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INSTITUTIONS AND COMMUNITIES: HISTORICAL DIMENSION

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LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA: BETWEEN FUNCTION AND STATUS

Introduction, or the Incident of 1529

At the very beginning of May 1529, on behalf of the High Court – *"by order of His Majesty"* – officials of the central and regional (Vilnius/Wilno/Vilnia Voivodeship) administration of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania sent *decki*[1] Vasil' Bialianin to the Eišiškės parish of Lida County (today in the Šalčininkai district of Vilnius County of the Republic of Lithuania). He was to interview witnesses on the spot over a disputed property case between a boyar of His Majesty Piotr Sumarok and Eišiškės subject Sieńka Ivaškavič. The judicial body, headed by the Marshal[2] of His Majesty Maciej Vojciechavič Kločka, *"ordered Sumarok and Sieńka Ivaškavič not to go to those witnesses beforehand, but join the decki"*.

Sumarok asked permission not to join the *decki*, but to stay in Vilnius. What a surprise it was for the *decki* when he met Sumarok on the road to Eišiškės *"already going back from witnesses"*. The court official asked the plaintiff: *«"Sumarok, where are the witnesses?", – and he pointed out the witnesses in a birchwood. Then, when the witnesses stood in front of me and wanted to confess, Sumarok started* ***talking to them in Lithuanian*** (emphasis mine. – A.Dz.) *and asked them: "For God's sake do not betray me, and what I promised I will give you, and will not betray you"»*. And the decki, *"seeing injustice of Sumarok, did not question those witnesses"* (Lithuanian Metrica, 1995: 90, CXXI-CXXII, № 113). We should add that Piotr Sumarok lost his case in court eventually because of the attempt to bribe the witnesses.

This story, quite ordinary for its time, was recorded in the Court Record Book No 4 of the GDL Metrica. But the cases when the use of Lithuanian language is precisely fixed in the Metrica – materials of the GDL Chancellery – are very rare. And the above quotation is especially interesting, as it shows the procedure of the trial.

Thus, we see that in the first half of the 16th century at least some of the court officials understood the Lithuanian language. But the *decki* specifically explained to the court that the plaintiff switched to the Lithuanian language to hide the essence of the conversation. Meanwhile, the court records were run in the language which was designated in the GDL Metrica as "Ruthenian". This

[1] Bailiff in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

[2] Senior official in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Marshal of His Majesty implemented special orders of the Grand Duke and managed his court's services.

happened even before the adoption of the 2nd and 3rd GDL Statutes of 1566 and 1588, which set the official status of the GDL Chancellery language.

Two ideas appear with regard to this case. Presumably, we can talk about real marginalization of the Lithuanian language in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The plaintiff in our history, Piotr Sumarok, was really hoping that the official, who came from Vilnius, would not understand the Lithuanian speech. Another option of the event's interpretation – the Lithuanian language was indeed a factor of social life of the Grand Duchy.

I. Living Speech and Cryptic Language

The 15th century provides us with examples of use of the Lithuanian language in political sphere, but it happened at the level of private negotiations, for example, at the Lutsk congress of monarchs in January 1429. Vitaŭt (Vytautas) recalls the circumstances of that meeting in his letter to Władysław II Jagiełło[3] on February 17, 1429. When the Roman King Sigismund started a conversation with the Polish King about the royal coronation of Vitaŭt, Jagiełło seemed to agree with him, but cautious Vitaŭt addressed his cousin and the King deliberately in Lithuanian (as recorded in a Latin document: *"nos vero in lithwanico diximus ad vos"* with a proposal to take the time and consult with Polish prelates and dignitaries (Codex epistolaris Vitoldi, 1882: 816, Nr. 1345).

According to the report of Gdansk townsmen, who arrived to Vilnius to meet with Casimir Jagiellon and the GDL *Pany-Rada*[4] in 1492, they heard Polish, Lithuanian, as well as Ruthenian (Old Belarusian) languages during negotiations: *"Daruff wart manchfaldig handelt gehat itzundt Polnisch, itzundt Lithows, itzundt Reuszch"* (Hansisches Urkundenbuch, 1916: 364).

Based on this case, the contemporary Lithuanian historian Artūras Dubonis (2004: 209) argues that *"an oral version of the Lithuanian language for sure became one of the languages of diplomacy in Eastern and part of Central Europe"*. But, as we see from the appeal of Vitaŭt to Jagiełło, the Grand Duke of Lithuania intentionally switched to the Lithuanian language in a conversation with the Polish King in order not to be understood by other foreign participants. In this case, the Lithuanian language functioned not as diplomatic, but as a cryptic language.

However, a part of the elite in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 15th century still tried to make sure that the Grand Duke of Lithuania could understand the language of his Baltic speaking subjects. Thanks to the Polish chronicler Jan Długosz, we know that when the newly elected Grand Duke Casimir Jagiellon arrived from Kraków to Vilnius in 1440, local nobility taught him Lithuanian language and customs (local law): *"Pauci qui remanserant, odio et arte Lithuanorum tempore succedente exclusi sunt, veriti, ne native affect plus esset Polonis quam Lithuanis affectus, officials Lithuanos adiungung et ipsum linguam et mores suos instruunt"* (Dlugossii, 2001: 256). Which "Lithuanian language" could they teach the young

[3] Lithuanian *Jogaila,* Belarusian *Jahajla.* We use the Polish variant of his name, because in history he is mostly known as Polish king.

[4] Also: Rada of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – the highest governmental body of the GDL in the 15th – first half of the 16th centuries. Rada consisted of highest officials, bishops, magnates and governed the GDL together with the Grand Duke and during his absence.

Casimir in Trakai according to Długosz? It seems that it was Lithuanian in the modern sense of the term, because the "Lithuanian" and "Ruthenian" (in both cases relating to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 15th century) was differentiated in Latin terminology and Polish tradition very well. Most probably, Polish was the young prince's first language since his birth in Kraków in 1427. The election of Casimir the Grand Duke of Lithuania was possible due to participation in this political intrigue of such important families of Lithuanian origin as Kiezhajly, Gaštoldy and Radzivily[5] (Ochmański, 1982: 113).

But this language practice started to decline in the 16th century already. The Lithuanian language went out of use at the Grand Duke's courtyard by the middle of this century (Dubonis, 2004: 211).

II. The Written Language of Catechization

All the examples given above concerned the use of oral language. A number of linguists believe that all types of writing are completely beyond linguistics, and that this science is limited to studying only the spoken language. But a Canadian researcher Henry Allan Gleason shows through his concept of descriptive linguistics that there is a strong bond between speaking and writing (Gleason, 2002: 404). The same methods are often used when studying both speaking and writing, and their structures are similar in many aspects. However, we need to delimit speaking from the written language very clearly in historical research, and to discuss the written language separately.

The known examples of the first written fixation of the Lithuanian language were sporadic in the GDL at the beginning of the 16th century – they relate to the religious sphere and emerged among the Franciscans (Zinkevičius, 1996: 100). The oldest one is an entry of daily prayers made on the last page of the book "Tractatus sacerdotalis", published in Latin for priests in Strasbourg in 1503. This book belonged to the Franciscan monastery in Vilnius, and the author of the entry is likely to be a monk (Zinkevičius, 1999: 30). This text was found not so long ago – in 1962, in the Library of Vilnius University. Dialectological analysis of the text, according to the Lithuanian researchers, points to the southeast of the Vilnius region, to the strip Dieveniškės-Trobaj-Lazdūnai and further to the territory of modern Belarus (Zinkevičius, 1988: 237-239) (Figure 1).

