

## Double Orthography in American Lithuanian Newspapers at the Turn of the Twentieth Century<sup>1</sup>

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### 1. Letters <č>, <š>

There has been a great deal of research done on the origin of the Lithuanian standard language. Many linguistic features have been described as representing the initial stage of the standard.

This article will deal primarily with the letters <č>, <š>, i.e., the letters that possess diacritical marks in shape of small letter <v> above them (<^>), which is called a “caron”. Lithuanians had borrowed these two letters <č>, <š> from the Czech orthography.

There have been numerous attempts to trace the very beginning of the occurrence of letters <č>, <š> in Lithuanian texts. Petras Jonikas claimed that they were used in the newspaper of Lithuanian students at Moscow university *Kol saula uztekes, rasa ir akis išes* in 1860 (issues have not, however, survived; Jonikas 1972:151-152, 196). Jonikas also spotted the letter <š> in Jonas Juška’s article of 1861 “Kalbos lėtuviszko lėžuv’o ir lėtuviszkas statraszimas arba ortograpija” (1972:194-195) and in Stanislovas Raila’s letters to Nikodemus Baukus Venckavičius in 1876 (1972:211). Jonikas and Jonas Palionis noticed that Jonas Basanavičius ordered the typesetters of the newspaper *Aušra* to set the letters <č> and <š> instead of traditional digraphs <cz> and <sz> in 1883, no. 5. (Jonikas 1972:227; Palionis 1979:225). There were even attempts to claim that it was probably Kazimieras Kristupas Daukša who had been the first to introduce and regularly use the letter <š> (Palionis 1979:209).<sup>2</sup>

My objective, however, is not to find the initial traces of those letters. My major concern is their implementation. According to Einar Haugen’s theory, acceptance by the community is the last of the four aspects that are critical for a dialect to become a language, i.e., for a vernacular to become a standard (Haugen 1972:249-254).<sup>3</sup> Accordingly my objective is to examine the particular linguistic situation that led to the radical acceptance of the letters <č>, <š> in American Lithuanian newspapers and in the community (first of all in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York) at the very end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth.

No one has attempted to research the method whereby the letters <č>, <š> were accepted by American Lithuanian newspapers and community. The Lithuanian newspaper *Varpas* (1889-1905), which was printed in East Prussia and smuggled to Lithuania during the ban of Latin letters (1864-1904) by Russian government in Lithuania, was influential and prestigious. Around 1890 *Varpas* had circulated Vincas Kudirka’s “Statrašos ramsčiai” (‘Buttresses for Orthography’) to many newspaper editors with

recommendations about Lithuanian orthography. Among these recommendations were the letters <č>, <š> (Kudirka 1890:1). This paper investigates some of the methods whereby the use of these letters was accepted and implemented by the American Lithuanian newspapers.

## 2. *Theoretical Acceptance of <č>, <š> in 1898-1899*

In issue no. 1 of 1898, *Varpas* invited all newspaper editors “to use invention of the new epoch”—the letters <č> and <š> to denote the sounds [č] and [š] respectively. *Varpas* urged the use of more modern orthography even though it was not as familiar to Lithuanian readers as the older one with the corresponding digraphs <cz> for [č] and <sz> for [š]. *Varpas* had abandoned the digraphs <cz> and <sz> in favor of letters with caron <č> and <š> in 1890. By 1898 (eight years later), although many of *Varpas*’s orthographical features were in use by American Lithuanian newspapers, most of them still did not set type with <č>, <š> (cf. *Varpas* 1898:1:13-14).

Most Lithuanian language newspapers in America agreed in theory to follow *Varpas*’s invitation. *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, issued in Plymouth, Penn., wrote: “We absolutely agree with *Varpas* conception [...]. The most important substitution in the alphabet is to change sz and cz to š and č” (Mar. 23, 1898:137). Five months later *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* returned to the topic: “we had promised to change our orthography from the next New Year,” i.e., to change the letters <cz> to <č> and <sz> to <š>, among other orthographic amendments. But “[...] it is not profitable to start this change on your own. [...] What do other editors think about this?” (Aug 17, 1898:389). Thus, *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, although ready to change orthography, was unwilling to do this alone. This editorial clearly illustrates the authority of *Varpas*.

