

Lithuanian Grammar

Lietuvių kalbos gramatika

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PREFACE

This book is the first comprehensive description of the grammatical structure of Lithuanian, including phonology, morphonology, morphology and syntax, to be published in English. The aim of this volume is to make the Lithuanian language more accessible to the international linguistic community and to all *those who are interested in Lithuanian*.

The Lithuanian language belongs to the Baltic branch of the Indo-European language family, Latvian being the other surviving Baltic language. Lithuanian is the official language of the independent state of Lithuania. It is spoken by about 3.5 million people, its usage covering all spheres of social, cultural, and scientific communication. A remarkable feature of Lithuanian is dialect diversity, the main dialect areas being High Lithuanian (*aukštaičių tarmė*) and Low Lithuanian, or Samogitian (*žemaičių tarmė*). Standard Lithuanian is based on the West High Lithuanian dialect spoken in the southern part of the area.

This volume is essentially a description of the grammatical system of present-day Standard Lithuanian. Dialectal and historical data are dealt with insofar as they have a bearing on grammatical variation current in the standard language.

Lithuanian is the most conservative of the living Indo-European languages: it has best preserved many archaic features which can be directly observed and investigated in their present-day usage. Antoine Meillet wrote: "He who wants to know how our forefathers spoke should go and listen to how a Lithuanian peasant talks". From the typological viewpoint, Lithuanian is particularly important because of many unique features, including its rich inflection, a distinctive synthesis of tonic and dynamic accent and an extremely variable word order which reflects the complicated relations between the communicative and the syntactic levels of discourse. All this accounts for the importance of Lithuanian for both diachronic and synchronic linguistics.

The earliest grammars of Lithuanian, by Daniel Klein (1653, 1654) and Sapūnas-Schultz (1673), appeared more than a century after Mažvydas' Catechism (1547), the first printed Lithuanian book. These grammars served as a basis for most of the grammars of Lithuanian written in the 18th–19th centuries. The *Litauische*

Grammatik by August Schleicher (1856) firmly established Lithuanian in comparative Indo-European linguistics, and the *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* by Friedrich Kurschat (1876) laid the foundation for Lithuanian accentology. The grammars of Jonas Jablonskis (1901, 1911, 1922) played a major role in the development and codification of Standard Lithuanian. Among grammars of the subsequent period, the works of Jan Otrębski (1958–1966) and Alfred Senn (1966) deserve special mention. The most comprehensive so far is the three-volume Academy grammar (*Lietuvių kalbos gramatika*, ed. Kazys Ulvydas, 1965–1976). It contains a wealth of data from Standard Lithuanian as well as from dialects, folklore and old texts. The latest one-volume grammars (1985, 1994–2005) and the present grammar have drawn heavily on the materials assembled in it.

Most Lithuanian grammars and most of the specialist literature are written in Lithuanian. So far, only a few introductions to Lithuanian or text-books for learners have been published in English*. Therefore, the present *Grammar* aims to fill the conspicuous gap in linguistic literature.

This *Grammar* comprises four parts: *Phonology*, *Morphonology*, *Morphology* and *Syntax*. *Phonology* deals with phonemes – the smallest linear linguistic units, while *Morphology* deals with word forms, their grammatical meanings and functions, and also with classes of words. Some derivational peculiarities are briefly treated here insofar as they are relevant for the characterization of word classes and their morphological categories. The rules of phonemic change considered in *Morphonology* are essential for the description of inflectional paradigms. In *Syntax*, the units of sentence structure (word groups, parts of the sentence) are distinguished and defined by the types of syntactic relations (interdependence, subordination and coordination) among word forms; they are further interpreted in terms of their semantic functions. Simple sentence patterns are distinguished according to the obligatory constituents whose number and form are determined by the valence properties of the predicate.

The present *Grammar* follows the long-established tradition in such important issues as classification of words into parts of speech, morphological categories, parts of the sentence and sentence types. But in many cases the traditional terms and inventories are modified with the aim of more distinct differentiation between the formal and the semantic levels of analysis. The basic principles of description employed here are outlined in the introductory sections of each part of the *Grammar*.

* L. Dambrauskas, A. Klimas, W.R. Schmalstieg. *Introduction to Modern Lithuanian*. New York, 1966; D. Tekorienė. *Lithuanian: Basic Grammar and Conversation*. Kaunas, 1990; A. Paulauskienė, L. Valeika. *Modern Lithuanian: A Textbook for Foreign Students*. Vilnius, 1994.

For the convenience of the reader, a list of the more important grammars of Lithuanian and other works on grammar (excepting literature on general theoretical issues) is provided at the end of the book, and references to literature in the body of this *Grammar* are dispensed with. For reasons of economy of presentation, many illustrative examples from authentic sources are abridged or adapted and their number is limited to the essential minimum. Stress is marked according to the Standard Lithuanian norm. The reader can find more information on certain issues and references to sources in the Academy grammars of 1965–1976, 1985 and 1994.

The present volume was produced by a group of linguists of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language and Vilnius University. Phonology and Morphology were written by Aleksas Girdenis and translated by Lionginas Pažūsis; Morphology and Syntax were written by Vytautas Ambrazas, Nijolė Sližienė, Adelė Valeckienė and Elena Valiulytė in collaboration with Emma Geniušienė and Dalija Tekorienė. Some of the sections are based on the respective chapters of the earlier Academy grammars written by Adelė Laigonaitė (The Noun), Pranas Kniūkšta (The Numeral), Kazys Ulvydas (The Adverb), etc. The subject index was compiled by Artūras Judžentis. The preparation and publication of this book has been supported by grants from the Lithuanian Government, the Lithuanian National Science Foundation and the Soros Foundation.

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I/Phonology

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1 SPELLING AND TRANSCRIPTION

Rašyba ir transkripcija

- 1.1 The Lithuanian alphabet has developed from the Latin alphabet under the influence of the writing systems of such languages as Polish, German, and Czech. The earliest manuscripts date from the early 16th century, and the first printed book, a catechism by Martynas Mažvydas, was published in 1547. The imperfections of spelling in early publications have led to numerous changes which took place in less remote periods: *ą*, *ę*, *į* and *ų* (with a diacritic mark attached below) were introduced to represent the nasalized vowels [ã:], [æ̃:], [ĩ:], and [ũ:] respectively which lost their nasal resonance later and coincided with the respective long vowels; *ė* came to stand for [e:], the digraphs *sz* and *cz* which had represented [š] and [č] respectively were replaced by the Czech letters *š* and *č*; the letters *w* and *ł* fell out of use and were replaced by *v* and *l* respectively, etc. The present-day Lithuanian alphabet took shape by the early 20th century.

Today the Lithuanian alphabet consists of 32 letters (each may be small or capital). Some sounds (not to mention biphonemic diphthongs) are represented by digraphs: *ch* = [x], *dz* = [dʒ], *dž* = [dʒ]; also *ie* and *uo*, representing monophonemic diphthongs [iɛ] and [uɔ]. Digraphs or sometimes trigraphs are also used to represent palatalized consonants before back vowels (see 1.3).

To indicate certain sounds in writing, auxiliary marks are added above or below some letters: *č* = [tʃ], *š* = [ʃ], *ž* = [ʒ], *ą* = [ɑ:]; *ę* = [æ:], *į* = [i:], *ų* and *ū* = [u:], *ė* = [e:].

In scholarly and teaching texts (but not in common texts) diacritics are used to indicate word stress and syllable tonemes (the latter are sometimes called syllable accents or intonations, Lith. *priegaidės*). A grave accent (̀) placed over a vowel shows short stressed syllables, e.g., *vīsas* [ˈvɪsɑs] ‘whole’. Long stressed syllables may have one of the two syllable tonemes: an acute accent (´) indicates a sharp falling toneme, and a circumflex (˘) is used to indicate a smooth rising toneme, cf.: *stóras* [ˈsto:ras] ‘thick’ and *dōras* [ˈdo:ras] ‘honest’, *káulas* [ˈka:ɔʎas] ‘bone’ and *draūgas* [ˈdr̃a:gas] ‘friend’, *kárštas* [ˈka:rʃtas] ‘hot’ and *kařštis* [ˈkařːʃtɪs] ‘heat’. The falling toneme is also indicated by the grave accent (̀) which is placed over the sequences of letters *ui* and *u*, *i + l*, *m*, *n*, *r* (also *o*, *e + i*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* in international words), e. g.: *gùiti* [ˈgouʎi] ‘to drive’, *pīlnas* [ˈpɪlnas] ‘full’, *kùrmis* [ˈkorɱɪs] ‘mole’,

spòrtas [ˈspòrtas] ‘sports’. The mark of the falling toneme is always placed over the first letter of a sequence representing a diphthong or a semidiphthong, whereas the circumflex is always placed over the second one (cf.: *gùiti* ‘to drive’ and *draūgas* ‘friend’, *kárštas* ‘hot’ and *kařštis* ‘heat’).

In the chapters on phonology and morphonology in the present grammar, the international phonetic transcription is used (instead of the traditional Lithuanian phonetic transcription usually applied in the works on dialectology, phonology, and phonetics in Lithuania, see Table 1). Slants (/ /) enclose phonemic transcription, square brackets ([]) enclose phonetic transcription; peripheral sounds, which occur only in borrowings and onomatopoeic words, are given in angle brackets (<>).

- 1.2 Vowels** are represented in writing by 12 letters: *a* [a, a:], *ą* [ɑ:], *e* [ɛ, æ:], *ė* [e:], *i* [i], *y* and *į* [i:], *o* [o:, ɔ], *u* [u], *ū* and *ų* [u:]; monophonemic diphthongs [ie] and [uo] are represented by the above-mentioned digraphs *ie* and *uo* respectively.

The two pairs of letters – *y* and *į*, *ū* and *ų* – represent the same vowel phonemes, /i:/ and /u:/ respectively. The letters *a* and *ą*, *e* and *ė* mark different phonemes only in unstressed and final positions, cf.: *gražù* [graˈʒo] ‘(it’s) nice’ and *gražà* [graˈʒa] ‘change’, *neši* [nɛˈʃi] ‘(you) carry’ and *tęsi* [tɛˈʃi] ‘(you) continue’, *tà* [ˈta] ‘that (NOM. SG. FEM)’ and *tą* [ˈta:] ‘that (ACC. SG)’. In stressed non-final positions, they represent long vowels /ɑ:/ and /æ:/. The difference in representing these vowels in writing was determined by historical and morphological reasons. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the letters *ą*, *ė*, *į*, *ų* represented long nasalized vowels [ã:], [æ̃:], [ĩ:], [ũ:] derived from the sequences [a, ɛ, ɪ, o] + [n]. Now the diacritic below a letter in most cases indicates an alternation of a vowel with the sequences [a, ɛ, ɪ, o] + [n] (cf.: *kąsti* ‘to bite’ and *kánda* ‘(he) bites’, *siųsti* ‘to send’ and *siuñčia* ‘(he) sends’) or performs the role of a mark differentiating one grammatical form from the other, cf.: *klėti* ‘storehouse (ACC. SG)’ and *klėty* ‘storehouse (LOC. SG)’.

The letters *ą*, *ė*, *į*, *y*, *ų*, *ū* and *o* (in native morphs) represent long (tense) vowels, whereas the letters *i* and *u* represent only short (lax) vowels. In stressed non-final syllable, the letters *a* and *e*, as a rule, correspond to long (in acuted diphthongs and diphthongal combinations also half-long) sounds, whereas in stressed final and unstressed syllables they correspond to short sounds (cf.: *rāktas* [ˈraːktas] ‘key’, *mėdis* [ˈmɛːdɪs] ‘tree’, *kárštas* [ˈkaːrʃtas] ‘hot’, *vėrda* [ˈvɛːrda] ‘(it) boils’, but *galvà* [gaɫˈva] ‘head’, *miškè* [mɪˈʃkɛ] ‘in the forest’, *raktėlis* [rakˈtɛːlɪs] ‘small key’, *vežimas* [vɛˈʒɪmas] ‘cart’). In exceptional cases, the letters *a* and *e* may be used to represent the short vowels [a] and [ɛ] respectively in stressed non-final position, e.g.: *kàsti* [ˈkaʃtɪ] ‘to dig’, *mėsiu* [ˈmɛʃo] ‘(I) will throw’ (see II.1.4); in international words, the letter *e* may facultatively correspond to a short closer (narrower) vowel sound, e.g. *poetas* = [pɔˈetas] or [pɔˈetas].

1.3 Consonants are represented in writing by 20 letters: *b, c, č, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, š, t, v, z, ž*; for three consonants the digraphs *ch, dz, dž* are used. These graphic signs (the only exception being *j*) represent non-palatalized (hard, velarised) consonants. The functional palatalization before back vowels is indicated by the letter *i* inserted between a consonant and a vowel, e. g.: *liáutis* [ˈjæːoʊtis] ‘to cease’, *džiūs* [ˈdʒiūs] ‘(it) will dry’. Before front vowels (represented by the letters *e, ė, è, i, y, į*) and palatalized consonants, all consonants are also more or less palatalized (see 4.4), but in such positions their palatalization is not indicated in writing.

In some cases the Lithuanian [j] is not represented in writing either, e.g.: *ievà* [jɪɛˈva] ‘bird-cherry’, *pāišėkos* [ˈpaːjɪɛskoːs] ‘searching’, *biològtja* [bɔjˈtɔgɔjɛ] ‘biology’. The graphemes *f, ch* and *h* are used to represent peripheral consonants which occur only in recent loanwords.

1.4 Lithuanian orthography (standardised spelling) is essentially morphonological (or morphological): the spelling of a word (or its form) is determined by its phonological structure and the effort to maintain the graphic form of a morph unchanged. Only in comparatively rare cases the historical (or traditional) principle is applied (the usage of the above-mentioned so-called ‘nasal’ vowel letters *ą, ę, į, ū* to represent long vowels derived from nasal vowels, the irregular representation of [j]). The phonological principle is paramount in cases when it does not contradict the morphonological principle or when a morphonological spelling differs too much from the representation of a real pronunciation. The standardised spelling reflects the phonological changes occurring at the morphological boundary between the root and suffixes (dissimilation, metathesis, degemination, etc.), cf.: *mèsti* < *mèt-ti* ‘to throw’, *vèsti* < *vèd-ti* ‘to lead’ and *mėta* ‘(he) throws’, *vėda* ‘(he) leads’; *láuik* < *láuik-k* ‘wait!’, *dėk* < *dėg-k* ‘burn, light!’ and *láuikia* ‘(he) waits’, *dėga* ‘(it) burns, (he) lights’; *nėšiu* < *nėš-siu* ‘(I) will carry’, *vėšiu* < *vėž-siu* ‘(I) will drive’ and *nėša* ‘(he) carries’, *vėža* ‘(he) drives’.

The representation of consonants in writing is basically morphonological: it ignores the neutralization of the opposition between voiced and voiceless consonants (and some other oppositions) before plosive or fricative consonants and sometimes in word-final position. For instance, *grāžtas* ‘drill’, *nėšdamas* ‘carrying’, *kàščiau* ‘(I) would dig’, *daūg* ‘many, much’ (cf.: *grėžia* ‘(he) drills’, *nėša* ‘(he) carries’, *kāsa* ‘(he) digs’, *daūgelis* ‘many’), but not **grāštas*, **nėždamas*, **kàščiau*, **daūk*. Spelling also ignores the alternation of the stressed short vowels [a] and [ɛ] and their long correspondents [ɑː, ɛː], e.g.: *kàsti* [ˈkaʃtɪ] ‘to dig’: *kāsa* [ˈkaːsa] ‘(he) digs’, *nėšti* [ˈnɛʃtɪ] ‘to carry’: *nėša* [ˈnɛːʃa] ‘(he) carries’.

1.5 In dictionaries and other lists of words arranged in alphabetical order, *a* and *ą, e, ė* and *è, i, y* and *į, u, ū* and *ų* are treated as if they were identical letters, even though

they represent different sounds. Therefore the following alphabetical order is customary: *aržūs – q̄sà – asamblėja, ėsti – ėsti – ėstiškās, įkėlti – įkrai – ỹla – ilgas*.

The full set of letters in customary alphabetical order, their names and letter-sound correspondences in Standard Lithuanian are shown in Table 1. Names of the letters are important to know, because they are used to pronounce acronyms: *JTO* [jɔtɬeːˈoː] 'UNO', *JAV* [jɔtaːˈyeː] 'USA' (but *NATO* [ˈnaːtɔ] 'NATO').

Table 1. Letter-sound correspondence in Standard Lithuanian

Letters and digraphs	Their names	Sounds		Examples		
		IPA transcription	Traditional Lithuanian transcription	Spelling	IPA transcription	Traditional Lithuanian transcription
A a	[ˈaː]	[a]	[a]	dariaũ	[daˈɾæoː]	[daɾæũ.]
		[aː]	[aː]	dāro	[ˈdaːroː]	[dāˈroː]
A a	[ˈaː] nósinė	[aː]	[aː]	kąsti	[ˈkaːʃtu]	[káːʃti]
B b	[bɛː]	[b]	[b]	bárti	[ˈbaːɾtu]	[báːɾti]
		[b̥]	[b̥]	biñbia	[ˈb̥iɲˌb̥ɛ]	[b̥iñˌb̥ɛ]
C c	[ˈtɕeː]	[ts]	[ts]	cùkrus	[ˈʦokros]	[tsùkrus]
		[ʧ]	[ʧ]	cỹpti	[ˈʧiːp̥tu]	[ʧiːp̥ti]
Ch ch	[ˈxaː]	[x]	[x]	chòras	[ˈxoras]	[xòras]
		[χ]	[χ]	chèmija	[ˈχɛɲije]	[χèmiːjæ]
Č č	[ˈtʃeː]	[tʃ]	[tʃ]	bačkà	[baʧˈka]	[batʃkà]
		[tʃ̥]	[tʃ̥]	čiuĩpti	[ˈtʃ̥oːp̥tu]	[čiuĩˌp̥ti]
D d	[ˈdɛː]	[d]	[d]	dúoti	[ˈduoɬtu]	[dúoiti]
		[d̥]	[d̥]	dėti	[ˈdɛːtu]	[d̥éːti]
Dz dz	[ˈdʒeː]	[dʒ]	[dʒ]	dzũkas	[ˈdʒuːkas]	[dzũˌkas]
		[dʒ̥]	[dʒ̥]	dzingsėti	[dʒ̥iŋkˈʃeːtu]	[dʒ̥iŋk̥s̥éːti]
Dž dž	[ˈdʒ̥eː]	[dʒ̥]	[dʒ̥]	džáulis	[ˈdʒ̥aːoːlis]	[džáˌuːlis]
		[dʒ̥̃]	[dʒ̥̃]	vedžiaũ	[veˈdʒ̥̃æoː]	[ved̥ž̥̃æũ.]
E e	[ˈæː]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	vėžti	[ˈvɛːʃtu]	[vėʃti]
		[æː]	[eː]/[æː]	vėžė	[ˈvæːʒeː]	[vėˈž̥éː]
Ę ę	[ˈæː] nósinė	[æː]	[eː]/[æː]	gėlė	[ˈgɛːlæː]	[g̥éːl̥eː]
Ê ê	[ˈeː]	[eː]	[ɛː]	ėsti	[ˈeːʃtu]	[éːʃti]
F f	[ˈef]	[f]	[f]	fábricas	[ˈfaːbɾikas]	[fáˌbɾikas]
		[f̥]	[f̥]	filmas	[ˈf̥iɫmas]	[f̥iɫmas]
G g	[ˈgɛː]	[g]	[g]	gāras	[ˈgaːras]	[gāˈras]
		[g̥]/[j]	[g̥]	gėras	[ˈg̥æːras]	[g̥æˈras]
H h	[ˈɣaː]	[ɣ]	[h]	harmònija	[ˈɣarˈmɔɲije]	[harmòniːjæ]
		[ɣ̥]	[h̥]	hìmnas	[ˈɣ̥imnas]	[h̥imnas]
I i	[ˈi] trumpóji	[i]	[i]	bijo	[ˈb̥ijoː]	[b̥ijoː]

Letters and digraphs	Their names	Sounds		Examples		
		IPA transcription	Traditional Lithuanian transcription	Spelling	IPA transcription	Traditional Lithuanian transcription
I i	[ˈi:] nósiné	[i:]	[iː]	gaĩdĩ	[ˈgaiːd̪i:]	[gɑ̃d̪iː]
Y y	[ˈi:] ilgóji	[i:]	[iː]	mýli	[ˈm̪iːli]	[m̪iːli]
J j	[jɔt], [ˈjɔtas]	[j]	[j]	jáunas	[ˈjæːonas]	[jæːunas]
K k	[ˈka:]	[k]	[k]	kálti	[ˈkaːlt̪i]	[ká.lt̪i]
		[k̪]/[c]	[k̪]	kélti	[ˈk̪æːlt̪i]	[k̪eːlt̪i]
L l	[ˈeɫː]	[ɫ]	[ɫ]	laĩkas	[ˈɫauːkas]	[laĩ.kas]
		[l]	[l̪]	lýti	[ˈliːt̪i]	[l̪iːt̪i]
M m	[ˈemː]	[m]	[m]	mamá	[maːma]	[mamà]
		[m̪]	[m̪]	mèsti	[ˈm̪eʃt̪i]	[m̪eʃt̪i]
N n	[ˈenː]	[n]	[n]	nāmas	[ˈnaːmas]	[nã.mas]
		[ŋ]	[n̪]	nèsti	[ˈn̪eʃt̪i]	[n̪eʃt̪i]
O o	[ˈo:]	[o:]	[oː]	óras	[ˈoːras]	[ó.ras]
		[ɔ]	[ɔ]	balidonas	[baːɫɔnas]	[baɫɔnas]
P p	[ˈpe:]	[p]	[p]	plaũkti	[ˈpɫãoːkt̪i]	[pɫãũ.kt̪i]
		[p̪]	[p̪]	pinigaĩ	[p̪uŋiːgaũ]	[p̪iŋiɡãĩ]
R r	[ˈerː]	[r]	[r]	rankà	[raŋˈka]	[raŋkà]
		[r̪]	[r̪]	riũkti	[ˈr̪uŋˈkt̪i]	[riũ.kt̪i]
S s	[ˈes]	[s]	[s]	sáu	[ˈsaːo]	[sã.u]
		[ʃ]	[s̪]	siłpnas	[ˈʃiɫːpnas]	[sił.pnas]
Š š	[ˈeʃ]	[ʃ]	[ʃ]	šáuti	[ˈʃaːoũt̪i]	[šã.uũt̪i]
		[ʃ̪]	[ʃ̪]	šiĩmtas	[ˈʃ̪iũmːtas]	[šiĩm.tas]
T t	[ˈt̪e:]	[t̪]	[t̪]	tàs	[ˈtas]	[tàs]
		[t̪]	[t̪]	tikti	[ˈt̪iːkt̪i]	[t̪iːkt̪i]
U u	[ˈo] trumpóji	[o]	[u]	bũvo	[ˈbũvoː]	[bũvoː]
U̇ u̇	[ˈu:] nósiné	[u:]	[uː]	vaikũ	[vaːkuː]	[vaikũː]
U̇̇ u̇̇	[ˈu:] ilgóji	[u:]	[uː]	bũti	[ˈbuːt̪i]	[bũːt̪i]
V v	[ˈye:]	[v]/[β]	[v]/[β]	gãvo	[ˈgaːvoː]	[gãːvoː]
		[y]	[v̪]	vienas	[ˈvienas]	[v̪ienas]
Z z	[ˈze:]	[z]	[z]	zuĩkis	[ˈzouːkis]	[zuĩ.kis]
		[z̪]	[z̪]	ziřzti	[ˈziřːʃt̪i]	[ziřː.ʃt̪i]
Ž ž	[ˈʒe:]	[ʒ]	[ž]	žaĩsti	[ˈʒauːʃt̪i]	[žãĩ.ʃt̪i]
		[ʒ̪]	[ž̪]	žemė	[ˈʒ̪æːm̪eː]	[ž̪eːm̪eː]

Notes: In foreign names (especially personal names), some more letters may be used: Q q, W w, X x (and sometimes Ā ā, Ö ö, Ū ū).

The following letters have special names in mathematics and special literature: H h – [ˈyaʃ], Y y – [ˈi:ɡr̪ekas], Z z – [ˈz̪et] ([z̪et]).

Only ‘true’ Latin letters of the alphabet are used for enumeration (i.e. q, ċ, e, ê, etc. are omitted).

The correspondence between the Lithuanian letters and the similar sounds of English is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The approximate pronunciation of the Lithuanian letters

Lithuanian letter	Pronounced somewhat like the English (AmE or BrE)
A a	<i>a</i> in <i>father</i> (if long), <i>u</i> in <i>mud</i> (if short)
Ą ą	always long, like <i>a</i> in <i>father</i>
B b	<i>b</i> in <i>baby</i> , <i>boss</i>
C c	<i>ts</i> in <i>ants</i> , <i>bets</i> (in Lithuanian may occur initially, e.g., <i>cukrus</i> ['ʦokrus] 'sugar')
Č č	<i>ch</i> in <i>child</i> , <i>chip</i>
D d	true dental (not aspirated), close to <i>d</i> in <i>indeed</i>
E e	<i>a</i> in <i>bad</i> , <i>man</i> (if long), but wider; <i>e</i> in <i>debt</i> (if short but more open)
Ę ę	always long, like long <i>E</i> , <i>e</i> above
Ė ė	narrow, close front vowel, like <i>e</i> in German <i>geh</i> , or <i>a</i> in <i>rate</i> without the off-glide; always long
F f	<i>f</i> in <i>fool</i> , <i>fit</i>
G g	always like <i>g</i> in <i>goose</i> , <i>guilty</i> (never like <i>g</i> in <i>manager</i>)
H h	<i>h</i> in <i>behind</i> (voiced)
I i	<i>i</i> in <i>it</i> , <i>pit</i> ; in <i>ia</i> , <i>iq</i> , <i>io</i> , <i>iu</i> , <i>ių</i> the <i>i</i> is not pronounced (except in international words); it only shows that the preceding consonant is soft (palatalized)
Į į	always long, like <i>ee</i> in <i>deed</i> , but without any off-glide
Y y	exactly like the <i>Į</i> , <i>į</i> above; always long
J j	always like <i>y</i> in <i>yes</i> (never like <i>j</i> in <i>joke</i>)
K k	<i>c</i> in <i>cool</i> , <i>k</i> in <i>key</i> (not aspirated)
L l	hard like <i>l</i> in <i>belt</i> , soft like <i>l</i> in (BrE) <i>least</i>
M m	<i>m</i> in <i>mother</i> , <i>meet</i>
N n	<i>n</i> in <i>nose</i> , <i>neat</i>
O o	<i>oo</i> in <i>door</i> (but more closed and rounded, like <i>o</i> in German <i>rot</i> ; always long in native Lithuanian words); <i>o</i> in (BrE) <i>got</i> (in international words)
P p	<i>p</i> in <i>sport</i> , <i>spit</i> (not aspirated)
R r	apical trill, like in Italian and Scots
S s	<i>s</i> in <i>so</i> , <i>sit</i>
Š š	<i>sh</i> in <i>sharp</i> , <i>sheep</i>
T t	true dental, not aspirated, like <i>t</i> in <i>stood</i> , <i>steep</i>
U u	always short, like <i>u</i> in <i>butcher</i> , <i>put</i>
Ū ū	always long, like <i>oo</i> in <i>school</i> , <i>pool</i> , but without any off-glide
Ů ů	always long, exactly like <i>Ū</i> , <i>ū</i> above
V v	<i>v</i> in <i>voice</i> , <i>vain</i>
Z z	<i>z</i> in <i>zoo</i> , <i>zeal</i>
Ž ž	<i>s</i> in <i>measure</i> , <i>treasure</i> (may occur initially)

Digraphs	Pronounced somewhat like the English (AmE or BrE)
<i>Ch ch</i>	<i>ch</i> in German <i>acht, echt</i>
<i>Dz dz</i>	<i>ds</i> in <i>demands, mends</i> (may occur initially)
<i>Dž dž</i>	<i>j</i> in <i>joke, jet</i>
Diphthongs	Pronounced somewhat like the English (AmE or BrE)
<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i> in <i>aisle, i</i> in <i>bite; ay</i> in <i>way</i> (if preceded by the letter <i>i</i>)
<i>au</i>	<i>ow</i> in <i>cow, ou</i> in <i>out; o</i> in <i>vogue</i> (if preceded by the letter <i>i</i>)
<i>ei</i>	<i>ei</i> in <i>weight, ay</i> in <i>way</i>
<i>ie</i>	<i>eo</i> in <i>peony</i>
<i>ui</i>	<i>ooey</i> in <i>phooey</i> (when pronounced rapidly)
<i>uo</i>	<i>o a</i> in <i>do a</i> (pronounced like the <i>o</i> in <i>do</i> and the <i>a</i> in the article <i>a</i> in rapid succession)

- Notes:**
1. All the consonants are soft (palatalized) before front (or fronted back) vowels and soft (palatalized) consonants and [j].
 2. All the voiced consonants are more sonorous than their counterparts in English.
 3. The long vowels are not diphthongized, therefore they differ sharply from the corresponding English sounds.
 4. These diphthongs may also be pronounced in two contrastive ways: with more emphasis on the first component or with more emphasis on the second component.
 5. Some other diphthongs (*eu, oi, ou*) occur only in international words where they are pronounced as sequences of the short vowels described above.

2 THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES

2.1 The description of the Lithuanian phonology in this section is based on the following theoretical principles.

Pure phonetics is the study of all possible speech sounds and their properties from a physical (acoustic phonetics) or a physiological (articulatory phonetics) point of view. Phonology is concerned only with those speech sounds or, to be exact, those features of speech sounds which have a distinctive function in differentiating words and their forms. For instance, the difference between the Lithuanian voiceless [t] and its voiced counterpart [d] is phonological, because it distinguishes, for example, the word *dārė* '(he) did' from the word *tārė* '(he) said', *bādas* 'famine' from *bātas* 'shoe'; whereas the difference between the prenasalized [ʰd] and the simple [d] which is possible in initial position is interesting only to pure phonetics, because, e.g. the words [ʰdɔ] and [dɔ] 'two', [ʰdu:ɟe:] and [du:ɟe:] '(he)pricked' do not differ in meaning – in this case the two sounds are phonologically identical.

2.2 Phonology is mainly concerned with **phonemes** and **prosodic** (suprasegmental) **elements**, or prosodemes.

If continuous speech is segmented into smaller stretches of speech, it turns out that it consists of one or more phonological sentences (phrases); each sentence contains one or more phonological words and an intonation pattern; each word has one or several syllables and a stress pattern (extra prominence in the articulation of one syllable compared with another); each syllable is a sequence of phonemes (or a single phoneme) which in certain cases may have an additional feature, the so-called syllable toneme.

Words, syllables and phonemes are linear linguistic elements, because the order in which they occur may perform a distinctive function (cf.: *Karštà vāsara* 'a hot summer' and *Vāsara karštà* 'summer is hot', *sùka* '(he) turns' and *kasù* '(I) dig', *takùs* Acc. Pl. 'paths' and *atkùs* '(he) will recover'). They are distinguished from intonation, stress and syllable tonemes, i.e. from the so-called prosodic suprasegmental elements which occur along with the linear elements as certain additional features. The analysis of the latter elements is the domain of that part of phonology which is known as **prosody**.

Phonemes are seen as the shortest linear segments of phonological analysis. On the other hand, each phoneme is a particular set of phonetic (articulatory or acoustic) **distinctive features** which cause changes in the meaning of a word and its forms. For instance, the feature of voice which is present in voiced consonants but lacking in voiceless consonants in Lithuanian, cf.: *būvo* '(he) was' and *pūvo* '(it) rotted', *dārė* '(he) did' and *tārė* '(he) said', *gāras* 'steam' and *kāras* 'war', etc.; that the length (tenseness) of vowels is also a distinctive feature becomes clear when we contrast the words *lis* '(it) will rain' and *līs* '(he) will crawl', *kàsti* 'to dig' and *kásti* 'to bite', etc. The prosodic elements are distinguished from the distinctive features of phonemes, because they extend over stretches of utterance larger than a single phoneme: intonation affects sentences, stress affects words, and syllable tonemes affect syllables or at least certain combinations of phonemes. Distinctive features are always assignable to a certain **single phoneme**.

Thus, all the phonetic features are primarily divided into phonologically **irrelevant** and phonologically **relevant**. The latter are said to have a distinctive function. Some of them combine and their simultaneous combinations make up phonemes, some other extend over combinations of phonemes and larger segments to form prosodic elements. A speech sound (which is the domain of pure phonetics) has a fairly direct correspondence with a phoneme, but it definitely differs from it, because a speech sound has a number of phonologically irrelevant features, whereas a phoneme involves analysis only in terms of **distinctive features**. Besides, the transition from one phoneme to another is always rather categorical, while the boundaries between speech sounds are not clear-cut. Discreet phonetic units can be identified in the stream of speech only because we know or perceive combinations of phonemes they correspond to.

- 2.3 Phonemes may have a number of **allophones**, i.e. positional variants conditioned by their environment. For instance, the velar [ŋ] and the dental [n] are allophones of the Lithuanian phoneme /n/: the first one occurs before [k] and [g], the second one in other positions where [ŋ] is impossible (cf.: *ba[ŋ]gà* 'wave', *ra[ŋ]kà* 'hand' and *[n]āmas* 'house', *ba[n]dà* 'herd'). Allophones are distinguished from **free variants**. These may be differently articulated sounds, but they occur in the same position and represent one and the same phoneme. Examples are the apico-alveolar [r] or the uvular [R] in German: their articulation is different, but they do not affect the meaning of words. The choice of one free variant rather than another may be made on sociological grounds or for the purpose of expressing a person's feelings. In other words, free variants may perform an **expressive function**. They refer to the substitutability of one sound for another in a given environment, with no consequent change in the word's meaning.

2.4 Neutralization (a term used in Prague School phonology) refers to a regular loss of the distinction between some phonemes as a result of which their allophones come to be physically indistinguishable in certain environments. For instance, in Standard Lithuanian, soft (palatalized) and hard (non-palatalized) consonants before back vowels (/o/, /o:/, etc.) perform a distinctive function (see 4.2, 3, 5), i.e. they are separate phonemes (cf.: *kiūro* '(it) got holes' ≠ *kūro* 'fuel (GEN. SG)', *siūsti* 'to grow angry' ≠ *sūsti* 'to grow scabby'); but this contrast is lost, or neutralized, elsewhere: soft (palatalized) consonants do not occur in the final position and before hard (non-palatalized) consonants (cf. *švil̃pti* [ʃy̯ɫ̃p̃tɫ̃] 'to whistle', but *švil̃pt* [ʃy̯ɫ̃p̃t] '(a clipped form) to whistle'), while hard (non-palatalized) consonants do not occur before soft consonants and front vowels (cf. *báltas* [b̃aːʔtas] 'white', but *balt̃snis* [bal̃ʔʂɲɪs] 'whiter'). Members of a phonemic opposition which occur in a neutralisable position and do not depend on adjacent phonemes (in this case, hard consonants in the final position) are said to be **unmarked**, while members of the same opposition which never occur in such a position (in this case, soft consonants) are said to be **marked**. In connected speech, unmarked members are usually more frequent and have more allophones.

The opposition existing between marked and unmarked members is called **correlation**, and a phonemic feature which distinguishes them is referred to as a **mark of correlation** (in our example, palatalization is the mark of correlation).

2.5 Phonology is also concerned with the specific arrangements of phonemes (and partly of other phonological elements) in sequences which occur in a language and can be stated in terms of rules. This is a preoccupation of **phonotactics**.

Besides pure phonetics, there is one more branch of linguistics closely connected with phonology. It is **morphonology** (or morphophonology), i.e. a term referring to the analysis and classification of phonological factors which affect the appearance of morphemes, or, correspondingly, the grammatical factors which affect the appearance of phonemes. It covers the differences in phonemic structure between allomorphs of the same morpheme. In contrast to phonological phenomena, morphonological phenomena lack **regularity** (morphophonemic rules may have numerous exceptions) and are often phonetically not justified. For example, in Lithuanian, the velar allophone [ŋ] of the phoneme /n/ appears whenever this phoneme occurs before /k/ and /g/; the consonant /l/ is inevitably palatalized before a soft consonant, etc. These are phonological phenomena. In contrast, such an undoubtedly morphonological phenomenon as metatony (an alternation of syllable tonemes) is far from being regular (cf.: *kója* 'foot' → *pakōjė* 'footboard', *kálnas* 'hill' → *pakálnė* 'hillside', but *lángas* 'window' → *palángė* 'window-sill', *tiltas* 'bridge' → *patiltė* 'place under a bridge'); suffixed verbs

usually undergo the vowel change $e \rightarrow a$ (cf.: *sèkti* 'to narrate' → *sakýti* 'to say', *bèsti* 'to pierce' → *badýti* 'to prick'), but this rule has many exceptions (cf.: *dègti* 'to light' → *degióti* 'to light often', *vèsti* 'to lead' → *vedžióti* 'to lead often'). Even in the identical environment, morphological alternations may occur in some forms and may not occur in others (cf.: *tu mýli* 'you (SG) love' → *mýlie-si* 'you (SG) love each other', but *jie mýli* 'they love' → *mýli-si* 'they love each other'; the alternation of vowels occurs only in the second person singular form, though the phonetic environment here is the same as in the third person plural form).

Morphonology is seen as a separate level of linguistic structure intermediate between morphology and phonology. Strictly speaking, it is not part of phonology, but a part of grammar.

(b) according to the vertical movement of the tongue (high *vs.* mid *vs.* low):

rýžtis 'to make up one's mind' : *rėžtis* 'to get deep' : *rėžtis* 'to strain oneself'
didelį 'large (ACC. SG. MASC)' : *didelė* (NOM. SG. FEM) : *didelę* (ACC. SG. FEM)
šūkių 'slogan (GEN. PL)' : *šokių* 'dance (GEN. PL)' : *šakių* 'forks (GEN. PL)'
lāpu 'leaf (GEN. PL)' : *lāpo* (GEN. SG) : *lāpą* (ACC. SG)

(2) quantitative contrasts (based on a difference in length and tension):

dįdis 'size' : *didis* 'great'
klėtys 'storehouses' : *klėtis* 'storehouse'
tręšti 'to fertilize' : *trėšti* 'to rot'
sėnė 'old woman (ACC. SG)' : *sėne* (VOC. SG)
tōlis 'distance' : *tòlis* 'tar paper'
pūsti 'to blow' : *pusti* 'to swell'
výru 'husband (GEN. PL)' : *výru* (INSTR. SG)
kās '(he) will bite' : *kàs* '(he) will dig'
vāsara 'summer (ACC. SG)' : *vāsara* (NOM. SG)

Pairs of long and short vowels differ not so much in quantity (length) as in quality, i.e. in the amount of muscular tension required to produce them. The difference in quality (tense *vs.* lax) is more important in producing high vowels, whereas the difference in quantity (long *vs.* short) is more important in producing low vowels.

Each of the above-mentioned Lithuanian long and short vowels is a separate phoneme. Long vowels cannot be treated as biphonemic combinations of two short vowels ([a:] = /a+a/) or as combinations of short qualitatively 'neutral' vowels and the prosodeme of length ([a:] = /a+/:/), because native words in standard Lithuanian have no short vowels corresponding to the long vowels [e:] and [o:].

- 3.2 According to their function in the syllable, **diphthongs** and **semidiphthongs** (i.e. tautosyllabic clusters 'vowel + sonorant') are those units which are equivalent to long vowels. The syllables containing them are long and form the basis for the distinction in syllable tonemes (see 6.7).

In Lithuanian, there are two types of pure (or vocalic) diphthongs: gliding (merging) diphthongs (or polyphthongs, Lith. *sutaptiniai dvibalsiai*) [iɛ] (~ [iɛ_a]) and [uɔ] (~ [uɔ_d]), which have no distinct components, e.g. *dienà* 'day', *dúona* 'bread', and compound diphthongs (Lith. *sudėtiniai dvibalsiai*) [aɪ], [aɔ], [ɛɪ], [ɔɪ] ([ɛɔ], [ɔɪ], [ɔɔ]), in which we can easily distinguish an initial and final component, e.g.: *vaikas* 'child', *veikti* 'to do', *daug* 'many, much', *smuikas* 'violin', *neutralūs* 'neutral', *boikòtas* 'boycott', *klòunas* 'clown'.

Semidiphthongs (Lith. *mišrieji dvigarsiai*) consist of the vowels + /l/, /r/, /m/, /n/:

/ɫ/ +	}	/l, r, m, n/	/o/ +	}	/l, r, m, n/, cf.:
(<e>) +			<ɔ> +		
/ɛ/ +			/a/ +		

šilti 'to grow warm'

kiřpti 'to cut'

iřti 'to take'

riřkti 'to gather'

vėlnias 'devil'

veřkti 'to weep'

teřpti 'to pull'

leřkti 'to bend'

kùlti 'to thrash'

kùrti 'to create'

stùmti 'to push'

sunkùs 'heavy'

kálti 'to hammer'

spařnas 'wing'

skambėti 'to sound'

krařtas 'shore' (*studeřtas* 'student',

fõrtas 'fort')

Combinations of long vowels with any following sonorant or non-syllabic [ɫ], [w] may also be regarded as diphthong-like sequences:

pirmỹn 'forward(s)'

jũrligė 'seasickness'

kođėl 'why'

ropõm 'on all fours'

rytõj [ʀi:'to:ɫ] 'tomorrow'

Likewise, the gliding diphthongs [iɛ] and [uɔ] combine with sonorants and non-syllabic [ɫ] and [w] to form triphthong-like sequences:

diėnrařtis 'daily paper'

dũonriekis 'bread knife'

sudiėu 'good-bye'

tuõj ['tuɔɫ] 'soon'

Semidiphthongs are undoubtedly **biphonemic** sound complexes, as they occur only before consonants and a juncture (the position [-^C_#]), whereas before vowels they are broken up into two syllables:

řil-ti 'to grow warm'

: *ři-lo* '(it) grew warm'

kùr-ti 'to create'

: *kù-ria* '(he) creates'

kál-ti 'to hammer'

: *ka-lù* '(I) hammer'

teř 'there' (clipped form)

: *te-naĩ* 'there'

gál 'maybe'

: *gã-li* '(he) may'

Therefore combinations of vowels and sonorants should be treated as follows:

[ɫ (^C_#)] = /ɫ/+/l/, [or (^C_#)] = /o/+/r/, [ɛn (^C_#)] = /ɛ/+/n/, [am (^C_#)] = /a/+ /m/, and so on.

3.3 **Compound diphthongs** also occur only before consonants and a juncture, whereas before vowels they are broken up into a vowel and /j/ or /v/. In other words, compound diphthongs and non-diphthongal sequences *vowel + /j/ or /v/* are in complementary distribution, cf.:

<i>gù-i-ti</i> 'to drive'	: <i>gu-jù</i> '(I) drive'
<i>sāi-tas</i> 'tie'	: <i>sáisa-ja</i> 'linkage'
<i>kariáu-ti</i> 'to fight'	: <i>kariā-vo</i> '(he) fought'
<i>gáu-ti</i> 'to receive'	: <i>gā-vo</i> '(he) received'
<i>táu</i> 'you (DAT. SG)'	: <i>ta-vè</i> (ACC. SG)
<i>dangùj</i> [daŋ goʊ.] 'in the sky' (clipped form)	: <i>dan-gu-jè</i> 'in the sky'

Both the elements of compound diphthongs can be easily replaced with other sounds (commutation test):

<i>laikas</i> 'time'	: <i>laūkas</i> 'field'
<i>áibè</i> 'multitude'	: <i>éibè</i> 'harm'
<i>kaīsti</i> 'to grow hot'	: <i>kuīsti</i> 'to rummage'
<i>sēniui</i> 'old man (DAT. SG)'	: <i>sēnei</i> 'old woman (DAT. SG)'
<i>kuīnas</i> 'worn-out horse'	: <i>kuīnas</i> 'heel'
<i>veīsti</i> 'to breed'	: <i>veřsti</i> 'to turn'
<i>šáuti</i> 'to shoot'	: <i>šálti</i> 'to grow cold'

Consequently, compound diphthongs should be treated as biphonemic combinations and their second elements – non-syllabic [ɹ] and [w] – should be regarded as the allophones of the consonants /j/ and /v/ (or the allophones of the vowels /ɪ/ and /o/ respectively).

Gliding diphthongs (polyphthongs) [iɛ] and [uɔ] are interpreted as monophonemic entities. The following are some of the minimal pairs illustrating single phonological oppositions between the gliding diphthongs and other vowel phonemes:

<i>líeti</i> 'to water'	: <i>lýti</i> 'to rain'
<i>riėkti</i> 'to slice (bread)'	: <i>rėkti</i> 'to shout'
<i>púodas</i> 'pot'	: <i>púdas</i> 'pood'
<i>kuđpti</i> 'to clean'	: <i>kđpti</i> 'to take honey combs out of a hive'

Unlike compound diphthongs, [iɛ] and [uɔ] do not depend on the phonetic position and cannot alternate with distinct sound sequences. Their syllabic accents are very much the same as those of long vowels. It is also important to mention that [iɛ] and [uɔ], like long vowels, participate in the same morphological alternations (see 3.1).

Thus, the following 14 vowel phonemes are distinguished in Standard Lithuanian (one of them, i.e. <e>, is optional):

/i:	u:	/ɫ	o
iɛ	uɔ		
e:	o:	(<e>)	<ɔ>
æ:	ɑ:/	ɛ	a/

Their phonetic and phonological features are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. **Distinctive features of vowel phonemes**

(A plus indicates the presence of a prime feature, a minus indicates the presence of its opposite, and a zero means the absence of the feature or its irrelevance; indications enclosed in parentheses are relevant if the system includes optional phonemes.)

Articulatory features	i:	ɫ	iɛ	e:	<e>	æ:	ɛ	ɑ:	a	o:	<ɔ>	uɔ	u:	o	Acoustic features
(1) long (short)	+	-	+	+	(-)	+	-	+	-	+	(-)	+	+	-	tense (lax)
(2) front (non-front)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	acute (grave)
(3) low (non-low)	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	+	+	+	-	(-)	-	-	-	compact (non-compact)
(4) high (non-high)	+	(+)	-	-	(-)	0	0	0	0	-	(-)	-	+	(+)	diffuse (non-diffuse)
(5) gliding (pure)	0	0	+	-	(0)	0	0	0	0	-	(0)	+	0	0	shifting (constant)

3.4 The allophonic variation of the Lithuanian vowel phonemes mostly depends on soft consonants, stress and syllabic tonemes.

(1) After soft (palatalized) consonants (i.e. in the position [Ĉ-]) and /j/, all the back vowels are realized by their fronted (advanced) variants [u:₊], [o:₊], [o:₊], <ɔ:₊>, cf.:

- žmonų* [ʒmo:ⁿnu:] ‘wife (GEN. PL)’ : *žmonių* [ʒmo:ⁿnu:₊] ‘people (GEN. PL)’
- kūrti* [ˈkoɾʲtɪ] ‘to create’ : *kiūrti* [ˈkʲo:₊ɾʲtɪ] ‘to get holes’
- žalúostus* [ʒa`ʲuɔsɔ₊s] ‘red-haired (ACC. PL. MASC) (about bulls or cows)’ : *žaliúostus* [ʒa`ʲuɔ₊sɔ₊s] ‘green (ACC. PL. MASC)’
- žalóji* [ʒa`ʲo:ju] ‘red-haired (NOM. SG. FEM) (cow)’ : *žalióji* [ʒa`ʲo:₊ju] ‘green (NOM. SG. FEM)’
- kòksas* [ˈkɔksas] ‘coke’ : *kiðskas* [ˈkʲɔ₊skas] ‘kiosk’

The vowels /ɑ:/ and /a/ in this position usually (except in artificial spelling pronunciation) coincide with /æ:/ and /ɛ/ respectively, cf.:

gìliq ‘deep (ACC. SG. FEM)’ = *gìlɛ* ‘acorn (ACC. SG. FEM)’

giliās 'deep (ACC. PL. FEM)' = *gilēs* 'acorn (ACC. PL)'
sēnei 'old woman (DAT. SG)' = *sēniai* 'old men (NOM. PL)'

(2) Before hard (non-palatalized) consonants, the vowel /æ:/ is more open (as [æ:] ~ [ʌæ:]), e.g.: *nēša* [ˈnɛ̃ʷa:ɹfa] '(he) carries', *grēžtu* [ˈgrɛ̃ʷa:ɹftu:] '(he) would drill', whereas before soft (palatalized) consonants it is articulated as a somewhat closer sound, e.g. *nēšē* [ˈnɛ̃ʷæ:ʃe:] '(he) carried', *grēžē* [ˈgrɛ̃ʷæ:ʒe:] '(he) drilled'; both articulations are quite often, by way of a generalization, pronounced as [æ:].

(3) The timbre (or tone-colour) of all the vowels (especially back ones) before soft consonants is usually higher and sometimes slightly diphthongoid-like.

(4) The vowels /ɛ/ and /a/ in acuted (falling) diphthongal combinations (i.e. in the positions [ˈ-R_#^C] and [-w^(C)_#, -ɪ^(C)_#]) are half long (or, optionally, even long), e.g.:

vėidas [ˈvɛ̃ʷɪdas] 'face'
káulas [ˈkãʷoʎas] 'bone'
kálnas [ˈkãʷʎnas] 'hill, mountain'
pėrnai [ˈpɛ̃ʷrnaɪ] 'last year'

It is recommended that the vowels [ɪ] and [o] (also <ɔ>) in the same position (i.e. when marked with the grave accent `) were pronounced as short (at least not tense) vowels, but as this pronunciation norm is established on a very narrow dialectal basis they are often lengthened, cf.:

dĩrbti [ˈdɪ̃ʷrɔ̃tɪ] / [ˈdɪ̃ʷrɔ̃tɪ] 'to work'
pũlti [ˈpɔ̃ʎtɪ] / [ˈpɔ̃ʎtɪ] 'to attack'
gũiti [ˈgũʎtɪ] / [ˈgũʎtɪ] 'to drive'
 (also *spõrtas* [ˈspɔ̃rtas] / [ˈspɔ̃rtas] 'sports')

(5) The vowels /ɛ/ and /a/ in circumflexed (rising) diphthongal combinations are slightly reduced, their articulation is nearer to that of the second element, i.e. /ɛ/ → [e] and /a/ → [ã], [ə], e.g.:

pėĩlis [ˈpɛ̃ʷɪɪs] 'knife'
laũkas [ˈʎãõkas] 'field'
laĩkas [ˈʎə̃kas] 'time'

The same is true about the vowels /ɛ/ and /a/ in unstressed diphthongal combinations, e.g.:

pėĩliai [ˈpɛ̃ʷɪɪeɪ] 'knives'
laikaĩ [ʎə̃kə̃ɪ] 'times'
taupaũ [tãõpãõ] '(I) save'

The vowel /a/ is also slightly reduced in unstressed non-diphthongal syllables, especially in the final position, e.g., *vaĩkas* [ˈvə̃kəs] 'child'.

(6) The gliding diphthongs /iɛ/ and /uo/ show an exceptionally wide range of allophonic variation. The quality of the final element may vary from [e] and [o] (as a rule, before soft consonants) to [æ] ([a]) and [ɑ] (quite often before hard consonants and an open juncture in slow speech), e.g.: *tiē* [ˈtʲi̯a] ‘those’, *šuō* [ˈʃu̯ɑ] ‘dog’.

The contrast between long (tense) and short (lax) vowels is normally maintained both in stressed and unstressed positions, cf.:

<i>rū̄dą</i> [ˈruːdaː] ‘ore (ACC. SG)’	≠ <i>rūdą</i> [ˈrodaː] ‘brown (ACC. SG)’
<i>rūdōs</i> [ruːˈdoːs] ‘ore (GEN. SG)’	≠ <i>rudōs</i> [rɔˈdoːs] ‘brown (GEN. SG. FEM)’
<i>dū̄ona</i> [ˈduːnaː] ‘bread (ACC. SG)’	≠ <i>dūona</i> [ˈduːna] (NOM. SG)’
<i>výru</i> [ˈyiːruː] ‘men (GEN. PL)’	≠ <i>vyru</i> [ˈyiːrɔ] ‘man (INSTR. SG)’

Nevertheless unstressed vowels in Standard Lithuanian show a tendency to be shortened and turn into half-long (sometimes even relatively short) **tense** vowels. These changes do not harm the phonological system: the contrast is not lost, but only modified. The occasional complete neutralization of the quantity of unstressed vowels can be explained only as a phenomenon of some other (mainly dialectal or sociolectal) phonological system.

3.5 Clusters of vowel phonemes are not common in Lithuanian; in roots they occur only in the international words, e.g.:

aorta ‘aorta’
teātras ‘theatre’
teðrija ‘theory’
duėtas ‘duet’
poėtas ‘poet’
oāzė ‘oasis’

The sequences /ɪ+V/ and /V+ɪ/ are usually pronounced with /j/ inserted medially, e.g.:

bi[j]ðnika ‘bionics’
hi[j]acintas ‘hyacinth’
ši[j]itas ‘Shiite’
herol[j]izmas ‘heroism’
bedu[j]inas ‘bedouin’

The epenthetic /j/ is not represented graphically.

In native words, sequences of vowel phonemes occur at the morphological boundary of compound words and prefixed derivatives:

/a+V/

juodaākis ‘black-eyed’
paežerė ‘lakeside’

paėsti ‘to eat’
pàima ‘(he) takes’

juodaōdis 'black man'
paupjys 'riverside'

/ε+V/

neapkęsti 'to hate'
neeilinis 'unusual'
nėēmė '(he) didn't take'

/ɪ+V/ or /i:+V/

priartėti 'to approach'
apjyklis 'half-blind'
prieiti 'to come up (to)'
apjerdvis 'spacious enough'
priėmimas 'reception'
iėjimas 'entrance'
pasitima '(he) takes (for himself)'

/ie+V/

prieangis 'porch'
prieupis 'tributary'

/o:+V/

prōanūkis 'great-grandchild'
pōelgis 'deed'

/o+V/

tarpiūakis 'bridge of the nose'
nūēmė '(he) took off'
suirūtė 'turmoil'
suŭra '(it) falls apart'

/uo+V/

nūoalpis 'swoon'

aukštaūgis 'tall'
šilauogė 'pine-forest berry'

neilgāi 'for a short time'
neįmānomas 'impossible'
neūkiškas 'uneconomical'

apjylgis 'long enough'
prisiųrė '(he) rowed to'
nusioblūoti 'to plane off (for oneself)'
išsiugdŭti 'to develop (for oneself)'
iūžti 'to get into noisily'
prisiūostyti 'to sniff enough'

pōilsis 'rest'
pōodis 'dermis'

suōšti 'to rustle'
suuŭgzti 'to growl'
nuūžti 'to fly away noisily'
suūosti 'to smell out'

Such sequences of vowels are also often contracted, e.g.:

neyrà → *nėrà* 'isn't, aren't'
neėjo → *nėjo* '(he) didn't go'
neesù → *nesù* 'am not'
juodaākis → *juodākis* 'black-eyed'

In dialects, they are eliminated by the insertion of the epenthetic consonants /j/ or /v/, e.g.: *il[j]eiti* 'to enter', *nu[v]eiti* 'to go (away)'. The sequences /V+ie/ are excluded, because they are pronounced as [Vjie]: *pa[j]ieškà* 'search', *ne[j]ieško* '(he) doesn't look for', *su[j]ieškóti* 'to find'. The consonant /j/ in these cases is

part of the root, as it always occurs before the initial /iε/, e.g. [j]iėško '(he) looks for', [j]iėna 'thill', [j]iėtis 'spear', [j]iėvą 'bird-cherry', though the letter *j* represents it only in the words *jiė* 'they', *jiėdu* 'they both', and some place-names, e.g. *Jiesià*, *Jiėznas*.

3.6 The following are some other features characteristic of the phonotactics (syntagmatic relations) of the Lithuanian vowels:

(1) Unlike the short vowels /ʌ/, (<e>), /ε/, /a/, <ɔ>, /o/, the long vowels /i:/, /iε:/, /e:/, /æ:/, /o:/, /uɔ:/, /u:/ are equivalent to VR combinations (semi-diphthongs). In semidiphthongs, long vowels are usually replaced by variants of short vowels, cf.:

devynì 'nine' : *deviñtas* 'ninth'
aštuonì 'eight' : *aštuñtas* 'eighth'

Long vowels in this position are possible only at an open juncture and in some other rare cases, e.g.:

mólduobė 'loam-pit'
tólsta '(he) moves away'
žemÿn 'downwards'
morkà 'carrot'
šėlti 'to rage' (see II.1.5)

(2) According to their relations with hard and soft (palatalized) consonants, the vowels may be classified into two types:

(a) $V^u = /u:/, /o:/, /uɔ:/, /o:/, <ɔ>, /ɑ:/, /a/$, i.e. vowel phonemes which occur after both soft and hard consonants;

(b) $V^i = /i:/, /ʌ/, /iε/, /e:/, (<e>), /æ:/, /ε/$, i.e. vowel phonemes which occur only after soft consonants and /j/.

In other words, the opposition between soft and hard consonants exists only before V^u vowels, whereas before V^i vowels it is neutralized (see 2.16). Consequently, the V^i type is marked, and the V^u type is unmarked.

(3) In many dialects and especially in Standard Lithuanian, the oppositions /ɑ:/ : /æ:/ and /a/ : /ε/ are neutralized after all consonants: in the position [Ĉ-] /ɑ:/ and /a/ are usually pronounced as [æ:] and [ε] respectively, whereas combinations of non-palatalized consonants and [æ:] or [ε] are impossible. These oppositions exist in the absolute word initial position (cf.: *áibė* 'multitude' : *éibė* 'harm') and after /t/ and /d/ (if the palatalized [t̚] and [d̚] are treated as allophones of /t/ and /d/: *tāko* gen. sing. 'path' : *tēko* '(I) had to', *darinÿs* 'composition' : *derinÿs* 'cluster'). In other cases, [ɑ:] or [a] occur after hard consonants, and [æ:] or [ε] occur after soft consonants (which are separate phonemes):

<i>pānā</i> [ˈpa:na:] ‘young girl (ACC. SG)’	: <i>pēnā</i> [ˈpæ:na:] ‘food (ACC. SG)’
<i>bādė</i> [ˈba:dɛ:] ‘(he) pricked’	: <i>bėdė</i> [ˈbæ:dɛ:] ‘(he) thrust (into)’
<i>gėlā</i> [ˈgɛ:ɫa:] ‘pain (ACC. SG)’	: <i>gėlė</i> [ˈgɛ:ɫæ:] ‘flower (ACC. SG)’
<i>senàs</i> [sɛˈnas] ‘old (ACC. PL. FEM)’	: <i>senès</i> [sɛˈnɛs] ‘old women (ACC. PL)’

The same relation is also maintained in almost all dialects in which *Ce* type combinations are depalatalized (cf.: *lėdas* [ˈɫæ:das] ‘ice’ in Standard Lithuanian and *lādas* [ˈɫa:dəs] ‘ice’ in the eastern dialects).

Besides, the vowels [a] and [ɛ] vary in duration: in non-final stressed syllables they are almost regularly lengthened (see 6.7).

(4) The vowels /i:/ and /ɪ/, /u:/ and /o/ are definitely contrastive in length and tenseness:

<i>trīs</i> [ˈtʃi:s] ‘three (NOM)’	: <i>tris</i> [ˈtʃɪs] (ACC)’
<i>pūsti</i> [ˈpu:ʃtɪ] ‘to blow’	: <i>pūsti</i> [ˈpʊʃtɪ] ‘to swell’

The long vowels /e:/ and /o:/ can be contrasted only with the short vowels (<e>) and <o> which belong to the periphery of the system; /iɛ/ and /uo/ have no short counterparts (they may occur only in some dialects).

3.7 The above-mentioned syntagmatic properties of vowels correlate with the following **paradigmatic relations** and distinctive features.

(1) The vowels equivalent to *VR* combinations (semidiphthongs) phonologically contrast with other vowels as long vowels with short vowels (acoustically as tense vowels with lax vowels).

(2) The marked phonemes which occur only after soft consonants are front vowels, whereas the members of the opposite type (V^u) are non-front vowels. Labialization which is common to all non-front vowels (except /ɑ:/ and /a/) is an additional important feature noticeably distinguishing them from front vowels, e.g.: /ɪ/ from /o/, /e:/ from /o:/, etc. (it is very important in the position [Ĉ-] where the V^u type vowels are fronted). Acoustically, front vowels are acute, and non-front vowels are grave.

(3) The members of the neutralisable oppositions /ɑ:/ : /æ:/ = /a/ : /ɛ/ in contrast to all other vowels are low, though phonetically [æ:, ɛ] are evidently intermediate between low and mid vowels. The articulatory distinctive features ‘low *vs.* non-low’ correspond to the acoustic features ‘compact *vs.* non-compact’.

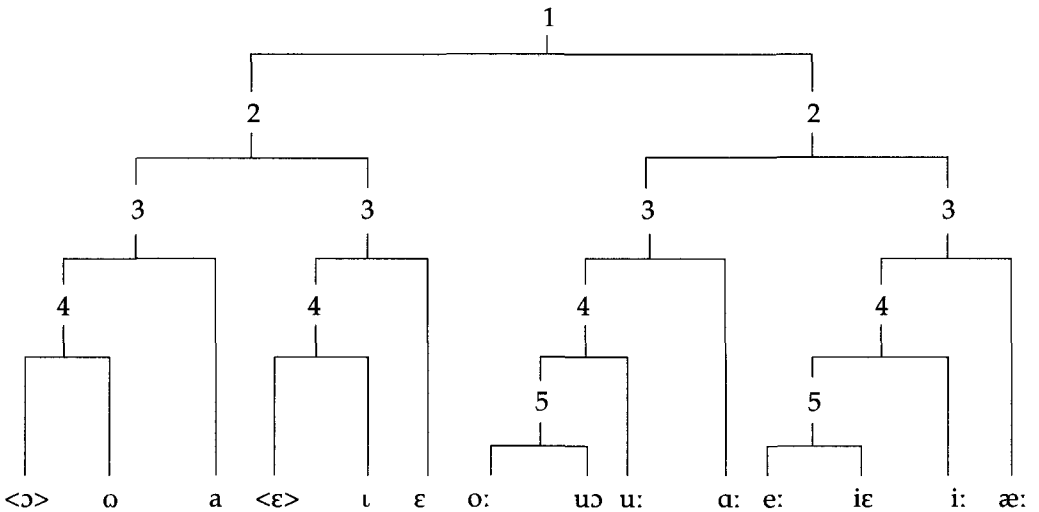
(4) The ‘paired’ /i:, ɪ/ and /u:, o/ are seen as diametrically opposed to low vowels. They contrast with the rest of non-low vowels as ‘high *vs.* non-high’. Acoustically they are diffuse as apposed to the non-diffuse vowels /iɛ, e:, (<e>)/ and /uo, o:, <o>/.

(5) The vowel oppositions /iɛ/ : /e:/ and /uɔ/ : /o:/ are differentiated by the features 'gliding vs. pure'. The formants of [iɛ, uɔ] detected on spectrograms move from diffuse to non-diffuse (even compact) values. Other vowels (especially [e:, o:]) do not noticeably change in quality.

The classification of Standard Lithuanian vowel phonemes is presented in Table 3. A tree diagram shows their paradigmatic relations.

Tree diagram of vowel phonemes

(Numbers above branching lines correspond to the distinctive features in Table 3.)



4 CONSONANTS

Prėbalsiai

- 4.1 The following types of consonants are distinguished in Standard Lithuanian (and practically in all dialects):

[p	b	t	d		k	g
		ʈ	ɖ	tʃ	dʒ	
<f>		s	z	ʃ	ʒ	<x y>
	v				j	
	m		n			(ŋ)
			l		r]	

The consonants < x y > can only occur in recent loanwords and certain interjections. The velar [ŋ] is a positional variant of /n/ (see 4.8a).