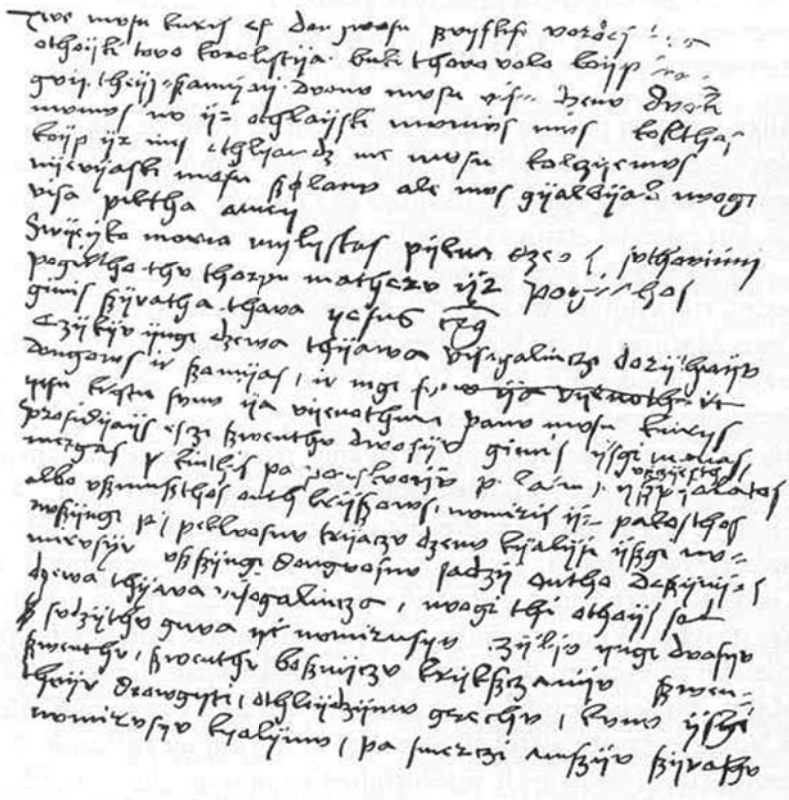
Already in the last quarter of the twentieth century Sigitas Narbutas found about 100 short entries (individual words and phrases) in Lithuanian, which also come from the beginning of the 16th century. These entries were made in the Latin liturgical book, published in Lyon in 1501 (Narbutas and Zinkevičius, 1989: 325-336). The entries are made by the same hand, and the handwriting resembles the one from the oldest Lithuanian entry. The language of these entries is close to the dialect of the region Trakai-Eišiškės (Zinkevičius, 1988: 239-240; Narbutas and Zinkevičius, 1989: 337-341). As in the case of the edition of 1503, the book of 1501 also belonged to the Franciscan monastery, which indicates a special role of the Franciscans, the order of missionaries and official beggars, in the use of languages of the various ethnic communities for further catechization. In this sense they preceded the Jesuits of the Church Reform era (Counter-Reformation).

[5] Lithuanian: *Kęsgailos, Goštautai and Radvilos.*

Sigitas Narbutas found another short Lithuanian entry in the collection of Latin sermons (Homilii). This marginalia was made between 1530 and 1579 years (Narbutas, 1995: 56-59). The entry itself is very short, but Zigmas Zinkevičius rates it as a very informative (Zinkevičius, 1995: 62-65). Probably, this record comes from Roman Catholic priest Paul, the provost of the church of St. Mary Magdalene, who presented this book to the Franciscan monastery in 1579. Hence, perhaps, not only the monks of the Franciscan order used the Lithuanian language, but also the parish priests of those temples, where the Lithuanian language could sound in sermons (Zinkevičius, 1999: 31).

Figure 1

The oldest written fixation of the Lithuanian text – the entry of prayers "The Lord's Prayer", "Hail Mary" and "The Apostles' Creed"[6] on the last page of the Latin book "Tractatus sacerdotalis" (Strasbourg, 1503), Library of Vilnius University (Zinkevičius, 2000: 71-73)



The central government also sought, whenever possible, to provide the areas inhabited by ethnic Lithuanians with priests who spoke the Lithuanian language.

[6] Lithuanian: *"Tėve mūsų"*, *"Sveika Marija"* and *"Tikiu ingi Dievą Tėvą"*.

For example, King and Grand Duke Sigismund wrote in his order to Žiežmariai Deputy on August 3, 1511: *"I order to provide Žiežmariai church with a chaplain and a master, who are able to speak Lithuanian"* (Lithuanian Metrika, 2003: 110-111, № 72). On January 27, 1524 the same monarch in the privilege to the Eišiškės rector pointed among other things that the chaplain could address the congregation in Lithuanian: *"... presbyteros idoneos, quorum saltem unus idiomate Lithuanico praedicare populo Dei bene sciat et debeat"* (Lithuanian Metrika, 2001: 559, № 720).

Why were Lithuanian speaking priests so important for the internal policies of the Grand Dukes? The reason is that the liturgy in the church within the Catholic tradition was held in Latin, but a congregation could be addressed only in the language that they understood.

It seems that knowledge of the Lithuanian language was also required from the missionaries in earlier periods of the Christianization of Lithuania. We speak here about "periods", because Zigmas Zinkevičius shows in one of his last works, "The Origins of Christianity in Lithuania: Eastern Rite Christianity According to Onomastics", that even before the official baptism of Lithuania in 1387, the Eastern Christian wave was *"extremely intense and left deep traces in the history of the Lithuanian nation"* (Zinkevičius, 2005: 76-77). This is evidenced by the oldest layer of church terminology in the Lithuanian language, which appeared along with the penetration of the Eastern Rite Christianity: Kalėdos (Christmas), kūčios (kutia), Velykos (Easter), krikštas (baptism), bažnyčia (shrine) (Zinkevičius, 2005: 8-11).[7] Also, a number of Lithuanian personal names are associated with the spread of Eastern Christianity (Grumadienė, 2005: 202-204).

Zigmas Zinkevičius, among other things, reconstructed the translation process of the first Christian prayers into the Lithuanian language (Zinkevičius, 1996: 51; Zinkevičius, 2000). The author argues that these translations were made during the time of King Mindaugas and the tradition of using these prayers never interrupted. This concept is logical and quite plausible. But we should bear in mind that this is only a reconstruction, and we actually have the earliest fixation of texts of Lithuanian prayers in the book of year 1503.

Such detailed optics, directed at the written records of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, allows us to find confirmation of individual cases of usage of the Lithuanian language. But at the same time these examples only highlight the limited status of the Lithuanian language in public affairs. Overall sociolinguistic and political situation, as positive examples of the Lithuanian language use also show, was not favorable to the functioning of the Lithuanian language at the state level.

A modern Polish historian Grzegorz Błaszczyk, analyzing the use of different languages in the GDL, even makes a firm conclusion that the Lithuanian language *"did not have any chance to exist as a state language"* (Błaszczyk, 2002: 305). A Lithuanian historian Antanas Tyla, referring to the openness of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a state, notes: *"the state cared little about the preservation and development of ethnic culture of Lithuanians"* (Tyla, 1996: 5). Describing such a prominent event as the appearance of the first printed Lithuanian book

[7] We need to add that most of the words provided by Zinkevičius are derived from Belarusian language, which the Lithuanian lingiust does not mention, as he refers only to Greek and East Slavic sources of loaning.

"The Simple Words of Catechism ..."[8] in Königsberg in 1547, published by Martyn (Martynas) Mažvydas (Mažvydas, 1974), Jūratė Kiaupienė notes: *"The impetus given by M. Mažvydas in the middle of the 16th century found no response in Lithuania"* (Kiaupa, Kiaupienė and Kuncevičius, 1998: 186).