The main Lithuanian newspaper of Chicago, (Ill.), *Lietuva*, also spoke out:

We agree that the alphabet of *Varpas* is handiest, but how can we force other newspapers and book editors to accept it? [...] Though our editors can see that the current alphabet is worthless, they cannot change it without the approval of our subscribers. (*Lietuva*, Apr. 1, 1898:2.)

In the same year (1898), the Pennsylvanian newspaper *Tėvynė*, an organ of the Lithuanian Alliance of America (in different periods issued in different cities—Mount Carmel, Plymouth, Philadelphia, Shenandoah), declared that the next congress of the Lithuanian Alliance of America would probably decide to print *Tėvynė* in the orthography that will be used by all other or at least the majority of Lithuanian newspapers in America (1898:4:141).

*Tėvynė* also quoted the newspaper *Garsas Amerikos Lietuvių* (issued in Shenandoah, Penn., in 1894-1899; from 1901 *Garsas Amerikos Lietuvių* was replaced by *Žvaigždė*; see further 3.6.):

Let all American Lithuanian newspapers [...] become united in at least this enterprise [orthography] [...] let's hope that they all (maybe with an exception of *Saule* alone) will undertake modification of their present orthography according to that of *Varpas* and *Ukinikas*, which is recognized as the most convenient and has the majority of supporters. [...] We can dream that from the New Year 1899, all American Lithuanian newspapers will be printed in the unified orthography. (*Garsas Amerikos Lietuvių*; cited in *Tėvynė*, 1898:4:141.)

The next year (1899) a new newspaper, *Viltis*, was established in Shenandoah, Penn. In January 21, 1899, in the second issue it proclaimed at once:

The orthography that is used in *Varpas* and *Ukinikas* is the most widely known. It is accepted by the most American Lithuanian newspapers (except for *Saule*, that does not keep any orthography). Only two letters used in *Varpas* remain unaccepted: š and č [...]. From now on we will always use š and č in editorials and other more important articles. (*Viltis*, Jan 21, 1899:2.)

Thus, it is apparent that the theoretical stance of most American newspapers was to switch to *Varpas* orthography approximately from 1899 on, i.e., to begin set the letters <č> and <š>. All of the newspapers agreed in theory that *Varpas*'s orthography was the best. Practically, however, printing <č>č <š> with carons was neither very simple nor a one-time action.

### 3. Practical Efforts to Implement Letters <č> and <š>

#### 3.1. Double Orthography in *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*

American Lithuanian newspapers of this period frequently had a section in almost every issue where they set type not in the usual narrow columns (ca. 5.5 mm width), but in wider columns (ca. 7.5 mm and wider). These texts of greater width were usually serialized texts that lasted through many issues of a newspaper. Wider columns probably were composed in that way to facilitate later printing separate books with the same typeset matter.

The newspaper *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* was issued in Plymouth (Penn.) at that time. If we look at the text “Mythai, pasakos ir legendos Žiamaiczių“ in *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* of Mar. 29, 1899 (pp. 158–159), where this serialized text, set in a wide measure, ended, we will see that it contains orthography with only the digraphs <cz> (*czebatus* 159, *greicziaus* 159, *jauczio* 159) and <sz> (*iszėjo* 159, *szyksztus* 159, *uzmuszo* 159). The same observation is valid for all of the text of that issue.

Fourteen days later, in the Apr. 12, 1899 issue (pp. 182–183), a new serial set in a wide measure was started: “Vilius Tell [...]. Parašė Friedrich Von Schiller”. This text is probably the first in which *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* began composing type with <č> and <š>. Cf. the following letters in the body of the text: <č>—*čia* 183, *pačia* 183, *pučia* 182; <š>—*išpildyt* 183, *šaltas* 182, *švelnus* 182.

It is evident that from Apr. 12, 1899, *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* modernized its orthography. However, in the remaining text of the same issue the typesetters used only the traditional digraphs <cz>, <sz>. Thus we can speak about the birth of a double spelling, a double orthographical standard in the same *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*.

