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Intra-Writer Variation in Historical Sociolinguistics

Markus Schiegg and Judith Huber (eds)

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VERONIKA GIRININKAITĖ

15 Intra-writer variation in the multilingual *Diary* of Vytautas Civinskis (1887–1910)

ABSTRACT
The article presents intra-writer variation in a multilingual idiolect, relying on examples from the *Diary* of Vytautas Civinskis (1887–1910). This manuscript, written over a timespan of six years, allows for tracing diachronic changes in the diarist's idiolect (L1 Polish), his ways of learning L2 (Lithuanian) and the synchronic variations he used. Moreover, it contains passages with Russian and German, as well as some phrases or words in French, Latin, and Yiddish. I measured the quantitative presence of each language and chose a qualitative approach to the materials, interpreting data in the context of the biographical and ideological circumstances under which the document was created. I interpreted seemingly deliberate instances of code-switching as quotations and as serving as rhetorical instruments of emphasis, specification, euphemism and wordplay.

1 Introduction and description of the corpus

1.1 The manuscript and the aims of the study

The article aims to give a glimpse of the structure and multilingual aspects of a complex handwritten ego document and to interpret the functions of its code-switching instances. I will examine the manuscript, titled *Diary*, written from 1904 to 1910 by the Polish student of agricultural science and veterinary medicine, Vytautas Civinskis (born *Witold Cywiński*, he later adopted the Lithuanian version of his name). The *Diary* is held in part in the Manuscript Division of Vilnius University Library (VUB). Some portions are stored in the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (LMAVB). The VUB manuscript consists of twenty-eight notebooks, most of them sized 21 × 17 cm, with different pagination, the total

number of written pages exceeding 2,800 (see Figure 15.1). In most cases, pages were filled with writing only on one side, the other side usually being left blank for later notes, postcards and some other additional documents. The amount of text differs in every single year of the *Diary*. Also the document is not preserved in full: the notebook D1027 is apparently lost, and in some of the other parts, some pages are torn out or partly cut out by the author, who edited the manuscript in this way.

The *Diary* is a highly complex manuscript, more or less a scrapbook. It includes daily entries and reminiscences, multiple drafts of letters sent, letters received glued in, postcards, photographs, cut-outs from newspapers, used tickets, etc. Additional peculiarities of the *Diary* sometimes include extensive use of paragraphemic means (change of handwriting styles, unexpected layout of words on a page, etc.) and individual crypto-language, which is relatively rare. The languages used most in this document are Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, and German, with some phrases or words in French, English, Latin, and Yiddish. As the document's creation took six years, it offers an opportunity to study the author's idiolect and intra-writer variations, both in synchrony and diachrony.

Figure 15.1. The twenty-eight notebooks of the *Diary* of Vytautas Civinskis. Photography by Veronika Girininkaitė.

In the following Section 1.2, I start by introducing the circumstances of the author's life, which influenced his multilingualism and are essential for understanding the structure of this text. In Section 2, I discuss linguistic research on personal idiolect and the research methods applied in the present chapter. In Section 3, I show which languages, as well as which scripts and orthography styles the diarist used. I show examples where code switching is asynchronous on the level of language (Polish, Russian, etc.) and the level of script (Latin, Cyrillic). I also explain the possible motivations for code-switching in the *Diary*. Section 4 touches on diachronic changes in the diarist's use of his L2 Lithuanian. Section 5 concludes the article.

1.2 Linguistic and social circumstances of the Diary

The multilingualism of the manuscript is related to the diarist's biography. Biographical and other data have been collected from the *Diary* itself, from memoirs of contemporaries, as well as other publications (Jankauskas 2003, 2010; *Geni*) and encyclopaedia articles. This information allowed me to interpret the use of languages in the manuscript.