Figure 2

Title page of the "Catechism" of Martynas Mažvydas (1547)

III. The Beginning of the Lithuanian Language Publishing

One of the poems, placed in the "The Simple Words of Catechism ..." of Martynas Mažvydas, had a dedication "Ad Magnum Ducatum Lituaniae" ("To the Grand Duchy of Lithuania"):

AD MAGNVM
DVCATVM LITVANIAE
Fausta ducum magnorum altrix, Lituania clara,
Haec mandata Dei, suscipe mente pia,
Ne te, cum dederis rationes ante tribunal
Augustum, magni iudicis ira premat.

TO THE GRAND
DUTCHY OF LITHUANIA
Happy homeland of the Grand Dukes, glorious Lithuania,
Please accept the God's mandate with humility,
In order not to be crushed by the great judge's anger,
When you will face the highest court.

Martynas Mažvydas was a fugitive Protestant from Samogitia, so the language of his book bears the imprint of Samogitian dialects. Therefore it is possible to claim that, historically, the Lithuanian publishing began from the

[8] Lithuanian: *"Catechizmusa prasty szadei ...".*

Samogitian dialect. Later, the most archaic Western Aukštaitija dialects formed the basis of the Lithuanian literary language.

Figure 3

Poetic dedication of Martynas Mažvydas to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania ("Catechizmusa prasty szadei ...")


AD MAGNVM
DVCATVM LITVANIAE
Paulla ducum magnorum altrix, Lituania clara,
Hæc mandata Dei, ſuſcipe mente pia,
Ne te, cum dederis rationes ante tribunal
Auguſtum, magni iudicis ira premat.

Mažvydas' book came from the capital of the Prussian Duchy. And later in the 16th century, statistics of printing books in the Lithuanian language showed the leadership of Königsberg – by the end of the century 22 books were published there, while only 8 book were published in the Grand Duchy (Zinkevičius, 1988: 9); according to Maria Barbara Topolska (Topolska, 2002: 169-170), 32 and 14 books were published respectively. The tradition of Lithuanian language publishing in the GDL was launched by Mikalojus Daukša in 1595, who published his own translation of the "Catechism" of the Spanish Jesuit Jacob Ledesma "Kathechismas arba mokslas kiekwienam priwalvs" (Mikalojus Daukša, 1995; Lebedys, 1963) at the expense of the Bishop of Samogitia Merkelis Giedraitis (Ulčinaitė, 1999: 444-453; Lukšaitė, 1999: 404).

The situation changed in the 17th century. Different researchers give slightly varying data, but they generally demonstrate a similar trend. According to the Polish scholar of printing history Maria Barbara Topolska (Topolska, 2002: 169-170), by the year 1660 another 20 books in Lithuanian were published in Prussia, and already 25 – in the GDL. The Lithuanian linguist Zigmas Zinkevičius (Zinkevičius, 1988: 9), and later the Russian philologist and baltist Vladimir Toporov (Toporov, 1999: 237) name 22 books in Prussia against 32 in the GDL. But Prussia's "Lithuania Minor" recovered its superiority over the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 18th century with 243 against 167 editions.

Thus, the language of Lithuanian books, which were printed in a fairly compact Prussia, was, as noted by linguists, quite clean and more homogeneous than on the vast territories of the Grand Duchy, where dialectal peculiarities widely existed. In particular, that is why the Lithuanian national consciousness began to mature in Prussia, and modern Lithuanian literary language

bears a strong imprint of the dialect of the so-called Lithuania Minor, which was a part of the former Duchy of Prussia (Palionis, 1967: 7; Zinkevičius, 1988: 9; Toporov, 1999: 237).

To understand the reason of the interest of the Prussian ducal authorities in the Lithuanian printing, one needs to take into account the Protestant concept of direct connection of man and God, as well as conscious personal reading of the Holy Scripture. Such practice demanded a widespread literacy among believers and printing of sacred texts in national languages, irrespective of their social status.

Books, which are important for language normalization, such as dictionaries, start to be published in the GDL at that time. For example, the first dictionary of the Lithuanian language (Polish-Latin-Lithuanian) "Dictionarium trium linguarum" by a Jesuit and professor of Vilnius Academy Kanstancin Šyrvid (Konstantinas Sirvydas) appeared at that time. The first edition was published in Vilnius around 1620 and intended for students of poetry and rhetoric. The dictionary contained about 1400 words and appeared so popular that it was republished in 1629, 1631, 1642, 1677 and 1713. However, this popularity had a downside – Šyrvid's dictionary remained the only printed dictionary in the Lithuanian language in the GDL by the middle of the 19th century, while the other Lithuanian dictionaries were published in Prussia.

FIGURE 4

The title of the Trilingual Lithuanian Dictionary "Dictionarium trium linguarum in usum studiosae juventutis" by Kanstancin Šyrvid (Konstantinas Sirvydas). The publication of 1713


DICTIONARIUM
TRIUM LINGVARUM,
R. P. CONSTANTINO
SZYRWID
e Societate JESU,
IHS
VILNÆ,

It was common for authors of Lithuanian publishing initiatives to publicly justify the motives of their activity. Lithuanian Catholic priest and enlightener Mikalojus Daukša in his seminal work – the translation of "Postilla Catholica. To iest Kazania na Ewangelie Niedzielne" of a Polish Jesuit and theologian Jakub Wujek (Vilnius, 1599) (Daukšos Postilė, 1926) – placed two prefaces, one of which was aimed at protecting the mother tongue. It was language that Daukša considered a necessary condition for the existence of a nation and

identified it with the concept of Motherland. Such patriotic approach seems unexpected and more appropriate to modern concepts. It turns out that ethnic consciousness in the 16th century was present among the educated elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, who understood its relationship with state institutions, as evidenced by the Belarusian-Lithuanian chronicles.

Figure 5

The title page of the Lithuanian translation of "Postylla Catholica" of Jakub Wujek, published by Mikalojus Daukša

IV. The 16th Century: Where Is the Place of the Lithuanian Language?

As we can see from the example of judicial investigation in 1529, ethnic Lithuanians were bilingual and in addition to their native language were able to understand the official language of the GDL Chancellery (in this case we do not mean the elite – *Pany-Rada* members, who certainly spoke a few languages). Moreover, some officials of the GDL central government of not Lithuanian origin could also speak Lithuanian in order to be able to perform their duties effectively. At least, we know that *decki* Vasiĺ Bialianin was Ruthenian by origin.

Linguistic borrowings present an important illustration of the process of mutual influence of languages. Some statistical discrepancies exist in this question too. Belarusian linguists note the asymmetry of the Belarusian-Lithuanian (Slavic-Baltic) influences. Long-term coexistence of indigenous Baltic population with incoming Slavs on the territory of modern Belarus led to the formation of a significant amount of superstratum[9] in the language of Balts, and

[9] Superstratum – the influence of the language of the alien population upon the language of the indigenous population as a result of the cultural domination of some ethnic community, which did not have the critical mass for the assimilation of this indigenous population. In this case, the local linguistic tradition does not disappear, but experiences an influence of foreign language to a different degree and at different levels.

Baltic lexical substrate[10] in the successor language of Slavs (Lexical Balticisms, 1969; Bułyka, 1980; Laučiūtė, 1982). While words of the Belarusian origin accounted for a significant layer in the Old Lithuanian language, the Lithuanian lexical impact is limited to four dozen units in the Old Belarusian language (Sviažynski, 2005: 60).

Konstantinas Jablonskis in his work and in some unpublished materials recorded around 250 borrowings from Lithuanian in the Chancellery (Old Belarusian) language (Zinkevičius, 1996: 73). Most likely, these divergences stem from the difference in the selected area, on which the information is provided. Jablonskis recorded most borrowings in the documents created on the territory of ethnic Lithuania. Outside this territory, their number reaches only fifty. It should be noted that the large-scale project of publishing the "Historical Dictionary of the Belarusian Language" (1982-2011) is continuing, and the number of identified lexical borrowings will obviously increase. The main reason for the appearance of borrowings from Lithuanian in the Old Belarusian language was the existence of specific social and economic phenomena in the GDL. These phenomena needed names in order to record the occurring processes.

