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LANGUAGE AS A CULTURAL IDENTITY: A CASE OF RUSSIAN IN LITHUANIA

Language contacts have significant impacts on historical changes of languages, and this process is known as replication (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2005, 2006). However, replication often refers to one specific subtype of contact-induced language change, i.e. an assimilating type that can form areal features. On the contrary to the assimilation, another type, termed here a diversifying type, amplifies differences among languages in contacts. In this article, we analyse these two opposing types in the context of the Baltic languages, especially Russian and Lithuanian. The diversifying type normally exhibits complex areal features and it also often involves various issues of social identity.

Key words: cultural identity, Russian, Lithuania

1. Introduction

The diversity of linguistic structures can be caused by various factors. The genetic link is an obvious reason, but there are less obvious causes to instigate the process of diversification. In this paper, we analyse two specific mechanisms that affected linguistic diversity in a specific region, i.e. the Baltic Sea. There have been speakers of different languages in this region and there are some features commonly shared among them, but there is also diversity among them. We analyse this linguistic situation in terms of language contacts and various issues concerning identity. Contact-induced grammatical changes have been given their deserved attention, e.g. Heine and Kuteva (2003, 2005, 2006), but issues of identity has not been much discussed in relation to language contact. It is fair to claim that it is rare to find cases where social identity of speakers affected the grammatical structure of the language, but when such cases are found, it has a significant impact on areal features (Toyota 2010). In addition, this paper also analyses shifts of identity and its consequence on linguistic structures.

This paper first looks at background of contact-induced changes, known as replication, including two subtypes, an assimilating type and a diversifying type. This section is explained with typological data. Then we move onto a specific case of the Baltic Sea: we examine the synchronic grammatical diversity and explain why such differences can be found. These features can be explained in terms of different kinds of contacts, especially a forced occupation. Based on the presence and absence of the occupier, Lithuanian speakers have shifted how they formulate their identity. This shift is closely examined.

2. Linguistic diversity, areal feature and contacts

Linguistic diversity can be measured by different criteria. For instance, one can use genetic linkage or certain areas in the world to show how close or diverse languages can be. In a seminal work on linguistic diversity, Nichols (1992: 166-168) presents that alignment is most stable genetically, and word order areally. This type of generalisation holds true in many cases, but naturally there are some exceptions.

Let us take a look at the definite articles. There are various ways to make a specific reference in discourse and both definite and indefinite articles are one of the grammatical tools. It is rather difficult to make a generalisation concerning an areal feature of articles, but there are four areas in the world where the definite article is likely to be found, i.e. East/West Africa, Europe, Papua New Guinea and the Western Coast of North America, as demonstrated in Figure 1. Darker-shaded dots represent the presence of the definite articles or demonstratives used as the definite article. A common generic link among all these languages in these four areas does not really exist. However, what is common among them is that these areas have seen much intense contacts, either among indigenous languages for trading or between European languages and indigenous languages through colonisation. Toyota et al. (2012) argue that such contacts often create need to specify referents in order to enable smooth communication. They further argues that the definite article is more likely to be found in an environment where speakers have mutually intelligible languages, such as different dialects or genetically closely connected languages. This is,

as they claim, because speakers want to make sure that their statement is properly understand in partial intelligibility, and a grammatical device to formulate a clear reference is useful in such environment.

The distribution of definite article is far from being universal, but the force behind its emergence seems to be related to a discourse factor particularly found in intense contacts. It is easy to identify sources of articles (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002), but instances like this can show how important contacts can be in historical development of languages. Contacts are often considered a homogeneous phenomenon, but as often argued in anthropology, there are two subtypes of contacts, which are discussed in the following section.