Antanas Mažiulis noted that the editor of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* Petras Mikolainis “eradicated cz and sz from a part of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, though finally they were rejected only in 1904” (Mažiulis 1965:33:542).

An examination of the use of the letters <č>, <š> in later issues of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* up to the mentioned year 1904 and a little later show that serialized texts set in the wide measure were printed in the more modern orthography (with <č>, <š>) than other texts (with <cz>, <sz>) up until the very beginning of 1904.

More than ten serialized wide-measure texts with that more modern orthography appeared during this period: (1) “Vilius Tell [...] Parašė Friedrich Von Schiller” (till the second half of 1899); (2) “Latviu Tauta, [...] Parašė Jonas Šliupas” (in 1899 and 1900); (3) “Pasikalbejimai apie dangų ir žemę” (from 1901, no. 1 till 1901, no. 11); (4) “Musu dieles” (from 1901, no. 15 till 1901, no. 18); (5) “Parsidavimas ir pelnas” (from 1901, no. 20 till 1901, no. 25); (6) “Žemiu Dulkės. [...] parašyta M. Radzevičiutės” (from 1901, no. 28 till 1902); (7) “Kur musu iszganymas?” (in 1902); (8) “Jurgis Durnelis. [...] parašė Brolis” (in 1902); (9) “Nuskintas ziedas. Parašė Bijunas” (till 1902, no. 49); (10) “Kainas. Misterija Byron’o parašyta” (in 1903); (11) “Lietuviu tauta senoveje ir sziadien [sic!] Parašė J. Sliupas” (in 1903).

Most of these texts were printed and sold as separate books later. Evidently the more modern orthography with <č>, <š> was intended to be used in the texts that were destined to be turned into books afterwards. These texts were oriented not just to newspaper readers, but also to the readers of the books.

This double orthography in *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* lasted until the issue of Jan 6, 1904, no. 1, approximately three and a half years later. Then a radical turning-point took place. In texts other than just the wide-measure serialized stories the letters <č>, <š> emerged, cf. in the body type of that issue: <č>—*laikraščiai* 5(9), *lapkričio* 1(5), *mokesčių* 5(9); <š>—*brošiurą* 1(5), *išgamas* 1(5), *lietuvišką* 1(5).

This turning-point was an essential change in *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*’s orthography, since from then on letters <č>, <š> dominated. Mažiulis was right to claim that <cz>, <sz> were finally rejected only in 1904. After this turning-point, however, traces of older orthography remained, especially in smaller types, in advertisements, and in headings. It apparently took much longer to get rid of the last remains of the older orthography.

### 3.2. Book and Newspaper Orthography

We can say that the distinction made between the two different orthographies in the same issue of a newspaper was a deliberate conscious

orientation to the shape of a *book*, not to that of a newspaper; to the readers of books, not to those of newspapers (if we can divide readers in such a manner).

Newspapers expressed their opinion about which orthography is suitable for books and which for newspapers:

Sz, cz is not needed for our orthography, [...] especially in **books**. In a **newspaper**, however, [...] we think it is important to facilitate reading as much as possible. [...] There's no advantage to it in a popular newspaper, but I say, **let's have the letters š, č in books**. (*Tėvynės sargas*, 1898:5-6.)

*Tėvynės sargas*, issued in East Prussia primarily for Lithuanian readers in Lithuania, believed that the orthography had to be settled in books first. And since readers, according to the investigations of the editors, were inclined to have newspapers printed with traditional orthography including <cz>, <sz>, there apparently was no need to introduce the new orthography. *Tėvynės sargas* advises book publishers to be the innovators. A pivotal difference is being made between which types are to be set in a newspaper and which in a book.

American Lithuanian newspapers were also reflecting the situation.

Let the intelligentsia in Lithuania take care to diffuse as many useful writings as possible among people in their own alphabet and spelling; this way people themselves will force American editors to use *Varpas*'s alphabet and spelling. Let them hurry, since the longer they wait, the more Lithuanian **books** are printed in America in different spelling; the longer it takes, the more difficult it will be for European orthography to take over. (*Lietuva*, Apr 1, 1898:13:2.)

