LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY VOLUME 58:2 (2012)

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LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
VOLUME 58:2, Summer 2012

Lituanus: The Lithuanian Quarterly (published since 1954) is a multidisciplinary academic journal presenting and examining various aspects of Lithuanian culture and history. Authors are invited to submit scholarly articles, *belles lettres*, and art work. Manuscripts will be reviewed. Books are accepted for review purposes.

Opinions expressed in signed articles represent the views of their authors and do not necessarily reflect agreement on the part of the editors or the publisher.

For submission guidelines and editorial matters please contact the editors. For subscriptions, donations and other business matters contact the administration.

Editorial Office: editor@lituanus.org
Administration: admin@lituanus.org
Publisher: Lituanus Foundation, Inc. A. Tamulis, President
Address: 47 West Polk Street, Suite 100–300,
Chicago, IL 60605–2000
Phone/Fax 312/945-0697

Articles are archived and accessible at **www.lituanus.org** and in microform from University Microfilms (www.proquest.com/brand/umi.shtml) They are indexed in:

MLA International Bibliography;
PAIS International;
International Political Science Abstracts;
Historical Abstracts (EBSCO);
Linguistic Bibliography (Netherlands);
Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts;
RILM Abstracts of Music Literature;
Bibliography of the History of Art;
OCLC Article First.

Worldwide circulation per issue – 2,000 copies.
Individual subscriptions $20.00. Institutional subscriptions $30.00
LITUANUS (ISSN: 0024–5089) is published quarterly by Lituanus Foundation, Inc., 47 West Polk Street, Suite 100-300, Chicago, IL 60605-2000. Printed by M & D Printing, Henry, Illinois. Cover design by Vincas Lukas.
Periodical non-profit postage paid at Chicago, Illinois and other locations.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to LITUANUS, 47 West Polk Street, Suite 100-300, Chicago, IL 60605-2000

Editor of this Issue
Loreta Vaicekauskienė

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Gintaras Karosas's sculpture LNK INFOTREE at Europos parkas. Photograph by Gintaras Karosas.

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The research for the linguistic articles in this issue was completed as part of the project "*Lietuvių kalba: idealai, ideologijos ir tapatybės lūžiai, 2010-2013* (Lithuanian language: ideals, ideologies and identity shifts)," carried out by the Lithuanian Language Institute and funded by a grant from the Resarch Council of Lithuania, No. VAT-14/2010.

Soviet Authorities, Linguists, and the Standardization of the Lithuanian Language

NERIJUS ŠEPETYS

Today nobody doubts any longer that a language can be regulated. An active approach to standard language usage is especially characteristic of Soviet linguistics. In our country, like many elsewhere in the world, we are implementing Marx and Engels' prediction – "Naturally, a time will come when individuals will start to fully control this product of the human race as well."

Aldonas Pupkis, 1980

Presumptions and questions

The chosen epigraph begs for an explanation. For the past twenty years, among different representatives of Lithuanian scholarship who started their activity during the Soviet period (at least before 1988), a clear explanation of the meaning of ideology in the scholarly texts of that time has been spreading and taking root. It has been asserted that scholarship was serious and deep then and that quotes and other ideological episodes from "classical Marxists" only served as "safety fuses," or as a tribute to communist political correctness.

Such an explanation is not very convincing. In those days, scholarship included everything – "safety fuses," pure ideological junk, and different combinations of scholarship and ideology. Aldonas Pupkis's popular textbook on language cultivation is a perfect example of this. This quote is also important because a conviction in both political "power" and

NERIJUS ŠEPETYS is an associate professor at the Faculty of History of Vilnius University and chief editor of the magazine *Naujasis Židinys-Aidai*. His research focus is historical memory and the writing of history; his latest book is *Molotovo-Ribbentropo paktas ir Lietuva* (2006).

scholarly prescriptivism are declared in it at the same time. But what should be the subject of norms or regulations? Is it of equal value when a decision about norms of a word used by somebody at some place is made by the "language user" himself, his addressee, the majority of a speech community or by its representative specialists, an educational institution, or, finally, by a political or administrative institution?

When speaking about the Soviet period it is not easy to identify such a subject. Today, we really have a clearly formalized policy for the Lithuanian language. We can easily identify "the language legislator" – the State Commission on the Lithuanian Language (SCLL) and the "code" of its most important decisions (resolutions made by the SCLL, the "List of Major Language Errors," etc.), executive bodies, and "officials" – the State Language Inspectorate, language supervisors at state and municipal establishments, editors in different institutions and publishing houses. It would even be possible to find a simulacrum of the judiciary – the community of linguists or its imaginary consensus ("What would the linguists say?"). Where does all of this come from? Some will say that this is the result of euphoria from the period of the restoration of the state and the Reform Movement (Sąjūdis) in Lithuania. Others will go deeper: according to them, liberation created favorable conditions for the ideas of Jablonskis as the "father" of the modern Lithuanian language and for the spirit of standardization to revive and "flourish." Yet another group will look at this even more extensively; after all, in institutionalizing the supervision of the Lithuanian language, the experiences of France and Iceland were considered. However, in this article, I will focus on the other root of current Lithuanian language policy: Soviet Lithuania, which most often is semiconsciously overlooked, but included the genesis of the Language Commission as an institution and the theoretical idea of standardization, keeping both Soviet authority and language scholarship in mind. While agreeing that the relationship between Soviet authority and Lithuanian linguists can also be interpreted as an opposition, I want to explore whether there were no common inter-

ests, interacting attitudes, or even convergences of ideological position in the field of language cultivation. How much in this relationship will we find that which can be called Sovietism, identified as elements or rudiments of Soviet policy, with respect to the Lithuanian language? After finding those, one can better understand the state of scholarship in Soviet Lithuania, the current standardization policy, and our approach to the past/future of the Lithuanian language.

While searching for answers, I have relied mostly on archival material and an independent interpretation of publications on language standardization from the Soviet period.[1]

Origins of the Lithuanian Language Commission – "Language issues are, at the same time, ideological issues"

In Soviet Lithuania, political concern regarding the standard Lithuanian language emerged much earlier than 1961, when the Lithuanian Language Commission (LLC) was established. For example, in a resolution of the 1952 Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences (AS) regarding the Institute of the Lithuanian Language and Literature (ILLL), a decision to establish a Department of Contemporary Lithuanian Language was made, partially on the grounds that Stalin's input into language scholarship was being assimilated too slowly at the institute. The commission assembled for its first session on October 27, 1961; the Presidium of the USSR AS was the first to form it from the specified members. The Council of Ministers (CM) of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic "legalized" the commission after it began operating. The CM formulated formal goals similar to the way the Presidium did, but at the same time, it expanded the power of the LLC:

[1] In Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (LCVA, Lithuanian Central State Archives, http://www.archyvai.lt/en/archives/centralarchives.html), the documents of the following institutions were studied: the Institute of Lithuanian Language and Literature (R-1012, 1), the Lithuanian Language Commission (R-1034, 5), the AS Sector of Public Sciences (R-1001, 4). In Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas (LYA, Lithuanian Special Archives) the documents of ILLL party organizations (13023) were studied.

> Terms and recommendations regarding disputable issues of the Lithuanian language prepared by the commission are mandatory for all editorial offices, publishing houses, radio and television, and all of the organizations publishing periodical and nonperiodical publications.

Just after the opening of the LLC's first meeting, its "living environment" was quickly revealed. Chairperson Juozas Žiugžda pointed out that the Commission had to "solve language issues that vary in practice." Deputy Chairperson Genrikas Zimanas, who offered to expand the commission's functions ("to also analyze deficiencies in individual books") highlighted: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party assigned a very important job to the commission. Language issues are also ideological issues." And it was not empty rhetoric – ideologists indeed dominated the Commission. Although only a few of the fourteen commission members were not professionally related to the Lithuanian language, only three could be considered representatives of language scholarship at that time.

To better understand the meaning of the ideological instructions, it is necessary to take a look at the broader context. The standardization of the Lithuanian language was certainly neither a continual nor a systematic concern of "the party and government." It was the Soviet Russian language, the language of the union, that was of concern to Moscow. In different places, it was only necessary to make sure that it was not deviated from, with respect to form or content. The Lithuanian language, in principle, could only be important in the field of correct translation or adaptation. Other issues, including standardization, were to be the concern of local specialists – the Soviet scholars of the Lithuanian language. However, silence dominated for a long time in this area of scholarship: descriptive work, i.e., empiricism; grammatical forms, i.e., pure scholarship; and the history of the language, i.e., the editing of linguistic sources, were the most popular and the safest areas of activity for Lithuanian linguists. During the Lithuanian Communist Party's VI Congress in 1949, Antanas Sniečkus summarized,

> Neither the Institute of the Lithuanian Language nor respective departments analyze the Lithuanian revolutionary press language of the past or *the language of contemporary Soviet reality.*[2]

This is especially obvious when looking through the documents of the Primary Party Organization (PPO) of the ILLL. On February 2, 1958, Institute Deputy Director Stasys Kruopas demonstratively advocated an ideological battle in the arena of language practice, and by February 25, 1959, he had already expressed joy because standardization was being carried out. This could have been both empty rhetoric and methodical prevention (Mr. Kruopas had already been dismissed from the university), because he had been carefully observed. In the 1960 annual report, PPO Secretary Vanda Barauskienė highlighted,

> But we need to look at the matter sensibly and remember that there are still quite a few people with old-fashioned views at the institute; they work and they are quiet, but other principles, more likely narrow principles of Lithuanianism and rescuing it, rather than Soviet patriotism or issues of ideological work, bring them to work.

Dialectically, criticism has to turn into self-criticism – during a PPO meeting held on March 15, 1962, dedicated to issues of language cultivation and the Institute's participation in public life, the Director of the Institute, Kostas Korsakas, summarized: "We are the headquarters of philological scholarship in the republic. Our enemy is attacking us and our headquarters are silent."[3]

The LLC was entrusted to the competence of Soviet Lithuanian linguists, primarily to those working at the "headquarters," but if these headquarters were not able to deal with problems, then the government offered them "help." We can see a form of such "help" in the establishment of the LLC, whose political background, after the plenary meeting of 1959 of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet

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[2] See: LYA, 1771, 51, 214, 68–89. Italics mine.

[3] LYA, 1771, 51, 6, 9.

Union (CPSU), was the struggle with nationalism, the cleaning out of "nationalist cadres" in institutions of higher education (1959–1961), and the goals of creating a unified "Soviet nation" as well as "the blending of the peoples" (1961 XII Congress of the CPSU). The LLC kept making incorrect decisions (e.g., regarding writing a father's name not according to the established Russian way), or it put off making them (e.g., regarding the spelling of foreign names, not as in the original alphabet, but following their pronunciation, as in the Russian tradition of transliteration), and for this reason, the Party authorized other institutions to solve these problems.

After the Party stopped showing concern, the activity of the LLC was stopped. This concern was revived in 1976. At that time, in the environment of the AS, an understanding had developed that only professional linguists could solve language problems, although the AS's suggestion to establish a professional commission did not convince the Party – true Communists made up at least half of the LLC, which was expanded to twenty members. The situation in which, once again, a higher organ was necessary to "promptly resolve" the "complex issues of Lithuanian literary language" was very similar to the one fifteen years before. After the ILLL published the standard *Lietuvių kalbos rašyba ir skyryba* (Spelling and punctuation of the Lithuanian language) in the summer of 1976, disapproval and complaints regarding new features introduced were expressed, and for this reason, the printing of the rest of the edition was stopped. The publication of *Lietuviškoji tarybinė enciklopedija* (The Lithuanian Soviet encyclopedia) was also in a situation of stalemate, mainly over the principles of spelling foreign names. The LLC managed to find a common decision regarding spelling issues, but the rewriting of full names once again became a hindrance. The decision taken, to allow the original writing of full names in some places, did not convince the leaders of the party; the work of the commission stopped and it was reorganized in 1984.

So, the establishment of the LLC, the halt of its activities, and, later, the resumption of them (in 1976, 1984 and 1987) were

conditioned by the immediate interests of the Party. However, at least in aspiration, the movement in the direction of a reinforcement of power can be noted. For example, in the regulations of the LLC, when it was resumed in 1984, one can read:

> The Commission is an institution which considers and makes *final decisions* regarding various and disputable issues of the Lithuanian language, which are important to the society [...] The Commission *controls* how science, educational and administrative institutions, public organizations, mass media, and art associations of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR) carry out mandatory resolutions.[4]

It would be futile to talk about safeguards here; it is just that the scholarly and ideological lines of language standardization were themselves asking to be "joined together," just as linguists and ideologists were joined after the LLC was established. Of course, such joining did not necessarily have to mean the supremacy of ideology; sometimes, compromises were reached.

Norms and codification: "regulation of a language should be perceived in the light of a language policy"[5]

The practice of language standardization was far from theoretical in both the Soviet Union and Soviet Lithuania. Without going into a discussion about the language normalization process, it is necessary to emphasize that in Soviet times in Lithuania there really was not a large gap between the practice of Jonas Jablonskis's corrections or the principles of Kalbos patarėjas (Language adviser) at the end of the thirties. Even the magazine *Kalbos kultūra* (Language cultivation) itself, if we put the ideological passages and inclusions – which were

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[4] LCVA, R-1034, 5, 13, 1–2. Italics mine. It is interesting that the same rhetoric remains in the times of the Rebirth: "We need to create a language monitoring system that would cover all of society and all fields of language usage." (Resolution Regarding Fostering of the Lithuanian Language); the government was asked to give the Commission more authorization "to apply sanctions for negligence and failure to comply with the requirements" (1989-11-19).

[5] Liebich, *Zur Entwicklung*, 78–83.

not uncommon – in brackets, could be considered a successor to the principles of the prewar Gimtoji kalba (Mother tongue).

The first Lithuanian text of a theoretical nature about language normalization[6] published in Soviet Lithuania was also based not so much on the theory of Soviet language cultivation[7] as on the teaching of a group of prewar Lithuanian linguists about language norms[8] and the thoughts of the Prague School linguists who inspired normalization. However, it should be noted that, starting in the mid-sixties, the same school in Prague had an exceptionally strong impact on Soviet language scholarship. Actually, this is quite surprising, because, if the assignation itself of language norms and codification, the identification of the codification principal palette, and the separation of functional language styles were ideologically neutral, the assertion that fundamental language norms originated from usage and the recognition of written and spoken literary language and principal variance of norms, that is, the principle of anti-purity and descriptiveness, would not be acceptable *in corpore* for Soviet language scholarship. In fact, the concepts and rules of the game were adopted first, and their specifics would essentially be changed later, cf.,

> The question of whether the codification should be descriptive or prescriptive was never important to Soviet norm research. It was always clear that when fixing the norms in dictionaries they had to be consciously selected.[9]

In general, ignoring variants was part of totalitarian Soviet state language policy, when, in unifying sociocultural variations, attempts to cover up existing social stratification

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6 Palionis, "Apie literatūrinės kalbos," 5–22.

7 Sergey Ozhegov, the scientific editor of the first standardized Russian Language Dictionary, developed it in the magazine he ran *Вопросы культуры речи* (Issues of language cultivation) (1955–1967).

8 Jonikas, "Mūsų problema," 12. The resolution of the Association of Lithuanian Language, "Bendrinės kalbos normalizacijos kriterijai" (Normalization criteria of standard language), see *Gimtoji kalba*, No. 9, 1938, 143–144.

9 Liebich, *Zur Entwicklung*, 97.

were made.[10] Furthermore, the freedom of the source of norms – usage – was in principle impossible in Soviet society. As Roman Redlikh formulated it back in the times of Stalin, "Soviet language is not free, and that is what is most important about it."[11]

How and in what way free and Soviet adaptations of the Prague School thesis differ can be vividly illustrated by a few Lithuanian examples, concentrating on the most important criterion raised by the Czechs – appropriateness. In the report mentioned earlier, Petras Jonikas stated:

> The most important criterion of a standard written language is the purpose to which this language is addressed. When talking about any linguistic expression, one should first evaluate how it fits the task for which it is intended. If this expression fulfilled its task (and fulfilled it well), this means it is good, if it did not do so, it is not good.