Vytautas Civinskis (1887–1910) was born in Moscow and completed school in the Russian language, but was brought up in a Polish-speaking family of nobility, which had a manor house and land in Lithuania (part of the Russian Empire at that time). As the family was wealthy, the children had French and German governesses (serving also as language tutors). As a teenager, Vytautas became interested in the Lithuanian language, which was used by the servants in the family estate in *Latavėnai*, in contemporary Lithuania, and may have been encouraged by one of his grandmothers. She felt the patriotic urge to learn the language of the land they were living in, as mentioned in the memoirs of one of the younger members of the family (Trzebińska-Wróblewska 2002: 17). According to the same memoirist, some members of the Okulicz family, that is, relations on Vytautas' mother's side, at that time identified as Lithuanians, and some as Polish (Trzebińska-Wróblewska 2002: 22).

The father of the family, Hieronym Cywiński, worked as a high-ranking railroad engineer. As a result, the family spent most of their time in 'Russia proper', where Vytautas and his siblings studied in a Russian school. After

finishing school in Tambov, Vytautas decided to study agricultural sciences at Leipzig University. On his way there, in 1904, at the age of 17, he began to write the *Diary*. At the time, the *Diary* seems to have been his companion, a remedy against loneliness, and a tool for articulating his thoughts and philosophical worldview and writing down any novel impressions. Vytautas also paid great attention to introspection regarding emotional phenomena and feelings, especially after attending the psychology lectures of the famous Wilhelm Wundt (Almonaitienė & Girininkaitė 2021).

In Leipzig, Vytautas also bought a grammar of the Lithuanian language and began to study it formally. The events of 1905, the uprising in Russia, coinciding with a renaissance of the Lithuanian language and of national identity, were significant for him. We can see a remarkable progress in his Lithuanian-language writing practice through the years that the *Diary* was created (more in Girininkaitė 2017b). After some years of study, Vytautas left Leipzig for the *Königliche Tierärztliche Hochschule* [royal veterinary school] in Berlin, where he began studying to be a veterinarian, a choice of profession rooted in his hope to achieve economic independence from his family. Later Civinskis continued his studies closer to Lithuania, in present-day Estonia in the Tartu Veterinarian Institute. Sadly, after finishing his studies, the young man committed suicide. The *Diary* which Civinskis left allows to reconstruct not only the outline of his life but also of his linguistic environment.

The Polish language which Civinskis used is the sociolect of the Polish gentry residing in Lithuania and his family's informal language, and his writing contains local dialect phenomena in pronunciation, morphology and lexis. By the nineteenth century, Polish was firmly established as the prestige language in the territory of modern Lithuania.

This sociolect of the Polish gentry in Lithuania would differ from the normative Polish language in many respects. It was utterly conservative in vocabulary, and also made use of specific local lexis and an abundance of diminutive forms. As it was acquired only informally in the families, there was often a lack of training to use it in writing (Čekmonienė & Čekmonas 2017: 324). That is why the orthography of this sociolect would often be irregular, with, for example, unsure use of diacritics (e.g. <z>/<ż>/<ź>/<ž>). On the level of pronunciation, this variant of Polish was characterized by

a softer, palatal pronunciation of consonants, and on the level of morpho-syntax, by particular usage of noun cases, which in some cases persisted well into the twentieth century (Karaś 2001). Civinskis, who perhaps was never trained to write in Polish correctly, has a very unstable, mutable orthography. He could, for example, interchangeably use the graphemes <ó>/<u> for [u] and <ż>/<ź>/<ž> for [ž]. Hence, the *Diary* may be considered an informative source of contemporary language usage. It is known that in 'tracing orality in written records, it appears to be worthwhile to focus on writing by semi-literate rather than highly literate or even professional writers' (Elspaß 2012: 158). The differences in orthographies used in the Cywiński family letters included in the *Diary* might be suitable material for a separate study.[1]

2 Research context and methodology

2.1 Approaching the idiolect of a multilingual

Peter Koch and Wulf Oesterreicher introduced the notion of texts of 'immediacy' and 'distance' and the idea of a continuum between conceptual orality and conceptual literacy. The poles of this continuum coincide not with the medium that conveys the message but with the speaker's intentions, communicative situation and text genre (Koch & Oesterreicher 1985: 29). This concept allows an analysis of the traces of orality in written texts, broadening the possibilities for historical sociolinguistic research.