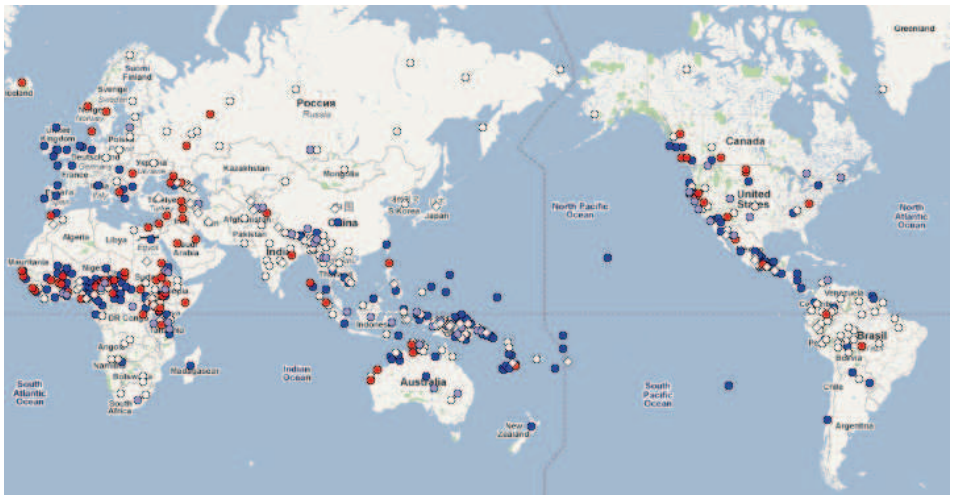

Figure 1. Distribution of definite pronouns (Dryer 2008)

3. Language contacts

Various issues concerning language contacts have attracted many researchers, ranging from pidgin-creole studies from the late 60's/the early 70s' (Hyme 1971, Bickerton 1975, among others) to modern approaches on contact-induced grammaticalisation (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2005, 2006). There is no doubt that contacts have enormous impacts of language change, and this kind of impacts is found in four corners of the world.

However, how this impact is analysed can interestingly vary according to different disciplines, namely between linguists and anthropologists. It seems that linguists are interested in common features after contacts, often realised as areal typology or *sprachbund*. In this way, contacts induce a new construction near identical or comparable among languages in contacts, as best represented in contact-induced grammaticalisation known as replication (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2003, 2005, 2006), but this type of mixture can be obvious in creole and pidgin languages too, and cases such as an A mixed language, Michif, is an extreme example of contact between an Algonquian language Cree and French, where the nominal paradigm (including agreement with adjective) is French, while the polysynthetic verbal system is Cree (cf. Bakker 2005, 2006).

Note that similar changes can be also found in contacts among differet dialects of a same language. A clear case is the formation of Present-Day English (Cf. Toyota forthcoming). Many languages of Europe have diverse dialects, but English has seen various social events that forced migrations of speakers within English to a large extent, e.g. enthronements of Richard III or James I (ca. the 15th C) and the Industrial Revolution (ca. the 18th C). The rest of Europe saw something similar around the same period due to the Renaissance and the Age of Enlightenment, but the intensity of migration was not as great as the ones found within the Great Britain. These social events led the grammar of Present-Day English so typologically peculiar due to assimilating different dialectal features into one standard form.

The replication may not account for rare cases that do not form areal features as in the case of the word order. However, contacts can still be responsible for them, since they can create two subtypes, a type that assimilate different features into a single areal feature (i.e. assimilating type) and another type that amplifies differences in a specific region and emphasise linguistic diversities (i.e. diversifying type). These two types are examined in the following sections.

3.1 Assimilating type

Through contacts, it is often the case that certain grammatical features are replicated, resulting in areal features. Note here that some changes are achieved by simple copying or borrowing: words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’ in Irish,

e.g. *ye* and *no*, for instance, are borrowed from the English counterparts, since Irish does not use them (Toyota 2009). This type of simple borrowing is observed in many cases and it is very common that lingua franca in each region influences smaller languages in contacts, e.g. Swahili/Arabic words in other languages in East Africa. Concerning grammatical structures, there is a more complex assimilation known as replication (Heine and Kuteva 2005). It is based on the basic principles of grammaticalisation, but it is triggered by contacts. Heine and Kuteva (2003: 533; 2005: 80-84) argue that there are four basic stages in the process of replication, as summarised in (1).

(1)
a. Speakers of language R notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
b. They develop an equivalent category Rx, using material available in their own language (R).
c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalisation, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.
d. They grammaticalise construction Ry to Rx.

