Helsinki, 2011. 295–320.

**Первые шаги в формировании социолингвистической терминологии на удмуртском языке (на примере трёхязычного (венгерский, удмуртский, русский) словаря по социолингвистике)** [First steps towards the creation of sociolinguistic terminology in Udmurt (On the example of the trilingual Hungarian–Udmurt–Russian dictionary)]

**In:** Проблемы билингвизма в современном межкультурном дискурсе: материалы международного научно методического коллоквиума (Пермь, 7–9 февраля 2011 г.). Пермь: Изд-во Перм. гос. техн. ун-та. 2011. 86–89.

**Социолингвистическое направление в исследовании переключения языковых кодов (на примере удмуртско-русского двуязычия)** (Sociolinguistic aspect of studies on code-switching (on the example of Udmurt–Russian bilingualism) (forthcoming)

**In:** XI International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies. Piliscsaba

**Языковое планирование через «университет-школа-семья» (новые предложения, идеи)** [Language planning through “university-school-family” (new suggestions, ideas)] (forthcoming)

**Smaller publications:**

**Az udmurt nyelv oktatásáról udmurt és magyar szemmel [About the teaching of Udmurt from an Udmurt and Hungarian perspective].**

**In:** De Suffix. Tijdschrift voor Finoeegriestiek. Groningen, Juli 2007. 16–19 p. (WEFUM conference material, Netherlands, May, 2007, with Zsombor Bogdán)

**A kétnyelvűség fajtái és az udmurt nyelv helyzete [Types of bilingualism and the situation of the Udmurt language].**

**In:** XXII International Fenno-Ugrist Student Conference = XXII. IFUSCO – 2005 (Russia, Mari Republic, Joskar-Ola, 18-22<sup>nd</sup> May 2005). 111–112.

**The universal language myths in Udmurt language.**

**In:** Conference Abstracts. The 24th International Finno-Ugric Students' Conference = XXIV. IFUSCO – 2008 (Finland, Helsinki 14–18<sup>th</sup> May) ([www.ifusco.info/files/SirobokovaL.doc](http://www.ifusco.info/files/SirobokovaL.doc))

**Role of Sociolinguistics in progress and revitalization of Minority Finno-Ugric Languages.**

**In:** Conference Abstracts. 12th International Conference on Minority Languages. University of Tartu, Estonia, 2009. 92–93.

**Spheres of using of the Udmurt, Mari and Russian languages by native young speakers in daily activities (poster with Tatjana Efremova).**

**In:** New trends in Uralistics. University of Szeged, Department of Finno-Ugristics. 3–4. 9. 2009