After fifteen years, (in the emigrant newspaper *Aidai*), Leonas Dambriūnas, in a slightly provoking way, turned this context-bound appropriateness into an instrument for giving "usage" priority over "rules":

> In this way, the basic criterion of standard language correctness is the development of standard language, the usage of its facts. Language scholarship itself has come to this conclusion: what is correct in language is what is used (*Richtig ist, was ueblich ist*). [...] When speaking in general, one can state that everything that is used (that is, everything that is used widely) is appropriate. And, for this reason, usage itself, which is the basis of correctness, is the most common and important criterion of norms.[12]

Linguists of Soviet Lithuania also acknowledged this criterion of appropriateness (simply for the reason that "it also appeared in Soviet scholarship"[13]). In a work on norms from the Soviet period, theoretically the most mature of this period, called *Bendrinės kalbos normos ir jų kodifikacija* (The norms

[10] Ibid., 64.
[11] Редлих, *Сталинщина*, 102.
[12] Dambriūnas, "Kalbos mokslas", 152.
[13] Pupkis, *Kalbos kultūros pagrindai*, 41.

of standard language and their codification), Aleksas Girdenis and Pupkis quite strictly declared that communicative appropriateness is "not only the most important, but also the only real codification principle of language norms."[14] This is a theoretical position, but in practice, completely different principles of codification might have existed. On the other hand, after attempts to make such a position more accurate and pure (according to the Soviet adaptation of the Prague School principles), it became clear that the principle of functional appropriateness has to imply the evaluation of linguistic expression, not from the point of view of a situation, but from the entire system of standard language;[15] here a communicative situation is replaced by a language system, and an individual speaker is replaced by all the users of a standard language:

> Clearly, here [in our society] we mean *public* (social) appropriateness, because only what is appropriate and functional for *the whole speech community,* and not just for a few of its members or a certain group in society, becomes firmly established, and has the right to become firmly established in a language.[16]

In the third edition of *Kalbos praktikos patarimai* (Advice on language practices), the functional criterion of appropriateness is already defined as "one that allows the codification of what is appropriate, that is, necessary, acceptable, suitable, handy, adequate, and having prospects for *the whole society*." And who knows what a society needs? Correct, a linguist does, because "it is always necessary to take into consideration the goal for whose achievement the action of codification is being performed."[17]

Instead of conclusions

Having just begun research on language policy in Soviet Lithuania, it would be premature to pursue conclusions or gen-

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[14] Pupkis and Girdenis, "Bendrinės kalbos," 65–67.

[15] Pupkis, based on Russian theorist Kirill Gorbatchevitch: *Kalbos kultūros pagrindai*, 51.

[16] Pupkis and Girdenis, "Kalbos norminimo," 5. Italics mine.

[17] Pupkis, *Kalbos kultūros studijos*, 172.

eralizations. However, a few reflections, borrowed or formulated, will be useful.

1. The application of the "national in form and socialist in content" formula for the language field is hardly proper: looking at the Lithuanian language in different cultural and scientific domains, one can see that the language itself gradually "reformed" from a normal and living language to a Soviet and wooden one. It was not Glavlit censorship, not the KGB, and not the Communist Party of Lithuania, but first of all fear, and the necessity to adjust (as well as the editors of texts published for the public) that created Lithuanian Newspeak, an example of which was used in the article's epigraph.

2. When commenting on Soviet Newspeak (in the Russian language), Redlikh emphasizes its triteness:

> the problem of the active captivity of a language is its uncontaminated cleanliness, and not violations of literary language norms. The problem is that living and sometimes the most necessary concepts are forcefully changed for dead and fictional concepts. A language whose freedom is taken away and which is purposefully raped not only loses its expressiveness, but also loses its vital powers, and its spirit dies. A dead stencil, pattern, stamp or fake replaces the living truth and expanse of the language.

As Redlikh notes, such usage of stencils, depending on the communicative situation, made a strong impact even on people with an elaborated sense of language (again, see the epigraph for comparison).

3. For the majority of Lithuanian linguists, the preservation of the Lithuanian language was their primary concern. However, things that one is concerned about at the beginning of Lithuanian language studies transform into something else after becoming a scholar: more and more one starts caring about the Lithuanian language as a self-contained value, similar to the way a scientist in a laboratory begins to worry about the research object at his disposal. Prewar and Western linguists realized that, first of all, language and speech exist as an independent and uncontrollable reality. Norms are established in speech, and linguists describe, evaluate, and codify them. In

the late Soviet period, Lithuanian and Russian linguists acted as if they had already experienced a turning point: there is no norm without codification and no speech without a language only as a social/formal system, defined and perceived by language scholarship. This assumption is a worldview that can be interpreted as both socialist and positivist.

4. Throughout all of the Soviet period, Moscow was the initial and final authority concerning all issues for the Lithuanian Soviet administration. Whatever happened with the Russian language had to happen with the Lithuanian language as well; this was the primary concern of the Party. It is important to note that Lithuanian linguists were not very eager to accept this point of view, and they did not avoid defending competency limits of language scholarship, even though they did not go into the opposition. However, at least in the LLC, administrative work came before scholarly work, and when scholarly and ideological arguments clashed, the latter usually outweighed the former. Over the last fifteen years of Soviet government, the issues of language standardization in Lithuania were mostly addressed using the principles of planned economy, collectivist world outlook, and bureaucratic administration.

5. It is ironic that Lithuanian linguists have won an autonomous political power in the form of the SCLL only in independent Lithuania, but an understanding of how to implement and enforce this power was brought from the Soviet authority and system. This understanding has not yet been fully thought through.

Translated by Chad Damon Stewart

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Language Standardization and Forms of Ideological Education

ELIGIJUS RAILA, PAULIUS SUBAČIUS

Government men (or those striving to be such) are forced to appear at the podium without prepared texts, so all the people can quickly understand what language cripples our intellectuals are.

Aleksandras Vanagas, 1990

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the Lithuanian nationalist movement was expanding and its leaders were drawing up guidelines for the restoration of the country's independence, the Lithuanian language became the key factor integrating the increasingly modern community and the most important sign of the people's identification of or identification with the nation. As the ethnolinguistic makeup of society and the definition of the Lithuanian territory were becoming more defined, and linguistic awareness was developing more ambitious aspirations, the issues of language standardization became especially important. Moreover, the appearance of periodical publications made the comparison and adjustment of usage by a wide variety of authors an inevitable daily concern. Confrontation with the Polish and German cultural influence necessary for the purification of national identity prompted the consideration of elements adopted from other languages as evils and shortcomings.

ELIGIJUS RAILA is an associate professor at the Faculty of History of Vilnius University. He studies issues related to Modern Age European and Lithuanian culture.

PAULIUS SUBAČIUS is a professor of Literature at Vilnius University, where he teaches theoretical disciplines and textual scholarship. His most recent book, *Antanas Baranauskas: the Text of Life and the Lives of Texts* (2010) deals with the biographical, social, and religious contexts of text production.

"Deficiency," "defect," and "error" discourse is fundamentally related to the origin and development of philological criticism in antiquity, and for this reason, the concept of "a spoiled and polluted language," which had prevailed among national linguists since the initiatives to "Lithuanianize" church language started by Adomas Jakštas and Kazimieras Jaunius, was not unique or special in any way. Specific arguments, designations of "culprits," strategies of standardization, and the accumulated continuity of such awareness today are more worthy of attention. "What ages have damaged, it is time to fix" (Simonas Stanevičius) – this is a common attitude of nationalism, which was incorporated into popular linguistic reasoning in Lithuania. It is possible that in the early period, in addition to common causes, the use of metaphors to describe the language situation as a "disease" or other pathological condition, or as a battle with an epidemic (metaphors that are still used) was provoked by the influence of the doctors who were the leaders of Lithuanian nationalism.[1] Language regulation and consultation about spelling standards initiated by the periodicals *Auszra, Szviesa,* and *Varpas* qualitatively differed from earlier attempts to adapt spelling to one or another dialect selected as a basis, in essence for merely practical reasons.[2] At the end of the nineteenth century, these attempts were equated with the laying of a foundation for the community of the nation. However, lacking the status of an independent state, no administrative or philological institution was able to do this, simply because no serious organized institutions of science, study or education existed. For this reason, only a member of the national community, in other words, a man of the people with a degree in linguistics, could have gained authority in language standardization.

Jonas Jablonskis, who became the most famous leader of

[1] Jonas Basanavičius's hypochondria should be considered as a specific factor of consciousness; Vincas Kudirka held to personal stoicism, but he projected his painful inner state into external – on the social level – sarcastic descriptions.

[2] Gelumbeckaitė, "Raidžių karai," 39.

"collective linguistic assistance," never forwarded his linguistic project strictly or strongly. When considering spelling issues, he was inclined to accept the view that spelling is subject to mutual agreement. His biographer (clearly a supporter of a much stricter approach) said: "When publishing his first book on grammar norms for the public, Jablonskis tried to adapt to its habits. This was a compromise for Jablonskis as a linguist, and later he made even more of them."[3] After returning to Vilnius after the First World War, Jablonskis started following the spelling principles established by the Lithuanian Science Association. "Jablonskis accepted these spelling principles not because they were better than his, but because the majority of people wrote this way and because he did not want to destroy the unity of spelling."[4] A little earlier, Jablonskis had written to Jonas Basanavičius that:

> ...the Science Association, among other things, should work on creating a written language terminology, necessary for all branches of science. Of course, the Association will not complete the terminology, but it should bring much light and uniformity into the mixture of terminology that we can now see in our literature.[5]

The correspondence of these two activists involved in the rebirth of the nation reveals their major concern was not as much the influx of foreign words, or confusion and the lack of norms in the Lithuanian written language, as much as their intention to search for an authoritative opinion and consensus on the standard language. In this case, it would probably be appropriate to go deep into one very important aspect of the modernization of national culture that has essentially not been considered in the scholarly literature – the perception of responsibility and personal liability for a language. In the field of national culture, personal linguistic liability at some point acquired the value of a moral imperative. It would be possible to assert that the first standardizers of the Lithuanian written

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3 Piročkinas, *Prie bendrinės kalbos ištakų*, 149.
4 Vosylytė, *Kelias į didįjį Žodyną*, 27.
5 *Jono Jablonskio laiškai*, 71.

language, influenced by the concerns of the national movement and the creation of the state, regulated people's language, but not their lives. Coming from a society that was becoming conscious of its nationality, they eventually became its mentors and helpers, but the authority was personal, not institutional, and it worked primarily as an example for educated people to follow. Many standardizers of that time distinguished themselves with an especially reflexive linguistic self-consciousness. In essence, language as an organon of communication became a core part of the self and a source of spiritual introspection. This perception of language could not turn language standardization suggestions into means that intrusively regulate public life. Instead, an appeal was made to personal consciousness and private efforts to get rid of certain habits and form new ones.

"I am a linguist," Andrius Ašmantas wrote in his diary in 1930.[6] However, the diary pages of this well-known Lithuanian language specialist speak about his deep feeling for fiction, which seems to have been an integral component of the cultural maturity of that generation of linguists. To them, a book was a pleasure and provided wisdom, rather than material for a philological steward: "Books are my purest joy, and not once have I regretted or been disappointed for admiring one."[7] The admiration for fiction and respect for its creators was a very strong antidote to reckless language standardization according to a single model and the willful behavior of standardizers. On the other hand, in free, although nondemocratic Lithuania, writers of the interwar period not only dared to protest against the puristic attitudes that were rampant among some linguists, but also to get support from the public. This contributed to the relatively moderate nature of the activity of language proscribers. Aleksandras Žirgulys, the editor of many classic texts, out of all the linguists who started their activity before the war and

[6] Ašmantas, *Dienoraščiai. Laiškai. Bibliografija*, 71. It is symptomatic that, in the explanations, the compiler Aldonas Pupkis Lithuanianized the names mentioned in the diary.

[7] Ibid., 41–42.

did not emigrate, was the textologist who stayed the closest to literature and the only one in the Soviet period who dared to critically compare the approaches of the standardizers of the two different periods in this respect. In the sixties, remembering earlier corrections, he pointed out that in Jablonskis's texts the cautious warning "we do not say it this way" was used more frequently than the imperative and positive "we say it and write it this way." Žirgulys reminded his colleagues of Kazimieras Būga's criticism regarding the destruction of diversity – "watering down" – which was especially dangerous when editing fiction. The author finished his article with an (auto) ironic passage – the only one detected in *Kalbos kultūra* (Language cultivation) of that time – which said that even the best text or a work of an experienced Lithuanian language specialist (not excluding his own essay) can end up in the anonymous language cultivation machine: "I wonder if some all-knowing and all-correcting regulator of these days will jump in here to make improvements?"[8]

After the Second World War, the "literary deviation" of language standardization noticeably diminished. When discussing the formation of the new linguistic environment, a good starting point would be the anachronistic thought, charged with ethnolinguisticism, by Arnoldas Piročkinas: "It is not difficult to notice that the standard languages of peoples low in population and politically, economically and culturally oppressed form in a different way than the languages of peoples high in population and completely sovereign. The formation of languages of peoples with low population is for the most part influenced by linguists."[9] This thesis, which was moderately applied at the dawn of the development of a standard language, became the fundamental provision of language standardization in the Soviet period. It is paradoxical that, by protecting and nourishing the native language as an authentic and unfalsified reality and often appealing to the heritage of the Lithuanian literary "fathers," linguists became "language

[8] Žirgulys, "Iš ankstesniųjų kalbos taisymų," 11–17.
[9] Piročkinas, *J. Jablonskis*, 195.

combatants," who, in respect to society, used almost the same means of control that the apparatus of Soviet reeducation and censorship did.

We will try to reveal how institutions that regulated language issues took over the methods and genres of expression of public impact used by the totalitarian system, and how the gradually changing rhetoric acquired an increasingly strong ideological hue. According to Zigmas Zinkevičius's memories, in the early postwar period the most beautiful form of the first manifestations of proletarian socialism with a national face can be seen in the language standardization field. According to the professor, when he himself was a student, Lithuanian language specialists "were divided into brigades" (in the same way students cleaning the ruins would be) to register all the incorrect written language forms in Vilnius and to correct the language in the city.[10] Eventually, such national diligence, which though concrete actions continued the prewar idea of the restoration of "Lithuanianism" in Vilnius, coincided with the ethos of socialist work. After two decades, the "brigade based" standardization method was revived with direct institutional support from the government. According to Jonas Balkevičius, the Language Cultivation Section of the Vilnius Department of Monument Protection and the Ethnography Association of the Lithuanian SSR made up a Public Language Commission, which together with the Executive Committee of the Vilnius People's Deputy Council, prepared a plan to monitor "the records, posters, slogans and other visual aids containing text" in organizations and enterprises.[11]

The transfer of the activity of "repairing defects" in the language used in written text (mainly literary sources, textbooks and newspapers) to everyday space was a key turning point in the Soviet period. It is so obvious that there is even a certain degree of risk of not fully evaluating the real

[10] Sviderskis, "Atsiminkite telefoną 2-37-02," *Literatūra ir menas* (1968 sausio 13), quotation based on: *Mūsų kalba* 6 (1987), 31.

[11] "[Iš J. Balkevičiaus interviu]," *Literatūra ir menas* (1971 gegužės 29), quotation based on: *Mūsų kalba* 6 (1987), 42.

consequences and attendant effects of such an "extension of the authority" of linguists. In the Soviet period, the idea of controlling conversational flow and small everyday language, such as that found on labels and menus, provoked a social action scale that correlated with official repressive practice. Language checking "raids," which started in the Brezhnev era, were a method close to political thought control and the operation of a police state, wherein daily lives are directly interfered with by following and eventually by prosecuting any member of society. The concept of a "raid," which is associated with the actions of militias, people's combatant militia supporters, young Dzerzhinsky supporters, and other similar organizations, for the first time appeared in the specialist literature in 1970, when a story was told about how students were sent to check signs in shops and cafeterias.[12] These were the rudiments of the idea of a language inspectorate. Incidentally, the knowledge of future professional philologists and their linguistic feelings were not consulted; instructions were given instead. It was proposed that the inspectors should always have correction notebooks, prepared and copied by the Lithuanian Language Section, on hand. Inspections of public food service and retail outlets carried out by language cultural sections operating in regions of the country were occasionally mentioned in the "Kronika" (Chronicle) of *Mūsų kalba* (Our language).[13]

"The involvement in people's private affairs, which was usual at that time, was no less important to totalitarian 'ideals' [...] than the requirement for uniformity," [14] expressed by a "canon" made up of both the imitated pronunciation of radio announcers and the linguistically and ideologically correct May 1st posters that had to be the same throughout the republic. "Topical issues of everyday language" – recurring short TV shows on this issue – whose frequency is described in the previously mentioned "Kronika" of *Mūsų kalba*, show that the particular status of the private sphere was ignored.