This process can be seen, for instance, in the passive construction in Polish. Polish is unique among Slavic languages since all Slavic languages use the copula as an auxiliary in the passive, but Polish also use 'become' as exemplified in (2). This generic peculiarity is due to the contact with German, where two auxiliaries, *sein* 'be' and *werden* 'become' (cf. (3)), are used in the passive construction, differing in aspect (i.e. the former is used for the stative passive, and the latter, the dynamic passive, cf. Toyota 2008). What differentiates this case from a simple borrowing is that Polish uses its own verb *zostawać* 'become', not the original German word *werden* 'become', as an auxiliary. After this replication, Polish can have the aspectual distinction in the passive between *być* 'be' for the stative passive and *zostawać* 'become' for the dynamic passive as in German.

Polish (Siewierska 1984: 129)

(2)	*Pokój*	*został*	*pomalowany*	*w*	*zeszłym*	*roku*
	room	become	paint.PST.PRT.PRFV	in	last	year

'The room was painted last year.'

German

(3) *Der Täter wurde* (*von der Polizei*) *verhafet*
the offender became from the police arrest.PST.PRT
'The room was painted last year.'

3.2 Diversifying type

Anthropologists, such as Barth (1969), argue that contacts increase awareness of self-identity and as a result, amplification of grammatical variations is observed. This line of argument is popularly supported among scholars working on contacts of different kinds, such as material culture or trading (cf. Hill 1996, Hornborg 2005, among others). This does not exclude linguists: in fact, some linguists have presented data supporting this line of arguments, e.g. Labov (1963) on English dialects in Martha's Vineyeard or Hays (1993) on Papua New Guinea. Among linguists arguing the language change along this line are Bourhis and Giles (1977), Silverstein (1979), Nettle (1999), among others. In his monograph, Nettle (1999: 30) states that "at various points in history, people have deliberately invented words that set them apart from other people with whom they do not wish to identify." What is noticeable in the case of the diversifying type is that this process can be achieved by either preserving an earlier structure in spite of neighbouring languages adopting a new form or developing a new form which does not exist in neighbouring languages. In either case, the result is the diversification of structures in a restricted area otherwise showing areal features. Nevertheless, social identity in language contacts is a relatively unexplored area of studies, and it is fair to say that such cases are relatively rarer but they do exist.

Let us take a look at the so-called the Balkan *sprachbund* (cf. Joseph 1992; Feuillet 2001). This is a rich linguistic area where both the assimilating and the diversifying types of contact-induced changes can be found. For instance, what is commonly considered as the common features in this region is the assimilating type of grammaticalisation, but at the same time the diversifying type can be also found. Examples can be found in various languages formerly known as Serbo-Croatian. The infinitive is commonly used in subordination in these languages, except for Serbian depending on a register. The colloquial register in Serbian uses a common feature in the Balkan sprachbund (e.g. (4a)), but the formal register avoids it, i.e. (4b)

is preferable. Historically, the colloquial form (4a) is older and (4b) is a newer invention, complying to the areal feature in the Balkan sprachbund. In Bosnian, Montenegrin and Croatian, the infinitive is in fact preferred and the subordination with the finite clause as in (4a) is the only possibility. This makes Serbian stand out, but in other cases, Montenegrin and Croatian have diversified from the rest of them. For instance, the name of the months differs in Croatian, e.g. *siječanj*'January', *veljača* 'February', etc. as opposed to Serbian *januar* 'January', *februar* 'February', etc. In Montenegrin, an attempt was made to introduce two new consonants in July 2009, i.e. *ś* and *ź*, which do not exist in Serbian. These sounds only existed in a provincial dialect, which was not given a higher social status prior to the independence in 2007. It is clear that the alternation was intended to differentiate Montenegrin from Serbian. In these cases, changes are consciously made and no spontaneity is involved.