In some later regulations (the middle of the 16th – the 17th centuries), besides borrowings from Lithuanian, the whole Lithuanian phrases written in Cyrillic letters sometimes appear, such as one in the Judicial Acts of Vilkamir (Ukmergė) Castle of 1623: *"Жыноки ку нежыдеси илкгай ант ся света"*[11] (Zinkevičius, 1996: 74). As we can see, it was a written proverb. Thus, not a single act written fully in Lithuanian language and addressing the residents of the state appeared in the Chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 15th–17th centuries, although the documents prove a limited existence of the Lithuanian oral language in the public sphere in the 16th century.

Magdeburg documentation indicates that Lithuanian language was one of the languages of oral communication in the urban life of Kaunas and Vilnius in the 16th century. Vilnius city charter of November 18, 1551 determined that the summons to court and the verdict would be anounced *"in Polish and Lithuanian, and in Ruthenian, so that all who listen could understand"*[12] (Dubiński, 1788: 96). In Kaunas, the privilege of 1540 defined Polish and Lithuanian as public languages (Kiaupa, 2000: 28). It is clear that in Kaunas the Lithuanian language had the strongest positions. Sources of 1562 report about a Polish boy, who studied Lithuanian in the Lithuanian family, and a German boy, who studied Lithuanian and Polish languages in the same way in 1567 (Lebedys, 1976: 192). In addition, the lack of knowledge of the Lithuanian language caused resignation of the juryman of Kaunas City Council Andreas Woit, German by origin, in 1538: *"... er sproch halben dem, er im litauischen nicht wol erfaren sei"* (Dubonis, 2004: 217). The decision of the Vilnius City Council on fees, certified by Sigismund Augustus in 1522, provided that an official act had to be voiced by heralds in Polish,

[10] Substratum – the influence of the language of the indigenous population upon another language, usually during the transition of communities from the first language to the new one. Unlike linguistic borrowing, it requires a deep ethnic mixture and language assimilation of the indigenous population by aliens, involving a stage of bilingualism.

[11] *Know that you will not prosper in this world for a long time.*

[12] Original Polish: *"po polsku i po litewsku, i po rusku, aby wszyscy, ktorzy by słuchali, rozumieli".*

Ruthenian, and Lithuanian languages, in order that all people concerned would understand contents of the document. Thus, for the announcement the act was translated from the chancellery language – Polish, Old Belarusian or Latin.

Again, we are talking about the spoken form of the language in these cases. Non-differentiation of the oral and written forms of languages and their functions may lead to the controversial concept, according to which historians declare Lithuanian the official language of the GDL, at the same time rejecting the very notion of the state language in the 16th–17th centuries, as Artūras Dubonis does (2004: 205 -219).[13] Yet he outlines the overall sociolinguistic situation in the GDL in this way: *"So, it seems that we are dealing with a linguistic coexistence and balance, developed over the centuries in the GDL, and not with the problem of the state language. The authorities took care of the existing multilingualism"* (Dubonis, 2004: 218).

V. Linguistic Experiments and Practices of the 17th–18th Centuries

So, we can observe very interesting and at the same time contradictory cultural processes during the 16th century. Knowledge of the Lithuanian language was necessary to mid-level bureaucrats for qualified performance of official duties in some regions of the GDL, but the Lithuanian language was never able to gain the status of one of the official chancellery languages of the Duchy. And this was happening at the time when Lithuanian publishing already existed (though in Prussia), and literary norms of the written Lithuanian language were establishing. The 17th century brings some innovations in the problem, though they leave even more questions.

The first official documents of the GDL published in Lithuanian appear at the time of the King and Grand Duke Władysław IV Vasa. These are messages of Władysław IV of 1639 and 1641, which were distributed in Prussia. In the universal of March 22, 1639 (Pakarklis, 1960 58-59, il. 2; Kulnytė, 1990: il. 158) monarch of the Commonwealth of Both Nations[14] forbids his citizens, and primarily residents of Masuria and Podlachia, to hunt in the forests of the Duchy of Prussia.

Universal of August 22, 1641 (Pakarklis, 1960 58-59, il. 3) reflects the desire of the central government to restrict the migration of peasants from Poland to Prussia, and in connection with this the separation of judicial competence between the two countries is carried out. Prussian authorities published both of these charters in Prussia, using the Gothic type adopted there. Obviously, these universals, prepared in the Royal Chancellery of Władysław IV (most likely in Latin), were translated into the Lithuanian language in the Prussian chancellery and issued with observance of the official protocol, indicating the place of the seal – L. S. (locus sigilli). As we see, these Lithuanian language initiatives also came from the Prussian side. And it was in Prussia where a practice of issuing official documents in Lithuanian started since the 16th century.

[13] See also the discussion caused by this text (Sviažynski, 2004: 220-227; Dziarnovič, 2004: 12-17).

[14] The Commonwealth of Polish nation (nobility of the Kingdom of Poland) and Lithuanian-Belarusian/Ruthenian nation (nobility of the GDL).

Figure 6

September 22, 1589. Resolution of the Prussian Duke George Frederick to ban trade on private farmsteads. In Lithuanian

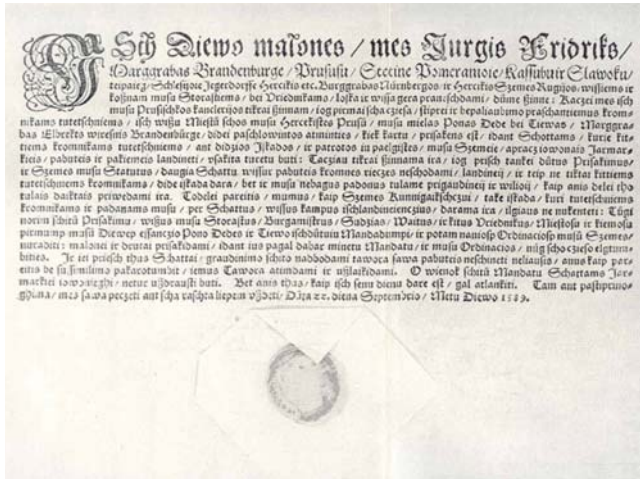


Figure 7

March 22, 1639. The King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Władysław IV Vasa forbids his citizens to hunt in the forests of the Duchy of Prussia. Printed leaflet, in Lithuanian (Prussia)

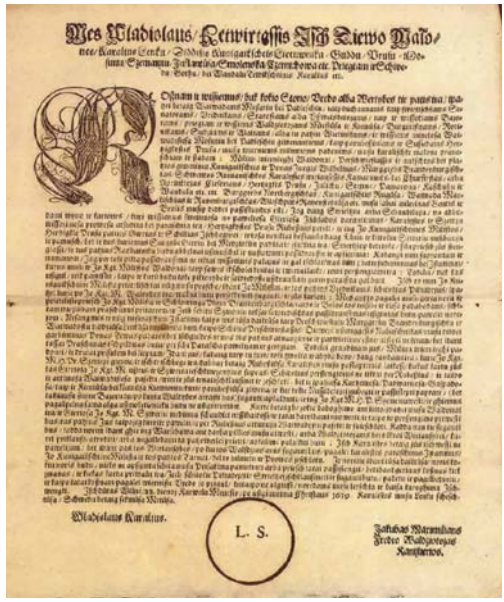
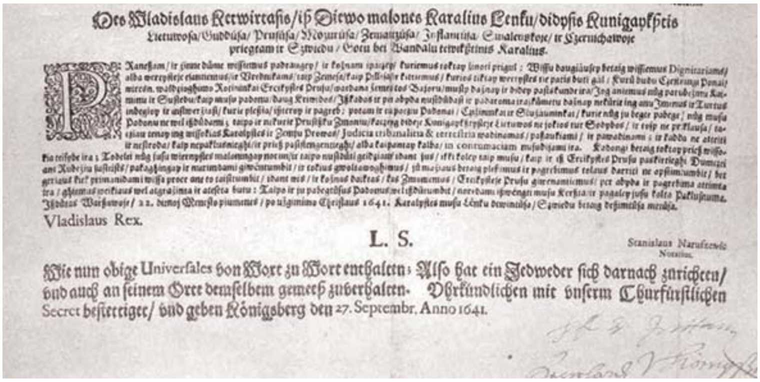