1 This sociolect in itself is also an inspiring topic of study, which has sparked the interest of many researchers from Poland and Lithuania. According to Irena Adomavičiūtė-Čekmonienė and Valerijus Čekmonas, in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Polish language became part of the identity of local nobles (Čekmonienė & Čekmonas 2017: 326). Other researchers agree with the conception that this language variant became a phenomenon of cultural identity (Sawaniewska-Mochowa & Zielińska 2007: 216). In the circumstances of cultural and political oppression, using the Polish language became a symbol of resistance to Russian power.

More attention was subsequently paid to so-called ego documents, including letters, unedited notes, diaries and memoirs-documents which, for sociolinguistic research, are 'the next best thing' after oral speech.

A person's identity in general is fluid: 'identity is a matter of dynamic performance rather than inert, personal qualities' (Prior 2006: 104). A person's idiolect also changes through lifetime. The idiolect of a multilingual is an object doubly elusive and mutable. For a long time, idiolect was not recognized as a valid object of scientific study due to its fluidity and low level of predictability (Romaine 2009: 243; Oksaar 2000: 38). Peter Auer claims that proper research on the idiolect of a multilingual person was long unwelcome, as it was felt to call into question many convenient stereotypes about language usage (Auer 2006: 2f.).

Today bilingualism is a recognized and well-established topic of study. Lately, especially in historical sociolinguistics, 'there is growing recognition, that language change does occur, and can be captured and studied in the lifetime of an individual' (Evans 2013: 3), and that studies of unique idiolects may enrich our understanding of language changes that happen in a given society. Moreover, a researcher working with idiolects obtains material free from influencing factors of language choice such as age differences, gender, social position (Evans 2013: 23), enabling research on stylistic and interactive aspects of linguistic variation. Historical multilingualism and code-switching are emerging research fields in historical sociolingustics (Skaffari & Mäkilähde 2014: 259; Pavlenko 2005: 311).

2.2 Qualitative and quantitative approaches to the manuscript

For this study, a predominantly qualitative approach is implemented due to the current state of research on this document: it is a 'raw' manuscript because the text is not digitized nor transliterated, so the possibilities of performing quantitative analysis on it are limited. Therefore, this study mainly focuses on interpreting the cases of code-switching and orthographic variation found in the text. I looked at how code-switching happens: on which levels it happens as well as how it is usually expressed graphically, attempting to explain some of the causes that might have

triggered those switches. Though I will provide a couple of examples from the letters, my main focus was on the language use in the entries in the *Diary*, where I will attempt to show that functions and causes for intra-author variation were ample.

Nevertheless, the approximate quantitative changes in the use of languages through the years have also been calculated. I counted the filled pages of the *Diary* in order to evaluate at least approximately the part played by multiple languages used in entries. I considered only the pages which had at least half a page of text. Again, I measured the presence of the mentioned languages only in the *Diary* entries, omitting the letters which Civinskis received from other people.

3 Results of the analysis

3.1 The languages in the Diary

The way the languages were distributed in the text is shown in Figure 15.2. The *Diary* pages with entries were checked for this graph, marking them as written either in Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, German or French. Other languages do not reach a level of 1%. In the cases of several languages present on one page, which are rare in the first three years of the *Diary* but happened quite often later on, I marked them as written in the quantitatively dominating language. Each column represents a single notebook. The years in which the notebooks were created are marked at the bottom.

The chart shows that in the first two years the *Diary* was almost exclusively written in Polish, later becoming more varied. The Polish language decreased from 95 or 81 % (notebooks D1024 and D1030) to 28 % (D1033) but then rose again, Lithuanian rising from 3 % and 0 % (D1024 and D1028) to 40 % (D1033), then oscillating between this and 80 % and 75 % (D1043 and D1050). Such changes were related to changes in the biography and linguistic attitudes of the diarist (see Section 1.2). There are three notable increases in the use of Lithuanian: the first one (in D1033) is more or less related to 1905, the year of the Revolution in Russia, and the increase of