Serbian

(4) a. *Ja* *hoću* *spavati*
I want.1SG.PRS sleep.INF
'I want to sleep.' (colloquial)

b. *Ja* *hoću* *da* *spavam*
I want.1SG.PRS that sleep.1SG.PRS
'I want to sleep.' (formal)

These are rather simple cases concerning former Serbo-Croatian, and it is clear that there are political motivations to differentiate former dialects from Serbian and turn them into a status of an independent language. This action is related to social identity, i.e. speakers of Bosnian, Montenegrin and Croatian want to identify themselves as not Serb, but a member of now independent countries. Relating the identity, the Balkan regions can interestingly offer both types of changes, i.e. the preserving (Bosnian infinitive) and shifting types (Croatian name of the months, Montenegrin consonants). This is, needless to say, a piece of the iceberg and there are much diversified differences. There are different factors that can trigger awareness of identity, such as ethnic background, religion as well as language. Sussex (1993: 1006) states that "Religious sentiment has also been a major factor, since the Polish and Croatian Catholics, the

Ukrainian, Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian Orthodox believers and the Czech Protestants, have all found support in the identification of language with religion and country." It may be difficult to sieve out one specific factor among various others, but languages can play a role in solidifying a social identity, which leads to the grammatical changes.

4. A case of the Baltic States

The languages spoken around the Baltic Sea, i.e. Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Russian, Polish, Finnish, Swedish and German may share some common features (e.g. Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001a, 2001b), but contacts among these langauges are isolated cases through the Hanseatic League influencing partially in some parts, but not the others. For instance, the loss of the case marking in Swedish can be ascribed to the contacts with German. Dahl (2004) shows that the language change from Old Swedish to Modern Swedish started in the Southern part of Sweden, where much contact was made with German through trading in the Hanseatic League. As in the case between Old Norse and Old/Middle Swedish, Swedish also lost the case marking in the Southern part, but some Northern dialects still preserve the residues of earlier case marking to this day. This case reassures us that contacts were an important factor in shaping the grammar of modern Swedish, but such contacts did not constitute *sprachbund* or areal features, but we have much linguistic diversification around the Baltic Sea.

It is interesting that some languages have preserved much archaic grammatical features in spite of close contacts. Lithuanian is one such language. It is known to be the oldest living Indo-European languages, carrying much of residues from Proto-Indo-European (cf. Meillet 1921, 1925). Indeed, some grammatical features such as the future tense marker *-s* can stem directly from Proto-Indo-European desiderative *-s-* (Fortson 2010: 100). Lithuanian has had contacts with very many different languages, e.g. Polish, Russian, German, Swedish, Yiddish, among others and there is no doubt that there was a contact before.

4.1 Diversity in the Baltic States

Languages spoken around Lithuania are particularly analysed whether contacts created assimilating or diversifying types of replication.

We take a look at some specific morphosyntactic and semantic features. The choice of these features is based on a general pattern in replication, which include (Heine and Kuteva 2003): new future tenses are more likely created than the past tense; relative pronouns are invented once a language is in contact with IE languages; languages without articles or evidentials, once in contact with languages with such devices, tend to replicate them somehow. In addition, Toyota (2009) argued that contacts can create social hierarchy, which can affect evidentials and various tactics concerning politeness, covering negation. Also, we have already seen the case of the definite article earlier in relation to contact of mutually intelligible languages. Thus, we compare the following features in Lithuanian, Latvian, Russian, Polish and Belarusian: word order, article, grammatical gender, use of pronoun for politeness, number of cases, future tense, evidential and negation.

These features can be roughly divided into three parts, i.e. morphological, syntactic and pragmatic. As for morphological features, the article is absent except Latvian. It is still premature to say that Latvian has the definite article, but it uses the demonstratives as the definite article and it will certainly develop into the definite article, since it is typologically the most common developmental pattern (Heine and Kuteva 2002). Gender in Russian, Polish and Belarusian is ternary among masculine, feminine and neuter, but Lithuanian and Latvian have only two, masculine and feminine. Thus, the presence and absence of neuter divides these languages into two types. Its historical development is hard to determine, however, since the earlier Indo-European gender was binary between active and inactive (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995), but an origin of the feminine gender in the Indo-European languages is hard to determine (cf. Ledo-Lemos 2004.). Thus, it may be the case that the Lithuanian and Latvian gender system is an archaic Indo-European system preserved in modern languages. It should be noted that as far as the recorded evidence is concerned, these languages never had a ternary system.