- 4.2 All the consonants, except the palatal (mediolingual) [j], can contrast by being either soft (palatalized) or hard (non-palatalized, velar or velarised), cf.:

<i>trapūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>trapiūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘fragile’
<i>gabūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>gabiūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘capable’
<i>puikūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>puikiūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘nice’
<i>pigūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>pigiūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘cheap’
<i>baisūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>baisiūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘awful’
<i>irzūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>irziūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘irritable’
<i>našūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>našiūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘productive’
<i>gražūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>gražiūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘beautiful’
<i>žavūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>žaviūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘charming’
<i>ramūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>ramiūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘quiet’
<i>sumanūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>sumaniūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘clever’
<i>žvalūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>žvaliūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘cheerful’
<i>švarūs</i> (NOM. SG. MASC)	:	<i>švariūs</i> (ACC. PL. MASC) ‘clean’

The soft < f, x, y > are very rare, cf.:

<i>fotogrāfų</i> (GEN. PL. MASC)	:	<i>fotogrāfių</i> (GEN. PL. FEM) ‘photographer’
<i>kazāchų</i> (GEN. PL. MASC)	:	<i>kazāchių</i> (GEN. PL. FEM) ‘Kazakh’
<i>hūnai</i> ‘Huns’	:	<i>Hiūstonas</i> ‘Houston’

In the production of soft consonants the non-front articulatory focus moves towards the middle part of the tongue (in the cases of [k̟, ɡ̟], <ɣ ʏ>, [ŋ̟]) or the front (middle) of the tongue is additionally raised towards the hard palate (in all other cases). The hard (non-palatalized) consonants (especially [t̟ f̟ ʒ̟]) are characterized not only by the absence of palatalization, but also by velarisation, i.e. by raising of the back part of the tongue towards the soft palate (velum). Besides, the hard [ʃ ʒ] are slightly labialized.

The affricates [tʃ dʒ] are composite sounds, merging sequences of plosive [t d] and fricative [s z ʃ ʒ] elements: they are contrasted by being soft or hard as well, cf.:

<i>cùkrus</i> 'sugar'	: <i>cỹpti</i> 'to squeal'
<i>dzãukas</i> 'southeastern Lithuanian'	: <i>Rãdzio</i> (a surname, GEN. SG)'
<i>giñčas</i> 'argument'	: <i>čtiũpti</i> 'to snatch'
<i>Džõnas</i> 'John'	: <i>džitiũgauti</i> 'to rejoice'

- 4.3 All the above-mentioned consonants perform the distinctive function and therefore should be considered as separate phonemes. Their main oppositions are seen in the following minimal pairs or sets:

(a) modal oppositions (based on a difference in the manner of articulation):

<i>pãsas</i> 'passport'	: <i>fãsas</i> 'face side'
<i>takaĩ</i> 'paths'	: <i>sakaĩ</i> 'resin'
<i>kalvã</i> 'hill'	: <i>chalvã</i> 'halvah'
<i>dujõti</i> 'to be foggy'	: <i>zujõti</i> 'to run about'
<i>gaidũkas</i> 'cock'	: <i>haidũkas</i> 'Haiduk'
<i>bãdq</i> 'hunger (ACC. SG)'	: <i>vãdq</i> 'commander (ACC. SG)'
	: <i>mãdq</i> 'fashion (ACC.SG)'
<i>dãmq</i> 'lady (ACC. SG)'	: <i>nãmq</i> 'house (ACC. SG)'
	: <i>lãmq</i> 'lama (ACC.SG)'
<i>zujõti</i> 'to run about'	: <i>nujõti</i> 'to ride off'
<i>rankã</i> 'hand'	: <i>rujõti</i> 'to rut'
<i>žeñgti</i> 'to step'	: <i>lankã</i> 'meadow'
<i>žiãunos</i> 'jaws'	: <i>reñgti</i> 'to dress'
<i>valdỹti</i> 'to govern'	: <i>jãunos</i> 'young (NOM. PL. FEM)'
<i>niãutis</i> 'to squabble'	: <i>maldỹti</i> 'to quiet'
<i>nagaĩ</i> 'nails'	: <i>liãutis</i> 'to cease'
<i>lẽkti</i> 'to fly'	: <i>ragaĩ</i> 'horns'
<i>gijaũ</i> '(I) recovered'	: <i>rẽkti</i> 'to shout'
	: <i>gimiaũ</i> '(I) was born'
	: <i>giliaũ</i> 'deeper'

(b) local oppositions (based on a difference in the place of articulation):

<i>pīl̥ti</i> ‘to pour’	: <i>tīl̥ti</i> ‘to grow silent’ : <i>kīl̥ti</i> ‘to rise’
<i>būrti</i> ‘to tell fortunes’	: <i>dūrti</i> ‘to pierce’ : <i>gūrti</i> ‘to get weaker’
<i>fēja</i> ‘fairy’	: <i>sēja</i> ‘(he/she) sows’
<i>svarūs</i> ‘weighty’	: <i>švarūs</i> ‘clean’
<i>zīl̥inti</i> ‘to cut with a dull tool’	: <i>žīl̥inti</i> ‘to make grey’
<i>šāšas</i> ‘scab’	: <i>šāchas</i> ‘shah’
<i>žādas</i> ‘faculty of speech’	: <i>Hādas</i> ‘Hades’
<i>mỹkti</i> ‘to low’	: <i>nỹkti</i> ‘to disappear’

(c) the voicing correlation (voiceless *vs.* voiced):

<i>pādas</i> ‘sole (of the foot)’	: <i>bādas</i> ‘hunger’
<i>tū</i> ‘thou’	: <i>dū</i> ‘two’
<i>kalvā</i> ‘hill’	: <i>galvā</i> ‘head’
<i>tausā</i> ‘saving’	: <i>tauzā</i> ‘nonsense’
<i>šīlas</i> ‘pine forest’	: <i>žīlas</i> ‘grey’
<i>chōras</i> ‘choir’	: <i>Hōras</i> ‘Horus’

(d) the timbre correlation (hard *vs.* soft):

<i>kūrti</i> ‘to create’	: <i>kiūrti</i> ‘to get holes’
<i>sūsti</i> ‘to grow scabby’	: <i>siūsti</i> ‘to grow mad’
<i>šūō</i> ‘dog’	: <i>šiuō</i> ‘this (INSTR. SG. MASC)’

(for more examples see 3.4, 4.2).

4.4 The soft (palatalized) consonants occur in the following positions:

(a) [–Vⁱ] – before front vowels, e.g.:

<i>gulī</i> [g ^o]i] ‘(you) lie (SG)’
<i>neši</i> [nɛʃ ⁱ] ‘(you) carry (SG)’
<i>strēlē</i> [ʃt̥r̥eː]e:] ‘arrow’

(b) [–V^a] – before fronted back vowels (see the examples in 4.2), e.g.:

<i>guliū</i> [g ^o]o ₊] ‘(I) lie’
<i>nēšiu</i> [nɛʃ ^o] ‘(I) will carry’
<i>žaviūs</i> [ʒa ^o]s] ‘charming (ACC. PL. MASC)’

(c) [–(Ĉ)Ĉ] – before palatalized or palatal consonants and [j], e.g.:

<i>gu[ʃ]siu</i> ‘(I) will lie (down)’
<i>nè[ʃ]ti</i> ‘to carry’
[b]jaurūs ‘ugly’

The consonants [k g] before soft consonants are usually not palatalized, but they are ‘transparent’ for further palatalization, e.g. [ʼa]kʃn̥i:s] ‘alder’, [ʼyɪrgd̥e:] ‘(he) made one weep’ (but cf.: [ʼzɛŋkʃu] ‘to step’, [aŋg]i:s] ‘coal’ : [ʼzɛŋ]g^o] ‘(I) step’,

[ˈmæːŋ,ʁe:] ‘cod’). In some idiolects, the palatalization of [p b m] in the same position is hardly noticeable either, e.g. [ˈʃtəptʃu] / [ˈʃtəptʃu] ‘to get wet’, [ˈstaːbɔːde:] / [ˈstaːbɔːde:] ‘(he) tried to stop’, [ˈstomɔːde:] / [ˈstomɔːde:] ‘(he) pushed (about)’.

Only hard (non-palatalized) consonants occur in all other positions:

(a) [-Vⁿ] – before non-fronted back vowels, e.g.:

gulù ‘(I) lie (down)’

nešù ‘(I) carry’

žavùs ‘charming’;

(b) [-(C)C], e.g.:

guĩtu ‘(he) would lie (down)’

nèštu ‘(he) would carry’;

(c) [-#], e.g.:

guĩt ‘to lie (down)’

nèšt ‘to carry’ (clipped infinitives)

(but [ˈgɔːʃtu], [ˈɲɛʃtu] – full infinitive forms)

The only exception to this general rule is the consonant [ʃ]: in some professional terms (borrowings) it is sometimes pronounced before hard consonants or a pause, e.g.: *pùlsas* [ˈpɔːʃsas] / [ˈpɔːʃsas] ‘pulse’, *sáltu mortále* [ˈsaːltu mɔːrˈtaːlɛ] ‘somersault’, *sòl* [ˈsɔːl] ‘the fifth note in the musical octave’. In dialects, especially in eastern dialects, such cases are more frequent, because after dropping a final front vowel the palatalization of the consonant is often retained, e.g.: [ˈgaːʃ] < **gàli* ‘maybe, perhaps’, [sɔːʃtəptʃ] < *sušlāpti* ‘to get wet’, [ˈmaːŋ] < **màni* ‘for me’.

4.5 The fronted back vowels [uː ɔː oː] and the non-fronted back vowels [u ɔ o] often occur in the same morphemes (especially in endings):

galiù ‘(I) can’

: *gulù* ‘(I) lie (down)’

kārio ‘warrior (GEN. SG)’

: *kāro* ‘war (GEN. SG)’

Since from the grammatical point of view -[uː] / -[uː] = {-uː}, -[ɔ] / -[ɔː] = {-ɔ}, -[oː] / -[oː] = {-oː}, there is no doubt that [uː ɔː oː] are variants of /uː ɔ o oː/. Consequently, hard and soft consonants contrast before back vowels and should be considered as separate phonemes.

Theoretically, palatalization may also be considered as: (a) a suprasegmental element (long component) distinguishing whole (\hat{C}) $\hat{C}V^n$ sequences (*galiù* [gaːlʲoː] = /gaːlʲoː/ where $\hat{\cdot}$ is a suprasegmental sign to represent palatalization), (b) an allophonic feature adopted by consonants from front and fronted vowel phonemes (*galiù* = /gaːlʲü/), (c) the realization of C_j type sequences (*galiù* = /gaːlʲjoː/). The application of the grammatical criterion, however, supports the traditional interpretation (*galiù* = /gaːlʲoː/).

In native words the soft [t̪ d̪] occur only in the positions [-Vⁱ] or [-Ĉ] in which their hard counterparts are excluded. Therefore in the main phonemic inventory [t̪ d̪] are treated as the allophones of /t d/, though in loan words and onomatopoeic words they are sometimes used as separate (or secondary) phonemes, e.g. *bordiūras* ‘edge, border’, *tiūlis* ‘tulle’.

- 4.6 The most frequent affricates are [tʃ dʒ]. Before front vowels they are almost always replaced by [t̪ d̪], cf.:

<i>mėdis</i> (NOM. SG)	: <i>mėdžių</i> (GEN. PL) ‘tree’
<i>svetjys</i> (NOM. SG)	: <i>svėčių</i> (GEN. PL) ‘guest’
<i>savaitė</i> (NOM. SG)	: <i>savaičių</i> (GEN. PL) ‘week’
(cf.: <i>brólis</i> (NOM. SG)	: <i>brólių</i> (GEN. PL) ‘brother’
<i>ùpė</i> (NOM. SG)	: <i>ùpių</i> (GEN. PL) ‘river’

In this position they occur only in loan words and onomatopoeic words, e.g. *čirkšt* ‘chirp’, *džinas* ‘gin’ (but cf. *atsikėlė* [aʦu̯kɛ:lɛ:] ‘(he) rose’). Some native words may also contain hard affricates, e.g. *giñčas* ‘argument’, *kiviřčas* ‘quarrel’. In comparison with <f x ɣ>, affricates occupy a firmer position in the consonant system, because they are closely related to such phonemes as /s z ʃ ʒ/: [tʃ dʒ] are related to [t̪ d̪] as /ʃ ʒ/ to /ʃ̪ ʒ̪/, while the relationships between [tʃ dʒ] and [ts dz] on the one hand are the same as those between /ʃ ʒ/ and /s z/ on the other hand. This relationship and especially the position of affricates in consonant clusters (it is the same as that of plosives, cf.: *ščiūti* ‘to become quiet’, *čmìkis* ‘a blow with a whip’, *nėščiau* ‘(I) would carry’) show that they should be regarded not as sequences of phonemes, but as single functional units.

- 4.7 Thus the consonant system of Standard Lithuanian consists of 45 phonemes, 8 of which (<t̪ d̪ f ʃ x ɣ ʒ̪>) are peripheral:

/p	b	t	d		k	g	
ɸ	ɸ̪	<t̪	d̪>		k̪	g̪	
		ʦ	dʒ	tʃ	dʒ		
		ʦ̪	dʒ̪	tʃ̪	dʒ̪		
<f>		s	z	ʃ	ʒ	<x	ɣ>
<f̪>		ʃ̪	ʒ̪	ʃ̪	ʒ̪	<x̪	ɣ̪>
	v				j		
	y						
	m		n				
	m̪		n̪				
			l				
			l̪				
				r			
				r̪			

4.8 The following are some of the major allophonic variations of consonant phonemes in Standard Lithuanian:

(a) velarization of /n/ before backlingual consonants:

bangà [baŋ'ga] 'wave'
lankà [laŋ'ka] 'meadow'

(b) vocalization of /j v/, i.e. their systematic change into non-syllabic [ɹ w] at the end of a word and before consonants, cf.:

žolėjė : *žolėj* [ʒo:ʹje:ɹ] 'in the grass'
svaičioti 'to talk nonsense' (← *svajóti* 'to dream of')
sudiėu 'goodbye' (← *su Dievù* 'with God')

also (as a facultative variation) in the intervocalic position:

vijimas = [yɹ'jɹmas] / [yɹ'ɹɹmas] 'chasing'
buvo = ['bɹvo:] / ['bɹwo:] '(he) was'

(c) lengthening of sonorants in stressed circumflexed diphthongal combinations:

baĩnas ['baɹnas] 'saddle'
teĩpti ['tɹm'(p)ɹɹ] 'to drag'
peĩktas ['pɹɹktas] 'fifth'
pirĩštas ['pɹɹʃtas] 'finger'

(d) labialization of all consonants before the rounded vowels [u: o: o:]:

tĩris ['t_wɹ:ɹɹs] 'volume'
kũlti ['k_wɹ:ɹɹ] 'to thresh'
ródo ['r_wɹ:ɹ:ɹ] '(he) shows'
skuĩndo ['s_wk_wɹ:ɹ:ɹ] 'complaint (GEN. SG)'

(e) aspiration of the word final [t k] (sometimes also [p]) before a pause:

kasmėt [kaʃm_æ:tʰ] 'annually'
bėk ['b_ɛ:kʰ] 'run!'
kaĩp ['kaɹ:pʰ] 'how'

(f) the change of /m ɱ/ into labio-dentals [ɱ ɱ] before /v y/ and <f ʃ>:

žemvaldỹs [ʒ_ɱval'di:s] 'landowner'
simfõnija [ʃ_ɱfõɹj_æ] 'symphony'

(g) the change of /p b t d/ into nasal (faucal) and lateral plosives before /m n l/:

apmáuti [ap`ma`ɹɹ] 'to cheat'
stabmeldỹs [stab_ɱel'di:s] 'idolater'
pũtnagas ['pũtnagas] 'quartz'
liũdnas ['liũdnas] 'sad'

putlūs [po'tlūs] 'soft'
vedl̥ys [ye'd̥li:s] 'guide'

(h) the change of /t d/ into alveolars [t̥ d̥] before /r ʀ/:

tráukti [ˈtra:ok̥tu] 'to pull'
dróbè [ˈd̥roβe:] 'linen cloth'
tr̥ys [ˈt̥ri:s] 'three'

4.9 Word-initial clusters (i.e. sequences of adjacent consonants) contain two or three phonemes.

Three-consonant clusters fit the pattern *STR-* (in which *S* is a sibilant, *T* is a plosive, and *R* is a resonant, except, in this particular case, a nasal sonorant):

sklaidýti 'to scatter'
skraidýti 'to fly'
skvarbūs 'penetrating'
spjáuti 'to spit'
sprāgilas 'flail'
stráipsnis 'article'
stvérti 'to seize'

(in dialectal words also *spl-*, *skr-*, *škl-*, *špr-*, *štr-*, *zdr-*, *zgr-*)

Two-consonant clusters preserve the same order of positions, though not all positions have to be filled:

ST-:
skabýti 'to pluck'
spalvā 'colour'
stālas 'table'
špagā 'foil'
štāi 'here'
ščiātu 'to become quiet'

(in dialectal and international words also *šk-*, *zg-*, *zb-*, *zd-*)

TR-:

<i>bjaurūs</i> 'ugly'	<i>gražūs</i> 'beautiful'
<i>blāké</i> 'bedbug'	<i>gvaldýti</i> 'to shell'
<i>brangūs</i> 'dear'	<i>klaidā</i> 'mistake'
<i>draūgas</i> 'friend'	<i>km̥j̥nai</i> 'caraway'
<i>dvoāras</i> 'manor'	<i>knařkti</i> 'to snore'
<i>glamonēti</i> 'to fondle'	<i>kraūjas</i> 'blood'
<i>gnāibyti</i> 'to nip'	<i>kvāpas</i> 'smell'

*pjáu*ti 'to cut'
*plātu*s 'wide'
*pradž*ia 'beginning'

*trāš*os 'fertilizer'
*tvā*nas 'flood'

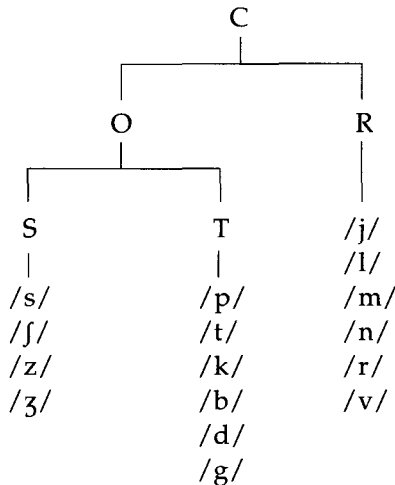
SR-:

*slā*ptas 'secret'
*smag*ūs 'cheerful'
*snā*pas 'beak'
*srā*igē 'snail'
*sva*rbūs 'important'
*šlā*pias 'wet'
*šmē*kla 'ghost'
*šn*īpšti 'to hiss'

*šva*rūs 'clean'
*zli*aūkti 'to flow incessantly'
*zmē*kti 'to get hard'
*zvi*m̄bti 'to whiz'
*žli*ūm̄bti 'to whine'
*žmo*gūs 'man'
*žn*ȳbti 'to pinch'
*žvā*kē 'candle'

This last group of two-consonant clusters also contains nasals /m n/ in the position of *R*.

- 4.10 According to their position in two- and three-member clusters, all consonants can be divided into two classes: (1) *R* class consisting of /j l m n r v/ which occur only directly before a vowel, (2) *O* class consisting of /b d g k p s f t z ʒ/ which do not occur exclusively only directly before a vowel. *O* class can be further subdivided into: (a) *S* subclass containing /s f z ʒ/ which occur only at the very beginning of a word (i.e. in the initial position), (b) *T* subclass consonants /b d g k t p/ can go in the first and second position. The following is a graphic representation of this syntagmatic classification of consonants (in which *C* stands for any consonant, *R* for a sonorant, *O* for an obstruent, *T* for a plosive, *S* for a sibilant):



- 4.11 **Final clusters** in most cases are the reverse of those discussed above. Thus an initial *STR(V)* turns into a final *(V)RTS*, *SR(V)* into *(V)RS*, *TR(V)* into *(V)RT*, *ST(V)* into *(V)TS* (the asterisked clusters occur only in proper names and loanwords):

(1) STR(V) → (V)RTS

- skl- : -lks (*viľks* 'he will drag')
 skr- : -rks (*veřks* 'he will weep')
 spr- : -rps (*veřps* 'he will spin')
 *spl- : -lps (*aľps* 'he will faint')
 *škr- : -rkš (*čirš* 'he will chirp')
 *špr- : -rpš (*šniřps* 'he will breathe heavily')

In final position, there are, however, (V)RTS type clusters which in reversed order do not occur initially, e.g. -mps (*teřmps* 'he will pull'), -nks (*liňks* 'he will bend'), -nkš (*kreňkš* 'he will cough').

(2) SR(V) → (V)RS

- sl- : -ls (*baľs* 'he will grow white')
 sm- : -ms (*visiems* 'for all')
 sn- : -ns (*skiňs* 'he will pluck')
 sr- : -rs (*patařs* 'he will advise')
 šl- : -lš (*meľš* 'he will milk')
 šm- : -mš (*kiňš* 'he will stuff')
 *šr- : -rš (*niřš* 'he will be enraged')

For historic reasons *šn-* has no reversed counterpart (cf. dial. *greňš* and Stand. *grěš* 'he will drill').

(3) TR(V) → (V)RT

- kl- : -lk (*piľk* 'pour!')
 kn- : -nk (*augňk* 'grow!')
 kr- : -rk (*piřk* 'buy!')
 *km- : -mk (*stũmk* 'push!')
 pr- : -rp (*tařp* 'between')
 tr- : -rt (*viřt* 'to boil')

There are, however, some sequences of consonants which are impossible as initial clusters: -mt (*tiňt* 'to take'), -nt (*seňt* 'to get old', *aňt* 'on').

(4) ST(V) → (V)TS

- sk- : -ks (*tóks* 'such')
 sp- : -ps (*kõps* 'he will climb')
 st- : -ts (*pàts* 'himself')
 *šk- : -kš (*trõkš* 'he will be thirsty')
 šp- : -pš (*šňypš* 'he will hiss')

Sometimes these clusters are extended by adding structurally unmotivated /k t/, e.g.:

- čirkš-k* 'chirp!', cf. *čirkš-t* 'to chirp'
mè[k]s-k 'knit!', cf. *mè[k]s-t* 'to knit'

šnỹpš-k 'hiss!', cf. *šnỹpš-t* 'to hiss'
veřp-k 'spin!', cf. *veřp-t* 'to spin'
 (also cf.: *lip-k* 'climb!', *vès-k* 'lead!')

4.12 The largest **medial** (intervocalic) **clusters** which can occur in morphologically simple (non-compound and unprefixed) words are four-consonant groups. Their structural pattern (with very rare exceptions: *irštva* 'bear's den', *žiegždrà* 'gravel') can be described by the formula $-RTS_R^T-$, e.g.:

<i>álksta</i> '(he) suffers hunger'	<i>alĩksnis</i> 'alder'
<i>lińksta</i> '(he) bends'	<i>veřksmas</i> 'weeping'
<i>gařgždas</i> 'grit'	<i>vĩnkšna</i> 'elm'

Three-consonant and two-consonant groups are derivable from four-consonant clusters by leaving one or two positions vacant but maintaining the sequence of phonemes unchanged, cf.:

álksta '(he) suffers hunger' – *viĩktas* 'dragged', *kaĩstas* 'stake', *nikstas* 'sprain', *viĩksi* '(you) will drag (2. SG)';

rāstas 'log', *káltas* 'chisel', *viĩkas* 'wolf', *skalsà* 'slowness of consumption', *úoksas* 'hollow of a tree', *rāktas* 'key'.

If a larger cluster is found, we should expect simpler groups to conform to the pattern: $-RTS_R^T- \supset -TS_R^T- \supset -S_R^T-$, etc. (\supset here indicates material implication, i.e. a logical relation "if ... then"). Cf.:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} (a)-lkst-(a) \\ (li)-nkst-(a) \\ (a)-lpst-(a) \\ (si)-rpst-(a) \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} : (ni)-kst-(as) \\ : (sla)-pst-(o) \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} : (ra)-st-(as)$
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Using the symbol *x* to mark groups $-ST-$, $-SR-$ and (very rare!) $-STR-$, or separate consonants $-S-$, $-T-$, we get a simpler formula $-RTx- \supset -Tx-$ & $-Rx-$, e.g.:

(mu)-*rks*-(o) '(it) purrs with closed eyes' / (li)-*nks*-(i) '(he) nods' : (stũ)-*ks*-(o) '(he) looms' : (vi)-*s*-(as) 'whole';

(vi)-*lkt*-(i) 'to drag' / (pe)-*nkt*-(as) 'fifth' : (ra)-*kt*-(as) 'key' : (ra)-*t*-(as) 'wheel'.

4.13 The following oppositions of consonants are neutralized in Standard Lithuanian:

(a) voiced obstruents *vs.* voiceless obstruents before all obstruents and at the end of a word:

<i>dĩrba</i> '(he) works'	: <i>dĩr</i> [p]ti 'to work'
<i>keřpa</i> '(he) cuts'	: <i>kiř</i> [b]davo '(he) used to cut'

<i>vēža</i> '(he) transports'	: <i>vè[ʃ]ti</i> 'to transport'
<i>nēša</i> '(he) carries'	: <i>nè[ʒ]davo</i> '(he) used to carry'
<i>daūgelis</i> 'great number'	: <i>daū[k]</i> 'many'
<i>māžas</i> 'small'	: <i>bemā[ʃ]</i> 'almost'

Resonants are neither devoiced, nor cause voicing of other consonants, e.g.: *sleņkstis* 'threshold', *tvarkā* 'order';

(b) hard (non-palatalized) *vs.* soft (palatalized) consonants at the end of a word, before consonants and front vowels (see 4.8): [ʎɛʃkʲ] : [ʎɛʃk] (full and clipped forms) 'carry! (2. SG. IMPERAT)'

[ʎɛʃʃtʲ]	: [ʎɛʃt] (full and clipped forms) 'to tighten'
[ʎ·ʃtʲ] 'to grow tired'	: [ʎ·sta] '(he) grows tired'

(c) dental sibilants *vs.* alveolar sibilants (/s ʃ z ʒ/ *vs.* /ʃ ʒ ʒ ʒ/) before affricates /tʃ dʒ/:

[ʎa:sɑ] '(he) digs'	: [ʎaʃʃæo] '(I) would dig'
[ʎi:zæ] '(he) whines'	: [ʎi:ʃʃæo] '(I) would whine'
[ʎpoʃe:] 'half'	: [ʎpɔʒdʒu:ɣɪs] 'half dry'

(d) labial nasals *vs.* non-labial nasals before labials:

sán-dēlis 'warehouse', but *sám-brūzdis* 'commotion'

kri-ñ-ta '(he) falls' (cf. *krito* '(he) fell'), but *ki-m̃-ba* '(it) sticks to' (cf. *kibo* '(it) stuck to').

Vacillation is possible in compound words, e.g. *sé[n]bernis* and *sé[m]bernis* '(old) bachelor'.

The unmarked members of these oppositions (correlations) are voiceless, hard, dental and non-labial consonants respectively.

All contrasts of consonants are possible before back vowels:

sūs '(he) will grow scabby' : *siūs* '(he) will grow angry' : *šūs* '(he) will swelter' : *žūs* '(he) will perish' : *pūs* '(it) will rot' : *būs* '(he) will be' : *tūs* '(it) will get sticky' : *dūs* '(he) will be short of breath' : *kūs* '(he) will get stronger' : *kiūs* '(it) will disintegrate' : *gūs* '(he) will get used' : *čiūs* '(it) will get quiet' : *džiūs* '(it) will dry' : *mūs* 'us' : *rūs* '(it) will become brown' : *jūs* 'you (ACC. PL)'.

Voiceless and voiced consonants also contrast before front vowels and sonorant consonants, cf.:

<i>kélti</i> 'to lift'	: <i>gélti</i> 'to sting'
<i>prastā</i> 'bad (NOM. SG. FEM)'	: <i>brastā</i> 'ford'
<i>klóstyti</i> 'to spread'	: <i>glóstyti</i> 'to caress'

(9) palatalized *vs.* non-palatalized distinguishes one set of consonants (\hat{C}) from another (C) which contrast only before non-front vowels.

The frequency of the consonants and other phonemes in Standard Lithuanian is shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Phoneme frequency

(processed on the corpus of texts containing 100,001 phonemes)

No.	Phoneme	N of occurrences	%	No.	Phoneme	N of occurrences	%
1	/a/	10,455	10.46	29	/æ:/	1,244	1.24
2	/ʌ/	7,175	7.18	30	/iɛ/	1,212	1.21
3	/s/	5,883	5.88	31	/m/	1,208	1.21
4	/o:/	5,010	5.01	32	/p/	1,175	1.18
5	/j/	4,811	4.81	33	<d>	1,059	1.06
6	/ɛ/	4,542	4.54	34	/ɸ/	989	0.99
7	/k/	4,066	4.07	35	/ʃ/	911	0.91
8	/ɑ/	3,713	3.71	36	/b/	837	0.84
9	/t/	2,850	2.85	37	/ʒo/	742	0.74
10	/v/	2,777	2.78	38	/g/	734	0.73
11	/r/	2,763	2.76	39	/ɸ/	663	0.66
12	/e:/	2,613	2.61	40	/uo/	614	0.61
13	/ʒ/	2,583	2.58	41	/ɸ/	527	0.53
14	/n/	2,513	2.51	42	/z/	472	0.47
15	<ʃ>	2,494	2.49	43	/ɸo/	199	0.20
16	/ŋ/	2,395	2.40	44	/ɸ/	145	0.15
17	/ʒ/	2,242	2.24	45	<o>	124	0.12
18	/l/	2,155	2.16	46	/z/	122	0.12
19	/p/	2,003	2.00	47	/z/	92	0.09
20	/i:/	1,939	1.94	48	/ts/	21	0.02
21	/m/	1,689	1.69	49	<f>	18	0.01
22	/ɑ:/	1,621	1.62	50	/ɸ/	11	0.01
23	/d/	1,549	1.55	51	/ɸ/	8	0.01
24	/y/	1,520	1.52	52	<f>	8	0.01
25	/u:/	1,472	1.47	53	<ɸ>	3	0.00
26	/k/	1,355	1.36	54	<x>	2	0.00
27	/l/	1,355	1.36	55	<x>	1	0.00
28	/g/	1,317	1.32	56	<y>	0	0.00

5 SYLLABLE

Skiemuõ

- 5.1 A vowel phoneme – alone or together with consonants attached to it – forms a phonological syllable whose phonetic realization is perceived as the smallest articulatory unit. E.g.: *a-kìs* ‘eye’, *i-ě-fo* ‘(he) entered’, *skry-bě-lě* ‘hat’. A vowel always constitutes the **nucleus** of a syllable, because in certain cases a single vowel by itself makes a syllable and performs its functions. For prosodic reasons (see 5.3), biphonemic diphthongs and semidiphthongs are also treated as the **extended nucleus** of a syllable, e.g.: *á-u-gau* ‘(I) grew’, *dir-bam* ‘(we) work’. Some interjections can be identified as exceptional syllables in which the nucleus is the sonorant /r/ or the sibilants /s/ or /ʃ/, e.g.: [‘tɾ:] ‘a command to halt horses’, [‘ts:] ‘pst!’.

The minimum syllable consists of a single vowel (e.g.: *a-vìs* ‘sheep’, *o-ã-zé* ‘oasis’), and the maximum syllable contains a vowel and two three-consonant clusters, e.g., in the word *springs* /‘ʃpɾɪŋks/ ‘(he) will become choked’ /ɪ/ is the nucleus of the syllable, /ʃpɾ-/ is an initial clusters of consonants, and /-ŋks/ is a final clusters of consonants. Analysed into immediate constituents, this syllable would be divided into the initial cluster /ʃpɾ-/ and the rhyme /-ɪŋks/; then the rhyme would be broken down further into the nucleus /-ɪ-/ and the final cluster /-ŋks/.

- 5.2 The boundary between adjacent phonological syllables falls before the largest part of the medial cluster of consonants which structurally coincides with a possible initial cluster, e.g.:

liňk-sta ‘(it) bends’
nŷk-sta ‘(it) disappears’
rã-stas ‘log’ (cf. *stãčias* ‘steep’)
veřk-smas ‘weeping’
klŷk-smas ‘scream’
põ-smas ‘stanza’ (cf. *smagùs* ‘cheerful’)
gařg-ždás ‘grit’
kreg-ždě ‘swallow’
kù-žda ‘(he) whispers’

(/zd-/ and /zd-/ are of the *ST-* type, cf. *štai* 'here!')

ir-štva 'bear's den'

žieg-ždrà 'gravel'

ži-zdras 'coarse sand'

(/jtv-/, /zdr-/, /zdr-/ are of *STR-* type, cf. *straksėti* 'to leap')

As there are no initial clusters of **R(T)S-*, **R(T)T-*, **TS-*, **TT-* types, the following words are to be divided thus:

muřk-so '(it) purrs with closed eyes'

stūk-so '(it) looms'

gař-sas 'sound'

peņk-tas 'fifth'

rāk-tas 'key'

plėn-tas 'highway'

Consequently, even a single intervocalic consonant phonologically is always assigned not to the preceding syllable, but to the following ('right-hand') one, e.g., *ne-be-su-si-ti-ki-nė-da-vo-me* '(we) used not to meet each other'.

The boundary of a phonetic syllable apparently does not always coincide with the boundary of a phonological syllable. Open syllables are very common in Lithuanian (see Table 7), therefore in connected speech the medial *-TT-* or even *-TSTR-* clusters can wholly be assigned to the following syllable: *rā-ktas* 'key', *sla-ptaī* 'secretly', *ra-kštis* 'splinter'.

- 5.3 From the prosodic point of view syllables in Lithuanian are classified into **short** and **long**. Short syllables are those whose nucleus is a short (lax) vowel which is not part of a diphthong or a semidiphthong, e.g. *buk-štūs* 'timid', *pa-ki-li-mas* 'rise'. In long syllables, the nucleus (simple or extended) is formed by a long (tense) vowel or a diphthong, or a semidiphthong (i.e. a tautosyllabic *VR-* type group), e.g. *grā-žtą* 'drill (ACC. SG)', *gy-vý-bė* 'life', *plau-kaī* 'hair', *pil-nám* 'full (DAT. SG. MASC)', *var-daī* 'names'. If a syllable contains a long semidiphthong or a triphthong, its long quantity has a double justification, e.g.: *tōl-sta* '(he) moves away', *žė-mėn* 'to the ground', *su-diėu* 'goodbye'.
- 5.4 The difference between open and closed syllables is not crucial in Lithuanian. As mentioned before (5.2), phonologically established closed (i.e. ending in a consonant) syllables phonetically can be realized as open (i.e. ending in a vowel) syllables, cf.: *rāktas* = /'ra:k-tas/ → ['ra:-ktas] 'key'. Only semidiphthongal and final syllables generally remain checked, but in rapid speech even final syllables are established according to the common rules of syllable division: *tas tuřtas* 'that wealth' – [ta'stor-tas], *jis vākar atėjo* 'he came yesterday' [ju'sva:ka-ra-ře:jo:].

Table 7. Types of syllables and their frequency in texts

(*V* = vowel, *C* = consonant, *Vw* = pure compound diphthong; the corpus of texts contained 41,734 syllables)

Type of syllable	N of syllables	%
CV	22,813	54.663
CVC	7,346	17.602
CV ^w	2,682	6.426
CCV	2,661	6.376
VC	2,026	4.855
V	1,434	3.436
CCVC	780	1.869
CV ^w C	573	1.373
CCV ^w	494	1.184
CVCC	405	0.970
VCC	138	0.331
V ^w	120	0.288
V ^w C	60	0.144
CCV ^w C	59	0.141
CCVCC	46	0.110
CCCV	34	0.081
CCCV	28	0.067
CCCV ^w	20	0.048
CV ^w CC	6	0.014
CVCCC	4	0.010
CCCVCC	2	0.005
CCV ^w CC	2	0.005
CCVCCC	1	0.002

6 PROSODIC (SUPRASEGMENTAL) FEATURES

Prozòdiniai pòžymiai

Stress

Kiřtis

- 6.1 Each word consisting of more than one syllable has an additional prosodic feature which is referred to as stress. It is a contrast between stressed and unstressed syllables, the former being more prominent (higher in pitch, louder and sometimes longer) than the latter, e.g., *nėši* /'ŋɛ-ʃɪ/ '(you) will carry (SING)', *neši* /ŋɛ-'ʃɪ/ '(you) carry (SING)'. The more prominent syllable is said to be stressed (accented), or, in other words, it has a special phonological feature, the stress.

Since monosyllabic words performing various functions in the sentence are similar to stressed syllables, it is possible to assume that the stressed syllable forms the phonological nucleus of a word (cf. the similar role of a vowel in a syllable), whereas unstressed syllables constitute the margins of the word. If the number of syllables preceding or following the nucleus is determined by simple phonological rules, we have **fixed** (non-distinctive) stress; when such rules don't exist, the word stress is **free** and therefore capable of performing a distinctive function.

Indisputably, Lithuanian has a free word stress; it performs at least two functions. Its constitutive function manifests itself in distinguishing a word from a combination of words, cf.:

<i>dù jòs</i> 'two of her'	≠ <i>dùjos</i> 'gas'
<i>kā ràs</i> 'what (he) will find'	≠ <i>kāras</i> 'war'

The second function of word stress, or, to be more precise, of its position, is the distinctive function which distinguishes otherwise identical words by the place where the stress falls, e.g.:

<i>gìria</i> '(he) praises'	≠ <i>girià</i> 'forest'
<i>nuskùsti</i> 'to shave (off)'	≠ <i>nuskusti</i> 'shaven'
<i>širdis</i> 'heart (ACC. PL)'	≠ <i>širdis</i> (NOM. SG)

All Lithuanian dialects also have free stress, though in some of them this 'freedom' is somewhat restricted.

The position of the stress in Lithuanian depends on the stress pattern (or accentual paradigm) of the word and its morphological structure (see II.2.1–8).

- 6.2 In contrast with **orthotonic** words, which are usually stressed, there are also the so-called **clitics** (proclitics and enclitics), which include monosyllabic particles, prepositions, conjunctions, certain pronouns and other unstressed words regularly attached to the beginning or the end of an orthotonic word, e.g., *ir atėjome prie to nāmo* 'and (we) came to that house' (proclitics), *tėvas gi seniai sugrįžo* 'but Father returned long ago' (an enclitic). All enclitics in modern Lithuanian can also occur as proclitics, but some proclitics (e.g., prepositions and conjunctions) never form a unit with an orthotonic word preceding it.
- 6.3 A lower degree of word stress (i.e. **secondary stress**) may also occur in Lithuanian (especially in its western dialects). It most often falls on the second posttonic syllable (mainly the penultimate one) of a longer word, e.g., *mókytojas* 'teacher', *pūskepālís* 'half a loaf'. A phonological secondary stress is also possible, and it is noticeable in some rural dialects as well as idiolects of Standard Lithuanian, cf.: (tu) *mýli* '(you) love (SG)' ≠ (jis) *mýli* '(he) loves', *dróbès* 'linen cloth (GEN. SG)' ≠ *dróbès* 'linen cloth (NOM. PL)'.
- 6.4 Stress in Standard Lithuanian is a complex of sound properties. Increases in loudness and pitch, partly an increase in length of the nucleus of the stressed syllable may contribute to the overall impression of prominence. Under otherwise identical conditions, the stressed syllable is stronger (louder) and higher in pitch, often it is of longer duration and more precise timbre (or tonal quality). All these are complementary features: which one prevails depends on specific phonetic conditions. Therefore the word stress in Lithuanian can be characterized neither as a dynamic stress, nor as a pitch stress. It is of a mixed type.
- 6.5 Statistically, there is an evident interdependence between the stress and the quantity of syllables. Most stressed syllables in connected standard speech are **long** (they outnumber short syllables in the ratio 2.3 to 1). This tendency is also proved by the fairly systematic lengthening of the non-final stressed /a/ and /ε/ (see II.1.4) and by lengthening of the first or second component of stressed diphthongs and semidiphthongs (see 6.7). More of such phenomena occur in dialects (especially in north-west dialects), and they are related to the shortening

of unstressed long vowels, the reduction of the first component of diphthongs or semidiphthongs and other similar phenomena.

In Standard Lithuanian unstressed syllables are phonologically unreduced: both in stressed and unstressed syllables we have the same inventory of vowel phonemes. Typologically it is a peculiar feature, because free word stress usually does not coexist with the free quantity of vowels.

Tonemes, or syllable accents

Priegaidės

- 6.6 Lithuanian is a language in which long stressed syllables may prosodically contrast in tonemes or syllable accents, cf.:

<i>šáuk</i> 'shoot'	≠ <i>šaūk</i> 'shout!'
<i>gìnti</i> 'to defend'	≠ <i>giñti</i> 'to drive (off)'
<i>klóstè</i> '(he) spread out'	≠ <i>klōstè</i> 'frill'
<i>týrè</i> '(he) explored'	≠ <i>tÿrè</i> 'mush'
<i>rá[k]ti</i> 'to turn sour'	≠ <i>rūkti</i> 'to smoke'

In identical phonetic conditions two contrastive tonemes are distinguished: the sharp falling (or acute) accent (Lith. *tvirtaprādė priegaidė*) and the smooth rising (or circumflex) accent (Lith. *virtagālė priegaidė*). The diacritic mark *´*, or *`* (for semi-diphthongs whose first element is one of the lax vowels /ɪ/, /o/, <ɔ>, <e>)) is used to indicate the falling accent, and the diacritic mark *˘* is used to indicate the rising accent (cf. 1.1).

In earlier times, some linguists also recognized the 'short' toneme supposedly characteristic of short stressed syllables. Now it is rejected, because phonologically short syllables have no additional contrastive prosodic feature (e.g., *skùsi* '(you) will shave' and *skÿsi* '(you) will complain' contrast not in tonemes, but in the duration and tenseness of the stressed vowel). Therefore the diacritic mark *`* (grave accent) placed over a vowel in a short syllable indicates stress, but not toneme.

Tonemes (or syllable accents) are separate prosodic elements, but not distinctive features of phonemes: they characterize not only syllables containing long vowels, but also syllables whose expanded nucleus is a biphonemic diphthong or a semi-diphthong, i.e. a VR combination of phonemes, cf.:

<i>láuk</i> 'wait!'	: <i>laūk</i> 'get out!'
<i>išvírsi</i> '(you) will boil'	: <i>išvĩrsi</i> '(you) will fall out'

- 6.7 In Standard Lithuanian, a clear distinction is made between diphthongal and monophthongal allotones of syllable accents.

A diphthongal circumflexed (rising) allotone is produced by emphasizing and lengthening the second element of a biphonemic diphthong or a semi-diphthong and by reducing its first element, e.g.:

<i>gāila</i> [ˈgəiːtə] ‘it’s a pity’	<i>ku̯r̥pė</i> [ˈkɔɾːpɛ:] ‘(he) made carelessly’
<i>šau̯k</i> [ˈʃəuːk] ‘shout!’	<i>kā̯ltas</i> [ˈkaɫːtas] ‘guilty’
<i>gī̯nti</i> [ˈgɪnːtɪ] ‘to drive off’	<i>ve̯r̥kti</i> [ˈvɛɾːkʲtɪ] ‘to weep’

In acuted (rising) allotones, more prominence is given to the first element: [a] and [ɛ] become tense and half-long or even long, e.g.:

šāuk [ˈʃaːok] ‘shoot!’
kā̯ltas [ˈkaɫːtas] ‘chisel’
pa̯ve̯r̥gti [paːvɛɾːkʲtɪ] ‘to enslave’

[ɪ], [o], <ɔ> (<e>) tend to remain lax, e.g.:

gī̯nti [ˈgɪn̥tɪ] ‘to defend’
kū̯r̥pė [ˈkɔɾpɛ:] ‘(wooden) shoe’
spō̯rtas [ˈspɔɾtas] ‘sport’

Monophthongal falling and rising tonemes are smoother than diphthongal ones: in their production, the contrast between the beginning and the end of a syllable is not so clear-cut. This (and also the tempo of speech) apparently accounts for a levelling tendency which is evident in eastern and southern dialects, also in the speech of townspeople. The distinction between tonemes is most clear-cut in the western part of Lithuania, especially in Northern Žemaitian dialects, where the main acuted toneme is realized by the so-called broken (glottalized) allotone.

- 6.8 Tonemes are phonetic phenomena of composite nature, their specific properties to a considerable extent depend on the syllable nucleus.

According to the latest experimental studies, monophthongal falling and rising allotones are distinguished mainly by fundamental frequency, certain qualitative (timbre) features, relative duration, and partly by intensity. The pitch of acuted long vowels abruptly changes, their timbre (especially at the beginning) is prominent, the articulation is precise and very tense, the duration is shorter than that of rising (circumflexed) vowels. The tone of rising (circumflexed) vowels is almost level or slightly rising, their articulation is not so tense, and their duration is slightly longer. The main distinctive features of diphthongal allotones are the above-mentioned (see 3.4) quantitative and qualitative properties of the first component of a diphthong.

6.9 In unstressed syllables, the oppositions of tonemes, or syllable accents, are neutralized, cf.:

vārpa ‘ear (of a cereal) (ACC. SG)’ ≠ *vařpa* ‘bell (ACC. SG)’
varpėliu ‘small ear (of a cereal) (GEN. PL)’ = *varpėliu* ‘bell (GEN. PL)’

Unstressed syllables in Standard Lithuanian are perceived as rising (circumflexed), especially this is true for diphthongs occurring before a stressed syllable.

The tendency of neutralization of syllable accents, or tonemes, is evident in the final syllables, cf.:

sugáuti ‘to catch’ → *sugaūs* ‘(he) will catch’

and

sugaūsti ‘to sound’ → *sugaūs* ‘(it) will sound’

pavėrgti ‘to enslave’ → *paveřgs* ‘(he) will enslave’

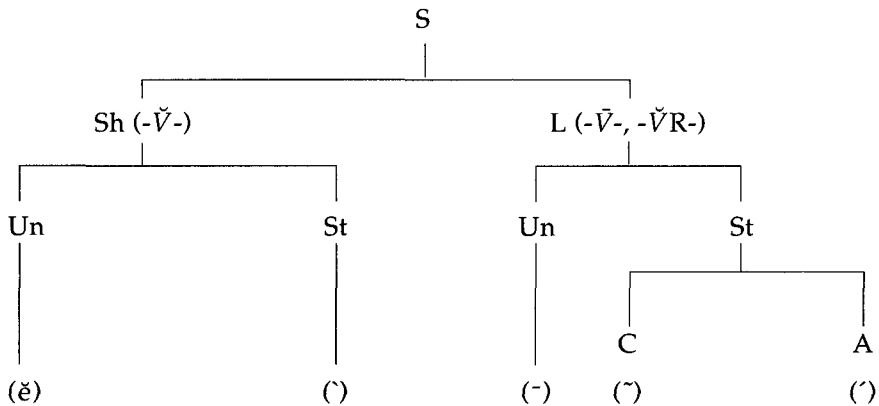
and

paveřkti ‘to weep (for a while)’ → *paveřks* ‘(he) will weep (for a while)’

There are also exceptions to this rule: the dative forms with *-m(s)* (*tám* ‘that (DAT. SG. MASC)’, *gerám* ‘good (DAT. SG. MASC)’, *laukám* ‘field (DAT. PL)’, *jauniems* ‘young (DAT. PL. MASC)’, *visóms* ‘all (DAT. PL. FEM)’, certain adverbs (*pusiáu* ‘half’, *visái* ‘completely’, *velnióp* ‘to hell’), pronouns (*jóks* ‘none’, *tóks* ‘such’) and interjections.

Consequently, in Standard Lithuanian the rising (circumflexed) accent is the **unmarked** member of the syllable accent opposition, and the falling (acuted) accent is its marked member. The evidence from frequency of occurrence supports this view: circumflexed syllables are 1.5 times more frequent than acuted ones.

6.10 A schematic representation of the relationship of all prosodic elements of a word and a syllable is given below (*S* – syllable, *L* – long, *Sh* – short, *St* – stressed, *Un* – unstressed, *C* – circumflexed, *A* – acuted):



A system of two tonemes exists in all Lithuanian dialects, even in those which are said to have broken (glottalized), level or other tonemes (they are only allo-
 tones of the main types of tonemes). But the relationship of these prosodemes
 and the position of their maximum contrast may be essentially different. For
 example, in northern (Samogitian) dialects, acuted syllables occur in the final
 and even posttonic position (*sakâ· ~ sakái·* '(you) say' ≠ *sakā· / sàkâ· ~ sakāi·* 'resin'),
 and the sharp (acute) accent is the **unmarked** member of the opposition.

II/Morphonology

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1 ALTERNATIONS OF PHONEMES

Fonèmuų kaitos

Alternation of vowels in endings

Balsių kaitos galūnėse

- 1.1 Short vowels in most endings before the enclitic affixes of reflexive verbs and definite nominals regularly change into long vowels (-*Ų* → -*Ū* / {- encl.}).

The following alternations are possible:

(1)

(a) -/a/ → -/o:/

gerà (INDEF) : *geró-ji* (DEF) 'good (NOM. SG. FEM)'

(b) -/a/ → -/ɑ:/ (-ą)

gerà (INDEF) : *gerá-ja* (DEF) 'good (INSTR. SG. FEM)'

geràs (INDEF) : *gerás-ias* (DEF) 'good (ACC. PL. FEM)'

(2) -/ɛ/ → -/e:/ (-ė)

nėšame '(we) carry' : *nėšamė-s* '(we) carry for ourselves'

nėšate '(you) carry' : *nėšatė-s* '(you) carry for yourselves'

(3)

(a) -/ɪ/ → /iɛ/

neši '(you) carry' : *nešie-s(i)* '(you) carry for yourself'

geri (INDEF) : *gerie-ji* (DEF) 'good (NOM. PL. MASC)'

(b) -/ɪ/ → -/i:/ (-y)

didis (INDEF) : *didįs-is* (DEF) 'great (NOM. SG. MASC)'

paskutinis (INDEF) : *paskutinįs-is* (DEF) 'last (NOM. SG. MASC)'

(4) -/o/ → -/uo/

nešù '(I) carry' : *nešúo-si* '(I) carry for myself'

gerù (INDEF) : *gerúo-ju* (DEF) 'good (INSTR. SG. MASC)'

gerùs (INDEF) : *gerúos-ius* (DEF) 'good (ACC. PL. MASC)'

Alternative endings may have stress shifted from the penultimate short or circumflexed syllable (see 2.4, 3); their long stressed variants, which occur in the

afore-mentioned cases instead of short ones, are almost always acuted (but cf. *didỹs-is* 'great').

1.2 Some endings remain short even before the enclitic affixes, cf.:

<i>nėša</i> '(he) carries'	: <i>nėša-s(i)</i> '(he) carries for himself'
<i>gėras</i> (INDEF)	: <i>geràs-is</i> (DEF) 'good (NOM. SG. MASC)'
<i>gražùs</i> (INDEF)	: <i>gražùs-is</i> (DEF) 'nice (NOM. SG. MASC)'

Consequently, in endings we can distinguish changeable and unchangeable vowel morphonemes. The former ones can be marked as $-\grave{a}$ (\acute{a}), $-\grave{e}$ (\acute{e}), $-\grave{i}$ (\acute{i}), $-\grave{u}$ (\acute{u}), and the latter are $-a$, $-a$ (\grave{a}), $-i$ and $-u$ (with appropriate marks indicating possible stress and syllable tonemes if in stressed position).

1.3 The insertion of *i* between the reflexive affix and a consonant of the preceding part of a word can also be considered a morphological change, e.g.:

<i>kàs</i> '(he) will dig'	: <i>kàs-i-s</i> '(he) will dig for himself'
<i>nėš</i> '(he) will carry'	: <i>nėš-i-s</i> '(he) will carry for himself'
<i>mókant</i> 'while teaching'	: <i>mókant-i-s</i> 'while teaching oneself, learning'
<i>mókymas</i> 'teaching'	: <i>mókymas-i-s</i> 'learning'
<i>slėpęs</i> 'having hidden'	: <i>slėpęs-i-s</i> 'having hidden himself'

They may be treated as cases of metathesis conditioned by a morphological (phono-morphological) position: $-si \rightarrow -is / [C-]$.

Automatic quantitative changes of vowels

Automatinės kiekybinės balsių kaitos

1.4 The vowels / ϵ / and / a / are lengthened in non-final stressed syllables, cf.:

<i>nešù</i> '(I) carry'	: <i>nėša</i> '(he) carries'
<i>vakaraĩ</i> 'evenings'	: <i>vakāris</i> 'westerly wind'

In Standard Lithuanian, this rule of positional lengthening has a lot of exceptions. The vowels / ϵ / and / a / remain short in non-final syllables of the following types of words and their forms:

(1) verbal prefixes, e.g.: *at-neša* '(he) brings', *nė-neša* '(he) doesn't carry', *tė-neša* 'may (he) carry', *pà-mečiau* '(I) lost', *tebė-guli* '(he) still lies' (but cf. *pāsakojau* '(I) told' ← *pāsaka* 'tale');

(2) disyllabic (excluding prefixes) infinitives and forms derived from them:

(a) infinitives: *něšti* 'to carry', *děgti* 'to burn', *kàsti* 'to dig', *šlāpti* 'to get wet';

(b) forms of the frequentative past tense: *něšdavau* '(I) used to carry', *děgdavau* '(I) used to burn', *kàsdavote* '(you) used to dig', *šlāpdavo* '(he) used to get wet';

(c) forms of the future tense: *něšiu* '(I) will carry', *děgsi* '(you) will burn', *kàsime* '(we) will dig', *šlāpsite* '(you) will get wet';

(d) forms of the subjunctive mood: *něščiau* '(I) would carry', *děgtum(ei)* '(you) would burn', *kàstumėte* '(you all) would dig', *šlāptų* '(he) would get wet';

(e) imperative forms: *něškime* 'let's carry', *dėkime* 'let's burn', *kàskite* 'dig!', *šlāpkite* 'get wet!';

(f) participles (and half-participles): *něšdamas* 'carrying', *něšiąs* 'which will carry';

(3) verbs formed from interjections: *krėstelėti* 'to give a jolt', *brākstel(ė)ti* 'to crack';

(4) the comparative degree suffix of adjectives: *aukštėsnis* masc. 'higher', *jaunėsnė* fem. 'younger', *gerėlesnis* masc. 'slightly better', *ilgėlesnė* fem. 'slightly longer';

(5) the nominative singular masculine endings of definite adjectives and other adjectival words: *geràsis* 'good', *pirmàsis* 'the first one', *užmirštàsis* 'the forgotten one';

(6) the possessive genitive singular forms of personal pronouns *màno* 'my', *tàvo* 'your', *sàvo* 'one's own';

(7) compound adverb and prepositions: *anàpus* 'on the other side', *šiàpus* 'on this side'.

Besides, /ε/ (or optional <e>) remains short in international words, e.g.: *poėzija* 'poetry', *tėkstas* 'text'.

In word final position and monosyllabic words, the stressed /ε/ and /a/ are usually short, e.g.:

tà 'that (FEM)'

tàs 'that (MASC)'

nė 'no'

šakàs 'branches (ACC. PL)'

akmeninės 'stony (ACC. PL. FEM)'

They are lengthened only in the pronoun *mės* 'we' (cf. *mės* '(he) will throw') and the adverbs *kasmėt* 'annually', *kasnakt* 'nightly', *pernakt* 'all night long'.

- 1.5 Long vowels (including /iε/ and /uo/) are systematically shortened, if they become the first element of diphthongs and semi-diphthongs (/i:/ → /i/, /u:/ and /uo/ → /o/, /e:/ → /ε/, /o:/ → /a/, i.e. $\check{V}R \rightarrow \check{V}R / -C$). E.g.:

- (a) *septynì* 'seven' : *septȳn-tas* → *septiñtas* 'seventh'
púolè '(he) attacked' : *púol-ti* → *pùlti* 'to attack'
- (b) *dúré* '(he) pricked' : *dúr-ti* → *dùrti* 'to prick'
běré '(he) poured (dry substances)' : *běr-ti* → *beřti* 'to pour'
kóré '(he) hanged' : *kór-ti* → *kárti* 'to hang'
 (cf.: *pūtè* '(he) blew' : *pūsti* 'to blow', *plětè* '(he) widened' : *plěsti* 'to widen', *vōgè* '(he) stole' : *vōgti* 'to steal')
- (c) *rāšo* '(he) writes' : *rāšo-nt-ys* → *rāšantys* 'who write'
vaīko '(he) chases' : *vaīko-nt-ys* → *vaīkantys* 'who chase'
 (cf.: *kaļba* '(he) speaks' : *kaļbantys* 'who speak', *myli* '(he) loves' : *mylintys* 'who love')

Group (b) also includes the change of {o:v} into [ao] = /av/ in such cases as:

- grióvè* '(he) demolished' : *grióv-ti* → *griáuti* 'to demolish'
lióvèsi '(it) ceased' : *lióv-ti-s* → *liáutis* 'to cease'
šóvè '(he) shot' : *šóv-ti* → *šáuti* 'to shoot'

There are some exceptional cases when long vowels before tautosyllabic /r, l, n, m/ remain long:

- (a) in word final position: *artȳn* 'nearer', *kasdiēn* 'daily', *visóm(s)* 'all (DAT. PL. FEM)', *paskubōm* 'in a hurry';
- (b) before an internal open juncture in compound words: *dúon-milčiai* 'flour for bread', *žvȳr-duobè* 'gravel-pit';
- (c) in verbs whose present tense is formed with the suffix *-sta*: *mēlti* 'to turn blue' : *mēlsta* '(it) turns blue', *tōlti* 'to move away' : *tōlsta* '(he) moves away';
- (d) in some old borrowings: *kortà* [ko:r'ta] 'card', *morkà* [mo:r'ka] 'carrot', *Mortà* [mo:r'ta] 'Martha'.

- 1.6 A special case of automatic quantitative changes is the alternation of the type /ɨ-j/ (/ [-V]) : /i:/ (/ [-C]) and /o-v/ (/ [-V]) : /u:/ (/ [-C]), e.g.:

- gìjo* '(he) got well' : *gìj-ti* → *gýti* 'to get well'
rìjo '(he) swallowed' : *rìj-ti* → *rýti* 'to swallow'
bùvo '(he) was' : *bùv-ti* → *búti* 'to be'
žùvo '(he) perished' : *žùv-ti* → *žúti* 'to perish'

- 1.7 In third person future tense forms related to dissyllabic (excluding prefixes) infinitives whose acuted long vowel occurs directly before the suffix *-ti* (e.g.: *lýti* 'to rain', *griú-ti* 'to fall down'), the long vowels /i:/ and /u:/ are shortened, cf.:

lýti 'to rain' : *līs* '(it) will rain'
džiúti 'to dry' : *džiūs* '(it) will dry'
žúti 'to perish' : *žūs* '(he) will perish'

Exceptions: *výti* 'to chase' : *výs* '(he) will chase', *siúti* 'to sew' : *siūs* '(he) will sew'.

This rule is prescriptive – besides, it was established not long ago. Therefore in some previously printed texts it is often not observed (e.g., *trūks plīš* instead of *trūks plīš* 'by hook or by crook').

In polysyllabic forms, the length of a vowel is retained, e.g.:

laiký-ti 'to keep' : *laikýs* '(he) will keep'
taisý-ti 'to repair' : *taisýs* '(he) will repair'

- 1.8 The vowel /i:/ is also shortened in the nominative and vocative singular endings of *-(i)ia*-stem nouns. This change occurs only in unstressed position, cf.:

gaidýs 'cock', *žaltýs* 'grass-snake' and *brólis* 'brother', *mēdis* 'tree'
gaidý 'oh cock', *žaltý* 'oh grass-snake' and *bróli* 'oh brother', *mēdi* 'oh tree'

Otherwise /i:/ is also possible in unstressed endings, e.g.:

ākys ['a:kj:s] 'eyes'
dañtys ['daŋtj:s] 'teeth'

Loss of tautosyllabic /n/ and compensatory lengthening of vowels

- 1.9 In most morphemes, *Vn*-type semidiphthongs lose the nasal element and turn into long vowels before sonorant and fricative consonants. In other words, in this position /n/ disappears, lengthening the vowel which stands before it: *Vn* → *V̄* / [-R]. E.g.:

(a) *sán-kaba* 'clutch', but *sá-statas* 'composition', *sá-junga* 'union', *sá-lytis* 'contact', *sá-rašas* 'list';

(b) *kándo* '(he) bit' : (*kánd-snis* → *kánsnis* →) *kánsnis* 'bit'
skleñdė '(door) bolt' : (*skleñd-ti* → *skleñsti* →) *sklėsti* 'to bolt'
liñdo '(he) went into' : (*liñd-ti* → *liñsti* →) *lįsti* 'to go into'
siuñtė '(he) sent' : (*siuñt-ti* → *siuñsti* →) *siųsti* 'to send'

(c) *šālo* '(he) got chilled' : (*ša-ñ-la* →) *šāla* '(he) gets chilled'
klēro '(he) became loose' : (*kle-ñ-ra* →) *klēra* '(he) becomes loose, shaky'
 cf.: *rādo* '(he) found' : *ra-ñ-da* '(he) finds', *gēdo* '(it) decayed' : *ge-ñ-da* '(it) decays'.

In the latter (c) case, the expected *-i-* and *-u-* are traditionally substituted by *-y-* and *-ū-* respectively in writing, cf.:

kīlo '(he) rose' : (*ki-ñ-la* →) *kỹla* '(he) rises'
spūro '(it) frayed out' : (*spu-ñ-ra* →) *spūra* '(it) frays out'

but

švito '(it) grew light' : *švi-ñ-ta* '(it) grows light'
būdo '(he) awoke' : *bu-ñ-da* '(he) awakes'

1.10 Exceptions to the aforementioned rule of denasalization:

(a) tense forms derived from the infinitives in which /n/ stands directly before the suffix *-ti*, e.g.:

gyvėn-ti 'to live' : *gyvėns* '(he) will live'
sėn-ti 'to grow old' : *sėns* '(he) will grow old'
tin-ti 'to swell' : *tinsta* '(he) swells', *tĩns* '(he) will swell'

(b) loan words, e.g.: *benzinas* 'petrol, gasoline', *trānsas* 'trance';

(c) junctures of compound words, e.g.: *skán-skoniai* 'titbits', *šun-snuikis* 'scoundrel';

(d) *-ns* combination occurring in the genitive singular endings of some nouns, e.g.: *akmeńs* 'of a stone', *šuńs* 'of a dog'.

1.11 In the history of Lithuanian, *Vn*-type semidiphthongs were also denasalized at the end of a word, e.g.:

ākį [ˈa:kj:] 'eye (ACC. SG)' < **akin*
žėmę [ˈʒ:ɲ:mɲ:] 'land, earth (ACC. SG)' < **žėmen*
výrą [ˈɣi:ra:] 'husband, man (ACC. SG)' < **v්රan*
sūnų [ˈsu:nu:] 'son (ACC. SG)' < **sւնun*

However, in Modern Lithuanian we simply have here long vowels represented in writing by special letters (*ą*, *ę*, *į*, *ų*) to perform a phonological (cf.: *várna* 'crow (ACC. SG)' : *várna* (NOM. SG), *sėnę* 'old woman (ACC. SG)' : *sėne* (VOC. SG)) or even a purely morphological (cf.: *smėlį* 'sand (ACC. SG)' : *smėly* (LOC. SG)) function.

Apophony

Apofõnija, baĩsių kaità

- 1.12 In derivation and the inflexional forms of a verb, **apophony** (non-automatic alternation of vowels and diphthongs) is possible, cf.:

<i>platus</i> 'wide'	: <i>plõtis</i> 'width'
<i>nõša</i> '(he) carries'	: <i>nãšciai</i> 'yoke'
<i>skrido</i> '(he) flew'	: <i>skraĩdè</i> '(he) flew about'
<i>stveria</i> '(he) seizes'	: <i>stverè</i> '(he) seized'
<i>riõcia</i> '(he) bends'	: <i>raĩto</i> '(he) rolls'
<i>leñda</i> '(he) crawls'	: <i>liñdo</i> '(he) crawled'
<i>liõka</i> '(he) remains'	: <i>liko</i> '(he) remained'

Apophony is an additional means of marking different functions of a word by varying the vowel sound in its stem, cf.:

{*plat-*} + {-*is*} → {*plàtis*} → *plõtis*
 {*stver-*} + {-*è*} → {*stverè*} → *stverè*

Therefore apophony in Lithuanian is defined as covering the differences between allomorphs of the same morpheme, but not as an internal inflexion.

- 1.13 With certain reservations, apophony may include the alternation of long vowels *-e-*, *-a-* and short stressed vowels *-e-*, *-a-* in the aforementioned (1.4) forms of the verb (*kãsa* '(he) digs' : *kàsti* 'to dig', *nõša* '(he) carries' : *nèštu* '(I) will carry').

Apophony only indirectly is related to the aforementioned alternations *au* : *ov*, *ũ* : *uv*, *y* : *ij* (1.5, 6), *an* : *a*, *en* : *e*, *in* : *i* (*y*), *un* : *u* (*ũ*) (see 1.9) and especially *au* : *av*, *ui* : *uj* (see 1.3.3). In all these cases they can be described as positionally conditioned alternants and practically can be seen as allophones of the same phonemes (see 1.3).