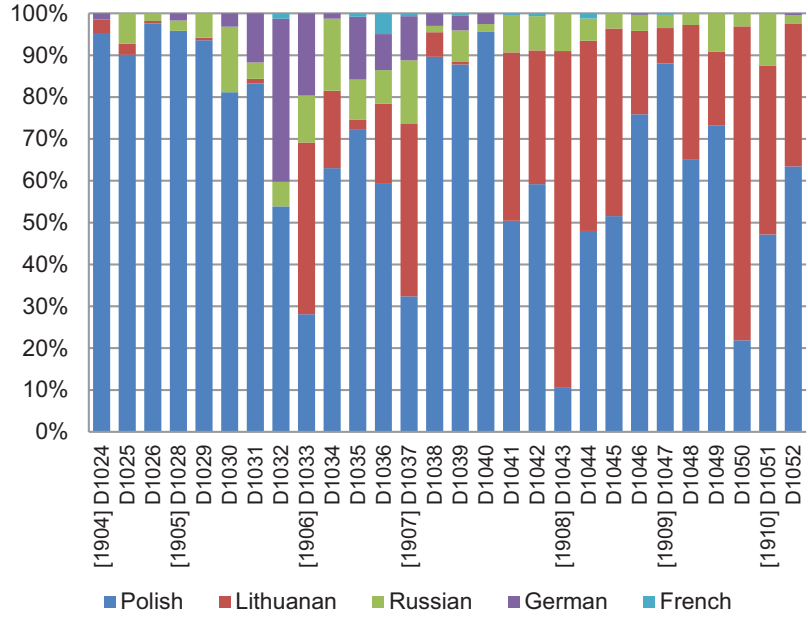

Figure 15.2. Distribution of languages in the twenty-eight notebooks of the *Diary* (1904–1910).

the movement for the independence of Lithuania. In that year, the diarist left his studies in Leipzig and spent more time in Lithuania. The later increase (D1043, D1050) is perhaps related to the studies in Tartu (1908–10), where Civinskis enrolled in some informal Lithuanian language courses and joined the local Society of Lithuanian students. He was appointed the secretary of this society, which involved a large amount of writing in this language and led to more progress in his writing skills in this language. The third increase may relate to the longer time spent inside Lithuania on student vacations.

The amount of Russian language is small, with 15 % at most (D1030, D1037), but 6.6 % on average. Use of French is occasional, amounting to less than 5 % (D1038), but usually not exceeding 1 % of the written text. Latin and English are present in the text only as words and sayings, Yiddish in the form of affixes and single lexemes.

The increase of the German language occurred during the time when Civinskis studied in Berlin (1904–07). Maximum use is observable at the end of 1905 and the beginning of 1906, with 39 % and 20 % (D1032 and D1033), respectively. While continuing studies at the Tartu Veterinarian Institute in 1907–10, Civinskis began to write more in the Lithuanian language, but this increase was not unidirectional.

3.2 Orthographic variation and the linguistic attitudes of the diarist

In this section, I shall look at orthograpic variation which the diarist exhibits in his letters while accommodating to the addressee's linguistic knowledge and attitudes. This accommodation could be expressed in switching between the languages or altering the writing norm in one language. For the latter case, while writing in Russian, Civinskis could choose between the unofficial, simplified way of writing when addressing his former classmate (1) or the official one, the traditional way in the letters to his grandmother (2) or a police officer.

(1) О благополучном исходе забастовки я узнал неделю тому назад, но без подробностей. Сижу здесь уже 3 недели, сравнительно мало занимаюсь, читаю Чехова (теперь Сахалин), шляюсь по читальням и все собираюсь начать говорить по английски (VUB RS F1-D1030, 50, year 1905)
[I learned about the successful ending of the strike a week ago, but without details. I have been here already for three weeks, and I am studying not too much, I am reading Tchekhov (now his *Sakhalin*), spending time in the reading rooms and still preparing to start speaking English][2]

(2) Кажется около года тому назад въ августѣ я былъ въ Одессѣ, но не приняли вслѣдствіе порока сердца (Зрѣніе оказалось удовлетворительнымъ, хотя съ осени я ношу *pince-nêz*) (VUB RS F1-D1039, 75, year 1907)
[It seems I was in Odessa about a year ago, in August, but I was not accepted [to join the navy] because of my heart disease (my eyesight was considered satisfactory, though I have been wearing a *pince-nêz* since last autumn)]