The number of cases is more or less identical in each language between 6 and 7. However, Latvian has only five, lacking instrument found in other neighbouring languages. Also Lithuanian had more cases until ca. the 18th century, such as allative. The loss of case can be considered as simplification of grammar. This is also a result of contacts, but in addition to fixing the word order into a certain type, e.g. by having a fixed order, it

is easier to identify the subject from the object and there is no need for the case, except for genitive. Genitive is required since it involves two nominals, whereas other cases are commonly used in relation to verbs, i.e. its grammatical relationship is between verbs and nominals. Some languages lose the case completely, but often preserve the genitive. Nevertheless, some cases seem to have been lost in the Baltic languages, but not so in the Slavic languages, and it is possible to see the contact has a possible cause for the loss of the case.

The future tense is marked by inflection in both Lithuanian and Latvian, but the other three languages use the auxiliary verbs, and evidentiality is overtly expressed in Lithuanian and Latvian for the second-hand evidential (cf. Aikhenvald 2004), expressing uncertainty concerning the source of information. The other languages do not mark evidentiality overtly. Both future tense and evidential can be closely related as in the case of the Papuan languages, but this does not seem to be the case in the Baltic languages. As mentioned earlier, the morphologically-marked future tense is a preservation of archaic desiderative marker *-s-*, but evidential is created relatively recently, after the 15th century. As also found in two South Slavic languages, Bulgarian and Macedonian, the active participle, conjugated according to tense, yields evidentiality in Lithuanian, as demonstrated in (5). It suggests that there were specific motivations for developing evidential, which is discussed later in relation to colonial occupation and suppression and in this case, the Ottoman emtpire.

Lithuanian (Ambrazas 2006: 264)

(5)	*Benè*	*nuo*	*žmonōs*	*jìs*	*atsiskýręs*	*ēsąs*
	perhaps	from	wife	he	separate.ACT.PST.PRT	be.ACT. PRS.PRT

'Perhaps he is separated from his wife.'

Syntactic features involve word order and negation. The word order is generally SVO among these languages, except for Belarusian. The Belarusian word order is relatively free and it is organised based on information structure. As mentioned in relation to the loss of case marking, the word order is a useful tool to specify the arguments in a clause and by setting a rigid order, languages do no longer have to rely on the case. In this sense, Belarusian is still developing into a rigid order system like other neighbouring languages. As for the negation, Russian, Polish and

Belarusian have a simple system of adding a negative marker to an affirmative clause, which can be termed as a symmetric negation. However, Lithuanian and Latvian have both symmetric and asymmetric systems, i.e. grammatical means to include more than a single negative marker. Consider the examples in (6) from Lithuanian. (6b) is a symmetric negation in comparison with (6a), i.e. the addition of the negative marker *ne-* is the only difference between them. However, (6c) contains a complex negation system, involving an infinitive clause with a negative marker. Lithuanian is rich in negation and this forms an asymmetric pattern of negation.

Lithuanian (Ramonienė and Pribušauskaitė 2006: 292)

(6) a. *Aš* *vakar* *jo* *mačinau*
I yesterday him saw.1SG
'I saw him yesterday.'

b. *Aš* *vakar* *jo* *ne-mačinau*
I yesterday jim NEG-saw.1SG
'I did not see him yesterday.'

c. *Aš* *vakar* *jo* *nė* *matyti* *ne-mačinau*
I yesterday him NEG see.INF NEG-saw.1SG
'I saw no sign of him yesterday.'