This implementation [of the new orthography] should be made by European Lithuanian intelligentsia [...]. It is they, who have to print as many **little books** as possible in the alphabet that is used in *Varpas* [...]. This way they would accustom all Lithuanians to their alphabet and would force American **book** editors and printers to use it. (*Tėvynė*, 1898:4:141.)

American newspaper editors clearly understood that *books* are very important to the introduction of the new orthography. They did not speak, however, about newspapers. The dominant idea is quite clear to them that the new modern Lithuanian orthography should come through books first.

Priest Motiejus Juodišius wrote:

The articles that I give to **newspapers** may be set in type as anybody likes. Still when I prepare for publication a little bigger work, I would like to see it dressed in a more appropriate and stronger cloth, that wears out slower than the orthography of present-day **newspapers** and **small books**. (*Žvaigždė*, May 9, 1901:14:2.)

Juodišius wanted another, better orthography for his books that were intended to endure, but he did not care about newspaper orthography, as that did not last long. Double standard, double requirements, double orthography for books and for newspapers were obviously consciously understood.

This is why I suggest that it is possible to speak of *two different orthographies*—that of books (with <č>, <š>) and that of newspapers (with <cz>, <sz>). In American Lithuanian newspapers double orthography lasted for several years (depending on the newspaper). The end of this double orthography period meant that the book orthography prevailed. It is actually the standard Lithuanian orthography.

### 3.3. Double Orthography in *Lietuva*

The double orthography was quite a popular phenomenon among most American Lithuanian newspapers. Following is a summary of the use of the double orthography in the major newspapers of that period.

The Chicago (Ill.) newspaper *Lietuva* was issued in newspaper orthography until Jun. 30, 1899, no. 26. In widely set text “Senų Gadynių Išnykę Gyvi Sutvėrimai. Pagal Hutchinsoną” (p. 3) book orthography was introduced probably for the first time in *Lietuva*, cf. <č>—*aprašančių* 3, *suteikiančias* 3, *tirpstančių* 3; <š>—*augščiaus* 3, *iš* 3, *paviršius* 3.

*Lietuva*'s other texts in the book orthography were: “Musų žemės augmenys. Pagal Lunkevyčių ir kitus” (until Jan. 25, 1901, no. 4); “Biologia. [...] Pagal prof. Nusbaumą” (until May 24, 1901, no. 21); “Iš kur atsirado musu naminiai gyvuliai ir auginami augmenys? Pagal Lunkevyčių” (from May 31, 1901, no. 22 to Jul. 26, 1901, no. 30); “Ethnologija. [...] Pagal Drą M. Haberlandtą” (from Jul. 26, 1901, no. 30 to Jan. 16, 1903, no. 3); “Gamtos Istorija. Prof. Povilo Berto” (from Jan. 16, 1903 to Jun. 26, 1903, no. 26).

The turning-point in the domination of the book orthography was May 8, 1903, no. 19 for *Lietuva*. After this turning-point, advertisements and headings still appeared in the old newspaper orthography, as they did in *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*. But it is evident that from that date newspaper orthography with <sz>, <cz> becomes marginalized and book orthography prevails.

### 3.4. Double Orthography in *Viltis, Darbininkų viltis*

*Viltis* had been issued since the beginning of 1899 in Shenandoah (Penn.). Its editors declared almost at once (in issue no. 2), that they intended to begin using *Varpas*'s orthography in the main texts of the newspaper at first.

Book orthography appears first in the article on orthography in Jan. 21, 1899, no. 2 (p. 2): <č>—*laikraščiai* 2, *priderysčių* 2, *Trečioji* 2; <š>—*Iš* 2, *rašėjas* 2, *viršaus* 2. However, in the same article there are many adjacent newspaper-style digraphs <cz>, <sz>. Other articles in that issue have no <č>, <š>.

From that point on, almost all issues have some examples of book orthography. For instance, the editorial published on Feb. 4, 1899, no. 4, p. 2; “Margi paiszineliai” (subtitled “The most important article in all of the newspaper”) on Feb. 11, 1899, p. 3; “Svarbiausios knygos” on Mar. 11,

1899, no. 9; editorial on Apr. 1, 1899, no. 12, p. 2; also on Apr. 8, 1899, no. 13, p. 2; on Sep. 10, 1900, no. 37, p. 5; on Dec. 8, 1900, no. 49; etc.