The graphemes <ѣ>, <ъ>, <i> in the following words from (2) are typical of the older Russian writing style: **въ** августѣ, вслѣдствіе, Зрѣніе,

2 All translations of the examples into English are my own.

удовлетворительнымъ, съ. These graphemes, initially reflecting the specific Old Slavic vowels [ě], [e], [i:], remained in Russian standard orthography until officially cancelled by the spelling reform of 1918 (Cubberley 1996: 350). Still, because of their apparent redundancy, they were not used by more progressive authors already in the first half of the nineteenth century (Grigorjeva 2004: 38). Starting from the middle of the twelth century, the letter <ъ> was not pronounced in Russian. It was still placed after a word's final consonant, as a relic of the law of the open syllables, characteristic of the Old Slavic language (Dundaitė 2005: 16). The French word 'pince-nêz' [glasses held on a person's nose by a spring rather than by pieces that fit around the ears] is preserved in the original spelling as a realia lexeme. The following example (3) is not from a letter but a *Diary* entry.

(3) Митовъ въ самом дѣле милый уголокъ – если не пересcорюсь с дядей и арендаторомъ – заживу припѣваючи. Впрочемъ арендаторъ кажется сравнительно интеллигентнымъ, с дядей ладим прекрасно (VUB RS F1-D1051, 83, year 1910)
[The estate of Mituva is indeed a lovely place – if I do not quarrel with the uncle and the tenant – I will live here happily. However, the tenant seems to be a comparatively intelligent man, and we get on with the uncle very well].

It seems that the traditional orthography of Russian was more comfortable to Civinskis, because he also used it in the *Diary* itself in this and other cases. In (3), we see words written with the afore-mentioned graphemes (Митовъ, дѣле, припѣваючи, etc.).

One more interesting thing about the *Diary* is the diarist's quite frequent metalinguistic notes, testifying to his linguistic attitudes. Civinskis must have been an observant listener, as he commented frequently about the pronunciations and accents of people he talked to. Sometimes, there are signs of metalinguistic awareness, even explicit explanations of language choice strategies.

(4) Jestem w kiepskim humorze. Nerwóje mnie ten znajomy pna G.[rellet] swoim 'isz', 'niszt', 'Laipzig', 'orbaiten', 'natürlisz' (VUB RS F1-D1025, 50, year 1904)
[I am very annoyed. This friend of Mr. G. is frustrating me with his pronunciation of [ich], [nicht], [Leipzig], [arbeiten], [natürlich]]

(5) mocno przeszkadzała mi obecnosć K., bo niemogłem urzywać rossyjskich ani niemieckich wyrazów (VUB RS F1-D1039, 46, year 1907)
[the presence of K. was a great nuisance for me, as I could use neither Russian nor German words]

(6) nuo šiuo laiko rašysiu letuviškai (VUB RS F1-D1036, 82, year 1906)
[from now on, I will write in Lithuanian]

In (4), the German dialectal words are inserted into a Polish sentence as examples of the pronunciation of another person, which annoyed the listener because of their deviation from standard German. In sentence (5) in Polish, there is a note on the difficulty of breaking the habit of code-switching in the presence of a Lithuanian purist friend, and explicit declarations of which language he thinks it is better to use. The decision to write in Lithuanian (6), written in the Lithuanian language, was not final, as the use of the languages in the further text of the *Diary* was still diverse.

3.3 Asynchronous switching: Language vs writing system

Pieter Muysken differentiates three main types of code-switching: *insertion* (ABA), *alternation* (AB) and *congruent lexicalization* (ABABA, without clear borders between the two languages) (Muysken 2000: 8). The types of code-switching in the *Diary* differ: it occurs between entries, between sentences, and quite often inside a sentence or even a word. The languages used in the *Diary* are usually written in different scripts: Cyrillic for Russian, Latin for the other languages. However, it was unexpected to find that in some (relatively rare) instances the switching was asynchronous at different levels of the text: for example, switching to Russian language lexis was not always accompanied by switching to Cyrillic. Seemingly, this dissociation between language and writing system was more likely to occur while writing under stress or in a hurry. Perhaps, a certain amount of 'inertia' in the writing habit lingered in written graphemes, even when the writer had changed to another language of expression. This resulted in a number of examples of Polish/Lithuanian words written in Cyrillic letters and *vice versa*.