Pragmatic feature is concerned with politeness expressed in pronouns. It is common among the Indo-European languages to make a distinction between second person singular and plural pronouns in terms of politeness, often known as the T-V system after the French second person pronouns, *tu* (SG) and *vous* (PL). All of these languages also make politeness expression based on the singular-plural distinction of pronouns, where the plural form address to a singular referent signals politeness. However, Lithuanian has a more complex system: it has the binary *tu* (SG) and *jūs* (PL) distinction as in the other languages in the area, but in addition to this, there is a polite pronoun *tamsa* used specifically for formal and respectful speech. This form is perhaps somewhat archaic now or commonly used among the older generations, but it has not been wiped out from the language. What is important here is that there was an urge among the Lithuanian speakers to come up with a special form like this pronoun to cope with social pressure.

These features are summarised in Table 1. By comparing them, it is clear that the Blatic languages Lithuanian and Latvian differ consid-

erably from the Slavic languages. This can be a generic trait, but even between Lithuanian and Latvia, the article, the number of cases and pronouns for politeness can differ. However, note that the Baltic languages are more conservative with other aspects of grammar, such as inflectional suffixes or lexicons, and Russian and Polish have gone through more changes in basic parts of grammar, such as tense and aspect. Thus, in terms of changes, these languages have developed into different directions based on different outer forces, if there are any. It seems that changes in the Slavic languages are more spontaneous changes, while the Baltic languages are more affected by contacts. Details of differences are discussed in the following sections.

Table 1. Selected features in the Baltic and neighbouring languages

	Lithuanian	Latvian	Russian	Polish	Belarusian
Article	Absent	Demonstrative	Absent	Absent	Absent
Gender	Two	Two	Three	Three	Three
Number of cases	6-7	5	6-7	6-7	6-7
Future tense	Inflection	Inflectional	Auxiliary	Auxiliary	Auxiliary
Evidential	2nd-hand only	2nd-hand only	Absent	Absent	Absent
Negation	Mixed	Mixed	Symmetric	Symmetric	Symmetric
Word order	SVO	SVO	SVO	SVO	No dominant order
Pronoun and politeness	Multiple	Binary	Binary	Binary	Binary

4.2 Diversity in terms of contacts

The diversity found in these languages, especially in Lithuanian and Latvian, can possibly reveal what type of contacts there have been among these five languages. First of all, mutual intelligibility in contacts played a role in the Baltic languages, especially in Latvian, e.g. the presence of pseudo-article and the slight simplification of the case marking. The intelligibility has not been discussed much in terms of contacts, but it can have significant impacts on how languages are formulated, and changes often result in simplification of grammar. Intelligibility is not the only cause for simplification, since it can be also observed in creolisation. However, the main difference between intelligibility-induced changes and crealisation is that partial intelligibility turns the grammar hearer friendly, so that hearers

can process information more easily. In this context, articles, both definite and indefinite, are useful, since they clearly signal whether hearers should be familiar with the identity of referents or not.

The next point is the social hierarchy. In the contact situation, it can be claimed that evidentials are created through power struggles, and social groups under occupation or pressure often develop some strategies to express uncertainty, i.e. the second-hand evidential, but not the first-hand evidential referring to the certainty of information. It is true that this is not the only source of evidentiality. Some languages in the world, such as the Papuan languages, are highly sensitive to evidentiality and develop an elaborate system on their own. Their grammar is formulated based on the realis-irrealis distinction, as seen in the tense system of future and non-future type. However, this is not the case among the Indo-European languages. Evidential is found only in South Slavic languages Bulgarian and Macedonian among the Indo-European languages apart from Lithuanian and Latvian. These South Slavic languages have experienced the Ottoman occupation and this was the period when the evidential was created (Toyota 2009), contrary to earlier understanding that it was copied from Turkish. The parallel can be found in the Baltic languages, and the presence of evidential suggests earlier contacts created a social hierarchy and the social status of Lithuanian and Latvian speakers could have been lower than that of people with whom they had contact. Furthermore, sensitivity to politeness, especially being in an inferior position, is also an effect of social hierarchy. Lithuanian has an elaborate system of politeness, and they have created a lexical item specifically used for politeness. This suggests that occupation and control could have been more severe in Lithuania than in Latvian.