[12] Vitkauskas, "Įdomūs ir reikalingi leidiniai," 96.
[13] "Kronika," *Mūsų kalba* 6 (1982), 44.
[14] Tamaševičius, "Metaforos," 309.

This and other sources also show that the heads of various organizations or representatives of certain professions were gathered together for language improvement seminars in the same way as they were brought together for political education (Communist indoctrination). Moreover, during meetings with linguists, they were criticized, given instructions, and forced to justify themselves in a way similar to the way they had to during regular short Party meetings.[15] In effect, an organizational, subordination, and obedience scheme for the purpose of language standardization that paralleled that used for Communist indoctrination was enabled. In some cases, the "improvement" and "raising" of language culture "with the help of administrative means" was even encouraged, and regrets that these means were not as effective as expected were expressed.[16] For example, responsible bodies ignored the offer to establish a new full time position – a TV language editor and head (i.e., to increase the power of editors already at work) – and to make a state language examination compulsory for journalists.[17] Soviet mentality manifested itself in its "pure form" when, after the beginning of perestroika and the emergence of possibilities of freer expression, discussions were begun about "language norm propaganda" and "the planned fostering of correct language."[18]

In the prewar period, schools, the army, some publications (especially those funded by the Commission of the Ministry of Education), and a few other cases, made up those narrow institutionalized spheres in which language standardization operated publicly and with the support of the state. Soviet ideology, at best, ignored one's privacy and tried to overcome cultural differentiation, and, for this reason, linguistic education was moved to "collectives at work." The monitoring and insurance of linguistic progress at establishments and organizations became one of many segments of "inspection and supervision."

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15 For comparison, see Pupkis, "Vilniaus miesto kalbos," 33–34.
16 Pribušauskaitė, "Spaudos apžvalga," 52.
17 Klimavičius, "Spaudos apžvalga," 42.
18 Keinys, "Kalbos kultūros darbų apžvalga," 59.

The efforts to raise the level of the culture of the people evenly in cafeterias and "red corners"[19] coincided with the ideological line of eliminating social status and raising egalitarianism. Treating the imperative of standardization as an absolute is revealed in the form of a paradoxical tautological terminology – using the concept "literary language cultivation,"[20] which seems to imply that there is a "literary language" and "literary language with a higher level of culture," and not simply a cultivated language, which is in itself different from uncultivated (with no culture and not literary) language. It was in the Soviet period that the concept of "spiritual poverty" was conceived and became popular. It was applicable to both those who were not interested in Soviet art and those who found language cultivation boring. For example, it is symptomatic that in the commentary on the humorous sketches of Zavaliauskas, who was the compère of the ensemble *Nerija*, the connection between "mutilated language" and "spiritual poverty" was emphasized.[21]

Even though it may seem that the Soviet linguists' concern with the foundations of national culture that is emphasized these days had to be based on a multilayered, broad view towards language – Heidegger's "house of being" – in reality the standardizers only relied on a narrow understanding of language, in which language only (or at least mainly) fulfills the function of communication. The "great narrative," claiming that under certain conditions, if language standardizers work resolutely, "a language, which rises above dialects as a means of communication, will form," was almost universally prevalent.[22] And, because it "rises above," it is not surprising that the negative evaluations of dialects that occasionally appeared were based on the utilitarian purpose of language; for example, linguists positively reviewed an article in *Tarybinė mokykla* (Soviet

[19] Editor's note: A small Communist shrine set aside in public buildings or workplaces.
[20] Drotvinas, et al., "Žymaūs lietuvių kalbininko netekus," 4.
[21] Pribušauskaitė, "Spaudos apžvalga," 53.
[22] Piročkinas, "*Literatūrinės kalbos* terminas," 29.

school) stating that "the incorrect pronunciation of sounds (often in a dialect) is an obvious hindrance in the perception of information."[23]

In the program texts of magazines intended for language practice needs, a straightforward and latent assumption was made that the only opposition to those trying to increase the level of language culture were language destroyers (the historical enemy of Soviet linguists in the struggle for progress – "feudal church jargon"[24]) and those who had not yet come to their senses or were indifferent. Relatively small or simply silly mistakes in language usage were described using the strictest and almost metaphysical categories – "The retailers who launched birch juice (*beržų sultys*) created a true language hell."[25] Even small quips after reaching *fortissimo* became a radical duel between the "righteous" and the "heretic"; a symptomatic example of attacking freer thinking is the condemnation of the derivatives *visažinantis* "all-knowing" and *visataisantis* "all-correcting" in *Kalbos kultūra*, because Žirgulys had used them in an ironic way in the same magazine.[26] The personification of language phenomena shows that reality and texts are constantly mixed; Kniūkšta warns, "He is not going to leave, like some unsupervised child, the dative with the infinitive."[27] The supervision was so strict that its bureaucratic textualization acquired clear features of Orwell's Newspeak: it seems that when describing the establishment of the Language Commission, the linguists could no longer comprehend ordinary words. The semantically illogical phrase from the Government's resolution, "the recommendations are compulsory,"[28] did not disturb them; on the contrary, it pleased them.

In those few publications in *Kalbos kultūra* that contain some level of skepticism, the largest doubts concerning the prevailing approach regarded the negative assessment of the

[23] Šimėnaitė, "Spaudos apžvalga," 49.
[24] Morkūnas, "Lietuvių literatūrinės," 3.
[25] Klimavičius, "Spaudos apžvalga," 39.
[26] Kniūkšta, "Apie 'Kalbos kultūros' principus," 20.
[27] Ibid., 17.
[28] Korsakas, Ulvydas, "Lietuvių kalbos komisijoje," 4.

standardizers (naming mistakes and being judgmental). For example, Pranas Kniūkšta welcomed the fact that Būga "clearly favored a positive approach to language standardization" (when allowable forms are proposed instead of the correction of errors).[29] In some cases, the level of supervision in *Kalbos kultūra* regarding "enthusiasm" when evaluating fictional texts was exaggerated. However, much more often, standardizers declared their merits by shamelessly announcing: "some creators of fiction make many mistakes. Their works are greatly improved by the editors."[30]

Bibliographies provided in reviews of *Mūsų kalba* show that any issues of Lithuanian philology were eventually considered related to language cultivation. The consolidation of language cultivation as the main linguistic perspective is threatening, in the sense that it suspends curiosity and spontaneity, which are not subordinated for a practical purpose, and enslaves the entire philological field for the purpose of norms and order. In "the list of desired themes and issues" announced in *Kalbos kultūra*, an attempt was made to universally cover the reality of the humanities and even "vivid literary expressions" (such as the headings of essays with a "free choice of topic," even though methodological guidelines for teachers were not discussed),[31] which gives the impression of total control over speech and writing.

In the future, two hypotheses should be considered more extensively. According to the first one, national idealists who were language standardizers gathered around such organizational and expressive forms that were sanctioned by the official discourse. The second hypothesis suggests that the totalitarian Soviet regime invoked the language cultivation idea and practice as part of a thought-control mechanism that "tames" society, especially those parts related to culture, to be acclimated to other parts of the system, and creates an illusion of concern in national affairs. Even though these presumptions seem

[29] Kniūkšta, "K. Būgos nuopelnai literatūrinei kalbai...," 14–24.
[30] Ulvydas, "Literatų kalba turi būti sklandi," 11.
[31] Redakcinė kolegija, "*Kalbos kultūros* problematika ir temos," 91–94.

different, they only fail to coincide in whether a larger initiative is ascribed to linguists or the leaders of the Communist Party. The impact, which at that time people experienced because of the interference of Bolshevism and language standardization practices, can hardly be interpreted considering the intentions of the power players. Nor did these intentions predetermine the present-day partially inherited post-Soviet state of awareness, which was formed by many years of "reeducation" and "making Soviet people more cultured."

Translated by Chad Damon Stewart

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Five Decades of Television: from Language Homophony to Polyphony

JURGITA GIRČIENĖ, GIEDRIUS TAMAŠEVIČIUS

It struck him that the truly characteristic thing about modern life was not its cruelty and insecurity, but simply its bareness, its dinginess, its listlessness. Life, if you looked about you, bore no resemblance not only to the lies that streamed out of the telescreens, but even to the ideals that the Party was trying to achieve.

George Orwell, 1984

Introduction

Linguistic studies traditionally relate the establishment of standard language to its use in education and mass media. In this respect, the Soviet period is viewed rather paradoxically in Lithuania. On the one hand, it is maintained that this period was one of the most detrimental to the Lithuanian language, due to government-led Russification; on the other hand, it is acknowledged that the universal educational system implemented in the Soviet period and media, which spread standard language norms, actually raised the first generation of Lithuanians whose mother tongue was the standard language. It should be noted that, in a prescriptive approach, the point of reference for the (rather) negative assessment of today's television language

JURGITA GIRČIENĖ is a senior research fellow of the Department of Sociolinguistics at the Institute of Lithuanian Language and associate professor of the Department of Lithuanian Linguistics and Communication at the University of Educational Sciences in Vilnius. GIEDRIUS TAMAŠEVIČIUS is a junior research fellow of the Department of Sociolinguistics at the Institute of Lithuanian Language and a lecturer at the Center for Scandinavian Studies at Vilnius University.

is precisely the more correct and generally better language of the public space during the Soviet period.[1] Unfortunately, research-based arguments are needed to support this claim: analysis of public spoken discourse from the second period of independence is gradually gaining momentum, but there is practically no research being conducted on the television language of the Soviet period.

The aim of this article is to perform a comparative analysis of television language, the most typical representative of public discourse, from three different periods. Eleven documentaries, talk shows, and television journal programs were examined, representing spontaneous television language spanning various themes and levels of (in)formality. Four Soviet period (1961–1987), three transition period (1988–1992) and four commercial period (1993–2011) programs, encompassing speaker types of both genders and various ages, were examined: hosts, announcers, heroes, celebrities, experts, and vox populi – people on the street.[2] The total duration of the programs is around ten hours.

The Soviet period (1961–1987)

In Lithuania, as in other communist-bloc countries, television carried out the mission ordained by the Party for forming the new Homo sovieticus.[3] Spreading communist ideology in the Soviet media was associated with requirements for the use of "a proper, living, and correct" language.[4] A way of speaking appropriately for a public audience was expected not only of professionals (announcers and the like), but also of everyone going on the air.[5] The status of television language as a benchmark was confirmed by the Lithuanian Language Commission in 1987, stating that "the proper [...] language of many

1 Cf. Miliūnaitė, *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos vartosenos variantai*, 62.

2 Material relevant for this research was selected from texts used in the project corpus of TV and radio language from 1961–2011. For more on the corpus, see Nevinskaitės's article in this journal, "On the public sphere and its actors," 44.

3 Štikelis, "Televizijos raida," 175–176.

4 Pupkis, *Kalbos kultūros pagrindai*, 83–84.

5 Ulvydas, "Daugiau dėmesio šnekamajai kalbai," 9.

television programs helps spread and establish codified lexical, word composition, and syntactic norms."[6]

It is paradoxical, but research on Soviet discourse has revealed the opposite trend – media in communist countries mostly used a dead language far removed from everyday use, something more akin to George Orwell's Newspeak. Its proximity to written language and a bookish speaking style was characteristic of many Western countries in the early period of television's evolution; however, only Soviet media language stood out for its particular servitude to ideology. French Sovietologist Françoise Thom described Soviet discourse as a wooden language *(langue de bois)*, combining several different types of jargon typical in various areas of a modern society. The inclination to replace verbs and verb constructions with nouns was adopted from the academic style; the use of impersonal passive forms was taken from the administrative style; while the leaning towards comparativism was related to pedagogical and journalistic social and political texts. All of this was combined with imperatives and the militant lexis typical of propagandistic agitation. When describing the uniqueness of the new Soviet language, Thom stresses that no other jargon of modern society incorporates all these linguistic characteristics, and that nowhere else "do we find such an oscillation between scientific objectivity and the peremptory barking of slogans."[7] In his study of the press in the Soviet Union, Thom revealed another feature of the wooden, Communist Newspeak language – it was used with several different forms of intensity. The editorials on the front pages of newspapers represented the most impersonal, essentially dead, language, while a somewhat revived language was used in the hierarchically less important news articles, in commentary by dairymaids and factory line workers. Soviet Newspeak came closest to normal, living language in articles on the enemies of the socialist state. The only recognizable characteristic of Newspeak in these texts, which were most easily grasped by the lay reader, was "its naked will

6 Language Commission, "Dėl radijo ir televizijos," 16.
7 Thom, *Newspeak*, 22–26.

to defend ideology at any cost," revealed by the article's content.[8] It was here, according to Thom, that language enlivened by illustrative descriptions, expressive dialogues, and even anecdotes was, in an ideological sense, the most aggressive. On the other hand, the language in these articles best met the requirements for proper and stylish language demanded by the norm-setters. Although Thom reached these conclusions based on his research of printed media language, considering the simulated nature of the Soviet period's "spontaneous" spoken discourse (the content of spoken discourse was checked with government bodies in advance and often a prepared written text was simply read aloud),[9] it may be assumed that language must have been similarly manipulated in television as well. Upon a first hearing, the language from some of the television programs selected for this research reveals similar patterns.

The traditional genre of Soviet television was the documentary. Its main focus was publicizing the successful implementation of Communist Party decrees and the resultant continual improvement in the lives of the people. The most important, and thus dead, features of the language of the Party's leading stories presented in these programs were heard in the main documentary texts read by announcers. This is evidenced by the complex written syntax of the text, the use of nominal syntagms ("the acceleration of assimilation"; "to lay the foundations for the industrialization of manufacturing"), and clichés presented in an imperative and militant tone ("the rural culture must be lifted"; "we must fight for a productive hectare," etc.).

Despite many collocutors being allowed to speak on Soviet television, much like in the Soviet press, they were all basically deindividualized, and simply repeated the main ideological idea expounded in the announcer's text:

> Worker: *Aš džiaugiuosi aaa kad CK nutarimu dėl darbo drausmės ir aaa alkoholizmo, prieš alkoholizmą aaa labai dabar iš karto žymu, kad jau gamykloje daug mažiau yra stikliuko mėgėjų, mažiau darbo drausmės pažei... pažeidėjų, tuo pačiu galima pasakyti, kad ir pagerėjo*

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8 Ibid., 68–73.

9 Juozapavičius, "Valstybinio radijo virtimas visuomeniniu," 192; Aleknonis, *Lietuvos radijas*, 94.

koky... produkcijos kokybė aaa taip pat CK aaa nutarimas yra dėl kūrybinės min... minties skatinimo darbininkų tarpe. Būtų gerai, kad darbininkai aktyviau įsijungtų į šį judėjimą.

(I am glad, ah, that the CC [Central Committee] decree on discipline in the workplace and, ah, alcoholism, against alcoholism, ah now, it is very obvious that already in the factory there are far fewer workers who enjoy a shot, far fewer workplace discipline offend... offenders, at the same time you could say that, that quali... production quality has improved, ah, as well as the CC, ah, decree for the encouragement of creative thou... thought encouragement amongst the workers. It would be good if workers became more active in this movement.)

The fact that the program's participants used language from Party decrees, or at least tried to make it sound as if that was how they spoke, was their way of showing their loyalty and commitment to the government. As in many similar episodes on Soviet television, the spontaneity of speech had been stage-managed. In the report, we can see that the worker pauses before each mandatory wooden formula and glances at his paper with the correct written text.