Figure 8

August 22, 1641. The King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania Władysław IV Vasa restricts migration of peasants from the Commonwealth of Both Nations to the Duchy of Prussia. Printed leaflet, in Lithuanian (Prussia)


Mes Wladislaus Ketwirtasis/ iß Diewo malones Karalius Lenku/ didysis Kunigaykßtis
Lietuwosa/ Guddúsa/ Prusúsa/ Mozurúsa/ Zemaytzúsa/ Jnflantúsa/ Smalenskoje/ ir Szernichawoje
priegtam ir Szwiedu/ Gotu bei Wandalu tewikßtinis Karalius.

Vladislaus Rex.

L. S.

Stanislaus Naruszewic Notarius.

Wie nun obige Universales von Wort zu Wort enthalten; Also hat ein Jedweder sich darnach zurichten/ und auch an seinem Orte demselbem gemeeß zuverhalten. Uhrkündlichen mit unserm Churfürstlichen Secret besiettiget/ und geben Königsberg den 27. Septembr. Anno 1641.

The 17th and especially the 18th centuries were the time of publishing of the Lithuanian primers. The first educational publication of that kind was a part of the Catechism of Mažvydas with alphabet and exercises for reading syllables on four pages. Second Lithuanian primer was again a part of the catechism *"The Sermon Beginning for Small Children ... Small Catechism ... "*[15] prepared by the GDL Calvinists (perhaps by Samuel Bitner), but published again in Königsberg in 1690 and funded by Liudvika Karalina Radzivil, the representative of Biržai Calvinist part of the GDL ducal family. This catechism was distributed in Calvinist schools of northern Lithuania for free. Another Lithuanian primer was printed in Königsberg in 1708, but it was intended for Lutheran schools of Prussia.

The Grand Duchy was again late with the publication of primers. There is evidence that a Samogitian primer was published in Vilnius in the printing house of the Franciscans in 1752, but it was eventually lost. The first well-known Catholic primer *"Learning to Read Polish Letters for Small Children"*[16] was published in Vilnius between the years 1759–1761. As we see, this primer was focused on learning the basics of Polish language by Lithuanian schoolchildren and contained 64 pages of parallel texts in Lithuanian and Polish. It is from this book that a systematic reprint of Lithuanian primers for the GDL primary schools begins (editions of years 1763 and 1766 remained). Finally, one day the Polish part disappeared from bilingual primers, and in the edition of 1783 it was already absent. However, we do not know the exact date of emergence of the purely Lithuanian version of the primer, although it is believed to have happened during the 1766–1776 period. Henceforth, the primer was called *"Learning to read Lithuanian letters for small children"*.[17]

[15] Original: *"Pradzia pamoksla del Mazu Weykialu ... Katechizmas maziasnis ...".*

[16] Original: *"Moksłas skaytima raszto lękiszko del mazu waykialu = Nauka czytania pisma polskiego dla małych dziatek".*

[17] Lithuanian: *"Moksłas skaytima raszta lietuwiszka dieł mazu wayku".*

Figure 9

Title page of the bilingual (Polish-Lithuanian) primer. Vilnius, 1763

MOKSŁAS
NAUKA
SKAYTIMA RASZTO LĘKISZKO
CZYTANIA PISMA POLSKIEGO
DEL MAZU WAYKIALU
DLA MAŁYCH DZIATEK
Kureray w którym
Padieti ira wyſoki mokſlay Krykſcioniſzki,
Położone ſą różne nauki Chrześciańſkie,
Taypogi ir Nabożeńſtway trumpi koznos dienos
Także i Nabożeńſtwa krótkie każdo dzienne
Wirams ir moterims ſłużijętes.
Mężczyznom i kobietom służące.
Idant Aby
Mokidamiſe ſkaytiti, iſzmoktu pradżiu
Ucząc ſię czytać, nauczyć ſię początkow
Mokſła Krykſcioniſzka, ir Nabożeńſtwas
Nauki Chrześciańſkiey i Nabożeńſtwa
KOZNOSDIENOS
CODZIENNEGO
Dabar naujey pardrukawotas wyſokiu raſztu
Teraz przedrukowana różnym piſmem
LĘKISZKU
POLSKIM
WILNIUY
Drukarnioy J.K.M. Akademios Societatis JESU
Metuoſe 1763,

FIGURE 10

Title page of the Lithuanian primer. Vilnius, 1783

MOKSŁAS
SKAYTIMA RASZTA LIETUWISZKA
DIEŁ MAZU WAYKU
KOREMI PADIETY IRA WISOKI
MOKSŁAY KRYKSCIONISZKI,
TEYPOGI YR TRUMPAS
NOBAZENSTWAS
KOZNOS DIENOS.
WIRAMS YR MOTERIMS
SŁUZIJĘTES.
[illegible]
NAUJEY PARDRUKAWOTAS
WILNIUY
Drukarnioy J. K. Mci Ir Akademios
Metusy 1783.

Later, these primers were published in the Academic (university) printing house annually from 325 to 2350 copies (about 1000 copies on average) during the years 1776–1790. Although the demand for primary Polish language education was higher (editions of Polish primers ranged from 510 to 2805 copies, the average number of copies was 1600 copies), such extension of the Lithuanian primers was a real success of Lithuanian language education (Table 1).

Table 1

Edition of primers (based on books of income and expenses of the printing house of the Main School of Lithuania – Vilnius University, 1776-1790)

Year	*Lithuanian primers*	*Polish primers*
1776	560	510
1777	1500	1535
1778	325	2270
1779	795	3016
1780	1020	1370
1781	950	870
1782	1640	2196
1783	788	1030
1784	325	610
1785	820	1055
1786	980	1695
1787	750	990
1788	945	2625
1789	1360	1890
1790	2350	2805
Total	*15108*	*24467*

Source: Urbelionienė, 1985: 128.

At the same time Lithuanian typography was also gaining momentum. From the middle of the 17th century, the number of Lithuanian language books was increasing with each decade. 46 editions (21 items) were published during the years 1750–1759, 40 editions (21 items) in the years 1760–1769, and 59 editions (31 items) in the years 1770–1779 (Urbelionienė, 1985: 128; Narbutas, 2006 : 330).

In general, it was the Herder era with its increased attention to ethnic issues and, therefore, the ideas of democratization of education. German cultural historian Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) did not understand well the place of Baltic languages in Indo-European studies, but he noted their antiquity and value: *"The origin of Lithuanians, Curonians and Latgalians, who live by the East* [the Baltic. – A.D.] *sea is unknown, but apparently other peoples ousted them until there was nowhere to go anymore. Although their language is mixed, it has a special character, this language is the offspring of the most ancient matter, originating from distant places"* (Herder, 1977: 465).