Based on these two factors, it is considered that contacts in Latvia were more equal to their counterparts and there was less pressure or oppression. Contacts were perhaps more for trading. In case of Lithuania, on the other hand, contacts were related to occupations and people had to struggle for their right and survival. The contact of this kind created social hierarchy and speakers were forced to be sensitive about politeness and avoiding responsibility. This resulted in diversity in grammar even among the two Baltic languages as demonstrated in Table 1. Those who were in the ruling position, i.e. Russia and Poland, share more or less the same grammatical structures as far as the features in Table 1 are concerned, although Poland had been influenced by other contacts, especially with German (cf. (2)).

5. Identity-related issues and isolation in the Baltic languages

In spite of its known grammatical conservatism, Lithuanian and Latvian have changed slightly and their changes are made in a certain direction, i.e. as seen in Table 1, their characteristic features are often associated with occupation or suppression. Lithuania has been in close contact with neighbouring countries, especially Poland since the 15th century after forming the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth with increasing threats from Russia, and the influence of Polonisation became more evident in different aspects of Lithuanian culture. Through the turbulent time during the two World Wars, Lithuania shifted their occupiers among Poland, Russia and Germany, until Russia took the whole control under the name of the USSR.

As the diversifying type of contact-induced changes suggests, language can be used as a tool to strengthen speakers' social identity, and what is interesting here is that Lithuanian did not really use language as a sign of identity, although Russian and Polish seem to have used language as a marker of identity by enforcing the use of their national language in a newly-gained territory. This may explain why Russian and Polish developed more spontaneously without much effect from contacts. Another possible explanation for the spontaneous development is the isolation, especially in the case of Russian: to start with, Russia was not a part of the Roman Empire and it did not undergo influence of major socio-cultural changes in the Western Europe, such as the Renaissance around the 15th century and Enlightenment around the 18th century, and especially in the latter case, Russian has a planned isolation, most notably represented by the Counter Enlightenment by Catherine the Great (reigning from 1762-1796), who banned anything that can support the Renaissance and Enlightenment movement in fear of uprising or revolution.

Concerning isolation, it is worth examining a case in Lithuania more closely. Lithuania has a very fine set of dialects, as shown in Figure 2. What is interesting here is that these dialects have not had much contact with each other until recently through media. There has not been any social events that stimulated a large scale migration of people within the country and affected language contacts and the most dialects are intact from social influence such as standardisation, and rural people still live in a traditional life style. There was deportation of the Lithuanians to Siberia, but this did not affect the dialects within Lithuania. In practice, areas with much linguistic contacts were different sub-dialects of Akuštaitian dialect, es-

pecially the eastern and southern ones around Vilnius, which experienced much multilingualism with Polish and Latin earlier and then Russian. These areas also used to host numerous monolingual Russian (and to a letter extent, Polish) speakers, too. This means that Lithuanian speakers had to learn other languages. This complex internal dialectal difference can be comparable to the diversity of dialects in the Middle English period in the Great Britain. There were a handful of noble people who spoke French as well as English, but the majority of the people spoke English, but dialectal divergence was so great that speakers from the northern and southern parts could not communicate well. As argued in Toyota (forthcoming), dialects mixing can be considered as language contacts and partial intelligibility in dialectal contacts can create a special kind of changes through contacts, as observed in Great Britain after the 15th century. In case of English, there were many social events that allowed speakers to migrate in different directions, e.g. the enthronement of Richard III and James I brought people from Yorkshire and Scotland to London, and the Industrial Revolution accelerated the northward migration (Lancashire and Yorkshire) from the south in search of jobs.

Figure 2. Lithuanian dialects (after Girdenis and Zinkevičius 1966)