Apophony excludes the alternations of vowels in onomatopoeic words, because the distinctive features of their vowels function as direct (iconic) signs (cf.: *tikõst* : *tykõst* 'dash!' where the long vowel marks a more intensive sound or action).

- 1.14 Lithuanian (and Baltic) linguistics traditionally distinguishes between quantitative and qualitative apophony (or vowel gradation).

Quantitative apophony is best illustrated by the alternations *i* : *y* and *u* : *ũ* (sometimes also by *t* : *ai*, *u* : *au*, etc.), e.g.:

pila '(he) pours' : *pylè* '(he) poured'

<i>mùša</i> '(he) beats'	: <i>mūšis</i> 'battle'
<i>mìsti</i> 'to feed on'	: <i>maīstas</i> 'food'
<i>jùkti</i> 'to break up in disorder'	: <i>jaūkti</i> 'to put into disorder'

Besides, functionally the alternations *e* : *é* and *a* : *o* can also be ascribed to quantitative apophony, because they are parallel to such alternations as *i* : *y*, and *u* : *ū*, cf.:

<i>gìria</i> '(he) praises'	: <i>gýrè</i> '(he) praised'
<i>dùria</i> '(he) pricks'	: <i>dūrè</i> '(he) pricked'
<i>gëria</i> '(he) drinks'	: <i>gëré</i> '(he) drank'
<i>kària</i> '(he) hangs'	: <i>kórè</i> '(he) hanged'

Qualitative apophony includes all other possible vowel alternations among which *e* : *a*, *e* (R)¹ : *i* (R), *ie* (*ei*) : *ai*, *ie* : *y*, *au* : *ū*, *uo* : *au* (= /a/+ /v/) are most typical, e.g.:

<i>sēka</i> '(he) tells (a tale)'	: <i>pāsaka</i> 'tale'
<i>sleņka</i> '(he) slides'	: <i>sliņko</i> '(he) slid'
<i>viēši</i> '(he) stays as a guest'	: <i>vāišēs</i> 'treat'
<i>keīsti</i> 'to change'	: <i>kaità</i> 'change'
<i>žiedas</i> 'blossom'	: <i>žydēti</i> 'to blossom'
<i>láužti</i> 'to break'	: <i>lūžti</i> 'to break' (intransitive)
<i>dūoda</i> '(he) gives'	: <i>dāvè</i> '(he) gave'

Some alternations are rare or even unique, such as *y* (*i*) : *ei*, *a* : *i*, *ie* : *ei*, *ai* : *ui*, *é* : *o*, *è* : *uo*, *o* : *ū*, *o* : *uo*, *o* : *ui*, *e* (R) : *u* (R), e.g.:

<i>plýšti</i> 'to burst'	: <i>pléišēti</i> 'to crack'
<i>málti</i> 'to grind'	: <i>miltai</i> 'flour'
<i>Diēvas</i> 'God'	: <i>deīvē</i> 'goddess'
<i>klaīkti</i> 'to become foolish'	: <i>klūika</i> 'fool'
<i>sēdēti</i> 'to sit'	: <i>sodīnti</i> 'to seat'
<i>brēžti</i> 'to draw'	: <i>brúožas</i> 'stroke'
<i>smōgti</i> 'to strike a blow'	: <i>smūgis</i> 'blow'
<i>šókti</i> 'to jump'	: <i>šúokoti</i> 'to hop'
<i>lóti</i> 'to bark'	: <i>sulūiti</i> 'to begin to bark'
<i>srēbia</i> '(he) sips'	: <i>sriubà</i> 'soup'

Some other vowel alternations are of a mixed (quantitative-qualitative) type, e.g.: *i* : *é*, *è* : *i*, e.g.:

<i>ìma</i> '(he) takes'	: <i>ēme</i> '(he) took'
<i>rēkia</i> '(he) shouts'	: <i>surìko</i> '(he) cried out

¹ The letter R indicates that an alternation usually occurs before sonorants, e.g. *vérda* '(it) boils' : *vìre* '(it) boiled', *gëria* '(he) drinks' : *girà* 'weak beer'.

- 1.15** All direct relationships which exist between apophonic alternants are **privative** and **binary**. The underlying stem has an unmarked alternant, and the derived stem has a marked alternant (in the examples given above unmarked members of alternations come first), cf.:

<i>plātūs</i> 'wide'	→ <i>plōtis</i> 'width'
<i>nēša</i> '(he) carries'	→ <i>nāščiai</i> 'yoke'
<i>pīla</i> '(he) pours'	→ <i>pýlė</i> '(he) poured'
<i>sleñka</i> '(he) slides'	→ <i>slīñko</i> '(he) slid'
<i>viėši</i> '(he) stays as a guest'	→ <i>váišės</i> 'treat'

Series of vocalic alternations can almost always be split into binary parts whose members have a direct derivational or grammatical relationship, e.g.:

svėria '(he) weighs' : *svėrė* '(he) weighed' : *svìro* '(he) swayed' : *svýroja* '(it) hangs' : *svarūs* 'weighty' : *svōris* 'weight' =

svėria : *svėrė*

svėria : *svìro*

svìro : *svýroja*

svėria : *svarūs*

svarūs : *svōris*

sniėgas 'snow' : *snaĩgė* 'snow-flake' : *snìgo* '(it) snowed' : *snýguriuoja* '(it) snows lightly' : *snėtgėja* '(it) snows slightly' =

sniėgas : *snaĩgė*

sniėgas : *snìgo*

snìgo : *snýguriavo*

snìgti : *snėtgėti*

džiaūgtis 'to rejoice' : (*prasi*)*džiūgti* 'to become cheerful' : *džiūgauti* 'to exult' =

džiaūgtis : (*prasi*)*džiūgti*

(*prasi*)*džiūgti* : *džiūgauti*

- 1.16** Apophonic alternations, as a rule, take place within certain microsystems, i.e. in the so-called apophonic series. Three series are distinguished in Standard Lithuanian:

(1) *a* (*e*) series including alternations with the underlying alternants *e*, *a* and occasionally *ė*, *o*;

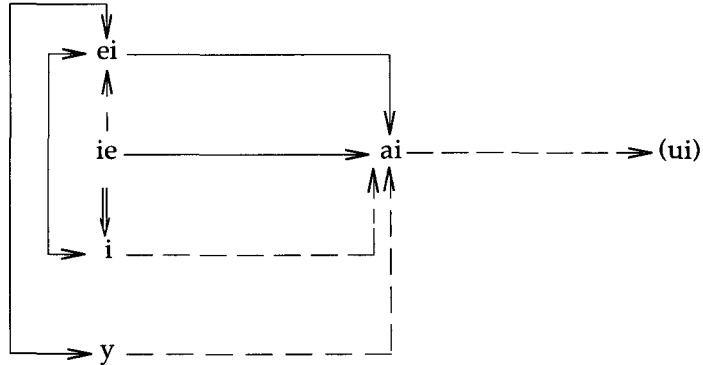
(2) *i* (*ie*) series including alternations with the underlying alternants *ie*, *ei* (= *e+j*), *i* and occasionally *ai*, *y*;

(3) *u* (*au*) series represented by the alternants *au* (= *a+v*, sometimes *o+v*), *u*, *ū* and *uo*.

Besides, there are some apophonic alternations of a mixed type comprising alternants belonging to different series (see 1.14).

tēškia '(he) splashes' : *tīško* '(it) splashed'
stīpti 'to die' : *stapīnti* 'to let sb. die (of hunger)'

1.18 The apophonic series *i* (*ie*) includes the following alternants:



The main unmarked member of this microsystem is *ie*, e.g.:

šviēčīa '(it) shines' : *švīto* '(it) grew light' : *švyturīšs* 'light-house' : *šveičīa* '(he) rubs until bright' : *švaīsto* '(he) holds a light for somebody' =

šviēčīa : *švīto*

šviēčīa : *šveičīa*

šveičīa : *švaīsto*

švīto : *švyturīšs*

liēka '(he) remains' : *liko* '(he) remained' : *līkija* '(he) makes it remain' : *palaikaī* '(human) remains' =

liēka : *liko*

liēka : *palaikaī*

liko : *līkija*

(but cf. *lipti* 'to climb' : *liēptas* 'foot-bridge', where *ie* is marked).

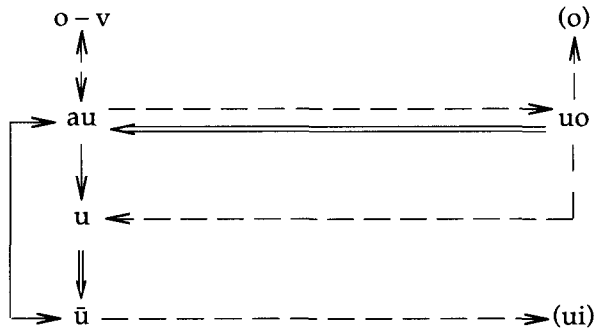
Only rarely does the diphthong *ei* appear in this role, cf.: *skleīdžīa* '(it) spreads' : *sklīdo* '(it) spread' and *skleīdžīa* : *sklaidā* 'dispersion'. It seldom alternates with *ie*, but it can become the marked alternant compared with *y* and *i* (see 1.15).

The diphthong *ai* is unmarked only in the alternation *ai* : *ui* which occurs in dialectal words, e.g.: *raīnas* 'streaky' : *Ruīnis* 'name of a streaky cat', *rāišas* 'lame' : *rūišis* 'lame man'.

To the same series we can evidently ascribe also the alternations *i* : *y* which have no diphthongal alternants and cannot be derived from the underlying *e*, cf.:

skìria '(he) distinguishes' : *skýrè* '(he) distinguished'
šìlo '(it) grew warmer' : *atóšylis* 'thaw'

1.19 The last apophonic microsystem, i.e. the *u* (*au*) series, may be presented in the following way:



In this series, only the alternations *au* : *u* : *ū* and *au* : *u*, *au* : *ū* are completely regular, cf.:

daūžia '(he) breaks' : *dūžo* '(it) broke' : *dūžis* 'blow, stroke'
šiáušia '(he) ruffles' : *šiūša* '(he) rustles'
stáugia '(he) howls' : *stūgauja* '(he) makes howls'

The alternant *o-v* is included only with certain reservations, e.g. *sraūtas* 'flow' : *srovē* 'stream' : *srūvo* '(it) oozed' (*srūtos* 'dung water'), because *o-v* in tautosyllabic position is not possible.

The alternant *uo* is quite regular in verbs where it alternates with the heterosyllabic variant *a-v*, cf.:

melúoja '(he) lies' : *melāvo* '(he) lied'
šlúoja '(he) sweeps' : *šlāvē* '(he) swept'

Otherwise it is rare, e.g.:

juðkas 'laughter' : *jùkinti* 'to make one laugh'
daubà 'hollow' : *dùbti* 'to grow hollow' : *įdūbis* 'hollow space' : *duobė* 'pit'
gùli '(he) lies' : *guðlis* 'resting-place'

The alternations *uo* : *o* (*dúoti* 'to give' : *dosnūs* 'generous') and *ū* : *ui* (*búti* 'to be' : *buitis* 'everyday life') are irregular.

To the same series we can probably ascribe also the alternations *u* : *ū* (without *au* and *uo*), e.g.:

mùša '(he) beats' : *mūšis* 'battle'
sùka '(he) turns' : *pósūkis* 'turning'
stùmia '(he) pushes' : *stúme* '(he) pushed'

- 1.20 The diagrams presented in 1.18–20 show that some different apophonic series have common alternants: *i* and *y* occur both in the *a* (*e*) and *i* (*ie*) series, *u*, *ū* and *uo* occur both in the *a* (*e*) and *u* (*au*) series. The common alternants cause the so-called **analogous apophony**, i.e. the occurrence of morpheme alternants belonging to different series, cf.:

krėčia '(he) shakes' : *krėtė* '(he) shook' : *krito* '(he) fell' : *ātkrytis* 'relapse' (*a* (*e*) series) and *kráičioja* '(he) frequently falls' (*i* (*ie*) series),

brėnda '(he) wades' : *brido* '(he) waded' : *brastà* 'ford' (*a* (*e*) series) and *braido* '(he) wades about' (*i* (*ie*) series),

brėžti 'to draw, to scratch' : *brìžės* 'harrow' : *brýžis* 'line, scratch' : *brúožas* 'streak, feature' (*a* (*e*) series) and *braižyti* 'to draw, to scratch' (*i* (*ie*) series) : *brūžinti* 'to scrub' (*u* (*au*) series).

- 1.21 Finally, it is worth mentioning that Modern Lithuanian shows a strong tendency to level apophonic alternations, especially in the most productive and regular suffixing derivation, cf.:

<i>pėšti</i> 'to pull, to pluck'	: <i>pašióti</i> 'to pull, to pluck (repeatedly)'	→ <i>pešióti</i>
<i>vėsti</i> 'to lead'	: <i>vadžióti</i> 'to lead (repeatedly)'	→ <i>vedžióti</i>
<i>meřkti</i> 'to soak'	: <i>markýti</i> 'to soak thoroughly'	→ <i>mirkýti</i>
<i>juóktis</i> 'to laugh'	: <i>jùkinti</i> 'to make laugh'	→ <i>juókinti</i>
<i>výsti</i> 'to wither'	: <i>vaitinti</i> 'to cause withering'	→ <i>výtinti</i>

When such morphological doublets occur, the item which contains no vocalic alternation (i.e. no marked alternant) is more recent.

Alternations of consonants

Priebalsių kaĩtos

- 1.22 At the end of morphemes preceding the root, the correlations of palatalization and voice are neutralized, and the opposition between sibilants and shibilants is also neutralized before affricates. The sequences *t*, *d* + *s*, *z*, *ř*, *ž* undergo these changes and are usually retained in this position in *lento* forms, e.g.: *at-sùkti* 'to turn back', *at-řáuuti* 'to reply sharply', *púo[t]-řakės* 'long-handled fork for lifting and moving pots in an oven', *a[d]-žygiúoti* 'to come marching'; in *allegro* forms,

they become affricates: *a[tʃ]ùkti*, *a[tʃ]áuti*, *púo[tʃ]akès*, *a[dʒ]lygiúoti*. Affricates are **always** pronounced at the boundary between a prefix and the reflexive affix, e.g.: *atsisakýti* [aʦisa`kʲi:tʲi] 'to refuse', *atsitráukti* [aʦi`tra`okʲi] 'to draw back'.

A sequence of two identical adjacent consonants in the aforementioned position usually undergoes **degemination**, and only the second one is being pronounced, e.g.:

<i>pùsseserè</i> [ˈpoʃeʃeɾe:] '(female) cousin'	<i>užsùkti</i> [o`soktʲi] 'to turn off'
<i>iššòkti</i> [i`ʃo:ktʲi] 'to jump out'	<i>užšákti</i> [o`ʃa`ktʲi] 'to freeze over'
<i>užžélti</i> [o`ʒ:Ń:jtʲi] 'to overgrow (with)'	<i>pùšžalis</i> [ˈpoʒa]lis 'underdone'

In carefully articulated speech, however, the longer duration of the consonant or even the sequence [ʃs] may be retained, e.g.:

ùžsienis 'foreign country' = [ˈoʃienʲis] || [ˈos`ienʲis] || [ˈoʃʃienʲis]

Especially frequent and regular is the geminate [r:] (and [r:]) in such cases, cf.:

parìtinti [pa`rʲuʦiŋtʲi] 'to roll a little' ≠ *parrìtinti* [pa`rʲ:uʦiŋtʲi] 'to roll back'

1.23 Consonants at the boundary between the root and suffixes are subject to more intricate morphonological processes. Along with the neutralizations, the following are of the greatest importance:

(1) **Dissimilation** of the adjacent *t* and *d*, i.e. *t, d* → *s* /- *t* and *d, t* → *z* /- *d*, e.g.:

<i>met-</i> + <i>-ti</i> (<i>mēta</i> '(he) throws')	→ <i>mèsti</i> 'to throw'
<i>ved-</i> + <i>-ti</i> (<i>vēda</i> '(he) leads')	→ <i>vèsti</i> 'to lead'
<i>ved-</i> + <i>-damas</i>	→ <i>vè[z]damas</i> 'while leading'
<i>met-</i> + <i>-damas</i> → <i>med-damas</i>	→ <i>mè[z]damas</i> 'while throwing'
<i>kand-</i> + <i>-ti</i> (<i>kánda</i> '(he) bites')	→ <i>kánt-ti</i> → <i>kánsti</i> → <i>kásti</i> 'to bite' (see 1.9)
<i>žaid-</i> + <i>-da</i> (<i>žēidē</i> '(he) wounded')	→ <i>žaidà</i> 'wound'

The second person singular imperative forms, such as *mèsk* 'throw!' and *vèsk* 'lead!', are made from the infinitive root variant which had undergone a dissimilative change in the infinitive.

(2) **Contraction** of adjacent sibilants, i.e. *š, ž + s* → *š*, e.g.:

<i>rīš-</i> + <i>-siu</i> (<i>rīša</i> '(he) ties')	→ <i>rīšiu</i> '(I) will tie'
<i>mēž-</i> + <i>-slas</i> (<i>mēžia</i> '(he) manures')	→ <i>mēšlas</i> 'manure'

(3) **Elision** (omission) of *t* and *d* before *s*, i.e. *t, d* → *ž* /- *s*, e.g.:

<i>mèt-</i> + <i>-s</i> (<i>mēta</i> '(he) throws')	→ <i>mès</i> '(he) will throw'
<i>júod-</i> + <i>-svas</i> (<i>júodas</i> 'black')	→ <i>júosvas</i> 'blackish'
<i>prat-</i> + <i>-smē</i> (<i>suprāto</i> '(he) understood', <i>prōtas</i> 'mind, sense')	→ <i>prasmē</i> 'sense, meaning'
<i>kánd-</i> + <i>-snis</i> (<i>kánda</i> '(he) bites')	→ <i>kánsnis</i> → <i>kásnis</i> 'bit'

The sequences *t*, *d* + *š*, however, simply change into affricates, e.g.:

gùd- + *-šas* (*gudrùs* 'clever', *igùdęs* 'skilful') → *gùčas* 'crafty man'
snùd- + *-šas* (*snáudė* '(he) drowsed') → *snùčas* 'sleepy person'

Some other omissions of consonants are also possible, but they are less regular (cf. *smárd-* + *-vė* → *smárvė* 'stink' and *smardinti* 'to give a stink').

(4) **Metathesis** (exchange of positions of consonants) such as *SK* + *C* → *KSC* (*K* – backlingual plosive, *S* – sibilant, *C* – any consonant), e.g.:

drėšk- + *-ti* (*drėškė* '(he) tore') → *drėksti* 'to tear'
tìšk- + *-ti* (*tìško* '(it) splashed') → *tìkšti* 'to splash'
mėzg- + *-damas* (*mėzga* '(he) knits') → *mėgzdamas* 'while knitting'
čiršk- + *-lys* (*čirškia* '(he) chirps') → *čirkšlỹs* 'chirper'
tryšk- + *-sta* (*tryško* '(it) spouted') → *trykš-sta* → *trykšta* '(it) spouts'

1.24 The only nonautomatic alternations of consonants (functionally resembling apophony) are **palatalization** and, less frequently, **depalatalization**, cf.:

geraĩ 'well' : *geriaũ* 'better'
vėlaĩ 'late' : *vėliaũ* 'later'
blogaĩ 'badly' : *blogiaũ* 'worse'
žaliaĩ 'green' : *žalũmas* 'greenness'

Affrication such as {*t*, *d*} → [*tʃ*, *dʒ*] is only a particular ("external") case of palatalization, e.g.:

aukštaĩ 'high' : *aukščiaũ* (← *aukš{t}aũ*) 'higher' = *juodaĩ* 'black' : *juodžiaũ* (← *juo{d}aũ*) 'blacker'

Morphonological palatalization is changing of a stem final non-palatalized consonant into a corresponding palatalized one before certain "palatalising" affixes beginning with a non-front vowel, e.g.:

laisv- + *-au* (*laisvaĩ* 'freely') → *laisviaũ* 'more freely'
maž- + *-ukas* (*māžas* 'small') → *mažiukas* 'very small'

Depalatalization is changing of a stem final palatalized consonant into a corresponding non-palatalized one before "depalatalising" affixes, e.g.:

tuš{t}- + *-okas* (*tùščias* 'empty') → *tuštókas* 'somewhat empty'
ža{š}- + *-umas* (*žaliaĩ* 'green') → *žalũmas* 'greenness'

Palatalization regularly occurs, for instance, before the superlative suffix, cf.:

gėras 'good' → *geriausias* 'best'
tirštas 'thick' → *tirščiausias* (= *tirš{t}ausias*) 'thickest'

Depalatalization is regular in the formation of nouns from adjectives with the suffix *-ùmas*, e.g.:

dìdis 'great' (Gen. Sg. *dìdžio*) → *didùmas* 'greatness'
plókščias (= *plokš{t}as*) 'flat' → *plokštùmas* 'flatness'

Palatalization and depalatalization are to be considered as an additional feature of a suffix (or a derivational ending, cf.: *kùbilas* 'tub, barrel' : *kubilius* 'cooper'), but not that of an underlying stem. Therefore palatalising suffixes (and endings) need to be marked, for instance, {-*av*}, {-*avšas*}, {-*okas*} (in the standard orthography *-iau*, *-iausias*, *-iukas* respectively), to indicate that a consonant preceding these affixes is always palatalized. The absence of *´* (or of the letter *i* in spelling) shows that an affix does not possess this feature. Suffixes which have both palatalising and depalatalising allomorphs might be indicated in the following way: {-*(´)okas*}, {-*(´)okę:*} (*-(i)ukas*, *-(i)ukė* respectively), cf.:

krāštas 'edge' : *kraščīukas* (← *kraš{t}ūkas*) 'small edge'
šluota 'broom' : *šluočiukė* (← *šluo{t}ūkė*) 'small broom'
 but: *lāpas* 'leaf' : *lapūkas* 'small leaf'
širdis (Gen. Pl. *širdžių*) 'heart' : *širdūkė* 'little heart'

2 ACCENTUATION

Kirčiāvimas

- 2.1 As it has been mentioned before (I.6.1), the Lithuanian language has a free (or distinctive) word stress: it means that words and their forms can be distinguished by stress contrast (cf.: *likime* 'let's stay' ≠ *likime* 'oh fate' ≠ *likimè* '(in the) fate'). The position of the stress is determined not by the phonetic properties of syllables or their distance in relation to the word boundary, but by the accentual properties of morphemes a word is composed of, i.e. by their relative **accentual value**. Besides, in certain cases the stress pattern of a word can be modified by the quantity of morphemes and their toneme (or syllable accent). This influence, however, depends on morphonological factors.

The essential principles of Lithuanian accentuation can be clearly and simply expounded by using examples of dissyllabic noun declension.

- 2.2 According to their accentual value, all stems of dissyllabic nouns (i.e. all monosyllabic stems) can be classified into two types:

(1) **strong** stems (*A*), i.e. stems receiving stress before any ending (*e*, *E*), e.g.: Acc. Sg. *píev-(-q)* 'meadow', *viēt-(-q)* 'place', *višt-(-q)* 'hen';

(2) **weak** stems (*a*), i.e. stems receiving stress only before a weak ending (*e*), e.g.: Acc. Sg. *skiedr-(-q)* 'chip', *diēn-(-q)* 'day', *mìgl-(-q)* 'mist'.

Besides, each type can be subdivided into **acuted** stems (*Á*, e.g., Acc. Sg. *píev-[-q]*; *á*, e.g., *skiedr-[-q]*) and **non-acuted** (i.e. short or circumflected) stems (*Ã*, e.g., Acc. Sg. *višt-[-q]*, *viēt-[-q]*; *ã*, e.g., *mìgl-[-q]*, *diēn-[-q]*).

The accentual value of stems is usually determined according to the position of the stress in the dative or genitive plural: in these forms **strong** stems are always **stressed**, while **weak** stems are **unstressed**, cf.: *píev-oms* '(to the) meadows', *píev-ų* '(of the) meadows' or *viēt-oms* '(to the) places', *viēt-ų* '(of the) places' (strong stems; *A*) and *skiedr-óms* '(to the) chips', *skiedr-ų* '(of the) chips' or *dien-óms* '(to the) days', *dien-ų* '(of the) days' (weak stems; *a*). The toneme (or syllable accent) of a long stem is usually determined through the accusative singular form, cf.: *píev-q* (*Á*) : *viēt-q* (*Ã*) : *skiedr-q* (*á*) : *diēn-q* (*ã*), or (for instance, in cases of *pluralia*

tantum) through any other form containing a stressed stem, cf.: Nom. Pl. *žirklės* 'scissors' (*Á*) : *kaščiai* 'mane' (*Ā*) : *rūnų* 'competition' (*á*) : *kriaūnos* 'handle' (*ā*).

2.3 The inflexional endings can be classified into the same types as stems (the stressed morpheme is indicated in bold type):

(1) **strong** endings (*E*), i.e. endings receiving stress if the stem is weak (*aE* → *aE*), but remaining unstressed in a combination with a strong stem (*AE* → *AE*), cf.: Gen. Pl. (*migl-*)-*ų* '(of the) mists' : (*višt-*)-*ų* '(of the) hens', Dat. Pl. (*migl-*)-*oms* '(to the) mists' : (*višt-*)-*oms*, Loc. Pl. (*migl-*)-*osė*³ : (*višt-*)-*ose* '(in the) hens';

(2) **weak** endings (*e*) remain unstressed following both strong and weak stems (*Ae* → *Ae*, *ae* → *ae*), e.g.: Dat. Sg. (*višt-*)-*ai* '(to the) hen', (*migl-*)-*ai* '(to the) mist', Acc. Sg. (*migl-*)-*q* 'mist', (*višt-*)-*q* 'hen'.

Each type has special **attractive** endings (*Ē*, *è*), i.e. endings always attracting stress onto themselves from the preceding **non-acuted** syllable in compliance with the so-called penultimate-syllable rule (or de Saussure and Fortunatov's synchronic law), e.g.: Nom. Sg. (*višt-*)-*à* (*Ē*), Instr. Sg. (*višt-*)-*à*, Acc. Pl. (*višt-*)-*às* (*è*), but Voc. Sg. (*višt-*)-*a* (*e*, i.e. a non-attractive ending). In combination with acuted stems they behave like simple endings of corresponding accentual value (see 2.4).

Note: Short attractive endings in most cases have long acuted allomorphs before enclitic affixes (cf.: *višt-à* 'hen' : *ger-ó-ji* 'good', see 1.1).

2.4 (1) If the ending is non-attractive, the position of the stress in dissyllabic forms is determined by applying the following rules:

(a) the stress falls on any strong stem (or simply on the first strong morph):

<i>Ae</i> → <i>Ae</i> :	Dat. Sg.	<i>PÍEV-ai</i>	→ <i>pievai</i> '(to the) meadow'
		<i>VIĒT-ai</i>	→ <i>viĕtai</i> '(to the) place'
	Acc. Sg.	<i>PÍEV-q</i>	→ <i>pievq</i> , <i>VIĒT-q</i> → <i>viĕtq</i> ;
	Nom. Pl.	<i>PÍEV-os</i>	→ <i>pievos</i> 'meadows'
		<i>VIĒT-os</i>	→ <i>viĕtos</i> 'places'
		<i>VÌŠT-os</i>	→ <i>vištos</i> 'hens'
<i>AE</i> → <i>AE</i> :	Gen. Pl.	<i>PÍEV-ų</i>	→ <i>pievų</i>
		<i>VIĒT-ų</i>	→ <i>viĕtų</i>
	Dat. Pl.	<i>PÍEV-OMS</i>	→ <i>pievoms</i>
		<i>VIĒT-OMS</i>	→ <i>viĕtoms</i>
	Loc. Pl.	<i>PÍEV-OSE</i>	→ <i>pievose</i>
		<i>VIĒT-OSE</i>	→ <i>viĕtose</i>

³In stressed dissyllabic inflexional endings, the stress always falls on the last syllable.

(b) the stress falls on strong endings following weak stems:

<i>aĒ</i> → <i>aĒ</i> :	Gen. Pl.	<i>skíedr-Ū</i>	→ <i>skíedrŭ</i> '(of the) chips'
		<i>diĕn-Ū</i>	→ <i>dienŭ</i> '(of the) days'
Dat. Pl.		<i>skíedr-ÓMS</i>	→ <i>skíedróm̄s</i>
		<i>diĕn-ÓMS</i>	→ <i>dienóm̄s</i>
Loc. Pl.		<i>skíedr-OSĒ</i>	→ <i>skíedrosè</i>
		<i>diĕn-OSĒ</i>	→ <i>dienosè</i>

(c) the stress falls on weak stems preceding weak endings:

<i>ae</i> → <i>ae</i> :	Dat. Sg.	<i>skíedr-ai</i>	→ <i>skíedrai</i>
		<i>diĕn-ai</i>	→ <i>diĕnai</i> ;
Acc. Sg.		<i>skíedr-q</i>	→ <i>skíedraq</i>
		<i>diĕn-q</i>	→ <i>diĕnq</i>

(2) Attractive endings in combination with acuted stems are stressed or unstressed according to the general rules:

(a) <i>ÁĒ</i> → <i>ÁĒ</i> :	Instr. Sg.	<i>PÍEV-à</i>	→ <i>píeva</i>
		Acc. Pl.	<i>PÍEV-às</i>
<i>ĀĒ</i> → <i>ĀĒ</i> :	Nom. Sg.	<i>PÍEV-à</i>	→ <i>píeva</i>
(b) <i>áĒ</i> → <i>aĒ</i> :	Nom. Sg.	<i>skíedr-À</i>	→ <i>skíedrà</i>
		(c) <i>áĒ</i> → <i>áĒ</i> :	Instr. Sg.
Acc. Pl.	<i>skíedr-às</i>	→ <i>skíedras</i>	

(3) Attractive endings following **non-acuted** (i.e. short or long circumflected) stems are always stressed (de Saussure and Fortunatov's law), e.g.:

<i>ĀĒ</i> → <i>AĒ</i> :	Instr. Sg.	<i>VIĒT-à</i>	→ <i>vietà</i>
		<i>VĪŠT-à</i>	→ <i>vištà</i>
	Acc. Pl.	<i>VIĒT-às</i>	→ <i>vietàs</i>
<i>ĀĒ</i> → <i>AĒ</i> :	Nom. Sg.	<i>VIĒT-À</i>	→ <i>vietà</i>
		<i>VĪŠT-À</i>	→ <i>vištà</i>
	<i>āĒ</i> → <i>aĒ</i> :	Instr. Sg.	<i>diĕn-à</i>
<i>mìgl-à</i>			→ <i>mìglà</i>
Acc. Pl.		<i>diĕn-às</i>	→ <i>dienàs</i>
		<i>mìgl-às</i>	→ <i>mìglàs</i>

(cf. also *āĒ* → *aĒ*: Nom. Sg. *diĕn-À* → *dienà*, *mìgl-À* → *mìglà*, when the ending must receive the doubly motivated stress according to the general rule as well, see 2.3, 1).

2.5 The accentuation rules stated above can be demonstrated by means of the declension and accentuation paradigms of the nouns *várpa* 'ear (of a cereal plant)', *rankà* 'hand', *galvà* 'head' and *kalvà* 'hill':

Singular

Nom.	<i>várpa</i>	(<i>ÁÈ</i>)	<i>rankà</i>	(<i>ǺÈ → AÈ</i>)
Gen.	<i>várpos</i>	(<i>ÁE</i>)	<i>rañkos</i>	(<i>ǺE</i>)
Dat.	<i>várpai</i>	(<i>ÁE</i>)	<i>rañkai</i>	(<i>ǺE</i>)
Acc.	<i>várpq</i>	(<i>Áe</i>)	<i>rañkq</i>	(<i>Ǻe</i>)
Instr.	<i>várpa</i>	(<i>Áè</i>)	<i>rankà</i>	(<i>Ǻè → Aè</i>)
Loc.	<i>várpoje</i>	(<i>ÁE</i>)	<i>rañkoje</i>	(<i>ǺE</i>)
Voc.	<i>várpa</i>	(<i>Áe</i>)	<i>rañka</i>	(<i>Ǻe</i>)
Nom.	<i>galvà</i>	(<i>áÈ</i>)	<i>kalvà</i>	(<i>ǻE</i>)
Gen.	<i>galvōs</i>	(<i>áE</i>)	<i>kalvōs</i>	(<i>ǻE</i>)
Dat.	<i>gálvai</i>	(<i>áe</i>)	<i>kaļvai</i>	(<i>ǻe</i>)
Acc.	<i>gálvq</i>	(<i>áe</i>)	<i>kaļvq</i>	(<i>ǻe</i>)
Instr.	<i>gálva</i>	(<i>áè</i>)	<i>kalvà</i>	(<i>ǻè → aè</i>)
Loc.	<i>galvojè</i>	(<i>áE</i>)	<i>kalvojè</i>	(<i>ǻE</i>)
Voc.	<i>gálva</i>	(<i>áe</i>)	<i>kaļva</i>	(<i>ǻe</i>)

Plural

Nom./Voc.	<i>várpos</i>	(<i>Áe</i>)	<i>rañkos</i>	(<i>Ǻe</i>)
Gen.	<i>várpū</i>	(<i>ÁE</i>)	<i>rañkū</i>	(<i>ǺE</i>)
Dat.	<i>várpoms</i>	(<i>ÁE</i>)	<i>rañkoms</i>	(<i>ǺE</i>)
Acc.	<i>várpas</i>	(<i>Áè</i>)	<i>rankàs</i>	(<i>Ǻè → Aè</i>)
Instr.	<i>várpomis</i>	(<i>ÁE</i>)	<i>rañkomis</i>	(<i>ǺE</i>)
Loc.	<i>várpose</i>	(<i>ÁE</i>)	<i>rañkose</i>	(<i>ǺE</i>)
Nom./Voc.	<i>galvos</i>	(<i>áe</i>)	<i>kaļvos</i>	(<i>ǻe</i>)
Gen.	<i>galvū</i>	(<i>áE</i>)	<i>kalvū</i>	(<i>ǻE</i>)
Dat.	<i>galvóms</i>	(<i>áE</i>)	<i>kalvóms</i>	(<i>ǻE</i>)
Acc.	<i>galvas</i>	(<i>áè</i>)	<i>kalvàs</i>	(<i>ǻè → aè</i>)
Instr.	<i>galvomis</i>	(<i>áE</i>)	<i>kalvomis</i>	(<i>ǻE</i>)
Loc.	<i>galvosè</i>	(<i>áE</i>)	<i>kalvosè</i>	(<i>ǻE</i>)

Each of the examples used above represents one of the four accentuation paradigms. Paradigm 1 refers to dissyllabic nouns with a strong acuted stem (their dative and accusative plural endings are unstressed: *várpoms*, *várpas*), Paradigm 2 to nouns with a strong non-acuted stem (their dative plural ending is unstressed, and the accusative plural ending is stressed: *rañkoms*, but *rankàs*), Paradigm 3 to nouns with a weak acuted stem (in the dative plural the stress occurs in the ending, while in the accusative plural it occurs in the stem: *galvóms*, but

gálvas), and Paradigm 4 to nouns with a weak non-acuted stem (the ending is stressed both in the dative and accusative plural: *kalvóms, kalvàs*). In dictionaries, the numbers of accentuation paradigms are usually provided for nouns and other declinable words, e.g.: *piéva* (1), *várpa* (1), *vištà* (2), *vietà* (2), *rankà* (2), *skiedrà* (3), *galvà* (3), *miglà* (4), *dienà* (4), *kalvà* (4) (for more detail see III.1.34–38).

- 2.6 From the standpoint of accentuation, polysyllabic nouns with a stressed stem-final syllable do not differ from dissyllabic ones, but only very few of them belong to accentuation Paradigm 4 (except such place names as *Garliavà* (4): Gen. *Garliavòs*, Acc. *Garliāvq*).

Stems with at least one **intermediate** syllable between the stressed syllable and the ending function the same way as monosyllabic acuted stems, even if the stressed syllable is short or circumflexed. In such cases the intermediate syllable prevents the application of de Saussure and Fortunatov's law, cf.:

Nom. Sg. *šypsena* (1) 'smile' : *piéva* (1) 'meadow', *gilumà* (3)⁴ 'depth' : *skiedrà* (3) 'chip'
Instr. Sg. *šypsena* : *piéva*, *giluma* : *skiedra*
Acc. Pl. *šypsenas* : *piévas*, *gilumas* : *skiedras*

Therefore words of this type can be ascribed only to accentuation Paradigms 1 or 3.

- 2.7 The accentuation of derivatives is also mainly based on the accentual value of morphemes. According to their effect on underlying stems, for instance, most nominal suffixes can be classified into two types:

(1) **strengthening** suffixes (*S*), i.e. those which convert weak stems into strong ones ($a1 + S \rightarrow A2$), e.g.: (a) *žolė* (4) 'grass' \rightarrow *žolýnas* (1) 'grass-plot', (b) *žmónės* 'people', Gen. Pl. *žmonių* (3) \rightarrow *žmóniškas* (1) 'humane', (c) *dárbas* 'work', Gen. Pl. *darbų* (3) \rightarrow *darbiniškas* (2) 'worker', *skolà* 'debt', Gen. Sg. *skolòs* (4) \rightarrow *skoliniškas* (2) 'debtor' (cf.: *mókslas* (1) 'science' \rightarrow *mókslininkas* (1) 'scientist', *kopà* 'dune', Nom. Pl. *kōpos* (2) \rightarrow *kōpininkas* (1) 'inhabitant of the sand-dune area');

(2) **weakening** suffixes (*s*), i.e. those which convert strong stems into weak ones ($A1+s \rightarrow a2$), e.g.: *ámžtūs* 'century', Gen. Pl. *ámžiu* (1) \rightarrow *ámžinas* (3a) 'eternal', *stirna* (1) 'doe' \rightarrow *stirnenà* (3a) 'doeskin', *lāpė* (2) 'fox' \rightarrow *lapenà* (3b) 'fox-fur'.

Among strengthening suffixes we can also distinguish:

(a) **strong** suffixes (*S*), i.e. those which always attract the stress onto themselves

⁴ 3^b to be more exact. In such cases de Saussure and Fortunatov's law does not apply, the stress falls on the ending according to the general rule $aE \rightarrow aE$ (see 2.4).

($A+S \rightarrow AS$), cf.: *úoga* (1) 'berry' → *uogiēnē* (2) '(berry) jam', *vaīkas* (4) 'child' → *vaikēlis* (2) 'little child';

(b) **weak** suffixes (\bar{X}), i.e. those before which the underlying stem maintains or receives the stress ($A+\bar{X} \rightarrow A\bar{X}$, $a+\bar{X} \rightarrow a\bar{X}$), cf.: *výras* (1) 'man, male' → *výriškas* (1) 'manly, masculine', *vaīkas* (4) 'child' → *vaikiškas* (1) 'childish';

(c) **neutral** suffixes (S), i.e. those which attract the stress from weak underlying stems, but do not shift it away from strong stems ($a+S \rightarrow aS$, $A+S \rightarrow AS$), cf.: *šakà* 'branch', Gen. Sg. *šakōs* (4) → *šakinis* (2) 'made of branches', *galvà* 'head', Gen. Sg. *galvōs* (3) → *galvinis* (2) '(belonging to the) head', but *úoga* (1) 'berry' → *úoginis* (1) 'made of berries', *druskà* 'salt', Gen. Sg. *druskos* (2) → *drūskinē* (1) 'salt-box'.

2.8 Composition and derivation do not obey the accentuation rules so consistently as inflection.

First, additional phonological and morphological factors sometimes complicate these rules. For instance, in the derivational system of the verb an important role belongs to de Saussure and Fortunatov's law: the stress shifts from a non-acuted final (or single) syllable of the underlying stem to a weak attractive (acuted) suffix ($\bar{A}ś \rightarrow Aś$, cf.: *laīko* '(he) keeps' : *laīk-ýti* → *laikýti* 'to keep', but *sváido* '(he) throws' : *sváid-ý-ti* → *sváidyti* 'to throw'. Some suffixes and most derivational endings cause a shift of the stress to the final syllable of the underlying stem or an alternation of tonemes (i.e. the so-called metatony), cf.:

(a) *geležis* 'iron', Acc. Sg. *gēležī* → *gelēžtē* 'blade (of the knife)',

(b) *kūbilas* 'tub' → *kubīlius* 'cooper', *piemuō* 'shepherd', Acc. Sg. *piemenī* → *piemēnē* 'shepherdess' (a change in the position of the stress), *púodas* 'pot' → *puōdāžius* 'potter', *stóras* 'thick' → *stōris* 'thickness' (circumflex metatony),

(c) *plaūkti* 'to swim' → *pláuktioti* 'to swim to and fro', *padraīko* '(he) scatters' → *padrátkos* 'litter' (acute metatony).

Functionally, these phenomena do not differ from apophony (cf. 1.14).

Secondly, the accentuation of derivatives and compounds is subject to the influence of semantic factors and many other phenomena which all together produce morphological **idiomaticness**.

The influence of a semantic factor is evident even in the accentuation of derivatives with an exceptionally productive suffix *-inis*: on the whole, this suffix belongs to the type of neutral strengthening morphemes (see 2.7), but in words denoting material it becomes a strong morpheme, e.g.:

<i>būlvē</i> (1) 'potato'	→ <i>bulvīnis</i> 'made of potatoes'
<i>mōlis</i> (1) 'clay'	→ <i>molīnis</i> 'made of clay'
<i>mēdis</i> (2) 'tree'	→ <i>medīnis</i> 'wooden'

The semantic influence is especially conspicuous in the accentuation of compound words, cf.:

<i>daugiāsienis</i> 'polyhedron'	: <i>daugiasīēnis</i> 'polyhedral'
<i>dvirātis</i> 'bicycle'	: <i>dvirātis</i> 'with two wheels'
<i>trikāmpis</i> 'triangle'	: <i>trikaīmpis</i> 'triangular'

Morphonological idiomaticness is a peculiarity of the phonological 'shape' of certain derivatives and compounds which occurs not as result of the properties of their components. For instance, the suffix *-iena* in words denoting flesh of animals and birds belongs to the type of strong strengthening suffixes (cf.: *āntis* (1) 'duck' → *antīena* (1) 'meat of duck', *kiaūlē* (2) 'pig' → *kiaulīena* (1) 'pork'), but in the word *jāutiēna* 'beef' it behaves as a weak suffix. A high degree of idiomaticness is especially characteristic of the derivatives with the suffix *-tuvē* (cf. *vēlti* 'to full' : *veltuvē* 'fulling-mill', *mālti* 'to grind' : *maltuvē* 'room for a quern', *krāuti* 'to load' : *krāutuvē* 'shop, store') and the prefix *pa-* (cf.: *tiltas* (1) 'bridge' : *patiltē* (1) 'place under the bridge', *jūosta* (1) 'girdle' : *pajuōstē* (2) 'place under the girdle', *kālnas* (3) 'hill' : *pakaīnē* (2) 'hillside', *kraīntas* (4) 'bank, shore' : *pakraīntē* (1) 'riverside, seaside', *kēlias* (4) 'road' : *pakeīlē* (3b) 'roadside'), numerous compounds, and, lastly, place names and proper names. The accentuation of such words (like the meaning of idiomatic expressions) should be memorized as a whole. The same is true about the accentual value of simple stems (or the accentuation paradigm of a corresponding word).

III/Morphology

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General remarks

- 0.1 This section concerns the forms of words belonging to various word classes (parts of speech) and their grammatical meanings. The derivational properties of words are dealt with in so far as they are relevant for inflection and help to characterize the word classes and their categories.

In Lithuanian, which is an inflectional language, the majority of word forms are made with affixes, viz. endings and inflectional suffixes. The endings are the principal means of marking the syntagmatic relations between words in a sentence and/or the relations between word forms in a paradigm.

- 0.2 **Endings** mostly are fusional, i.e. an ending encodes two or more grammatical meanings and thus a word form enters into the same number of morphological categories. For instance, the ending *-a* in the word form *dain-à* 'song' denotes the nominative case, singular number and feminine gender; the ending *-ais* in *vaik-ais* 'with children' indicates the instrumental case, plural number and masculine gender.

On the other hand, one and the same cluster of grammatical meanings can be marked by various endings. Thus the nominative singular of feminine nouns is also encoded by the endings *-i*, *-ė*, *-is* (cf. respectively: *mart-ì* 'daughter-in-law', *žol-ė* 'grass', *nakt-ìs* 'night'), the instrumental plural of masculine nouns is marked by the endings *-ais* and *-umis* (cf. *vaik-ais* 'with children', *sūn-umis* 'with sons'). The choice of an ending is determined by the difference in the selective features of nouns which belong to different declension paradigms.

Inflectional endings may be homonymous. For instance, apart from marking the nominative singular of the feminine gender, the ending *-a* in the cited form *dain-à* 'song' also marks the instrumental singular form of the same noun, as in *sù dainà* 'with a song'. In such cases the broader context resolves homonymy.

- 0.3 **Suffixes** are also widely used in Lithuanian to make up word forms. They mainly indicate paradigmatic relations between word forms rather than syntagmatic relations. Inflectional suffixes are used to mark the degrees of comparison in

adjectives and many adverbs, some tense and mood forms in verbs, and also the non-finite verb forms: the infinitive, participles (including gerunds) and verbal adverbs (*būdinys*).

An inflectional suffix may be the only grammatical marker of a word form, containing no ending. Thus, the suffix *-ti* indicates an infinitive (*bėg-ti* 'to run', *gáu-ti* 'to receive'), the suffix *-nt* is a marker of the present tense gerund (*bėga-nt* 'running'), *gáu-na-nt* 'receiving'), the suffix *-us* marks the past gerund (*bėg-us* 'having run', *gāv-us* 'having received'). In most cases, however, inflectional suffixes are supplemented by endings, in other words, in a word form, some grammatical meaning(s) may be expressed by a suffix, and some by an ending. Thus, the suffix *-s(i)* marks the future tense and the endings indicate person and number in the verb forms *bėg-si-u* 'I'll run', *bėg-si-me* 'we will run', *bėg-si-te* 'you will run', *bėgs* 'he/they will run' (the 3rd person ending has a zero form, i.e. the absence of an overt ending is grammatically meaningful and indicates the 3rd person). The above mentioned suffixes *-nt* and *-us* denote voice and tense in participles, while endings indicate gender, number and case, e.g.: *bėga-nt-is* (*žmogūs*) 'running (man) (PRES. ACT. PART. MASC. NOM. SG)', *bėg-us-ia* (*mergaitė*) 'running (girl) (PAST. ACT. PART. FEM. ACC. SG)'.

- 0.4 In word forms, affixation is often (especially in the verbal paradigm) conjoined with changes in the root: it may be vowel alternation (cf. *keliù* '(I) raise' – *kėliau* '(I) raised', *dúodu* '(I) give' – *daviaũ* '(I) gave'), consonant alternation (cf. *jáut-is* 'bull (NOM)' – *jáuči-o* (GEN), *draūs-ti* 'forbid' – *draūdži-a* 'forbids' – *draūd-è* 'forbade') or changes in stress and tone, cf. *ein-ù* '(I) go' – *eĩn-a* '(he) goes', *kėl-ti* 'raise' – *kėlia* '(he) raises' – *kėlė* 'he raised' – *kėls* '(he) will raise'. In these cases we find different root variants determined by general morphonological processes.

Sometimes, word forms are made up by means of suppletion, i.e. the forms of a word have different stems whose relationship cannot be accounted for by any morphonological rules. The common examples are the case forms of personal pronouns (e.g. *àš* 'I (NOM)' – *manè* 'me (ACC)'; *mēs* 'we (NOM)' – *mūsų* 'us (GEN)') and the various forms of the verb *būti* 'be' (*esù* '(I) am' – *yrà* '(he) is, (they) are' – *būna* '(it) happens to be').

- 0.5 Alongside simple (synthetic) word forms, made with affixes, a paradigm may contain **periphrastic (analytical) word forms** comprised of the main word and an auxiliary. Lithuanian employs periphrasis to make up some verbal tense and mood and voice forms, e.g. *esù būves* 'I have been' (lit. 'I-am been'), *buvaũ rāšęs* 'I had written' (lit. 'I-was written'), *esù mùšamas* 'I am beaten' (lit. 'I-am being-

beaten'), *buvaū nēštas* 'I was carried', *būčiau atėjęs* 'I would have come'. Periphrastic forms enter into an opposition with the synthetic forms of the same main word within a morphological category. Therefore they are also included in the system of morphological devices of Lithuanian.

- 0.6** A morphological category of a word class is structured as an opposition of inflectional word forms contrasted with respect to their distinctive feature which can have a syntactic or semantic character. Distinctive syntactic features (signaling grammatical relations between words in the sentence) motivate the formal oppositions of case in all the classes of declinable words, oppositions of voice, person, and number in verbs and also of gender and number in adjectives. Distinctive semantic features motivate number in nouns, definiteness in adjectives, comparison in adjectives and adverbs, and tense and mood in verbs. The category of gender in nouns has a partly derivational character but it is interrelated with their inflectional paradigms and therefore it is treated along with the categories of number and case.
- 0.7** According to the shared morphological, syntactic and semantic properties, words are classified into grammatical classes traditionally termed parts of speech. In Lithuanian, 11 parts of speech are distinguished: the noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun, verb, adverb, particle, preposition, conjunction, interjection and onomatopoeic words.

With respect to their function, the parts of speech are divided into notional, structural (functional) and expressive.

The notional parts of speech are the noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun, verb and adverb. They perform syntactic functions in a sentence and can constitute word groups. The words belonging to the notional parts of speech are mostly variable (except for most adverbs) and thus have morphological categories.

The structural parts of speech are the particle, preposition and conjunction. They have no autonomous syntactic function in a sentence and do not constitute word groups, instead, they serve to link (prepositions and conjunctions) or specify (particles) notional words. The structural parts of speech are invariable and thus have no morphological categories.

The expressive parts of speech are the interjection and onomatopoeic words. They are usually attached to other words or clauses to add emphasis or colour. They are invariable, like the structural parts of speech, but some of them can acquire a syntactic function as verb substitutes.

1 NOUN

Daiktavardis

- 1.1 Nouns constitute a class of inflected words having independent morphological categories of gender, number and case. In a sentence a noun is mostly used as the subject or object.

Most typically, nouns refer to animate and inanimate things, human beings, substances, natural and social phenomena:

<i>akmuo</i> 'stone'	<i>upė</i> 'river'
<i>brolis</i> 'brother'	<i>žuvis</i> 'fish'
<i>žiemà</i> 'winter'	<i>šventė</i> 'holiday'

Nouns may also refer to actions, states or qualities:

<i>kvėpavimas</i> 'breathing'	<i>grōžis</i> 'beauty'
<i>lenktynės</i> 'race'	<i>lygỹbė</i> 'equality'
<i>liūdesỹs</i> 'sadness'	<i>gerūmas</i> 'kindness'

Morphological categories and syntactic functions of the latter nouns are identical with those of the nouns denoting things.

Nouns can be divided into two big groups – proper nouns and common nouns.

PROPER NOUNS

Tikriniai daiktavardžiai

- 1.2 Proper nouns are names of individual phenomena singled out from a class.

All proper nouns are written with an initial capital letter. If a common noun is used as the name of a publication, institution or product, it becomes a proper noun (usually placed in quotation marks), e.g.:

"*Aušrà*" 'Dawn' (the name of a journal)

"*Snaĩgė*" 'Snowflake' (the brand name of a refrigerator)

Semantically proper nouns can be divided into two groups: those denoting living beings, and those denoting inanimate things.

The first group includes:

- (1) personal names, surnames, aliases: *Āgnē, Kęstūtis* (names); *Mačėrnis, Vaišnoras* (surnames); *Mairónis, Žemaītė* (aliases of Lithuanian writers);
- (2) names of animals: *Bėris, Sākalas* (names of horses), *Daņgė, Žālė* (names of cows), *Bristus, Saŗgis* (names of dogs);
- (3) names of mythological beings: *Perkūnas* 'God of thunder', *Žemýna* (Goddess of the Earth).

The second group of proper nouns, which denotes inanimate things, includes:

- (1) place-names, i.e. the names of settlements, lakes, rivers, mountains, forests, etc.: *Lietuvà* 'Lithuania', *Krāŗiai, Dūsetos* (names of towns), *Medvėgalis* (name of a hill), *Nėmunas, Šventóji* (names of rivers);
- (2) names of celestial bodies: *Aušrinė* 'Morning Star', *Mėnūlis* 'Moon', *Satūrnas* 'Saturn';
- (3) titles of books, periodical publications, art objects: "*Fonològija*", "*Aušrà*", "*Šaulýs*";
- (4) names of associations, enterprises, organizations, institutions: "*Sántara*" (party association), "*Žālgiris*" (a factory);
- (5) names of epochs, historic events, holidays: *Renesānsas* 'Renaissance', *Kalėdos* 'Christmas', *Velykos* 'Easter';
- (6) names of various products and their brands: "*Taūras*" (the brand name of a television set), "*Karvūtė*" (a candy brand name).

Semantically, the nouns of the last group are slightly different from those of the previous groups in that they are names of a particular group of things rather than names of individual things.

- 1.3 Proper nouns differ from common nouns in some of their morphological properties: generally, they are not inflected for number and are used either in the singular (*Kaūnas, Neris*), or in the plural: *Príenai, Zarasaĩ* (names of towns). But a proper noun which is usually used in the singular can also be used in the plural when it refers to several things bearing the same name, e.g.,

Šventóji (the name of a river)

Šveņtosios (two rivers bearing the same name)

Birūtė (a feminine name)

Birūtės (referring, for example, to two girls with the same name in a group)

Kālnius (a masculine surname)

Kalniaĩ (husband and wife, or two brothers)

COMMON NOUNS

Bendriniai daiktavardžiai

1.4 Common nouns refer to any member of a class of similar things.

According to the properties of things they refer to, common nouns can be divided into two groups – concrete and abstract nouns.

Concrete nouns refer to concrete things, living beings, various phenomena. Most of such things are countables, therefore, the nouns used to refer to them are inflected for number:

nāmas – *namaī* ‘house’

gėlė – *gėlės* ‘flower’

pavāsaris – *pavāsarīai* ‘spring’

Among the nouns which refer to countables there is a small group which have only the plural form (*pluralia tantum*, see 1.14). In this case the plural is used to refer both to one and more things, e.g.: *žirklės* ‘scissors’, *marškiniai* ‘shirt’.

To indicate a definite number of their referents a special form of cardinal numerals, termed cardinal plural numerals, is used with plural nouns:

dvejį marškiniai ‘two shirts’

cf. *dù vūrai* ‘two men’

penkerios žirklės ‘five scissors’

cf. *penki paukščiai* ‘five birds’

Another group of concrete nouns consists of uncountables. This group includes mass nouns and collective nouns.

Mass nouns refer to substances which can be measured but cannot be counted. Therefore mass nouns are not inflected for number. Some of them are used only in the singular:

pienas ‘milk’

pliėnas ‘steel’

grietinė ‘cream’

giñtaras ‘amber’

auksas ‘gold’

smėlis ‘sand’

Others are used only in the plural:

miltai ‘flour’

dūjos ‘gas’

taukai ‘fat’

klijai ‘glue’

Mass nouns are not used with cardinal numbers, except in idioms, e.g.: *Gardù kaip devynì mēdūs* lit.: ‘Delicious like nine honeys.’

But mass nouns very often go together with words denoting measure units. Then they are used in the genitive (singular or plural):

lìtras piéno 'a liter of milk'
kilogràmas sviésto 'a kilo of butter'

maĩšas mìltų 'a bag of flour'
bùtelis klijų 'a bottle of glue'

Collective nouns refer to a group of similar things or persons as one indivisible whole:

aukštúomenė 'the higher walks of life'
jaunìmas 'youth'
moksleivijà 'school children'
studentijà 'students'

profesùrà 'professorial staff'
žmonijà 'mankind'
senìmas 'the elderly'

Collective nouns are not inflected for number. They possess only the singular and are never used with cardinal numerals. But they can be used with the adverbs *daug* 'a lot of', *mažai* 'little, few' and words denoting parts or proportions, e.g.:

Susiriñko daug/mažai jaunìmo.
Pusė žmonijos.

'A lot of young people came.'
 'One half of mankind.'

- 1.5 Abstract nouns** refer to abstract concepts, and also to generic actions, states and qualities. Abstract nouns are not inflected for number. The majority of them are used only in the singular:

esmė 'essence'
drąsà 'courage'
ramybė 'quietude'

būklė 'state, condition'
šaltis 'the cold'
skubėjimas 'hurry'

There is also a small group of abstract nouns which are used only in the plural:

atostogos 'holiday, leave'
laidotuvės 'funeral'

vedybos 'marriage'
muštynės 'fight, brawl'

With indefinite or definite specific reference abstract nouns can sometimes be used in the singular as well as in the plural:

džiaugsmas – džiaugsmai 'joy'
rūpestis – rūpestiai 'worry'
skaūsmas – skausmai 'pain'

Morphological categories of the noun

GENDER

Giminė

- 1.6** Gender for nouns is a classificational category based on the opposition between the masculine and the feminine. That means that every Lithuanian noun is either

masculine (*arkl̥js* 'horse', *lāngas* 'window', *sūnūs* 'son') or feminine (*aušrā* 'dawn', *bītē* 'bee', *nósis* 'nose', *sesuō* 'sister'), but one and the same noun is not inflected for both genders.

The gender of the noun determines the gender of all the other words – adjectives, participles, some numerals and some pronouns – which can be inflected for gender and which stand in agreement with the noun in a sentence:

<i>didelis laūkas</i> 'a big field'	<i>šitas studeñtas</i> 'this student'
<i>didelē pīeva</i> 'a big meadow'	<i>šitā studeñtē</i> 'this student'
<i>dū stalai</i> 'two tables'	<i>pavaŗges vȳras</i> 'a tired man'
<i>dvi kēdēs</i> 'two chairs'	<i>pavaŗgusi mōteris</i> 'a tired woman'
<i>pirmāsis sūnūs</i> 'the first son'	
<i>pirmoji duktē</i> 'the first daughter'	

In many nouns gender distinctions are determined by the natural sex distinctions of their referents. A close connection between the biological category 'sex' and the grammatical category 'gender' can be observed in personal nouns and nouns denoting animals that man has a close connection with. Usually such nouns make pairs of different gender and their gender distinctions are most often (1) marked by affixes – inflexions (in the so called *substantiva mobilia* and sometimes (2) by suffixes, the root remaining the same:

(1) <i>darbiniñkas</i> <i>darbiniñkē</i> 'worker'	
<i>gȳdytojas</i> <i>gȳdytoja</i> 'doctor'	
<i>vadōvas</i> <i>vadōvė</i> 'guide'	
(2) <i>ántis</i> 'duck'	<i>añtinas</i> 'drake'
<i>avīs</i> 'ewe'	<i>āvinas</i> 'ram'
<i>žq̄sīs</i> 'goose'	<i>žq̄sinas</i> 'gander'

Only a small group of nouns mark their gender distinctions both by different roots and inflections:

<i>vȳras</i> 'man'	<i>mōteris</i> 'woman'
<i>vȳras</i> 'husband'	<i>žmonā</i> 'wife'
<i>tėvas</i> 'father'	<i>mótina</i> 'mother'
<i>sūnūs</i> 'son'	<i>duktē</i> 'daughter'
<i>brólis</i> 'brother'	<i>sesuō</i> 'sister'
<i>dėdė</i> 'uncle'	<i>tetā</i> 'aunt'
<i>berniūkas</i> 'boy'	<i>mergáitė</i> 'girl'
<i>arkl̥js</i> 'horse'	<i>kumėlė</i> 'mare'
<i>jáutis</i> 'bull'	<i>kárvė</i> 'cow'
<i>šūō</i> 'dog'	<i>kalė</i> 'bitch'
<i>gaidȳs</i> 'cock'	<i>vištā</i> 'hen'

When sex distinctions of animals are irrelevant and they are referred to generically, the noun is either masculine, which is a more frequent case, or feminine, e.g.:

Dúok, motùt, geriaũ katėms (fem.). 'You had better give it to the cats, mother.'
Tvártai štamė kiemė didelė, pilnė galvijų (masc.) *ir kiaulių* (fem.),
avių (fem.), *arklių* (masc.). 'The barns on this farm are large, full of cattle and pigs, sheep, horses.'

Both sexes of lower animals or animals that man does not have a very close connection with are referred to by one and the same noun, which is either masculine (a) or feminine (b):

(a) <i>banginis</i> 'whale'	(b) <i>pelė</i> 'mouse'
<i>ežys</i> 'hedgehog'	<i>beždžiōnė</i> 'monkey'
<i>erėlis</i> 'eagle'	<i>gegūtė</i> 'cuckoo'
<i>varnėnas</i> 'starling'	<i>lakštinėgala</i> 'nightingale'
<i>žvirblis</i> 'sparrow'	<i>zyklė</i> 'titmouse'
<i>úodas</i> 'gnat'	<i>lydekà</i> 'pike'
<i>žaltys</i> 'grass-snake'	<i>varlė</i> 'frog'

The young of animals or birds are referred to by masculine nouns:

<i>ėriukas</i> 'lamb'	<i>šuniukas</i> 'puppy'
<i>kačiukas</i> 'kitten'	<i>ančiukas</i> 'duckling'
<i>kumeliukas</i> 'colt'	<i>viščiukas</i> 'chicken'
<i>paršiukas</i> 'piglet'	<i>žąsiukas</i> 'gosling'

Thus, the semantic motivation of the gender of nouns denoting living beings is rather irregular: it is more transparent for nouns denoting human beings, less transparent or not transparent at all for nouns denoting animals.

The gender of nouns denoting inanimate things and phenomena, also names of actions and qualities do not have any semantic motivation whatever. Their gender is determined exclusively by their stems, case endings and modifiers.

1.7 Nouns possessing the following endings belong to the masculine gender:

(1) Nom. Sg. *-(i)as, -is, -ys*

Gen. Sg. *-(i)o*

<i>dàrbas</i> 'work'	<i>lietuvis</i> 'Lithuanian'
<i>jaunimas</i> 'youth'	<i>kìškis</i> 'hare'
<i>kėlias</i> 'road'	<i>arklīs</i> 'horse'
<i>vėjas</i> 'wind'	<i>gaidīs</i> 'cock'

This group is the largest among masculine nouns.

(2) Nom. Sg. *-(i)us*Gen. Sg. *-(i)aus**dangūs* 'sky'*lietūs* 'rain'*medūs* 'honey'*skaičītus* 'number'*vaīsius* 'fruit'*vasarójus* 'spring corn'(3) Nom. Sg. *-uo*Gen. Sg. *-s* (after the stem in *-n-*)*akmuō – akmeņs* 'stone'*dubuō – dubeņs* 'bowl'*liemuō – liemeņs* 'waist'*piemuō – piemeņs* 'shepherd'*šuō – šuņs* 'dog'Here belongs also *mēnuo – mēnesio* 'month' (with the Gen. Sg. *-io*).

Groups (1)–(3) account for the majority of masculine nouns. The following groups are not numerous:

(4) Nom. Sg. *-is*Gen. Sg. *-ies*Dat. Sg. *-iui**dantīs – dantiēs – dañčiui* 'tooth'*vagiš – vagiēs – vāgiui* 'thief'*žvērīš – žvēriēs – žvēriui* 'beast'*debešīs – debesiēs – dēbestiui* 'cloud'*viēšpat(i)s – viēšpaties – viēšpačīui* 'Lord'(5) Nom. Sg. *-a*Gen. Sg. *-os*

These are typical feminine endings. Only a few nouns with them are masculine because they refer to male persons:

barzdylā 'bearded man'*vaidilā* 'heathen priest'*viršilā* 'warrant officer'

Here belong some masculine surnames:

*Daukšā Noreikā Dirģēla**Póška Daugēla Skirgāila**Jogāila Šniukštā Laučkā*

(6) Similar, but even more rare, are masculine nouns ending in:

Nom. Sg. *-ē*Gen. Sg. *-ēs*

Surnames:

dailidē 'carpenter'*dēdē* 'uncle'*tētē* 'father'*Breīvē**Krēvē*

1.8 Nouns possessing the following endings belong to the feminine gender:

(1) Nom. Sg. *-(i)a*

Gen. Sg. *-(i)os*

algà 'salary'

dainà 'song'

galvà 'head'

žiemà 'winter'

girià 'wood'

galià 'might'

kirpēja 'hair-dresser'

valià 'will'

Here belong also:

Nom. *martī* – Gen. *marčiōs* 'daughter-in-law'

pati – *pačiōs* 'wife'

(2) Nom. Sg. *-ē*

Gen. Sg. *-ēs*

bitē 'bee'

dūlkē 'dust'

ēglē 'fir'

mergāttē 'girl'

sāulē 'sun'

žolē 'grass'

Groups (1) and (2) account for the majority of feminine nouns. The other groups are less numerous.