In general, according to linguistic nomenclature of the 18th century the term "Lithuanian language" very clearly meant the Baltic language, which we today know as the Lithuanian language. The German linguist Gottfried Hensel (1724–1785) on his map "Europa Polyglotta. Linguarum Genealo-

giam ex hibens, una cum literis, scribendiques, modis, omnium gentium" (Hensel, 1741) distributed the languages of Europe and gave examples of them in alphabetical order using the first lines of the prayer "Our Father". The words *"Tewe musu kursey esi danguy. Szweskis wardas Tawo"* under the inscription *"Lithuanica"* leave no doubt as to the language and ethnic interpretation of the term.

Figure 11

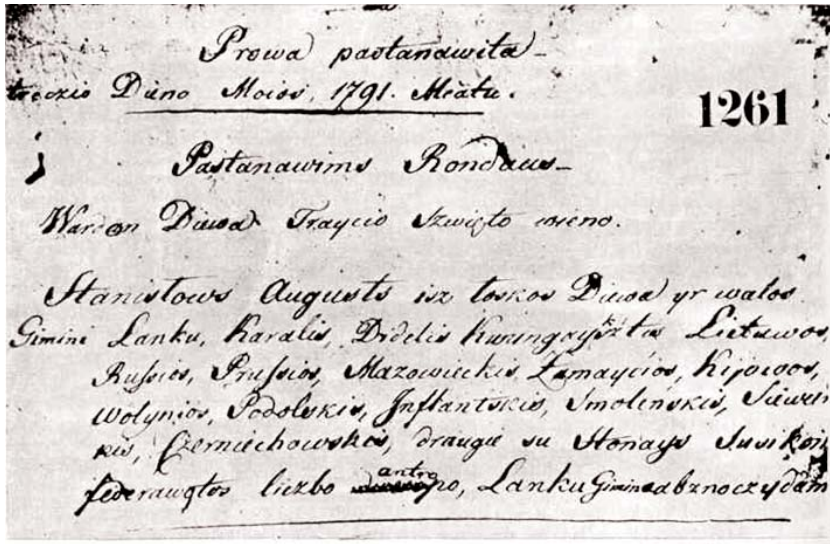
Map of Gottfried Hensel "Europa Polyglotta. Linguarum Genealogiam ex hibens, una cum literis, scribendiques, modis, omnium gentium", 1741. By Plihál and Hapák, 2003: 103

Yet the state mechanism of the GDL and the Commonwealth of Both Nations did not stimulate such processes, and the Lithuanian language made its way into official institutions very slowly. A some sort of shock, change of the foundations was neccessary, so that public authorities could finally start to issue regulations and universals in Lithuanian. It was the Constitution of May 3, 1791 that became such event, as its text was already translated in Lithuanian in the Grand Duchy, along with some other documents of the Kościuszko Uprising (Tumelis, 1997: 11-40) (Figure 12).

So, what was the reason for the Lithuanian language to become the language of official acts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania so late, only at the end of the 18th century?

Figure 12

The Constitution of May 3, 1791 in Lithuanian. The manuscript of the 19th century (Lietuvos TSR istorija, 1986, 222; Tumelis, 1978, 95-105)



1791 m. gegužės 3 d. konstitucijos to meto vertimo į lietuvių kalbą pradžia

VI. Answer Options: Bilingualism or Diglossia?

During the middle of the 13th – the first half of the 14th century, when the state only emerged and established, known then under the official name of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Option: Lithuania and Ruthenia), there were only two chancellery traditions in this historical region: the Latin and the Ruthenian (Cyrillic). Hence, the Chancellery of Lithuanian rulers adopted these traditions – the Ruthenian language became the official chancellery (state) language of the GDL since the end of the 14th century (Błaszczyk, 2002: 302). This language with Cyrillic graphics can be called the Old Belarusian quite legitimately, as it significantly departed from the initial graphical Old Russian pattern and began to reflect, despite all the conservatism of its graphical tools, the local linguistic and cultural realities. Further, this process of "Belarusianization" of chancellery language steadily grew over the 15th–16th centuries, absorbing some borrowings from Polish and Lithuanian, and special economic and legal vocabulary. The Latin language, along with the Old Belarusian, was the second chancellery language of the GDL in the 14th–16th centuries. However, the Old Belarusian language clearly prevailed in the internal documentation. It took the basis of its graphical system from the Old Church Slavonic writing.

Both Latin and Old Church Slavonic languages were the expression of universalism of different civilizations – Western Christian and Eastern Christian, or Byzantine Community of Nations, according to Dimitri Obolensky (Obo-

lensky, 1998: 11,13). The specific character of the post-Byzantine cultural situation lies in the fact that this "Cyrillic" universalism was transformed into a local phenomenon – the written Old Belarusian language. In the circumstances of deep cultural shifts and transformations of the 14th–15th centuries, the Lithuanian language did not yet have its own cultural tradition of writing (some experiments in this direction can not be called a tradition). Therefore, Timothy Snyder (2010: 37) argues that *"it did not play any significant role in the policy of the Polish-Lithuanian state"*.

But the Lithuanian spoken language functioned not only as a means of communication of peasants in the GDL in the 15th–16th centuries. It circulated in some city communities (especially in Kaunas, and to some extent in Vilnius) and had sympathizers among the upper class. And here lies a certain paradox. On the one hand, we see the living tradition of oral transmission of the Lithuanian language. Its supporters held high positions in the Grand Duchy in the 16th century, while deacons and scribes of Lithuanian descent directly influenced the formation of the language culture and traditions of the GDL Chancellery, the evidence of which are, among others, borrowings from Lithuanian in the Old Belarusian written language. On the other hand, the Lithuanian language in the 16th–17th centuries did not yet become the language of acts in the Grand Duchy, and individual words and phrases in foreign language texts only emphasize its status.

Such a situation existed at the time when publishing in Lithuanian already started, and the process of formation of its literary norms began. Possibly, a confessional factor played certain role here, because the first Lithuanian books were prepared by Protestants and published in the Lutheran Prussia with the support of the ducal government, which obviously sought catechization of the local Lithuanians (Dziarnovič, 2005: 19). But already at the end of the 16th century the Jesuits also began publishing in Lithuanian. We will now try to answer these questions by analyzing the sociolinguistic situation.

Obviously, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania belonged to the communities where it was common to use more than one language, though it was the case with the majority of European states. In such a mobile language system, it is necessary to distinguish the order of language acquisition[18] from the actual extent of its use. Wilfred Whiteley suggested this division, as well as terms and symbols, and Roger Bell expanded the idea (Bell, 1980: 155).

Table 2

Language: a sequence of development and use

Chronological aspect	*Language status*	*Symbol*
Diachronic	First language	L1
	Second language	L2
Synchronic	Primary language	PL
	Secondary language	SL

[18] In the first case we are talking about the *diachronic* aspect, while in the second – about the *synchronic* aspect of the language situation.

We are interested in the example of the GDL ethno-cultural situation because it shows that there are societies where a socially justified and culturally significant functional differentiation of languages exists and operates. Practically, this means that there is a consensus in a society on the fact that some languages have a high status, and others – a low one. Normally, there is a functional separation between them: high language is reserved for formal and public use, and often operates as the language of official recording (as in the case of the Old Belarusian language for the II and III GDL Statutes) or legally established official language (though this is a phenomenon of the late Modern and Contemporary history). This language has more difficult and conservative linguistic features than the low language.

The high language may be found in the ancient literature, it is preserved and revered as opposed to "home", unofficial status of low language with its variable and often simplified structure, limited by verbal communication channels (Bell, 1980: 176). To indicate this situation of unbalanced bilingualism with various functional areas of application, the American linguist Charles Ferguson (1921–1998) introduced the term "diglossia" in 1959 (Ferguson, 1959: 325-340).

Bilingualism is a result of use by the individual or society of more than one language (language code). Diglossia is a result of the evaluation of the functional separation of these languages, and, therefore, bilingualism and diglossia may occur in language communities together or separately. There are three types of relationship between bilingualism and diglossia: only bilingualism, only diglossia, and the combination of bilingualism with diglossia.