The case of Lithuanian shows an interesting mixture between contact-influenced features and conservatism based on isolation. Lithuanian has shifted its attitude towards language and after occupation, and it was only after the occupation, especially by the USSR, language can be used as a sign of identity, formulating a complex picture of linguistic usage in Lithuania (see Piller 2001 and Schneider 2003 for complexity involved in dialectal identity). A detailed sociolinguistic work on Lithuanian dialects by Aliūkaitė (2007) reveals an interesting mixture of dialects and identity. She chose two generations, one who experienced the Soviet occupation and the other, born after the independence. The older generations (over 60) tend to consider themselves as Lithuanian rather than speakers of a particular dialect in their native regions. For this generation, the social identity is considered given and they do not feel strong urge to express it overtly. On the contrary, the younger speakers (age around 16-18) even in rural areas tend to express their native regional identity overtly although they do not possess characteristic features of each dialect (e.g. Figure 2). This is mainly due to that fact that younger generations are more exposed to media and have much experience in dealing with standard Lithuanian, for instance, at school. This was not possible for older generations in their youth and therefore, they maintain their regional dialects. It is possible that the younger generations are forming a new set of dialectal boundaries. This result indicates that isolation in the earlier Lithuanian society under the USSR control aided to maintain dialectal differences, but the dialectal identity was not so important. This may explain why changes observed earlier under occupation are concerned with politeness and avoiding responsibility in order to deal with the oppressor. After the independence in 1990, people shifted their attention to their regional identity. By that time, harmonisation of dialectal differences had already been under its way and dialectal identity may not be so clearly visible, although speakers might feel like expressing identity. In this context, dialectal differences in the absence of the oppressor are considered to have become more prominent.

6. Diversifying type in Lithuania

What is observed in the history of Lithuania is the shift in the measurement of unity after the independence. The presence and absence of the USSR is unarguably an important factor in the Lithuanian society, includ-

ing creating various issues of identity even after they left Lithuania. However, the newly gained regional identity can lead to the diversifying type of changes, i.e. younger generations may invent new forms or discard some of the older forms in face of the paucity of their linguistic means to express their identity. This type of changes can be seen elsewhere in Europe, i.e. different states in the former Yugoslavia. Such cases exemplify the importance of social identity in linguistic community and the case of Lithuania can also be another example.

7. Conclusion

This paper has examined languages around the Baltic Sea in terms of social identity focusing on the Baltic languages. Lithuania has experienced contacts of different kinds, and they have been rather inferior in the relationship since the 15th century, and after the two World Wars, the country was under the URRS control. Lithuanian speakers had a sense of identity, but as a collective Lithuanian identity against the common oppressor. Language was not used as a sign of identity, based on the fact that their linguistic features are changed in order to show sensitivity to politeness and avoidance of responsibility (cf. Table 1). Interestingly, language became a tool to express identity after the independence in 1990, but this time, the regional dialect is used as a base to express their regional identity within Lithuania. What is noteworthy here is that speakers cannot overtly express regional differences linguistically anymore, due to the media access and school education. Thus, the presence and absence of the USSR in Lithuania tipped the linguistic equilibrium in the Baltic States and raised an issue of social identity through language.

The case in Lithuania in the past is rather unique and the shifts observed concerning identity is very subtle. Furthermore, in spite of the current regional identity issues, speakers are no longer able to express regional differences as overtly as before. Thus, there is a discrepancy between the shift in identity and linguistic changes. The outcome of this shift, both linguistically and in terms of identity, is yet to be seen, but it is likely that changes can turn into a diversifying type and one may be able to find newly created differences in dialects of each region (cf. a case in the Balkans in (4)). Since this is a type of replication, it is possible to see the effects within several generations.

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Rezime

JEZIK KAO KULTURNI IDENTITET:
SLUČAJ RUSKOG JEZIKA U LITVANIJI

Međujezički kontakt ima veliki uticaj na istorijske promene u jezicima, a ovaj process je poznat kao replikacija (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2005, 2006). Replikacija se često odnosi na neki specifični tip jezičke promene uslovljene kontaktom, na primer asimilicija koja može formirati neke arealne osobine. Nasuprot asimilaciji, drugi tip, ovde nazvan diversifikujućim tipom, umnožava razlike među jezicima u kontaktu. U radu se analiziraju ova dva suprotna tipa u kontekstu baltičkih jezika, posebno ruskog i lintvanskog jezika. Diversifikujući tip uobičajeno pokazuje složene arealne osobine i često uključuje socijalni identitet.

Ključne reči: kulturni identitet, ruski, Litvanija