(3) Nom. Sg. *-is*

Gen. Sg. *-ies*

Dat. Sg. *-iai*

ānkštis – *ānkštis* – *ānkščiai* 'pod'

akis – *akiēs* – *ākiai* 'eye'

ausis – *ausiēs* – *aūšiai* 'ear'

avis – *aviēs* – *āviai* 'sheep'

daļis – *daliēs* – *dāļiai* 'part'

mintis – *mintiēs* – *miņčiai* 'thought'

pušis – *pušiēs* – *pūšiai* 'pine'

šālis – *šāliēs* – *šāļiai* 'country'

žāsis – *žāsiēs* – *žāšiai* 'goose'

(4) two nouns, ending in the nominative singular in *-uo* and in the other cases possessing the stem in *-n-*:

sesuō – *seseŗs* 'sister'

duktē – *dukteŗs* 'daughter'

1.9 Indeclinable nouns of foreign origin are also treated as being either masculine or feminine. This is manifested in the endings of the words which are usually governed by the noun.

Indeclinable nouns of foreign origin ending in *-o*, *-u*, *-i* are usually treated as masculine:

nesupraņtamas argō 'incomprehensible argot'

poliņinis krēdo 'political credo'

geltónas taksi 'yellow taxi'
svarbùs interviù 'important interview'

Exceptions are nouns which refer to female persons:

graži lèdi 'beautiful lady'

Indeclinable nouns of foreign origin ending in *-è* are treated as feminine:

didelè fojè 'big foyer'
pirmà kupè 'the first compartment'
gerà ateljè 'good atelier'

Exceptions are nouns which refer to male persons:

karinis atašè 'military attaché'

- 1.10 There is a sizable group of nouns which can be used in reference both to male and female persons without changing their endings. When these nouns refer to male persons, they are treated as being masculine. When they refer to female persons, they are treated as being feminine. In each case the gender of these nouns is manifested in the morphological forms of their modifiers:

Jis bìvo tikras nepasèda, nenúorama. 'He was such a fidget.'
Jì bìvo tikrà nepasèda, nenúorama. 'She was such a fidget.'
Nùslèpiau vùską nuo tō kváišos Vincùlio. 'I concealed everything from that fool, Vinculis.'

Such nouns are said to be of **common gender**. The majority of them end in *-a*, which is a typical feminine ending. From the point of view of their semantics they form a fairly uniform group in that most of them refer to persons by pointing out their prominent negative quality, e.g.:

<i>akìplèša</i> 'impudent person'	<i>naktìbalda</i> 'night-owl'
<i>dabità</i> 'dandy'	<i>nekláužada</i> 'disobedient person'
<i>išgama</i> 'degenerate'	<i>pikčiurna</i> 'spitfire'
<i>kerèpla</i> 'awkward, clumsy person'	<i>vàlkata</i> 'tramp'
<i>kútvèla</i> 'dishevelled person'	

Some words ending in *-è*, *-as* can be occasionally used in reference both to male and female persons, e.g.: *pliauškýnè* 'chatterbox', *taùškalas* 'windbag, chatterbox'.

NUMBER

Skaičius

- 1.11 The Lithuanian number system consists of two groups of morphological forms – singular forms, which denote 'one', and plural forms, which denote 'more than

one'. These meanings of singularity and plurality find expression in the case endings:

<i>vaikas – vaikai</i> 'child, children'	<i>sūnūs – sūnūs</i> 'son, sons'
<i>pušis – pušys</i> 'pine, pines'	<i>duktė – dukterys</i> 'daughter, daughters'
<i>rankà – rañkos</i> 'hand, hands'	<i>akmuõ – àkmenys</i> 'stone, stones'

Some Lithuanian dialects have retained dual forms, mostly in the nominative and the accusative, which are used in reference to two and always go together with the numerals *dù, dvì* 'two' or the pronouns *abù, abì, abùdu, abìdvi* 'both'.

<i>Geřbè ir mylèjo jìs abùdu Butkiù.</i>	'He esteemed and loved both Butkuses.'
<i>O dvì martì, melždamì kárves gretimuosè kiemuosè, plúdo vienà aňtrą.</i>	'While milking cows in the adjacent yards, the two daughters-in-law cursed each other.'

Such relics of the dual are inherited from Old Lithuanian which possessed a three-member number system, based on the opposition of 'one – two – more than two'.

From the point of view of their number nouns fall into two big groups: (1) variable nouns which can be inflected for number, i.e. nouns that can occur with either singular or plural number; (2) nouns which cannot change their number but are either singular or plural.

Nouns variable for number

1.12 Variable nouns are always count nouns which can occur with either singular or plural number, e.g.:

<i>ąžuolas – ąžuolai</i> 'oak'	<i>mėnuo – mėnesiai</i> 'month'
<i>gātvė – gātvės</i> 'street'	<i>mintis – mintys</i> 'thought'
<i>mergaitė – mergaitės</i> 'girl'	

The singular forms of count nouns can be used generically, i.e. they can refer to the class of things. When this is the case, the distinctions of number are neutralized, e.g.:

<i>Šiaip jau lūšis tokia pat bailė, kaip ir kiāunė.</i>	'Normally, the lynx is as timid as the marten.'
<i>Neāuga mūsų pušis tokioje žemėje.</i>	'Our pine does not grow in soil like this.'

Some variable nouns are much more often used in the plural than in the singular. They include:

(1) nouns which refer to things consisting of two equal parts:

<i>bātai</i> 'shoes'	<i>langīnēs</i> 'shutters'
<i>kójinēs</i> 'stockings'	<i>ūšai</i> 'moustache'
<i>šlepētēs</i> 'slippers'	<i>piřštīnēs</i> 'gloves'

(2) nouns the plural of which denotes an accumulation of things rather than a certain number of discrete things:

<i>āvižos</i> 'oats'	<i>gārbanos</i> 'curls'
<i>javaī</i> 'crops'	<i>mezginiaī</i> 'lace'
<i>kviečīaī</i> 'wheat'	<i>pinigaī</i> 'money'
<i>rugīaī</i> 'rye'	<i>plaukaī</i> 'hair'

Nouns invariable for number

Nouns invariable for number are either singular (*singularia tantum*) or plural (*pluralia tantum*).

1.13 *Singularia tantum* include:

(1) abstract mass nouns:

<i>kantrybē</i> 'patience'	<i>esmē</i> 'essence'
<i>kūrýba</i> 'creation'	<i>grōžis</i> 'beauty'
<i>drąsà</i> 'courage'	<i>iřdidūmas</i> 'pride'
<i>mēilē</i> 'love'	<i>sąžinė</i> 'conscience'

(2) collective nouns:

<i>liáudis</i> 'people'	<i>intelligentijà</i> 'intellectuals'
<i>aukštúomenē</i> 'nobility'	<i>jaunimas</i> 'youth'
<i>profesūrà</i> 'professors'	<i>vargúomenē</i> 'the poor'

(3) concrete mass nouns (names of substances):

<i>píenas</i> 'milk'	<i>cùkrus</i> 'sugar'
<i>áuksas</i> 'gold'	<i>řokolādas</i> 'chocolate'
<i>sidābras</i> 'silver'	<i>mōlis</i> 'clay'
<i>betònas</i> 'concrete'	<i>varřkē</i> 'curds'

(4) many proper nouns:

Lietuvà Kaūnas Klaīpēda Vaiřgantas

Many of the nouns in the above groups can sometimes admit a plural form. Reclassification of mass nouns as count nouns is always connected with a shift

in their meaning. For example, an abstract mass noun used in the plural refers to cases of concrete manifestation of a certain quality or action, e.g.:

<i>Kaimiėčiai nebūvo priprātę prie švelnūmų.</i>	'The village people were not used to amiabilities.'
<i>Ir vėl jai ūžima skausmai žadą.</i>	'The pains take her breath again.'

The plural of names of substances usually refers to different kinds or products of the substance:

<i>minerāliniai vandenys</i>	'mineral waters'
<i>įvairios druskos</i>	'various salts'
<i>gintarai</i>	'amber jewelry'

The plural of concrete or abstract mass nouns can sometimes be used to indicate a great amount or a great intensity of something, e.g.:

<i>Devyni prakaitai išpylė, köl pařnešiau.</i>	lit. 'I was covered with nine sweats while bringing it.'
<i>Griūdys buvo kraujais paplūdušios.</i>	'The floor was covered with bloods (i.e. a lot of blood).'

1.14 Pluralia tantum include:

(1) concrete nouns which refer to things consisting of two or more (equal) parts:

<i>akėčios</i> 'harrow'	<i>marškiniai</i> 'shirt'
<i>akiniai</i> 'glasses'	<i>neštūvai</i> 'stretcher'
<i>griūdys</i> 'floor'	<i>rōgės</i> 'sledge'
<i>kailiniai</i> 'fur coat'	<i>vařtai</i> 'gate'
<i>kėlnės</i> 'trousers'	<i>žirklės</i> 'scissors'

(2) nouns which refer to an accumulation or an amassment of certain things:

<i>būrtai</i> 'magic'	<i>pājamos</i> 'revenue'
<i>išlaidos</i> 'expenses'	<i>rāštai</i> 'writings'
<i>lėšos</i> 'funds'	<i>sāntaupos</i> 'savings'

(3) nouns denoting certain substances, dishes, waste or remnants:

<i>barščiai</i> 'beet soup'	<i>atsijos</i> 'siftings'
<i>sakai</i> 'resin'	<i>dūjos</i> 'gas'
<i>dažai</i> 'paint'	<i>išrūgos</i> 'whey'
<i>miltai</i> 'flour'	<i>nūosėdos</i> 'sediment'
<i>pelena</i> 'ashes'	<i>pāsukos</i> 'butter milk'
<i>riebalai</i> 'fat'	<i>pjūvenos</i> 'sawdust'

(4) nouns referring to actions, processes and states performed or experienced by several (or many) persons:

<i>derẏbos</i> 'talks'	<i>rietenos</i> 'squabble'
<i>eit̃yñes</i> 'procession'	<i>riáuš̃es</i> 'riot'
<i>imt̃yñes</i> 'wrestling'	<i>rinkimai</i> 'election'
<i>įkurtùṽes</i> 'house warming'	<i>skyr̃ẏbos</i> 'divorce'
<i>kaut̃yñes</i> 'fight, battle'	<i>ved̃ẏbos</i> 'marriage'
<i>láidotuṽes</i> 'funeral'	<i>vestùṽes</i> 'wedding'

(5) nouns denoting a time span, names of festivals, rites and celebrations:

<i>atóstogos</i> 'vacation'	<i>Kalėdos</i> 'Christmas'
<i>išvakar̃es</i> 'eve'	<i>Kūčios</i> 'Christmas Eve'
<i>mėtai</i> 'year'	<i>Sekm̃iñes</i> 'Whitsunday'
<i>priešpieč̃iai</i> 'forenoon'	<i>Velykos</i> 'Easter'

(6) names of some diseases:

<i>niežaĩ</i> 'scabies'	<i>tymaĩ</i> 'measles'
<i>raupaĩ</i> 'smallpox'	<i>vėjaraup̃iai</i> 'chicken-pox'

(7) names of the cardinal points:

<i>Pietūs</i> 'the South'	<i>Vakaraĩ</i> 'the West'
<i>Rytaĩ</i> 'the East'	

(8) some proper nouns:

Kybártai Šakiaĩ Štauliaĩ Zarasaĩ

Some of the above groups of plural nouns denote countable things (*kėlñes* 'trousers', *žirkles* 'scissors', *atóstogos* 'vacation', *vestùṽes* 'wedding'), others denote uncountable things (*klijaĩ* 'glue', *miltai* 'flour').

Plural nouns which denote countable things can be used in reference to

(a) one thing:

<i>Padúok mán žirkles.</i>	'Give me the scissors.'
<i>Jaũ mėtai, kaĩ čià atvažiavaũ.</i>	'It has been a year since I came here.'

(b) more than one thing:

<i>Nusipirkaũ dvejas žirkles.</i>	'I've bought two pairs of scissors.'
<i>Daũg mėtu nebuvaũ gimtājame káime.</i>	'I haven't visited my native village for many years.'

Note should be taken here of the special form of cardinal numerals which are used with plural nouns (see 3.5, 3.12).

Plural nouns which refer to uncountable things are incompatible with the meaning of number.

CASE

Liñksnis

- 1.15** The case indicates the syntactic and semantic relations of the noun in a sentence and is marked by the variations in its morphological form.

Each case is characterized by a specific range of functions and meanings; e.g. the nominative is primarily the case of the grammatical subject of the sentence, the accusative is primarily the case of the direct object, the genitive refers to such notions as possession, origin and so on.

In Standard Lithuanian there are six cases expressing the relations of nouns: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative. Traditionally, the vocative is considered to be the 7th case, although it does not indicate the syntactic function of a noun in a sentence. It merely refers to a person or thing addressed by the speaker. In the plural the vocative coincides with the nominative.

Some Lithuanian dialects possess still more cases. For example, the Eastern High Lithuanian dialect possesses two cases with a locative meaning:

(1) the inessive, which is encountered in Standard Lithuanian, denoting position or location within:

<i>miškè</i> 'in the forest'	<i>miškuosè</i> 'in the forests'
<i>pievoje</i> 'in the meadow'	<i>pievose</i> 'in the meadows'

(2) the illative, denoting motion into something:

<i>miškañ</i> 'into the forest'	<i>miškuosna</i> 'into the forests'
<i>pievon</i> 'into the meadow'	<i>pievosna</i> 'into the meadows'

Pockets of Lithuanian speakers in Belarus have preserved two more ancient Lithuanian cases with a locative meaning:

(3) the adessive, denoting presence at (or near) a place:

<i>miškíep(i)</i> 'at the forest'
<i>miškuosemp(i)</i> 'at the forests'

(4) the allative, denoting movement toward, in the direction of:

<i>miškóp(i)</i> 'toward the forest'
<i>miškuñp(i)</i> 'toward the forests'

Declension of nouns

- 1.16 Declensional endings of nouns indicate not only the case, but also the number and (usually) the gender of the noun. For example, in the noun *miškas* 'forest' the ending *-as* carries three meanings: (1) nominative, (2) singular, (3) masculine.

Differences in the inflectional forms of the same case are determined by the inflectional stem of the noun, or rather, by the final vowel of the stem. In the course of time the final stem vowels merged with the endings and, although they continue to exert a major influence upon the type of the inflectional form, they are, in the majority of cases, no longer clearly distinguishable from the endings. The easiest way to distinguish the inflectional stem is to look at the vowel before the final consonants *-ms* in the dative plural. For example, *dárbas* 'work', *výras* 'man' have the *a*-stem because in the dative plural they have the vowel *a* before *-ms*: *darbá-ms*, *výra-ms*. More examples:

ia-stem nouns:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>svēčias</i> 'guest',	<i>daļģis</i> 'scythe',	<i>gaidýs</i> 'cock'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>svečtá-ms</i>	<i>daļģia-ms</i>	<i>gaidžtá-ms</i>

u-stem nouns:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>sūnūs</i> 'son'	<i>viršūs</i> 'top'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>sūnū-ms</i>	<i>viršū-ms</i>

o-stem nouns:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>galvā</i> 'head'	<i>jūra</i> 'sea'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>galvó-ms</i>	<i>jūro-ms</i>

io-stem nouns:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>valdžia</i> 'authority'	<i>marti</i> 'daughter-in-law'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>valdžió-ms</i>	<i>marčió-ms</i>

ē-stem nouns:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>draūgē</i> 'girlfriend'	<i>gēlē</i> 'flower'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>draūgē-ms</i>	<i>gēlē-ms</i>

i-stem nouns:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>ausis</i> 'ear'	<i>dantī</i> 'tooth'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>ausī-ms</i>	<i>dantī-ms</i>

Nouns with the final stem vowel *a* or *o* after the consonant *j*, which is always palatalized, are considered to have the *ia*- or *io*-stem, for example:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>vėjas</i> 'wind'	<i>kója</i> 'foot, leg'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>vėja-ms</i>	<i>kójo-ms</i>

tu-stem nouns, which in the nominative singular have the ending *-ius* (or *-us* after the consonant *j*), can no longer be determined by their dative plural endings because they have come to coincide with the endings of the *ia*-stem nouns: *vaĩsius* 'fruit' – *vaĩsiams*, *sōdžius* 'village' – *sōdžiams*, *pavōjus* 'danger' – *pavōjams*.

One cannot distinguish the old consonantal stems ending in *r* or *n* from the dative plural either. These consonantal stems have been retained only in the genitive singular. In all the other cases, except the nominative singular, consonant stem nouns are now inflected like *i*-stem nouns:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>akmuō</i> 'stone'	<i>šuō</i> 'dog'	<i>duktė</i> 'daughter'
Gen. Sg.:	<i>akmeñ-s</i>	<i>šuñ-s</i>	<i>dukteř-s</i>
Dat. Pl.:	<i>akmeni-ms</i>	<i>šuni-ms</i>	<i>dukteri-ms</i>

Although differences between the declensional classes of present-day Lithuanian nouns are determined by their inflectional stems, these stems have merged with the case endings, such that the ending is considered an integral unitary morpheme containing both stem and case specification. For example, in the following way:

Nom. Sg.: *svėč-ias*, *daĩg-is*, *gaid-ỹs*; *sūn-ūs*, *virš-ūs*; *galv-à*, *jūr-a*; *valdž-ià*, *mart-ì*; *draũg-ė*, *gėl-ė*; *aus-ìs*, *dant-ìs*; *vėj-as*, *kój-a*;

Dat. Pl.: *sveč-iáms*, *daĩg-iams*, *gaidž-iáms*; *sūn-ùms*, *virš-ùms*; *galv-óms*, *jūr-oms*; *valdž-ióms*, *marč-ióms*; *draũg-ėms*, *gėl-ėms*; *aus-ìms*, *dant-ìms*; *vėj-ams*, *kój-oms*.

- 1.17** In Modern Lithuanian there are five declensions, i.e. five classes of nouns having the same type of inflectional forms determined by the inflectional stem: *(i)a-*, *(i)u-*, *(i)o-*, *ė-* and *i-* declensions. The easiest way to define which declension a noun belongs to is by their endings in the nominative singular and the dative plural. Within each declension (except the *ė*-declension) it is possible to distinguish two or more slightly different paradigms, the total number of which is twelve (see Table 1).

The description of the five declensions here by reference to their inflectional stems does not introduce any radical changes in the grouping of Lithuanian declensions traditionally referred to by numbers, but it is more convenient in that it captures their interrelations, distribution according to gender, and, which is most important of all, it is applicable to the other declinable parts of speech (adjectives, numerals and pronouns).

- 1.18** Each case has more than one grammatical meaning, which becomes apparent in phrases. For example, the grammatical meaning of the instrumental case varies

with the change of its lexical collocates and is different in each of the following phrases:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) <i>domētis mūzika</i> | 'take interest in music' |
| (2) <i>pjāuti peiliū</i> | 'cut with a knife' |
| (3) <i>važiūoti keliū</i> | 'to drive along a road' |
| (4) <i>dīrbti vakaraīs</i> | 'to work evenings' |
| (5) <i>sūktis ratū</i> | 'turn in a circle' |

The meanings of grammatical cases are described in Syntax under "Subordinative word groups".

Table 1. Noun declensions and paradigms

Ending of Nom. Sg.	Ending of Dat. Pl.	Paradigm	Declension
-as	-ams	1	(i)a
-ias	-iams	2	"
-is, -ys	-iams	3	"
-us	-ums	4	(i)u
-ius	-iams	5	"
-a	-oms	6	(i)o
-ia, -i	-ioms	7	"
-ē	-ēms	8	ē
-is	-ims	9	i
-is	-ims	10	"
-uo	-ims	11	"
-uo, -ē	-ims	12	"

The (i)a-declension

1.19 The (i)a-declension comprises nouns of masculine gender with the following endings:

Nom. Sg.: -as, -ias, -is, -ys

Dat. Pl.: -ams (-iams)

Within this declension it is possible to distinguish three paradigms.

Paradigm 1:

Nom. Sg.: -as after a hard consonant: *výras* 'man', *piřštas* 'finger', *lāngas* 'window', *mīřkas* 'forest'

Dat. Pl.: *-ams* after a hard consonant: *výrams, piřštams, langáms, miškáms*
 Acc. Sg.: *-q* after a hard consonant: *výraq, piřštq, lánqa, miškq*

Paradigm 2:

Nom. Sg.: *-as* after a palatalized consonant, spelled as *-ias/-j-as*: *élnias* 'deer',
kélias 'road', *vějjas* 'wind', *galvìjas* 'head of cattle'

Dat. Pl.: *-ams* after a palatalized consonant, spelled as *-iams/-j-ams*: *élniams*,
keliáms, vėjams, galvìjams

Acc. Sg.: *-q* after a palatalized consonant, spelled as *-iq/-j-q*: *élniq, kèliq, vėjq,*
galvìjq

Paradigm 3:

Nom. Sg.: non-accentuated *-is*, accentuated *-ys*: *brólis* 'brother', *peìlis* 'knife',
arklìjs 'horse', *būrýs* 'detachment'

Dat. Pl.: *-ams* after a palatalized consonant, spelled as *-iams/-j-ams*: *bróliams*,
peìliams, arkliáms, buriáms

Acc. Sg.: *-i*: *bróli, peìli, árklì, buri*

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 1

výras 'man', *piřštas* 'finger', *lángas* 'window', *miškas* 'forest'

Singular

Nom.	<i>výras</i>	<i>piřštas</i>	<i>lángas</i>	<i>miškas</i>
Gen.	<i>výro</i>	<i>piřšto</i>	<i>lángo</i>	<i>miško</i>
Dat.	<i>výrui</i>	<i>piřštui</i>	<i>lángui</i>	<i>miškuì</i>
Acc.	<i>výraq</i>	<i>piřštq</i>	<i>lánqa</i>	<i>miškq</i>
Instr.	<i>výru</i>	<i>piřštù</i>	<i>lángu</i>	<i>miškù</i>
Loc.	<i>výre</i>	<i>piřštè</i>	<i>lángè</i>	<i>miškè</i>
Voc.	<i>výre</i>	<i>piřšte</i>	<i>lángè</i>	<i>miške</i>

Plural

Nom.,Voc.	<i>výrai</i>	<i>piřštai</i>	<i>lángai</i>	<i>miškaì</i>
Gen.	<i>výru</i>	<i>piřštù</i>	<i>lángù</i>	<i>miškù</i>
Dat.	<i>výrams</i>	<i>piřštams</i>	<i>lángáms</i>	<i>miškáms</i>
Acc.	<i>výrus</i>	<i>piřštùs</i>	<i>lángus</i>	<i>miškùs</i>
Instr.	<i>výrais</i>	<i>piřštai</i> s	<i>lángai</i> s	<i>miškaì</i> s
Loc.	<i>výruose</i>	<i>piřštuose</i>	<i>lánguose</i>	<i>miškuose</i>

Paradigm 2*ēlnias* 'deer', *kēlias* 'way', *vējas* 'wind', *galvijas* 'cattle'**Singular**

Nom.	<i>ēlnias</i>	<i>kēlias</i>	<i>vējas</i>	<i>galvijas</i>
Gen.	<i>ēlnio</i>	<i>kēlio</i>	<i>vējo</i>	<i>galvijo</i>
Dat.	<i>ēlniui</i>	<i>kēliui</i>	<i>vėjui</i>	<i>galvījui</i>
Acc.	<i>ēlniā</i>	<i>kēliā</i>	<i>vēja</i>	<i>galvija</i>
Instr.	<i>ēlniu</i>	<i>keliū</i>	<i>vēju</i>	<i>galvijū</i>
Loc.	<i>ēlnyje</i>	<i>kelyjē</i>	<i>vėjuje/vėjyje</i>	<i>galvijuje</i>
Voc.	<i>ēlni</i>	<i>kelj</i>	<i>vėjau</i>	<i>galvijau</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>ēlniai</i>	<i>keliaī</i>	<i>vėjai</i>	<i>galvijai</i>
Gen.	<i>ēlniū</i>	<i>keliū</i>	<i>vēju</i>	<i>galvijū</i>
Dat.	<i>ēlniams</i>	<i>keliāms</i>	<i>vėjams</i>	<i>galvijams</i>
Acc.	<i>ēlnius</i>	<i>keliūs</i>	<i>vėjus</i>	<i>galvijūs</i>
Instr.	<i>ēlniais</i>	<i>keliaīs</i>	<i>vėjais</i>	<i>galvijais</i>
Loc.	<i>ēlniuose</i>	<i>keliuosē</i>	<i>vējuose</i>	<i>galvijuose</i>

Paradigm 3*brōlis* 'brother', *peīlis* 'knife', *arklīs* 'horse', *būrīs* 'detachment'**Singular**

Nom.	<i>brōlis</i>	<i>peīlis</i>	<i>arklīs</i>	<i>būrīs</i>
Gen.	<i>brōlio</i>	<i>peīlio</i>	<i>ārklio</i>	<i>būrio</i>
Dat.	<i>brōliui</i>	<i>peīliui</i>	<i>ārkliui</i>	<i>būriui</i>
Acc.	<i>brōlī</i>	<i>peīlī</i>	<i>ārkļī</i>	<i>būrī</i>
Instr.	<i>brōliu</i>	<i>peīliū</i>	<i>ārkliu</i>	<i>būriū</i>
Loc.	<i>brōlyje</i>	<i>peīlyje</i>	<i>arklyjē</i>	<i>būryjē</i>
Voc.	<i>brōli</i>	<i>peīli</i>	<i>arkļj</i>	<i>būrj</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>brōliai</i>	<i>peīliai</i>	<i>arkliaī</i>	<i>būriaī</i>
Gen.	<i>brōliū</i>	<i>peīliū</i>	<i>arkliū</i>	<i>būriū</i>
Dat.	<i>brōliams</i>	<i>peīliams</i>	<i>arkliāms</i>	<i>būriāms</i>
Acc.	<i>brōlius</i>	<i>peīliūs</i>	<i>ārklius</i>	<i>būriūs</i>
Instr.	<i>brōliais</i>	<i>peīliais</i>	<i>arkliaīs</i>	<i>būriaīs</i>
Loc.	<i>brōliuose</i>	<i>peīliuose</i>	<i>arkliuosē</i>	<i>būriuosē</i>

1.20 There is a certain degree of variation in the inflectional forms of the vocative singular of nouns attributable to the *(i)a*-declension.

(1) The vocative of personal names, declined according to Paradigm 1, has the ending *-ai*: *Jõnai! Juõzai! Antānai! Daūnorai!* In colloquial Lithuanian this ending sometimes occurs in the vocative of common nouns as well, which is due to dialectal influence: *vābalai!* (instead of *vabale!*) ‘bug’, *žéntai!* (cf. *žénte!*) ‘son-in-law’, *tėvai!* (cf. *tėve!*) ‘father’. In colloquial Lithuanian the vocative of some personal names of this declension can also be formed without any ending: *Adõm! Põvil! Mýkol!*

(2) The vocative of diminutive nouns with the suffix *-(i)ukas* has two alternative morphological forms: (a) the form without any ending (most frequent): *Antanùk! broliùk! ‘little brother’, tèveliùk! ‘daddy’*; and (b) the form with the ending *-ai*, which is less frequent and slightly dialectal: *Antanùkai! broliùkai! tèveliùkai!*

(3) The vocative of diminutive nouns with the suffixes *-elis, -ėlis* also has two alternative forms: (a) the standard form with the ending *-i* (see Paradigm 2): *vaikėli! ‘kid’, kunigėli! ‘Father (used to address a priest)’, bernužėli! ‘laddie’*; and (b) the form without any ending, which is colloquial: *vaikėl! kunigėl! bernužėl!*

(4) The vocative of nouns, ending in *-jas* and declined according to Paradigm 2, has the ending *-au*, which is typical of *(i)u*-stem nouns: *mókytojau! ‘teacher’, kepėjau! ‘baker’, vėjau! ‘wind’*.

(5) The vocative of two nouns, *brólis ‘brother’, Dievùlis ‘God’*, has two alternative forms ending in *-i* and *-au*: *bróli/brolaũ! Dievùli/Dievùliau!*

1.21 Simple non-derived nouns of Paradigm 2 with *-jas* in the nominative singular have two alternative locative singular endings, viz. *-uje* and *-yje*: Nom. *vėjas ‘wind’, kraūjas ‘blood’*; Loc. *vėjyje/vėjuje, kraujyje/kraujuje*. Nouns with a suffix ending in *-jas* have only one locative form ending in *-uje*: *mókytojas ‘teacher’ – mókytojuje, kepėjas ‘baker’ – kepėjuje*.

In the plural, verbal reflexive nouns without a prefix are used only in two cases – nominative: *veržimaisi ‘invasions’, keitimaisi ‘changes’*, and genitive: *veržimųsi, keitimųsi*.

The *(i)u*-declension

1.22 The *(i)u*-declension comprises nouns of the masculine gender with the following endings:

Nom. Sg.: *-us, -ius*

Dat. Pl.: *-ums, -iams*

Within this declension it is possible to distinguish two paradigms (Paradigm 4 and Paradigm 5).

Paradigm 4:

Nom. Sg.: *-us* after a hard consonant: *tuřgus* 'market', *sūnūs* 'son', *dangūs* 'sky'

Dat. Pl.: *-ums*: *tuřgums, sūnūms, dangūms*

Paradigm 5:

Nom. Sg.: *-ius/-jus*: *vaīsius* 'fruit', *korīdortius* 'corridor', *sōdžius* 'village', *pavōjus* 'danger'

Dat. Pl.: *-iams/-jams*: *vaīsiams, korīdoriams, sōdžiams, pavōjams*

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 4

tuřgus 'market', *sūnūs* 'son', *dangūs* 'sky'

Singular

Nom.	<i>tuřgus</i>	<i>sūnūs</i>	<i>dangūs</i>
Gen.	<i>tuřgaus</i>	<i>sūnaūs</i>	<i>dangaūs</i>
Dat.	<i>tuřgui</i>	<i>sūnui</i>	<i>daņgui</i>
Acc.	<i>tuřgų</i>	<i>sūnų</i>	<i>daņgų</i>
Instr.	<i>tuřgumi</i>	<i>sūnumì</i>	<i>dangumì</i>
Loc.	<i>tuřguje</i>	<i>sūnujè</i>	<i>dangujè</i>
Voc.	<i>tuřgau</i>	<i>sūnaū</i>	<i>dangaū</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>tuřgūs</i>	<i>sūnūs</i>	<i>daņgūs</i>
Gen.	<i>tuřgų</i>	<i>sūnų</i>	<i>dangų</i>
Dat.	<i>tuřgums</i>	<i>sūnūms</i>	<i>dangūms</i>
Acc.	<i>turgūs</i>	<i>sūnūs</i>	<i>dangūs</i>
Instr.	<i>tuřgumis</i>	<i>sūnumìs</i>	<i>dangumìs</i>
Loc.	<i>tuřguose</i>	<i>sūnuosè</i>	<i>danguosè</i>

Paradigm 5

koridorius 'corridor', *sōdžius* 'village', *pavōjus* 'danger'

Singular

Nom.	<i>koridorius</i>	<i>sōdžius</i>	<i>pavōjus</i>
Gen.	<i>koridoriaus</i>	<i>sōdžiaus</i>	<i>pavōjaus</i>
Dat.	<i>koridoriui</i>	<i>sōdžiui</i>	<i>pavōjui</i>
Acc.	<i>koridorių</i>	<i>sōdžių</i>	<i>pavōjų</i>
Instr.	<i>koridoriumi</i>	<i>sōdžiumi</i>	<i>pavōjumi</i>
Loc.	<i>koridoriuje</i>	<i>sōdžiuje</i>	<i>pavōjuje</i>
Voc.	<i>koridoriau</i>	<i>sōdžiau</i>	<i>pavōjau</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>koridoriai</i>	<i>sōdžiai</i>	<i>pavōjai</i>
Gen.	<i>koridorių</i>	<i>sōdžių</i>	<i>pavōjų</i>
Dat.	<i>koridoriams</i>	<i>sōdžiams</i>	<i>pavōjams</i>
Acc.	<i>koridorius</i>	<i>sōdžiūs</i>	<i>pavōjūs</i>
Instr.	<i>koridoriais</i>	<i>sōdžiais</i>	<i>pavōjais</i>
Loc.	<i>koridoriuose</i>	<i>sōdžiuose</i>	<i>pavōjuose</i>

1.23 (*i*)*u*-stem nouns are not very numerous. In dialects they tend to acquire (*i*)*a*-stem inflectional forms, which sometimes penetrate into colloquial speech, e.g.:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>sūnūs/sūnai</i>	<i>tuŕgūs/tuŕgai</i>
Dat. Pl.:	<i>sūnūms/sūnāms</i>	<i>tuŕgums/tuŕgams</i>

Forms typical of (*i*)*a*-stems have become the norm in the nominative and dative plural of Paradigm 5: *sōdžiai*, *vaīšiai*, *pavōjai*; *sōdžiams*, *vaīšiams*, *pavōjams*; their ancient (now obsolete) forms were: *sōdžiūs*, *vaīsiūs*; *sōdžiums*, *vaīsiums*).

On the other hand, *ia*-stem nouns of Paradigm 2 have acquired *iu*-stem forms of Paradigm 5 in the locative and vocative singular (see 1.20–21).

1.24 Note should be taken of the inflectional forms of the noun *žmogūs* 'man': in the singular it is inflected according to Paradigm 4 of the (*i*)*u*-declension; in the plural it has *ė*-stem with a different final consonant (the consonant *n*) and it is inflected according to Paradigm 8 of *ė*-declension:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>žmogùs</i>	<i>žmónès</i>
Gen.	<i>žmogaũs</i>	<i>žmoniũ</i>
Dat.	<i>žmógui</i>	<i>žmonėms</i>
Acc.	<i>žmógu</i>	<i>žmónes</i>
Instr.	<i>žmogumi</i>	<i>žmonėmìs</i>
Loc.	<i>žmogužè</i>	<i>žmonèsè</i>
Voc.	<i>žmogaũ</i>	<i>žmónès</i>

The (i)o-declension

1.25 The (i)o-declension comprises nouns with the following endings:

Nom. Sg.: *-a, -ia, -i*

Dat. Pl.: *-oms, -ioms/-j-oms*

Those are:

mostly nouns of the feminine gender, e.g.: *júra* 'sea', *rankà* 'hand', *galvà* 'head', *aušrà* 'dawn'; *sáuja* 'handful', *vyšnià* 'cherry', *žinià* 'news', and two nouns with the ending *-i*: *martì* 'daughter-in-law', *paŕi* 'wife';

a few nouns referring to male persons which are masculine, e.g.: *vaidilà* 'high heathen priest', *Veñclova* (a masculine surname), *Stùndžia* (a masculine surname); most of the nouns of the "common gender", e.g.: *vėpla* 'gawk', *drimba* 'hulky person'.

There are two paradigms of this declension.

Paradigm 6: with endings after a hard consonant (*o*-stem nouns)

Paradigm 7: with endings after a palatalized consonant (*io*-stem nouns)

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 6

júra 'sea', *rankà* 'hand', *galvà* 'head', *aušrà* 'dawn'

Singular

Nom.	<i>júra</i>	<i>rankà</i>	<i>galvà</i>	<i>aušrà</i>
Gen.	<i>júros</i>	<i>raňkos</i>	<i>galvõs</i>	<i>aušrõs</i>
Dat.	<i>júrai</i>	<i>raňkai</i>	<i>gálvai</i>	<i>aũšrai</i>

Acc.	<i>júra</i>	<i>raňka</i>	<i>gálva</i>	<i>aušra</i>
Instr.	<i>júra</i>	<i>rankà</i>	<i>gálva</i>	<i>aušrà</i>
Loc.	<i>júroje</i>	<i>raňkoje</i>	<i>galvojè</i>	<i>aušrojè</i>
Voc.	<i>júra</i>	<i>raňka</i>	<i>gálva</i>	<i>aušra</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>júros</i>	<i>raňkos</i>	<i>gálvos</i>	<i>aušros</i>
Gen.	<i>júru</i>	<i>raňku</i>	<i>galvū</i>	<i>aušrū</i>
Dat.	<i>júroms</i>	<i>raňkoms</i>	<i>galvóms</i>	<i>aušróms</i>
Acc.	<i>júras</i>	<i>rankàs</i>	<i>gálvas</i>	<i>aušràs</i>
Instr.	<i>júromis</i>	<i>raňkomis</i>	<i>galvomìs</i>	<i>aušromìs</i>
Loc.	<i>júrose</i>	<i>raňkose</i>	<i>galvosè</i>	<i>aušrosè</i>

Paradigm 7

sáuja 'cupped hand', *vyšnià* 'cherry-tree', *žinià* 'piece of news',
martì 'daughter-in-law'

Singular

Nom.	<i>sáuja</i>	<i>vyšnià</i>	<i>žinià</i>	<i>martì</i>
Gen.	<i>sáujos</i>	<i>vỹšnios</i>	<i>žiniōs</i>	<i>marčīōs</i>
Dat.	<i>sáujai</i>	<i>vỹšniai</i>	<i>žiniai</i>	<i>mařčīai</i>
Acc.	<i>sáujà</i>	<i>vỹšnià</i>	<i>žinià</i>	<i>mařčīà</i>
Instr.	<i>sáuja</i>	<i>vyšnià</i>	<i>žinià</i>	<i>marčtì</i>
Loc.	<i>sáujoje</i>	<i>vỹšnioje</i>	<i>žiniojè</i>	<i>marčiojè</i>
Voc.	<i>sáuja</i>	<i>vỹšnia</i>	<i>žinia</i>	<i>martì</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>sáujos</i>	<i>vỹšnios</i>	<i>žinios</i>	<i>mařčīos</i>
Gen.	<i>sáujū</i>	<i>vỹšniū</i>	<i>žiniū</i>	<i>marčīū</i>
Dat.	<i>sáujoms</i>	<i>vỹšnioms</i>	<i>žinióms</i>	<i>marčīóms</i>
Acc.	<i>sáujas</i>	<i>vyšniàs</i>	<i>žiniàs</i>	<i>marčīàs</i>
Instr.	<i>sáujomis</i>	<i>vỹšniomis</i>	<i>žiniomis</i>	<i>marčīomis</i>
Loc.	<i>sáujose</i>	<i>vỹšniose</i>	<i>žiniosè</i>	<i>marčīosè</i>

The *ė*-declension

1.26 The *ė*-declension comprises nouns with the following endings:

Nom. Sg.: *-ė*

Dat. Pl.: *-ėms*

Except for a few nouns which are masculine, e.g. *dėdė* 'uncle', *Krėvė* (a masculine surname) and a few which are of the "common gender", e.g.: *mėmė* 'foolish/sluggish person', *spirgėlė* 'fussy person', all *ė*-stem nouns are feminine.

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 8

gėrvė 'crane', *bitė* 'bee', *aikštė* 'square', *žolė* 'grass'

Singular

Nom.	<i>gėrvė</i>	<i>bitė</i>	<i>aikštė</i>	<i>žolė</i>
Gen.	<i>gėrvės</i>	<i>bitės</i>	<i>aikštės</i>	<i>žolės</i>
Dat.	<i>gėrvei</i>	<i>bitėi</i>	<i>áikštei</i>	<i>žōlei</i>
Acc.	<i>gėrvę</i>	<i>bitę</i>	<i>áikštę</i>	<i>žōlę</i>
Instr.	<i>gėrve</i>	<i>bitė</i>	<i>áikšte</i>	<i>žolė</i>
Loc.	<i>gėrvėje</i>	<i>bitėje</i>	<i>aikštėje</i>	<i>žolėje</i>
Voc.	<i>gėrve</i>	<i>bitė</i>	<i>áikšte</i>	<i>žōle</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>gėrvės</i>	<i>bitės</i>	<i>áikštės</i>	<i>žōlės</i>
Gen.	<i>gėrvių</i>	<i>bičių</i>	<i>aikščių</i>	<i>žolių</i>
Dat.	<i>gėrvėms</i>	<i>bitėms</i>	<i>aikštėms</i>	<i>žolėms</i>
Acc.	<i>gėrves</i>	<i>bitės</i>	<i>áikštes</i>	<i>žolės</i>
Instr.	<i>gėrvėmis</i>	<i>bitėmis</i>	<i>aikštėmis</i>	<i>žolėmis</i>
Loc.	<i>gėrvėse</i>	<i>bitėse</i>	<i>aikštėse</i>	<i>žolėse</i>

1.27 The inflectional forms of the *ė*-declension have retained their old stem best of all: we can observe here only the alternation of the long *ė* and its shortened variant *e*.

In colloquial Lithuanian the vocative singular of some polysyllabic nouns (mostly

diminutives) is formed without any ending at all, e.g. *mergēl!* 'lassie!', *martēl!* 'daughter-in-law!', *sesūt!* 'sister!', *Elenūt!* (a female name), *mamýt!* 'mummy!' (cf. the vocative *móttin!* 'mother!' of the *o*-declension, see 1.20).

The *i*-declension

1.28 The *i*-declension comprises nouns with the following endings:

Nom. Sg.: *-is* (the most frequent ending for nouns declined according to this pattern)
-uo (which is traced back to the vowel of the old stem)
-ē (this ending appears only in one noun, *duktē* 'daughter', declined according to this pattern.)

Dat. Pl.: *-ims*

The *i*-declension has four paradigms. The number of the paradigms and the variety of endings in the nominative singular of the *i*-declension can be explained historically: the majority of nouns declined according to the *i*-declension can be traced back to the old *i*-stems, but there is also a number of nouns declined according to this declension that can be traced back to the old consonantal stems.

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 9

Paradigm 9 is typical of feminine nouns ending in *-is* in nominative singular, e.g. *krósnis* 'stove', *širdis* 'heart', *žuvīs* 'fish'. In the dative singular the ending is *-iai*, which accounts for the difference between Paradigms 9 and 10 (see Paradigm 10). In the genitive plural some nouns of this paradigm have the ending *-u* after a hard consonant (*žuv-ū*), whereas others have this ending after a palatalized consonant (*krósn-iu*). This can also be explained historically: the former nouns are traced back to the consonantal stems, the latter to the *i*-stems (cf. the same variation in genitive plural in Paradigm 10).

krósnis 'stove', *širdis* 'heart', *žuvīs* 'fish'

Singular

Nom.	<i>krósnis</i>	<i>širdis</i>	<i>žuvīs</i>
Gen.	<i>krósnies</i>	<i>širdiēs</i>	<i>žuviēs</i>
Dat.	<i>krósniai</i>	<i>širdžiai</i>	<i>žūviai</i>
Acc.	<i>krósnj</i>	<i>širdj</i>	<i>žūvj</i>

Instr.	<i>krósnimi</i>	<i>širdimì</i>	<i>žuvimì</i>
Loc.	<i>krósnyje</i>	<i>širdyjè</i>	<i>žuvyjè</i>
Voc.	<i>krósnie</i>	<i>širdiē</i>	<i>žuviē</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>krósnys</i>	<i>širdys</i>	<i>žùvys</i>
Gen.	<i>krósniju</i>	<i>širdžiū</i>	<i>žuvū</i>
Dat.	<i>krósnims</i>	<i>širdims</i>	<i>žuvims</i>
Acc.	<i>krósnis</i>	<i>širdis</i>	<i>žuvis</i>
Instr.	<i>krósnimis</i>	<i>širdimis</i>	<i>žuvimis</i>
Loc.	<i>krósnyse</i>	<i>širdysè</i>	<i>žuvysè</i>

Paradigm 10

Paradigm 10 is typical of masculine nouns which have the nominative singular ending *-is*, e.g. *žvèris* 'beast', *dantìs* 'tooth', *debesìs* 'cloud'. Differently from feminine nouns, in the dative singular the ending is *-iui* (cf. Paradigm 9). Variation in the endings of genitive plural (*žvèr-iū*, *dant-ū*) is the same in nature and origin as in Paradigm 9.

žvèris 'beast', *dantìs* 'tooth', *debesìs* 'cloud'

Singular

Nom.	<i>žvèris</i>	<i>dantìs</i>	<i>debesìs</i>
Gen.	<i>žvèriēs</i>	<i>dantiēs</i>	<i>debesiēs</i>
Dat.	<i>žvēriui</i>	<i>dañčiui</i>	<i>dēbesiui</i>
Acc.	<i>žvērij</i>	<i>dañtj</i>	<i>dēbesj</i>
Instr.	<i>žvērimì</i>	<i>dantimì</i>	<i>debesimì</i>
Loc.	<i>žvēryjè</i>	<i>dantyjè</i>	<i>debesyjè</i>
Voc.	<i>žvēriē</i>	<i>dantiē</i>	<i>debesiē</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>žvērys</i>	<i>dañtys</i>	<i>dēbesys</i>
Gen.	<i>žvēriū</i>	<i>dantū</i>	<i>debesū</i>
Dat.	<i>žvērimis</i>	<i>dantims</i>	<i>debesims</i>
Acc.	<i>žvēris</i>	<i>dantìs</i>	<i>dēbesis</i>
Instr.	<i>žvērimis</i>	<i>dantimis</i>	<i>debesimis</i>
Loc.	<i>žvērysè</i>	<i>dantysè</i>	<i>debesysè</i>

Paradigm 11

Paradigm 11 comprises a small number of masculine nouns which in the nominative singular end in *-uo*.

akmuõ 'stone', *vanduõ* 'water', *šuõ* 'dog'

Singular

Nom.	<i>akmuõ</i>	<i>vanduõ</i>	<i>šuõ</i>
Gen.	<i>akmeñs</i>	<i>vandeñs</i>	<i>šuñs</i>
Dat.	<i>ākmeniui</i>	<i>vāndeniui</i>	<i>šūniui</i>
Acc.	<i>ākmeniĵ</i>	<i>vāndeniĵ</i>	<i>šūniĵ</i>
Instr.	<i>ākmeniu</i>	<i>vāndeniu</i>	<i>šūniṁi/šūniṁi</i>
Loc.	<i>akmenyjè</i>	<i>vandenyjè</i>	<i>šūnyjè</i>
Voc.	<i>akmeniē</i>	<i>vandeniē</i>	<i>šūniē</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>ākmenys</i>	<i>vāndenys</i>	<i>šūnys</i>
Gen.	<i>akmeniŭ</i>	<i>vandenŭ</i>	<i>šūniŭ</i>
Dat.	<i>akmeniṁs</i>	<i>vandeniṁs</i>	<i>šūniṁs</i>
Acc.	<i>ākmenis</i>	<i>vādenis</i>	<i>šūnis</i>
Instr.	<i>akmeniṁis</i>	<i>vandeniṁis</i>	<i>šūniṁis</i>
Loc.	<i>akmenysè</i>	<i>vandenysè</i>	<i>šūnysè</i>

In the nominative singular the noun *šuõ* has an alternative form *šuvà* and in the genitive singular – *šūniēs*.

Paradigm 12

There are only two nouns of the feminine gender, which are declined according to this pattern.

sesuõ 'sister', *duktē* 'daughter'

Singular

Nom.	<i>sesuõ</i>	<i>duktē</i>
Gen.	<i>seseřs</i>	<i>dukteřs</i>
Dat.	<i>sēseriai</i>	<i>dùkteriai</i>
Acc.	<i>sēserĵ</i>	<i>dùkterĵ</i>

Instr.	<i>seserimì/sēseria</i>	<i>dukterimì/dùkterìa</i>
Loc.	<i>seseryjè</i>	<i>dukteryjè</i>
Voc.	<i>seseriẽ</i>	<i>dukteriẽ</i>

Plural

Nom., Voc.	<i>sēserys</i>	<i>dùkterys</i>
Gen.	<i>seserĩ</i>	<i>dukterĩ</i>
Dat.	<i>seserĩms</i>	<i>dukterĩms</i>
Acc.	<i>sēserys</i>	<i>dùkteris</i>
Instr.	<i>seserimìs</i>	<i>dukterimìs</i>
Loc.	<i>seserysè</i>	<i>dukterysè</i>

Note: On the basis of the ancient differences in some case forms Paradigms 11 and 12 are assigned to a separate declension in many Lithuanian grammars.

1.29 In dialects and colloquial Lithuanian there is a strong tendency for masculine nouns of the *i*-declension to acquire endings typical of the (*i*)*a*-declension. Therefore in certain cases some of these nouns have alternative inflectional forms, e.g.:

Nom. Sg.	<i>debesìs/debesỹs</i> ‘cloud’
Gen. Sg.	<i>dantiẽs/dañčio</i> ‘tooth’ <i>debesiẽs/dėbesio</i> ‘cloud’ <i>žvėriẽs/žvėrio</i> ‘beast’ <i>piemeñs/piemenio</i> ‘shepherd’ <i>rudeñs/rùdenio</i> ‘autumn’
Instr. Sg.	<i>žvėrimì/žvėriu</i> ‘beast’ <i>dantimì/dančìu</i> ‘tooth’ <i>debestimì/dėbesiu</i> ‘cloud’

The nouns *deguõnis* ‘oxygen’, *grobuõnis* ‘predatory animal’, *veliõnis* ‘the deceased’ can be declined either according to (*i*)*a*-declension or the *i*-declension.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>grobuõnis</i>	<i>grobuõnys/grobuõniai</i>
Gen.	<i>grobuõnies/grobuõnio</i>	<i>grobuõniũ</i>
Dat.	<i>grobuõniui</i>	<i>grobuõnimis/grobuõniam</i>
Acc.	<i>grobuõniĩ</i>	<i>grobuõniũs</i>
Instr.	<i>grobuõnimi/grobuõniũ</i>	<i>grobuõnimis/grobuõniais</i>
Loc.	<i>grobuõnyje</i>	<i>grobuõnyse/grobuõniuose</i>
Voc.	<i>grobuõni/grobuõniẽ</i>	<i>grobuõnys</i>

Table 2. Noun case endings

Cases	Singular				
	(i)a-declension			(i)u-declension	
	Par. 1	Par. 2	Par. 3	Par. 4	Par. 5
Nom.	-as	-ias	-is, -ys	-us	-ius
Gen.	-o	-io	-io	-aus	-iaus
Dat.	-ui	-iui	-iui	-ui	-iui
Acc.	-ą	-ią	-į	-ų	-ių
Instr.	-u	-iu	-iu	-umi	-iumi
Loc.	-e	-yje, -uje	-yje	-uje	-iuje
Voc.	-e	-i, -y, -(i)au	-i, -y	-au	-iau

Plural					
Nom., Voc.	-ai	-iai		-ūs	-iai
Gen.	-ų	-ių		-ų	-ių
Dat.	-ams	-iams		-ums	-iams
Acc.	-us	-ius		-us	-ius
Instr.	-ais	-iais		-umis	-iais
Loc.	-uose	-tuose		-uose	-tuose

Some nouns of the *i*-declension have permanently replaced one, two or even more of their older inflectional forms with those of the (*i*)*a*-declension so that their paradigms are now a mixture from two sets of inflectional forms – the *i*- and (*i*)*a*-declensions. For example, in the instrumental singular the nouns *akmuo* ‘stone’, *vanduo* ‘water’, *piemuo* ‘shepherd’ are *akmeniui*, *vandeniui*, *piemeniui* instead of the older forms *akmenimì*, *vandenimì*, *piemenimì*. The paradigms of the nouns *petys* ‘shoulder’ (the older form is *petis*), *višpats* ‘lord’ contain only two forms typical of the *i*-declension – the genitive singular *petiūs*, *višpaties* and the instrumental singular *petimì*, *višpatimi*, which are often replaced by *pečiu*, *višpačiu*. All their other forms coincide with those of the (*i*)*a*-declension:

	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>petys</i>	<i>višpats</i>	<i>pečiai</i>	<i>višpačiai / višpatys</i>
Gen.	<i>petiūs</i>	<i>višpaties</i>	<i>pečių</i>	<i>višpačių</i>
Dat.	<i>pečiui</i>	<i>višpačiui</i>	<i>pečiams</i>	<i>višpačiams</i>
Acc.	<i>pētį</i>	<i>višpatį</i>	<i>pečius</i>	<i>višpačius</i>
Instr.	<i>petimì / pečiu</i>	<i>višpačiu / višpatimi</i>	<i>pečiais</i>	<i>višpačiais</i>
Loc.	<i>petyje</i>	<i>višpatyje</i>	<i>pečiuosè</i>	<i>višpačiuose</i>
Voc.	<i>petỹ</i>	<i>višpatie</i>	<i>pečiai</i>	<i>višpačiai / višpatys</i>

Singular						
(i)o-declension		ė-declension	i-declension			
Par. 6	Par. 7	Par. 8	Par. 9	Par. 10	Par. 11	Par. 12
-a	-ia, -i	-ė	-is	-is	-uo	-uo, -ė
-os	-ios	-ės	-ies	-ies	-s	-s
-ai	-iai	-ei	-iai	-tūi	-tūi	-iai
-ą	-ią	-ę	-i	-i	-i	-i
-a	-ia	-e	-imi	-imi	-tu, -imi	-imi, -ta
-oje	-ioje	-ėje	-yje	-yje	-yje	-yje
-a	-ia/i	-e	-ie	-ie	-ie	-ie

Plural						
-os	-ios	-ės		-ys		-ys
-ų	-ių	-ių		-i(ų)		-ų
-oms	-ioms	-ėms		-ims		-ims
-as	-ias	-es		-is		-is
-omis	-iomis	-ėmis		-imis		-imis
-ose	-iose	-ėse		-yse		-yse

In spite of its ending *-uo* in the nominative singular the noun *mėnuo* 'month' is declined according to the (i)a-declension:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>mėnuo</i>	<i>mėnesiai</i>
Gen.	<i>mėnesio</i>	<i>mėnesių</i>
Dat.	<i>mėnesiui</i>	<i>mėnesiams</i>
Acc.	<i>mėnesį</i>	<i>mėnesius</i>
Instr.	<i>mėnesiu</i>	<i>mėnesiais</i>
Loc.	<i>mėnesyje</i>	<i>mėnesiuose</i>
Voc.	<i>mėnesi</i>	<i>mėnesiai</i>

1.30 In Standard Lithuanian the inflectional forms of the feminine nouns of the *i*-declension exhibit more stability than those of the masculine nouns, except for:

(1) *sesuõ* 'sister', *duktė*, 'daughter', which in the instrumental singular have two alternative forms – one typical of the *i*-declension, the other typical of the (i)o-declension – *s eserimì / sēseria*, *dukterimì / dūkteria*; and

(2) *móteris* 'woman', *obelis* 'apple tree', which in the genitive singular have two

alternative forms – *móters*, *obel̃s* (the older forms of the consonantal stem) and *móteries*, *obel̃ės* (the newer forms of the *i*-stem).

In dialects, however, there is more variability among the inflectional forms of the feminine nouns, for example, *širdis* 'heart', *ugnis* 'fire', *žuvis* 'fish', *móteris* 'woman', *obelis* 'apple tree' may have two alternative forms in the instrumental singular – one of the *i*-declension: *širdimì*, *ugnimì*, *žuvimì*, *móterimi*, *obelimì*, the other of the (*i*)*o*-declension *širdžia*, *ugnià*, *žuvià*, *móteria*, *obele* (in the latter word the ending is of the *é*-declension).

General comments on the declension of nouns

- 1.31** Modern Lithuanian tends to make a clear differentiation between the declension of feminine and masculine nouns: masculine nouns are mostly declined according to the (*i*)*a*- and (*i*)*u*-declensions, while feminine nouns are mostly declined according to the (*i*)*o*- and *é*-declensions (except for a few masculine nouns which refer to persons). Though the *i*-declension is the only mixed declension, it is still dominated by the feminine gender (except for Paradigm 11, which comprises masculine nouns of the old consonantal stems).

The majority of Lithuanian nouns are declined according to the (*i*)*a*-, (*i*)*o*- and *é*-declensions. Nouns which in the nominative singular end in *-(i)as*, *-ys*, *-(i)us* are masculine. In the dative singular all masculine nouns have the ending *-(i)ui*, while all feminine nouns have the endings *-(i)ai* or *-ei*.

Modern Lithuanian, its dialects in particular, exhibit a definite tendency to unify the inflection of nouns: less frequent inflectional forms are very often replaced by the more commonly used ones. The process is facilitated and spurred on by the existence of identical inflectional forms in different declensions. Thus, in the plural (Paradigm 5) the *iu*-stem nouns have acquired the endings typical of the *ia*-stem nouns of Paradigms 2 and 3; *i*-stem masculine nouns are often declined according to the (*i*)*a*-declension; similarly, *i*-stem feminine nouns are often declined according to the (*i*)*o*-declension. In this way the declensional system of Modern Lithuanian is becoming simpler.

- 1.32** A tendency to shorten certain inflectional forms can be observed in almost all Lithuanian dialects. The most frequently shortened forms are the following ones: the locative singular (except for the *a*-stem nouns), e.g.: *kelj̃*, *būrj̃*, *tuřguj*, *jũroj*,

aikštėj, širdj, vandenj instead of *kelyjè, būryjè, tuřguje, jūroje, aikštėjè, vandenyjè* (but only *vjre, pirštè, langè, miškè*);

the locative plural, particularly of the *a*-stem nouns, e.g.: *languòs, miškuòs* instead of *languosè, miškuosè*;

the instrumental singular of the *i*- and (*i*)*u*-stem nouns with the ending *-mi*, e.g., *sūnuĩ, dangumiĩ, širdimiĩ, dantiĩ, seserimiĩ* instead of *sūnumi, dangumi, širdimi, danti, seserimi*;

the instrumental plural of the (*i*)*o*-, *è*-, *i*-, *u*- and consonant-stem nouns with the ending *-mis*, e.g.: *raĩkom, galvòm, sáujom, bitèm, žolèm, žverimĩ, širdimĩ, dantiĩ, akmeniĩ, dukteriĩ, sūnuĩ* instead of *raĩkomis, galvomis, sáujomis, bitèmis, žolèmis, žverimìs, širdimìs, dantimìs, akmenimìs, dukterimìs, sūnumìs*;

the dative plural ending often drops its final *-s*, except in the Low Lithuanian (Žemaitian) dialect, e.g.: *káimam, namám, raĩkom, ausim, sūnùm, piemenim* instead of *káimams, namáms, raĩkoms, ausims, sūnùms, piemenìms*.

From dialects the shortened forms are penetrating into Standard colloquial Lithuanian, which phenomenon is reflected in fiction, e.g.:

*Sukinėjosi, trjpe šlapiòj ásloj,
mindamas dár didèsnj pùrvq.*

'He kept turning and stamping on the wet floor, making it still muddier.'

Jò kišènej dár yrà kèletas skatĩkų.

'In his pocket there are still a few coins.'

*Kařtq pavijom jã einançtq viėškeliu
jaunimo būry.*

'Once we overtook her walking on the road in a group of young people.'

*Miglòtuos gývènimo vingiuos
kiek kařtų manè apgavaĩ.*

'In the hazy convolutions of life how many times have you deceived me.'

Kq pařneši bróliam artójam?

'What are you bringing to your brother ploughmen?'

Indeclinable nouns

1.33 Indeclinable words are mostly borrowings of the following kinds:

(1) nouns ending in stressed *-è, -i, -o, -u*, e.g.:

<i>ateljè</i> 'atelier'	<i>dominò</i> 'domino'
<i>fojè</i> 'foyer'	<i>taksì</i> 'taxi'
<i>ragù</i> 'ragout'	<i>tabù</i> 'taboo'

(2) a few nouns ending in unstressed *-i, -o, -u*, e.g.:

<i>lèdi</i> 'lady'	<i>maèstro</i> 'maestro'
<i>spagèti</i> 'spaghetti'	<i>zèbu</i> 'zebu'

Accentuation of nouns

- 1.34 There are nouns which have a constant stress, i.e. in all their grammatical cases the stress falls on one and the same syllable:

síena 'wall', *āšara* 'tear'

	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>síena</i>	<i>āšara</i>	<i>síenos</i>	<i>āšaros</i>
Gen.	<i>síenos</i>	<i>āšaros</i>	<i>síenu</i>	<i>āšaru</i>
Dat.	<i>síenai</i>	<i>āšarai</i>	<i>síenoms</i>	<i>āšaroms</i>
Acc.	<i>síena</i>	<i>āšara</i>	<i>síenas</i>	<i>āšaras</i>
Instr.	<i>síena</i>	<i>āšara</i>	<i>síenomīs</i>	<i>āšaromīs</i>
Loc.	<i>síenoje</i>	<i>āšaroje</i>	<i>síenose</i>	<i>āšarose</i>

But in the majority of nouns the stress is not constant, i.e. throughout the noun's paradigm the stress alternates between the ending and the stem. According to the pattern of the stress alternation all nouns can be broken down into four accentuation classes. The principal criterion for the attribution of a noun to one or another accentuation class is its stress pattern in the dative and the accusative plural.

Accentuation class 1

- 1.35 The first accentuation class comprises nouns which in the dative and the accusative plural always have their stress on one and the same syllable of their stem, i.e. their stress is constant.

When the stress in those nouns falls on the second syllable from the end, it always carries the acute toneme, for example:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>saváitē</i> 'week'	<i>pušýnas</i> 'pine forest'	<i>šokējas</i> 'dancer'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>saváitēms</i>	<i>pušýnams</i>	<i>šokējams</i>
Acc. Pl.:	<i>saváites</i>	<i>pušýnus</i>	<i>šokējus</i>

(See also the accentuation of the following words given to exemplify the declension patterns in 1.19, 25, 26, 28: *výras* 'man', *élnias* 'deer', *vējas* 'wind', *brólis* 'brother', *júra* 'sea', *sáuja* 'handful', *gėrvė* 'crane', *krósnis* 'stove'.)