Some issues were published with no book orthography (<č>, <š>) at all (Mar. 18, 1899, no. 10; Mar. 25, 1899, no. 11).

It is evident that during these two years (1899 and 1900) *Viltis* was published in double orthography. Some major texts were set in the orthography with <č>, <š>, but the preponderance of other texts—in newspaper orthography with <cz>, <sz>. “Better” orthography in relation to books was not emphasized in *Viltis*; it was attributed to the importance of particular texts in the newspaper. After all, it was only a small format newspaper of four pages per issue that probably could not afford to publish serialized texts and to make up them as books later. At any rate *Viltis* tried to keep pace with the other American Lithuanian newspapers and to comply with the agreement among those papers.

The last known issue of *Viltis* was Dec. 8, 1900, no. 49, but its publisher Vincas Šlekys (signed as V. Stagaras) started another newspaper *Darbininkų viltis* (Shenandoah, Penn.) later. In the first issue of Jan. 2, 1904, no. 1, the book orthography form already prevails, cf.: <č>—*bažnyčios* 1, *čia* 1, *paslapčių* 1; <š>—*angliškus* 1, *prieš* 1, *susimušė* 1. In some texts, mostly in advertisements and headlines, the older newspaper orthography is still present in both this issue and later ones, but it remains a defeated one. *Darbininkų viltis* from 1904 on is published predominantly with book orthography (with the letters <č>, <š>).

### 3.5. Double Orthography in *Tėvynė*

This small format Pennsylvanian newspaper *Tėvynė*, an organ of the Lithuanian Alliance of America (issued in Mount Carmel, Plymouth, Philadelphia, Shenandoah, etc.), also began allocating book orthography for some serial texts. In 1898, no. 8 (probably August) p. 13-14, the book orthography was introduced for the first time. *Tėvynė* began the serialized publication of Adomas Mickevičius’ poem “Gražina” in book orthography, cf. <č>—*kunigaikščiui* 14, *pučia* 13, *tuščių* 14; <š>—*augštai* 14, *šaipos*’ 14, *šešėliai* 13. Other serialized texts were also often set in the book orthography, e.g., one more poem of Adomas Mickevičius’ “Konradas Valenrodas” (started in 1899); also “Iš Kelionės Po Europa. Parašė Kun. J. Žilinskas” (from Mar. 2, 1901, no. 8). The majority of other texts, however, were set in newspaper orthography.

In the issue of Mar. 23, 1901, no. 12 an author named Selimas wrote an article (p. 91) about the Petras Kriaušaitis’ newly published Lithuanian grammar (the first grammar of standard Lithuanian by Jonas Jablonskis) and complained about the shortcomings of *Tėvynė*’s type fonts:

It will take a lot of time before we, especially Americans, introduce the unified spelling that is presented in the grammar of P. Kriaušaitis, which was published by the means of Lithuanian Alliance of America. **We are short of many types**, and people are not very accustomed to š, č, etc. so far. (*Tėvynė*, Mar 23, 1901:12:91.)

The same complaint was made by the editor of *Tėvynė* Antanas Kaupas:

The central committee of Lithuanian Alliance of America decided in the meantime to publish a reader, prepared according to the spelling of Kriauszaitis. [...] **We do not have the required types** in our printing house, so we have sent an inquiry to the editors of *Vienybė* and *Lietuva*, also to Mr. Stagaras [...]. Stagaras possesses many beautiful type faces and can print not only in “pica” but also in “small pica”, so we entrusted the work to Stagaras. (*Tėvynė*, Mar. 23, 1901, no. 12, p. 92.)

It is obvious that *Tėvynė* did not have the required type to set the reader they needed (first of all type for <č>, <š>, the representatives of the book orthography). Kaupas told his readers that the central committee was informed about the capabilities of the other printers who published the newspapers *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, *Lietuva*, and *Viltis* (Mr. Stagaras; real name Vincas Šlekys). As I have mentioned above, all three newspapers printed some texts using the book orthography. Kaupas’s article convinces us that the capability of those three newspapers to publish in the book orthography (the future standard) were known to him and, by assumption, to the Lithuanian community as well. Kaupas even knew that the shape of letters owned by Stagaras were more beautiful than those owned by *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* or *Lietuva*.