But this statement of the intertwining of language codes will not be sufficient to assess the socio-psychological effects of multilingualism. According to sociolinguists, among the communities where the majority are bilingual, the concept of "different languages" looks poorly justified, perhaps only in the sense of "different styles" (Bell, 1980: 190-191). Obviously, such a situation is possible in the case of "developed" bilingualism, when there is indeed a fact of the community members' fluency in several language codes. In such cases, switching codes often takes place outside the consciousness of the participants of communication process and later they do not mention it. This fact forces again to doubt an approval of language structures' solidity, which implies the idea of the languages as discrete (discontinuous) patterns, separated by clear boundaries. These considerations relate to language as a code system, not to its social importance. In society, even the use of several dozen words may be perceived as a different language. A separate language is what is perceived as a separate language, regardless of its structure.

We will try to relate these methodological developments with the empirical experience of studying the ethno-linguistic and ethno-cultural situation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania primarily from documentary and narrative written sources. When analyzing the use of other languages by the Lithuanian speaking GDL residents, it is necessary to distinguish them according to social strata (groups). We chose the 16th century for the analysis, when high official status of the Old Belarusian language still remained, but the expansion of Lithuanian writing began as well. Besides, there were significant changes in the linguistic situation during the 16th century, therefore this period is divided into two parts in our analysis. Preliminary results of summarizing the existing studies of the linguistic situation are presented for the first half of the 16th century (Table 3).

Table 3

Sphere of language use by the GDL Lithuanian speaking residents (the first half of the 16th century)[19]

Social strata / Region	*Private and family sphere*	*Economic and business affairs, office work*[20]	*Sphere of the official public communication (state and judicial chancelleries)*	*Religious sphere*
Magnates and *Pany-Rada*	Lit. (L1?-PL?); Pol. (L2-SL); O. Bel. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	Pol. (L1-SL); Lat. (L2-PL)
Middle nobility (szlachta), bureaucrats (government) / Lithuanian speaking regions	Lit. (L1–PL?); O. Bel. (L2-SL?); Pol. (L2-PL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	Pol. (L1-SL); Lat. (L2-PL)
Petty nobility / Lithuanian speaking regions	Lit. (L1-PL); O. Bel. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL)	Lit. (L1-SL); Lat. (L2-SL); Pol. (L2-PL?)
Merchants and city dwellers / Kaunas, partially Vilnius and Trakai	Lit. (L1-PL); O. Bel. (L2-SL)	Lit. (L1-SL); O. Bel. (L2-PL); Pol. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	Lit. (L1-PL); Lat. (L2-SL); Pol. (L2-SL)
Peasants / Lithuanian speaking regions	Lit. (L1-PL)	Lit. (L1-SL); O. Bel. (L2в-PL)	O. Bel. (L1в-PL)	Lit. (L1-PL)

Arrangement of languages by functional areas was done on the basis of the analysis of written documentary sources, which started to appear on a mass scale in the late 15th – the first half of the 16th century due to the beginning of the systematic running of the GDL Metrica. But it must be admitted that the construction of relevant table of the degrees of such relations requires further development and production of statistical information from the array of written documentation. In the meantime, this table invites to debate and can serve as a starting point for discussion of research methods of ethno-linguistic situation in the Grand Duchy.

However, one trend should be recognized and reflected in the continuation of our table – the strengthening of the position of Polish language. Among the GDL four languages (Old Belarusian, Latin, Lithuanian, and Polish), only two had the greatest chance of getting (or keeping) the status of the communication language among the peoples of the Grand Duchy in the middle of the 16th century: Old Be-

[19] Abbreviations of languages: Lat. – Latin; Lit. – Lithuanian (spoken language); Pol. – Polish; O. Bel. – Old Belarusian; or. – oral form of language.

[20] It concerns the area of land use for nobility and magnates, and trade and financial affairs for city dwellers and merchants.

larusian and Polish. Ultimately, the Polish language won during the 17th century. This process involved some symbolic markers. The first sermon in Polish was held in the Grand Duchy in 1521. The first known letter of the GDL magnate written in Polish dates back to 1531 and belongs to the head of "Lithuanian separatists" Albert Goštaŭt. The first legal document written in Polish was introduced to the GDL Metrica, which was mostly written in the Old Belarusian language, in 1538. But the symbolic milestone in the process of the polonization of the GDL population, according to Grzegorz Błaszczyk (Błaszczyk, 2002: 306-307), was 1563, the year of publication in Polish of the "Radzivil" or "Brest" Bible. It is necessary to emphasize here the role of Mikalaj "the Black" Radzivil and in general, figures of the Reformation in the expansion of Polish language in the Grand Duchy.

With regard to the expansion of Polish language and the emergence of Lithuanian publishing, as well as a new, reformational pattern of the Old Belarusian written language and publishing, our table of sphere of language use requires changes for the second half of the 16th century (Table 4).

Table 4

Sphere of language use by the GDL Lithuanian speaking residents and residents of Lithuanian origin (the second half of the 16th century)[21]

Social strata / Region	*Private and family sphere*	*Economic and business affairs, office work*	*Sphere of the official public communication (state and judicial chancelleries)*	*Religious sphere**
Magnates and *Pany-Rada*	Pol. (L1-PL); O. Bel. (L2-SL)	Pol. (L1-PL); O. Bel. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	Pol. (L1-PL); O. Bel. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	Pol. (L1-SL); Lat. (L2-PL); O. Bel. (L2-SL)
Middle nobility, bureaucrats (governments) / Lithuanian speaking regions	Lit. (L1 ?-PL?); O. Bel. (L2-SL); Pol. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL?); Pol. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	Pol. (L1-SL); Lat. (L2-PL) O. Bel. (L2-SL)
Petty nobility / Lithuanian speaking regions	Lit. (L1-PL); O. Bel. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL)	Lit.(L1-SL); Lat. (L2-SL); Pol. (L2-PL?); O. Bel. (L2-SL)
Merchants and city dwellers / Kaunas, partially Vilnius and Trakai	Lit. (L1-PL); O. Bel. (L2-SL)	Lit. (L1-SL); O. Bel. (L2-PL); Pol. (L2-SL)	O. Bel. (L1-PL); Pol. (L2-SL); Lat. (L2-SL)	Lit. (L1-SL); Lat. (L2-SL); Pol. (L2-PL?); O. Bel. (L2-SL)
Peasants / Lithuanian speaking regions	Lit. (L1-PL)	Lit. (L1-SL); O. Bel. (L2в-PL)	O. Bel. (L1в-PL)	Lit. (L1-PL)

* In the religious sphere the use of the Old Belarusian language for all categories of the population (city dwellers, nobility and magnates) is connected with Protestant literature. For petty nobility and city dwellers the Lithuanian language in the religious sphere had, besides a spoken, also a written and book form, and for peasants – mainly a spoken form.

[21] Abbreviations of languages: Lat. – Latin; Lit. – Lithuanian (spoken language); Pol. – Polish; O. Bel. – Old Belarusian; or. – oral form of language.

In order to clarify information presented in the table, we will briefly explain the principles of social division within nobility. The criteria here is the size of land tenure. Researchers of the GDL history Matvey Lyubavsky (1900: 355-358), Mitrafan Doŭnar-Zapoĺski (1927: 15-16), Jerzy Ochmański (1963: 154-155), Anatoĺ Hryckievič (1978: 96-97) and Valiery Mianžynski (1987: 170-172) offered their own systems of division within the nobility estate. Michail Spirydonaŭ (1993: 30-32) analyzed these different systems and put forward some clear criteria for the division of the estate of landowners. The approximate size of land tenures can be estimated according to the Censuses of the GDL army in 1528, 1565 and 1567, which indicate the number of *horses* (mounted warriors) who were provided in proportion to the quantity of peasant *services* (unit of duty taxation) or *smokes* (farms), owned by feudals.