When the stress falls on the third or fourth syllable from the end, it may have either the acute or the circumflex toneme, or it may be short, for example:

Nom. Sg.:	tēviškē 'native land'	vāsara 'summer'	gīrininkas 'forester'
Dat. Pl.:	tēviškēms	vāsaroms	gīrininkams
Acc. Pl.:	tēviškes	vāsaras	gīrininkus

Beside simple, non-derived, nouns the first accentuation class comprises derived nouns with the following derivational affixes:

(1) nouns with a stressed suffix having the acute toneme:

-āila: *sapāila* 'nonsense talker', *strapāila* 'fidget';

-āitis, -ē: *gimināitis* 'relative', *našlāitis* 'orphan', *vaikāitis* 'grandchild'; *eglaite* 'little fir', *kumelāite* 'young mare', *mergāite* 'girl'; but *aukštaitis* 'High Lithuanian (Aukštaitian)', *žemaitis* 'Low Lithuanian (Žemaitian)' are exceptions, they have the circumflex toneme and belong to the second accentuation class;

-ėjas, -a: *kirpėjas* 'barber', *kirpėja* 'hairdresser', *pjovėja* 'cutter (FEM)', *siuvėjas* 'tailor', *siuvėja* 'dressmaker (FEM)';

-ėnas, -ė: *anykštėnas*, *anykštėnė* 'inhabitant of Anykščiai', *kupiškėnas*, *kupiškėnė* 'inhabitant of Kupiškis';

-iėna: *kvietiėna* 'wheat stubble', *rugėna* 'rye stubble', *naujiėna* 'news', *aviėna* 'mutton', *kiauliėna* 'pork' (but: *jautiėna*);

-iėnė: *Budriėnė*, *Kruopiėnė*, *Žemaitiėnė* (female surnames), *karaliėnė* 'queen';

-yba, -ybos: *mityba* 'nutrition', *sargyba* 'guard', *žvejyba* 'fishing', *dalybos* 'sharing', *lažybos* 'wager', *piršlybos* 'matchmaking';

-ybė: *aukštybė* 'height', *didybė* 'grandeur', *gyvybė* 'life', *tuštybė* 'vanity';

-ynas: *ažuolynas* 'oak grove', *beržynas* 'birch grove', *knygynas* 'book shop';

-yňa: *lentyną* 'shelf', *šeimyną* 'family';

-ytis, -ė: *brolytis* 'little brother', *paukštytis* 'birdie', *šunytis* 'puppy', *akytė* 'eyelet', *mergytė* 'girlie', *sesytė* 'little sister';

-ojas: *sienojas* 'log', *šilojas* 'heather';

-ojus: *vasarojus* 'summer crops', *rytojus* 'tomorrow';

-ónis, -ė: *ligónis* 'he-patient', *ligonė* 'she-patient';

-ovė: *bendrovė* 'company', *daržovė* 'vegetable', *draugovė* 'brigade';

-(i)ūkštis, -ė: *varliūkštis* 'naughty child', *velniūkštis* 'little imp', *mergiūkštė* 'derog. little girl';

-úomenė: *kariúomenė* 'army', *visúomenė* 'society';

(2) nouns with a stressed root or a stressed suffix of the derivational base (having the stress on the third, fourth or further syllable from the end):

-ana: *liėkana* 'remainder', *ūkana* 'mist';

-atis: *jáunatis* 'young moon', *pilnatis* 'full moon' (parallel with *jaunatis*, *pilnatis* 3^a)

- iava: *baūdžiava* 'serfdom', *gāniava* 'pasturage', *pāiniava* 'confusion';
 -estis: *gāilestis* 'pity', *lūkestis* 'expectation', *mōkestis* 'tax', *rūpestis* 'worry';
 -ēlis, -ē: *apkiaūtēlis*, -ē 'degraded person', *atsiskyrēlis*, -ē 'hermit', *išdījēlis*, -ē 'mischievous child' (personal nouns derived from prefixed verbs);
 -ininkas, -ē: *dūrininkas*, -ē 'doorman', *jūrininkas*, -ē 'sailor', *mōkslininkas*, -ē 'scientist' (nouns derived from nouns of the first and second accentuation class);
 -ymas: *ařdymas* 'disassembling', *minkymas* 'kneading', *tārdymas* 'interrogation', *vālgymas* 'eating';
 -liava: *rāšliava* 'scribble', *riņkliava* 'levy';
 -sena: *eīsena* 'gait', *galvōsena* 'mentality', *rašýsena* 'handwriting', *vartōsena* 'usage';
 -tojas, -a: *gýdytojas*, -a 'physician', *mōkytojas*, -a 'teacher', *rašýtojas*, -a 'writer';
 -(i)uviēnē: *keřdžiuvienē* 'wife of a herdsman', *Seņņkuvienē* 'a married woman's surname, wife of Senkus';

(3) nouns with following stressed prefixes, derived from nouns:

- aņt-*: *aņtkaklis* 'collar', *aņtkapis* 'tombstone', *aņtpetis* 'shoulder strap';
apý-: *apýkablē* 'collar', *apýrankē* 'bracelet', *apýaušris* 'pre-dawn';
āt-, *atō-*: *ātgarsis* 'echo', *ātspalvis* 'hue', *atōsmūgis* 'recoil', *atōveiksmis* 'counter-action';
į-: *įbrolis* 'stepbrother', *įsūnis* 'stepson', *įrankis* 'tool';
iš-: *išvakarēs* 'eve', *išdukerē* 'foster-daughter';
nūo-: *nūokalnē* 'slope', *nūošimtis* 'percent';
pō-: *pōgrindis* 'underground', *pōžemis* 'underground', *pōklasis* 'subclass';
prie-: *prieangis* 'porch', *priebalsis* 'consonant', *priegalvis* 'pillow', *prieskonis* 'spice';
prieš-: *priešaušris* 'pre-dawn', *prieškambaris* 'anteroom', *priešnuodis* 'antidote';
prō-: *prōkalbē* 'parent language', *prōtēvis* 'ancestor', *prōtarpis* 'interval';
ūž-, *užūo-*: *ūžjūris* 'overseas countries', *ūžkrosnis* 'area behind the stove', *ūžkulnis* 'counter', *užūovēja* 'lee'.

(4) nouns derived from prefixed verbs by means of derivative flexions, with the stress on the prefix: *įnašas* 'contribution', *įvadas* 'introduction', *įžanga* 'preamble', *pōbūvis* 'party', *sąjunga* 'union', *sąžinė* 'conscience', *sándara* 'structure', *užúolaida* 'curtain'.

The first accentuation class also comprises the following compound nouns:

(1) compound nouns with the long stressed linking vowels -ē-, -y-, -o-, -ū-, carrying the acute toneme: *eilēraštis* 'poem', *saulēgraža* 'sun flower', *darbýmetis* 'busy

season', *prekjystalis* 'counter', *dirvóžemis* 'soil', *galvósūkis* 'puzzle', *galvūgalis* 'head of the bed', *kojūgalis* 'foot of the bed';

(2) compound nouns with the stressed linking vowel *-(i)a-*, carrying the circumflex toneme: *bendrābutis* 'hostel', *daiktāvardis* 'noun', *keliālapis* 'voucher', *ugniāvietē* 'fireplace';

(3) compound nouns with the stressed short linking vowels *-i-*, *-u-*: *akimirka* 'moment', *akiplēša* 'impudent person', *galūlaukē* 'the end of a field', *vidūdienis* 'noon';

(4) compounds carrying the stress on their first syllable: *bādmētis* 'famine', *brāngakmenis* 'precious stone', *brólvaikis* 'nephew', *raņkraštis* 'manuscript', *savāitgalis* 'weekend', *malūnsparnis* 'helicopter', *žiedlapis* 'petal'.

Accentuation class 2

1.36 The second accentuation class comprises nouns which in the dative plural have their stress on the stem (the second syllable from the end, which carries either the circumflex toneme or is short), while in the accusative plural they are stressed on the ending, e.g.:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>piřštas</i>	<i>galvijas</i>	<i>peřlis</i>	<i>tuřgus</i>	<i>rankà</i>	<i>bìtē</i>
	'finger'	'neat'	'knife'	'market'	'hand'	'bee'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>piřštams</i>	<i>galvijams</i>	<i>peřliams</i>	<i>tuřgums</i>	<i>raņkoms</i>	<i>bìtēms</i>
Acc. Pl.:	<i>piřštūs</i>	<i>galvijūs</i>	<i>peřliūs</i>	<i>turgūs</i>	<i>rankàs</i>	<i>bitēs</i>

(See the full paradigms in 1.19, 22, 25, 26.)

Beside simple (underived) nouns, the second accentuation class comprises derived nouns with the following derivational affixes:

(1) nouns with the following suffixes:

-aņnis, -ē: riestaņnis 'ring-shaped cracknel', *saldaņnis* 'candy', *cukraņnē* 'confectionery shop', *miřraņnē* 'salad';

-ālius, -ē: snaudālius, -ē 'sleepy-head', *tauřkālius, -ē* 'gasbag';

-ātvē: jaunātvē 'youth', *senātvē* 'old age';

-ēlis, -ē: bernēlis 'laddie', *kalnēlis* 'little hill', *lovēlē* 'little bed', *mergēlē* 'lassie';

-ēlis, -ē: dobilēlis 'little clover', *vainikēlis* 'little wreath', *valandēlē* 'moment';

-ēsis: degēsis 'charred log', *džiūvēsis* 'piece of dry bread', *griuvēštai* 'ruins';

-iēnē: bulviēnē 'potato soup', *kiaušiniēnē* 'fried eggs', *uogiēnē* 'jam', *vakariēnē* 'supper';

-iētis, -ē: kauniētis, -ē 'inhabitant of Kaunas', *miestiētis, -ē* 'town dweller', *pietiētis, -ē* 'southerner';

-*ikas*, -*ē*: *liefikas* 'smelter', *lupikas*, -*ē* 'usurer';
 -*iniņkas*, -*ē*: *daininiņkas*, -*ē* 'singer', *darbiniņkas*, -*ē* 'worker', *kalbiniņkas*, -*ē* 'linguist'
 (derivatives made from nouns of the third and fourth accentuation class);
 -*yklā*: *čiuožyklā* 'skating-rink', *dažyklā* 'dye-house', *mokyklā* 'school', *valgyklā* 'canteen';
 -*ỹklē*: *rodỹklē* 'pointer, arrow', *taupỹklē* 'money-box', *svarstỹklēs* 'scales';
 -*ỹnē*: *kankỹnē* 'anguish', *sēdỹnē* 'seat', *tēvỹnē* 'homeland', *vaikštỹnēs* 'outdoor fete';
 -*ỹstē*: *draugỹstē* 'friendship', *jaunỹstē* 'youth';
 -(*i*)*ōkas*, -(*i*)*ōkē*: *berniōkas* 'chap', *naujōkas*, -*ē* 'novice', *pirmōkas*, -*ē* 'first-former';
 -(*i*)*ōklis*, -*ē*: *klajōklis*, -*ē* 'wanderer', *vijōklis* 'climbing plant', *medžiōklē* 'hunt';
 -*ōnē*: *abejōnē* 'doubt', *svajōnē* 'dream';
 -*ōtis*: *qšōtis* 'pitcher', *gyslōtis* 'plantain', *šakōtis* 'branchy cake';
 -*ōvas*, -*ē*: *ieškōvas*, -*ē* 'plaintiff', *valdōvas*, -*ē* 'ruler', *žinōvas*, -*ē* 'connoisseur';
 -*uōklis*, -*uōklē*: *girtuōklis*, -*ē* 'drunkard', *švytuōklē* 'pendulum';
 -*uōlis*, -*ē*: *grazuōlis*, -*ē* 'handsome man/woman', *jaunuōlis*, -*ē* 'a youth';
 -*ūtis*, -*ē*: *kiškūtis* 'little hare', *langūtis* 'little window', *motūtē* 'mummy';
 -*ūžis*, -*ē*: *bernūžis* 'lad', *brolūžis* 'dear brother', *draugūžis* 'dear friend';
 -*tỹnēs*: *eitỹnēs* 'parade', *imtỹnēs* 'wrestling', *kautỹnēs* 'battle', *rungtỹnēs* 'match';
 -*tūvas*: *drožtūvas* 'plane', *kastūvas* 'spade', *lēktūvas* 'airplane', *žadintūvas* 'alarm clock';

(2) nouns with the following prefixes:

be-: *bedaŗbis*, -*ē* 'unemployed', *belaiŗvis*, -*ē* 'prisoner', *beprōtis*, -*ē* 'madman, mad woman', *berāŗtis*, -*ē* 'illiterate person' (but: *begēdis*, -*ē* 'shameless person', *besōtis*, -*ē* 'insatiable person' belong to the first accentuation class);

(3) compound nouns with the stress on the (3) root (in some cases, on the suffix) of the second component:

ančiasnāpis 'duck-bill', *bendradaŗbis* 'co-worker', *ŗimtakōjis* 'centipede', *skeltanāgis* 'cloven-hoofed animal', *bendrakeleŗvis* 'fellow passenger', *ilgalieŗūvis* 'gossiper'.

Accentuation class 3

1.37 The third accentuation class comprises nouns which in the dative plural have their stress on the ending while in the accusative plural the stress may fall on any syllable of their stem. When the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, it is

always acute, when the stress falls on any other syllable of the stem before penultima it may be acute, circumflex or the syllable may be short.

According to the place of the stress and the toneme of the stressed syllable in the accusative plural, nouns of the third accentuation class are broken into five groups, which dictionaries indicate as 3, 3^a, 3^b, 3^{4a} and 3^{4b}.

Nouns indicated as 3 have the acute toneme in the accusative plural on the penultimate syllable:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>lángas</i>	<i>arkl̥ys</i>	<i>sūnūs</i>	<i>galvà</i>	<i>aikštē</i>	<i>širdis</i>
	'window'	'horse'	'son'	'head'	'square'	'heart'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>langáms</i>	<i>arkliáms</i>	<i>sūnūms</i>	<i>galvóms</i>	<i>aikštēms</i>	<i>širdims</i>
Acc. Pl.:	<i>lángus</i>	<i>árklius</i>	<i>sūnus</i>	<i>gálvas</i>	<i>áikštes</i>	<i>širdis</i>

(See the full paradigms in 1.19, 22, 25, 26, 28.)

Nouns indicated as 3^a have the acute toneme in the accusative plural on the third syllable from the end:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>áudeklas</i>	<i>lygumà</i>	<i>dóbilas</i>
	'cloth'	'plain'	'clover'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>audekláms</i>	<i>lygumóms</i>	<i>dobiláms</i>
Acc. Pl.:	<i>áudeklus</i>	<i>lýgumas</i>	<i>dóbilus</i>

Nouns indicated as 3^b have the short stressed vowel or circumflex in the accusative plural on the third syllable from the end:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>rašín̥ys</i>	<i>kēpalas</i>	<i>dubur̥ys</i>
	'composition'	'loaf'	'pit'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>rašiniáms</i>	<i>kepaláms</i>	<i>duburiáms</i>
Acc. Pl.:	<i>rāšinius</i>	<i>kēpalus</i>	<i>dūburius</i>

Nouns indicated as 3^{4a} have the acute toneme on the fourth syllable from the end:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>laiškaneš̥ys</i>	<i>nuožulnumà</i>
	'postman'	'declivity'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>laiškanešiáms</i>	<i>nuožulnumóms</i>
Acc. Pl.:	<i>láiškanešius</i>	<i>núožulnumas</i>

Nouns indicated as 3^{4b} have the short stressed vowel or circumflex toneme on the fourth syllable from the end:

Nom. Sg.:	<i>āpmušalas</i>	<i>tētervinas</i>	<i>uždavin̥ys</i>
	'upholstery'	'black grouse'	'task'
Dat. Pl.:	<i>apmušaláms</i>	<i>tetervináms</i>	<i>uždaviniáms</i>
Acc. Pl.:	<i>āpmušalus</i>	<i>tētervinus</i>	<i>ūždavinius</i>

Beside simple nouns the third accentuation class includes derived nouns with the following suffixes:

- alas*: *barškalas* 'rattle', *gaivalas* 'element', *tiřpalas* 'solution' (3^b);
- atis*: *bjauratis* 'nastiness', *gaiřatis* 'delay', *kamřatis* 'squash', *maiřatis* 'confusion' (3^b);
- enà*: *arklenà* 'horse hide', *ořkenà* 'goatskin' (3^a), *kiřkenà* 'hare-skin', *meřkenà* 'bear-skin' (3^b);
- esjys*: *barřkesjys* 'clatter', *blizgesjys* 'glitter', *čtjulbesjys* 'warble', *liūdēsjys* 'sadness' (3^b);
- inas*: *āvinas* 'ram', *kātinas* 'tomcat', *lāpinas* 'he-fox', *žāsinas* 'gander' (3^b);
- injys*: *audinjys* 'fabric', *brēžinjys* 'drawing', *leidinjys* 'publication', *traukinjys* 'train' (3^a), *mezginjys* 'knitting', *sukinjys* 'pirouette' (3^b);
- ulas*: *buřbulas* 'bubble', *gniūtulas* 'lump', *gniūžulas* 'tuft' (3^b);
- uljys*: *čtlauduljys* 'sneeze', *kosuljys* 'cough' (3^a), *nuoboduljys* 'boredom' (3^{4a}), *šleikštuljys* 'nausea' (3^b), *išķyřuljys* 'cape' (3^{4b});
- umà*: *aukštumà* 'height', *storumà* 'thickness', *tolumà* 'distance' (3^a), *ankštumà* 'tightness', *dykumà* 'desert' (3^b), *išķilumà* 'prominence' (3^{4b});
- uras*: *buřmburas* 'bulge', *puņņpuras* 'bud' (3^b);
- urjys*: *duburjys* 'pit', *sūkurjys* 'vortex', *řvoturjys* 'lighthouse', *žiburjys* 'light' (3^b).

The third accentuation class also includes compounds which in the nominative singular have the stressed endings *-jys*, *-ē*:

- broļžudjys*, *-ē* 'fratricide', *chorvedjys*, *-ē* 'choir master', *darbdavjys*, *-ē* 'employer' (3^a), *batsiuvjys* 'shoemaker', *řienpjovjys* 'haymaker' (3^b), *jaunavedjys* 'bridegroom' (3^{4a}, 3^b), *angliakasjys* 'coal miner' (3^{4b}, 3^b).

Accentuation class 4

- 1.38** The fourth accentuation class comprises nouns which in the dative and accusative plural have their stress on the ending. Throughout their paradigm, however, the stress alternates between the ending and the penultimate syllable, which is either short or has the circumflex toneme:

Nom. Sg.: *mīřkas* 'forest', *kēlias* 'way', *būrjys* 'detachment', *dangūs* 'sky', *auřrà* 'dawn', *žinià* 'piece of news', *žolē* 'grass', *dantīs* 'tooth'

Dat. Pl.: *mīřkàms*, *keliàms*, *būriàms*, *dangūms*, *auřróms*, *žinióms*, *žolēms*, *dantīms*

Acc. Pl.: *mīřkūs*, *keliūs*, *būriūs*, *dangūs*, *auřràs*, *žiniūs*, *žolēs*, *dantīs*

(See the full paradigms in 1.19, 22, 25, 26, 28.)

Nouns of the fourth accentuation class are mostly simple two-syllable nouns,

except for several derived placenames (*Alytùs*, *Ašvijà*, *Sasnavà*, *Virvyčìà*) and a few derivatives with the prefix *ne-*: *nedarnà* 'disharmony', *nedrqsà* 'timidity', *negarbē* 'dishonour', *nedalià* 'ill luck', *netiesà* 'untruth', *nešvarà* 'dirtiness'.

2 ADJECTIVE

Būdvardis

- 2.1 Adjectives constitute a class of words which identify qualities and are inflected for gender, number and case.

Adjectives can identify qualities directly by their lexical meaning, e.g. *áukštas* (MASC), *aukštà* (FEM) 'tall', *saldùs* (MASC), *saldì* (FEM) 'sweet', or through their relation to a basic word, e.g. *medinis* (MASC), *medinè* (FEM) 'wooden' (cf. *mėdis* 'wood').

Morphological categories of the adjective GENDER, NUMBER AND CASE

Giminė, skaičius, liūksnis

- 2.2 Adjectives agree in gender, number and case with words they are related to in a sentence.

There are three gender forms of adjectives in Lithuanian: masculine, feminine and neuter. All adjectives can have masculine forms (with the endings Nom. Sg. *-(i)as*, *-us*, *-is*) and the respective feminine forms (with the endings *-(i)a*, *-i*, *-ė*). The neuter forms ending in *-(i)a* can be derived from adjectives in *-(i)as* (MASC), *-(i)a* (FEM), and the neuter forms ending in *-u* – from adjectives in *-us* (MASC), *-i* (FEM), e.g.:

Masc.	Fem.	Neuter	
<i>gėras</i>	<i>gerà</i>	<i>gėra</i>	'good'
<i>kárštas</i>	<i>karštà</i>	<i>káršta</i>	'hot'
<i>žálias</i>	<i>žalià</i>	<i>žália</i>	'green'
<i>gražùs</i>	<i>graži</i>	<i>gražù</i>	'beautiful'
<i>kartùs</i>	<i>karti</i>	<i>kartù</i>	'bitter'
<i>puikùs</i>	<i>puiki</i>	<i>puikù</i>	'fine'

Adjectives, which end in *-is, -è* (e.g. *auksinis, auksinė* 'golden', *mažytis, mažytė* 'tiny'), do not have neuter forms.

- 2.3 As attributes, adjectives can be used only with nouns. Therefore the grammatical meanings and forms of gender, number and case of attributive adjectives depend upon the respective meanings and forms of nouns they modify, e.g. *gėras tėvas* (MASC) 'good father', *gerà mótina* (FEM) 'good mother':

	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>gėras tėvas</i>	<i>gerà mótina</i>	<i>gerì tėvai</i>	<i>gėros mótinos</i>
Gen.	<i>gėro tėvo</i>	<i>geròs mótinos</i>	<i>gerių tėvų</i>	<i>gerių mótinų</i>
Dat.	<i>gerám tėvui</i>	<i>gėrai mótinai</i>	<i>geriems tėvams</i>	<i>geroms mótinoms</i>
Acc.	<i>gėrą tėvą</i>	<i>gėrą mótiną</i>	<i>gerùs tėvus</i>	<i>geràs mótinas</i>
Instr.	<i>gerù tėvu</i>	<i>gerà mótina</i>	<i>gerais tėvais</i>	<i>geromis mótinomis</i>
Loc.	<i>geramè tėvè</i>	<i>gerojè mótinoje</i>	<i>geruosè tėvuosè</i>	<i>gerosè mótinose</i>

Like nouns which can be either masculine or feminine, attributive adjectives can also be either masculine or feminine.

Predicative adjectives are syntactically related to the subject of the sentence. This means that the grammatical meaning (and the grammatical form) of the adjective depends on the grammatical meaning of the words used as the subject of the sentence.

When the subject is expressed by a noun or pronoun, which is either masculine or feminine, the predicative adjective is also either masculine or feminine.

<i>Jis malonùs.</i>	'He is kind.'
<i>Ji malonì.</i>	'She is kind.'
<i>Tėvas bìuvo piktas.</i>	'Father was angry.'
<i>Ji sėdėjo liūdnerà.</i>	'She was sitting (and feeling) sad.'

- 2.4 When the subject of the sentence is expressed by a word possessing the generalized meaning e.g. such pronouns as *viskas, tai, visa tai*, the predicative adjective is used in the neuter form, e.g.:

<i>Viskas pigù.</i>	'Everything is inexpensive.'
<i>Tai absuřdiška.</i>	'It is absurd.'
<i>Visa tai pasiródė jam keista.</i>	'All this seemed strange to him.'

Some other uses of the neuter adjectival forms:

(1) Neuter adjectives are often used as predicatives in impersonal sentences, e.g.:

<i>Kambaryjè bìuvo tamsù.</i>	'It was dark in the room.'
<i>Taip giėdra iř liñksma!</i>	'It's so clear and joyful!'

(2) One of the two neuter adjectival forms in the sentence can be used as the subject, the other as the predicative:

Saldù – gardù. ‘Sweet is delicious.’
Raudóna – gražù. ‘Red is beautiful.’

(3) Neuter forms can sometimes be used as the predicatives of masculine or feminine nouns, in which case there is no agreement between the gender of the subject of the sentence and the predicative:

Siúloma prėkė nebrangù. ‘An offered commodity is not expensive.’
Pernýkštės bŭlvės neskanù. ‘Last year’s potatoes don’t taste good.’

The neuter forms in such sentences can be replaced by masculine or feminine forms, cf.:

Siúloma prėkė nebrangi.
Pernýkštės bŭlvės neskantios.

(4) Neuter adjectival forms with a generalized meaning are used to perform the function of a noun in the nominative, accusative and sometimes genitive or instrumental:

Gėra eina toli, blōga dár toliaù. ‘Good goes far, evil goes still farther.’
Esù jaù iř šilta, iř šalta mātės. ‘I’ve seen both warm and hot.’
Buvaù mǎžas iř negalėjau atskirti
gėra nuō pikta. ‘I was a small child and couldn’t
 tell good from evil.’
Nejuokáuk iš tō, kǎ laikaù šveñta. ‘Don’t mock what I consider to be sacred.’

Masculine adjectives in the singular case form can also be sometimes used in a similar way, cf.:

Pikto/Pikta nepatýręs, gėro/gėra ‘Having experienced no evil, you can not
nepažinsi. recognize good.’

(5) Neuter adjectives in the nominal function very often go together with the pronoun *kàs* and its combinations with other pronouns:

Su motulė atsitiko kažin kàs baisù. ‘Something terrible happened to mother.’
Gál jaūčia kǎ pikta? ‘Perhaps he feels some evil.’

2.5 To sum up: masculine and feminine adjectives refer to a quality which is attributed to a thing:

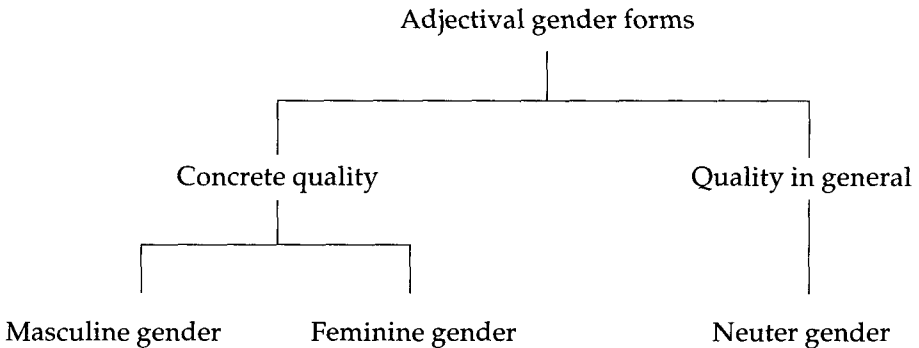
Pirkià tamsi. ‘The house is dark.’
Šiañdien šaltas óras. ‘Today the weather is cold.’

Neuter adjectives refer to a quality in general. They are never attributes to a noun, and the quality they refer to is never an attribute to a concrete thing:

Pirktojè tamsù. 'It is dark in the house.'
Šiañdien šálta. 'It's cold today.'

Even when the neuter adjectives are correlated with the other neuter adjectives or pronouns (*Saldù – gardù* 'Sweet is delicious.' *Visa tai gražù* 'All this is beautiful.') or when they are used as predicatives with subjects expressed by nouns, they always retain the meaning of a generalized quality.

The relation between the masculine, feminine and neuter adjectives could be represented graphically in the following way:



2.6 Masculine and feminine adjectives have two numbers – singular and plural.

Singular

áukštas stālas 'a high table'
aukštà kėdė 'a high chair'
jìs gražùs 'he's handsome'
jì gražì 'she's beautiful'

Plural

aukštì stalaì 'high tables'
áukštos kėdės 'high chairs'
jiė gražùs 'they're handsome'
jòs grāžios 'they're beautiful'

Neuter adjectives haven't different forms for number or case. They can be used as predicatives with nouns both in the singular and plural.

Medùs skanù. 'Honey is delicious.'
Ilgì sijõnai negražù. 'Long skirts are not beautiful.'

Masculine and feminine forms have six cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental and locative. Differently from the noun, most adjectives (except for the masculine adjectives of the *medìnis* kind, see 2.27) have no vocative. The function of the vocative is performed by their nominative case, e.g. *gėras tėve!* 'good father!'

COMPARISON

Láipsnis

2.7 The comparison of adjectives is based on the semantic opposition between the positive adjectival forms, which do not refer to any difference in the degree of a quality (e.g. *gēras* 'good'), and the adjectival forms, which do indicate differences in the degree of a quality, i.e. the comparative and superlative adjectival forms (e.g. *gerēsnis* 'better', *geriáusias* 'best'). Thus, the positive adjectival forms are the unmarked member of the opposition while the comparative and superlative forms constitute the marked member.

2.8 Masculine and feminine comparative forms are formed with the suffix *-esn-(is/ė)*:

gēras, gerà – *gerēsnis, gerēsne* 'better'
gražūs, graži – *gražēsnis, gražēsne* 'more beautiful'

Another, less frequent, form of the comparative degree is built with the suffix *-ėlesn-(is/ė)*, which is, in fact, a blend of the diminutive suffix *-ėl-* and the comparative suffix *-esn-*:

gēras, gerà – *gerėlēsnis, gerėlēsne* 'a little bit better'
gražūs, graži – *gražėlēsnis, gražėlēsne* 'a little bit more beautiful'

These forms are considered to be diminutive comparative forms since they indicate a slightly lesser degree of a quality than the basic comparative forms.

2.9 Masculine and feminine superlative forms are built with the suffix *-iaus-(ias/ia)*:

gēras, gerà – *geriáusias, geriáusia* 'best'
gražūs, graži – *gražiáusias, gražiáusia* 'most beautiful'

Some grammars distinguish the so called intensified superlative degree, which is, in fact, a combination of a superlative adjective with the pronoun *pàts/patì* or with the plural genitive form of the pronoun *visas*:

pàts geriáusias *patì geriáusia* 'the very best'
visų geriáusias *visų geriáusia* 'the best of all'

The meaning of the intensified superlative degree can also be expressed by a combination of a definite adjective (in the positive degree) with the same pronouns *pàts, patì* and *visų*:

pàts geràsis *patì geróji*
visų geràsis *visų geróji*

2.10 There are some comparative and superlative adjectives which do not possess the positive degree. They are most probably derived from nouns.

vyrėsnis vyrėsnė 'older, senior' (cf. *výras* 'man')

vyriáusias vyriáusia 'oldest, chief'

viršėsnis viršėsnė 'superior' (cf. *viršùs* 'top')

viršiáusias viršiáusia 'chief, supreme'

galiáusias galiáusia 'last' (cf. *gālas* 'end')

2.11 The comparative degree of neuter adjectives is formed with the derivational morpheme *-iau*:

gėra 'good' *geriaū* 'better'

gražū 'beautiful' *gražiaū* 'more beautiful'

The diminutive comparative degree of neuter adjectives has the form-building element *-ėliaū*:

gėra gerėliaū 'a little bit better'

gražū gražėliaū 'a little bit more beautiful'

The superlative degree of neuter adjectives is formed with the form-building element *-iausia*:

gėra geriáusia 'the best'

gražū gražiáusia 'the most beautiful'

To express the meaning of intensified (or emphatic) superlative, the superlative forms of neuter adjectives can be combined only with the pronoun *visū*:

visū geriáusia 'best of all'

visū gražiáusia 'most beautiful of all'

2.12 Comparative adjectives usually indicate that something has more of a quality than something else. The other thing involved in the comparison is specified by the preposition *ùž* followed by a noun in the accusative, or by the conjunctions *kaiþ, nekaþ, negù, nei* followed by a noun in the nominative.

Teisýbė už áuksą *brangėsnė.* 'The truth is dearer than gold.'

Gerėsnis tėvas, kàd iř žiaurùs, 'A father is better, although cruel,
nekaþ/negù/nei patėvis. than a stepfather.'

Comparative adjectives may also indicate that something has more of a quality at one time than at another time or under other circumstances.

Po tårdymo Pečiūrà *pasidārė* 'After the interrogation Pečiūra
ramėsnis. became quieter.'

Dabař jis *gerėsnis negù* *anksčiaū.* 'Now he is better than before.'

The other thing involved in the comparison may not even possess the quality

compared. E.g. *Tėvas gerėsnis už mótiną* 'Father is better than mother' does not mean at all that father is good.

The difference in the degree of the quality compared may sometimes be quantified, which is usually expressed by a combination of numerals and nouns in the instrumental case; sometimes, by the preposition *peř* and a noun in the accusative.

Augustinas tik penkeriaĩs mėtais 'Augustinas was only five years older
būvo už manė vyrėsnis. than I was.'

Sūnūs per visą sprindį yra jaũ 'The son is taller than his
aukštėsnis už tėvą. father by the whole span of a hand.'

2.13 The superlative degree indicates that something has more of a quality than anything else of its kind.

Superlative adjectives may be used without indicating the point of comparison, but if the speaker wants to refer to the point of the comparison, he uses a qualifying phrase which consists of:

(1) the prepositions *iř*, *tarę* with the plural accusative or genitive which may be modified by the pronoun *visas*, *visi* 'all':

aukřčiáusias iš visų brólių 'the tallest of all the brothers'
aukřčiáusias tarp visų brólių

(2) a noun and the pronoun *visi* 'all' in the plural genitive:

visų brólių gražiáusias 'the handsomest of the brothers'
visų kalnų aukřčiáusias 'the highest of the mountains'

(3) adverbs *užvis*, *pervis* 'of all':

užvis/pervis didžiáusias 'the biggest of all'

More rarely, superlative adjectives indicate that something has more of a quality at a certain time or under certain circumstances than at any other time or under any other circumstances.

Užvis brangiáusias laikas pavāsarį. 'Time is dearest in the spring.'

When used with the prepositional phrase *už* + Acc., the meaning of the superlative degree may also be expressed by a comparative adjective, e.g.:

Sveikatà už viską/užvis meilėsnė. 'Health is dearest of all.'
Pranūkas už visus kaltėsnis. 'Pranukas is to be blamed most of all.'

2.14 Adjectives with the comparative or superlative suffixes are not always true comparatives or superlatives in their meaning.

Sometimes, adjectives with the superlative suffix simply indicate an extremely high degree of quality without any reference to comparison. In this meaning, they are used only as attributes, with or without intensifiers (*kuõ, kõ*, the plural genitive of the same adjective in the positive degree), and they are never accompanied by the qualifying phrases mentioned in 2.13.

<i>Dangujè nẽ mažiáusio debesėlio.</i>	'There is not a smallest single cloud in the sky.'
<i>Įdíekit, mótinós, vaikáms Tėvỹnės méilę kuõ didžiáusia.</i>	'Mothers, try to instill in your children love as great as possible for their homeland.'
<i>Jái vaidėnosi baisiũ baisiáusi vaizdaĩ.</i>	'In her mind's eye she saw most horrible sights.'

In such a non-comparative meaning, adjectives with the superlative suffix can sometimes be replaced by definite adjectives.

<i>Tėvėli màno brangiáusias/ brangũsis, kuõ àš táu taĩp nusidėjau?!</i>	'My dearest father, what sin have I committed against you?!
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Adjectives with the comparative suffix *-esn-* may also be used in the non-comparative meaning, which sometimes becomes very similar to that of adjectives with the prefixes *apy-*, *po-* and the suffix *-ok-(as/a)* denoting a pretty small degree of a quality, e.g.

<i>Staklys ėmė lankýtis pàs Mõrtą, kadà tik búdavo laisvėsnis/apýlaisvis/laisvókas/pólaisvis malũnė.</i>	'Staklys began to visit Morta whenever he had some free time in the mill.'
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2.15 Superlative and comparative adjectives may have definite forms:

<i>Jũ vaikaĩ bìuvo pėrėjė į aukštesniáusias klasės.</i>	'Their children had been transferred to senior forms.'
<i>Màno tėvas laĩko sàvo geriausiajį vỹną molĩniuose induose.</i>	'My father keeps his best wine in clay vessels.'

2.16 The following adjectives have no comparative or superlative forms:

(1) Adjectives with the ending *-is, -ė*, e.g.:

<i>apýgeris vaĩkas</i>	'not a bad child'
<i>medĩnis nāmas</i>	'a wooden house'
<i>kvietinė dúona</i>	'wheat bread'
<i>mažýtė mergáitė</i>	'a very small girl'

(*dĩdis, -ė, dĩdelis, -ė* 'big' and adjectives with the suffix *-utinis* are an exception, e.g. *kraštutiniáusios priėmonės* 'the most extreme measures');

(2) adjectives with the suffix *-okas*, and diminutive adjectives because the meaning of a reduced degree of a quality is already built into their derivation:

<i>mažókas, -a</i>	‘somewhat too small’
<i>mažiùkas, -è</i>	‘very small’

(3) adjectives with the suffix *-iškas*, which classify objects into different kinds:

<i>píeniška srtubà</i>	‘milk soup’
<i>výriški marškiniaĩ</i>	‘men’s shirt’

(4) adjectives which are derived from nouns and describe objects as being covered with something:

<i>puřvinas</i>	‘muddy’
<i>miltúotas</i>	‘covered with flour’

(5) a large number of adjectives which refer to qualities the degree of which does not usually change:

<i>bāsas</i>	‘barefoot’
<i>iřvirksčias</i>	‘inside out’
<i>pėsčias</i>	‘on foot’
<i>raĩtas</i>	‘mounted’
<i>prieřingas</i>	‘opposite’
<i>pāskiras</i>	‘individual’

DEFINITENESS

Apibrėžtumas

- 2.17 The category of definiteness in the adjective is based on the opposition of definite adjectival forms, which in addition to their lexical meaning of a quality contribute definite status to the noun they determine, and simple, or indefinite, adjectival forms, which lack the meaning of definiteness. Thus, definite adjectives are considered to be the marked members of the opposition, whereas simple forms are the unmarked members of the opposition.

Historically, definite forms derived from the blend of adjectival endings with the pronoun *jis, ji* (see 2.34):

<i>gėras + jis = geràs-is</i>	<i>gerà + ji = ger-óji</i>
<i>gražùs + jis = gražùs-is</i>	<i>gražì + ji = graž-ióji</i>

- 2.18 Definite adjectives contribute to the definite status of the noun they determine by: (1) making reference to a quality which helps the users of the language to

identify the object referred to (situational reference); and (2) by referring back to what has already been said (linguistic reference).

(1) **Situational reference.** Definite adjectives help the users of language to understand the reference of the noun they modify:

(a) by pointing to the referent's quality which has a higher degree of intensity than the same quality of any other object in a group of similar objects:

Priēmē jī kunigáikštis didžiōjoje piliēs mēnēje. 'The Duke received him in the big hall of the castle.'

Sekmādienj jis reñgdavosi gerašiais drabūžiais. 'On Sundays he always put on his best clothes.'

(b) by pointing to the referent's quality which is opposite to the quality of other similar objects:

Nē tik upēlis, bēt iř didžiōji ūpē jau būvo apsitráukusi ledū. 'Ice had covered not only the brook but also the big river.'

Jis bijōjo senūju dievū keršto iř nepasitikējo naujūju galýbe. 'He was afraid of the vengeance of the old gods and didn't trust the powers of the new ones.'

Sēnis geriaū girdējo dešiniāja ausimī. 'The old man heard better with his right ear.'

(c) by pointing to the referent's quality which makes it unique in a group of similar things because the other things do not have that quality:

Nepraējo iř valandēle, kārp jis tarp krūtanciuju skarēliju pamātē mēlynajā iř tuojaū jā pažino iř išskýrē iš visū tokiū ař beñt panašiū. 'It wasn't long before he noticed the blue kerchief among other moving kerchiefs and recognized and distinguished it immediately among all such or similar ones.'

Because they refer to qualities which make things easily identifiable, definite adjectives are used:

(a) to form proper names:

<i>Didžiōji gātvė</i>	'Great Street'
<i>Didýsis kāras</i>	'The Great War'
<i>Mažōji Lietuva</i>	'Lithuania Minor'
<i>Žemōji pilis</i>	'The Lower Castle'
<i>Juodōji júra</i>	'The Black Sea'
<i>Žaliāsis tiltas</i>	'The Green Bridge'

(b) to indicate species and to form various terms:

<i>ankstývosios búlvės</i>	'the early potatoes'
<i>juodàsis gañdras</i>	'the black stork'
<i>saldieji pipirai</i>	'the sweet pepper'
<i>lengvóji prāmonė</i>	'the light industry'
<i>juodieji serbeñtai</i>	'the black currants'
<i>dėmėtoji šiltinė</i>	'spotted fever'
<i>trumpieji balsiai</i>	'the short vowels'

(2) **Linguistic reference.** Definite adjectives also function as anaphoric determiners in that they help the users to identify the referent of the noun they modify by referring back to an earlier mention of the quality of the referent.

<i>Ant áukšto stataūs kálno pasiródė stebuklingas žiburýs... Bėt nė vienì jaũ mėtai aukų iř pasišventimo praėjo, o dar nė vienas iš lipančiųjų nepasilytėjo stebuklingojo žiburio.</i>	'A miraculous light appeared on a high steep mountain... More than a few years of casualties and utmost devotion have passed, but not a single climber has ever touched the miraculous light.'
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As anaphoric determiners definite adjectives are often used with the demonstrative pronouns *tàs, tà* 'that', *šis, ši, šitas, šita, šità* 'this'.

<i>Iř štai iš tankių mėdžių pasiródė trýs puikios, báltos gulbės. Ančiukas pažino tuos nuostabiuosius paukščius.</i>	'Suddenly three wonderful white swans appeared from behind the thick trees. The duckling recognized those wonderful birds.'
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2.19 The distinction between definite and simple adjectives is often neutralized.

On the one hand, definite adjectival forms are sometimes used:

(1) to refer to indefinite representatives of two groups of things which are opposed to each other:

<i>Paskutiniai spinduliai švelniai glóstė aukštesniųju/aukštesnių eglaičių iř pušaičių viršunes.</i>	'The last sunrays caressed softly the tops of the taller pines and fir-trees.'
<i>Jiė savo bylàs pavėsdavo kriviams iř seniesiems/seniems vyrams.</i>	'They would refer their cases to priests and the older men.'

(2) in various generalizations, e.g. proverbs:

<i>Tylióji/Tyli kiaulė gilią šaknį knisa.</i>	'The quiet pig always roots up a deeper root' (i.e. Still waters run deep).
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On the other hand, in the context of definite reference simple adjectival forms are often used to replace definite adjectives, for example:

(1) when preceded by an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun:

*Tai būvo nepàprastas kirvùkas. Su tuõ
stebuklingu/stebuklinguoju
kirvukù iř pagýdè Viñçe.* 'It was not a simple axe. With
that wonderful axe Vincè was
cured.'

(2) in some terminological phrases:

juodà iř baltà dúona 'brown and white bread'
saldùs iř rūgštùs pienas 'sweet and sour milk'
cf.:
saldieji iř kartieji pipirai 'sweet and bitter pepper'

In terminological phrases definite adjectives sometimes may be replaced by derivative adjectives with *-is, -è*:

dryžosios kèlnès *dryžinès kèlnès* 'striped trousers'
jaunàsis bròlis *jaūnis bròlis* 'youngest brother'

(3) simple, rather than definite adjectives, are often used in the superlative degree to refer to a thing identified by the greatest degree of the quality possessed: *vyriàusias sūnùs* 'the eldest son' is often used instead of *vyriàusiasis sūnùs* even when the speaker uses it to distinguish from the other sons. The same can also be observed in terminological phrases: cf. *vyriàusias redàktorius, inžinièrius* 'chief editor, engineer' instead of *vyriàusiasis redàktorius, inžinièrius*.

2.20 Definite adjectives can also be used for emphasis. In this case they are used to emphasize the quality of a thing rather than to identify that thing by the quality referred to.

*Čià giliūju ežerèliu iř tyliūju
miško upèliu pakràntèse áugo
klestèjo įvairiū įvairiàusiu
mèdžiū.* 'Here on the banks of the deep
lakes and the quiet forest
streams grew and flourished
a great variety of trees.'

Definite adjectives are often used in folklore and fiction as standard traditional epithets to refer to one of the most characteristic qualities of a thing:

*Áuga tàvo mergužèlè pas senúo-
sius tèvuzèliùs. Pas senúosius
tèvuzèliùs tarp jaunūju brolu-
žèliū.* 'Your girl is growing up at her
old parents. At her old
parents' among her young
brothers.'

As traditional epithets definite adjectives also go together with proper nouns:

Pagaliaū pamàtème sènajį Vilniū. 'At last we saw the old Vilnius.'

2.21 As evidenced by the above examples, definite adjectives are used mostly as prepositive attributes. They are very rarely used as predicatives (e.g. *Tàs kēlias tikrāsīs* 'This road is the right one').

Another syntactical peculiarity of definite adjectives is absence of complementation, c.f.: *labaī gēras* 'very good' but **labaī gerāsīs*.

2.22 The following adjectives have no definite forms:

(1) Adjectives with the ending *-īs, -ē*, including those with the suffix *-īnīs, -ē*, e.g.:

auksīnīs, auksīnē 'golden'
gerašiīrdīs, gerašiīrdē 'kind-hearted'

Adjectives with the suffix *-utinīs, -ē* form an exception, e.g.:

paskutīnīs, paskutinē 'last' *paskutinījs, paskutiniōji* 'the last'
vidutinīs, vidutinē 'medium' *vidutinījs, vidutiniōji* 'the medium'

(2) Adjectives with suffixes or prefixes indicating the degree of a quality, e.g.:

didōkas, didōka 'rather big'
mažiūkas, mažiūkē 'tiny'

2.23 In the southern dialects definite adjectives are used only for emphatic purposes whereas in the limiting function they are replaced either by diminutive adjectives or by simple adjectives (which are sometimes used with the demonstrative pronoun *tās, tà, tasāī, tōji*).

greitāsīs traukinījs → *greitūkas traukinījs* 'express train'
didūjsīs piīštas → *didžiūlis piīštas* 'the middle finger'
jaunōji mōkytoja → *tōji jaunā mōkytoja* 'the young teacher'

2.24 Definite adjectives can be used as substantives in the function of subject or object of the sentence. The following cases are to be noted:

(1) the plural forms of masculine definite adjectives denoting a group of people:

Krāštą valdē nē galīngieji, 'The country was governed not
bēt žmoniū išrinktieji. by the powerful, but by the elected.'
Jōs nemēgo neī savieji, 'She was disliked both by her own
neī svetimieji. people and by the strangers.'

(2) masculine singular definite adjectives with generic reference:

Akylāsīs būtu seniaī vīską 'A more observant man would have
suprātes. understood everything long ago.'
Iī gūdrīojo ne visadā teisībē. 'Even the clever man does not
always have the truth.'

Masculine simple adjectives can also be used as nouns with generic reference:

*Pirmiaū jis pas svētimus/sveti-
mūosius dirbdavo.*

'Before that he used to work
for others.'

(3) masculine or feminine definite adjectives used to avoid the taboo nouns or nouns with undesirable connotations such as those referring to diseases, the devil, a snake, etc.

<i>geltonóji</i>	'the yellow one'	meaning	'yellow fever'
<i>piktóji</i>	'the evil one'	"	'a snake'
<i>kruvinóji</i>	'the bloody one'	"	'dysentery'
<i>šaltóji</i>	'the cold one'	"	'a prison'
<i>nelabàsis</i>	'the wicked one'	"	'the devil'

(4) feminine definite adjectives with abstract reference similar to that of neuter adjectives.

Jaū jám atējo paskutinióji.

'He has already been visited
by the last one (i.e. 'death').'

Declension of simple adjectives

2.25 Just as in the case of nouns, differences in the inflectional forms of adjectives are determined by their stems, or rather, by the final vowel of the stem, which in the course of time merged with the case endings (cf. 1.16). The declension of masculine and feminine adjectives is quite different. Masculine adjectives possess the endings of the *(i)a-* and *(i)u-*stems, whereas feminine adjectives have the *(i)o-* and *é-*stem forms. Within the *(i)a-*declension it is possible to distinguish 4 slightly different paradigms, the *(i)o-*declension has 3 paradigms (see Table 3). Masculine adjectives have adopted some of the endings of the gender pronouns, whereas feminine adjectives follow the declension of the respective noun stems more faithfully.

DECLENSION OF MASCULINE ADJECTIVES

2.26 Masculine adjectives are declined according to two declensions: *(i)a-* and *(i)u-*declension. Thus, their declension is similar to that of nouns of the respective stems except for certain cases (marked out in following) where the endings of masculine adjectives are similar to those of pronouns, cf.:

Adjective		Noun		Pronoun
<i>a</i> -stem	<i>u</i> -stem	<i>a</i> -stem	<i>u</i> -stem	<i>a</i> -stem

Table 3. Adjective declensions and paradigms

Gender	Ending of Nom. Sg.	Ending of Nom. Pl.	Paradigm	Declension
Masculine	<i>-as</i>	<i>-i</i>	1	(<i>i</i>) <i>a</i>
	<i>-ias</i>	<i>-i</i>	2	
	<i>-is, -ys</i>	<i>-i</i>	3	
	<i>-is</i>	<i>-iai</i>	4	
	<i>-us</i>	<i>-ūs</i>	5	<i>u</i>
Feminine	<i>-a</i>	<i>-os</i>	6	(<i>i</i>) <i>o</i>
	<i>-ia</i>	<i>-ios</i>	7	
	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ios</i>	8	
	<i>-é</i>	<i>-és</i>	9	<i>é</i>

Singular

Nom.	<i>gēras</i>	<i>gražūs</i>	<i>výras</i>	<i>tuŕgus</i>	<i>kìtas</i>
Gen.	<i>gēro</i>	<i>gražaūs</i>	<i>výro</i>	<i>tuŕgaus</i>	<i>kìto</i>
Dat.	<i>gerám</i>	<i>gražiam</i>	<i>výrui</i>	<i>tuŕgui</i>	<i>kitám</i>
Acc.	<i>gēraq</i>	<i>gražų</i>	<i>výraq</i>	<i>tuŕgų</i>	<i>kìtaq</i>
Instr.	<i>gerù</i>	<i>gražiù</i>	<i>výru</i>	<i>tuŕgumi</i>	<i>kitù</i>
Loc.	<i>geramè</i>	<i>gražiamè</i>	<i>výre</i>	<i>tuŕguje</i>	<i>kitamè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>gerì</i>	<i>gražūs</i>	<i>výrai</i>	<i>tuŕgūs</i>	<i>kitì</i>
Gen.	<i>gerų</i>	<i>gražių</i>	<i>výrų</i>	<i>tuŕgų</i>	<i>kitų</i>
Dat.	<i>geriems</i>	<i>gražiems</i>	<i>výrams</i>	<i>tuŕgums</i>	<i>kitiems</i>
Acc.	<i>gerùs</i>	<i>gražiùs</i>	<i>výrus</i>	<i>turgùs</i>	<i>kitùs</i>
Instr.	<i>geraĩs</i>	<i>gražiaĩs</i>	<i>výrais</i>	<i>tuŕgumis</i>	<i>kitaiĩs</i>
Loc.	<i>geruosè</i>	<i>gražiuosè</i>	<i>výruose</i>	<i>tuŕguose</i>	<i>kituosè</i>

The (*i*)*a*-declension

- 2.27 This declension comprises masculine adjectives which in the nominative singular end in *-(i)as, -is, -ys*. Within this declension it is possible to distinguish four paradigms. Differences among the paradigms can be traced in the following cases:

Paradigm 1

Nom. Sg. *-as* after a hard consonant (*a*-stem):

	<i>gēras</i> 'good',	<i>jáunas</i> 'young',	<i>laimìngas</i> 'happy',	<i>āpskritas</i> 'round'
Acc. Sg.	<i>gēra</i>	<i>jáuna</i>	<i>laimìnga</i>	<i>āpskrita</i>
Nom. Pl.	<i>gerì</i>	<i>jaunì</i>	<i>laimìngi</i>	<i>apskritì</i>
Dat. Pl.	<i>geriems</i>	<i>jauniems</i>	<i>laimìngiems</i>	<i>apskritiems</i>

Paradigm 2

Nom. Sg. *-ias* after a palatalized consonant or *-as* after *j* (*ia*-stem): *žālias* 'green', *naūjas* 'new'. All adjectives of the superlative degree are declined according to this paradigm, e.g. *geriāusias* 'the best'

Acc. Sg.	<i>žālią</i>	<i>naūją</i>	<i>geriāusia</i>
Nom. Pl.	<i>žali</i>	<i>nauji</i>	<i>geriāusi</i>
Dat. Pl.	<i>žaliems</i>	<i>naujiems</i>	<i>geriāusiems</i>

Paradigm 3

Nom. Sg. *-is* (rare *-ys*) (*ia*-stem): *didelis* 'big', *kairys* 'left', and all the adjectives of the comparative degree, which end in *-esnis*: *gerėsnis* 'better', *didėsnis* 'bigger'

Acc. Sg.	<i>didelį</i>	<i>kairį</i>	<i>gerėsnį</i>
Nom. Pl.	<i>dideli</i>	<i>kairi</i>	<i>geresni</i>
Dat. Pl.	<i>dideliems</i>	<i>kairiems</i>	<i>geresniems</i>

Paradigm 4

Nom. Sg. *-is* (*ia*-stem). These are derivative adjectives with suffixes and prefixes *apy-*, *po-*: *medinis* 'wooden', *mažytis* 'little', *apymažis* 'rather small', *póžalis* 'fairly raw', and compound adjectives: *geraširdis* 'good-hearted'

Acc. Sg.	<i>medinį</i>	<i>mažytį</i>	<i>póžalį</i>
Nom. Pl.	<i>mediniai</i>	<i>mažyčiai</i>	<i>póžaliai</i>
Dat. Pl.	<i>mediniams</i>	<i>mažyčiams</i>	<i>póžaliams</i>

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 1

áukštas 'tall, high', *gēras* 'good', *laimìngas* 'happy', *āpskritas* 'round'

Singular

Nom.	<i>áukštas</i>	<i>gēras</i>	<i>laimìngas</i>	<i>āpskritas</i>
Gen.	<i>áukšto</i>	<i>gēro</i>	<i>laimìngo</i>	<i>āpskrito</i>
Dat.	<i>aukštám</i>	<i>gerám</i>	<i>laimìngam</i>	<i>apskritám</i>

Acc.	<i>áukšta</i>	<i>gėra</i>	<i>laiminga</i>	<i>ápskrita</i>
Instr.	<i>áukštu</i>	<i>gerù</i>	<i>laimingu</i>	<i>ápskritu</i>
Loc.	<i>aukštamè</i>	<i>geramè</i>	<i>laimingame</i>	<i>ápskritamè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>aukšti</i>	<i>gerì</i>	<i>laimingi</i>	<i>ápskritì</i>
Gen.	<i>aukštų</i>	<i>gerių</i>	<i>laimingų</i>	<i>ápskritų</i>
Dat.	<i>aukštiems</i>	<i>geriems</i>	<i>laimingiems</i>	<i>ápskritiems</i>
Acc.	<i>áukštus</i>	<i>gerùs</i>	<i>laimingus</i>	<i>ápskritus</i>
Instr.	<i>aukštais</i>	<i>gerais</i>	<i>laimingais</i>	<i>ápskritais</i>
Loc.	<i>aukštuosè</i>	<i>geruosè</i>	<i>laiminguose</i>	<i>ápskrituosè</i>

Paradigm 2

žalias 'green', *naūjas* 'new', *geriausias* 'the best'

Singular

Nom.	<i>žalias</i>	<i>naūjas</i>	<i>geriausias</i>
Gen.	<i>žalio</i>	<i>naūjo</i>	<i>geriausio</i>
Dat.	<i>žaliám</i>	<i>naujám</i>	<i>geriausiam</i>
Acc.	<i>žalią</i>	<i>naūją</i>	<i>geriausią</i>
Instr.	<i>žaliù</i>	<i>naujù</i>	<i>geriausiu</i>
Loc.	<i>žaliamè</i>	<i>naujamè</i>	<i>geriausiamè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>žalì</i>	<i>naujì</i>	<i>geriausi</i>
Gen.	<i>žalių</i>	<i>naujų</i>	<i>geriausių</i>
Dat.	<i>žaliems</i>	<i>naujiems</i>	<i>geriausiems</i>
Acc.	<i>žalius</i>	<i>naujùs</i>	<i>geriausius</i>
Instr.	<i>žaliais</i>	<i>naujais</i>	<i>geriausiaiis</i>
Loc.	<i>žaliuosè</i>	<i>naujuosè</i>	<i>geriausiuose</i>

Paradigm 3

didelis 'big', *kairỹs* 'left', *gerèsnis* 'better'

Singular

Nom.	<i>didelis</i>	<i>kairỹs</i>	<i>gerèsnis</i>
Gen.	<i>didelio</i>	<i>kaĩrio</i>	<i>gerèsnio</i>

Dat.	<i>dideliám</i>	<i>kairiám</i>	<i>geresniám</i>
Acc.	<i>dìdelį</i>	<i>kaĩrį</i>	<i>gerèsnį</i>
Instr.	<i>dìdeliu</i>	<i>kairiù</i>	<i>geresniù</i>
Loc.	<i>dideliamè</i>	<i>kairiamè</i>	<i>geresniamè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dideli</i>	<i>kairi</i>	<i>geresni</i>
Gen.	<i>didelių</i>	<i>kairių</i>	<i>geresnių</i>
Dat.	<i>dideliems</i>	<i>kairiems</i>	<i>geresniems</i>
Acc.	<i>dìdelius</i>	<i>kairiùs</i>	<i>geresniùs</i>
Instr.	<i>dideliais</i>	<i>kairiais</i>	<i>geresniais</i>
Loc.	<i>dideliuose</i>	<i>kairiuose</i>	<i>geresniuose</i>

Paradigm 4

medinis 'wooden', *apýmažis* 'rather small', *geraširdis* 'kind-hearted'

Singular

Nom.	<i>medinis</i>	<i>apýmažis</i>	<i>geraširdis</i>
Gen.	<i>medinio</i>	<i>apýmažio</i>	<i>geraširdžio</i>
Dat.	<i>mediniam</i>	<i>apýmažiam</i>	<i>geraširdžiam</i>
Acc.	<i>medinį</i>	<i>apýmažį</i>	<i>geraširdį</i>
Instr.	<i>mediniù</i>	<i>apýmažiu</i>	<i>geraširdžiù</i>
Loc.	<i>mediniame</i>	<i>apýmažiamè</i>	<i>geraširdžiamè</i>
Voc.	<i>medini</i>	<i>apýmaži</i>	<i>geraširdi</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>mediniai</i>	<i>apýmažiai</i>	<i>geraširdžiai</i>
Gen.	<i>medinių</i>	<i>apýmažių</i>	<i>geraširdžių</i>
Dat.	<i>mediniams</i>	<i>apýmažiams</i>	<i>geraširdžiams</i>
Acc.	<i>medinius</i>	<i>apýmažius</i>	<i>geraširdžius</i>
Instr.	<i>mediniais</i>	<i>apýmažiais</i>	<i>geraširdžiais</i>
Loc.	<i>mediniuose</i>	<i>apýmažiuose</i>	<i>geraširdžiuose</i>

2.28 Differently from the other paradigms, Paradigm 4 has the vocative case in the singular, e.g. *medini* (cf. *bróli!* 'brother').

Compound adjectives the second component of which is an adjectival stem may have in the dative plural either the ending *-iams*, as all the other compound adjectives, or the ending *-iems*, e.g. *pùszalis* 'not quite ripe' – *pùszaliams* / *pùszaliems*.

- 2.29 Diminutive adjectives with the suffix *-(i)ukas* (*baltùkas* 'white', *mažiùkas* 'little') are declined exactly like *a*-stem nouns, i.e. in the dative and locative singular, and nominative and dative plural, differently from all the other adjectives, their endings coincide with those of *a*-stem nouns, but not with those of pronouns.

Dat. Sg.:	<i>baltùkui</i>	<i>mažiùkui</i>
Loc. Sg.:	<i>baltukè</i>	<i>mažiukè</i>
Nom. Pl.:	<i>baltùkai</i>	<i>mažiùkai</i>
Dat. Pl.:	<i>baltùkams</i>	<i>mažiùkams</i>

The *(i)u*-declension

- 2.30 The *(i)u*-declension comprises adjectives which have the ending *-us* in the nominative singular, e.g. *gražùs* 'beautiful', *lygus* 'smooth, equal', *mandagùs* 'polite', *panašùs* 'similar'. This ending is very typical of prefixed adjectives, e.g. *nuolaidùs* 'submissive, compliant', *apsukrùs* 'clever, bright', *nuokalnùs* 'slanting'.

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 5

gražùs 'beautiful', *lygus* 'smooth, equal', *mandagùs* 'polite', *panašùs* 'similar'

Singular

Nom.	<i>gražùs</i>	<i>lygus</i>	<i>mandagùs</i>	<i>panašùs</i>
Gen.	<i>gražaūs</i>	<i>lygaūs</i>	<i>mandagaūs</i>	<i>panašaūs</i>
Dat.	<i>gražiám</i>	<i>lygiám</i>	<i>mandagiám</i>	<i>panašiám</i>
Acc.	<i>grāžų</i>	<i>lygų</i>	<i>mandāgų</i>	<i>panāšų</i>
Instr.	<i>gražiù</i>	<i>lygiu</i>	<i>mandagiù</i>	<i>panašiù</i>
Loc.	<i>gražiamè</i>	<i>lygiamè</i>	<i>mandagiamè</i>	<i>panašiamè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>grāžūs</i>	<i>lygūs</i>	<i>mandāgūs</i>	<i>panāšūs</i>
Gen.	<i>gražiū</i>	<i>lygiū</i>	<i>mandagiū</i>	<i>panašiū</i>
Dat.	<i>gražiems</i>	<i>lygiems</i>	<i>mandagiems</i>	<i>panašiems</i>
Acc.	<i>gražiūs</i>	<i>lygius</i>	<i>mandagiūs</i>	<i>panašiūs</i>
Instr.	<i>gražiaīs</i>	<i>lygiaīs</i>	<i>mandagiaīs</i>	<i>panašiaīs</i>
Loc.	<i>gražiuosè</i>	<i>lygiuosè</i>	<i>mandagiuosè</i>	<i>panašiuosè</i>

DECLENSION OF FEMININE ADJECTIVES

Feminine adjectives are declined according to the (*i*)*o*- and *é*-declensions.

The (*i*)*o*-declension

- 2.31 This declension comprises feminine adjectives which have the endings *-a*, *-ia*, and *-i* in the nominative singular. Accordingly, three paradigms can be distinguished within this adjectival declension:

Paradigm 6

Nom. Sg. the ending *-a* (*o*-stem adjectives), e.g. *aukštà* 'high', *gerà* 'good', *laimìnga* 'happy', *apskrità* 'round', which are declined like feminine nouns of the *o*-stem, cf. *sìena* 'wall', *lentà* 'board'.

Paradigm 7

Nom. Sg. the ending *-ia* (*io*-stem adjectives), e.g. *žalià* 'green', *naujà* 'new', *geriàusia* 'the best', which are declined like feminine nouns of the *io*-stem, cf. *girià* 'wood', *valdžià* 'authority'.

Paradigm 8

Nom. Sg. the ending *-i* (*io*-stem adjectives), e.g. *grazià* 'beautiful', *lygi* 'smooth, equal', *mandagi* 'polite', *panaši* 'similar', which are declined like feminine nouns of the *io*-stem, cf. *martì* 'daughter-in-law', see 1.25.

Paradigm 6

aukštà 'high', *gerà* 'good', *laimìnga* 'happy', *apskrità* 'round'

Singular

Nom.	<i>aukštà</i>	<i>gerà</i>	<i>laimìnga</i>	<i>apskrità</i>
Gen.	<i>aukštōs</i>	<i>gerōs</i>	<i>laimìngos</i>	<i>apskritōs</i>
Dat.	<i>áukštai</i>	<i>gērai</i>	<i>laimìngai</i>	<i>āpskritai</i>
Acc.	<i>áukštą</i>	<i>gērą</i>	<i>laimìngą</i>	<i>āpskritą</i>
Instr.	<i>áukšta</i>	<i>gerà</i>	<i>laimìnga</i>	<i>āpskrita</i>
Loc.	<i>aukštojè</i>	<i>gerojè</i>	<i>laimìngoje</i>	<i>apskritojè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>áukštos</i>	<i>gēros</i>	<i>laimingos</i>	<i>āpskritos</i>
Gen.	<i>aukštų</i>	<i>gerų</i>	<i>laimingų</i>	<i>apskritų</i>
Dat.	<i>aukštoms</i>	<i>geroms</i>	<i>laimingoms</i>	<i>apskritoms</i>
Acc.	<i>áukštas</i>	<i>geràs</i>	<i>laimingas</i>	<i>āpskritas</i>
Instr.	<i>aukštomis</i>	<i>geromis</i>	<i>laimingomis</i>	<i>apskritomis</i>
Loc.	<i>aukštose</i>	<i>gerose</i>	<i>laimingose</i>	<i>apskritose</i>

Paradigm 7

žalià 'green', *naujà* 'new', *geriáusia* 'the best'

Singular

Nom.	<i>žalià</i>	<i>naujà</i>	<i>geriáusia</i>
Gen.	<i>žaliōs</i>	<i>naujōs</i>	<i>geriáusios</i>
Dat.	<i>žāliai</i>	<i>naūjai</i>	<i>geriáusiai</i>
Acc.	<i>žālią</i>	<i>naūją</i>	<i>geriáusią</i>
Instr.	<i>žalià</i>	<i>naujà</i>	<i>geriáusia</i>
Loc.	<i>žaliojè</i>	<i>naujojè</i>	<i>geriáusioje</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>žālios</i>	<i>naūjos</i>	<i>geriáusios</i>
Gen.	<i>žalių</i>	<i>naujų</i>	<i>geriáusių</i>
Dat.	<i>žalióms</i>	<i>naujóms</i>	<i>geriáusioms</i>
Acc.	<i>žaliàs</i>	<i>naujàs</i>	<i>geriáusias</i>
Instr.	<i>žalioimis</i>	<i>naujomis</i>	<i>geriáusiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>žaliosè</i>	<i>naujosè</i>	<i>geriáusiose</i>

Paradigm 8

graži 'beautiful', *lygi* 'smooth, equal', *mandagi* 'polite', *panaši* 'similar'

Singular

Nom.	<i>graži</i>	<i>lygi</i>	<i>mandagi</i>	<i>panaši</i>
Gen.	<i>gražiōs</i>	<i>lygiōs</i>	<i>mandagiōs</i>	<i>panašiōs</i>
Dat.	<i>grāžiai</i>	<i>lygiai</i>	<i>mandāgiai</i>	<i>panāšiai</i>
Acc.	<i>grāžią</i>	<i>lygią</i>	<i>mandāgią</i>	<i>panāšią</i>
Instr.	<i>gražià</i>	<i>lygia</i>	<i>mandagià</i>	<i>panašià</i>
Loc.	<i>gražiojè</i>	<i>lygiojè</i>	<i>mandagiojè</i>	<i>panašiojè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>grāžios</i>	<i>lýgios</i>	<i>mandāgios</i>	<i>panāšios</i>
Gen.	<i>gražiū</i>	<i>lygiū</i>	<i>mandagiū</i>	<i>panašiū</i>
Dat.	<i>gražioms</i>	<i>lygioms</i>	<i>mandagioms</i>	<i>panašioms</i>
Acc.	<i>gražiąs</i>	<i>lygias</i>	<i>mandagiās</i>	<i>panašiās</i>
Instr.	<i>gražiomis</i>	<i>lygiomis</i>	<i>mandagiomis</i>	<i>panašiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>gražiosè</i>	<i>lygiosè</i>	<i>mandagiosè</i>	<i>panašiosè</i>

It is obvious from Patterns 6, 7, and 8 that the declension of feminine adjectives is more uniform than that of masculine adjectives. Paradigms 7 and 8, for example, differ only in the nominative singular.