In terms of genre, propaganda programs, in which the enemies of socialism were unmasked, are also considered documentaries. On the level of language form, Thom calls this expression of Newspeak "pseudo-natural language."[10] The language of these programs is distinguished by the synonymy and phraseology of fictional literature and simulated emotions:

Announcer: *Užsivilkęs fašistinę uniformą su parabeliu prie šono, bataliono kapelionas Zenonas Ignatavičius kartu praėjo visą jų kruviną kelią. Nesudrebėjo jo ranka laimindama budelius nekaltų žmonių žudynėms, nesuvirpėjo širdis žvelgiant į jų darbus. Priešingai.*

(Wearing a fascist uniform with an automatic pistol at his side, the battalion's chaplain, Zenonas Ignatavičius, was part of the entire bloody journey. His hand did not shake when blessing executioners for murdering innocent people, nor did his heart quiver when observing their work. Quite the opposite.)

Cumbersome wooden language constructions have not

[10] Thom, op. cit., 72.

been applied here, precisely to enhance the effect of the main story's plausibility; eyewitness accounts of the events are used instead. Despite the prediscussion of these accounts, they have at least been spontaneously produced in the language of everyday people (some of whom even speak in dialect). It is worth noting here that it was a rare privilege to be allowed to speak spontaneously on Soviet television, and apart from the abovementioned ideologically motivated cases, only deserving artists and writers were permitted to do so.

An especially formal style of address is a notable characteristic present throughout the entire period of Soviet television.[11] These forms of address were associated with the use of so-called negative politeness, communicating while maintaining one's distance. These are forms of address whose foundation is the surname, evoking the so-called polite plural *Jūs* (you). The forced supplement, "comrade," is another feature of Soviet language that defines a more formal nature of relations and is not used in any other period, e.g., "Now I would like to hear, **comrade, Comrade Stankienė**, what depends on the dairymaid wanting to get such high, now really high, milk yields as **you** [*jūs*] do, for example?" Forms of address in the Soviet period can be generalized using one single formula: (name/comrade/communist) + surname. It has been noted that it is almost exclusively program hosts and occasionally (Party) experts who address someone, rarely using direct forms of address – thus it is clear who takes the initiative in the stage-managed, simulated conversation.

Regardless of the usual formal reading or rehearsed text with selected speakers, language correctness was still not maintained (despite it being identified as an ideal to be pursued). So-called language errors (the same ones that are now claimed as evidence of the current poor media language) existed in the texts of all types of speakers. It is natural that they were more typical among nonprofessional speakers – workers and experts, such as physicians, teachers and functionaries – who generated a spoken, albeit planned, perhaps even rehearsed,

[11] Various language researchers conventionally hold such forms of address as a telling reflection of social relations.

text; e.g., *Vasarą kiek sunkiau, **vat**, aš dirbu mechanizatorium, derliaus nuėmimai, sunkiau yra kiek **biškį*** (In summer it is a bit harder; you see, I work as a machine operator; for gathering the harvest, it is a bit, somewhat, harder)."

However, language errors and deviations from the standard also occurred in the prepared, edited written texts read by announcers, e.g., "*pastatyta **visa eilė** pagalbinių pastatų, **jų tarpe** sauso pieno miltų cechas* (a whole row of secondary buildings was constructed, among them, a dehydrated milk powder manufactory)"; "*taip gimsta kolektyvas, kurio siekimus **apsprendžia** būtis, laikmetis* (this is how a collective is born, whose goals are decided by their being and the period in time)."

This does not include those rare occasions when professionals, e.g., reporters, spoke in real time on the air. Then, even in their language, we naturally see means of expression generally typical of spoken discourse: not only repetition and colloquial syntax,[12] but also verbal and nonverbal discourse markers that go beyond the standard, or are beyond the limits of correctness. This is also revealed in other examples of spontaneous speech presented elsewhere in this article.

The Soviet period can thus be described as one in which a simulated, prepared, spoken, essentially homophonic, monological discourse was typical, with barely differing varieties of permitted, looser spoken language generated live at ideologically appropriate intervals, which were nevertheless examples of wooden, dead, and sometimes even "incorrect" spoken language.

The transition period (1988–1992)

Critical assessment of television language really only commenced in the transition period, when demands were heard to stop people who did not know "correct" language from going on the air.[13] It is natural that, with a more liberal society and markets, an increase in programs – including entertainment programs, as well as unprofessional speakers and unprepared spontaneous delivery – there must have been a quantitative increase in colloquial lexis, some of which had emerged

[12] Cf. Nauckūnaitė, "Loginiai ir lingvistiniai."
[13] Masaitis, "Radijo ir televizijos kalba," 23.

during the Soviet period: barbarisms, semantics, and syntactic constructions based on written language, yet lying outside standard spoken discourse. What was new was that television discovered real, unsimulated conversation; the efforts of hosts to communicate informally became evident; there were endeavors to "avoid the old clichés"; and there were attempts to depart from the prevailing prepared wooden monologue to a spontaneous informal dia(poly)logue, which was, obviously, created according to spoken language rules, e.g.:

> Male host: *Ko jūs ginčijatės? Gera buvo laida, visą Lietuvą žavėjo, kai kam siaubą kėlė, bet kodėl paskui ‚Veidrodis' dingo? Žinot, kaip žmon... žinot, ką žmonės pradėjo galvot?*
>
> Female host: *Ką?*
>
> Male host: *Ar nesusiruošė ‚Veidrodžio' [panaikint], vadinasi, reikia iš tikrųjų kažką galvot.*
>
> Female host: *O ką siūlot? [...]*
>
> Male host 2: *Padarysim pramoginę laidą, kam ta politika? Kam? Kam knaisiotis šitose problemose?*
>
> Female host 2: *Tai mūsų vadovai ir nori pramoginės laidos, gausim technikos, pinigų, ir ko daugiau reikia? Aišku, tai kas bus tos pramogos, kaip jau jūs čia įsivaizduojat? Kaip ją padaryt? [...]*
>
> (Male host: "Why are you arguing? The show was good, it impressed all of Lithuania, maybe even frightened some, but why did 'Veidrodis' [The Mirror] later disappear? You know, how peop... you know, what people started to think?"
>
> Female host: "What?"
>
> Male host: "Aren't they looking at [cutting] 'Veidrodis,' meaning, we really do need to think of something."
>
> Female host: "And what do you suggest?" [...]
>
> Male host 2: "We'll put on an entertainment program. Why politics? Why? Why dig into these problems?"
>
> Female host 2: "But our leaders actually want an entertainment program – we'll get the technical stuff, money. What else do you really need? Of course, what exactly will that entertainment be, what do you have in mind? How should it [the program] be made?" [...])

This kind of informal speech from the transition period is in stark contrast with the relics of formal Soviet discourse that still appeared in this period; for example: "I was very moved by, eh, **comrade Jonynas making this kind of request**: to visit those places, and I understood **what the sensibilities of a real artist** were, and how things had to be done." Inclinations towards less formality were also revealed in forms of address. Even though the polite plural forms of address still dominated, informal forms based on the first name started competing with the only admissible formal style of address from the Soviet period, where the basis was the surname, especially when addressing someone directly; for example, "In brief, **Arvydas**, if I may [...] well, I'd like to ask you, is this sort of conversation beneficial to **you** [*jūs*]?" Appositions signaling a different formality and politeness strategy also started appearing: there were still cases of using "comrade," which was so typical of the Soviet period (see the earlier mentioned example), as well as the use of *gerbiamas* "the honorable," which became more widespread later on; for example: "And I wouldn't want to compliment myself, but I have a great deal of respect and sympathy for **the honorable Danutė**, and that is why I would never want to leave her." Thus, forms of address in the transition period may be generalized by two main formulae reflecting different levels of (in)formality in communication: ("the honorable" and similar honorifics) + name, and, (name/comrade and similar) + surname. In addition to other features indicating a more liberated approach to communication and language, this is one of the most telling, obvious indicators of public discourse moving towards informality and polyphony.

The commercial period (1993–2011)

In the commercial period, television further expanded its range in terms of personal space and orientation towards the everyday man and his kind of entertainment and, therefore, towards a more widespread use of the language of the home and everyday life; expressive, informal and even familiar language becoming an extension of the household.[14] There

[14] Cf. Fiske, *Populiariosios kultūros*, 94–100.

were also more cases of a critique of language representing all layers of society and all their requirements. Compared to the transitional period, the further increase in programs and unprofessional speakers, unrehearsed spontaneous speech, and an increased need to adapt to various addressees when searching for appealing, attention-grabbing means of expression in an otherwise oversaturated communication period, it is natural that there was a quantitative increase in expressive colloquial lexis and spoken syntactic constructions that did not sit within the frame of written language. Compared to the more moderate transitional period, there was an even greater occurrence of polyphony and individualism in speech, for example:

> Vox populi: *Kada aš savo vaiką galėsiu maitint normaliu maistu? Kada dešrelės rūkytos bus rūkytos, o ne pamirkytos kažkokiame mirkale? Kodėl aš savo vaikui moku trylika litų už* ***sasyskas****? Nes jam yra trys metai ir jis yra alergiškas, ir, pasirodo,* ***sasyskos*** *už penkis litus yra dar geresnės.*
>
> (When will I be able to feed my child normal food? When smoked sausages will actually have been smoked, and not soaked in some kind of solution? Why do I pay thirteen litas for sausages for my child? Because he's three years old and has allergies, and, it appears, the sausages for five litas are even better.)
>
> Celebrity: *Tai yra labai žmogiška, ir aš norėčiau pažiūrėt žmogui į akis, kuris atsisakė visų gyvenimo malonumų, vien dėl to, kad staiga nugyventų visą savo gyvenimą sveikai – tai turėtų būti žvėriškai nejdomu. [...] po velniais, žmonės, jūs patys susėdę žmonės tos srities, jūs tarpusavyje neišsiaiškinate, niekur nėra atsakyta klausimo, nuo ko miršatama, kas sukelia vėžį, ir taip toliau.*
>
> (That is very human, and I would like to look that person in the eye who has denied himself all of life's pleasures only because he has suddenly decided to live the rest of his life in a more healthy way – it must be insanely boring. [...] come on, people, you people here right now, from this field, you can't come to an agreement among yourselves; no one has answered the question of what people may die from, what causes cancer, and so on.)
>
> Expert intellectual: *Ir jeigu suvokiam, kad ta marga postmodernistinė tokia daugiatautė tapatybė yra frustruojanti, iškelianti tas traumas, apie kurias galbūt ir kalba Šliogeris savo pasisakyme, tai mes nukreip-*

iam savo sąmonę į tokį grynai lietuvišką renginį, kaip, sakykim, mūsų krepšininkų sėkmės ir turim turim tą kultūros pakaitalą ar kultūros turinį.

(And if we understand that that varied, postmodern, multicultural identity is frustrating and raises the sorts of traumas that, perhaps, Šliogeris had in mind in his comment, then we turn our consciousness to a purely Lithuanian event, like, let's say, our basketball players' success, and we have, we have that cultural substitute, or cultural content.)

The obvious slide towards informality in this period is signaled by a unique, new feature – the appearance of the most informal form of address – addressing someone in the singular. Addressing someone by name has become the norm in entertainment programs and talk shows dealing with personal issues, e.g., "**Marijonas**, can **you** [*tu*] taste and tell us (what you think)?" The polite plural is still used in such programs when addressing an unfamiliar coparticipant who is of a higher status, but usually alongside the informal nominative naming of the addressee, adding an apposition indicating respect if needed, e.g., "**Almantas**, can **you** [*Jūs*] taste this? In a democratic society, the right to healthy food is the most important right. And now we don't know, for the first time in Lithuania's history, what it is we're eating. It's alright for those in their bloom, like **the honorable Marius**, if he reaches my age and will still be saying the same thing, and if I'm still alive, I'll bow to him." In formal debate programs, the polite plural and formal nominative forms of address, traditionally characteristic of public discourse, are still in place, where the basis is the surname/title. Another distinguishing feature of this period is the return of the traditional Lithuanian address *ponas* (Sir) to public discourse, usually used as a nominative apposition in addressing someone by name or surname/title, as a synonym for "the honorable." Thus, forms of address from the commercial period can also be generalized by two main formulae, albeit applying more varied appositions and reflecting a different type of (in)formal communication: (Sir / the honorable / dear) + name, and, name / Sir / the honorable + surname. Another characteristic feature of this period is the variability in addressing everyone (in a group) and even the same person: name; the honorable / Sir

+ name; Sir; Sir / the honorable + surname; title, etc. Thus, an obvious polyphony in discourse is becoming more apparent.

Summarizing comments

This exploratory research into television language from different periods reveals the displacement of discourse from the Soviet, dead, sometimes incorrect, homophonic monologue lacking in any notable variety to the contemporary, multistyled, sometimes incorrect, polyphonic speech produced live on the air. Nevertheless, it is precisely the language standard from the Soviet period, essentially supported by the wooden written language typical of the Soviet bloc, i.e., of a completely different nature and based on completely different language norms, that was and continues to be considered the exemplar of proper, living, and correct language by supporters of prescriptivism. Various means of polylogic speech produced live on the air, which reveal polyphonic linguistic variety – from the efficient and more formal means reminiscent of the Soviet period to the most expressive and informal means that started appearing in the transition period and flourished in the commercial television period, representing all layers of society and satisfying all types of requirements – have received critical assessment from the prescriptivist camp. This is an attitude that lies in opposition, not only to the opinion of supporters of descriptivism, but also to the very creators of public language themselves: the latter looking at public discourse from the position of a liberalizing society experiencing transformation and refusing the role of all-knowing teacher, creating media where there are opportunities for friendly dialogue with the addressee, and who consider a polyphonic discourse an advantage, making it possible to choose the most acceptable, communicatively effective means of speech.

Translated by Albina Strunga

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On the Public Sphere and its Participants

LAIMA NEVINSKAITĖ

Societies have always been shaped more by the nature of the media by which men communicate than by the content of the communication.

Marshall McLuhan, 1964

This article presents some observations on the public sphere and its participants in Lithuania in the Soviet period, during the transitional period and after independence. The public sphere itself is an important factor in the history of the restoration of independence. The whole breakthrough might be regarded as a public sphere revolution, since the changes first took place in the media and at mass meetings. On the other hand, an analysis of these changes in Lithuania might provide valuable results for research, since it would demonstrate several different forms and stages of the development of the public sphere with various factors of influence. The current analysis is focused on the participants, which, along with the arenas (spaces for discussion) and the public (audience) is one of its main elements and can reveal a great deal about the nature of the public sphere.

This article is based on data from a language research project that created a corpus of audiovisual media texts from 1961 to 2011. Although it was created for the purpose of studying language change, one of the by-products of the corpus is a list of the participants who speak in the programs. Therefore, it provides a valuable source to study more general changes,

LAIMA NEVINSKAITĖ is a senior researcher at the Department of Sociolinguistics, Institute of the Lithuanian Language and a lecturer at the Faculty of Communication, Vilnius University. Her research interests include mass media audience research, new media and the public sphere, media and language.

which, because of the cost of working with audiovisual data, would be less accessible otherwise. The article continues and complements previous research on the development of the public sphere during the transition to independence and after. Particularly relevant in this respect is a study of the participants in the newspapers during the transitional and commercial periods (1988–2000) that was previously completed by the author.[1] This article also refers to some other, more general, studies on the Soviet public sphere and its later transformation.