### 3.6. Double Orthography in *Žvaigždė*

The fifth adherent to the double orthography was the Catholic newspaper *Žvaigždė*, published from 1901 in Philadelphia (Penn.), Brooklyn (N.Y.), and Shenandoah (Penn.) by the priest Antanas Milukas. *Žvaigždė* was a successor of *Garsas Amerikos Lietuvių (Lietuviški periodiniai leidiniai 1993:1027)*. From the very beginning some texts were set in the book orthography. Cf. serIALIZED text set in a wide measure in 1901, no. 2: “Ausztant. T. T. Ježo Apysaka”, p. 25–28 (until Aug. 15, 1901, no. 28): <č>—*čigonka 25, grinčia 25, išvaikščiojau 25*; <š>—*aštuonių 24, sušuko 25, šendien 25*. Other book orthography texts were “Pasakojimas Antano Tretininko. Vyskupo Motiejaus Valancziaus“ (from Feb. 14, 1901, no. 3 to May 2, 1901, no. 13); “Vyskupas M. Valanczius” (Mar. 7, 1901, no. 5); “Misionieriai Rosijos ‘Szventosios’. (Isz Lanskajos)” (May 16, 1901, no. 15); etc. Most of the other main texts, however, were set in the newspaper orthography.

In the above mentioned issue no. 2 of 1901 *Žvaigždė* writes:

We undertake to publish the fifth **book** in the form of the newspaper *Dirva*, and to use the **orthography** that we find in no. 2 of *Žinyczia*, i.e. **according to the grammar of Petras Kriauszaitis**. (*Žvaigždė*, 1901:2:28.)

Using Kriaušaitis’ grammar meant using the book (or standard) orthography with <č>, <š>. So *Žvaigždė* clearly understood that it was

expected to publish books in a different orthography than the one prevailing in their newspaper.

It is worth mentioning the publication of excerpts from the Gospels in 1903-1904. Better, more prestigious book orthography was used to set the serialized text of the Gospels. In the issue of Feb. 5, 1904, the adjacent text of “Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII about Savior Jesus Christ” (also serialized) was still set in the lower prestige newspaper orthography without the letters <č>, <š>. The turning-point in the usage of the book orthography was Feb. 19, 1904, no. 7, where most of *Žvaigždė* texts were set with the letters <č>, <š>. That day the excerpt of the Pope’s Encyclical was switched to the prestigious book orthography as well.

### 3.7. Five Newspapers with the Book Orthography

These five newspapers that were described above partially applied the book orthography (future standard) in their newspapers from 1898 and from 1899 on. Chronologically we can trace the concept of different orthography for books in *Tėvynė* (1898, no. 8, probably August), then in *Viltis* (Jan. 21, 1899), then in *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* (Apr. 12, 1899), and then in *Lietuva* (Jun. 30, 1899), as illustrated in table 1. Consequently we can make the conclusion that in the middle of 1899s, major American Lithuanian newspapers formed the idea that *Varpas’s* orthography is better than theirs, that they should use it primarily in books (a more stable, longer surviving media than newspapers), and that at least some texts in their newspapers should be published in that better, more prestigious orthography. They implemented the idea of a double orthographical standard, and published texts set in both orthographies on the same page of the same newspaper.