The *ė*-declension

- 2.32 This declension comprises feminine adjectives which in the nominative singular end in *-ė* (*ė*-stem adjectives), e.g. *medinė* 'wooden', *kairė* 'left', *geresnė* 'better', *apýmažė* 'rather small', *gerašiřdė* 'good-hearted'. These adjectives are declined like the *ė*-stem feminine nouns, e.g. *žolė* 'grass', *bitė* 'bee', see 1.27.

Paradigm 9

medinė 'wooden', *geresnė* 'better', *apýmažė* 'rather small', *gerašiřdė* 'kind-hearted'

Singular

Nom.	<i>medinė</i>	<i>didelė</i>	<i>geresnė</i>	<i>apýmažė</i>	<i>gerašiřdė</i>
Gen.	<i>medinės</i>	<i>didelės</i>	<i>geresnės</i>	<i>apýmažės</i>	<i>gerašiřdės</i>
Dat.	<i>medinei</i>	<i>didelei</i>	<i>geresnei</i>	<i>apýmažei</i>	<i>gerašiřdei</i>
Acc.	<i>medinę</i>	<i>didelę</i>	<i>geresnę</i>	<i>apýmažę</i>	<i>gerašiřdę</i>
Instr.	<i>medinė</i>	<i>didele</i>	<i>geresnė</i>	<i>apýmaže</i>	<i>gerašiřdė</i>
Loc.	<i>medinėje</i>	<i>didelėje</i>	<i>geresnėje</i>	<i>apýmažėje</i>	<i>gerašiřdėje</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>medinės</i>	<i>didelės</i>	<i>geresnės</i>	<i>apýmažės</i>	<i>gerašiřdės</i>
Gen.	<i>medinių</i>	<i>didelių</i>	<i>geresnių</i>	<i>apýmažių</i>	<i>gerašiřdzių</i>
Dat.	<i>medinėms</i>	<i>didelėms</i>	<i>geresnėms</i>	<i>apýmažėms</i>	<i>gerašiřdėms</i>
Acc.	<i>medinės</i>	<i>dideles</i>	<i>geresnės</i>	<i>apýmažės</i>	<i>gerašiřdės</i>
Instr.	<i>medinėmis</i>	<i>didelėmis</i>	<i>geresnėmis</i>	<i>apýmažėmis</i>	<i>gerašiřdėmis</i>
Loc.	<i>medinėse</i>	<i>didelėse</i>	<i>geresnėse</i>	<i>apýmažėse</i>	<i>gerašiřdėse</i>

Table 4. Correlation of masculine and feminine gender forms of adjectives

Masculine		Nom. Sg. Masc.	Nom. Sg. Fem	Feminine
<i>(i)a</i> -declension	Par. 1	<i>as</i>	<i>-a</i>	Par. 6 <i>(i)o</i> -declension
	Par. 2	<i>-ias</i>	<i>-ia</i>	Par. 7
	Par. 3–4	<i>-is, -ys</i>	<i>-è</i>	Par. 8 <i>to</i> -declension
<i>(i)u</i> -declension	Par. 5	<i>-us</i>	<i>-i</i>	Par. 9 <i>è</i> -declension

Examples: *gēras – gerà* ‘good’; *žālias – žalià* ‘green’; *gerèsnis – gerèsné* ‘better’; *kairŷs, -ė* ‘left-handed’; *medinis – medinė* ‘wooden’; *gražūs – graži* ‘beautiful.’

The shorter case endings

- 2.33** Certain case endings of both masculine and feminine adjectives have shorter variants widely used in colloquial speech and fiction. The tendency to use shorter forms is observed in the following cases:

Masculine adjectives

Loc. Sg.: *geramè – gerañ*
gražiamè – gražiañ
 Dat. Pl.: *geriéms – geríem*
gražíems – gražíem
 Loc. Pl.: *geruosè – geruōs*
gražiuosè – gražiuōs

Feminine adjectives

Loc. Sg.: *gerojè – gerōj*
gražiojè – gražioj
 Dat. Pl.: *geróms – geróm*
gražióms – gražióm
 Instr. Pl.: *geromìs – geróm*
gražiomìs – gražióm

The shortened endings always attract the stress and, with the exception of the dative plural, bear the circumflex toneme.

Declension of definite adjectives

- 2.34** All definite adjectives of the feminine gender, no matter what the declension of their corresponding simple adjectives may be, are declined in the same way.

Differences in the case endings of masculine definite adjectives can be observed only in the nominative and accusative singular, cf.:

Nom.	<i>geràsis</i>	<i>žaliàsis</i>	<i>geresnỹsis</i>	<i>gražùsis</i>
Acc.	<i>gēraǰi</i>	<i>žāliaǰi</i>	<i>gerēsniǰi</i>	<i>grāžuǰi</i>

Definite forms cannot be formed from simple adjectives declined according to Paradigm 4 (e.g., *medinis*, *pómažis*, *gerašitřdis*), but they can be formed from comparative adjectives, e.g. *gerēsnis* – *geresnỹsis*.

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Masculine gender

geràsis 'the good', *žaliàsis* 'the green', *geresnỹsis* 'the better', *gražùsis* 'the beautiful'

Singular

Nom.	<i>geràsis</i>	<i>žaliàsis</i>	<i>geresnỹsis</i>	<i>gražùsis</i>
Gen.	<i>gērojo</i>	<i>žāliojo</i>	<i>gerēsniujo</i>	<i>grāžiojo</i>
Dat.	<i>gerájam</i>	<i>žaliájam</i>	<i>geresniájam</i>	<i>gražiájam</i>
Acc.	<i>gēraǰi</i>	<i>žāliaǰi</i>	<i>gerēsniǰi</i>	<i>grāžuǰi</i>
Instr.	<i>gerúoju</i>	<i>žaliúoju</i>	<i>geresniúoju</i>	<i>gražiúoju</i>
Loc.	<i>gerājame</i>	<i>žaliājame</i>	<i>geresniājame</i>	<i>gražiājame</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>geriéji</i>	<i>žalieji</i>	<i>geresnieji</i>	<i>gražtieji</i>
Gen.	<i>gerūju</i>	<i>žaliūju</i>	<i>geresniūju</i>	<i>gražiūju</i>
Dat.	<i>geriesiems</i>	<i>žaltiesiems</i>	<i>geresniešiem</i>	<i>gražiesiems</i>
Acc.	<i>gerúosius</i>	<i>žaliúosius</i>	<i>geresniúosius</i>	<i>gražiúosius</i>
Instr.	<i>geraīšiais</i>	<i>žaliaīšiais</i>	<i>geresniaīšiais</i>	<i>gražiaīšiais</i>
Loc.	<i>geruōsiuose</i>	<i>žaliuōsiuose</i>	<i>geresniuōsiuose</i>	<i>gražiuōsiuose</i>

Feminine gender

Singular

Nom.	<i>geróji</i>	<i>žalióji</i>	<i>geresnióji</i>	<i>gražióji</i>
Gen.	<i>gerōsios</i>	<i>žaliōsios</i>	<i>geresniōsios</i>	<i>gražiōsios</i>
Dat.	<i>gērajai</i>	<i>žāliajai</i>	<i>gerēsniajai</i>	<i>grāžiajai</i>
Acc.	<i>gēraǰą</i>	<i>žāliaǰą</i>	<i>gerēsniąǰą</i>	<i>grāžiaǰą</i>
Instr.	<i>gerája</i>	<i>žaliáją</i>	<i>geresniąǰą</i>	<i>gražiąǰą</i>
Loc.	<i>gerōjoje</i>	<i>žaliōjoje</i>	<i>geresniōjoje</i>	<i>gražiōjoje</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>gērosios</i>	<i>žāliosios</i>	<i>gerēsnišiosios</i>	<i>grāžiosios</i>
Gen.	<i>gerūju</i>	<i>žaliūju</i>	<i>gerēsniūju</i>	<i>gražiūju</i>
Dat.	<i>geróšioms</i>	<i>žalióšioms</i>	<i>gerēsnióšioms</i>	<i>gražióšioms</i>
Acc.	<i>gerásias</i>	<i>žaliásias</i>	<i>gerēsniásias</i>	<i>gražiásias</i>
Instr.	<i>geróšiomis</i>	<i>žalióšiomis</i>	<i>gerēsnióšiomis</i>	<i>gražióšiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>geróšiose</i>	<i>žalióšiose</i>	<i>gerēsnióšiose</i>	<i>gražióšiose</i>

As can easily be seen from the declension patterns, the case endings of definite adjectives are a blend of the case endings of simple adjectives and the pronouns *jis, ji*; e.g.:

Masculine

Feminine

Singular

Nom.	<i>gerāsis</i>	< <i>gēras + (j)is</i>	<i>geróji</i>	< <i>geró + ji</i>
Gen.	<i>gērojo</i>	< <i>gēro + jo</i>	<i>geróšios</i>	< <i>gerós + jos</i>
Dat.	<i>gerājam</i>	< <i>gerá(m) + jam</i>	<i>gērajai</i>	< <i>gēra(i) + jai</i>
Acc.	<i>gēraji</i>	< <i>gēra + jį</i>	<i>gēraja</i>	< <i>gēra + ją</i>
Instr.	<i>gerúoju</i>	< <i>gerúo + ju(o)</i>	<i>gerāja</i>	< <i>gerá + ja</i>
Loc.	<i>gerājame</i>	< <i>gera(mè) + jame</i>	<i>gerójoje</i>	< <i>gero(jè) + joje</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>gerieji</i>	< <i>gerí(e) + ji(e)</i>	<i>gērosios</i>	< <i>gēros + jos</i>
Gen.	<i>gerūju</i>	< <i>gerū + ju</i>	<i>gerūju</i>	< <i>gerū + ju</i>
Dat.	<i>geriesiems</i>	< <i>geríe(m)s + (j)iems</i>	<i>geróšioms</i>	< <i>geró(m)s + joms</i>
Acc.	<i>gerúosius</i>	< <i>gerúos + ju(o)s</i>	<i>gerásias</i>	< <i>gerás + jas</i>
Instr.	<i>gerašiais</i>	< <i>geraš + jais</i>	<i>geróšiomis</i>	< <i>gero(mì)s + jomis</i>
Loc.	<i>geruóšiuose</i>	< <i>geruos(è) + juose</i>	<i>geróšiose</i>	< <i>geros(è) + jose</i>

The shorter case endings of definite adjectives

2.35 Just as simple adjectives, definite adjectives are also used with the shorter endings in the following cases:

Masculine gender

Feminine gender

Loc. Sg. *gerājame – gerājam*

Loc. Sg. *gerójoje – gerójoj*

Dat. Pl. *geriesiems – geriesiem*
 Loc. Pl. *geruōsiuose – geruōsiuos*

Dat. Pl. *gerōsioms – gerōsiom*
 Instr. Pl. *gerōsiomis – gerōsiom*

Accentuation of adjectives

SIMPLE TWO-SYLLABLE ADJECTIVES

- 2.36 Two-syllable adjectives are stressed like two-syllable nouns of the 3rd and 4th accentuation class (cf. 1.37, 38). Differences can only be observed in the dative singular of masculine adjectives, which bear the stress on the ending while nouns bear it on the root, cf.:

Dat. Sg. *gerám, gražíám – stālui ‘table’, súnui ‘son’*

Adjectives with the ending *-us, -i* in the nominative singular usually bear the stress on the ending (*gražūs, graži ‘handsome’, gardūs, gardi ‘delicious’*; see 2.30). Exceptions are: *áiškus ‘clear’, lýgus ‘smooth’, ráiškus ‘distinct’, smūlkus ‘fine’, sódrus ‘lush’, sótus ‘satiated’, šváiņkus ‘decent’, tánkus ‘dense’, váitskus ‘bright’, vėikus ‘quick’,* which bear the stress on the root. In all the other cases, however, the latter adjectives follow the regular pattern of accentuation class 3 (see 1.37, 2.30).

SIMPLE POLYSYLLABIC ADJECTIVES

According to their accentuation patterns polysyllabic adjectives fall into the same accentuation classes as nouns.

Accentuation class 1

- .37 The adjectives belonging to this class have a constant stress. (Accentuation patterns are those of *laimingas, laiminga, geriáusias, geriáusia, apýmazis, apýmažė* – given in 2.27, 31, 32).

Accentuation class 1 includes polysyllabic adjectives with the following suffixes:

-áittis, -ė: *girtutėláittis ‘absolutely drunk’, karštutėláittis ‘absolutely hot’;*
 -ėtas, -a: *dulkėtas ‘dusty’, gėlėtas ‘flowery’, pūslėtas ‘blistered’;*
 -ėtinas, -a: *pusėtinas ‘middling’, ganėtinas ‘sufficient’;*

- iausias, -ia*: (superlative degree): *aukščiausias* 'highest', *geriausias* 'best', *mokyčiausias* 'best educated';
- ykštis, -ė*: *vakarykštis* 'yesterday's', *pernykštis* 'from last year';
- ykščias, -ia*: *vakarykščias* 'yesterday's';
- ylas, -a*: *akylas* 'sharp-sighted', *ausylas* 'having a keen ear';
- ingas, -a*: *laimingas* 'happy', *išmintingas* 'wise', *akmeningas* 'stony';
- iñtelis, -ė*: *vieniñtelis* '(the) only', *pilniñtelis* 'absolutely full';
- iškas, -a*: (these adjectives have the same stress as the accusative singular of the nouns they are derived from): *móteriškas* 'feminine' (cf. *móterį* 'woman'), *vaikiškas* 'childlike' (cf. *vaiką*), *senóviškas* 'old-fashioned' (cf. *senóvę*);
- ytas, -a*: *akýtas* 'porous', *dantýtas* 'toothed';
- ýtis, -ė*: *mažýtis* 'very little';
- yvas, -a*: *ankstývas* 'early', *vėlyvas* 'late';
- ódas, -a*: *vienódas* 'uniform';
- ókas, -a*: *mažókas* 'rather small';
- (i)ópas, -a*: *dvejópas* 'of two kinds', *šimteriópas* 'hundredfold';
- ótas, -a*: *galvótas* 'intelligent', *gyslótas* 'sinewy';
- ùistas, -a*: *ligùistas* 'sickly', *miegùistas* 'sleepy';
- ùitas, -a*: *medùitas* 'smearred with honey', *pienùitas* 'spattered with milk';
- (i)úotas, -a*: *kalnúotas* 'mountainous', *akiniúotas* 'bespectacled';
- úotinis, -ė*: *visúotinis* 'universal'.

Colour adjectives with the unstressed suffix *-ynas, -a* and *-onas, -a* can follow two accentuation patterns:

that of Class 1:

Nom. Sg.	<i>mėlynas mėlyna</i>	<i>raudónas</i>	<i>raudóna</i>
Dat. Sg.	<i>mėlynam</i>	<i>mėlynai raudónam</i>	<i>raudónai</i>
Dat. Pl.	<i>mėlyniems</i>	<i>mėlynoms</i>	<i>raudóniems raudónoms</i>

and Class 3:

Nom. Sg.	<i>mėlynas mėlynà</i>	<i>raudónas</i>	<i>raudonà</i>
Dat. Sg.	<i>mėlynám</i>	<i>mėlynai raudonám</i>	<i>raudónai</i>
Dat. Pl.	<i>mėlyniems</i>	<i>mėlynóms</i>	<i>raudonóms raudonóms</i>

Accentuation class 1 also includes:

(1) adjectives with the suffix *-inis, -ė* formed from:

(a) nouns which in the dative plural are stressed on the penultimate syllable (these adjectives retain the same stress as the nouns they are formed from):

kójinis, -ė 'pedal' (cf. *kójoms*), *rañkinis* 'manual' (*rañkoms*), *viėtinis* 'local' (*viėtoms*),

aplinkybūnis 'adverbial' (*aplinkybūms*), *medžioklinis* 'hunting' (*medžioklėms*), *valstybūnis* 'state' (*valstybūms*). Exception: adjectives referring to materials (e.g. *medinis* 'wooden', *auksinis* 'golden') and a number of polysyllabic a.o. adjectives (e.g. *išorinis* 'external').

(b) polysyllabic nouns with foreign roots stressed on the pre-penultimate syllable (these adjectives also retain the same stress as the nouns they are formed from):

ākcinis, -ė 'stock' (*ākcija*), *archeològinis*, -ė 'archeological' (*archeològija*), *analòginis*, -ė 'analogous' (*analògija*), *istòrinis*, -ė 'historical' (*istòrija*);

(2) adjectives with the following prefixes:

apý-: *apýgeris* 'fairly good', *apýmažis* 'fairly small';
pó-: *pómažis* 'a little too small', *póžalis* 'a little too green';
príe-: *príekurtis* 'hard of hearing', *príekvailis* 'a little silly';

(3) compound adjectives which bear the stress on the first component or on the linking vowel: *vasaròdrungis*, -ė 'luke-warm'; all other compound adjectives follow the stress patterns of Class 2 and 4.

Accentuation class 2

2.38 The accentuation pattern is that of *medinis*, *medinė*, *gerašiřdis*, *gerašiřdė* presented in 2.27, 32.

Accentuation class 2 includes adjectives with the following stressed suffixes:

-*aĩnis*, -ė: *dešimtaĩnis* 'decimal', *ketvirtaĩnis* 'quadrangular';
 -*ėlis*, -ė: *jaunėlis* 'youngest', *mažėlis* 'smallest';
 -*iėnis*, -ė: *avižiėnis* 'oat(meal)', *miežiėnis* 'barley';
 -*iklis*, -ė: *jaunìklis* (young);
 -*ỹlis*, -ė: *jaunỹlis* 'youngest', *mažỹlis* 'little (one)';
 -*inis*, -ė: (excluding those indicated in 2.37) *vakarinis* 'evening', *rytinis* 'morning', *laukinis* 'wild';
 -*iskis*, -ė: *kalniškis* 'living in the mountains', *kauniškis* 'living in, pertaining to Kaunas';
 -*ỹvis*, -ė: *ankstỹvis* 'early', *vėlỹvis* 'late';
 -*õnis*, -ė: *vilnõnis* 'woolen', *marškõnis* 'cotton';
 -*õtis*, -ė: *šakõtis* 'branchy';
 -(*i*)*ùkas*, -ė: *juodùkas* 'black', *mažiùkas* 'little';
 -(*i*)*ùlis*, -ė: *didžiùlis* 'huge', *mažiùlis* 'tiny';
 -*utinis*, -ė: *kraštutinis* 'extreme', *paviršutinis* 'superficial', *žemutinis* 'bottom';
 -*ùtis*, -ė: *baltùtis* 'very white, clean', *silpnùtis* 'feeble', *mažiùtis* 'tiny'.

Accentuation class 2 also includes:

(1) compound adjectives which bear the stress on the second component: *antra-eīlis*, -ē 'of minor importance', *lygiagrētis*, -ė 'parallel'. Adjectives which differ in their toneme and meaning are exceptions:

Accentuation class 1:

ilgakārtis 'with long poles'
daugivārpis 'with many ears'

Accentuation class 2:

ilgakaŗtis 'with a long mane'
daugivavārpis 'with many bells'

(2) adjectives with the prefix *-be-*: *bevaŗdis* 'nameless', *begiŗnkis* 'defenceless', *beveŗtis* 'worthless';

(3) derived adjectives with the ending *-is*: *kasdiŗnis* 'ordinary', *vasāris* 'summer', *palaŗkis* 'threadbare'.

Accentuation class 3

2.39 Accentuation patterns are those of *didelis*, *didelė*, *āpskritas*, *apskrità*, see 2.27, 31, 32.

This class includes:

(1) adjectives with the suffixes:

-*anas*, -*à*: *álkanas* 'hungry', *rúŗskanas* 'gloomy', *vaŗganas* 'poor';
-*imas*, -*à*: *aŗtimas* 'near, intimate', *grėtimas* 'adjacent', *svėtimas* 'somebody else's';
-*inas*, -*à*: *ámŗinas* 'eternal', *kùpinas* 'full', *sklidinas* 'brimful';
-*iŗas*, -*à*: *vieniŗas* 'lonely';
-*itas*, -*à*: *sāvitas* 'distinctive';
-*zganas*, -*à*: *baŗzganas* 'whitish', *juoŗzganas* 'blackish';

(2) prefixed adjectives with the endings *-(i)as*, *-(i)a*: *āpskritas* 'round', *ātlapas* 'wide open', *atāstupstas* 'moving backwards', *iŗdrikas* 'incoherent', *iŗtisas* 'entire', *núo-savas* 'one's own', *pādriskas* 'scattered', *paĩlgas* 'elongated', *pàprastas* 'simple', *prāviras* 'ajar', *uŗdaras* 'closed';

(3) some other adjectives, e.g. *didelis* 'big', *deŗtinŗs* 'right', *ŗābalas* 'blind'.

Accentuation class 4

2.40 Accentuation patterns are those of *gerėsnis*, *gerėsnė*, *mandagùs*, *mandagì*, *panaŗùs*, *panaŗì*, presented in 2.27, 30, 31, 32.

Accentuation class 4 includes:

(1) adjectives with the ending *-us, -i*: *īdomūs* 'interesting', *mandagūs* 'polite', *nuobodūs* 'boring', *padorūs* 'decent', *pravartūs* 'handy', *sumanūs* 'clever', *atkaklūs* 'persistent', *objektyvūs* 'objective';

(2) comparative adjectives with the suffixes *-esnis, -ē, -ēlesnis, -ē*: *gerēsnis, mažēsnis, gerēlēsnis*;

(3) adjectives with the suffix *-ainas, -a*: *apvalāinas* 'round'.

DEFINITE ADJECTIVES

2.41 According to the peculiarities of their accentuation, definite adjectives fall into two groups:

(1) Adjectives which have a constant stress (i.e. the stress falls on the same syllable in all the cases and the stressed syllable has the same toneme. Such adjectives are formed from simple adjectives which belong to accentuation class 1, e.g.:

<i>laimingasis</i>	<i>laimingoji</i>	'the happy'
<i>geriausiasis</i>	<i>geriausioji</i>	'the best'
<i>draugiškasis</i>	<i>draugiškoji</i>	'the friendly'

(2) In all the other definite adjectives the stress alternates between the penultimate and pre-penultimate syllable, e.g.

<i>gerasis</i>	<i>geroji</i>	'the good'
<i>geresnysis</i>	<i>geresnioji</i>	'the better'
<i>pažangasis</i>	<i>pažangioji</i>	'the progressive'

NEUTER ADJECTIVES

2.42 Neuter adjectives with the ending *-(i)a* retain the stress and the toneme of the respective masculine adjectives in Acc. Sg., e.g.:

<i>gēra</i>	cf. <i>gērą</i>	'good'
<i>liñksma</i>	<i>liñksmą</i>	'merry'
<i>žālia</i>	<i>žālią</i>	'green'
<i>aiškičiausia</i>	<i>aiškičiaią</i>	'clearest'

Neuter adjectives with the ending *-u* bear the stress on the ending: *gražù* 'beautiful', *malonù* 'nice', *saugù* 'safe'.

Exceptions:

<i>áišku</i>	cf. Acc. Sg. Masc.	<i>áišku</i>	'clear'
<i>lýgu</i>		<i>lýgu</i>	'smooth, equal'
<i>smùlku</i>		<i>smùlku</i>	'fine'
<i>sótu</i>		<i>sótu</i>	'satiated'
<i>tánku</i>		<i>tánku</i>	'dense'

3 NUMERAL

Skaītvardis

- 3.1 Numerals constitute a class of words which are inflected for case, partly for gender and number, and which denote numbers, the exact quantity or the order of countable things.

In their grammatical properties some numerals are similar to nouns (*dešimtīs* 'ten', cf. *akis* 'eye'), others to adjectives (*vienas, vienà* 'one', cf. *báltas, baltà* 'white'). Certain numerals are similar to adverbs, e.g., *džšimt* 'ten', *dvidešimt* 'twenty', cf., *daūg* 'many, much.'

Two main groups of numerals are distinguished: cardinal and ordinal numerals.

Cardinal numerals denote an abstract number or an exact quantity of things. They are subdivided into several groups: plain cardinal numerals (*vienas, dū, trīs...*), plural numerals which are used with nouns that have only the plural form (*pluralia tantum*) (*dveji, treji...*), collective numerals (*dvējetas, trējetas...*) and fractions (*vienà antróji, trīs dešimtosios...*).

Ordinal numerals indicate a specified order in a countable series (*pīrmas, pirmà* 'the first', *añtras, antrà* 'the second', *vienúoliktas, vienúolikta* 'the eleventh').

- 3.2 According to their morphemic structure numerals are simple, derived, compound or composite (multiword) numerals.

Derived numerals contain one of the following suffixes:

-*ejī, -ejos*: *dvī* : *dveji, dvējos*
-*erī, -erios*: *penkī* : *penkerī, peñkerios*
-*etas*: *dvī* : *dvējetas, penkī* : *peñketas*
-*tas*: *ketverī* : *kētvertas*
-*tas, -ta*: *penkī* : *peñktas, penktà*.

Compound numerals contain two roots. Both roots may be those of numerals (*dvidešimt* 'twenty', cf. *dvī džšimtyš* 'two tens'), or one of the roots may belong to a word of another part of speech (*trēčdalis* 'one third', cf. *trečià dalīs*).

Composite (multiword) numerals may consist of several simple numerals (*šimtas*

penkì 'a hundred and five', *tūkstantis šimtas keturi* 'a thousand one hundred four') and a group of simple derived and compound numerals (*dù šimtaĩ aštuoniasdešimt aňtras* 'two hundred eighty second', *trỹs ketviřtosios* 'three fourths').

Cardinal Numerals

Kiřkiniai skaĩtvardžiai

PLAIN CARDINAL NUMERALS

Pagrindiniai skaĩtvardžiai

3.3 Numerals denoting numbers from one to ten are simple numerals:

Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.	
<i>vienas</i>	<i>vienà</i>	'one'	<i>šeši</i>	<i>šėšios</i>	'six'
<i>dù</i>	<i>dvi</i>	'two'	<i>septyni</i>	<i>septynios</i>	'seven'
	<i>trỹs</i>	'three'	<i>aštuoni</i>	<i>aštuonios</i>	'eight'
<i>keturi</i>	<i>kėturios</i>	'four'	<i>devyni</i>	<i>devynios</i>	'nine'
<i>penkì</i>	<i>peňkios</i>	'five'		<i>dėšimt/dešintis</i>	'ten'

Numbers from eleven to nineteen are denoted by compound numerals which are built by adding *-lika* (derived historically from the verb *likti* 'remain') to simple numerals from one to nine. They are not inflected for gender:

<i>vieniólíka</i> 'eleven'	<i>šešiólíka</i> 'sixteen'
<i>dvylika</i> 'twelve'	<i>septyniólíka</i> 'seventeen'
<i>trylika</i> 'thirteen'	<i>aštuoniólíka</i> 'eighteen'
<i>keturiólíka</i> 'fourteen'	<i>devyniólíka</i> 'nineteen'
<i>penkiólíka</i> 'fifteen'	

Tens are indicated by compound numerals the first constituent of which coincides with the accusative form of simple feminine numerals (*dvi-*, *tris-*, *keturias-*) and the second constituent is the stem *dešimt-*:

<i>dvidešimt</i> 'twenty'	<i>šėšiasdešimt</i> 'sixty'
<i>trisdešimt</i> 'thirty'	<i>septyniasdešimt</i> 'seventy'
<i>kėturiasdešimt</i> 'fourty'	<i>aštuoniasdešimt</i> 'eighty'
<i>peňkiasdešimt</i> 'fifty'	<i>devyniasdešimt</i> 'ninety'

A hundred and a thousand are indicated by the numerals *šimtas* and *tūkstantis* respectively, which are simple underived words.

Million, billion and higher numbers are indicated by numerals of non-Lithuanian origin – *milijõnas*, *milijãrdas*, etc.

All the other numbers are designated by composite (multiword) numerals, which are in fact clusters of the numerals described above:

<i>dvidešimt vienas, dvidešimt vienà</i>	21
<i>dvidešimt dū, dvidešimt dvi</i>	22
<i>dvidešimt devyni, dvidešimt devynios</i>	29
<i>trisdešimt vienas, trisdešimt vienà</i>	31
<i>devyniasdešimt devyni, devyniasdešimt devynios</i>	99
<i>šimtas vienas, šimtas vienà</i>	101
<i>šimtas dėšimt</i>	110
<i>šimtas dvidešimt</i>	120
<i>šimtas dvidešimt vienas, šimtas dvidešimt vienà</i>	121
<i>šimtas devyniasdešimt vienas, šimtas devyniasdešimt vienà</i>	191
<i>dū šimtai vienas, dū šimtai vienà</i>	201
<i>devyni šimtai devyniasdešimt devyni</i>	999
<i>devyni šimtai devyniasdešimt devynios</i>	999
<i>dėšimt tūkstančių dū šimtai dvidešimt vienas</i>	10221
<i>dėšimt tūkstančių dū šimtai dvidešimt vienà</i>	10221

Multiword numerals designating tens can be replaced by groups consisting of a numeral and the respective noun, e.g.: *dvidešimt – dvi dėšimtys, trisdešimt – trys dėšimtys*, etc.

3.4 Numerals from 1 to 9 are used as adjectives and agree with quantified nouns in gender, case and number, e.g.:

<i>vienas berniukas</i>	'one boy'
<i>vienà mergaitė</i>	'one girl'
<i>septyni stalai</i>	'seven tables'
<i>devynios kėdės</i>	'nine chairs'

Numerals from 10 to 19, numerals indicating tens (20–90), also *šimtas, tūkstantis, milijonas, milijardas, bilijonas* (and higher) are used as nouns and they require the genitive plural of any quantified noun, e.g.:

<i>dėšimt/dvidešimt vaikū</i>	'ten/twenty children'
<i>dvylika kėdžių</i>	'twelve chairs'
<i>šimtas/tūkstantis keleivių</i>	'hundred/thousand of passengers'

Composite numerals are used as nouns or adjectives depending on the last word, cf.:

<i>šimtas dvidešimt vaikū</i>	'one hundred and twenty children'
<i>šimtas dvidešimt penki vaikai</i>	'one hundred and twenty five children'

CARDINAL PLURAL NUMERALS

Dauginiai skaitvardžiai

- 3.5 Traditionally there have always been eight numerals which are used with *pluralia tantum*:

<i>dvejì, dvėjos</i> 'two'	<i>šešeri, šėšerios</i> 'six'
<i>trejì, trėjos</i> 'three'	<i>septynerì, septýnerios</i> 'seven'
<i>ketverì, kėtverios</i> 'four'	<i>aštuonerì, aštúnerios</i> 'eight'
<i>penkerì, peñkerios</i> 'five'	<i>devynerì, devýnerios</i> 'nine'

The numeral *vienerì, vienerios* 'one' is a comparatively recent addition in Standard Lithuanian. Dialects continue to use the plural forms of the cardinal numeral *vienas, vienà* instead of it. In Standard Lithuanian *vieni – vienerì, vienos – vienerios* are considered to be equivalent, e.g.:

<i>vienos/vienerios dūrys</i>	'one door'
<i>vieni/vienerì mėtai</i>	'one year'

Numerals of this group are formed by adding the suffixes *-ejì, -ejos* or *-eri, -erios* to a simple cardinal numeral: *dvejì, dvėjos; penkerì, peñkerios*. The numeral *ketverì, kėtverios* is the only numeral which has a stem slightly different from that of the respective cardinal numeral.

Numerals of this group are used as adjectives:

- (1) with nouns which have only the plural form:

<i>dvejì mėtai</i>	'two years'
<i>trėjos žirkklės</i>	'three pairs of scissors'
<i>ketverì marškiniai</i>	'four shirts'

- (2) sometimes – with the plural form of nouns indicating objects which come in pairs:

<i>dvejì langai</i>	'two windows'
<i>dvėjos pirštiniųs</i>	'two pairs of gloves'
<i>dvejì bėtai</i>	'two pairs of shoes'

COLLECTIVE CARDINAL NUMERALS

Kūopiniai skaitvardžiai

- 3.6 There are eight collective numerals:

<i>dvėjetas</i>	<i>šėšetas</i>
<i>trėjetas</i>	<i>septýnetas</i>

<i>kėtvertas</i>	<i>aštuonetas</i>
<i>peñketas</i>	<i>devýnetas</i>

They are formed on the plain cardinal numerals (2–3) or on the cardinal plural numerals (5–9) with the help of the suffix *-etas*. The collective numeral *kėtvertas* has the suffix *-tas* and a slightly modified stem.

Collective numerals are used as nouns indicating objects as one single group. They require the genitive plural of the quantified noun, e.g.:

<i>Jis laiko peñketą arklių.</i>	‘He keeps five horses.’
<i>Prisiafino dár dvėjetas vėryų.</i>	‘Two more men approached.’

They can also indicate an approximate number:

<i>Liko trėjetas kilometrų kėlio.</i>	‘There are three more kilometres left to go.’
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Ordinal Numerals

Keliñtiniai skaĩtvardžiai

3.7 Ordinal numerals are created by adding the suffix *-tas*, *-ta* to the roots of cardinal numerals, except for the ordinal numerals *pirmas*, *pirmà* ‘first’, *añtras*, *antrà* ‘second’ and *trėčias*, *trečią* ‘third’ the formation of which differs from that of all the other ordinal numerals. The stem of the ordinal numerals *ketviřtas*, *ketvirtà* ‘fourth’; *septiñtas*, *septintà* ‘seventh’; *aštuñtas*, *aštuntà* ‘eighth’; *deviñtas*, *devintà* ‘ninth’ is also slightly different from that of its cardinal counterpart:

<i>pirmas</i> , <i>pirmà</i>	(1)	<i>vienúoliktas</i> , <i>vienúolikta</i>	(11)
<i>añtras</i> , <i>antrà</i>	(2)	<i>dvýliktas</i> , <i>dvýlikta</i>	(12)
<i>trėčias</i> , <i>trečią</i>	(3)	<i>tryliktas</i> , <i>trylikta</i>	(13)
<i>ketviřtas</i> , <i>ketvirtà</i>	(4)	<i>keturióliktas</i> , <i>keturiólikta</i>	(14)
<i>peñktas</i> , <i>penktà</i>	(5)	<i>penkióliktas</i> , <i>penkiólikta</i>	(15)
<i>šėštas</i> , <i>šėštà</i>	(6)	<i>šėšióliktas</i> , <i>šėšiólikta</i>	(16)
<i>septiñtas</i> , <i>septintà</i>	(7)	<i>septynióliktas</i> , <i>septyniólikta</i>	(17)
<i>aštuñtas</i> , <i>aštuntà</i>	(8)	<i>aštuonióliktas</i> , <i>aštuoniólikta</i>	(18)
<i>deviñtas</i> , <i>devintà</i>	(9)	<i>devynióliktas</i> , <i>devyniólikta</i>	(19)
<i>dešiñtas</i> , <i>dešimtà</i>	(10)	<i>dvidešiñtas</i> , <i>dvidešimtà</i>	(20)
		<i>tridešiñtas</i> , <i>tridešimtà</i>	(30)
		<i>keturiasdešiñtas</i> , <i>keturiasdešimtà</i>	(40)
		<i>penkiasdešiñtas</i> , <i>penkiasdešimtà</i>	(50)
		<i>šėšiasdešiñtas</i> , <i>šėšiasdešimtà</i>	(60)
		<i>septyniasdešiñtas</i> , <i>septyniasdešimtà</i>	(70)

<i>aštuoniasdešimtąs, aštuoniasdešimtą</i>	(80)
<i>devyniasdešimtąs, devyniasdešimtą</i>	(90)
<i>šimtąs, šimtą</i>	(100)
<i>tūkstantąs, tūkstantą</i>	(1000)

If the stem of a cardinal numeral ends in *-t*, this final consonant merges with the ordinal suffix *-tas, -ta*:

dėšimt + -tas – dėšimtąs
dvidešimt + -tas – dvidešimtąs
tūkstąnt-(is) + -tas – tūkstąntąs

Ordinal numerals *milijonas, -ą* ‘million’ and *šimtąs, -ą* ‘hundred’ coincide with their cardinal counterparts (they do not contain the ordinal suffix *-tas, -ta*), the only difference between them being the existence of two gender – masculine and feminine – ordinal forms. However, these ordinal numerals are mostly used in their definite forms; *milijonąsis, milijonąji; šimtąsis, šimtąji*

The following ordinal numerals are also mostly used in their definite forms:

Simple ordinal numerals

Definite ordinal numerals

<i>dušimtąs, dušimtą</i>	(200)	<i>dušimtąsis, dušimtąji</i>
<i>trišimtąs, trišimtą</i>	(300)	<i>trišimtąsis, trišimtąji</i>
<i>keturiasšimtąs, -ą</i>	(400)	<i>keturiasšimtąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>penkiasšimtąs, -ą</i>	(500)	<i>penkiasšimtąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>šešiasšimtąs, -ą</i>	(600)	<i>šešiasšimtąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>septyniasšimtąs, -ą</i>	(700)	<i>septyniasšimtąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>aštuoniašimtąs, -ą</i>	(800)	<i>aštuoniašimtąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>devyniasšimtąs, -ą</i>	(900)	<i>devyniasšimtąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>dutūkstąntąs, -ą</i>	(2000)	<i>dutūkstąntąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>tritūkstąntąs, -ą</i>	(3000)	<i>tritūkstąntąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>keturiatūkstąntąs, -ą</i>	(4000)	<i>keturiatūkstąntąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>penkiatūkstąntąs, -ą</i>	(5000)	<i>penkiatūkstąntąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>šešiatūkstąntąs, -ą</i>	(6000)	<i>šešiatūkstąntąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>septyniatūkstąntąs, -ą</i>	(7000)	<i>septyniatūkstąntąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>aštuoniatūkstąntąs, -ą</i>	(8000)	<i>aštuoniatūkstąntąsis, -ąji</i>
<i>devyniatūkstąntąs, -ą</i>	(9000)	<i>devyniatūkstąntąsis, -ąji</i>

In the composite (multiword) numerals it is only the last numeral which acquires the ordinal declinable form, while all the others retain their cardinal form, e.g.:

dvidešimt pirmąs, dvidešimt pirmą (21)
dvidešimt antrąs, dvidešimt antrą (22)
trisdešimt ketviřtąs, trisdešimt ketvirtą (34)

kĕturiasdešimt šĕštas, kĕturiasdešimt šeštà (46)
šimtas deviñtas, šimtas devintà (109)
dù šimtaĩ vienuoliktas, dù šimtaĩ vienuolikta (211)
trỹs šimtaĩ dvidešimtas, trỹs šimtaĩ dvidešimtà (320)
aštuonì šimtaĩ dvidešimt trĕčias, ... trĕčią (823)
tūkstantis pirmas, tūkstantis pirmà (1001)
tūkstantis devynì šimtaĩ dvidešimt septiñtas, ... septintà (1927)
dù tūkstančiai septynì šimtaĩ trisdešimt añtras, ... antrà (2732)
trỹs milijónai penkì šimtaĩ trisdešimt tūkstančių septyñiasdešimt ketvĩrtas, ... ketvirtà
 (3,530,074)

3.8 Ordinal numerals are inflected for gender, number and case and, like adjectives, agree with the nouns they modify, e.g.:

Nom. <i>añtras pùslapis</i>	<i>pirmóji knygà</i>
Gen. <i>añtro pùslapio</i>	<i>pirmòsios knỹgos</i>
Dat. <i>antrám pùslapiui</i>	<i>pĩrmajai knỹgai, etc.</i>

In multiword numerals it is only the last word which is inflected and stands in agreement with the noun, e.g.:

<i>dù šimtaĩ dvidešimt añtras pùslapis</i>	'two hundred twenty second page'
<i>šimtas kĕturiasdešimt penktà eilùtĕ</i>	'one hundred forty fifth line'

Beside masculine and feminine forms ordinal numerals also have a neuter form, e.g., *pirma, añtra, trĕčia, ketvĩrta, peñkta... dešimta, vienuolikta, etc.*, which is mostly used in enumerations:

<i>Pirma, reĩkia sudaryĩti dárbo pĩlanà, añtra, pažymĕti teĩminus.</i>	'First, it is necessary to draw up a working schedule, second, to mark the terms.'
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Ordinal numerals possess definite forms the usage of which is similar to that of definite adjectives:

pirmàsis, pirmóji (1)
antràsis, antróji (2)
dešimtàsis, dešimtóji (10)
vienùoliktasis, vienùoliktoji (11)
dvidešimtàsis, dvidešimtóji (20)
šimtàsis, šimtóji (100)
dvidešimt ketvirtàsis, dvidešimt ketvirtóji (24)
šimtas trisdešimt penktàsis, šimtas trisdešimt penktóji (135)
dù tūkstančiai trỹs šimtaĩ dvidešimt pirmàsis (2321)
dù tūkstančiai trỹs šimtaĩ dvidešimt pirmóji (2321)

Definite ordinal numerals are used to designate dates:

*Tai įvyko tūkstantis septyni šimtai
dvidešimt antrašiais metais.* 'It happened in 1722.'

*Prasidėjo tūkstantis devyni šimtai
devyniasdešimt penktieji metai.* 'The year 1995 has started.'

Definite ordinal numerals are also used in designating fractions (see 3.9).

The ordinal numeral *pirmas*, *pirmà* has two degrees of comparison:

Comparative degree: *pirmėsnis*, *pirmėsnė*

Superlative degree: *pirmiáusias*, *pirmiáusia*

The neuter form *pirma* has only the superlative degree *pirmiáusia*.

These forms have developed certain adjectival meanings. Thus *pirmėsnis* means not only 'being ahead of something', but also 'earlier'; *pirmiáusias* is often used in the meaning 'most important.'

Fractions

Trupmeniniai skaitvardžiai

- 3.9** The first component of fractions – the numerator – is usually a feminine cardinal numeral, while the second component – the denominator – is a feminine ordinal numeral in the definite form. When the numerator is a numeral from 1 to 9 (alone or as the last component of a multiword numeral), the denominator agrees with the numerator in gender, number and case, e.g.:

vienà antróji (1/2)

vienà trečioji (1/3)

dvi trėčiosios (2/3)

vienà ketvirtóji (1/4)

dvi ketviřtosios (2/4)

trīs ketviřtosios (3/4)

vienà penktóji (1/5)

dvidešimt vienà šeštóji (21/6)

trīs šimtai penkios šėštosios (305/6)

dù šimtai trisdešimt devynios dešimtosios (239/10)

devynióms dešimtósioms (DAT) (9/10)

dù šimtai penkiàs dešimtásias (ACC) 205/10)

penkiasdešimt devyniomis dešimtosiomis (INSTR) (59/10)

The feminine form of fractions is determined by agreement with the implied noun *daļis* 'part', which is a feminine noun, e.g.:

vienā antróji (daļis) 'one second (part)'
divi trēčiosios (dāļys) 'two third (parts)'

When the numerator is any other numeral except a numeral from 1 to 9, the denominator is always in the genitive plural, e.g.:

dēšimt dvýliktuþu (10/12)
vienúolika šimtūþu (11/100)
trisdešimt penkióliktuþu (30/15)
dú šimtai dvýlika šimtas penktūþu (212/105)

- 3.10** Fractions *vienā antróji* 'one second (= one half)' and *vienā ketvirtóji* 'one fourth' are often replaced by the feminine noun *pūšē* 'half' and the masculine noun *ketviřtis* 'quarter' respectively. Parts of things are most often indicated by a compound numeral, the first component of which is the root of an ordinal numeral, and the second component of which is the noun *daļis* 'part', e.g.:

<i>trēčdaļis</i> (1/3)	<i>septintādaļis</i> (1/7)
<i>ketvirtādaļis</i> (1/4)	<i>aštuntādaļis</i> (1/8)
<i>penktādaļis</i> (1/5)	<i>devintādaļis</i> (1/9)
<i>šeštādaļis</i> (1/6)	<i>dešimtādaļis</i> (1/10)

These compound fractions are sometimes replaced by corresponding phrases, e.g.:

<i>trēčdaļis = trečióji daļis</i>	<i>penktādaļis = penktóji daļis</i>
<i>ketvirtādaļis = ketvirtóji daļis</i>	<i>šeštādaļis = šeštóji daļis, etc.</i>

Numbers including 'a half' can be indicated by compound indeclinable numerals the first component of which is the root of the noun *pūšē* and the second component of which is an ordinal numeral in the genitive, e.g.:

<i>pusaņtro</i> (1 1/2)	<i>pusseptiņto</i> (6 1/2)
<i>pustrēčto</i> (2 1/2)	<i>pusaštuņto</i> (7 1/2)
<i>pusketviřto</i> (3 1/2)	<i>pusdeviņto</i> (8 1/2)
<i>puspeņkto</i> (4 1/2)	<i>pusdešimtto</i> (9 1/2)
<i>pusšēšto</i> (5 1/2)	<i>pusvienúolikto</i> (10 1/2)

These numerals are used with a noun in the genitive singular and agree with the latter in gender, e.g.:

<i>Mótina ātnešē pusaņtro kilogramo dúonos.</i>	'Mother brought one and a half kilos of bread.'
<i>Ķis pakēlē pustrēčios tōnos króvinj.</i>	'He lifted a load of two and a half tons.'

When used with *pluralia tantum*, the compound fraction numeral acquires the form of the genitive plural, e.g.:

mergáitē pustrēčīŭ mētu 'a two and a half year old girl'

Declension and accentuation

CARDINAL NUMERALS

- 3.11 The masculine numeral *vienas* and the feminine numeral *vienā* are declined like adjectives of the (*i*)*a*- and (*i*)*o*- declensions respectively (cf. *báltas*, *baltā* 'white'). These numerals are accented according to accentuation class 3.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>vienas, vienā</i>	<i>vienī, vienos</i>
Gen.	<i>vieno, vienōs</i>	<i>vienŭ, vienŭ</i>
Dat.	<i>vienám, vienai</i>	<i>vieniems, vienóms</i>
Acc.	<i>vienā, vienā</i>	<i>vienus, vienas</i>
Instr.	<i>vienu, viena</i>	<i>vienaīs, vienomīs</i>
Loc.	<i>vienamē, vienojē</i>	<i>vienuosē, vienosē</i>

The numeral *dū*, *dvī* is declined in the following way:

Nom.	<i>dū</i>	<i>dvī</i>
Gen.	<i>dviejŭ</i>	<i>dviejŭ</i>
Dat.	<i>dvīem</i>	<i>dvīem</i>
Acc.	<i>dū</i>	<i>dvī</i>
Instr.	<i>dvīēm</i>	<i>dvīēm</i>
Loc.	<i>dviejuosē</i>	<i>dviejosē</i>

Although in all the cases, except the genitive and the locative, this numeral has retained the forms of the dual number, it has grammatical agreement with nouns in the plural, e.g.:

Dat. Sg.	<i>dvīem akīm̄s</i> 'for two eyes'
	<i>dvīem vaikám̄s</i> 'for two children'
Instr. Pl.	<i>dvīēm akīm̄īs</i> 'with two eyes'
	<i>dvīēm vaikāīs</i> 'with two children'

The numeral *trīs* is declined like an *i*-declension noun (cf. *ausīs*), except the locative, which has the (*i*)*a*-stem (masculine) and (*i*)*o*-stem (feminine) adjectival endings. In all the other cases the masculine and feminine forms coincide:

Nom.	<i>trīs</i>
Gen.	<i>trījū</i>
Dat.	<i>trīms</i>
Acc.	<i>trīs</i>
Instr.	<i>trīmīs</i>
Loc.	<i>trījuosē, trījosē</i>

Numerals from *keturī, kēturios* ‘four’ to *devynī, devýnios* ‘nine’ are declined like the adjectives of (*i*)*a*- (masculine) and (*i*)*o*- (feminine) declensions, except that the masculine form in the accusative ends in *-is*:

Nom.	<i>keturī, kēturios</i>	<i>septynī, septýnios</i>
Gen.	<i>keturiū, keturiū</i>	<i>septyniū, septyniū</i>
Dat.	<i>keturiems, keturióms</i>	<i>septyniems, septynióms</i>
Acc.	<i>kēturis, kēturias</i>	<i>septýnis, septýnias</i>
Instr.	<i>keturiaiš, keturiomīs</i>	<i>septyniaiš, septyniomīs</i>
Loc.	<i>keturiuosē, keturiosē</i>	<i>septyniuosē, septyniosē</i>

Aštuoni, aštuonios are accented like *septynī, septýnios*, whereas *penkī, peñkios* and *šeši, šėšios* are accented according to accentuation class 4 (i.e., like the adjective *žalī, žālios* ‘green’).

Dėšimt/dešimtīs is declined like an *i*-declension feminine noun (cf. *žuvis* ‘fish’, see 1.28). In the nominative and accusative singular this numeral is mostly used in its short inflexionless form. It is accented according to accentuation class 3:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>dėšimt/dešimtīs</i>	<i>dėšimtyš</i>
Gen.	<i>dešimtiėš</i>	<i>dešimčiū</i>
Dat.	<i>dėšimčiai</i>	<i>dešimtims</i>
Acc.	<i>dėšimt/dėšimtį</i>	<i>dėšimtis</i>
Instr.	<i>dešimtimī/dėšimčia</i>	<i>dešimtimīs</i>
Loc.	<i>dešimtyjė</i>	<i>dešimtyšė</i>

The numerals *dvidešimt* (20), *trisdešimt* (30)... *devýniasdešimt* (90) are declined like *dėšimt* in the singular. However, the inflected forms of these numerals are most often replaced by their uninflected short forms, e.g.:

Mūms pritrūko dėšimt/dvidešimt litų. ‘We were short by ten/twenty litas.’
Sū dėšimt/dvidešimt litų neišsiveřsi. ‘You cannot make do with ten/twenty litas.’

The numerals *vienūolika, dvýlika* ... *devyniolika* are declined like *o*-declension feminine nouns (cf. *jūra* ‘sea’ in 1.25), except that in the accusative they have a short ending *-a*, which coincides with that of the nominative. The stress falls on the same syllable in all the cases:

Nom.	<i>vienúolika</i>	<i>dvýlika</i>
Gen.	<i>vienúolikos</i>	<i>dvýlikos</i>
Dat.	<i>vienúolikai</i>	<i>dvýlikai</i>
Acc.	<i>vienúolika</i>	<i>dvýlika</i>
Instr.	<i>vienúolika</i>	<i>dvýlika</i>
Loc.	<i>vienúolikoje</i>	<i>dvýlikoje</i>

The numerals *šimtās*, *milijōnas*, *miljārdas* are declined like (*i*)*a*-declension nouns of paradigm 1 (cf. *mīškas* 'wood' in 1.19). *Tūkstantis* is declined like an (*i*)*a*-declension noun of paradigm 3 (cf. *brōlis* 'brother').

Šimtās and *milijōnas* are accented according to accentuation class 4 and 2 respectively. *Tūkstantis* and *miljārdas* always retain the stress on the same syllable.

In declining multiword cardinal numerals we decline all the components except for the inflexionless ones, e.g.:

Nom.	<i>šimtās dvīdešimt keturi</i> (124)
Gen.	<i>šimto dvīdešimt keturiū</i>
Dat.	<i>šimtui dvīdešimt keturiems</i>
Acc.	<i>šimtā dvīdešimt kēturis</i>
Instr.	<i>šimtū dvīdešimt keturiaīs</i>
Loc.	<i>šimtē dvīdešimt keturiuosē</i>
Nom.	<i>trīs tūkstančiai dū šimtai penki</i> (3,205)
Gen.	<i>trijū tūkstančių dviejū šimtū penkiū</i>
Dat.	<i>trims tūkstančiams dviem šimtāms penkiems</i>
Acc.	<i>tris tūkstančius dū šimtūs penkis</i>
Instr.	<i>trimis tūkstančiais dviem šimtais penkiaīs</i>
Loc.	<i>trijuosē tūkstančiuose dviejuosē šimtuosē penkiuosē</i>

In colloquial speech, however, only the last component is often declined, e.g.:

Gen.	<i>šimtās dvīdešimt keturiū</i>	<i>trīs tūkstančiai dū šimtai penkiū</i>
Dat.	<i>šimtās dvīdešimt keturiems</i>	<i>trīs tūkstančiai dū šimtai penkiems</i>

Cardinal plural numerals

3.12 Numerals of this group are declined like the adjectives of (*i*)*a*- (masculine) and (*i*)*o*- (feminine) declensions (cf. *žālias*, *žalià* 'green').

Nom.	<i>dvejī, dvējos</i> 'two'	<i>ketverī, kētverios</i> 'four'
Gen.	<i>dvejū, dviejū</i>	<i>ketveriū, ketveriū</i>

Dat.	<i>dvejíems, dvejóms</i>	<i>ketveriems, ketverióms</i>
Acc.	<i>dvejùs, dvejàs</i>	<i>kētverius, kētverias</i>
Instr.	<i>dvejaĩs, dvejomìs</i>	<i>ketveriaĩs, ketveriomìs</i>
Loc.	<i>dvejuosè, dvejosè</i>	<i>ketveriuosè, ketveriosè</i>

In the accusative masculine these numerals have the ending *-ius*, which makes them different from the respective cardinal numerals, the accusative form of which ends in *-is*, cf. accusative plural:

trejùs/peñkerius/šēšerius/septýnerius metùs (cardinal plural)

trìs/penkìs/šešìs/septýnìs mēnesius (plain cardinal).

The numerals *dvejì*, *dvējos* and *trejì*, *trējos* are accented according to accentuation class 4, whereas all the other cardinal plural numerals are accented according to accentuation class 3.

Collective cardinal numerals

- 3.13 Collective numerals are declined like (*i*)*a*-declension masculine nouns and possess a stable accent which falls on the same syllable in all the case forms:

Nom.	<i>dvējetas</i>	<i>devýnetas</i>
Gen.	<i>dvējeto</i>	<i>devýneto</i>
Dat.	<i>dvējetui</i>	<i>devýnetui</i> , etc.

ORDINAL NUMERALS

- 3.14 Ordinal numerals are declined like the adjectives of (*i*)*a*- (masculine) and (*i*)*o*- (feminine) declension:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular			
Nom.	<i>pìrmas</i> ‘first’	<i>trēčias</i> ‘third’	<i>pìrmà</i>	<i>trečìà</i>
Gen.	<i>pìrmo</i>	<i>trēčio</i>	<i>pìrmōs</i>	<i>trečìōs</i>
Dat.	<i>pìrmám</i>	<i>trēčiam</i>	<i>pìrmai</i>	<i>trēčiai</i>
Acc.	<i>pìrmaq</i>	<i>trēčiaq</i>	<i>pìrmaq</i>	<i>trēčiaq</i>
Instr.	<i>pìrmu</i>	<i>trēčiù</i>	<i>pìrma</i>	<i>trēčià</i>
Loc.	<i>pìrmamè</i>	<i>trēčiamè</i>	<i>pìrmojè</i>	<i>trēčiojè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>pirmì</i>	<i>treṭì</i>	<i>pìrmos</i>	<i>trēčios</i>
Gen.	<i>pirmū</i>	<i>trečiū</i>	<i>pirmū</i>	<i>trečiū</i>
Dat.	<i>pirmiems</i>	<i>treṭiems</i>	<i>pirmóms</i>	<i>trečióms</i>
Acc.	<i>pirmus</i>	<i>trečiūs</i>	<i>pirmas</i>	<i>trečias</i>
Instr.	<i>pirmais</i>	<i>trečiais</i>	<i>pirmomis</i>	<i>trečiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>pirmuosè</i>	<i>trečiuosè</i>	<i>pirmosè</i>	<i>trečiosè</i>

The following ordinal numerals possess a stable accent (i.e., an accent which always falls on the same syllable):

(a) *vienúoliktas, vienúolikta... devynióliktas, devyniólikta;*

(b) *tūkstantas, tūkstanta;*

(c) compound numerals including the second component *-tūkstantas, -a* (e.g.: *dutūkstantas, dutūkstanta*).

Pirmas, pirmà is accented according to accentuation class 3, whereas all the other ordinal numerals are accented according to accentuation class 4.

All the compound ordinal numerals including the component *-šimtas, -šimtà*, are accented like the numeral *šimtas, šimtà*, e.g. *dušimtas, dušimtà, keturiašimtas, keturiašimtà*.

Definite ordinal numerals are declined and accented exactly like definite adjectives (see 2.34, 41), e.g.:

Nom.	<i>pirmàsis, pirmóji</i>
Gen.	<i>pirmojo, pirmósios</i>
Dat.	<i>pirmájam, pirmajai, etc.</i>

If the simple ordinal numeral has a fixed accent, the definite form has the same fixed accent, e.g.:

vienúoliktas – vienúoliktasis, vienúoliktóji
tūkstantas – tūkstantasis, tūkstantóji

When declining multiword ordinal numerals, we decline only the last numeral, e.g.:

Nom.	<i>trīs šimtaī septýniasdešimt ketviřtas/ketvirtà</i>
Gen.	<i>trīs šimtaī septýniasdešimt ketviřto/ketvirtōs</i>
Dat.	<i>trīs šimtaī septýniasdešimt ketvirtám/ketviřtai</i>
Acc.	<i>trīs šimtaī septýniasdešimt ketviřtą/ketviřtą, etc.</i>

FRACTIONS

- 3.15 When the numerator of the fraction is a numeral from 1 to 9 (alone, or as the last component of a multiword numeral), both the numerator and the denominator are declined and are in grammatical agreement with each other. The numerator is declined like the respective cardinal numeral, while the denominator is declined like the respective ordinal numeral, e.g.:

Nom.	<i>vienà antróji</i> (1/2)	<i>peñkios šimtósios</i> (5/100)
Gen.	<i>vienōs antrōsios</i>	<i>penkiū šimtūjū</i>
Dat.	<i>vienai antrajai</i>	<i>penkioms šimtosioms</i>
Acc.	<i>vieną antrąją</i>	<i>penkiàs šimtąsias</i>
Instr.	<i>viena antrąja</i>	<i>penkiomis šimtosiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>vienoje antrajoje</i>	<i>penkiosè šimtosiøse</i>

Cf. also: *dvidešimt keturiū šimtūjū* (GEN, 24/100)

dū šimtaī trisdešimt keturióms tūkstantosioms (DAT, 234/1000).

When the numerator of the fraction is expressed by any other numeral except a numeral from 1 to 9, the denominator always retains the form of the genitive case, e.g.:

Nom.	<i>trylika šimtūjū</i> (13/100)
Gen.	<i>trylikos šimtūjū</i>
Dat.	<i>trylikai šimtūjū</i>
Acc.	<i>trylika šimtūjū</i>
Instr.	<i>trylika šimtūjū</i>
Loc.	<i>trylikoje šimtūjū</i>

Cf. also: Nom. *dū šimtaī penkiólíka tūkstantųjū* (215/1000)

Gen. *dviejū šimtū penkiólikos tūkstantųjū*, etc.

Components of fractions are accented like the respective cardinal and ordinal numerals.

Compound fractions containing the component *-dalis* are declined like nouns of (i)a- declension and always have a fixed accent, e.g.:

Nom.	<i>ketvirtádalís</i> (quarter)
Gen.	<i>ketvirtádalío</i>
Dat.	<i>ketvirtádaliui</i> , etc.

Compound fractions containing the component *pus-* are accented like the respective ordinal numeral *añtras*, *antrà* in the genitive: *pusañtro*, *pusantrōs*, *pusantrū*.

4 PRONOUN

Īvardis

- 4.1** Pronouns constitute a closed class of words which refer to things or qualities without naming them. Pronouns possess the categories of gender, number and case having specific properties.

From the syntactical point of view pronouns fall into three major classes:

(1) nominal pronouns, which fill nominal syntactic functions, e.g.:

āš 'I (NOM. SG)', *mēs* 'we (NOM. PL)', *tū* 'you (NOM. SG)', *jūs* 'you (NOM. PL)', *jis* 'he', *jī* 'she', *támsta* 'you', *savēš* 'oneself', *kàs* 'what, who', *kažkàs* 'something, somebody', *niēkas* 'nothing, nobody', *ābejetas* 'both', *kēletas* 'how many, some (between 3 and 9)', *keliólīka* 'how many, some (between 11 and 19)', *šīs tās* 'something';

(2) adjectival pronouns, which have adjectival syntactic functions, e.g.:

tōks, tokià 'of this kind', *šīōks, šīokià* 'of this kind', *mānas, manà, manàsis, manóji, maniškis, maniškē* 'my, mine', *abejī, ābejos* 'both', *pàts tās, patī tà* 'just the kind', *tam tikras, tam tikrā* 'certain';

(3) pronouns that can have both nominal and adjectival functions, e.g.:

tās, tà 'this, that', *šīs, šī* 'this', *kurīs, kurī, katrās, katrā* 'which, whichever', *nē viēnas, nē vienà* 'not a single one, nobody', *kitas, kità* 'other, some' (see table 5).

Nominal pronouns can replace nouns and noun groups. Adjectival pronouns can replace adjectives. However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the nominal syntactic function of pronouns and their ability to replace nouns, for

(a) there are nominal pronouns, e.g. *āš* 'I', *tū* 'you', which cannot replace any noun, although they fill the syntactical functions of a noun;

(b) there are nominal forms of pronouns, e.g. *taī* 'this, that', which usually replace sentences and clauses.

Syntactically, nominal pronouns differ from nouns in that they do not occur with premodification (**didelis jis* 'big he'); adjectival pronouns differ from adjectives in that they do not occur with adverbs (**labai toks* 'very such').

Table 5. Syntactic subclasses of pronouns

Nominal	Adjectival	Nominal-Adjectival
<p><i>ābejetas</i> 'both', <i>āš</i> 'I', <i>mēs</i> 'we', <i>bet kās</i> 'whoever, anyone', <i>daug kās</i> 'quite a few', <i>jis</i> 'he', <i>jī</i> 'she', <i>kai kās</i> 'someone, some', <i>kās</i> 'what, who, someone, something', <i>kās ne kās</i> 'a few', <i>kas nōrs</i> 'someone, something', <i>kaži(n) kās</i> 'someone, somebody, something', <i>kažkās</i> 'someone, somebody, something', <i>kēletas</i> 'how many, a few, some (implying a number between 3 and 9)', <i>keliōlika</i> 'how many, some (between 11 and 19)', <i>niēkas</i> 'nobody, nothing', <i>savēs</i> 'oneself', <i>šis tās</i> 'something', <i>tāms-ta</i> 'you (polite form)', <i>tū, jūs</i> 'you'</p>	<p><i>abeji</i>, -os 'both', <i>anōks</i>, -ia 'of that kind', <i>bet kōks</i>, -iā 'of any kind', <i>jōks</i>, -iā 'no one, none, of no kind', <i>jūsāsis</i>, -ōji, <i>jūsīškis</i>, -ē 'your', <i>kai kōks</i>, -iā 'of one kind or another', <i>kaži(n) kōks</i>, -iā, <i>kažkōks</i>, -iā 'of some kind', <i>kitōks</i>, -ia 'of another kind', <i>kōks</i>, -iā 'what kind of, some kind of', <i>koks</i>, -ia <i>nōrs</i> 'some kind of', <i>mānas</i>, -ā, <i>manāsis</i>, -ōji, <i>maniškis</i>, -ē 'my', <i>mūsāsis</i>, -ōji, <i>mūsiškis</i>, -ē 'our', <i>nē kōks</i>, -iā 'of no kind, none, no one', <i>pāts tās</i>, <i>paši tā</i> 'just the kind', <i>sāvas</i>, -ā, <i>savāsis</i>, -ōji, <i>saviškis</i>, -ē 'one's own', <i>šiōks</i>, -iā 'of this kind', <i>šiōks tōks</i>, <i>šiokiā tokiā</i> 'something of', <i>šitōks</i>, -ia 'of this kind', <i>tam tikras</i>, -ā 'certain', <i>tāvas</i>, -ā, <i>tavāsis</i>, -ōji, <i>taviškis</i>, -ē 'your', <i>tōks</i>, -iā 'of this kind', <i>viēnōks</i>, -ia 'of one kind', <i>visōks</i>, -ia 'of all kinds'</p>	<p><i>abū</i>, <i>abi</i>, <i>abūdu</i>, <i>abīdvi</i> 'both', <i>aliāi viēnas</i>, -ā 'absolutely all', <i>anās</i>, -ā 'that', <i>bet katrās</i> -ā, <i>bet kuris</i>, -i 'any', <i>kai katrās</i>, -ā, <i>kai kuris</i>, -i 'some', <i>katrās</i>, -ā 'which, whichever, whoever (of two)', <i>katras</i>, -a <i>nōrs</i> 'some, anyone', <i>kaži(n) katrās</i>, -ā, <i>kažkatrās</i>, -ā 'whichever (unknown)', <i>kaži(n) kuris</i>, -i, <i>kažkuris</i>, -i 'whichever (unknown)', <i>keleri</i>, -ios, <i>keli</i>, -ios 'how many, some', <i>keliītas</i>, -ā 'which, whichever in a series, some', <i>kiekviēnas</i>, -ā 'every', <i>kitas</i>, -ā 'other, some', <i>kuris</i>, -i 'which, whichever, whoever', <i>kuris ne kuris</i>, <i>kuri ne kuri</i> 'very few', <i>kuris</i>, -i <i>nōrs</i> 'some, anyone', <i>nē viēnas</i>, -ā 'not a single one, nobody', <i>pāts</i>, -i 'oneself', <i>šis</i>, <i>ši</i>, <i>šitas</i>, <i>šitā</i> 'this', <i>tās</i>, <i>tā</i> 'this, that', <i>tas pāts</i>, <i>ta paši</i> 'the same', <i>tālas</i>, -ā 'quite a few', <i>viēnas</i>, -ā 'one, a certain (no matter which one)', <i>viēnas kitas</i>, <i>viēnā kitā</i> 'a few', <i>visas</i>, -ā, <i>visi</i>, -os 'all, the whole'</p>

Morphological categories of pronouns

GENDER

Giminē

- 4.2 All adjectival pronouns and the nominal pronoun *jis*, *jī* 'he, she' are inflected for masculine and feminine gender. In a sentence they always agree with the respective noun.