Theoretical background

The public sphere, as conceptualized by its most famous theoretician, Jürgen Habermas, is "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed."[2] It is not a part of the state, but is, on the contrary, "a sphere in which the activities of the state could be confronted and subjected to criticism."[3]

In his main work on the subject, Habermas traces its development and formulates a vision of an ideal public sphere.[4] According to him, this ideal was inherited from Greek Antiquity, but did not exist until the eighteenth century. In the Middle Ages, the authority of the rulers was merely "represented," or displayed, in front of the people; there was no political discussion, because there was no representation and no public in the modern sense. Therefore, Habermas calls this type of public sphere "representative publicness." In his analysis of its transformation, Habermas highlights several characteristics of the new bourgeois public sphere: universal accessibility, rational-critical discussions, and a concentration on common matters.[5]

Habermas later describes what he calls the "decline" of the public sphere, when it was losing these characteristics, especially the rational-critical discussions. They were replaced

1 Nevinskaitė, *Viešosios erdvės transformacija.*
2 Habermas et al., *The Public Sphere*, 49.
3 Thompson, *The Theory of the Public Sphere*, 176.
4 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation.*
5 Ibid., 27–43.

by cultural consumption, discussions performed for the public. Concentration on common matters was weakened by the invasion of private interests. According to him, the decline of the public sphere was caused by the narrowing gap between state and civil society, and most importantly in this context, the commercialization of the media.

Despite many doubts from his critics, if the bourgeois public sphere idealized by Habermas did really exist with the characteristics described by him, the ideal characteristics postulated in his account remain as normative criteria that are used to assess the qualities and functioning of the public sphere. While acknowledging that this is only one of various possible models representing one approach, it will be used in this article as the background needed to assess changes.

Changes in participant types in broadcasting are also closely connected to general changes of television (and radio) models in Europe, which were obviously affecting the Lithuanian audiovisual landscape as well. The history of television in Europe clearly splits into two different periods – the monopoly of public service broadcasting vs. competition, or the commercial model. These models are characterized by different genres (classic vs. mixed), a different relationship with the audience (monologue vs. dialogue), differing audience roles (passive vs. active, citizen vs. consumer), and intentions (educator vs. friend)[6] and, without a doubt, these changes influence the types and appearance of participants.

However, while these trends explain the changes of participant types, they can be regarded as a part of the same trend toward the commercialization of the media. Indeed, one aspect of media commercialization is the domination of commercial broadcasting over public service broadcasting, whose institutional structure and mission corresponds, or at least seeks to correspond, to the ideals of the public sphere.[7] Therefore, the analysis of the participants in audiovisual media has to take into

6 Pečiulis, *Iki ir po televizijos*, 132-137.
7 Garnham, *Capitalism and Communication*, 104-114.

account the general transformation of broadcasting, but it is only one of the trends in the transformation of the public sphere.

Thus, the article presents ideas on the characteristics of the public sphere and uses data and observations from the above-mentioned project to highlight those ideas and illustrate their embodiment in the typical participants in audiovisual media during different periods of change.

The data

The sampling for the corpus of audiovisual media (radio and television) was based on two criteria: 1) periods of media change, 2) genres.

Regarding the periods of media change, the sample was constructed on the classification of the whole period into three periods of audiovisual media change: the Soviet period (1961-1987), the transitional period (1988–1992), and the commercial period (1993–2011). The first time line (about 1960, but the first program in the corpus is from 1961) was selected rather arbitrarily, as a date connected with the wider spread of television in Lithuania (it was first introduced in 1957). The year 1988 as a time line of the transitional period was selected because in that year the first program of the "new generation of TV programs" was launched.[8] The start of the commercial period (1993) is marked by the launch of the first commercial television channel (TELE-3).

Regarding the genre, the sample was based on three talk-based genre groups, presumably ensuring a roughly equal distribution of the features of discourse relevant for the tasks of the overall project: spontaneous vs. nonspontaneous speech, monologue vs. dialogue/polylogue, and professional vs. non-professional speakers. Thus, the genre groups were: talk programs (talk shows, debates, etc.); features, documentaries and "journal" programs;[9] and news programs. The corpus did not

[8] Pečiulis,"Televizijos programų plėtra," 233.

[9] The title "journal" program is an approximation for this type of program: it consists of several feature stories, connected by the same presenter, who is often also an author of one or more of the feature stories.

include fictional programs, programs for children, specialized programs or any other types.

The sample was influenced by the scarce availability of recorded programs, especially from the Soviet period, and especially of those programs that were broadcast live. In total, the sample included sixty recorded hours. Within the sample, 995 speakers were found and classified. The distribution of programs and number of speakers within each genre is presented in the following table.

Distribution of audiovisual material in the sample
(hours of recording time)

Genre/Period	Soviet (1960–1987)	Transitional (1988–1992)	Commercial (1993–2010)	Total Hours
Total number of recorded hours	20.5	13	26.5	60
Talk programs	3	5	15	23
Features, documentaries, and 'journal' programs	12	6	8	26
News programs	5.5	2	3.5	11
Number of speakers	379	267	349	995

Although problems of availability result in a sample that is not truly representative of the period analyzed, within the genres it was constructed randomly, without any preset criteria that could skew the sample. Therefore, it can be regarded as a sufficient sample to form an overall image about what participants were populating the "spoken public sphere" during the period. Also, it is a good sample for studying those who took part because it contains general political-social programs and excludes fictional and specialized programs.

Types of speakers

Since the corpus includes only audiovisual materials, participants in the public sphere are speakers in the programs.

Only those participants that actually speak during the programs (not those who are quoted or otherwise mentioned) are included.

Speakers were classified into categories based on their roles in the programs:

Show host: the person who leads the conversation in talk programs, e.g., talk shows, debates and similar dialogues.

Presenter/newsreader/voice-over: the person who reads the text in other types of programs, e.g., news reports, documentaries, "journal" programs.

Celebrity: a person who is known to the general public and has a strong chance of appearing in the media more than once; therefore, not only "celebrities" in the narrow sense of the word are included, but also sportsmen, writers, etc.

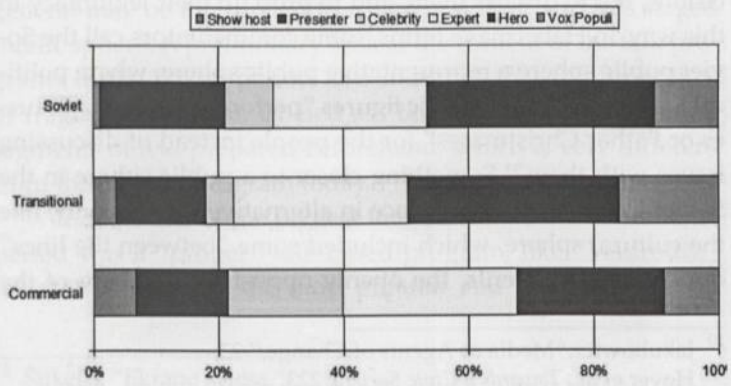
Expert: a person who comments on matters in his or her field of expertise, e.g., historian, political scientist, economist, etc.; politicians are also included in this category.

Hero: usually an "ordinary" person whose life or deeds are presented in the media, e.g., teacher, kolkhoz worker, old person, crime victim, etc.

Vox populi: an ordinary person on the street, in the studio or elsewhere, whose opinion on some matter is presented.

The results of the quantitative analysis – the distribution of speaker roles within the sample – are presented below.

Distribution of speaker roles (in percentages)



Although the categories of participants in the public sphere as they were constructed for the purposes of the analysis of language change do not include all the possible distinctions needed to fully describe the changing nature of the public sphere, they nevertheless can help to shed light on some characteristics of the public sphere during the period of analysis. The tendencies of the distribution of different types of participants in different periods are analyzed further in connection with the characteristics of the public sphere.

Staged vs. spontaneous public sphere

Media in the Soviet Union were an integral part of the system of ideology, serving the goals of mobilization, legitimatization, and propaganda. The ideological and propaganda goals of the media were to create an ideologically symbolic environment, which would serve to indoctrinate the audience with Communist ideas and values and thus to create a loyal Soviet citizen. Other tasks set for the Soviet media were to provide proof of the effectiveness of the Communist system and to confirm its superiority as opposed to Capitalism. Media were also used to mobilize support for various government plans and projects.[10]

Accordingly, it is obvious that the Soviet Union did not need a proper public sphere as a space between citizens and the authorities – rather the opposite. The function of the staged public sphere was to demonstrate support for government decisions, not to discuss them, and to prop up their legitimacy in this way. In Habermas's terms, some commentators call the Soviet public sphere a representative public sphere, where political leaders and other public figures "performed as Santa Clauses or Father Christmases" for the people instead of discussing issues with them.[11] Something closer to a public sphere in the Soviet Union was taking place in alternative spheres only, like the cultural sphere, which included some "between the lines" oppositional elements, the openly oppositional sphere of the

[10] Jakubowicz,"Media as Agents of Change," 23.
[11] Høyer et al., *Towards a Civic Society*, 223.

samizdat press, elements of the public sphere in some discussion clubs, private communication networks, and foreign media information that reached the country.

The types of speakers that may illustrate the differences between the Soviet and a "proper" public sphere is the difference between show hosts, who lead a conversation, and presenters, who read a prepared text. However, they are directly connected to the talk genres as opposed to all other genres. One of the difficulties we faced when constructing the sample of the corpus was the lack of talk programs during the Soviet (and continuing through the transitional) period, which nowadays constitute a large share of everyday radio and TV programming. The problem was not only the existence of recordings, but of the programs themselves. The history of Soviet television was dominated by monologue and, within the range of general political-social topics, included only a couple of programs that might have resembled a talk format. Some livelier formats were available in more specialized topics, like education, living, medicine, and others.[12] Therefore, the sample also included considerably fewer talk programs from the Soviet and transitional period, and the results of the quantitative analysis of these speaker types is very much predictable and self-explanatory.

Although dialogue cannot be equated with spontaneity (a dialogue may be scripted beforehand), they do correlate, and the increasing proportion of show host roles and talk shows in general may be interpreted as a sign of a freer and less staged public sphere. A preliminary look at the content of the talk programs of the Soviet period also indicates that the programs, or fragments of them, labeled as "talk," actually contain long segments of text prepared beforehand, which is very different from this type of program today.

Indeed, one of the biggest innovations of the transitional period was a "proper" talk-based program, like "Veidrodis," which was not only the most popular and politically critical

[12] Štikelis, "Ekrano šviesa."

program of the time, but was also broadcast live, not yet a matter of course at that time. Later, other similar programs followed, like a single broadcast of "TV forumas," which for the first time provided a stage on TV for the leaders of Sąjūdis, the discussion program "Dialogai," "Už ir prieš," and the Sąjūdis-connected program "Atgimimo banga."[13]

Thus the presenter and the show host are typical personalities of both the Soviet and later periods, embodying the differences between a staged and a more spontaneous and dialogue-based public sphere. Indeed, the most prominent media personality of the Soviet era in Lithuania was the newsreader (*diktorius*), a prestigious position. The main requirement for a newsreader was the fluent presentation of a prepared news text, and one of the most important criteria of evaluation was the quality of his or her voice.[14]

Nowadays newsreaders are replaced by news anchors, who also work as news editors, and the requirements for their appearance and voice are different (in the words of critics, much "lower"). But the news anchors of today, although still visible and known, do not enjoy the level of stardom of the newsreaders of the Soviet era. For example, in the poll on the most influential journalists in 2011, none of the news anchors got into the top ten – not on the list based on the opinion of media experts, nor on a list based on a survey of the general public, although the latter included a few hosts of some popular nonpolitical talk shows, which would not be influential in the political sense. It is worth noting that the general public's list included only TV personalities with their "personal" programs.[15] Thus a show host could be regarded as a figure symbolizing present day television (or even the whole media).

The difference between the staged and spontaneous public sphere is also demonstrated by the distribution of roles of other participants, described further.

[13] Pečiulis, "Televizijos programų plėtra," 233–234.
[14] Paulauskas,"Diktoriaus žodis," 185.
[15] Įtakingiausių žurnalistų TOP 10, 2011.

Soviet realism vs. commercialism

The ideal public sphere, as conceptualized by Habermas, should be separate from both the state and commercial interests. As discussed earlier, the public sphere in the Soviet Union actually served the interests of the state. On the other hand, Habermas regards commercialization of the media as probably the most important cause of the decline of the public sphere he observes occurring in Western countries. Among other factors in the commercialization of the public sphere, he pointed to the trends of cultural consumption, instead of critical discussion, and the commercialization of culture.

The roles of the speakers that can help shed light on these aspects of the public sphere are the "hero" (a person whose life or deeds are presented in the media) and the "celebrity" (a person who is known to the general public and, in contrast to the hero, is likely to appear in the media more than once).

The data show some decrease in the hero role during the commercial period as compared to the Soviet and transitional periods. A more detailed look into who the heroes were in the media of these different periods reveals the different functions of the hero and the meaning of this decrease. In the Soviet period, a typical hero was a hero in the very sense of the word, like a participant in the war, a worker of some kind ("work hero"), either in a factory or a kolkhoz, or a similar speaker. The function of this role was to support Soviet ideology, in other words, to confirm the "glorious" Soviet reality. Interestingly, the Soviet media could also present imperfect heroes or heroes with a negative sign, e.g., a worker with a drinking problem. However, this was clearly done with the intention of highlighting model behavior or to demonstrate the concern of the state for each of its citizens.

In the commercial period, the role of a hero does not perform this function anymore. A new and quite frequent kind of hero, especially in talk shows, is a victim of violence and crime (both outside and within their families) or people with some kind of personal problem, whose stories in most cases merely serve to increase the audience's curiosity and thus the

commercial interests of the media. There are far fewer heroes of the type that were typical in the Soviet period.

The data also show a huge increase in the celebrity role, which clearly speaks to the trend for commercialization of culture and media. It is also a symptom of the increase of the topics outside the "common interest," as mentioned by Habermas in his definition of the public sphere. In addition, the nature of people who were celebrities both then and now are different: in the sample, the celebrities from both the Soviet and transitional periods are mostly representatives of such "serious" branches of culture as literature, classical music, and theater, while in the commercial period, the role of celebrity is dominated by representatives of popular culture, such as pop singers and dancers.

Access to the public sphere

According to Habermas, in the ideal public sphere, everyone would be able to voice their opinion in public. Although in contemporary society, where the public sphere is mediated by the mass media, universal representation of everyone's opinion is not possible (the mass media are defined by their professional nature and the few-to-many communication model), but it remains a principle that is strived for.

This principle is realized in several forms in radio and television, which in the coding scheme used here, fall under the roles of vox populi (an "ordinary person" who voices his or her opinion on some matter) and expert (a professional who voices a reasoned opinion on the matter of his or her field of expertise).

The distribution of the roles of experts and vox populi in the sample is about the same, and there is a substantial proportion of expert roles in all periods. Thus the Soviet media were effectively simulating discussion in the sense of presenting the opinions of various participants (the proposition about simulation is a hypothesis that, most probably, would be confirmed by a closer look at the content of the speech).

The data also show an increase in the role of the vox

populi during the transitional period and its subsequent decrease. It is worth noting that the study of newspapers of that period and beyond has confirmed the same pattern in the print media, which were much more open to outside nonprofessional participants, including ordinary citizens, than in the periods before and afterward.[16] A more frequent vox populi role in the transitional period might be interpreted as a sign of the rise of the public sphere, influenced by trends in society. During years of rapid political and societal change, society needs to discuss the situation and negotiate future developments; therefore, the trend in the radio and television media might indeed not be accidental.

In the commercial period, the role of vox populi became less frequent, reflecting some "decline" in the public sphere. Although the proportion of vox populi roles in the Soviet period and commercial period is about the same, a closer analysis of the content and delivery of their speech would be needed to determine if they can be equated. A preliminary look at this speech leads to a very probable assumption that most citizen "opinion" in the Soviet media was prepared beforehand and sometimes even read rather than spoken spontaneously.

Final notes

Data on the speaker roles in Lithuanian radio and television programs between 1961 and 2011 demonstrate and confirm some of the theorized features of the public sphere in the Soviet period, during the transitional period, and after independence. The data support the difference between a staged and a spontaneous public sphere; a shift from a public sphere subsumed under the interests of state ideology towards one dominated by commercial interests; and wider access to the public sphere, especially during the transitional period. The pattern supports and illustrates the thesis of the transformation of the public sphere: the development of a "proper" public sphere and its rise during the transitional breakthrough period

[16] Nevinskaitė, *Viešosios erdvės transformacija*, 128-131.

and its subsequent weakening (judging by the normative Habermasian ideal) by commercialization.