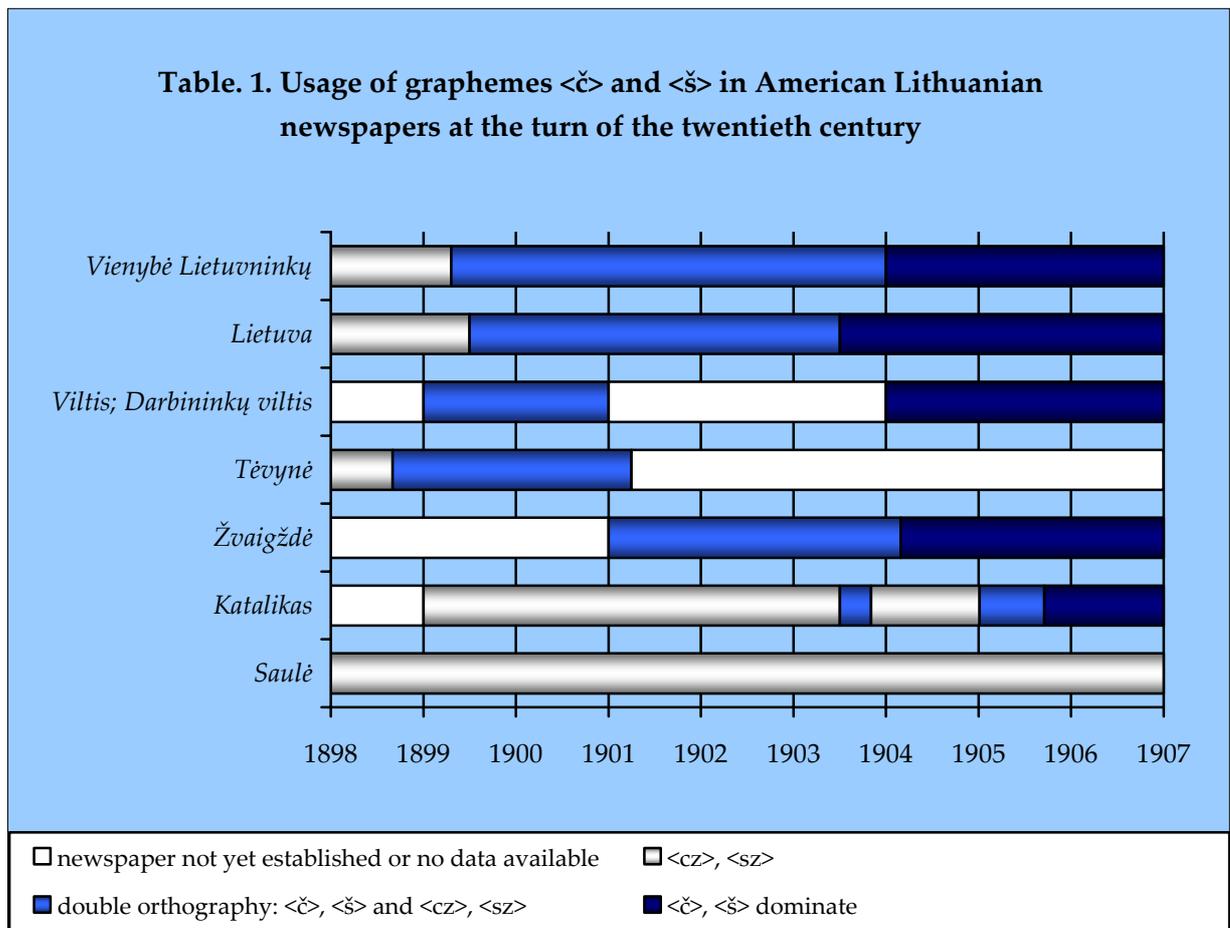
It can be firmly claimed that the year 1899 was crucial to the deliberate introduction of *Varpas’s* (book) orthography (cf. table 1) in American Lithuanian newspapers. However, it was only the beginning. The period of double orthography lasted until approximately 1904, for *four and a half years*. And only then did the newspapers switch to the book (or *Varpas’s*, or standard) orthography in most of the texts (although still not in all of them) (cf. table 1).

*Lietuva*, which was a little tardy introducing the book orthography, was probably the first to make the crucial turning-point switch in May 8, 1903. Approximately seven months later *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* (Jan. 6, 1904) switched, then more than a month later *Žvaigždė* (Feb. 19, 1904). We don’t have exact data about the time of turning-point in *Darbininkų viltis’s* and *Tėvynė’s* orthography, but we know that by the beginning of 1904 *Darbininkų viltis* was also predominantly typeset in book orthography (cf. table 1).

Thus, book (standard) orthography triumphed in American Lithuanian newspapers at the beginning of 1904. In essence, *Varpas’s* orthography, produced in East Prussia in texts intended primarily for Lithuania, was accepted by American newspapers in 1904. This date was almost three years after the codifying grammar by Jablonskis was published in 1901.