The adjectival pronouns agree in gender, number and case with the head noun they modify in a sentence as syntactic attributes:

tóks žmogūs 'such a man'

tókió žmogaūs 'of such a man'

tókiē žmónės 'such people'

tokià móteris 'such a woman'

tokiōs motėřs 'of such a woman'

tókios móterys 'such women'

The nominal pronoun *jis, ji* agree in gender and number (but not necessarily in case) with the antecedent noun:

Tėvo nebūvo namiē. Jis būvo darbē.

Mótinós nebūvo namiē. Ji būvo darbē.

'Father was not at home. He was at work.'

'Mother was not at home. She was at work.'

Pronouns which can fill both adjectival and nominal functions are also inflected for masculine and feminine gender: *šitas, šita/šitā* 'this', *tās, tā* 'this, that', *anàs, anā* 'that'. When they are used as adjectives, they agree with their head noun in gender, number and case:

tàs vỹras 'that man'

tō vỹro 'of that man'

tiē vỹrai 'those men'

tà móteris 'that woman'

tōs móters 'of that woman'

tōs móterys 'those women'

When they are used as nouns, they agree in gender and number (but not necessarily in case) with the antecedent noun:

Ji žiūri į tėvą. Tàs niēko nesāko.

Àš jō seserim̃ pasitikiu.

Ta taĩp nepadarỹs.

'She looks at her father. He does not say anything.'

'I trust his sister. She won't

do it.'

There are several forms of nominal pronouns which are classed as neuters: *taĩ* 'it, this', *šita(i)* 'this', *viena* 'one', *kita* 'another', *vìsa, vìa taĩ* 'everything'.

They are classed as neuters because of their formal, syntactic and semantic properties.

Syntactic properties:

(1) these forms agree with neuter adjectives:

Taĩ gražù. Vìa kìa nesvarbù.

'That's beautiful. Everything else is not important.'

(2) Their antecedent is usually a phrase, a sentence, an entire utterance, or even a longer piece of the text, but not a concrete noun:

Jis kalbėjo sù manim̃ kaĩp sù suāugusiu. Taĩ mán patiko.

'He spoke with me as with a grown-up person. I liked it.'

*Jám dāvē pasiriņkti vīena
iš dviejū: miŗti arbā
paūostyti miltēliu.* 'He was given two choices – to
die or to sniff the powder.'

Semantically these pronouns can be characterized as words of generalized reference – their referents are usually situations or groups of non-specified things or phenomena in general.

Visa tāġ geriaū negū tū galvōji. 'Everything is better than you think.'
Vīena reġkia galvōti, ķita kalbēti. 'You have to think one way and
speak another.'

Having a generalized meaning these pronouns are not inflected either for number or case. They are used in the syntactic position of nominative or accusative. In the position of other cases they are replaced by the respective masculine forms, c.f.:

Ķis tāġ mātē. 'He saw it (NOM. ACC. NEUTR).'
Ķis tō nemātē. 'He didn't see it (GEN. SG. MASC).'
(see 4.21).

- 4.3** The pronoun *vīskas* is declined like a masculine pronoun, but in all other respects it functions like a neuter pronoun: it has no plural, in a sentence it agrees with neuter adjectives and its meaning is always that of general reference.

Mān ģiā vīskas graŗū. 'To me everything is beautiful here.'

The nominal pronoun *kās* 'what, who' and other compound and composite pronouns formed with *kās* (*kaŗkās* 'somebody, something', *niŗkas* 'nobody, nothing', *kai kās* 'something, somebody', *bet kās* 'anything, anybody', *kas nōrs* 'somebody, something') should be addressed separately. These pronouns are declined like masculine pronouns but they are used both in the meaning of general and concrete reference (even in reference to persons). Syntactically, they may agree with masculine, feminine or neuter adjectives, depending on their reference.

Kās graŗūs? Who/what is handsome (MASC)?
Kās graŗī? Who/what is handsome (FEM)?
Kās graŗū? What is beautiful?

- 4.4** The personal pronouns *aŗ* 'I', *mēs* 'we', *tū* 'you', *jūs* 'you', *tāmsta* 'you' and the reflexive *savēŗs* 'oneself' are not inflected for gender, but in a sentence they can be used either with masculine or feminine adjectives depending on whether they refer to male or female persons.

aŗ, tū, tāmsta liņķsmas/linksmā 'I, you am/are merry'

mēs, jūs, tāmstos linksmū/liņķsmos 'we, you are merry'
āš nemataū savēš patiēs/pačiōs 'I don't see myself'

The other personal pronouns are inflected for gender:

Masc.	Fem.	
<i>mūdu</i>	<i>mūdvi</i>	'we two'
<i>jūdu</i>	<i>jūdvi</i>	'you two'
<i>jis</i>	<i>ji</i>	'he, she'
<i>jiē</i>	<i>jōs</i>	'they'
<i>juōdu</i>	<i>jiēdvi</i>	'they two'

The nominal pronouns *ābejetas* 'both', *kēletas*, *keliólīka* 'how many, some', *kēlias-dešimt* 'some (between 30 and 90)' are not inflected for gender. Syntactically, they require complementation, but not agreement in gender with other words, e.g. *kēletas vjūru* 'some men (GEN. PL)', *kēletas mōteru* 'some women (GEN. PL)'.

NUMBER

Skaičius

- 4.5 The majority of nominal and adjectival pronouns have two numbers – the singular and the plural:

<i>tās, tā</i>	–	<i>tiē, tōs</i>	'that, those'
<i>kuris, kuri</i>	–	<i>kuriē, kuriōs</i>	'which'
<i>kitas, kitā</i>	–	<i>kiti, kitos</i>	'another, others'

There are, however, some pronouns which have a third number, the dual. They include:

personal pronouns:

mūdu, mūdvi 'we two'
jūdu, jūdvi 'you two'
juōdu (jiēdu), jiēdvi 'they two'

demonstrative pronouns (used much more rarely):

tuōdu (tiēdu), tiēdvi 'those two'
šiuōdu, šiēdvi 'these two'
anuōdu, aniēdvi 'those two'
šituodu, šitiedvi 'these two'

interrogative pronouns, which are also rarely used:

katruōdu, katriēdvi 'which two'
kuriuōdu, kuriēdvi 'which two'

The pronouns *abù* (*abùdu*), *abi* (*abidvi*) 'both' possess only the dual meaning which can be defined as 'the one as well as the other'.

As the dual number of other classes of words has disappeared almost entirely, dual pronominal forms are used with the plural forms of nouns, adjectives and verbs.

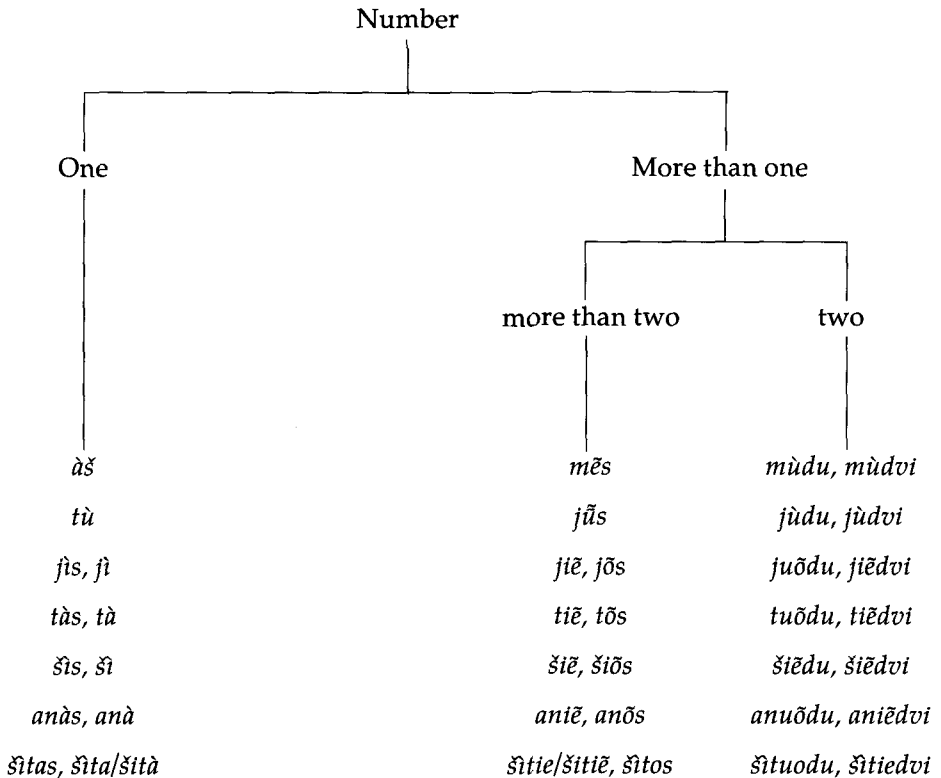
Mùdu verčiaũ paklausykim(e).

'We two had better listen.'

*Koncertù abù juõdu bũvo
labaĩ patėnkinti.*

'Both of them were very much
pleased with the concert.'

Distribution and oppositions of pronominal number forms



However, in present-day Lithuanian the use of dual pronominal forms is also very much on the decline and they are usually replaced by plural forms. Thus, the semantic opposition 'two referents : more than two referents' is disappearing, and the grammatical category of number rests now mainly on the binary opposition 'one : more than one'.

- 4.6 Although the pronouns *savęs* 'oneself', *kàs* 'what, who', *niėkas* 'nothing, nobody', *kaėkàs* 'somebody, something', *kas nòrs* 'somebody, something' have only singular forms, in a sentence they can be used both with the singular and plural forms of other words:

<i>Jis savęs patiės nekeñčia.</i>	'He hates himself.'
<i>Jiė savęs paėiũ nekeñčia.</i>	'They hate themselves.'
<i>Kàs tũ esi?</i>	'Who are you (NOM. SG)?'
<i>Kàs jũs ėsate?</i>	'Who are you (NOM. PL)?'
<i>Kàs jis per vienas?</i>	'Who is he after all?'
<i>Kàs jiė per vieni?</i>	'Who are they after all?'

The plural forms of the pronouns *kiekvienas*, -à 'each, every', *aliái vienas*, -à 'absolutely all', *nė vienas*, -à 'not a single one' are used only with invariable plural nouns (*pluralia tantum*):

<i>kiekvienos dũrys</i>	'every door'
<i>kiekvieni mėtai</i>	'every year'
<i>nė vienos žirkłės</i>	'not a single pair of scissors'
<i>nė vienĩ mėtai</i>	'not a single year'

There are some other pronouns which have no plural, e.g.:

nominal pronouns referring to a group: *ābejetas* 'both', *kėletas* 'a few, some (between 3 and 9)', *keliólika* 'some (between 11 and 19)'; the indefinite pronoun *šis tās* 'something (insignificant)'.

The following pronominal quantifiers have no singular:

<i>keli, kėlios</i>	'some, how many'
<i>keleri, kėlerios</i>	'some'
<i>abeji, ābejos</i>	'both'

CASE

Liñksnis

- 4.7 Pronouns are declined similarly to nouns or adjectives.

Pronouns have no vocative case because they are not used to address people.

Pronouns *àš, tũ, savęs, kàs* (and its derivatives, e.g. *kaėkàs, niėkas*, etc.) have two genitive case forms which differ in their meaning: the possessive genitive *màno, tào, sào, kienō, kaėkienō, niėkieno* and the non-possessive genitive *manėš, tavėš, savėš, kō, kaėkō, niėko* (see 4.15).

Semantic subclasses of pronouns

- 4.8 According to the type of reference to things or properties pronouns fall into four major semantic groups:
- (1) personal,
 - (2) demonstrative,
 - (3) interrogative and relative,
 - (4) indefinite.

Some pronouns have more than one meaning and therefore belong to more than one semantic group (see Table 6).

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

- 4.9 **Personal proper pronouns** refer to persons according to their involvement in the speech act.

The core of this group of pronouns includes the pronouns *àš* 'I', *tù* 'you (2. SG)', *jūs* 'you (2. PL)', *mēs* 'we', *jis* 'he', *jì* 'she'.

The 1st person pronoun *àš* refers to the speaker/writer of the message. The reference of the plural *mēs* includes the speaker/writer of the message together with some other person or persons.

The 2nd person pronouns *tù*, *támsta* (the polite 'you') refers to the addressee of the message. The reference of the plural *jūs*, *támstos* includes the addressee(s), but excludes the speaker(s)/writer(s). The plural *jūs* is also used as the polite form in reference to a single addressee (see 4.13).

The reference of the 3rd person pronouns *jis* (plural *jiē*), *jì* (plural *jōs*) excludes both the speaker(s) and the addressee(s).

Thus, the 1st and 2nd person pronouns refer to the participants of the speech act, whereas the 3rd person pronouns refer to persons or things not directly involved in the speech act.

Distinctions of person are also typical of pronouns having a possessive meaning (4.15) and the reflexive *savēs*.

The pronoun *tù* can function generically with reference to people in general. In such cases it is often used together with the noun *žmogūs* 'man':

Table 6. Semantic subclasses of pronouns

Personal	Proper	<i>ās</i> 'I', <i>mēs</i> 'we', <i>tū, jūs</i> 'you', <i>jis</i> 'he', <i>jī</i> 'she', <i>tāmsta</i> 'you', <i>pāts, -ī</i> 'you'	
	Reflexive	<i>savēš</i> 'oneself'	
	Possessive	<i>manāsis, -ōji</i> 'my', <i>tavāsis, -ōji</i> 'your', <i>savāsis, -ōji</i> 'one's own', <i>mūsāsis, -ōji</i> 'our', <i>jūsāsis, -ōji</i> 'your'; <i>mānas, -ā</i> 'my', <i>tāvas, -ā</i> 'your', <i>sāvas, -ā</i> 'one's own'; <i>manīškis, -ē</i> 'my', <i>taviškis, -ē</i> 'your', <i>saviškis, -ē</i> 'one's own', <i>mūsiškis, -ē</i> 'our', <i>jūsiškis, -ē</i> 'your'	
	Demonstrative	<i>tās, tā</i> 'this, that', <i>šīs, šī, šitas, šitā</i> 'this', <i>anās, -ā</i> 'that'; <i>tōks, -iā</i> 'of this kind', <i>šīōks, -iā, šītōks, -iā</i> 'of this kind', <i>anōks, -iā</i> 'of that kind'; <i>tas pāts, tā patī</i> 'the same', <i>pāts tās, patī tā</i> 'just the kind, just this'	
	Interrogative-Relative	<i>kās</i> 'who, what', <i>kōks, -iā</i> 'what kind of', <i>kuris, -ī, katrās, -ā</i> 'which', <i>kelī, -ios, kelerī, -ios</i> 'how many', <i>kelīntas, -ā</i> 'which', <i>kelīōlika</i> 'how many', <i>kēletas</i> 'how many'	
Indefinite	Proper	<i>kās</i> 'someone, something', <i>kōks, -iā</i> 'some kind of', <i>kuris, -ī, katrās, -ā</i> 'whichever, whoever', <i>kelī, -ios, kelerī, -ios</i> 'a few, some', <i>kelīntas, -ā</i> 'some', <i>kēletas</i> 'a few, some (between 3 and 9)', <i>kelīōlika</i> 'some (between 11 and 19)'; <i>kažkās, kaži(n)</i> <i>kās</i> 'someone, somebody, something', <i>kažkōks, -iā, kaži(n)</i> <i>kōks, -iā</i> 'of some kind', <i>kažkuris, -ī, kaži(n)</i> <i>kuris, -ī, kažkatrās, -ā, kaži(n)</i> <i>katrās, -ā</i> 'which ewer (unknown)', <i>kas nōrs</i> 'someone, something', <i>kōks, -iā nōrs</i> 'some kind of', <i>kuris, -ī nōrs, katras, -ā nōrs</i> 'some, anyone', <i>bet kās</i> 'anyone, anything', <i>bet kōks, -iā</i> 'of any kind', <i>bet kuris, -ī, bet katrās, -ā</i> 'any', <i>kai kās</i> 'someone, some', <i>kai kōks, -iā</i> 'of one kind or another', <i>kai kuris, -ī, kai katrās, -ā</i> 'some', <i>kās ne kās</i> 'a few, not many', <i>kuris ne kuris, kurī ne kurī</i> 'very few', <i>vīenas, -ā</i> 'one, no matter which one', <i>vīenas kitas, vienā kitā</i> 'a few', <i>kitas, -ā</i> 'some', <i>tōks, -iā</i> 'of some kind', <i>šīs tās</i> 'something insignificant', <i>šīōks tōks, šīokiā tokiā</i> 'something of'	
	Differentiating	<i>vīenas, -ā</i> 'one', <i>kitas, -ā</i> 'another', <i>vienōks, -iā</i> 'of one kind', <i>kitōks, -iā</i> 'of another kind', <i>tam tikras, -ā</i> 'certain'	
	Generalizing	Positive	<i>vīsas, -ā</i> 'the whole', <i>visī, -os</i> 'all', <i>visōks, -iā</i> 'of all kinds', <i>ābejetas, abū (abūdu), abī (abīdvi), abeji, -os</i> 'both', <i>kiekvīenas, -ā</i> 'every', <i>kās</i> 'every', <i>aliātī vīenas, -ā</i> 'absolutely all', <i>tūlas, -ā</i> 'quite a few', <i>daug kās</i> 'quite a few'
		Negative	<i>nižkas</i> 'nobody, nothing, no one', <i>nē vīenas, -ā</i> 'not a single one', <i>jōks, -iā, nē kōks, -iā</i> 'no one, none, of no kind'
	Emphatic	<i>pāts, -ī</i> 'oneself, the very, just one'	

*Keliáuk dabař tũ žmogũs pẽščias
tókį kėlią.*

'Imagine covering (lit. 'Cover
you man') now this distance on foot.'

Personal pronouns *àš* (*mẽs*), *tũ* (*jũs*) may refer to things or animals when the latter are personified for stylistic purposes.

*Tũ, paukštėli miels, ne põniškai
prisiválgai.*

'You, my dear birdie, do
not have lordly meals.'

*Piliė! Tũ tiek ámžiuų pralėidai
garsiaĩ!*

'Oh castle! You have had
so many glorious centuries!'

In the sentence personal pronouns agree with the finite verb in person and number. In this way the meaning of person and number (i.e. reference to person(s)) may be expressed twice: by the personal pronoun and by the ending of the finite verb.

(*Àš*) *einũ namõ.*

'I am going home.'

(*Tũ*) *einĩ namõ.*

'You are going home.'

(*Jis*) *eĩna namõ.*

'He is going home.'

(*Mẽs*) *eĩname namõ.*

'We are going home.'

(*Jũs*) *eĩnate namõ.*

'You are going home.'

However, the 1st person pronouns in such sentences have an optional character; they are needed mainly for contrast of person or for emphasis.

The classification of the Lithuanian pronouns *jis*, *jĩ*, *jiė*, *jõs* as personal pronouns is, to a certain extent, relative because they are used to refer not only to persons, but also to inanimate objects and animals. They are functionally similar to demonstrative pronouns in that they are used in reference to the antecedent noun(s), e.g.:

*Pėtras nẽšė baĩną į klėtį, bet
rãdo jã užrakintą.*

'Petras took the saddle to
the barn, but found it locked.'

It may also be noted that etymologically the pronoun *jis*, *jĩ* is also related to demonstrative pronouns.

- 4.10** The semantic relation between the singular *àš* and the plural *mẽs* is different from that which exists between a noun in the singular and in the plural in that *mẽs* does not mean 'two or more *àš*' as is the case with nouns.

The 1st person plural pronoun *mẽs* may be used inclusively or exclusively depending on whether it includes reference to the addressee(s) or not.

The exclusive *mẽs* may refer to:

- (1) the speakers / writers of the message:

Mēs, žemiaū pastrāšiusieji 'We, the undersigned'

(2) the speaker(s)/writer(s) + a third party:

*Nórs ir vaikáms, ir mán konceřtas
labaĩ patĩko, mēs turėjome išėĩti
jám nepasibaĩgus.* 'Although the children and I
enjoyed the concert very
much, we had to leave before it ended.'

The inclusive *mēs* may refer to:

(1) the speaker(s)/writer(s) + the addressee(s):

Mēs, Jonùk, negálim pĩktis. 'We can't quarrel, Jonukas, (Johny).'

(2) the speaker(s)/writer(s) + the addressee(s) + a third party:

*Tavė, Onùtė ir manė kviėćia
dirėktorius. Mēs tũrime tuđj
pàt eĩti.* 'The director wants to see you,
Onutė and me. We have to go
immediately.'

The reference of the pronoun *mēs* is very often explicated by the preposition *sũ* and a noun (or pronoun) in the Instrumental case.

Mēs su taviĩ šĩto nesupràsim. 'You and me (lit. 'We with you') won't understand it.'

Mēs su tėvu šĩto nesupràsim. 'Father and I (lit. 'Father with me') won't understand it.'

In formal (especially scientific) writing the use of *mēs* 'we' (the so called editorial we) is sometimes prompted by a desire to avoid I, which may be felt to be somewhat egotistical, e.g.:

*Sĩekinio viėtoje rāštuose paprastai,
kaip jaũ mũsũ pažymėta,
beĩdratĩ dabař sākome.* 'In writing, instead of a supine,
now we usually use, as we have
already noted, the infinitive.'

4.11 The plural *jũs* 'you' refers to more than one addressee or the addressee and a third party:

*Laurĩnai, brolaũ! Bróliene! Jũs
mĩliu ir ĩ vestuvės prašaũ.* 'Laurynas, my brother! My
sister-in-law! I love you
and ask you to come to my wedding.'

*Tũ ir Jõnas liksite namiė.
Jũs niėkur neĩsite.* 'You and Jonas will stay at
home. You won't go anywhere.'

The reference of the pronoun *jũs* is sometimes explicated by adding the prepositional phrase with the preposition *sũ*:

Jūs su Jõnu *niẽkur neĩsite.*

'You and Jonas (John) (lit. 'You with John') won't go anywhere.'

- 4.12 Personal pronouns also include dual pronouns which refer to two persons (see 4.5), e.g.:

Pavẽlãvom mũdu.

'We two are late.'

Jũdu gerì draugaĩ.

'You two are good friends.'

Jiẽdvi abì dirba daržẽ.

'They both are working in the garden.'

In present-day Lithuanian, however, the distinction between reference to two and more than two persons is not always maintained so that more often than not plural pronouns are used instead of dual forms.

- 4.13 Polite reference to the addressee is expressed by the pronouns *jũs, tãmsta, pãts, patì*. *Jũs* is used in polite reference both to one and more than one addressee. *Tãmsta, pãts, patì* have plural forms, therefore the singular is used in reference to one addressee and the plural is used in reference to more than one addressee.

When *jũs* is used in polite reference to one addressee, it agrees with the plural form of the finite verb, but with the singular form of the appositive noun and of the nominal or adjectival predicative.

*Kãip jũs, tóks riĩntas žmogùs,
niekaĩs užsìimate?*

'How can you, such a serious man, concern yourself with nonsense?'

Aĩ jũs dabaĩ laimingas, senẽli?

'Are you happy now, grandad?'

As a means of polite reference, *tãmsta* is nowadays used much more rarely than *jũs*, mostly by the older generation. In reference to one addressee, it is used in the singular and usually agrees with the singular form of the finite verb, appositive and predicative noun or adjective:

Tãmsta baugtñi manè, pónia Liucija.

'You scare me, Mrs.

*Tãmsta nelaimingèsnè negù
að buvaũ mãņes.*

Liucija. You are unhappier than I thought.'

In reference to more than one addressee it is used in the plural in agreement with the plural form of the finite verb, appositive and predicative noun or adjective:

Bũkite tãmstos tokiẽ gerì, ateĩkite.

'Please be so good and come.'

Pãts, patì are not as formal as *jũs* or *tãmsta*. They are usually used speaking to one's equals when *tũ* is felt to be too rude, while *jũs* and *tãmsta* are too cold or respectful. The use and grammatical concord of the singular *pãts, patì* and the plural *pãtys, pãcios* is like that of *tãmsta (tãmstos)*:

<i>Kaīp pàts laikāts?</i>	'How's life with you?'
<i>Ar pàts ne īš čīà kīlēs?</i>	'You come from these places, don't you?'
<i>Ar pātys niēko nežinójote?</i>	'Didn't you know anything?'

4.14 The reflexive *savēs* indicates the relation of all the three persons – the speaker/writer, the addressee and a third party – to himself/herself. As this pronoun has no nominative case and no plural, it has only five case forms:

Gen.	<i>savēs</i>
Dat.	<i>sáu</i>
Acc.	<i>savè</i>
Instr.	<i>savimì</i>
Loc.	<i>savyjè</i>

These forms are used both in the singular and plural meaning.

<i>Rētkarčīais àš ir sáu</i> <i>kai kã perkù.</i>	'Sometimes I buy something for myself as well.'
<i>Rētkarčīais jiē ir sáu</i> <i>kai kã pēřka.</i>	'Sometimes they buy something for themselves (DAT. SG) as well.'
<i>Jis nekeñčia savēs.</i>	'He hates himself (GEN. SG).'
<i>Jiē abūdu susītarè</i> <i>tarp savēs.</i>	'They both agreed between themselves (GEN. SG).'

4.15 Possessive forms of pronouns are classified as personal pronouns. They indicate that an object belongs to some person(s). This possessive meaning is usually expressed by the genitive form of pronouns. Personal pronouns *àš*, *tù*, and the reflexive pronoun have separate possessive genitive singular forms *màno*, *tàvo*, *sàvo* which differ from the genitive singular *manēs*, *tavēs*, *savēs* used in other functions, cf.:

<i>Pēřskaityk màno láiřka.</i>	'Read my (POSS. GEN. SG) letter.'
<i>Draugaī manēs láukè.</i>	'The friends waited for me (GEN. SG).'
<i>Tàvo tèvū neradaū namuosè.</i>	'I didn't find your (POSS. GEN. SG) parents at home.'
<i>Tavēs neradaū namuosè.</i>	'I didn't find you (GEN. SG) at home.'
<i>Pasakyk sàvo tèvámš.</i>	'Tell it to your (POSS. GEN. SG) parents.'
<i>Jis nežiūri savēs.</i>	'He doesn't care for himself (GEN. SG).'

The possessive genitive *sàvo* refers to the subject of sentence regardless of its person and number, e.g.:

<i>Àš nètikiu sàvo ausimìš.</i>	'I don't believe my ears.'
<i>Tù nètiki sàvo ausimìš.</i>	'You don't believe your ears.'

<i>Jis/Ji nètiki sàvo ausimìs.</i>	'He/She doesn't believe his/her ears.'
<i>Mēs nètikime sàvo ausimìs.</i>	'We don't believe our ears.'
<i>Jūs nètikite sàvo ausimìs.</i>	'You don't believe your ears.'
<i>Jiē/Jōs nètiki sàvo ausimìs.</i>	'They don't believe their ears.'

The possessive genitive forms *màno*, *tàvo* can also express the semantic subject in a passive construction (see 5.66), e.g.:

<i>Laiškas bũvo màno/tàvo pàliktas.</i>	'The letter was left by me/you (POSS. GEN. SG).'
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Pronouns *kàs* 'who', *kažkàs* (*kažin kàs*) 'somebody, something', *niēkas* 'nobody, nothing' have the separate possessive genitive singular forms as well: *kienō*, *kažkienō* (*kažin kienō*), *niēkieno*, e.g.:

<i>Kienō tà knygà?</i>	'Whose book is it?'
<i>Čià niēkieno žemē.</i>	'It is no man's (lit. 'nobody's') land.'

Cf. the non-possessive genitive singular forms *kō*, *niēko* in other functions:

<i>Kō tù nóri?</i>	'What do you want?'
<i>Aš niēko nenōriu.</i>	'I don't want anything.'

- 4.16** Beside the possessive genitive forms mentioned the special declined pronouns *mānas*, -à 'my', *tāvas*, -à 'your', *sāvas*, -à are rarely used. More frequent in present day Lithuanian are the definite forms *manàsis*, *manóji*; *tavàsis*, *tavóji*; *savàsis*, *savóji* (mostly with emphatic colour), e.g.:

<i>Čià tėviškē manà/manóji.</i>	'Here is my homeland.'
<i>Tavóji siela neramì.</i>	'Your heart is troubled.'
<i>Pašauk savùs/savúosius vaikùs.</i>	'Call your children.'

Possessive pronouns with the suffix *-iškis*, *-iškē*: *manìškis*, -ē, *taviškis*, -ē, also *mūsiškis*, -ē 'our', *jūsiškis*, -ē 'your' are used with the corresponding meaning, e.g.:

<i>Manìškis/Taviškis vyras gēras.</i>	'My/Your husband is good.'
<i>Mūsiškis/Jūsiškis dirėktorius išvažiavęs.</i>	'Our/Your director has left.'

The substantivized plural forms *manìškiai*, *taviškiai*, *saviškiai* are also used to indicate relatives or friends of the respective person, e.g.:

<i>Manìškiai sugrįš vakarē.</i>	'My relatives (My family) will return in the evening.'
<i>Eik pas saviškiùs.</i>	'Go to your relatives (your friends).'

4.17 The plural pronouns *mēs, jūs* and the pronouns *jis, ji* in singular and plural have only one genitive form *mūsu, jūsu; jō, jōs; jū* which is used both in possessive as in other functions, cf.:

Mūsu/Jūsu pīevos jau sužaliāvo.

‘Our/Your (GEN. PL) meadows are already green.’

Mūsu/Jūsu niēkas nelāukē.

‘Nobody expected us/you (GEN. PL).’

Čià jō/jōs namaī.

‘This is his/her (GEN. SG) home.’

Jō/Jōs neradaū namiē.

‘I didn’t find him/her (GEN. SG) at home.’

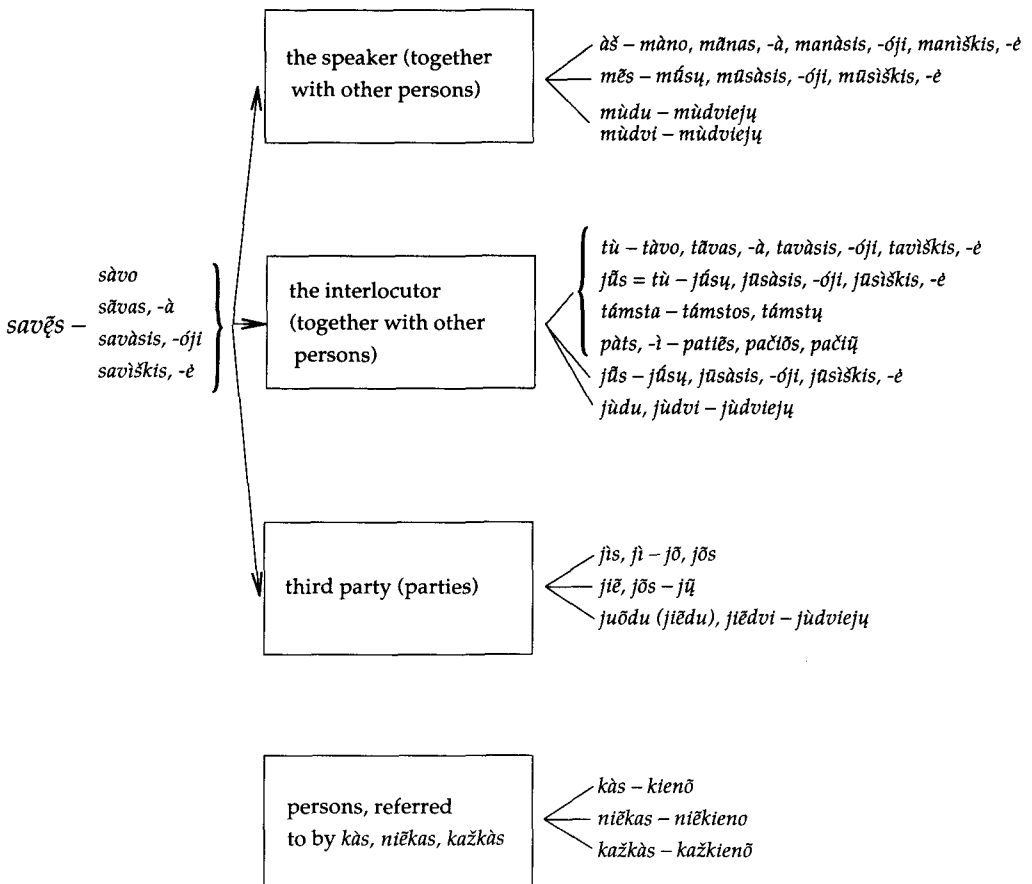
Jū sōdas būvo labāi dīdelis.

‘Their (GEN. PL) garden was very large.’

Vaikaī jū nemēgo.

‘The children didn’t like them (GEN. PL).’

Table 7. The relations of possessive pronominal forms to the participants of the speech act and third parties



DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

4.18 Demonstrative pronouns usually refer to:

(1) a definite thing (person, phenomenon): *tàs, tà* 'this', 'that', *šis, šì, šitas, šita/šità* 'this (one here)', *anàs, anà* 'that (one)', *tas pàts, ta patì* 'the same';

(2) a definite property of a thing (of a person or phenomenon): *tóks, tokìa* 'of this kind', *šióks, šiokià, šitoks, šitokia* 'of this kind', *anóks, anókia* 'of that kind', *pàts tàs, patì tà* 'just the kind';

(3) a situation: *taī* 'it', *šita(i)* 'it', *tas pàt(s)* 'the same'.

4.19 Demonstrative pronouns also have a contrast between 'near' (*šis, šì, šitas, šita/šità, šitai, šitoks, šitokia, šióks, šiokià*) and 'distant' (*anàs, anà, anóks, anókia*) reference. *Tàs, tà, tóks, tokìa* are the neutral members of the near-distant opposition: they can be contrasted both to *šis, šì, šitas, šita/šità* and *anàs, anà*. They are also used when no contrast between near and distant reference is implied.

*Ar dár tebēr tà trobà, kuř seniaū
gyvėnom?*

'Does the house where we
lived earlier still exist?'

*Geriaū pīrkim šita pavėikslą,
anàs mán nepatīnka.*

'Let's better buy this
picture, I don't like that one.'

*Šiojė pùsėje pastātė Vīlkas, ō
anōj pùsėj Stāgaras.*

'Vilkas built on this side while
Stagaras built on the other.'

4.20 Demonstrative pronouns can be used both in the nominal and adjectival positions.

When *šis, šì, šitas, šita/šità, tàs, tà, anàs, anà, tas pàts, ta patì* are used in the adjectival position, i.e. before a noun, they contribute definite status to that noun.

In the adjectival position pronouns *tàs, tà*, however, sometimes lose their demonstrative meaning altogether.

*Sunkù, kad tiē arkliā vīs
užimtì.*

'It's difficult because
those horses are always busy.'

*Tiē daržai vīs nebaigtì
ravėti.*

'The weeding of those
gardens is never finished.'

The same is true of *šitas, šita/šità*, although to a much lesser degree.

Nebėrà ramýbės nuo šitų vaikų.

'There's no peace because of these
children.'

Pronouns *tas pàts, ta patì* 'the same' indicate the identity of things:

*Žiūri ir žiūri, vis į tą pačią
viētą.*

'You look and look, all the time
at the same spot.'

*Jis drabužiai visuomet tie patys,
juodi, apdile.*

'His clothes are always the same:
dirty, shabby.'

*Tą pačią dieną vėl sulaukė visi
didelio džiaugsmo.*

'The same day great joy
came to everybody again.'

When *tàs, tà, šis, ši, šitas, šita/šità, anàs, anà, tas pàts, ta patì* are used in nominal positions, they usually have anaphoric reference to an antecedent noun, although the latter function is more characteristic of the personal pronouns *jis, ji* (see 4.9). By the frequency of their use as nominal demonstratives with anaphoric reference demonstratives could be arranged in the following sequence: *tàs, tà* (most frequent), *šis, ši, šitas, šita/šità* (less frequent), *anàs, anà* (rare), *tas pàts, ta patì* (retaining the meaning of identity), e.g.:

*Iš tėvo jis gavo šiek tiek
pinigų, tiš jam labai
pràvertė.*

'He got some money from
his father, it came in very
handy to him.'

*Mótina kálbina sūnų, šis tuš
tárpu niško neatsáko.*

'Mother speaks to her son,
the latter doesn't say anything so far.'

*Vieną sūnų teturiu, tą patį
bátinaš nori numarinti.*

'I have only one son
left, but they do everything to kill him.'

- 4.21** Pronominal forms which refer to a situation (situational demonstratives) *taš (tataš)*, rarely – *šita(i) (šitatai)* are used with anaphoric reference to a 'sentential antecedent', i.e. to a noun phrase, a clause, sentence, sequence of sentences, or a larger segment of discourse. These pronouns occur only in nominal positions, and never in adjectival positions:

*Su klàsės draugaš jis bendràvo
tik tiek, kiek taš/šitai buvo
bátina.*

'With his school friends
he communicated only as
much as it was necessary.'

*Ar jis susiřgs, ar liūdnas būs,
ar nelaimingas – niškam niško
nerūpės, niškas apie taš/tataš
nepagalvš.*

Whether he falls ill, or is sad,
or unhappy – nobody will
care, nobody will think about it.'

*Nežinaš, ar gáli žmogùs sàvo
láimę atspėti. Negalvšjau apie
taš.*

'I don't know if a person
can guess his lot. I
haven't thought about it.'

As can be seen from the examples, situational demonstratives are most often used in nominal positions of the nominative and accusative cases:

Tai labai gražu.
Nežiūrėk į tai.

'That's very beautiful.'
'Don't look at it.'

In the nominal position of the genitive case situational demonstratives are used more rarely. Here, as well as in the nominal positions of all the other cases, they are most often replaced by the respective singular case forms of masculine demonstrative *tàs, šitas*.

Nėrą tō pasáuly, kō neišdrįstu
Āras.

'There's nothing in the world that
Aras wouldn't dare to do.'

Jūk šeimininkė namuosė tám
ir yrà, kad viskuo rūpintųsi.

'The housewife is at home exactly for
the purpose of taking care of everything.'

Prisipažįstu, esū išdidūs
ir šituo/tuō džiaugiuosi.

'I admit I'm proud and I'm
glad I am.'

Masculine demonstratives *tàs, šitas* are sometimes used to replace *taī, šitai* even in the positions of the nominative and accusative cases.

Spáivos nublūko, bēt niēkas
negalėjo pasakýti, aī tàs/taī
atsitiko keliōnēs metū, aī
iš sielvarto.

'The colours faded out,
but nobody could say whether
this happened during the
journey or due to heartbreak.'

Tā/taī numānė iī Pētras.

'Petras also understood that.'

Visi stėngėsi pralōbti, bēt mán
mažaī šitas/šitai rūpėjo.

'Everybody tried to get rich, but I
didn't think much about it.'

Situational and anaphoric sentential reference of identity is indicated by the singular forms of the masculine demonstrative *tas pàts*.

Visi miřsime, visų tas pàts
láukia.

'All of us are going to die,
the same is awaiting everybody.'

Vilius Karālius smaūkia nuo
piršto žiedą, Grėtė dāro tą
pātį.

'Vilius Karalius is slipping
his ring from his finger,
Grėtė is doing the same.'

Situational demonstratives *taī, šita(i)* are in concord with neuter adjectives.

Tai nuostabi!
Šitai neleņgva.

'That's wonderful!
'That's not easy.'

- 4.22 Contrast between 'near' and 'distant' reference is also characteristic of demonstratives which refer to qualities: *šitoks, šitokia* are used for near reference, *anóks, anókia* for distant reference, *tóks, tokia* being the neutral member of the near – distant opposition.

*Jéigu jaū aš šitoks patinkū mokytai
pōniai, tai dār labiaū patiksiu
su gūrgždančiais bātais.*

*Anōks mán nepatiņka, tōks tai
kas kita.*

*Dienā išaūšo apsiniaukusi, darganōta.
Tōkia diēnā jōks dārbas nesiseka.*

'If an educated lady likes me
like this, she will like me more
with new crisp boots on.'

'I don't like that kind, this
one is quite another matter.'

'The day broke overcast and rainy.
Nothing goes well on a day like this.'

Pronouns *šitoks*, *šitokia*, *tōks*, *tokia* can also be used before adjectives as intensifiers.

*Ji būvo dār visai visai jaunūtē,
bet tokiā sudžiūvusi!*

Šitoks ilgas kelias!

*Paskaitā būvo tokiā nuobodī, kad
aš užmigau.*

'She was very, very young, but
so skinny!'

'Such a long way!'

'The lecture was so boring that
I fell asleep.'

Used as intensifiers before nouns these pronouns sometimes convey the meaning of approval or disapproval, which depends upon the intonation.

Šitoks tuřtas!

*Tōks iř paūkštis, kad sava lizdā
teřšia.*

'Such fortune!'

'The bird is not much good if
it fouls its nest.'

The pronoun *anōks*, *anōkia* can function as an intensifier only before a noun and in this function it always conveys the meaning of disapproval.

Anōks čia tuřtas.

'Not very much of a fortune.'

INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS

- 4.23** All interrogative and relative pronouns begin with the consonant *k*: *kās* 'what, who', *kōks*, *kokia* 'what kind of', *kuris*, *kurī* 'which', *katrās*, *katrā* 'which of two', *keli*, *kēltis* 'how many', *kelerī*, *kēlerios* 'how many (used with *pluralia tantum*)', *keliņtas*, *kelintā* 'which (asking about the order or position in a series)', *keliōlika* 'how many (implying a number between 11 and 19).

When these pronouns introduce a direct question, they are used in the interrogative function and are considered to be **interrogative pronouns**.

Kās teņ šlāma?

Kokiōs knygos tāu reīkia?

'What is rustling there?'

'What book do you need?'

<i>Kurìs tàvo rāktas?</i>	'Which is your key?'
<i>Katràs iš jūdviejū mán padēsìte?</i>	'Which of you two will help me?'
<i>Kelì jūs čìà búsit rytój?</i>	'How many of you will be here tomorrow?'
<i>Kelerì mētai prabēgo nuo tō laīko, kaī mēs paskutinį kařtą mātēmēs?</i>	'How many years have passed since we last saw each other?'
<i>Keliñtas tàvo bùtas?</i>	'Which is your flat?'
<i>Keliólìka jū teñ bùvo?</i>	'How many of them were there?'

Pronoun *kàs* can refer to a human being as well as to an animate or inanimate thing, but its possessive genitive *kienō* 'whose' can refer only to human beings.

<i>Kàs teñ?</i>	'Who's there?'
<i>Kā mán àtnešei vālgyti?</i>	'What have you brought me to eat?'
<i>Kienō čìà knyga?</i>	'Whose book is it?'

Sometimes, particularly in fossilized phrases, *kàs* is used to replace the pronoun *kóks*.

<i>Kàs peř vėjas (= kóks vėjas) vākar pūte?</i>	'Which wind was blowing yesterday?'
<i>Kuō vardù tàvo sūnùs?</i>	'What is your son's name?'

Interrogative *kóks, kokià* is equivalent to the English phrase 'what kind of' (or 'what' used in the adjectival position).

Interrogative *kurìs, kurì* is used when asking somebody to specify one or more people or things from a group of two or any limited number.

<i>Kurìs iš berniukų aukščiausias?</i>	'Which of the boys is tallest?'
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Interrogative *katràs, katrà* is mostly used when asking somebody to specify a person or thing from a group of two.

<i>Katràs aukštėsnis, tù ař Jōnas?</i>	'Which of you is taller, you or Jonas?'
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4.24 Used to introduce subordinate clauses, all the above pronouns function as **relative pronouns**.

Relative pronouns fall into two groups: those that are used only to introduce explicative (mostly object) clauses, and those that can introduce both explicative and attributive clauses.

The first group includes pronouns with quantitative meaning: *kelì, kėlios; kelerì, kėlerios; keliñtas, kelintà; keliólìka*. These pronouns never have an antecedent in the principal clause:

Pasakyk, keli jūs čia būsit rytą.

‘Tell me how many of you will be here tomorrow.’

Užmiršau, keliūntas tavo butas.

‘I don’t remember the number of your flat.’

Ąš nesupratau, keliolika jų ten buvo.

‘I didn’t understand how many of them were there.’

The second group of relative pronouns includes *kàs; kòks, kokià; kuris, kuri; katràs, katrà*. They can introduce both a completive (1) and a relative clause (2):

(1) *Užmiršau, kòks tavo adresu.*

‘I forgot your address.’

Nežinau, kurį pasirinkti.

‘I don’t know which to choose.’

Jis klausia, ką daryti.

‘He is asking what he is to do.’

Kàs nori, tàs randa.

‘He who wants can find it.’

Kõ ieškõjo, tã iẽ rado.

‘He found what he was looking for.’

Tai, kã tu sakai, netiesa.

‘What you are saying is not true.’

(2) *Jiẽ vël atsimena senëlį tokį,*

‘They remember granddad again as he was alive.’

kòks jis dar buvo gyvas.

‘Those who will try to climb it will be beset by the most horrible spectres.’

Tuõs, kuriẽ lips, baidjys

visũ bjauriausios šmëklos.

Relative pronouns introducing an attributive clause and the pronoun *kàs* often have pronominal antecedents in the principal clause.

4.25 The pronouns *kàs, kòks, kokià, kuris, kuri* can also have an emphatic meaning.

Kòks tu esi mokytas, Vincëli!

‘How well educated you are, Vincelis!’

Kàs tõ vaiko gabumas!

‘What talent this boy has!’

Užtãt kòkio džiaugsmo buvo ištjõjus tẽvui akëti!

‘But what joy it was when father went to harrow the fields!’

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

4.26 Indefinite pronouns lack the element of definiteness which is present in demonstrative pronouns. They do not refer to any definite thing, person or quality.

From the semantic point of view indefinite pronouns can be divided into three classes: indefinite proper, differentiating and generalizing. The latter fall into two groups – positive and negative.

From the syntactic point of view indefinite pronouns also fall into three groups:

(1) those that can be used only in nominal positions;

(2) those that can be used only in adjectival positions;

(3) and those that can be used both in nominal and adjectival positions.

From the morphological point of view indefinite pronouns are simple, compound and composite.

4.27 Indefinite proper pronouns. Here is a list of indefinite proper pronouns, which are mostly identical in form to the corresponding interrogative or to some other pronouns:

kàs 'someone, somebody, something'

kóks, kokià 'whatever, some kind of; some'

kuris, kuri 'whichever, whoever, some'

katràs, katrà 'whichever, whoever (of two)'

keli, kēlios 'some'

keliñtas, kelintà 'whichever in a series, some'

kēletas 'a few, some (between 3 and 9)'

keliólika 'some (between 11 and 19)'

kēliasdešimt 'some (between 30 and 90)'

kelerì, kēlerios 'a few, some (used with *pluralia tantum*)'

vienas, vienà 'one, no matter which one'

kìtas, kità 'some'

tóks, tokià 'of some kind', cf.:

Gál kóks paūkštis teñ skreñda.

Lýg veřkia, lýg vaitója kàs.

Labai seniai gyvėno tóks pirklýs.

Þis mókėsi tik kēlerius metùs.

Manė aplaņkė kēletas/keliólika

draugų.

'May be some (kind of) bird flies there.'

'Somebody seems to be crying and moaning.'

'Long ago there lived a certain merchant.'

'He studied some years only.'

'Some friends visited me.'

Compound indefinite pronouns are formed by adding *kaž-*, *kaži(n)-*: *kažkàs, kažkuris, kažkatràs, kažkóks, kažkeliñtas*. All these pronouns share a common semantic element meaning 'uncertain, someone not known, what, which, what kind of, which one in a series'. The same meaning is shared by the corresponding composite pronouns with the first component *kaži(n)*, e.g.: *kaži(n) kàs, kaži(n) kuris, kaži(n) katràs, kaži(n) kóks*:

Jám vaidėnasi, kàd pirķios vidurų

kažkàs/kažin kàs stóvi.

Antānas užčiuopė kažkóki

kietą dáiktą.

Staigà pasigifdo kažkóks/kažin

kóks cypìmas.

'He imagines there is somebody standing in the middle of the room.'

'Antanas touched something hard.'

'Suddenly there was some kind of squeaking.'

A majority of other composite indefinite (proper) pronouns include one of the following elements: *nórs, bêt, kaĩ, nè*:

(a) *kas nórs; koks nórs, kokia nórs; kuris nórs, kuri nórs; katras nórs, katra nórs*. Their meaning is 'someone, somebody, anybody, something, some kind of', e.g.:

<i>Ar kas nórs bėldžiasi į duris?</i>	'Is anybody knocking at the door?'
<i>Norėjau, kad beñt kas nórs taĩ galėtu suprasti.</i>	'I wished that at least somebody (no matter who) could understand it.'
<i>Pakviėsk kuriñ nórs iš vaikų.</i>	'Call someone (no matter which) of the children.'
<i>Gražinsiu skėlą katrai nórs iš tavo seserų.</i>	'I'll return my debt to one of your (two) sisters.'

(b) *bet kàs; bet kóks, bet kokià; bet kuris, bet kuri; bet katràs, bet katrà* share the common semantic element 'any', e.g.:

<i>Čià bet kàs táu kėlià paródys.</i>	'Here anyone will show you the way.'
<i>Padúok mán bet kókį pãgalį.</i>	'Give me any kind of stick.'
<i>Dìrbsiu su bet kuriuò iš júsų.</i>	'I'll work with anyone of you.'

(c) *kai kàs; kai kóks, kai kokià; kai kuris, kai kuri*; their common semantic element is 'part of the whole number, not every', e.g.:

<i>Kai kàs dár tikisi sugrįžti.</i>	'Somebody still trust to return.'
<i>Kai kã sužinójau iš vežėjo.</i>	'I learnt something from the driver.'
<i>Kai kuriė namaĩ jaũ be stogų.</i>	'Some homes no longer have roofs.'

(d) *kàs ne kàs, kuris ne kuris* 'some, not many, very few', e.g.:

<i>Kám ne kám, o mùms taĩ būs bėdà.</i>	'Whoever suffers it's us.'
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The composite pronoun *vienas kitas, vienà kità* 'very few', *šis tàs* 'something (not very significant)', *šióks tóks, šiokià tokià* 'of an insignificant kind' have the indefinite proper meaning as well, e.g.:

<i>Tik vienas kitas sugrįžo iš kãro.</i>	'Very few returned from the war.'
<i>Rėtkarčiais iř mùms šis tàs kliúdavo.</i>	'Sometimes something (insignificant) would come our way as well.'
<i>Gál iš tō būs šiokiòs tokiòs naudòs.</i>	'Perhaps there will be some insignificant gain in that.'

4.28 Differentiating pronouns refer to a certain portion of indefinite things, persons or qualities clearly setting them apart from the others: *vienas, vienà* 'one'; *kitas, kità* 'other, another'; *vienòks, vienòkia* 'of one kind'; *kitòks, kitòkia* 'of another kind'; *tam tikras, tam tikrà* 'certain'.

The pronouns *vienas*, *vienà*, *kitas* *kità* can be used both in nominal and adjectival positions; *vienas*, *vienà* refer to an indefinite thing meaning 'only this one without the others'; *kitas*, *kità* refer to the second one of two contrasted things. Because of their meaning these pronouns are very often combined with each other, some other pronouns or ordinal numerals.

Móterys vienos dar daīrēsī aplīnk krósnī, kitos jau sēdējo ant sūolo tr veřpē.

'Some of the women were still looking around the stove, the others were a ready sitting on a bench spinning.'

Ar tās, ar kitas méistras siīs, vis tas pāts.

'It makes no difference if this or that tailor makes it.'

Ant kīto šāpā pamāto, o ant savēs – nē vežīmo.

'He sees a mote in another person's eye, but cannot see a cartload in his own.'

Bepīgū sakýti kitēims, bet nedaryti patēims.

'It's easy to order others about, and not to do a thing oneself.'

Ķi pāēmē puodēlī rūģusio piēno, mēs kitūs reīkiamus dáiktus.

'She took a cup of milk, we took other necessary things.'

These two pronouns also have a neuter form to refer to phenomena in general.

Kāģ galējai manýti, kad māstēme viēna, o sākēme kīta?

'How could you think that we had in mind one thing and said another?'

Viēna tik negēra: nērā grýbū.

'There's one thing which is not good: there are no mushrooms.'

Neuter forms are used in nominative, accusative, rarely genitive, positions. In other nominal positions they are replaced by masculine singular forms, which are sometimes used to refer to phenomena in general and replace the neuter forms in nominative, accusative and genitive positions as well:

Viēno (= viēna) betróško: kóktu nórs būdū sàvo výrā pamatýti.

'She longed only for one thing: to see her husband in one way or another.'

The fusions of the neuter form *kīta* with the pronoun *kās* – *kas kīta*, *kīta kas*, *kītkas* 'another matter, other things' – are also used to refer to phenomena in general:

Mótinai skaūda širdī dēl kīta ko.

'The mother's heart aches for another reason.'

Pamiřšēs sàvo ankstēsne miņtģ, Ķis jaū kalbēģo apie kā kīta.

'Having forgotten his former trend of thought, he was already speaking about another thing.'

Vienóks, *vienókia* 'of one kind', *kitóks*, *kitókia* 'of another kind', *tam tikras* 'certain' are adjectival pronouns:

<i>Ne visū vienókiós ākys.</i>	'Not everybody has eyes of the same kind.'
<i>Šiañdien óras vienóks, o ry- toj kitóks.</i>	'Today the weather is of one kind, tomorrow of another kind.'
<i>Ūkininkai dāļi grūdū dār iš rudeñs supildavo ī tam tigràs klētis.</i>	'The farmers would pour some part of their grain into certain grain barns in autumnn.'

In some contexts certain interrogative and demonstrative pronouns when coupled together acquire indefinite differentiating meaning as well, e.g.:

<i>Kālvēje pilna žmoniū. Kàs su reikalāis, kàs su tauškalaīs.</i>	'The smithery is full of people. Some come on business, some with idle talk.'
<i>Kařtais šī ar tā (= vienā ar kitā) reikēdavo gārbint.</i>	'Sometimes respects had to be paid to this or that (one or another).'

4.29 Generalizing pronouns fall into two groups: positive and negative.

Positive generalizing pronouns refer to indefinite things, persons or qualities which constitute one complete or almost complete whole: *visas, visà* 'the whole'; *visi, visos* 'all'; *visóks, visókia* 'of all kinds'; *abū, abī* 'both'; *abeji, ābejos* 'both' (used with *pluralia tantum*); *ābejetas* 'both'; *kiekvienas, kiekvienà* 'every'; *aliái vienas, aliái vienà* 'absolutely all'; *tūlas, tulà, daug kàs* 'quite a few'.

The meaning of the singular and plural forms of the pronoun *visas, visà* (plural: *visi, visos*) is rather different. The singular forms are used only in adjectival positions and they indicate that a quality (action or state) is attributed to the whole thing (person) or to the whole set of things or persons:

<i>Vakarē visas káimas susriñko prie ēžero.</i>	'In the evening all the village came to the lake.'
<i>Dabař jaū visq šimtq turēsiu.</i>	'Now I'll have a complete hundred.'

The plural forms *visi, visos* are used both in nominal and adjectival positions and they indicate the entire number of things or persons:

<i>Àš išdainavaū visàs dainelēs.</i>	'I have sung all my songs.'
<i>Tylūs tylūs būvo Mykoliūkas, o visiems mātēs, jog jis šnēka.</i>	'Mykoliukas would be absolutely silent, but everybody thought he was talking.'

When used with *pluralia tantum*, the plural forms *visi, visos* possess both meanings: they may indicate that a quality, state or action is attributed to the whole thing (i) or to the complete set of things (ii):

(i) <i>Visūs metūs ištarnavaū.</i>	'I served the whole year.'
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(ii) *Visūs sava gyvėnimo metūs išstarnavaũ.*

'I served all the years of my life.'

The neuter form *visa* as well as *viskas*, *visa kàs* refer to all things and phenomena in general.

Visa prapũolė.

'Everything has disappeared.'

Išmintingas nuolatõs mókosi, o kvaĩlas dingos visa žĩnas.

'A wise man is learning all the time, a stupid one thinks he knows everything.'

Tą stebuklingąjį naktį viskas yra stebũklas.

'That miraculous night everything is a miracle.'

Visa kõ aslojė pristatýta.

'There's everything on the floor.'

Visõks, *visõkia* is used in adjectival positions only and means 'of all kinds':

Lũžo teĩ arũodai nuo visõkio javo.

'The grain bins overflowed with all kinds of grain there.'

The generalizing pronouns *kiekvienas*, -à 'every, each' (picking out the members of a set), *aliái vienas*, -à 'absolutely all', *tũlas*, -à 'quite a few', *abũ, abĩ* 'both', *abejĩ, -os* 'both' (only *pluralia tantum*) are used both in nominal and adjectival positions, e.g.:

Susėdę visi ėmė mėdũ vãlgyti ir kiekvienas bitelės gãrbinti.

'All sat down and started eating the honey, each praising the bees.'

Kaimýnai aliái vienas išvažiãvo į miestėlj.

'Every single family of the neighbours left for town.'

Tũlas atsigręždamas žvilgčiojo į papėvius.

'Not a single one turned back and cast glances at the edge of the meadow.'

Abũ sėniai susirũpinę galvõjo.

'Both old people worried and thought.'

Mãukis abejomĩs piřštinėmis, vienomĩs bũs šãlta.

'Put on both pairs of gloves, you'll be cold with only one pair on.'

Pronouns *daug kàs* 'quite a few' *ãbejetas* 'both (as a whole)' are used only in nominal positions, e.g.:

Iki trečiãdienio daug kàs tikėjos pabaĩgti mėšlj vėžti.

'Quite a few people expected to finish taking the manure to the fields by Wednesday.'

When used in adjectival positions the pronoun *kàs* can also have generalizing meaning similar to that of *kiekvienas*, -à 'every', indicating the sequence of each thing or person referred to.

Kàs vālandā dārēsi tamsiaū.

‘Every hour it was getting darker and darker.’

*Dabaŗ kàs žiņgnis atsiveria
nematýti vaizdaĩ.*

‘At every step new views unfold
before our eyes.’

Negative generalizing pronouns (usually used in negative sentences) indicate that there are no things, persons or qualities which would possess a certain property or would be in a certain state, or would perform a certain action: *niēkas* ‘nothing, nobody’, *nē vienas, nē vienā* ‘not a single one’, *jōks, jokiā* ‘of no kind, none, no one’, *nē kōks, nē kokiā* ‘of no kind, none, no one.’

*Niēkas tīek nežinōjo pāsaku,
kiek senāsis Lāpīnas.*

‘Nobody knew as many fairy
tales as old Lapinas.’

*Mēs nē vienas netikējom, kad
ligōnis miřtu.*

‘Nobody of us believed that
the patient would die.’

*Dangūs būvo giždras, be jōkio
debesēlio.*

‘The sky was blue, without a
single cloud.’

*Nē kokiōs/jokiōs žymēs nēr,
kuŗ péréjau rugiūs.*

‘There’s no trace left where I
crossed the rye.’

In their meaning negative pronouns are opposed to positive generalizing pronouns:

niēkas is opposed to *visi, visos, visa, viskas, daug kās*:

Niēkas nežīno.

‘Nobody knows.’

Visi/daug kās žīno.

‘Everybody knows/quite a few know.’

Niēkas jām nerūpi.

‘Nothing worries him.’

Visa/viskas/daug kās jām rūpi.

‘Everything/quite a lot worries him.’

Nē vienas, nē vienā is opposed to *kiekvienas, kiekvienā, aliāi vienas, aliāi vienā, visi, visos*:

Nē vienas taiŗ nepadariŗs

‘Not a single man can do it.’

Kiekvienas/aliāi vienas/

‘Everyone, every single man,

visi taiŗ padariŗs

all can do it.’

Jōks, jokiā, nē kōks, nē kokiā are opposed to *visōks, visōkia, visi, visos*:

Jokiū/nē kokiū dainū nemokējau.

‘I didn’t know any songs.’

Visōkiū dainū mokējau.

‘I knew all kinds of songs.’

Jokiū/nē kokiū dainū nedainavaū.

‘I didn’t sing any / any sort of songs.’

Iřdainavaū visās dainās.

‘I sang all the songs (I knew).’

4.30 *Pāts, pati* is considered to be an indefinite **emphatic pronoun**. It indicates that a person performs an action by himself without anybody’s help.

*Šiañdien (àš) patì vakariėnė
gamināũ.*

'Today I myself (FEM) cooked
the supper.'

When used in adjectival positions, *pàts*, *patì* can have only an emphatic meaning.

*Saulėlė stovėjo pačiamė dangāũs
viduryjė.*

'The sun stood in the very
middle of the sky.'

Note: In some investigations on the Lithuanian pronouns the words *šióks tóks*, *šiókià tokià* 'of an insignificant kind', *tam tikras*, *tam tikrà* 'certain', *tálas*, *talà* 'quite a feu', *visas*, *visà* 'the whole', *visóks*, *visókià* 'of all kinds', *pàts tàs*, *patì tà* 'just the kind' are classed as adjectives rather than as indefinite pronouns.

Declension and accentuation of pronouns

PRONOUNS NOT INFLECTED FOR GENDER

4.31 The singular and plural forms of personal pronouns have different roots. The pronoun *savėš* has no nominative and no plural.

Singular

Nom.	<i>àš</i>	<i>tù</i>	–
Gen.	<i>manėš/màno</i>	<i>tavėš/tàvo</i>	<i>savėš/sàvo</i>
Dat.	<i>mán</i>	<i>táu</i>	<i>sáu</i>
Acc.	<i>manė</i>	<i>tavė</i>	<i>savė</i>
Instr.	<i>manimì</i>	<i>tavimì</i>	<i>savimì</i>
Loc.	<i>manyjė</i>	<i>tavyjė</i>	<i>savyjė</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>mėš</i>	<i>jũs</i>
Gen.	<i>mũsų</i>	<i>jũsų</i>
Dat.	<i>mũms</i>	<i>jũms</i>
Acc.	<i>mùs</i>	<i>jùs</i>
Instr.	<i>mumìs</i>	<i>jumìs</i>
Loc.	<i>mumysė</i>	<i>jumysė</i>

As is obvious from the paradigm, some case forms of the personal pronouns resemble those of nouns:

<i>i</i> -declension:	Singular Instr.	<i>manimì</i>	(cf. <i>vagimì</i> 'thief')
	Singular Loc.	<i>manyjè</i>	(cf. <i>vagyjè</i>)
	Plural Loc.	<i>mumysè</i>	(cf. <i>vagysè</i>)
<i>u</i> -declension:	Plural Dat.	<i>mùms</i>	(cf. <i>sūnùms</i> 'son')
	Plural Acc.	<i>mùs</i>	(cf. <i>sūnùs</i>)
	Plural Instr.	<i>mumìs</i>	(cf. <i>sūnumìs</i>)

Differently from nouns, personal pronouns have a short ending in the accusative singular: *manè*, *tavè*, *savè* (although in some dialects this ending is long: *manĕ*, *tavĕ*, *savĕ*, cf. *pĕlĕ*).