The change of the speaker roles also illustrates the changing nature of broadcasting from that of educator to entertainer, particularly in the commercial period through the weakening importance and influence of the newsreaders, its dialogical nature, and a more intimate relationship with the audience. It is important though, that the trends seen in the data (such as the increase in discussions, increased participation during the transitional period, and later changes connected to commercialization) confirm the trends found in the studies of other media, such as newspapers.[17] Therefore, the changes in broadcasting must be interpreted as a current in a wider trend of the transformation of the public sphere and its institutions, of which broadcasting is but one. These changes are a part of the trend toward the commercialization of the media and the public sphere in general. The democratization of the country opened up the door for commercial television channels and the innovations developed elsewhere that they brought with them.

Edited by Chad Damon Stewart

[17] Ibid.

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Language Standards in a Postmodern Speech Community: Cosmetic Touch-ups and Ongoing Changes

LORETA VAICEKAUSKIENĖ

> *We can do justice to our time only by comparing it to that of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers. Something happened, whose importance still eludes us, and it seems very ordinary, though its effects will both last and increase. [...] It is determined by humanity's emergence as a new elemental force; until now humanity had been divided into castes distinguished by dress, mentality, and mores. [...] Humanity as an elemental force, the result of technology and mass education, means that man is opening up to science and art on an unprecedented scale.*
>
> *Czesław Miłosz, The Witness of Poetry, 1983*

The multidimensional and mobile postmodern way of life has added an extra flavor to cultural and linguistic diversity. The hitherto known and more or less homogenous social structures have split into overlapping communities of practice, constructing mixed and complex social identities and thus forcing their members to extend their linguistic repertoires.

These changes may be radical for the status and perception of language varieties and standard languages. It seems that greater linguistic diversity is being tolerated. As local patriotism strengthens, regional and social dialects are gaining in value, and new linguistic norms for particular domains are being formed. Researchers from various speech communities report similar observations: linguistic varieties and features

LORETA VAICEKAUSKIENĖ is head of the Department of Sociolinguistics at the Institute of Lithuanian Language and a lecturer at the Center for Scandinavian Studies at Vilnius University. She works in the areas of language attitudes, youth language, language contacts, global English, language standardization ideologies, and lexicography.

are socially loaded and they *do* serve as an important resource for the creation of the needed social identity in a given situation and space.[1] That is: *one* established and invariant standard provides an insufficient number of options for the postmodern role-play with social values.

The question then is how many "standards," or how much variation within "the standard" can be expected as the consequence of this changing social reality. Can a regional dialect acquire a status tantamount to standard language (SL)? Can urban speech, traditionally not attributed to SL, replace it in certain domains? The fundamental question in this relation is the notion of SL. It varies depending on how language diversity, variation, and development are perceived.

In sociolinguistic theory, the SL is conceived of as an integral part of the ideological development of the given society. It is through language use that the SL is formed. The concrete choices of speakers gradually change the SL – either filling it up with new features or swapping it for another variety. This linguistic conduct depends on changing social values. Not language standardization policies, but language actors – the users of the language – and their (not necessarily overtly expressed) judgments are seen as the decisive force for language development:

> [...] the attribution 'standard' must reflect social judgments and social practices in the community rather than descriptive details of varietal range and variation. [...] It is likely that the process of standardization will be understood quite differently by those engaged in top-down agentive roles and by others, 'the people,' who make on-the-ground assessments of the social implications of using different ways of speaking. Top-down discourses of language standardization may not overlap with on-the-ground discourses, and the social judgments that matter most may even remain below the level of metalinguistic formulation.[2]

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1 See for example, Blommaert, "Sociolinguistics of Globalisation," Gregersen "Postmoderne talesprog," Grondelaers et at., "A perceptual typology."

2 Coupland and Kristiansen, "SLICE", 21, 22.

It seems rather logical then that the notion of SL should follow the changing reality. However, as the quotation also implies, this is not always the case when involved with official ideologies.

In Lithuania, the distance between language policies and the choices of speakers (language development) is especially prominent. In the overt discourse of language planners, the SL is presented as a homogenous speech variety; the interference of other (social, dialectal) varieties is seen as corrupting the fixed norms and "boundaries" of the SL. The "permission" of language planners is not a metaphor in the Lithuanian context, because the preplanned version of the SL is protected by law. The natural development of language is presumed to go in the wrong direction, and therefore must be regulated. The many gatekeeping institutions keep on opposing diversity, prescribing the norms for "correct" language usage, and attempting to influence the attitudes of the speakers. The SL is definitely placed at the top of the hierarchy of speech varieties of Lithuanian. Heterogeneous and variant urban speech, especially the speech of the capital, Vilnius, is given the lowest position.

Compared to Soviet times, official attitudes are becoming more favorable toward dialects. This is most likely due to the recognition that the standardization ideology and the development of society have accelerated the process of dialect leveling. However, dialectal speech is seen mostly as an object for preservation and as a valuable marker of ethnic heritage (alongside folk dance, traditional clothing, and other local specialties), rather than a means of public communication. Cf., National language policy guidelines for 2009–2013:

> The standard Lithuanian language, as the uniting force for Lithuanian society, has to be continually nourished, with the state and society combining their efforts. Lithuanian dialects are a linguistic and cultural heritage; they serve important functions for the local community and, therefore, have to be protected and supported.[3]

[3] See http://www.vlkk.lt/lit/10110

The issue addressed in this paper is how much the prescriptive policies can influence the ideological development of our society. What social values do ordinary people assign to the speech varieties SL, urban speech, and dialect? What do their attitudes reveal about the development of the SL, and what role is given to and played by Vilnius speech? And finally, is postmodern linguistic diversity just a new cosmetic touch-up, or has it commenced a process of reconstruction and replacement in the hierarchy of speech varieties in the Lithuanian speech community?

In this complexity, these research questions are raised for the first time in Lithuanian linguistics; however, incidental remarks on the Lithuanian situation can be found outside our scholarship, cf.:

> The question is what are the prospects for interaction between the established norm and the living speech of the cities and to what extent may the latter come to influence and change the former. At present, the dominant linguists are firmly in control of the strictly formulated and well-guarded standard norms.[4]

In order to obtain both overt and metalinguistically unformulated, subconscious attitudes, an experimental study was carried out in some schools of the Marijampolė region (South Lithuania). Young people are especially interesting to question because their attitudes can give us a hint about ongoing changes in social values and linguistic conduct. The next section describes why it was important to examine both conscious and subconscious values and what methods were applied in the research.

"Two value systems at two levels of consciousness"

The quotation used for the title belongs to Tore Kristiansen[5], whose work on language attitudes in the Danish speech community over the last twenty years equips us with an

[4] Rinholm, "Continuity and change," 296.
[5] Kristiansen, "The macro-level social meanings," 169.

elaborate set of research instruments and a number of insights into the existence of covert values and their possible role for language change. Sociolinguists believe that behind any socially significant language variation lie the attitudes of the speakers. Danish research has proved that consciously offered attitudes support the official ideologies and reflect their system of values, while the positive covert judgments, as far as it is ensured that they were elicited as subconscious assessments, support the overtly downgraded varieties and explain why they are still used. Subconscious attitudes thus correspond to what is happening on the level of language use and may demonstrate a quite different system of social values.[6]

The idea of our research was to check whether the linguistic diversity seen in "real life" would be supported by positive subconscious values that young people attribute to the speakers of given speech varieties of Lithuanian.

The research was carried out with 226 ninth and tenth grade students (15 to 17 year-olds) in the schools of three smaller sites (Kalvarija, Vilkaviškis and Pilviškiai) situated around the regional center, Marijampolė. In order to compare possibly different systems of social values, two methods of attitudinal research were applied: (1) a speaker evaluation experiment (SEE), where the informants listened to short clips of recorded speech and evaluated the personality traits of the voices played and (2) a label ranking task (LRT), presenting a list of labels of varieties that the informants had to rank according to which one of them he or she liked most.

The SEE was designed to reveal the *subconscious* attitudes of the students, and the LRT should reflect their overt, *conscious* opinions.

The speech varieties evaluated by the students were: the SL (in the SEE called Conservative speech, C), Vilnius speech (called Modern speech, M) and Marijampolė speech (called Local speech, L). Two female and two male voices represented each of the three varieties (twelve voices total). They were recorded

[6] See Kristiansen, "Attitudes, Ideology and Awareness."

in the schools of Vilnius (the C and M) and Marijampolė (the L) and all had the same topic "what is a good teacher." The twelve clips were each approximately fifteen seconds in length and made so that their content (the opinion about the teacher) and form (fluency, voice quality) were as similar as possible. The main remaining difference was the varying speech features.

What we relatively call the C in our research is a speech variety that contains some phonetic and prosodic features of the codified SL: the long or at least semilong vowels in unstressed syllables; the (semi)long unstressed vowels *o* and *ė*; no stress attraction. This variety is described in the textbooks on standard pronunciation and is supposed to be taught at school. However, it is very seldom found among youngsters, and what you can record, if you are lucky, is just conservatively accented speech.

The M voices in our research contain features characteristic of the speech of Vilnius, which are said to be spreading in contemporary broadcast language: foreshortened long vowels in unstressed syllables; short and broadened *o* and *ė* in unstressed position; monophthongization of *ie* in unstressed syllables; stress attraction.

The L represents the speech of the pupils in the biggest city of the research area, Marijampolė. Since the idea of the experiment was not to attract the attention of the informants to the language itself, the recordings were edited so that they contained just a few dialect features – first and foremost, intonation and long tense *o*, which are typical for this regional dialect. However, the local dialects were not to mix with the rest of the dialects – and this is always the case with the southern subdialect of West Highland. Though this dialect is closest to the SL, its specific features are said to be the most difficult to hide.

Performing the SEE, the students were not aware that they actually assessed speech varieties. After the experiment, they were asked what they thought all this was about, and they guessed that we were studying opinions about teachers. The second test, the LRT, was performed with the informants aware

of the purpose of the research. This means that we succeeded in collecting both conscious and subconscious attitudes and can compare the results and discuss what city the young people in the Marijampolė region prefer as their linguistic norm attraction center, and which linguistic features index the kind of social identity they favor.

Conscious evaluations: diversity is welcomed

The informants were presented twelve labels of speech varieties and had to rank them from one, as the highest, to twelve, as the lowest. The results from all three sites are summed up in Table 1, highlighting the three varieties used in the research: Vilnius speech, Standard Language (Bendrinė kalba) and Marijampolė speech. Although the positions of the varieties studied at first glance imply the ranking: Vilnius > SL > Marijampolė (the lower the ranking, the better the evaluation), i.e., overtly upgrading Vilnius, downgrading SL and further downgrading the local speech, this is not so straightforward. Firstly, there is no statistical difference between the rankings of Vilnius and SL. Secondly, local patriotism should be judged not just from the ranking of downgraded Marijampolė, but also from the high ranking of Vilkaviškis speech. In the school of Vilkaviškis, the Vilkaviškis speech was placed at the top of the list, and in nearby Pilviškiai, it was the second highest after Vilnius. In the Kalvarija site, which is closest to Marijampolė, Marijampolė speech got the second highest ranking after Vilnius.

Table 1
Ranking of the speech labels in Marijampolė region
1 is the highest rank

		Mean rankings
1.	**Vilnius speech**	**4.0**
2.	Vilkaviškis speech	4.4
3.	**Standard Language (Bendrinė kalba)**	**4.9**
4.	Kaunas speech	4.9
5.	**Marijampolė speech**	**6.1**

6.	Klaipėda speech	6.2
7.	Alytus speech	7.1
8.	Šakiai speech	7.2
9.	Panevėžys speech	7.6
10.	Šiauliai speech	7.7
11.	Utena speech	7.8
12.	Telšiai speech	8.9
Post hoc = Wilcoxon Signed Pair test:		
VLN/VLK/SL/KAU ** MAR/KLP ** ALT/ŠAK/PAN/ŠL/UT * TLŠ**		
/ = n.s., # = p<.10, * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001		

Thus the relevant local speech varieties are favored locally at least no less than the other "important" varieties. Downgrading of the regional center, Marijampolė, was most probably caused by the inclusion of the label Vilkaviškis speech and splitting the evaluations of dialect (as stated above, Vilkaviškis was chosen in favor of Marijampolė as more local in two of the sites). Yet this may also be a sign of a general attitude towards Marijampolė speech in Lithuania. While Vilkaviškis counts as a local reference, Marijampolė may be considered representative of the whole West Highland dialect. As mentioned before – the accent of the dialect is difficult to hide, even when speaking SL, and the speakers who have this accent may be sneered at. Since it is stigmatized, the accent is used in the media for comical characters. That may have formed a negative stereotype of Marijampolė speech.

The question remains why Vilnius speech scored so high – equally as high as the "neutral" or "more local" dialect of Vilkaviškis and the traditionally valorized SL, when urban language is referred to as mixed and polluted in official discourse. As discussed above, consciously offered values reflect the overt attitude, usually the official one, where preference is given to the SL. One possible answer could be the differing notions of the SL in language planning discourse and by lay people. Research shows that Vilnius speech is equated with the SL by

ordinary speakers.[7] In the Marijampolė research, the Conservative voices were allocated to Vilnius by a bigger percentage of informants than the Vilnius speech itself (75 percent versus 64 percent, respectively). This can be an important hint that on a conscious level "The Standard" is becoming more connected with the capital Vilnius, and therefore the label "Vilnius speech" moves higher in the overt ranking. But then, of course, it is a bit strange that the label "Standard Language" was not used for that purpose. Another possible explanation could be that "Vilnius speech" and "SL" are perceived as synonyms.

All in all, we can say that, except for the stigmatized and, therefore, perhaps overtly downgraded Marijampolė dialect, the conscious evaluations offered by young speakers in the Marijampolė region show no hierarchization of the studied varieties (assuming that local was substituted by the Vilkaviškis dialect). This may be regarded as a crucial result for official standardization ideologies and the conservative SL, which for a long time enjoyed the status of the most overtly valorized variety. However, if we assume that the upgrading of Vilnius speech has to do with the confusion of Vilnius speech with the SL and the attributing of Vilnius speech to standard, then the results would reflect the continuing strong positions of standard ideology and the SL, which, however, is becoming more relaxed and extending its ideological boundaries to include Vilnius speech and thus accepting more internal variation.

Subconscious evaluations

As already discussed, the subconscious assessments, offered by judges who were unaware of the purpose of the research, are supposed to reflect what is happening at the level of language usage. When the presented voice is regarded as having more positive personality traits than the other voices, it is very likely that the features characteristic to his or her speech have a certain prestige and may be adopted in linguistic practice.

[7] See Vaicekauskienė and Čičirkaitė, "Vilniaus klausimas"; Aliūkaitė, "Bendrinės kalbos."

Before conducting the above described label ranking task, the students were played the twelve voices, representing the three studied varieties – Conservative (Standard language), Modern (Vilnius) and Local (speech of Marijampolė city). The four voices for each variety were played in turn: C, M, L, switching between girl (g) and boy (b), i.e., 1_Cg, 2_Mb, 3_Lg, 4_Cb, 5_Mg, 6_Lb, etc. The mixing of the voices and the same topic ("a good teacher") helped us to avoid attracting the attention of the judges to the language issue and thus to ensure that we elucidated subconscious attitudes.

While listening to the voices, the students were instructed to tick off the personality traits of the speakers on the eight seven-point adjective scales (see following table).

Table 2

The adjective scales used for the Speaker Evaluation Experiment

Goal-directed		Indecisive
Trustworthy		Untrustworthy
Conscientious		Happy-go-lucky
Fascinating		Boring
Self-assured		Insecure
Intelligent		Stupid
Nice		Repulsive
Cool		Uncool

The given personality traits are commonly used in attitudinal research in similar lists. Traditionally, two evaluative dimensions of social relations have been distinguished, viz., status and solidarity. However, the newest research from the Copenhagen School has shown that including a couple of additional aspects of the mentioned two may be more workable. An elaborated model then operates with the aspects "superiority" and "dynamism," and I will use them later in the discussion of the results.

In order to ensure the validity of the results, the assessments were calculated as the mean rank values for all four voices in total for each variety (see following table).