Table 5

Categories of landlords by the number of horses, which they provided to the GDL army in 1528 and 1567

No.	*Category of feudals*	*Number of horses*	*Sizes of land tenure*			
			1528 year		*1567 year*	
			in services	*in smokes*	*in services*	*in smokes*
1	The smallest	1	0–15	0–31	0–19	0–39
2	Small	2–10	16–87	32–175	20–109	40–219
3	Middle	11–50	88–407	176–815	110–509	220–1019
4	Large	51–100	408–807	816–1615	510–1009	1020–2019
5	The largest (magnates)	101 and more	808 and more	1616 and more	1010 and more	2020 and more

Source: Spirydonaŭ, 1993: 31.

To study the linguistic and cultural situation it is worth to modify the categories of landowners and use the division into three groups: 1) Magnates and *Pany-Rada* (which includes categories 4 and 5 according to Spirydonaŭ) – this approach is close to the criteria of Lyubavsky, who attributed all the families represented in the parliament, regardless of the number of provided *horses,* to major landowners; 2) the middle nobility and government bureaucrats (category 3 according to Spirydonaŭ); 3) petty nobility (combines categories 1 and 2 according to Spirydonaŭ).

Also, to understand the information presented in tables 3 and 4 correctly, we need to determine the GDL regions, where the Lithuanian language was used in its various spoken versions in the 16th century. According to the ethnic dialect map of the ethnographic Lithuania this is: Samogitia (Samogitian dialects), Aukštaitija (its historical status is not well defined), Sudovia (the left bank of the Neman river), and Dzūkija (it is not entirely clear how this ethnocultural region correlates with the historical Vilnius Voivodeship). From the point of view of the administrative-territorial division in the middle of the 16th century, which appeared as a result of the reform of 1565–1566, Lithuani-

an language area of the GDL included Samogitian Starostva (Duchy), Trakai Voivodeship (with *paviets* Trakai, Kaunas, Upytė, and Hrodna) and Vilnius Voivodeship (with *paviets* Vilnius, Ašmiany, Lida, Ukmergė, and Braslaŭ). Of course, the eastern and southern regions of this area (primarily Vilnius, as well as the southern regions of Trakai Voivodeship) since the 10th century were a zone of Balto-Slavic language contacts, so it remains difficult to determine the southeastern boundary of the Lithuanian language area in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the 16th century. According to the findings of the Polish researchers, in Old Rus' times this boundary lay roughly along the line: Lake Asvieja – Dzisna – Plisa – Budslaŭ – Zaslaŭje – Rubiaževičy – Dzieraŭnaja – Bielica – Slonim – Vaŭkavysk (Łowmiański, 1983: 51-58). By the 14th century, this boundary moved from the left to the right bank of Neman river and lay parallel to the river bed, the so-called line of Safarewicz (the boundary of settlements' concentration with names endings on *-iški*) (Safarewicz, 1967: 257-259). For the 16th century, Jerzy Ochmański places a Lithuanian-Belarusian border in a fairly wide belt on the frontier of Ašmiany and Miensk counties. Ochmański analyzes Catholic parishes' network, toponymics, and anthroponimical information from household inventories (Ochmański, 1981: 42-56). In general, the territory "Lithuania Propria" ("Lithuania proper", "Lithuania in the narrow sense of the term") in the 16th century, proposed by Ochmański, reflects our vision of the array of dialects in the GDL, with the only important clarification that a stripy belt of Balto-Slavic settlements stretched all the way to Vilnius city.

Conclusions

To sum up, in the multiethnic and multicultural society of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the 15th–17th centuries, there was a language situation of "numerous diglossias" when every language had its clearly defined public functions. Unlike bilingualism, diglossia as a sociolinguistic phenomenon involves the speakers' assessment of their idioms according to the "solemn-daily" scale. Two language systems (official and popular) were not used simultaneously in the same public sphere.

Ethnic Lithuanians among the GDL petty nobility and merchants, who in everyday and family life could speak Lithuanian language, used the official language of the chancellery – Old Belarusian (Ruthenian) – in the public sphere. Latin remained the language of the liturgy, but in many cases sermons were preached in Lithuanian. Beyond religious sphere Latin was the language of diplomacy and the most important internal acts. Monuments of Lithuanian literature of the 16th century remained exclusively religious (Dubasova, 2005: 28), and fulfilled secondary, auxiliary functions. Thus, the majority of the GDL elite did not know the Lithuanian language in the 16th century, since a considerable part of the Lithuanian nobility descended from the Ruthenian boyars, and middle nobility (including central government officials) of the Lithuanian origin gradually lost knowledge of the Baltic dialects. However, petty nobility still retained communication skills in dialects of their peasants in areas where the Baltic dialects existed. Also, a part of the Catholic city residents of Kaunas and partly

Vilnius could still speak the Lithuanian language in the 16th century. The emergence of Lithuanian publishing primarily in Prussia, and then in the GDL gave rise to the codification process of the Lithuanian language, which probably led to the stabilization of knowledge of language code among city residents and petty nobility on the ethnically Lithuanian territories. Possibly, the process of slavicization (initially belarusianization, and later polonization) of these estates slowed down, but this hypothesis requires verification through further research.

On the territory of modern Belarus, where the processes of the Balto-Slavic mutual influence in daily life still went on, Slavic speaking population used its own dialects. Written Old Belarusian language functioned as official and was rich in legal terms, which required certain education. "Slavic" (Old Church Slavonic) remained the language of the Orthodox Church, but local linguistic realities gradually penetrated to it and turned it into a local version of Old Church Slavonic language.

Language of the chancellery (Ruthenian) underwent significant changes over the 15th–16th centuries. Having the Old Rus' written language as the basis from the very beginning of its development, this language increasingly altered lexically, as well as orthographically and grammatically, acquiring the traits that allow Belarusian linguists and historians to call it Old Belarusian (taking into account all the conservatism of graphical tools of this language and, of course, referring to its written literary norm). Official chancellery language is a function of literary written language. However, it remains a matter of debate to what extent the spoken language influenced the literary and chancellery norm, and to what extent the language of the chancellery affected the development of the Belarusian spoken language. The evolution of the Old Belarusian writing throughout the 16th century demonstrated a desire to get closer to the live speech and overcome the influence of the book tradition. Naturally, the preliminary description of diglossia situation concerns the period before the expansion of the Polish language in the Grand Duchy, which occurred in a form of non-violent polonization of the GDL elite.

Apparently, in the 16th century gaps in the chain of the Lithuanian language transmission appeared among the elite. Probably, authors and propagandists of ethnogenetic concept of the "Roman origin" of the Lithuanian nobility no longer spoke the Lithuanian language freely, since they announced it a version of Latin. From the point of view of Indo-European studies, these languages (Latin and Lithuanian) are indeed close, but are by no means the same for a person who knows at least one of them. Augustinus Rotundus failed to implement a linguistic program of maximum introduction of Latin, that is "a more pure" Lithuanian language, which he proposed in the preface to the Latin translation of the GDL Statute of 1566. Yet here we also see an interesting attempt of linguistic experiment of public establishment of Latin as a literary written form of the Lithuanian language, understood in a broad social and cultural context. In fact, Rotundus proposed to build an "internal diglossia".

Both achievements in Lithuanian language publishing in the middle of the 16th – 18th centuries, and the limited functioning of the Lithuanian language in the public sphere of the 15th–17th centuries (the situation of diglossia), as well as discrimination of the 19th century along with other factors influenced the for-

mation of the concept of modern Lithuanian nation, for which the preservation and protection of native language became the nation building factor.

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