(7) а в остатечным **razie i jutro** (VUB RS F1-D1048, 10, year 1909)
[and possibly, it may happen tomorrow]

(8) Ot, jei rytoj **провалюсь** – бус скандалас (VUB RS F1-D1042, 66, year 1907)
[Oh, if I fail [the exam] tomorrow, that will be a disaster]

(9) Стравиński в Екатеринославе (VUB RS F1-D1032, 85, year 1905)
[Stravinski is in Jekaterinoslavl]

The change of language or writing system may be triggered by a particular element (Auer 2006: 6). An *alternation* seems to have occurred in (7), where [after a portion of Russian text in Cyrillic] the Polish phrase is still in Cyrillic writing, and after a lag, turns to the Latin writing system within the sentence. This also applies to the *insertion* examples below. In (8), the Russian word *провалюсь* [to fail] was inserted into a Lithunian context. This triggered the use of Cyrillic writing in the last two words, although they switched back into the Lithuanian language. In (9), perhaps another example of *insertion*, inside the Russian phrase a typical Polish surname affix *-ński* manifested itself in the Polish name *Stravinski.* This triggered the change of writing system, but only for this affix. This last example shows that a switch of a code's graphic expression may happen even inside the lexeme. All these instances support the notion of Penelope Gardner-Chloros (2009: 11) that code-switching is a gradual and complicated process, not as discrete as suggested by the term.

3.4 Code-switching as quoting and as a means of stylistic expression

It seems that in a considerable number of instances in this *Diary*, the choice to switch is deliberate and a tool of stylistic variation. The conceptual similarity of language-switching in one's speech to changing the style or an accent was discussed by Gardner-Chloros et al. (2000: 1307). My research shows that code-switching in this text is found in four primary contexts: when quoting, as a euphemism, for the precision of meaning and for expressive foregrounding.

In the first case, it is a way to preserve a precise *quote* in the original language. This phenomenon has been mentioned: 'as a writing person can create a dialogue not only with possible readers but also with earlier texts this is the place where the code-switching may arise' (Skaffari & Mäkilähde 2014: 262). In the *Diary*, a writer's name, a book's name, or a phrase heard earlier in a conversation could often be not translated (in case of the proper names – these were preserved in the original writing system).

(10) **Толстой**. Zamiast gitary etc. Wypiszę ‚**Полное собрание**' i pomału przewiozę (VUB RS F1-D1030, 88, year 1905)
[Tolstoy. Instead of the guitar and so on, I will order the ‚collected works' and smuggle it [home] bit by bit]

(11) buvou ant **versammlung**, nieko giero (VUB RS F1-D1034, 45, year 1905)
[I have been to the meeting, but it was no good]

In (10), within a Polish sentence we see the unchanged form of Толстой [Tolstoy], a Russian writer's surname, as well as a specialized Russian phrase for the 'collected works'. The Russian insertions are written in Cyrillic letters (10). In (11), the German word *Versammlung* [meeting] inserted into the middle of a Lithuanian sentence is perhaps quoted as it was used by the fellow students. However, the noun is not capitalized as would be the spelling norm in German; this is a steady individual peculiarity of Civinskis' way to write German nouns.

Secondly, a word of another language may have served as a *euphemism*. For example, it seems that when talking about money, the diarist would, as a rule, refer to this concept by a word from a different language. Hypothetically, this topic was perceived by the diarist as vulgar, inappropriate for writing, the feeling being alleviated by using terms from foreign languages with the same meaning. This hypothesis may be supported by data given by Aneta Pavlenko: in psychotherapy, switching to another language helped bilinguals to talk about topics that were emotionally not easy to mention in the L1 (Pavlenko 2005: 28).