The acceptance of standard orthography by the American Lithuanian newspapers also implies that the Lithuanian community in America became accustomed to that previously unusual standard in approximately four and a half years. We can claim that afterwards American Lithuanian community generally accepted this orthographical standard.

This acceptance occurred in the period when some months still remained until the end of the ban of Latin letters by the Russian government in Lithuania (1864-1904). American Lithuanians accepted it before Lithuanian newspapers and books began being published in Lithuania legally. The standard was accepted in America before the beginning of massive free publication in Lithuania.



#### 4. Deviations of the Double Orthography

It is important to introduce, at least briefly, two more newspapers that evidently behaved differently than the five newspapers described above.

#### 4.1. *Katalikas*

The weekly newspaper *Katalikas* was started in Chicago in 1899. However, it was not among the early reformers of spelling. We do not really find book orthography in *Katalikas* until Jun. 11, 1903, no. 24, when it began using it in the first piece of serialized wide-measure text “Šiapus Ir Anapus Grabo. Paraše J. Gerutis”.

Editors of *Katalikas* waited approximately four years longer than other newspapers to introduce the book orthography. In the very first issues in 1899, in the serialized text “Matter of Spelling,” *Katalikas* made a great effort to convince its readers and competitors that Kazimieras Jaunius’s orthography, which was not accepted by *Varpas* and was refused by many others, among them by most of the American Lithuanian newspapers, was the best way to write and print! *Varpas*’s orthography was indirectly called strange. To prove their knowledge of Lithuanian grammar and orthography, the editors of *Katalikas* published long articles containing Jaunius’s, Kuršaitis’s, and other Lithuanian grammatical theories and rules. *Katalikas* was not ignorant in the matter of spelling; it wanted to demonstrate that it knew a better orthography than that with the letters <č>, <š>.

After printing two serialized texts in book orthography in *Katalikas* (the above-mentioned text “Šiapus Ir Anapus Grabo” continued until Sep. 17, 1903, no. 38 and “Kaimynai. Rašo Dėdė Antanazas” from Sep. 17, 1903, no. 38 to Nov. 5, 1903, no. 45) other wide-measure texts were printed only in newspaper orthography again! Book orthography disappeared until Jan. 12, 1905, no. 2 (a year and two months!), when it returned only in some wide-measure texts (p. 3). And the final triumph of book orthography (by that time definitely the standard) occurred very late in *Katalikas*, only in Aug. 17, 1905, no. 33.

Thus, the editors of *Katalikas* stubbornly avoided book orthography until Jun. 11, 1903. They made a final decision to comply to the living standard—both in Lithuania and in the U.S.—only on Aug. 17, 1905 (cf. table 1). *Katalikas* was simply forced to comply to the accepted standard.

#### 4.2. *Saulė*

A biweekly newspaper *Saulė*, published in Mahanoy City (Penn.) by Dominikas Tomas Boczkauskas, did not comply with the standard orthography for a considerably longer period than even *Katalikas*. It might be sufficient to say that not only in 1899, but in 1904, and even in 1907 the digraphs <cz>, <sz> were used in *Saulė* (cf. table 1). Apparently, *Saulė* did not care about the book or standard Lithuanian orthography. It also used many other orthographical features that were typical for mid-nineteenth century Lithuanian texts but not for the standard Lithuanian. *Saulė* was exclusively set with Polish orthography letters. Other newspaper editors, preparing their readers for the changes of orthography in their own newspapers, mentioned that they had no hope *Saulė* would ever change its orthography. *Saulė* was among those who were the last to accept the Lithuanian standard.

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<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to date precisely the introduction of the letter <š> in Kazimieras Kristupas Daukša's texts. Very roughly, we can speak of the middle of the nineteenth century or of the second half of it.

<sup>3</sup> In 1966 Einar Haugen introduced his theory which divided the history of the development of a standard language into four aspects: (1) *selection of norm*, (2) *codification of form*, (3) *elaboration of function*, and (4) *acceptance by the community* (Haugen 1972:249-254).