Table 3

Subconscious assessments of C, M and L in the Marijampolė region

Intelligent – Stupid	C	***	M	***	L
	1.51		1.83		2.66
Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky	C	***	M	***	L
	1.48		2.04		2.49
Goal-directed – Indecisive	C	***	M	***	L
	1.53		1.89		2.58
Trustworthy – Untrustworthy	C	***	M	***	L
	1.54		1.92		2.54
Self-assured – Insecure	C	***	M	***	L
	1.53		1.8		2.67
Cool – Uncool	C	/	M	***	L
	1.72		1.76		2.51
Fascinating – Boring	M	/	C	***	L
	1.7		1.71		2.59
Nice – Repulsive	C	/	M	***	L
	1.67		1.68		2.65

The values are ranked in decreasing order. The lower the rank, the more often the voice is attributed to the left trait of the pair. Wilcoxon: *=p<.05, **=p<.01,***=p<.001.

In contrast to the consciously offered attitudes, where the local dialect (albeit not Marijampolė, but the linguistically very similar Vilkaviškis) was equated with the other varieties, the subconscious assessments point in the opposite direction. The local voices yield to the standard varieties M and C in all traits (the three asterisks in Table 3 indicate the statistically most significant differences). It means that dialect speech is evaluated as giving significantly fewer positive characteristics to the speaker.

Meanwhile, the C gets more positive evaluations for the traits *intelligent, conscientious, goal-directed, trustworthy* and *self-assured* than both L and M. These social values might be

ascribed to the dimension of superiority, and this is the set of values traditionally attributed to the conservative standard. As for the rest of the traits, the assessments of C show no significant difference from the assessments of M (the slash in Table 3 indicates no statistical significance). The latter is probably the most intriguing result of the research, since those three personality traits *cool, fascinating* and *nice* might be related to the "dynamism" evaluative dimension. Attribution of these traits to officially undervalued Vilnius speech in SEE means that Vilnius speech may gain or is gaining in value in domains that are related to a modern and dynamic style of life, that is, it is really acquiring the status of an acknowledged and prestigious standard variety. Moreover, M voices were allocated to Vilnius by merely 64 percent of the students in the research. The rest allocated M speech to other bigger cities. These results may imply that Vilnius speech is losing localization, i.e., spreading as a nonlocalized norm, and thus beginning to perform the function of the commonly used standard. If the theoretical assumption that subconscious attitudes point to on-going changes is to be taken seriously, we might expect Vilnius speech to be assigned the qualities of standard language and to be included in the extended concept of SL. In this new "standard," the conservative standard will be assigned social values related to the "superiority" dimension, while the modern, Vilnius, speech will be attributed the values of dynamism.

To discuss

The research into attitudes towards linguistic diversity in the Lithuanian speech community conducted with adolescents in the Marijampolė region allows the formulation of several points for discussion... with varying degrees of certainty.

We are most sure that linguistic diversity is tolerated to a greater extent when dealing with overt attitudes. The assessments of the students in the label ranking task (LRT) demonstrated the following pattern:

LRT: Modern / Local 1 / Conservative > Local 2.

The students demonstrated positive overt attitudes both towards the Conservative (SL), Modern (Vilnius) and Local 1 (Vilkaviškis) speech. With the exception of the Local 2 Marijampolė, either stigmatized or regarded as more distant than Vilkaviškis, the assessments of young people showed no hierarchization of the relevant varieties.

These results are not very surprising, because people tend to overtly express positive evaluations, especially ones that are supported by official ideologies. In this respect, the upgrading of the officially denigrated Vilnius speech is a bit more surprising. Most probably it has to do with the belief that Vilnius speech *is* "The standard" and the label *is* the synonym of the label "*Bendrinė kalba*."

Yet the consciously offered attitudes do not say much about language choice in linguistic practice. What will happen to our dialects in the future? Will local patriotism keep them alive, granting the regional dialect speaker social prestige? Or is it just a trend, a new cosmetic touch-up only practiced on certain occasions, and having no more than a declaratory character? How will the SL develop if the attribution standard is extended to include Vilnius speech?

The subconscious attitudes of the speakers can probably provide some more certain answers. In our research, the choice of the students could not be misinterpreted – the local voices were assigned significantly worse personality traits than either the Conservative (SL) or Modern (Vilnius) voices. This has sad implications for linguistic diversity with respect to one of its inherent elements – the dialects, at least in the Marijampolė region.

Meanwhile, the acceptance of variation in and diversification of "the standard" is much greater, and indicates an ongoing distribution of positive values assigned to the C and the M speech – the personality traits related to superiority were ascribed to the C alone and the dynamism traits were shared by C with M, cf.:

SEE: Conservative > Modern > Local (on superiority traits)

SEE: Conservative / Modern > Local (on dynamism traits)

The spread of M features in the domains related to a modern, dynamic lifestyle has already been noticed and has been met with resentment by the gatekeepers[8]; indeed, Vilnius speech features are spreading in broadcasting, especially in popular entertainment and youth programs.

This means that, in spite of the strict gate-keeping and regulation imposing ideal norms of SL and favoring the codified conservative standard, the development of language and the linguistic choices in a speech community are governed by natural self-regulation processes following the value systems in that particular period of time. The notions of standard language and conventions of speaking which fit in the changing spaces of social interaction are being formed and transformed by the speech community itself. Subconscious attitudes should play not a minor role in this process. All of this makes the interpretation task for the scholar more complicated, yet much more exciting.

Edited by Chad Damon Stewart

8 Pupkis, "Ar turime prestižinę."

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Behind the White Curtain

The Lithuanian Pavilion at the 54th Venice Biennale

DANAS LAPKUS

Darius Mikšys receiving the Special Mention Award from Kęstutis Kuizinas, Commissioner of the Lithuanian Paivlion

The Lithuanian Pavilion at the 2011 Venice Biennale International Art Exhibition has won the Special Mention award. It's a particular honor, since La Biennale, held in Venice, Italy every other year since 1895, is considered by many to be the most important and prestigious event of the art world. La Biennale is comprised of numerous national pavilions scattered around the Old Town of Venice. Each pavilion features an exhibit organized by a curator selected by its country. The national pavilions compete for the Lion Awards, which are awarded by international juries.

There were 76 national pavilions at La Biennale in 2011. The Golden Lion for the Best National Participation went to Germany (Christoph Schlingensief); Christian Marclay of the United States took the Golden Lion for the Best Artist; and the Silver Lion for a Promising Young Artist went to Haroon Mirza of Great Britain. The jury awarded two Special Mentions: to Klara Liden of Sweden and to the Lithuanian Pavilion's exhibit,

DANAS LAPKUS is the new art editor of *Lituanus*. He is an attorney and author in Chicago.

Behind the White Curtain, Curator Darius Mikšys, Commissioner Kęstutis Kuizinas.

"It's an odd moment to come across a project that feels completely new and, at the same time, progressive and likeable," wrote the art critic Karen Archey upon visiting Behind the White Curtain at the Lithuanian pavilion.

In his initial proposal for Behind the White Curtain, Darius Mikšys stated that he wanted to feature the works of artists who have received a State Grant from the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania during the last two decades (1992-2010). This collection would show Lithuanian art as a phenomenon resulting from the actions of the Lithuanian state and, by extension, Lithuanian society. The collection would allow an outside observer to comprehend the nature and the scale of the phenomenon and would enable its creator – Lithuanian society – to reflect upon itself.

Mikšys's concept has arisen from the interplay of art, politics, and national identity. According to Mikšys, the Lithuanian state intentionally promotes a certain kind of art product by awarding state grants to certain artists. The state assumes the role of the art connoisseur and the curator. By its actions, the state creates an immense art exhibit that lasts for decades. How does one view such an exhibit, or is it even possible?

Mikšys got in touch with artists who have received a state grant from Lithuania's Ministry of Culture over the past two decades, requesting work made during the time the artist received the award's funding. Mikšys received 173 works, which were documented and made into a catalog. The works were then shipped to a Venetian church rented as the pavilion and archived behind a large white curtain, lending the exhibition its name. Visitors to the exhibition could browse the catalog and choose works to be retrieved from the archive and displayed in a structure custom-made for the exhibition.

An anonymous blogger described the Lithuanian pavilion as follows:

> On entering, one is subjected to a rather sparse, gallery-like environment, with the majority of works stored behind the eponymous curtain. In front of the curtain, a temporary display of works is placed according to the whims of visitors to the space. Catalogues line the edges of the room, and once asked, staff will collect the works for the viewer and place them according to their specific wishes. The spectator then is empowered, resulting in both a very exciting, but also very unusual experience.

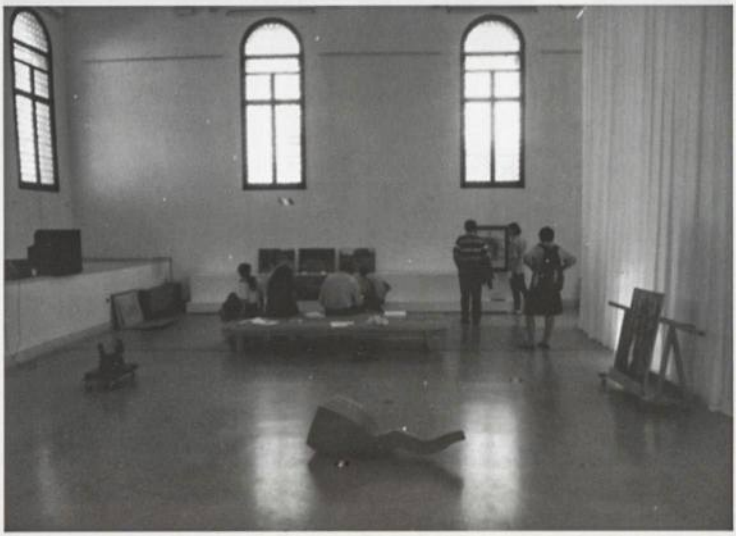
Archey spent some time observing visitors at the Lithuanian pavilion:

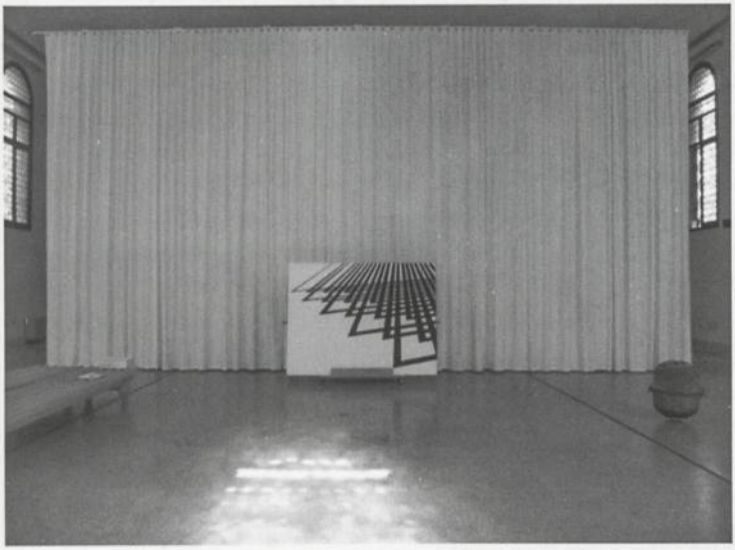
> After lingering for a while it became apparent that visitors interact with the archive in various ways, some organizing their own exhibition of various works, others (like me) finding an anomalous work they'd like to see in real life. To be sure, much of the art in the archive wasn't exactly of 'international' caliber, offering many an aesthetic cliché and non-ironic pastiche.

The concept behind the Lithuanian pavilion was, arguably, more important than the works on display. Mikšys's concept ensured the lucid and approachable presentation of a large and diverse group of artists.

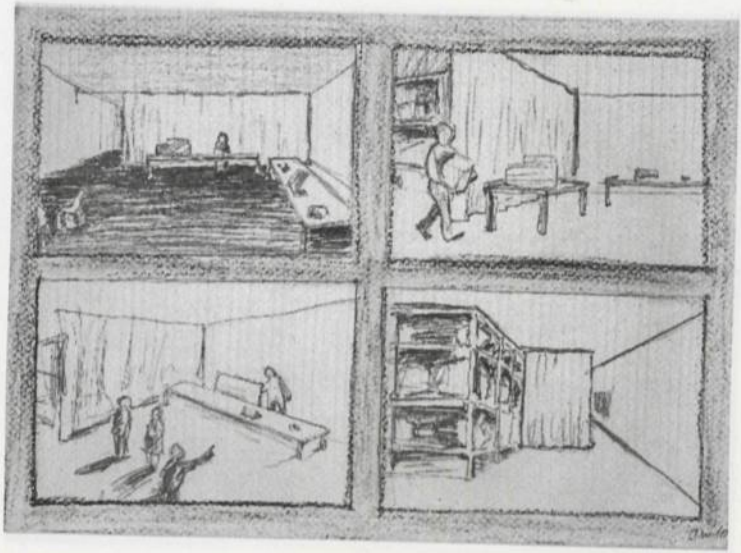
General exhibit space with specific art works displayed for temporary viewing

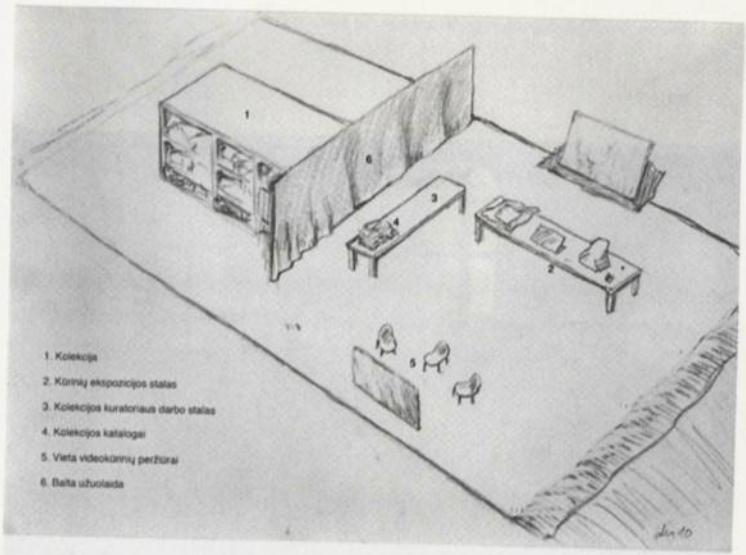
Visitors interact with the exhibit space





A piece of art displayed in front of the White Curtain





Sketches submitted with the proposal showing the exhibit space.

An excerpt from Darius Mikšys's proposal for the pavilion

The pavilion functions as a gallery. It consists of two parts – the lobby/office space and the storage space. These are divided by a half-open white curtain, behind which one can see the packed collection of works. The visitor is greeted by the curator of the collection, who introduces the project's concept and demonstrates the catalogue presenting the works of the State Grant recipients. The visitor chooses from the catalogue the work(s) that he or she would like to see. Then the chosen works are unpacked and brought to the visitor from the storage space. The visitor visually inspects them on the exhibition table standing in the lobby. These works remain on the table for other visitors to see until they are replaced by other works that the visitors express interest in. At this point, the works that were brought out first are packed again and taken back to the storage space behind the white curtain. In this way, each visitor can see a different, custom-made version of the Lithuanian collection. The presented works are registered.

This process of the works' presentation is viewed as a performance. The performing person, or the curator of the exhibition, must be well acquainted with the collection's content. He is the 'ideal' viewer who virtually 'sees' the collection as a whole.

Photographs and some of the factual material in this article were used by permission of the Contemporary Art Center (CAC) of Vilnius, Lithuania. Kęstutis Kuizinas, Director of the CAC, is the Commissioner of the Lithuanian pavilion at the Venice Biennale International Art Exhibition.