In the examples below we see a word that seems to be a German noun with Yiddish diminutive suffix (*geldele*) (12), incorrect English (*monees*) (13), low style vernacular Polish (*fajgle*) (14).

(12) ale wypusciłem porządnie **geldelów**[3] (VUB RS F1-D1025, 84, year 1904)
[but I spent a lot of money]

3 In this example, there is also a Polish genitive plural ending. In the Diary this peculiar word is used in various cases and both in Cyrillic and Latin writings. It also appears as the variant *geldy* (D1046, 74). As it is also found in the letter from Civinski's father, it may have been in common use in the family. Supposedly, it is German *das Geld* with the addition of a typical Yiddish diminutive suffix (Jacobs 1995: 169). Use of the same diminutive or affectionate suffix in the Diary is seen in the word *tatele* [my little father], which was found twice (D1035, 110 and D1052, 89).

(13) dawać mi **monees** (VUB RS F1-D1024, 3, year 1904)
[To give me money]
(14) 30 **fajgli** jeszcze mam (VUB RS F1-D1052, 124, year 1910)
[I still have 30 coins/money]

Using words from another language was also a way to achieve the *precision* of expression, such as naming emotions in different languages. Despite the popular notion that there are basic emotions that are familiar to all humans, specific emotion names are in fact untranslatable. That is why bilinguals often use terms from two (or more) languages they know, to achieve precision, and even 'feel handicapped' when operating with words from only the second language (Pavlenko 2014: 261). Civinskis, who, as it seems, suffered from mild depression, when qualifying his emotions, took on a difficult task: he attempted to investigate and observe the change in his emotional state over several months. The resulting observations were included in the *Diary*. While attempting to create the scale of his own emotions experienced daily, Civinskis used words from Russian (телячій восторг', [a calf's joy, immense joy]), Polish (*ożywienie* [feeling moved]; *przygnębienie* [feeling depressed]), and German (*gemütlich* [pleasant, cosy]) (VUB RS F1-D1042, 28; more on this topic in Girininkaitė 2017a).

The fourth reason for the intended code-switching might have been to *foreground* some idea by iterating it in different languages, sometimes also playing with the sound and making a deliberately unusual combination of languages in one sentence. I propose as a term *montage of languages* (based on the concept of montage in cinematography) as a deliberate text editing technique involving multiple languages that are used to foreground some idea, giving it an especially salient place in the text.

(15) Zrozum, że nastrój, to swięta rzecz. Res sacra (F1-D1035, 128, year 1905)
[You should understand that mood is sacred [in Polish]. A holy thing [in Latin]]
(16) Sniłem J'ai rêvé […] Jai revé Sapnavau, mat, negražiai skamba Traum Rêve (VUB RS F1-D1050, 17, year 1909)

> [I dreamt [Polish] I dreamt [French] […] I dreamt [French] I dreamt [Lithuanian] because it just doesn't sound beautiful in Lithuanian [Lithuanian]. A dream [German]. A dream [French]]

In (15), in addition to Polish, the same phrase is iterated in Latin. This was perhaps meant to create a solemn effect due to its status as the sacred language. In (16), there is an interesting metalinguistic remark [it doesn't sound beautiful in the Lithuanian], which allows for the interpretation that in this instance the diarist, looking for an optimal means of expression, was guided by his aesthetic considerations.

4 Diachronic intra-writer variation in text: Learning a new language

The Lithuanian language in this text shows variations in language competence change over a lifetime. In this regard, the *Diary* is a chronicle of Civinskis' growing competence in Lithuanian. There is a shift in this idiolect from the 'naive' orthography, reflecting elements from the spoken language, to standardized orthography. The Lithuanian language for Civinskis was the L2, or, to be precise, L4, after Polish, Russian and German. Civinskis started by using isolated Lithuanian lexemes. As is usual for an inexperienced writer, he spelt them the way he heard them in the local dialect pronunciation: for example, *vis**uo**kių*, *ką tav**i** v**ie**lniai* [all kinds of; may devils get you] (D1037, 26), while the more conventional spelling would be *visokių*, *kad tave velniai*. After more studying, ample reading of Lithuanian in different sources, and joining the society of Lithuanian students, Civinskis shifted toward the more conventional spelling. This was one of the accepted orthographies at the time. Though the standard variety already emerged between 1883, with the beginning of the underground periodicals, and the beginning of the twentieth century, with Jonas Jablonskis' grammar published in 1901 (Senn 1944: 102; Zinkevičius 1998: 293), the language standard was still not stable by the

end of this period.[4] Civinskis practised language whenever possible by speaking, writing, and reading, and he even bought and used several grammars and dictionaries. That is how a noticeable diachronic change came about in his orthography.

5 Conclusions

Intra-writer variation may be found in autograph manuscripts, preferably ego documents like diaries, and is more easily observed in manuscripts written by one writer over a long time. This kind of material is quite rare. When a person has written over a sufficiently long time, it is sometimes possible both to see the linguistic alternation in synchrony and to trace diachronic changes in language use that occur diachronically during several years of the person's life. Of course, it is always important to keep in mind the relativeness of any conclusions we may draw from any historical corpora. The causes are the partial nature of the data we can observe and analyse, and the lack of texts that may not have survived, but that might have been crucial to understanding the linguistic situation of that period. We can often see only a part of the person's linguistic repertoire in idiolect data.

In historical sociolinguistics, the limits of the object of research usually are defined by the incident because researchers have to work with the limited material that has come down to them. The Civinskis *Diary* is a rare resource, providing comprehensive data on the linguistic usage of one person over six years. Analysing the linguistic use and habits of the diarist, I looked most at the text of the *Diary* itself, for the most part leaving the letters aside. The main reason for language and style choice in the letters

4 This process was so long due to the repressive law prohibiting education in the Lithuanian language and use of Latin letters for Lithuanian publications, issued in 1864 and valid until 1904, which was to ensure assimilation of this part of the Empire. All the periodicals in Lithuanian were published abroad and smuggled into the country (Zinkevičius 1998: 260f.).

seemed to be to adapt to the recipient's knowledge and attitudes. In the text of the *Diary*, Civinskis was not limited by this, so style and language switches were less constrained and can be considered rhetorical instruments. Usually the code-switching in *Diary* emerged as quote, as a euphemism, for the precision of meaning, for expressive foregrounding, and as a wordplay.

Though the Polish language constitutes the most significant part of the *Diary*, it is stylistically more or less homogenous and did not change much over time. The variant of Polish used by Civinskis is the sociolect typical for the nobility residing on the territory of contemporary Lithuania in the nineteenth–twentieth centuries. Its traits, described in specific studies, are the softer pronunciation of consonants, some characteristic morphological affixes, specific lexis and visible influence of the Lithuanian language.

No idiolect is isolated. It reflects language usage in the social groups with which a person seeks to identify and, in the case of migration, in the locations where the person has spent a long time. In the case of Civinskis, he showed a deliberate choice to learn and use the Lithuanian language. He was also influenced by the German language, which was due to the location of his studies. As the diarist spent his childhood and finished school in the Russian language and was actively reading the contemporary Russian fiction writers, this language never ceased to be used in the *Diary*. As shown, the French language was used only occasionally, mainly as *bon mots* or sayings. Yiddish was represented in the text by the use of a diminutive suffix and a small number of lexemes, which apparently were known to the diarist from his social circle.

The beginning of the twentieth century represents a peak in the national revival of Lithuanians, with language usage becoming a central part of the speakers' identity. In some cases this led to a conscious (but not easy to perform) breaking of an individual's linguistic habits: formerly speaking Polish, an individual could switch to the 'language of the ancestors' (Lithuanian) or the other way around. Bilingual people might decide to demonstratively use only one language to support it and express their social and political position in a changing world. Civinskis, in his *Diary*, did not follow one single strategy, instead creating a multilingual and complicated text, full of variations. During the person's lifespan, idiolect may change depending on the history of migration, the learning of new

languages and the attrition of earlier ones, a person's deliberate preferences and poetic, expressive ambitions. This *Diary* shows the importance of an individual's linguistic attitudes and voluntary decisions for variant choice and the fluidity of the idiolect.

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