Artists in the collection

Valentinas Ajauskas, Gediminas Akstinas, Arvydas Ališanka, Alfonsas Vincentas Ambraziūnas, Aušra Andziulytė, Valentinas Antanavičius, Vėtrė Antanavičiūtė, Robertas Antinis, Žygimantas Augustinas, Ieva Babilaitė, Vytautas Balčytis, Arūnas Baltėnas, Arvydas Baltrūnas, Naglis Rytis Baltušnikas, Jurga Barilaitė, Ričardas Bartkevičius, Aušra Barzdukaitė-Vaitkūnienė, Darius Bastys, Rytas Jonas Belevičius, Ilja Bereznickas, Algimantas Biguzas, Jūratė Bogdanavičiūtė, Dovilė Budreikaitė-Dagienė, Eglė Budvytytė, Arturas Bumšteinas, Ieva Bunokaitė, Vitalijus Butyrinas, Linas Cicėnas, Romualdas Čarna, Ramūnas Čeponis, Gintaras Česonis, Saulius Čižikas, Ričardas Dailidė, Viktorija Daniliauskaitė, Joana Deltuvaitė, Rimantas Dichavičius, Laima Drazdauskaitė, Vytautas Dubauskas, Nerijus Erminas, Andrius Giedrimas, Tadas Gindrėnas, Danutė Gražienė, Bronius Gražys, Algis Griškevičius, Pranas Griušys, Giedrė Gučaitė, Leonardas Gutauskas, Vidmantas Ilčiukas, Romualdas Inčirauskas, Zita Inčirauskienė, Linas Julijonas Jankus, Darius Joneika, Agnė Jonkutė, Eduardas Juchnevičius, Violeta Juodzevičienė, Patricija Jurkšaitytė, Vidmantas Jusionis, Paulius Juška, Romas Juškelis, Vytautas Kalinauskas, Tomas Kapočius, Džiugas Katinas, Linas Katinas, Mindaugas Kavaliauskas, Jūratė Kirtiklytė, Elvyra Katalina Kriaučiūnaitė, Daumantas Kučas, Saulius Kuizinas, Arūnas Kulikauskas, Algimantas Kunčius, Algimantas Jonas Kuras, Andrius Kviliūnas, Kęstutis Lanauskas, Irma Leščinskaitė, Bernadeta Levulė, Rudolfas Levulis, Linas Liandzbergis, Dainius Liškevičius, Kęstutis Lupeikis, Aleksandras Macijauskas, Aurelija Maknytė, Vilmantas Marcinkevičius, Eimutis Markūnas, Raimondas Martinėnas, Dalia Mataitienė, Dalia Matulaitė, Dalia Mažeikytė, Evaldas Mikalauskis, Darius Mikšys, Vytautas Mockaitis, Jūratė Mykolaitytė, Vaclovas Nevčesauskas, Kristina Norvilaitė, Antanas Obcarskas, Aleksandras Ostašenkovas, Arvydas Pakalka, Lili Janina Paškauskaitė, Saulius Paukšys, Evaldas Pauza, Audronė Petrašiūnaitė, Gediminas Piekuras, Igoris Piekuras, Marijus Piekuras, Ramunė Pigagaitė, Grytė Pintukaitė-Valečkienė, Donatas Pirštelis, Romualdas Požerskis, Audrius Puipa, Jūratė Račinskaitė, Romualdas Rakauskas, Aistė Ramūnaitė, Marija Teresė Rožanskaitė, Egidijus Rudinskas, Bronius Rudys, Nomeda Saukienė, Algirdas Selenis & Aurika Selenienė, Algis Skačkauskas, Jolita Skėrytė, Simonas Skrabulis, Marius Skudžinskas, Rūta Spelskytė, Birutė Stančikaitė, Rasa Staniūnienė, Aloyzas Stasiulevičius, Jūratė Stauskaitė, Algirdas Steponavičius, Leonas Strioga, Antanas Sutkus, Nijolė Šaltenytė, Algimantas Šlapikas, Gerardas Šlektavičius, Rimantas Šulskis, Regina Šulskytė, Vytautas Švarlys, Algimantas Švažas, Rimtas Tarabilda, Solomonas Teitelbaumas, Vytautas Tomaševičius, Remigijus Treigys, Vytautas Umbrasas, Reda Uogintienė & Arūnas Uogintas, Eduardas Urbanavičius, Gintautas Vaičys, Henrikas Vaigauskas, Roberta Vaigeltaitė-Vasiliūnienė, Justinas Vaitiekūnas, Povilas Ričardas Vaitiekūnas, Arūnas Vaitkūnas, Nijolė Valadkevičiūtė, Arturas Valiauga, Kęstutis Vasiliūnas, Eglė Velaniškytė, Ramunė Vėliuvienė, Kazys Venclovas, Eglė Vertelkaitė, Rimaldas Vikšraitis, Vladas Vildžiūnas, Alfonsas Vilpišauskas, Nijolė Vilutienė, Mikalojus Vilutis, Juozas Vosylius, Aleksandras Vozbinas, Algimantas Vytėnas, Jūratis Zalensas, Elena Zavadskienė, Kazė Zimblytė, Gintaras Zinkevičius, Arvydas Žalpys, Birutė Žilytė, Darius Žiūra, Kazimieras Žoromskis, Irena Žviliuvienė, Stanislovas Žvirgždas

BOOK REVIEWS

20,000 Archaeologists are now conducting research in Europe

Sarunas Milisauskas, Editor. *European Prehistory. A Survey.* Second Edition. Springer, New York, 2011. Hard cover, 493 pages. ISBN: 0306467933 / ISBN-13: 9780306467936

As per the *Anthropology Review Database*, Sarunas Milisauskas is a professor of anthropology at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Born in Lithuania, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1970. He has conducted archaeological research on the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age settlements in Poland. His publications include *European Prehistory* (1978) and *Early Neolithic Settlement and Society at Olszanica* (1986).

The back cover of this new edition of *European Prehistory* presents an overview of what it contains. Accordingly, the book traces humans from their earliest appearance on the continent to the rise of the Roman Empire, drawing on archaeological research from all over Europe. It includes the Paleolithic, Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages. Major developments are explored using a wide range of archaeological data that emphasizes aspects of agricultural practices, gender, mortuary practices, population genetics, ritual, settlement patterns, technology, trade, and warfare. Using new methods and theories, recent discoveries and arguments are presented. This edition includes chapters on European geography and the chronology of European prehistory. A new chapter has been added on the historical development of European archaeology. The remaining chapters have been contributed by archaeologists specializing in different periods. This edition is enhanced by a glossary, three indexes, and a comprehensive bibliography. It also contains a collection of maps, tables, and various photographs.

The book is divided into twelve chapters. Five of them are written by the editor and two more by the editor with Janusz Kruk (Krakow, Poland). Three chapters are contributed

by Michael Jochim (Santa Barbara, CA), and one chapter each by Anthony F. Harding (Exeter, UK) and Peter S. Wells (Minneapolis, MN). The book aims to introduce English-speaking students and scholars to the archaeological research being done in Europe, to integrate that research into a historical frame of reference, to address cultural change, and to provide an overview of European prehistory from the earliest appearance of humans to the rise of the Roman Empire.

According to the introductory comments by the editor, approximately 20,000 archaeologists are currently conducting research in Europe. Thus, only a small percentage of their work could be included in this survey. A dpecial effort was made to include a number of scholars from "minority countries." "The European archaeological community is very diverse and it is important that we hear the voices of archaeologists of many nationalities." (p. 1)

After the Introduction, the book picks up on historical observations on European archaeology, followed by a geographic summary. The meat-and-potatoes of the book starts with Chapter 4 – The Lower and Middle Paleolithic, followed by the Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods. With Chapter 7, the first farmers of Europe show up in the Early Neolithic. (7000-5500/5000 BC). In Chapter 8, we enter into the Middle Neolithic/Early Copper Age (5500/5000-3500 BC). The Late Neolithic/Late Copper Age takes us to 3500-2300 BC. The Bronze Age (Chapter 10) and The Iron Age (Chapter 11) round out the time periods covered in the book.

I want to digress and focus on one particular subject in the chapter on the Early Neolithic, where the meaning of ornamentation on figurines is reviewed. Does it have a symbolic meaning or message? Since many Neolithic figurines represent women, it has been assumed they represent goddesses. Thirty-five years ago a Lithuanian-born archaeologist, Marija Gimbutas, resurrected and popularized the Great Goddess hypothesis. At that time, she was a major authority on European archaeology and her interpretations became accepted as facts by some. She continues to be a major source of information

and, perhaps, inspiration to Milisauskas, as evidenced by the frequency of references he makes to her. She is cited more frequently – on 27 different pages – than any other of the about 1,500 names listed in the Persons Index.

"She conducted numerous excavations and possessed reading proficiency in many European languages, her ideas simply cannot be dismissed as idiosyncratic or exotic." (p. 203) According to Milisauskas, even after her death, Gimbutas remains one of the best-known and influential archaeologists. "Marija Gimbutas idealized the peacefulness and gender equality of Early and Middle Neolithic societies; she left us with an enduring vision of a Neolithic utopia with its unifying myth of a mother goddess" (p. 155). By the late 1980s, she was proclaiming that Early and Middle Neolithic peoples were worshipping a Great Goddess. "This appealed especially to those women in Western societies who were searching for a feminist alternative to male-centered contemporary religions." (p. 303)

In the last chapter – Conclusion – the editor highlights the materials presented in the book. The reader is reminded that starting around 7000-6800 BC the first farmers in the Aegean area initiated economic, ecological, settlement, ritual, and ideological changes that eventually affected the whole continent. By the end of the Neolithic, around 3300-3100 BC in Greece and 2200 BC in Central Europe, the continent was occupied by numerous societies. Relationships between various communities ranged from peaceful to warlike. "We should not romanticize the world of the Paleolithic or Neolithic. It is all too easy to make up stories of golden ages about Paleolithic foragers or Early Neolithic farmers and create myths about prehistoric cultures." (p. 461)

The reader is also reminded that, with the passage of time, archaeological periods became shorter. The Neolithic lasted 3,400 years in Central Europe, the Bronze Age 1,400 years, and the Iron Age less than 1,000 years. "Europe's place in human history, considering its small geographical size, is extraordinary. No continent influenced other geographic areas as much as Europe later in historic times, for better or worse." (p. 403)

Could this book also be clairvoyant and anticipate what lies ahead? It's only my wish, but such a "prediction" appears to be depicted on the political map of present-day Europe. (p. 24) There, the Kaliningrad Region, administered by Russia since the end of World War II, is no longer shown as such. How nice!

Romualdas Kriaučiūnas

Vilnius: Portrait of a City. Complied by Isaac Zibuts and Raimondas Paknys. Edited by Audra Karienė; translated by Vida Urbonavičius-Watson. 360 pages, 240 illustrations. Vilnius: R. Paknys Publishing House, 2010. ISBN 978-9955-736-325.

Jan Bulhak, Church of St. Theresa, interior fragment, 1912-1913

The reverence for the printed book, so visible in books like this, is perhaps a testament to Lithuania's sad history of restrictions on a free press. It is also probably a result of the continuing political worries over Lithuania's "image" in the West that the list of sponsors of the book includes the Ministry of Culture, the Culture Support Foundation, and Lithuanian National Radio and Television. The production values here are utterly stunning: Raimondas Paknys's picture of the Chapel of St. Casimir in the Cathedral (57) is so sharp and vivid that glancing at it, my memory suddenly brought the smell of it to mind. Combine the lovely and evocative photographs with an outstanding collection of texts on Vilnius, gracefully translated into English by Vida Urbonavičius-Watkins, and the result is a small treasure, a lovely gift for anyone who is a fan of Vilnius, that makes it

Kęstutis Stoškus, Bernardine cemetery, 1996

abundantly clear why the Old Town was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

The text explores and indeed, revels in the multicultural history of Vilnius, opening with a series of poems in each of the languages of Vilnius (translations are included at the end of the book). Like Laimonas Briedis's recent *Vilnius: City of Strangers*, many of the texts are from visitors sharing their impressions of the city, and in each they are allowed to speak of the places they

knew under the names they knew them by. The photography is almost as multicultural, and spans almost a century and a half, including numerous photos by Jan Bułhak. Although the evidence that awareness of the city's multicultural heritage is growing is heartening, you will find barely a whisper of the Soviet years here. Apparently, the scars of that era have not yet healed enough to bear contemplation.

The book also contains a number of indexes, including a site index, a list of photographs, sources, and profiles of the authors.

Elizabeth Novickas

Vytautas Augustinas,
Missionary church on Subačius Street, 1939

ABSTRACTS

Soviet Authorities, Linguists, and the Standardization of the Lithuanian Language

Nerijus Šepetys

Lithuania has been an independent state for twenty-two years. However, full-scale regulation of the "correctness" of the national language still thrives there. The origins of such a situation may lie in Soviet language policy.

This article presents the primary results of archival documents research. Even though it is officially stated that the active standardization of the Lithuanian language during the Soviet period was a secret struggle against Russification, a number of facts show that this was initially the product of the planned command economy initiated by Moscow.

Unlike in prewar Lithuania and the free world, where language norms are considered to be established by usage, in the Soviet period, preference was given to the system of codification and language established by "scholarship" rather than linguistic reality (usage). The approach of the present Lithuanian language policy, stating that important issues of standardization have to be dealt with centrally, is an obvious and painful consequence of Soviet ideology.

Language Standartization and Forms of Ideological Education

Eligijus Raila, Paulius Subačius

This article gives an overview of the development of aspects of common language creation and language standardization from the end of the nineteenth century to the restoration of independence in 1990. After World War Two, the actions of correcting the language went beyond the boundaries of spoken and written and public and private language usage. Efforts of the language standardizers during the Soviet occupation rhetorically and in external (public) forms of action coincided with the indoctrination and control mechanisms used by the totalitarian regime. Only very few cases of criticism of the prevailing practices in standardization can be identified, but they generally do not exceed the boundaries of the point of view that the level of usage culture should be increased in all areas.

Five Decades of Television: from Language Homophony to Polyphony

Jurgita Girčienė, Giedrius Tamaševičius

In a prescriptive approach, the point of reference for the (rather) negative assessment of today's television language is precisely the more correct and generally better public language of the Soviet period. This article undertakes a comparative analysis of television language from three different periods, concentrating on the one least studied – the Soviet. Exploratory research revealed the displacement of discourse from the Soviet, dead, homophonic

monologue, lacking in any notable variety, to today's multistyled, polyphonic speech produced live on the air.

On the Public Sphere and its Participants
Laima Nevinskaitė

This article presents some observations on the public sphere and its participants in Lithuania during the Soviet period, the transitional period, and after independence. It is based on data from a language research project, where a corpus of audiovisual media texts from 1961 to 2011 was created. Analysis of the data demonstrates and confirms some of the theorized features of the public sphere during the periods analyzed: the difference between a staged and a spontaneous public sphere; a shift from a public sphere subsumed under the interests of the state ideology towards one dominated by commercial interests; and wider access, especially during the transitional period. The analysis confirms the pattern of the transformation of the public sphere revealed in a previous study on its development based on newspapers: the development of a "proper" public sphere and its rise during the transitional breakthrough period, and its subsequent weakening (judging against the normative Habermasian ideal) due to commercialization.

Language Standards in a Postmodern Speech Community: Cosmetic Touch-ups and Ongoing Changes
Loreta Vaicekauskienė

This paper examines how postmodern social reality influences the attitudes of speakers and discusses the relation of social values to language development. Sociolinguistic research indicates that the nature of standard languages may be changing. Yet, without a study of attitudes, we cannot say if the other varieties, which are gaining in value, affect the status and functions of the standard language. Besides, without systematic research we cannot be sure if the social changes mean an ongoing reconstruction of the hierarchy of speech varieties. This article focuses on values assigned to standard Lithuanian, the speech of the capital Vilnius, and dialect speech. It presents an experimental study carried out in schools of South Lithuania and shows that measuring both conscious and subconscious attitudes is instrumental in revealing different value systems attributed to the studied speech varieties.

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ERRATA

In the article "The Curious Position of Antanas Tulys in the Canon of Lithuanian Literature" in the spring 2012 issue, the translation of Tulys's short story "The Other Morning" was incorrectly attributed on page 39. The story was translated by Danguole Kviklys.

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LITUANUS THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY VOL. 58:2 (2012)