The genitive singular ending *-es* is etymologically derived from the accusative ending *ĕ* plus *s*, which has been added by analogy with nouns (cf. *pelĕs*, *vagiĕs*, *sūnaĭs*).

Personal pronouns have two genitive forms – possessive and non-possessive (see 4.15).

Note should be taken of the change in the stressed syllable tone in the nominative and genitive plural: *mĕs* – *mŭsŭ*, *jŭs* – *jŭsŭ*.

The pronoun *tāmsta* is declined and accented like the *o*-stem feminine noun *jūra* (see 1.25).

The pronouns *jis* 'he', *ji* 'she' have different gender forms and are declined according to paradigms 4 and 8 of pronouns inflected for gender (see 4.33, 4.35).

PRONOUNS INFLECTED FOR GENDER

Masculine pronouns

4.32 Masculine pronouns inflected for gender are declined similarly to those adjectives which took over the following pronominal endings:

Masc.	Dat. Sg.	<i>-ám</i>	(<i>kitám</i> – <i>gerám</i>)
"	Loc. Sg.	<i>-amè</i>	(<i>kitamè</i> – <i>geramè</i>)
"	Nom. Pl.	<i>-ì</i>	(<i>kitì</i> – <i>gerì</i>)
"	Dat. Pl.	<i>-iems</i>	(<i>kitiems</i> – <i>geriems</i>)

Masculine pronouns have two declension patterns: (*i*)*a* declension and *i* declension. Although *kàs* is not inflected for gender, it is declined like a masculine pronoun.

The (i)a-declension

4.33 In this declension there are four paradigms, which differ according to the following patterns:

	Par. 1	Par. 2	Par. 3	Par. 4
Sg. Nom.	-as	-as	-s	-is
" Gen.	-o	-o	-io	-io
" Acc.	-q	-q	-ī	-ī
" Instr.	-uo	-u	-iu	-iuo
Pl. Nom.	-ie	-i	-ie	-ie
" Acc.	-uos	-us	-ius	-iuos

Paradigm 1

tàs, šitas, anàs, katràs, kàs

Singular

Nom.	<i>tàs</i>	<i>šitas</i>	<i>anàs</i>	<i>katràs</i>	<i>kàs</i>
Gen.	<i>tõ</i>	<i>šito</i>	<i>anõ</i>	<i>katrõ</i>	<i>kõ</i>
Dat.	<i>tám</i>	<i>šítám</i>	<i>anáms</i>	<i>katráms</i>	<i>kám</i>
Acc.	<i>tā</i>	<i>šitq</i>	<i>anā</i>	<i>katrā</i>	<i>kā</i>
Instr.	<i>tuõ</i>	<i>šituõ</i>	<i>anuõ</i>	<i>katruõ</i>	<i>kuõ</i>
Loc.	<i>tamè</i>	<i>šitamè</i>	<i>anamè</i>	<i>katramè</i>	<i>kamè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>tiē</i>	<i>šitiē</i>	<i>aniē</i>	<i>katriē</i>
Gen.	<i>tū</i>	<i>šitū</i>	<i>anū</i>	<i>katrū</i>
Dat.	<i>tiēms</i>	<i>šitēms</i>	<i>aniēms</i>	<i>katriēms</i>
Acc.	<i>tuõs</i>	<i>šituõs</i>	<i>anuõs</i>	<i>katruõs</i>
Instr.	<i>taīs</i>	<i>šitaīs</i>	<i>anaīs</i>	<i>katraīs</i>
Loc.	<i>tuosè</i>	<i>šituosè</i>	<i>anuosè</i>	<i>katruosè</i>

Paradigm 2

kìtas, vīsas, vīenas, kiekvīenas, túlas, tam tikras, mānas, tāvas, sāvas

Singular

Nom.	<i>kìtas</i>	<i>vīsas</i>	<i>vīenas</i>	<i>túlas</i>	<i>sāvas</i>
Gen.	<i>kìto</i>	<i>vīso</i>	<i>vīeno</i>	<i>túlo</i>	<i>sāvo</i>

Dat.	<i>kitám</i>	<i>visám</i>	<i>vienám</i>	<i>tálám</i>	<i>savám</i>
Acc.	<i>kitą</i>	<i>visą</i>	<i>vieną</i>	<i>túlą</i>	<i>sāvą</i>
Instr.	<i>kitù</i>	<i>visù</i>	<i>vienu</i>	<i>túlu</i>	<i>savù</i>
Loc.	<i>kitamè</i>	<i>visamè</i>	<i>vienamè</i>	<i>túlamè</i>	<i>savamè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>kitì</i>	<i>visì</i>	<i>vienì</i>	<i>talì</i>	<i>savì</i>
Gen.	<i>kitų</i>	<i>visų</i>	<i>vienų</i>	<i>talų</i>	<i>savų</i>
Dat.	<i>kitiems</i>	<i>visiems</i>	<i>vieniems</i>	<i>túliems</i>	<i>saviems</i>
Acc.	<i>kitùs</i>	<i>visùs</i>	<i>vienus</i>	<i>túlus</i>	<i>savùs</i>
Instr.	<i>kitais</i>	<i>visaïs</i>	<i>vienaïs</i>	<i>túlaïs</i>	<i>savaïs</i>
Loc.	<i>kituosè</i>	<i>visuosè</i>	<i>vienuosè</i>	<i>túluosè</i>	<i>savuosè</i>

Paradigm 3

tóks, šióks, šítoks, anóks, kóks, jóks, visóks, vienóks, kitóks, kažkóks, kai kóks, etc.

Singular

Nom.	<i>tóks</i>	<i>jóks</i>	<i>visóks</i>	<i>kitóks</i>
Gen.	<i>tókió</i>	<i>jókió</i>	<i>visókió</i>	<i>kitókió</i>
Dat.	<i>tokiám</i>	<i>jokiám</i>	<i>visókiám</i>	<i>kitókiám</i>
Acc.	<i>tókį</i>	<i>jókį</i>	<i>visókį</i>	<i>kitókį</i>
Instr.	<i>tókiu</i>	<i>jókiu</i>	<i>visókiu</i>	<i>kitókiu</i>
Loc.	<i>tokiamè</i>	<i>jokiamè</i>	<i>visókiame</i>	<i>kitókiame</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>tokiē</i>	<i>jokiē</i>	<i>visókie</i>	<i>kitókie</i>
Gen.	<i>tokių</i>	<i>jokių</i>	<i>visókių</i>	<i>kitókių</i>
Dat.	<i>tokiems</i>	<i>jokiams</i>	<i>visókiems</i>	<i>kitókiems</i>
Acc.	<i>tókius</i>	<i>jókius</i>	<i>visókius</i>	<i>kitókius</i>
Instr.	<i>tokiaïs</i>	<i>jokiaïs</i>	<i>visókaitais</i>	<i>kitókaitais</i>
Loc.	<i>tokiuosè</i>	<i>jokiuosè</i>	<i>visókiuose</i>	<i>kitókiuose</i>

Paradigm 4

jìs, šìs, kurìs

Singular

Nom.	<i>jìs</i>	<i>šìs</i>	<i>kurìs</i>
Gen.	<i>jõ</i>	<i>šõ</i>	<i>kuriõ</i>

Dat.	<i>jám</i>	<i>šiám</i>	<i>kuriám</i>
Acc.	<i>jī</i>	<i>šī</i>	<i>kurī</i>
Instr.	<i>juō</i>	<i>šiuō</i>	<i>kuriuō</i>
Loc.	<i>jamè</i>	<i>šiamè</i>	<i>kuriamè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>jiē</i>	<i>šiē</i>	<i>kuriē</i>
Gen.	<i>jū</i>	<i>šīū</i>	<i>kurīū</i>
Dat.	<i>jiems</i>	<i>šiems</i>	<i>kuriems</i>
Acc.	<i>juōs</i>	<i>šiuōs</i>	<i>kuriuōs</i>
Instr.	<i>jaīs</i>	<i>šiaīs</i>	<i>kuriaīs</i>
Loc.	<i>juosè</i>	<i>šiuosè</i>	<i>kuriuosè</i>

The *i*-declension

- 4.34 The pronoun *pàts* is the only pronoun which is declined according to this declension.

Paradigm 5

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>pàts</i>	<i>pātys</i>
Gen.	<i>patiēs/pāčio</i>	<i>pačiū</i>
Dat.	<i>pačiám</i>	<i>pačiems</i>
Acc.	<i>pātī</i>	<i>pačiūs</i>
Instr.	<i>pačiù/patiīm(i)</i>	<i>pačiaīs</i>
Loc.	<i>pačiamè</i>	<i>pačiuosè</i>

This pronoun has more case forms which coincide with those of nouns than any other pronoun. Many of its case forms are of *ia* declension: Instr. Sg. *pačiù* (cf. *tókiu*), Acc. Pl. *pačiūs* (cf. *tókius*), Instr. Pl. *pačiaīs* (cf. *tokiaīs*), Loc. Pl. *pačiuosè* (cf. *tokiuosè*).

In genitive singular and instrumental singular *pàts* alternative forms of *i* and *ia* declensions are used.

Feminine pronouns

The (*i*)*o*-declension

- 4.35 Feminine pronouns are declined like nouns of (*i*)*o*-declension. There are three paradigms in this declension:

Paradigm 1: *tà, šita/šità, kità*, a.o. (declined like *aušrà* 'dawn')

Paradigm 2: *tokià, kokià, visókia*, a.o. (declined like *žinià* 'piece of news')

Paradigm 3: *ji, ši, kuri, pati* (declined like *marti* 'daughter-in-law').

Paradigm 6

tà, šita/šità, kità, visà, anà, katrà, vienà, kiekvienà, manà, tavà, savà etc.

Singular

Nom.	<i>tà</i>	<i>šita/šità</i>	<i>kità</i>	<i>visà</i>
Gen.	<i>tōs</i>	<i>šitos/šitōs</i>	<i>kitōs</i>	<i>visōs</i>
Dat.	<i>tái</i>	<i>šitai/šitái</i>	<i>kitai</i>	<i>visai</i>
Acc.	<i>tā</i>	<i>šitā</i>	<i>kitā</i>	<i>visā</i>
Instr.	<i>tà</i>	<i>šita/šità</i>	<i>kità</i>	<i>visà</i>
Loc.	<i>tojè</i>	<i>šitoje/šitojè</i>	<i>kitojè</i>	<i>visojè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>tōs</i>	<i>šitos</i>	<i>kitos</i>	<i>visos</i>
Gen.	<i>tū</i>	<i>šitu/šitū</i>	<i>kitū</i>	<i>visū</i>
Dat.	<i>tóms</i>	<i>šitoms/šitóms</i>	<i>kitóms</i>	<i>visóms</i>
Acc.	<i>tàs</i>	<i>šitas/šitàs</i>	<i>kitàs</i>	<i>visàs</i>
Instr.	<i>tomìs</i>	<i>šitomis/šitomìs</i>	<i>kitomìs</i>	<i>visomìs</i>
Loc.	<i>tosè</i>	<i>šitose/šitosè</i>	<i>kitosè</i>	<i>visosè</i>

Paradigm 7

tokià, kokià, visókia, šókia, šitokia, anókia, vienókia, kitókia, kažkókia, jókia, etc.

Singular

Nom.	<i>tokià</i>	<i>kokià</i>	<i>visókia</i>
Gen.	<i>tokiōs</i>	<i>kokiōs</i>	<i>visókios</i>
Dat.	<i>tókiai</i>	<i>kókiai</i>	<i>visókiai</i>
Acc.	<i>tókiq</i>	<i>kókiq</i>	<i>visókiaq</i>
Instr.	<i>tókia</i>	<i>kókia</i>	<i>visókia</i>
Loc.	<i>tokiojè</i>	<i>kokiojè</i>	<i>visókioje</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>tókios</i>	<i>kókios</i>	<i>visókios</i>
Gen.	<i>tokiū</i>	<i>kokiū</i>	<i>visókiaū</i>

Dat.	<i>tokióms</i>	<i>kokióms</i>	<i>visókioms</i>
Acc.	<i>tókias</i>	<i>kókias</i>	<i>visókias</i>
Instr.	<i>tokiomìs</i>	<i>kokiomìs</i>	<i>visókiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>tokiosè</i>	<i>kokiosè</i>	<i>visókiose</i>

Paradigm 8

ji, ši, patì, kuri, kažkuri

Singular

Nom.	<i>ji</i>	<i>ši</i>	<i>patì</i>	<i>kuri</i>
Gen.	<i>jōs</i>	<i>šiōs</i>	<i>pačiōs</i>	<i>kuriōs</i>
Dat.	<i>jái</i>	<i>šiái</i>	<i>pāčiai</i>	<i>kuriái</i>
Acc.	<i>jā</i>	<i>šiā</i>	<i>pāčia</i>	<i>kuriā</i>
Instr.	<i>jà</i>	<i>šià</i>	<i>pačia</i>	<i>kurià</i>
Loc.	<i>jojè</i>	<i>šiojè</i>	<i>pačiojè</i>	<i>kuriojè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>jōs</i>	<i>šiōs</i>	<i>pāčios</i>	<i>kuriōs</i>
Gen.	<i>jū</i>	<i>šiū</i>	<i>pačiū</i>	<i>kuriū</i>
Dat.	<i>jóms</i>	<i>šióms</i>	<i>pačioms</i>	<i>kurióms</i>
Acc.	<i>jàs</i>	<i>šiàs</i>	<i>pačias</i>	<i>kurias</i>
Instr.	<i>jomìs</i>	<i>šiomìs</i>	<i>pačiomìs</i>	<i>kuriomìs</i>
Loc.	<i>josè</i>	<i>šiosè</i>	<i>pačiosè</i>	<i>kuriosè</i>

Table 8. Correspondence between the grammatical forms of feminine and masculine pronouns

Masculine forms		Feminine forms	
Paradigm	Nom. Sg.	Paradigm	Nom. Sg.
1, 2	-as	6	-a
3	-s	7	-ia
4, 5	-is, -s	8	-i

4.36 If we compare the declension of masculine and feminine pronouns, we will see that the declension of feminine pronouns is much more uniform than that of masculine pronouns, e.g. *jis, šis* are declined according to Paradigm 4, *pàts* is

declined according to Paradigm 5. The feminine forms of the same pronouns *jì*, *ši*, *patì* are all declined according to Paradigm 8. Similarly, *tàs*, *šitas* are declined according to Paradigm 1, *kìtas*, *visas* – according to Paradigm 2. The feminine forms of all these pronouns – *tà*, *šità*, *kità*, *visà* – are declined according to Paradigm 6.

Pronouns with the nominal suffix *-iškis*, *-ė* (*manìškis*, *-ė* ‘my’, *taviškis*, *-ė* ‘your’, *saviškis*, *-ė* ‘one’s’, *mūsìškis*, *-ė* ‘our’, *jūsìškis*, *-ė* ‘your’) are declined and accented like the noun *namìškis*, *namìškė* ‘a member of the same household’.

Pronouns with quantitative meaning are declined and accented like corresponding numerals: *keli*, *kėlios* are declined and accented like *šeši*, *šėšios*; *keliñtas*, *kelintà* like *penktas*, *penktà*; *kėletas* like *kėtvertas*; *kelerì*, *kėlerios* like *ketverì*, *kėtverios*; *keliólìka* like *keturiólìka*; *ābejetas* like *dvėjetas*; *abefì*, *ābejos* like *dvejì*, *dvėjos*.

4.37 Composite pronouns fall into two declensional groups :

(1) those that consist of one declinable and one indeclinable component: *kažin kàs* (declined like *kàs*), *koks nòrs* (declined like *kòks*), *kokia nòrs* (declined like *kokià*); *tam tikras* (declined like the adjective *tikras*), etc., e.g.:

Nom. *kažin kàs, koks nòrs*
 Gen. *kažin kienō, kokio nòrs*
 Dat. *kažin kám, kokiam nòrs, etc.*

(2) those that consist of two declinable components:

Nom. *kàs ne kàs, šiòks tóks*
 Gen. *kō ne kō, šiòkio tókio*
 Dat. *kám ne kám, šiokiám tokiám, etc.*

ACCENTUATION OF GENDER PRONOUNS

4.38 There are following accentuation patterns for gendered pronouns:

Pattern 1. Like adjectival accentuation pattern 1. The stress falls on the same syllable throughout the whole paradigm: *anòks*, *anókia*; *kitòks*, *kitókia*; *šitòks*, *šitókia*; *vienòks*, *vienókia*; *visòks*, *visókia*. Pronoun *šitas*, *šita/šità* is accented according to two patterns: 1 and 5 (see Paradigm 6 in 4.35).

Pattern 2. Like nominal accentuation pattern 2: *niėkas* like *piřštas*.

Pattern 3. Like adjectival accentuation pattern 3: *jòks*, *jokià*; *kòks*, *kokià*; *šiòks*, *šiokià*; *tòks*, *tokià*; *vienas*, *vienà*; *túlas*, *túlà*; *kažkòks*, *kažkokià*; *kiekvienas*, *kiekvienà*.

Pattern 4. Like adjectival accentuation pattern 4: *kìtas, kità; pàts, patì; vîsas, visà; šìtas, šità; mānas, manà; tāvas, tavà; sāvas, savà*.

Pattern 5. This pattern is specific to gendered pronouns. It includes one syllable pronouns *jis, jì; šis, šì; tàs, tà; kàs* and the pronouns *anàs, anà; katràs, katrà; kuris, kuri; kažkàs; kažkuris, kažkuri* bearing the stress consistently on the last syllable (cf. also *kienõ; jamè, jojè; jomìs, juosè, josè*).

- 4.39 The majority of composite pronouns consisting of two words bear the stress on the second component, which is accented throughout the paradigm like the corresponding one-word pronoun, e.g. *bet kàs; bet kòks, bet kokià; bet kuris, bet kuri; bet katràs, bet katrà; kai kàs; kai kòks, kai kokià; kai kuris, kai kuri; kai katràs, kai katrà; kas nòrs; koks nòrs, kokia nòrs; kuris nòrs, kuri nòrs; katras nòrs, katra nòrs; kažin kàs; kažin kòks, kažin kokià; kažin kuris, kažin kuri; kažin katràs, kažin katrà; nè kòks, nè kokià; nè vîenas, nè vienà; tam tikras, tam tikrà; tas pàts, ta patì; tòks pat, tokià pat(i)*. The pronoun *daug kas* can bear the stress on the first or on the second component: *daũg kas, daũg ko, daũg kam...* or *daug kàs, daug kō, daug kám...* Some composite pronouns can be stressed on both components, e.g.: *aliái vîenas, aliái vienà; šioks tòks, šiokià tokià; vîenas kîtas, vienà kità; kàs ne kàs; kuris ne kuris, kuri ne kuri*.

DUAL NUMBER

- 4.40 Pronominal dual forms are derived from the corresponding pronominal root and the numeral *dù, dvi*. They are declined according to two patterns.

Pattern 1

mùdu, mùdvi, jùdu jùdvi, abù (abùdu), abì (abìdvi)

Masculine gender

Nom.	<i>mùdu</i>	<i>jùdu</i>	<i>abù (abùdu)</i>
Gen.	<i>mùdviejù</i>	<i>jùdviejù</i>	<i>abiejũ</i>
Dat.	<i>mùdviem</i>	<i>jùdviem</i>	<i>abíem</i>
Instr.	<i>mùdviem</i>	<i>jùdviem</i>	<i>abiẽm</i>
Loc.	<i>mùdviejuose</i>	<i>jùdviejuose</i>	<i>abiejuose</i>

Feminine gender

Nom.	<i>mùdvi</i>	<i>jùdvi</i>	<i>abì (abìdvi)</i>
Gen.	<i>mùdviejù</i>	<i>jùdviejù</i>	<i>abiejũ</i>

Dat.	<i>mùdviem</i>	<i>jùdviem</i>	<i>abfem</i>
Acc.	<i>mùdvi</i>	<i>jùdvi</i>	<i>abì (abìdvi)</i>
Instr.	<i>mùdviem</i>	<i>jùdviem</i>	<i>abiēm</i>
Loc.	<i>mùdviejose</i>	<i>jùdviejose</i>	<i>abiejosè</i>

Pattern 2

juõdu (jiẽdu), jiẽdvi, tuõdu, tiẽdvi, šiuõdu, šiẽdvi, anuõdu, aniẽdvi, šituõdu, šitiẽdvi, katruõdu, katriẽdvi, kuriuõdu, kuriẽdvi

Masculine gender

Nom.	<i>juõdu (jiẽdu)</i>	<i>tuõdu</i>	<i>šiuõdu</i>
Gen.	<i>jũdviejũ</i>	<i>tũdviejũ</i>	<i>šiuõdviejũ</i>
Dat.	<i>jiẽ(m)dviem</i>	<i>tiẽ(m)dviem</i>	<i>šiẽ(m)dviem</i>
Acc.	<i>juõdu (jiẽdu)</i>	<i>tuõdu</i>	<i>šiuõdu</i>
Instr.	<i>jiẽ(m)dviem</i>	<i>tiẽ(m)dviem</i>	<i>šiẽ(m)dviem</i>

Feminine gender

Nom.	<i>jiẽdvi</i>	<i>tiẽdvi</i>	<i>šiẽdvi</i>
Gen.	<i>jũdviejũ</i>	<i>tũdviejũ</i>	<i>šiuõdviejũ</i>
Dat.	<i>jõ(m)dviem</i>	<i>tõ(m)dviem</i>	<i>šiuõ(m)dviem</i>
Acc.	<i>jiẽdvi</i>	<i>tiẽdvi</i>	<i>šiẽdvi</i>
Instr.	<i>jõ(m)dviem</i>	<i>tõ(m)dviem</i>	<i>šiuõ(m)dviem</i>

Shortening of pronominal endings

- 4.41** In Modern Lithuanian there is a tendency to shorten certain case endings of pronouns, similarly to those of adjectives. Most often shortened endings occur in the following case forms:

instrumental singular:

maniñ, taviñ, saviñ instead of: *manimì, tavimì, savimì*;

locative singular:

manỹ, tavỹ, savỹ instead of: *manyjè, tavyjè, savyjè*

taiñ, kitiñ, jañ instead of: *tamè, kitamè, jamè*

tõj, kitõj, jõj instead of: *tojè, kitojè, jojè*;

dative plural:

tíem, kitíem, jíem instead of: *tíems, kitíems, jíems*

tóm, kitóm, jóm instead of: *tóms, kitóms, jóms*;

locative plural:

tuōs, kituōs, juōs instead of: *tuosè, kituosè, juosè*.

DECLENSION AND ACCENTUATION OF DEFINITE PRONOUNS

4.42 The following pronouns have definite forms:

tàs, tà – tasaī, tójī

šīs, šī – šisaī, šíojī

anàs, anà – anasaī, anójī

jīs, jī – jisaī, jójī

mānas, manà – manàsis, manójī

tāvas, tavà – tavàsis, tavójī

sāvas, savà – savàsis, savójī

Masculine gender

Singular

Nom.	<i>tasaī</i>	<i>jisaī</i>	<i>manàsis</i>
Gen.	<i>tōjo</i>	<i>jōjo</i>	<i>mānojo</i>
Dat.	<i>tájam</i>	<i>jájam</i>	<i>manájam</i>
Acc.	<i>tāji</i>	<i>jīji</i>	<i>mānaji</i>
Instr.	<i>túoju</i>	<i>júoju</i>	<i>manúoju</i>
Loc.	<i>tājame</i>	<i>jājame</i>	<i>manājame</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>tíejī</i>	<i>jíejī</i>	<i>maníejī</i>
Gen.	<i>tūju</i>	<i>jūju</i>	<i>manūju</i>
Dat.	<i>tíesiems</i>	<i>jíesiems</i>	<i>maníesiems</i>
Acc.	<i>túosius</i>	<i>júosius</i>	<i>manúosius</i>
Instr.	<i>taīslais</i>	<i>jaīslais</i>	<i>manaīslais</i>
Loc.	<i>tuōstiuose</i>	<i>juōstiuose</i>	<i>manuōstiuose</i>

Feminine gender

Singular

Nom.	<i>tóji</i>	<i>jóji</i>	<i>manóji</i>
Gen.	<i>tōsios</i>	<i>jōsios</i>	<i>manōsios</i>
Dat.	<i>tájai</i>	<i>jájai</i>	<i>mānájai</i>
Acc.	<i>tāja</i>	<i>jāja</i>	<i>mānāja</i>
Instr.	<i>tāja</i>	<i>jāja</i>	<i>manāja</i>
Loc.	<i>tōjoje</i>	<i>jōjoje</i>	<i>manōjoje</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>tōsios</i>	<i>jōsios</i>	<i>mānosios</i>
Gen.	<i>tūju</i>	<i>jūju</i>	<i>manūju</i>
Dat.	<i>tósioms</i>	<i>jósioms</i>	<i>manósioms</i>
Acc.	<i>tásias</i>	<i>jásias</i>	<i>manásias</i>
Instr.	<i>tōsiomis</i>	<i>jōsiomis</i>	<i>manōsiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>tōsiose</i>	<i>jōsiose</i>	<i>manōsiose</i>

4.43 In the nominative singular, masculine definite pronouns (except for definite possessive pronouns with the ending *-asts*) have the ending *-ai*, etymologically derived from the emphatic particle (this makes them different from definite adjectives, cf. 2.17ff.).

The emphatic particle *-ai* is also to be found in the nominative singular of some other pronouns which are not definite:

<i>toksaĩ</i> cf.	<i>tóks</i>	'of this kind'
<i>koksaĩ</i>	<i>kóks</i>	'what kind of; some kind of'
<i>šioksaĩ</i>	<i>šióks</i>	'of this kind'
<i>šitoksaĩ</i>	<i>šitóks</i>	'of this kind'
<i>anoksaĩ</i>	<i>anóks</i>	'of that kind'
<i>joksaĩ</i>	<i>jóks</i>	'of no kind'
<i>visoksaĩ</i>	<i>visóks</i>	'of all kinds'
<i>vienoksaĩ</i>	<i>vienóks</i>	'of one kind'
<i>kitoksaĩ</i>	<i>kitóks</i>	'of another kind'
<i>patsaĩ</i>	<i>pàts</i>	'oneself'

The stressed syllable in the dative singular of definite pronouns bears the acute toneme: *tájam* (< *támjam*), *tájai* (< *táijai*).

The endings of the first component, protected by the second component, have retained the long vowel or the diphthong and the acute toneme:

Instr. Sg.	<i>túoju</i>	cf. <i>tuõ</i>
	<i>tája</i>	<i>tà</i>
Acc. Pl.	<i>túosius</i>	<i>tuõs</i>
	<i>tásias</i>	<i>tàs</i>

5 VERB

Veiksmāžodis

- 5.1** Verbs are a class of words denoting actions, processes and states and possessing the morphological categories of tense, mood, person, number and voice.

Finite and non-finite verb forms are distinguished. Finite verb forms are inflected for person, number, tense and mood, and they are used exclusively as predicates in a sentence. Non-finite verb forms cannot be inflected for person: here belong participles (including half-participles and gerunds) and infinitive.

The morphological categories of the verb comprise the following sets of forms:

3 persons of which the 1st and 2nd persons have specific endings: 1st person singular *-u* and plural *-me*, 2nd person singular *-i* and plural *-te*, e.g. *eīn-ù* 'I go', *eīname* 'we go', *eīn-ì* 'you (SG) go', *eīna-te* 'you (PL) go'. The 3rd person form coincides with the stem and thus has no special ending.

2 numbers: singular and plural, which are distinguished in the 1st and 2nd person only. In the 3rd person, number is not distinguished, e.g.: *jīs/ji/jie eīna, ējo, eīs, eītų* 'he/she/they go, went, will go, would go'.

4 tenses: present, past, past frequentative and future. Each tense is represented by simple (synthetic) forms and also by compound (periphrastic) forms. The latter are expressed by a present or past participle (active or passive) of the notional verb with the finite form of the auxiliary *būti* 'be'.

4 moods: the indicative, subjunctive, imperative (represented by finite verb forms) and oblique mood (*modus relativus*), expressed by participles in predicate position.

2 voices: active and passive, the opposition of which is marked mainly by participles. Compound (periphrastic) passive forms with present and past passive participles enter into voice opposition to both compound verb forms containing active participles and simple finite verb forms representing the active voice.

- 5.2** To mark morphological categories in the verb, Lithuanian employs endings and inflectional suffixes.

Endings are used to mark the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural forms and case, number and gender in participles. The endings are attached either to the verbal stem or to the suffix. An ending may have zero form (e.g., in the 3rd person finite forms).

Inflectional suffixes are employed to mark the past tenses, the future tense and all the non-finite verb forms. Some inflectional suffixes (e.g. *-è-ti*, *-y-ti*, *-o-ti*, *-uo-ti*) coincide with derivational suffixes, cf. the inflexional suffix in *gul-è-ti* 'to lie', *gùli* (PRES), *gul-è-jo* (PAST) and derivational suffix in *áukl-è-ti* 'to educate', *áukl-è-ja* (PRES), *áukl-è-jo* (PAST).

Aspect, transitivity, reflexivity and a number of other semantic and syntactic properties of the verb are not morphologized in Lithuanian. They are expressed mostly by various derivational means (suffixes, prefixes, reflexive formants, etc.)

- 5.3 From the semantic point of view, actional, processual and stative verbs can be distinguished.

Actional verbs typically denote: (1) physical actions which may be objectless (e.g. *eiti* 'go, walk', *bėgti* 'run', *dirbti* 'work') or directed at an object (e.g. *nėšti* (*vaiką*) 'carry (a child)', *statyti* (*namus*) 'build (a house)', *válgyti* (*kóšę*) 'eat (porridge)', and (2) social and mental activities (e.g. *pirkti* 'buy', *susitikti* 'meet', *skaityti* 'read', *galvoti* 'think (about)').

Stative verbs denote (1) physical states of things and persons (*gulėti* 'lie', *blizgėti* 'glitter', *siřgti* 'be ill', *žiojėti* 'be wide open'), (2) mental states and perceptions (*mylėti* 'love', *tikėti* 'believe', *žinoti* 'know', *jausti* 'feel', *girdėti* 'hear'), and (3) relations (*turėti* 'have, possess', *priklausyti* 'belong (to), depend (on)', *tikti* 'fit, match', *atródyti* 'seem', etc.).

Processual verbs denote a change of state (*áugti* 'grow', *sénti* 'grow old(er)', *kìsti* 'change', *susiřgti* 'fall ill', *rúgti* 'turn/grow sour', *nókti* 'ripen'), including spontaneous natural phenomena (*lyti* 'rain', *snìgti* 'snow', *témti* 'grow dark', *šálti* 'freeze').

Some verbs may have dual class membership. For instance, a verb may denote an action and a process in different contexts, cf. respectively: *vérdu sriübą* 'I am cooking soup' – *sriübà vérda* 'the soup is cooking'. But more commonly the differences in meaning are marked by means of derivational suffixes, prefixes and the reflexive formant.

Note: In cases when the subcategorization of verbs into actional, processual and stative verbs is irrelevant the term action is used in a wider meaning including processes and states as well.

- 5.4 **Derivational suffixes** are used to derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, other verbs and onomatopoeic words. Verbs are derived by means of the following suffixes: *-(i)au-ti*, *-en-ti*, *-è-ti*, *-inè-ti*, *-in-ti*, *-y-ti*, *-(i)o-ti*, *-(i)uo-ti*, *-tel(è)-ti/-ter(è)-ti*.

Verbs with the same suffix may have different meanings, depending on the grammatical class and semantic type of the underlying word, e.g.: *grįbas* 'mushroom': *gryb-ąuti* 'pick mushrooms', *našlįys/našlė* 'widower/widow': *našl-ąuti* 'be a widower/widow', *šaukti* 'shout': *šauk-anti* 'shout frequently'. Verbs with causative, iterative, semelfactive and other meanings are often derived by means of suffixes (see below). A derivational suffix (unlike an inflectional suffix) is retained in all the grammatical forms of the verb.

Verbal prefixes (unlike suffixes) are used to derive verbs from other verbs only. Prefixes may change the aspectual character of a verb (see 5.18–20), modify the verbal meaning in a variety of ways and transitivize some intransitive verbs (see 5.10). Most of the prefixes have corresponding prepositions either quite identical in form (cf. *į- – į* 'in', *iš- – iš* 'from', *pér- – peř* 'over, across', *su- – su* 'with', *už- – už* 'over; for; by') or with apophonic vowel alternation, cf. *ap(i)- – apiė* 'round; about', *pa- – pō* 'under; after', *nu- – nuō* 'from', *pri- – priė* 'at, by'. The prefixes *at-* and *par-* alone have no counterparts among prepositions in Standard Lithuanian (in Eastern dialects, however, the preposition *pař* is attested, cf. *par-eiti* 'come back', and *par mumi* 'in our surroundings'). The affixes *ne-* and *be-* are also prefixed to verbs, but they differ from the above prefixes in function: *ne-* expresses negation and *be-* is sometimes used to emphasize the duration.

Most of the prefixes retain the spatial meanings of direction, especially with verbs of motion, e.g.: *eiti* 'go' – *ap-eiti* 'go round', *at-eiti* 'come, arrive at/in', *iš-eiti* 'go out', *nu-eiti* 'go down/away', *už-eiti* 'go round, behind', *pér-eiti* 'go over, through', *pra-eiti* 'go past/by', *pri-eiti*, 'go up to', *par-eiti* 'come back, return home', *su-eiti* 'come together'. Prefixes may change the mode of action by rendering such meanings as completeness or end of an action (e.g. *su-dėgti* 'burn out') or its beginning (*su-gaūsti* 'begin to drone'), a small degree (*ap-gįdyti* 'cure a little', *į-leįkti* 'bend somewhat, a little'), ability to perform an action (*iš-dainuoti* 'be able to sing', *pa-nėsti* 'be able to carry'), limited duration (*pa-dainuoti* 'sing a while'), etc.

- 5.5 **Reflexive marker** *-si/-s* is also widely used as a derivational affix with a broad range of semantic functions. In Standard Lithuanian it occupies the final position (after the ending) in unprefixing verbs and the middle position between prefix and root in prefixed verbs, cf.: *keliuo-si* 'I get up' – *at-si-kėliau* 'I got up'.

The full allomorph *-si-* is used in final position in most of the finite verb forms, e.g.: *kėlia-si* 'he (they) get(s) up', *kėlėsi* 'he (they) got up', *kėldavo-si* 'he (they) used to get up'; it is also used in the plural forms of participles (including half-participles) of unprefixing verbs, e.g.: *kelią-si*, *kėliančio(s)-si* 'getting up'; *kėlę-si*, *kėlusio(s)-si* 'having got up'; *kėldamie-si*, *kėldamo(s)-si* '(while) getting up', also in feminine of the half-participle, e.g.: *kėldama-si* '(while) getting up'. In medial position, the full allomorph *-si-* alone can be used: *at-si-kėliau* 'I got up'.

The shortened allomorph *-s* is used in final position: in the 1st and 2nd person plural indicative, subjunctive and imperative, 2nd person singular imperative and in the infinitive, e.g.: *kēliamē-s* ‘we get up’, *kēliatē-s* ‘you get up’, *kēltumē-s* ‘we would get up’, *kēlkimē-s* ‘let’s get up’ etc. If the reflexive marker is preceded by a consonant, the vowel marker *-i-* is inserted before the short allomorph in final position, as in the 3rd person future tense form: *kēls-is* ‘he will get up’, in the nominative singular masculine of active participles: *keliāš-is*, *kēļes-is*, *kēlsiāš-is*, *kēldamas-is* and gerunds: *kēliant-is*, *kēlus-is*, *kēldavus-is*, *kēlsiant-is*.

In many dialects, the short variant of the reflexive marker alone is employed in the final position. Under their influence the shortened reflexive forms of finite verbs are often used in colloquial speech as well, e.g.: *keliūo-s* ‘I get up’, *kēlie-s* ‘you (SG) get up’, *kēliau-s* ‘I got up’, etc.

TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

- 5.6 Transitive and intransitive verbs constitute two major syntactic classes the members of which are also characterized by semantic and derivational properties. Transitive verbs are used with a direct object in the accusative case (e.g. *daryti klaidās* ‘make mistakes’, *skaityti knygą* ‘read a book’) or by the genitive (*laukti draugo* ‘wait for a friend’, *norėti obuolio* ‘want an apple’). Intransitive verbs take no direct object, e.g. *miegoti* ‘sleep’, *vaiکشچioti* ‘walk’, *bėgti* ‘run’.

Some verbs can be used as intransitives or transitives with a difference in their meaning (i.e. with or without relation to an object), cf.:

<i>Sėnis dār mato geraĩ.</i>	‘The old man sees well yet’ (intransitive).
<i>Mataũ mišką.</i>	‘I see a forest’ (transitive).

However, many transitive verbs have intransitive counterparts related to them by various formal and derivational means. Here belong:

- (1) pairs of verbs with apophonic vowel alternation in the root, such as *kilti* ‘rise’ – *kėlti* ‘raise’;
- (2) pairs comprised of an intransitive verb and its transitive derivative with the causative suffixes *-(d)in-ti*; *-(d)y-ti*, cf. *pỹkti* ‘be angry’ – *pỹkdyti* ‘make angry’;
- (3) pairs with a prefixed transitive derivative, cf. *veřkti* ‘cry’ – *praveřkti akis* ‘cry one’s eyes out’;
- (4) pairs comprising a transitive verb and its reflexive derivative, cf. *keĩsti* ‘change, make different’ (tr.) – *keĩstis* ‘change’ (intr.).

The first two formal oppositions express the semantic causative opposition. In the case of prefixation, the lexical meaning is usually changed.

Verbs with vowel alternation

- 5.7 The oldest core of the transitive : intransitive opposition in Lithuanian is represented by primary verbs with the apophonic vowel alternation in the root marking causative relationship:

drikti 'tear, become torn' – *drėkti* 'tear, make torn'
kisti 'change, become different' – *keisti* 'change, make different'
liñkti 'bend, become bent' – *leñkti* 'bend, make bent'
lúžti 'break, become broken' – *láužti* 'break, make broken'
tįsti 'become longer, stretch' – *tęsti* 'make longer, pull, stretch'
viřsti 'overturn, be overturned' – *veřsti* 'overturn (something)'
žirti 'spill, be spilled' – *žeřti/žėrti* 'spill (something)'

The intransitive members of the oppositions usually denote process, i.e. a change of state, and their transitive counterparts denote causation of the same state. The intransitive verb typically takes an inanimate subject which becomes a direct object of the transitive verb which acquires an animate (typically human), sometimes inanimate subject, e.g.:

<i>Šakà paliñko.</i>	'The branch bent.'
<i>Vaikas/Vėjas pàlenkė šaką.</i>	'The boy/the wind bent the branch.'

This means of derivation is unproductive in Modern Lithuanian.

A few verbs, namely *dėgti* 'burn', *kėpti* 'bake, fry' and *virti* 'boil, cook', are grammatical indeterminates: they are used both transitively as causatives and intransitively without any change of form:

<i>Dúona kėpa.</i>	'The bread is baking.'
<i>Mamà kėpa dúoną.</i>	'Mother is baking bread.'

Semantically, they are identical with the *lúžti* – *láužti* type of verbs in that they express the causative opposition.

Verbs with causative suffixes

- 5.8 The causative suffixes *-(d)in-ti* and *-(d)y-ti* which add the causative sense to non-causative verbs also have transitivity force. They are a productive means of

derivation in the verbal system of Lithuanian. The following principal subtypes of this derivational pattern can be distinguished:

(1) The suffix is added to the root of primary verbs some of which have the infix *-n-* or *-st-* in the present tense form; cf.:

(a) verbs without an infix:

<i>áugti</i> 'grow' (intr.)	: <i>auginti</i> 'grow' (trans.)
<i>àuga</i>	<i>augina</i>
<i>dègti</i> 'burn' (intr.)	: <i>dėginti</i> 'burn, fry' (trans.)
<i>dėga</i>	<i>dėgina</i>

(b) verbs with an infix *-n-* or *-st-* in the present:

<i>blūkti</i> 'fade, lose colour'	: <i>blūkinti</i> 'bleach' (trans.)
<i>bluñka</i>	<i>blūkina</i>
<i>smīlkti</i> 'smoulder, fume'	: <i>smilkýti</i> 'fumigate'
<i>smīksta</i>	: <i>smilko</i>

(2) The suffix is added in conjunction with vowel alternation in the root which usually has an infix in the present tense, cf.:

<i>dýgti</i> 'sprout, begin to grow'	: <i>daiginti</i> 'cause to grow'
<i>dýgsta</i>	<i>daigina</i>
<i>gèsti</i> 'spoil, go bad'	: <i>gadinti</i> 'spoil (sth)'
<i>geñda</i>	<i>gadina</i>

(3) The causative suffix alternates with the suffix *-ė-ti* of an intransitive verb, cf.:

<i>kabėti</i> 'be hanging'	: <i>kabinti</i> 'make hang'
<i>kalėti</i> 'be imprisoned'	: <i>kālinti</i> 'keep in prison'
<i>klūpėti</i> 'kneel'	: <i>klupdyti</i> 'make kneel'
<i>varvėti</i> 'drip, fall in drops'	: <i>vařvinti</i> 'drip, let fall in drops'

The suffixes *-(d)in-ti*, *-(d)y-ti* are also used to derive causative verbs from a few transitives:

<i>válgyti</i> 'eat'	: <i>valgydinti</i> 'feed, give to eat'
<i>gėrti</i> 'drink'	: <i>girdyti</i> 'give (sb) to drink water (animals)'
<i>lėsti</i> 'peck'	: <i>lėsinti</i> 'feed (birds, poultry)'

The object of the underlying verb is usually deleted in the causative construction, the subject being demoted to direct object:

<i>Vaiķas vālgė kōšę.</i>	'The child ate gruel.'
<i>Áuklė valgydino vaiķą .</i>	'The nurse fed the child.'

- 5.9 Among transitive verbs, a small group of so-called **curative verbs** (*parūpinamieji veiksmāžodžiai*) is distinguished which are close in meaning to causative verbs. They are derived from transitive verbs by means of the suffix *-dinti* and have the meaning 'make somebody to perform the action', as in the following oppositions:

<i>statyti namą</i>	'build a house'
<i>statydinti namą</i>	'build a house by inviting builders to do the actual work'
<i>kalti monetàs</i>	'mint coins'
<i>kaldinti monetàs</i>	'mint coins by ordering the mint to make them'
<i>siūti sijoną</i>	'make (lit. sew) a skirt'
<i>siūdinti sijoną</i>	'have a skirt made by a dress-maker'

Prefixation

- 5.10 Derivation by prefixation sometimes involves transitivity of intransitive verbs without ever involving semantic causativization, cf.:

<i>skristi</i> 'fly'	: <i>apskristi namùs</i> 'fly round the house'
<i>verkti</i> 'cry'	: <i>praverkti akis</i> 'cry one's eyes out'
<i>augti</i> 'grow'	: <i>išaugti švašką</i> 'grow out of (one's) coat'

The direct object of a transitive derivative usually has specifying or limiting force. Most regularly, prefixes transitivize verbs of motion, in which case they retain their spatial meaning of direction and the verbs acquire an object with a spatial or contiguous meaning, cf.:

<i>eiti</i> 'go'	: <i>pereiti gatvę</i> 'cross (go across) the street'
<i>keliuoti</i> 'travel'	: <i>apkeliuoti pasáulį</i> 'travel round the world'
<i>važiuoti</i> 'go (by car), drive'	: <i>pervaziuoti káimą</i> 'go (drive) through a village'

Sometimes the derivative verb requires a tautological (dummy) object:

<i>gyventi</i> 'live'	: <i>pragyventi gyvėnimą</i> 'live (through) one's life'
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Prefixated derivative verbs retain the subject of the underlying intransitive verb and their semantic relationship with it.

Reflexivization

- 5.11 A great number of reflexive verbs are opposed to their non-reflexive counterparts with respect to transitivity: the non-reflexive verb is transitive and the

corresponding reflexive verb is intransitive, cf.:

<i>reñgti</i> 'dress (smb), prepare (sth)'	: <i>reñgtis</i> 'dress oneself, prepare for (oneself)'
<i>ginti</i> 'defend, protect'	: <i>gintis</i> 'defend oneself, protect oneself'
<i>mókyti</i> 'teach'	: <i>mókytis</i> 'learn, study'
<i>maitinti</i> 'feed, nourish'	: <i>maitintis</i> 'feed on, take food'

The semantic relationship between a reflexive derivative and its underlying verb varies within broad limits, due to the polysemy of the reflexive marker. Reflexive verbs constitute a wide set of semantic and syntactic classes described in the following chapter.

REFLEXIVE VERBS

- 5.12** Verbs derived from verbal stems by means of the reflexive marker alone constitute the major class of reflexive verbs in Lithuanian. The reflexive marker may change the verbal meaning in a variety of ways, it is also a valence-changing derivational affix. Therefore, reflexive verbs are heterogeneous with respect to their semantic relations with the underlying verbs and, correspondingly, to changes in their syntactic properties. A number of regular syntactic and semantic types of reflexive verbs can be distinguished.

Reflexive verbs can be divided into the following principal types:

(1) **Subjective reflexives** termed so because they retain the subject of the underlying verb; the direct object of the latter is most frequently deleted, e.g.:

<i>Àprengiau vaĩkà.</i>	'I dressed the child.'
– <i>Apsirengiau.</i>	'I dressed myself.'

In some verbs, the direct object is demoted to an oblique object:

<i>Vaikaĩ sváido àkmenis.</i>	'The children throw stones (ACC).'
– <i>Vaikaĩ sváidosi akmenimis.</i>	'The children throw stones (INSTR).'

These reflexives are rather heterogeneous lexically, and they do not make up any distinct semantic types.

(2) **Objective reflexives** in which the direct object of the underlying verb becomes subject, while the original subject is deleted, as in:

<i>Jiẽ viskà pàkeitė.</i>	'They changed everything.'
– <i>Viskas pasikeitė.</i>	'Everything (NOM) changed.'

or it is demoted to an oblique object:

Visūs žāvi vaikaĩ. 'The children (NOM) charm everybody (ACC).'
 – *Visĩ žāvisĩ vaikaĩs.* 'Everybody (NOM) admires the children (INSTR).'

Both subjective and objective reflexives are derived from transitive verbs and undergo intransitivization, but their intransitivity is a result of different syntactic processes.

(3) **Transitive reflexives** which retain both the subject and direct object of the underlying verb: the reflexive affix marks deletion of the indirect object in the dative case:

Nupirkaũ sũnui kepũrę. 'I bought (my) son a cap.'
 – *Nusĩpirkaũ kepũrę.* 'I bought myself a cap.'

Transitive reflexives with the dative reflexive meaning 'for oneself' are as numerous as subjective and objective reflexives.

(4) Opposed to the above syntactic types are rather numerous reflexive verbs which retain the syntactic properties of the underlying verb. They are derived from some transitive and intransitive verbs. These verbs either retain their meaning or they acquire some additional sense; e.g.:

<i>bijóti</i>	<i>bijótis</i>	'be afraid'
<i>ĩkvępti</i>	<i>ĩsĩkvępti (óro)</i>	'inhale (some air)'
<i>pakláusti</i>	<i>pasĩkláusti</i>	'ask'
<i>užtarnáuti</i>	<i>užsitarnáuti</i>	'deserve, earn for oneself'
<i>apžeřgti</i>	<i>apsĩžeřgti</i>	'straddle'
<i>sęsti</i>	<i>sęstis</i>	'sit down'

5.13 The overwhelming majority of reflexive verbs, which are extremely numerous in Lithuanian, are derived from non-reflexive verbs by adding the clitic *s(i)* alone, as is described above. A considerable number of reflexives are derived by adding a prefix and the reflexive affix to an unprefixated verb, e.g.:

<i>draugáuti</i> 'be friends'	: <i>susĩdraugáuti</i> 'become friends'
<i>liepsnóti</i> 'flame, blaze'	: <i>užsĩliepsnóti</i> 'flame up, flare up'
<i>lyti</i> 'rain'	: <i>ĩsĩlyti</i> 'rain incessantly'

There are also reflexive verbs derived from nouns and adjectives by means of both a verb-forming suffix and the reflexive affix, e.g.:

<i>svęčias</i> 'guest'	: <i>svečĩuotis</i> 'be a guest'
<i>dárbas</i> 'work'	: <i>darbũotis</i> 'work, be engaged in work'
<i>šakà</i> 'branch'	: <i>šakóti</i> 'branch out'
<i>kuklũs</i> 'modest'	: <i>kũklintis</i> 'be over-modest'
<i>bjaurũs</i> 'nasty'	: <i>bjaurętis</i> 'loath (regard as nasty)'
<i>skaidrũs</i> 'clear'	: <i>skaidrytis</i> 'clear up/away'

A number of reflexive verbs are unrelated to any underlying verbs (or other words), i.e. **reflexiva tantum**, e.g.:

<i>juōktis</i> 'laugh'	<i>dairýtis</i> 'look around'
<i>eļģtis</i> 'behave'	<i>stēngtis</i> 'try, strive'
<i>bastýtis</i> 'wander, roam'	<i>teiráutis</i> 'inquire'

5.14 Subjective reflexives with deleted object fall into the following principal semantic groups:

(1) **Semantic reflexives** (or **reflexives proper**), i.e. reflexive verbs with the affix meaning 'oneself', e.g.:

<i>mazgótis</i> 'wash oneself'	<i>ginklúotis</i> 'arm oneself'
<i>aukótis</i> 'sacrifice oneself'	<i>ģintis</i> 'defend oneself'

In these verbs the reflexive affix denotes coreference of the semantic subject (Agent) and semantic object (Patient). They derive from verbs taking a human object.

(2) **Partitive-reflexive verbs** termed so because the reflexive affix denotes coreference of a partitive semantic object (usually a body-part or some possession or property of the Agent) with the semantic subject (the whole). These reflexives are derived from verbs taking a partitive object, cf.:

<i>skūstis bařzda</i> 'shave one's beard'	: <i>skūstis</i> 'shave oneself'
<i>užmērkti akis</i> 'close one's eyes'	: <i>užsimērkti</i> 'close one's eyes'
<i>išžeřģti kójas</i> 'spread one's legs'	: <i>išsižeřģti</i> 'spread one's legs'
<i>valdýti jausmūs</i> 'control one's feelings'	: <i>valdýtis</i> 'control oneself'
<i>užsēģti mārškinis</i> 'button up one's shirt'	: <i>užsisēģti</i> 'button up one's clothes'

A number of reflexives allow two interpretations, either as semantic reflexives or as partitive-reflexive verbs, e.g.:

<i>praūstis</i> 'wash oneself/one's face'
<i>susižeřģti</i> 'hurt oneself/a body part'

(3) **'Absolute' reflexives**, in which the reflexive clitic marks deletion of the direct object without denoting any coreference; they often develop the modal-potential meaning and come to denote a habitual activity or permanent characteristic of the subject referent, as in:

<i>vaikas mūšasi</i> 'the boy fights (is pugnacious)'
<i>arklīs spārdosi</i> 'the horse kicks (is in the habit of kicking)'

Here belong:

<i>kéiktis</i> 'swear'	<i>kibintis</i> 'pester'
<i>bārtis</i> 'curse'	<i>stūmdytis</i> 'jostle, push'
<i>mēģđziotis</i> 'tease'	<i>badýtis</i> 'butt (of horned animals)' etc.

(4) **Self-moving, or autocausative reflexives** mostly denoting motion or change of posture of the semantic subject:

kéltis 'rise, get up' (cf. *kélti* 'raise (sth.)')
leñktis 'bend (down)'
spráustis 'squeeze oneself (into)'
sùktis 'whirl, turn'
ařtintis 'approach, come nearer'
veřstis 'turn (from side to side), roll down'
mèstis 'throw oneself'
slèptis 'hide (oneself)'
iřsitiřsti 'draw oneself up, stretch oneself' etc.

These reflexives are intransitivized both syntactically and semantically, and they are similar in meaning to intransitive verbs of motion like *judėti* 'move', *bėgti* 'run', *řokti* 'jump'.

(5) **Reciprocal reflexives**, with the derivational meaning 'each other':

<i>bučiúotis</i> 'kiss each other'	<i>apsikabinti</i> 'embrace each other'
<i>svėikintis</i> 'greet each other'	<i>mùštis</i> 'fight, beat each other'
<i>bártis</i> 'quarrel'	<i>spárdytis</i> 'kick each other'

Some of the verbs double as reciprocals, when used with a plural subject, and absolute reflexives, when used with a singular subject, e.g.:

<i>Vaikaĩ mùřasi.</i>	'The boys are fighting.'
– <i>Vaĩkas mùřasi.</i>	'The boy is pugnacious.'
<i>Mės visadà svėikinamės.</i>	'We always say hello to each other.'
– <i>Įis visadà svėikinasi.</i>	'He always says hello (is polite).'

5.15 **Objective reflexives with deleted subject** also fall into a number of semantic types of which the most numerous and semantically prominent are decausative reflexives, and also quasi-passive reflexives.

(1) **Decausative reflexives** are termed so because they lose the causative sense of the underlying verb, the reflexive affix serving as an anticausative marker. Decausative reflexives enter into the causative semantic opposition with the underlying verbs in the same way as primary intransitive verbs with their causative derivatives (e.g. *áugti* 'grow' : *auginti* 'grow (sth)') and verbs with apophonic vowel alternation (e.g. *lúžti* 'break' : *láužti* 'break (sth)'), cf.:

<i>Úždegiau řvięsą.</i>	'I turned on the lights.'
– <i>Řviesà užsidegė.</i>	'The lights came on.'

Here the transitive verb *uždėgti* 'cause to start burning' is the causative counterpart of the reflexive *užsidėgti* 'start burning'.

Decausative reflexive verbs may denote states, processes (both spontaneous and induced), and actions.

The following verbs illustrate the lexical range of this semantic type of reflexives:

<i>atsidaryti</i> 'open (intr.)'	<i>baidytis</i> 'get frightened'
<i>kartótis</i> 'repeat itself'	<i>jáudintis</i> 'worry'
<i>keĩstis</i> 'change'	<i>ĩsĩzeĩsti</i> 'be offended'
<i>kũrėntis</i> 'burn (of a stove)'	<i>rũstintis</i> 'be angry'
<i>lĩetis</i> 'pour, flow'	<i>nusivĩlti</i> 'be disappointed'
<i>pĩldytis</i> 'come true'	<i>ramintis</i> 'calm down'
<i>plėstis</i> 'dilate, spread'	<i>užsigáuti</i> 'take offence'
<i>taisĩytis</i> 'improve'	<i>kankintis</i> 'suffer'
<i>kaũptis</i> 'accumulate'	<i>nusivaryti</i> 'get tired out'
<i>vĩstytis</i> 'develop'	<i>rikiũotis</i> 'line up'
<i>rĩstis</i> 'roll'	<i>riĩktis</i> 'come together'
<i>sklaidĩtis</i> 'clear away, lift (of fog, etc.)'	<i>jũngtis</i> 'unite'
<i>tėstis</i> 'continue, last'	<i>spiėstis</i> 'gather, come together'
<i>sũktis</i> 'rotate, turn'	<i>skirstytis</i> 'disperse', etc.

Quite a number of reflexive decausatives enter into triads like *kĩsti* 'change' (intr.) – *keĩsti* 'change' (tr.) – *keĩstis* 'change' (intr.), *liĩkti* 'bend' (intr.) – *leĩkti* 'bend' (tr.) – *leĩktis* 'bend' (intr.), *mažėti* 'become small(er)' – *māžinti* 'make smaller' – *māžintis* 'become smaller'.

In these triads both intransitives enter into a causative opposition with the transitive verbs, while between themselves they may differ in lexical meaning and combinability to a greater or lesser degree (cf. *plĩsti* 'spread' – *plėstis* 'expand'). The intransitive verbs with apophonic alternation in the root mostly denote spontaneous changes in the non-animate subjects whereas the corresponding reflexive verbs express the changes induced through the effort of animate (usually human) subjects, cf.:

<i>Mėdžiai liĩko nuo snĩgo.</i>	'The trees bent under the snow.'
– <i>Lenkiũosi jũms ligi žėmės.</i>	'I bow low before you.'
<i>Jaũ kĩla rĩkas.</i>	'A mist is rising already.'
– <i>Duktė dár tik kėliasi.</i>	'My daughter is getting up yet.'

However, sometimes the reflexive verbs are very similar in meaning to their non-reflexive intransitive counterparts, e.g.:

<i>Vĩskas kiĩta /keĩčiasi.</i>	'Everything changes.'
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(2) **Quasi-passive reflexives** enter into specific semantic relations with the underlying verbs:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (a) <i>Užrakink duris!</i> | 'Lock the door!' |
| – <i>Dūrys lengvai rakinasi.</i> | 'The door locks easily.' |
| (b) <i>Išėikvėjau daug pinigų.</i> | 'I (have) spent much money.' |
| – <i>Daug pinigų išsieikvėjo.</i> | 'Much money got spent.' |

These reflexives are termed quasi-passive because they always imply a human agent (though it may be unexpressed) and sometimes they can be paraphrased by a passive construction, e.g.:

Visos krātuvės užsidarė/buvo uždarytos. 'All shops were closed.'

In cases like (a) quasi-passive reflexives acquire the modal potential meaning and characterize the subject referent; they occur, as a rule, with qualitative adverbials (*gerai* 'well', *lengvai* 'easily', *suñkiai* 'with difficulty', etc.) or with negation. In cases like (b) they acquire the modal sense 'unexpectedly', 'by chance'. In the latter case the verb occurs in the past tense with the perfect meaning. The following sentences also illustrate the use of quasi-passive reflexives:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>Nósinės greitai tēpasi.</i> | 'Handkerchiefs get dirty fast.' |
| <i>Perkelis gerai dėvisi.</i> | 'Cotton wears well (i.e. lasts a long time without showing damage).' |
| <i>Tà vielà nesilañksto.</i> | 'This wire does not bend (is not flexible).' |
| <i>Muīlas greit susimuīljo.</i> | 'The soap got used up fast.' |
| <i>Bātai nusiavėjo.</i> | 'The shoes got worn out.' |

5.16 Objective reflexives with demoted subject comprise two important, though not numerous semantic types of verbs:

(1) **Converse reflexives**, in which the reflexive affix marks lexical converseness, e.g.:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Ežeras atspindi dañgų.</i> | 'The lake (NOM) reflects the sky (ACC).' |
| – <i>Dangūs atspindi ežerè.</i> | 'The sky (NOM) is reflected in the lake (LOC).' |
| <i>Girdžiù mùziką.</i> | 'I (NOM) hear music (ACC).' |
| – <i>Man girdisi/girdėti mùzika.</i> | 'I (DAT) can hear music (NOM).' |

Converse reflexives are rather heterogeneous lexically; here also belong:

vainikúotis 'be crowned with (fig.)' *susivilióti* 'be tempted'
sapnúotis 'appear in a dream' *žavėtis* 'be charmed'
nusivilti 'be disappointed'

(2) **Reflexive-causative verbs** are related to the underlying verb in the following way:

Sėnis saždė darbininkùs. 'The old man (NOM) hired labourers (ACC).'
 – *Darbiniñkai pasisamdė pas sėnij.* 'Labourers (NOM) hired themselves out to a farmer (Prep – ACC).'

Kirpėja manė apkirpo. 'The barber (NOM) gave me (ACC) a haircut.'
 – *Aš apsikirpaũ pas kirpėjã.* 'I (NOM) had my hair cut at the barber's (Prep – ACC).'

Reflexive-causative verbs are derived from verbs of professional activities and they acquire the causative meaning of initiating the action named by the underlying verb. Here belong:

skùstis 'get a shave'
gýdytis 'undergo treatment'
registrúotis 'register oneself'
fotografúotis 'have one's photo taken'

- 5.17 **Transitive reflexives** with indirect object deletion acquire the dative-reflexive meaning 'for oneself' (cf. 5.12(3)). This meaning signifies coreference of the subject and dative object: *nusipiřkti* = *nupiřkti sau* 'buy (for) oneself'. Dative transitive reflexives are extremely numerous and widely used.

The following subtypes can be distinguished:

(1) reflexives of dressing derived from verbs with an obligatory dative object according to the pattern *uždėti vaikui kepùrę* lit. 'put on a cap (ACC) to the child (DAT)':

užsiviřkti pãltã 'put on a coat'
aũtis 'put on (shoes)'
nusiaũti 'take off (shoes)'
nusiviřkti 'take off (a coat and the like)'
užsimãuti 'put on (gloves, etc.)'
nusimãuti 'take off (gloves, etc.)'

(2) reflexive-possessive verbs like:

praũstis vėidã 'wash one's face'
valýtis dantis 'clean one's teeth'
susitėpti rankàs 'dirty one's hands'
įsipjãuti piřštã 'cut one's finger', etc.

(in this case the possessive relationship between subject and object is obligatorily marked);

(3) reflexive-benefactive verbs derived from verbs with an optional dative object:

nusipiřkti 'buy for oneself'
pasidaryti 'make for oneself'
statyti 'build for oneself'
užsirašyti 'write down (for oneself, one's own sake)'
mėgztis 'knit for oneself'
prašyti 'beg for oneself'

This subset is particularly numerous and varied with respect to the range of lexical meanings.

ASPECTUAL DIFFERENCES

5.18 Aspect is a semantic category of the Lithuanian verb expressed by derivational means, mainly by prefixation. Two aspectual meanings are distinguished: perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect (*įvykio veikslas*) comprises the notion of completed action with an implication of its limit or achieved result. The imperfective aspect (*eigōs veikslas*) lacks this meaning; it views an action in its continuation.

5.19 The perfective meaning is mainly characteristic of prefixed verbs. Many prefixed verbs, especially in the past and future tense forms, carry the meaning of a completed action and in this respect they are contrasted with the unprefixed verbs, cf.:

<i>rašiaũ</i> 'I was writing'	: <i>parašiaũ</i> 'I wrote/have written'
<i>stačiaũ</i> 'I was building'	: <i>pastačiaũ</i> 'I built/have built'
<i>baudžiaũ</i> 'I was punishing'	: <i>nũbaudžiaũ</i> 'I punished'
<i>gėlbėjau</i> 'I was rescuing'	: <i>išgėlbėjau</i> 'I rescued/have rescued'
<i>vykdžiaũ</i> 'I was accomplishing'	: <i>įvykdžiaũ</i> 'I accomplished/have accomplished'

The prefix *pa-* is the most common perfectivizing prefix. Other prefixes also often add to the verb a meaning of limit or result of action, cf.: *láužti* 'break' : *atláužti* 'break off', *dėgti* 'burn (intr.)' : *sudėgti* 'burn up' etc. In the case of intransitive process verbs the unprefixed verb usually denotes a process in its progress while the prefixed derivative denotes the completed process, e.g.:

<i>balti</i> 'be growing white'	: <i>išbalti</i> 'become white'
<i>nokti</i> 'be ripening'	: <i>prinokti</i> 'become ripe'

skęsti 'be drowning' : *nuskęsti/paskęsti* 'be drowned'
mažęti 'be growing small(er)' : *sumażęti* 'become small'

However, there are few 'purely' perfective-imperfective pairs of prefixed vs. unprefixed verbs in Lithuanian like *daryti* : *padaryti* 'make'. The perfectivizing prefixes usually modify the lexical meaning of the verb in a variety of ways. The prefixed verbs can denote the beginning of an action (cf.: *dainuoti* 'sing' : *uždainuoti* 'begin to sing', *sięgti* 'be ill' : *susięgti* 'fall ill'), the single event (*bučiuoti* 'kiss' : *pabučiuoti* 'give a kiss', *žvelgti* 'look' : *pažvelgti* 'cast a glance'), the renewing (repeating) of an action (*kurti* 'create' : *atkurti* 'recreate, renew'; *rašyti* 'write' : *perrašyti* 'rewrite'), etc.

An unprefixed verb may have a number of prefixed derivatives each having a perfective sense together with other different meanings, cf.:

dirbti 'work' : *nudirbti* 'accomplish some work'
išdirbti 'spend some time working'
sudirbti 'spoil, discredit'

rūgti 'grow sour' : *išrūgti* 'turn sour, finish fermenting'
parūgti 'become somewhat (a little) sour, ferment (for some time)'
pėrrūgti 'turn sour (all through, entirely)'
surūgti 'become sour'

The perfective-imperfective contrast is often expressed by the opposition of tense forms. Many verbs with prefixes denoting the direction or modifying the verbal meaning in some other way, have a perfective meaning in past and future tense forms but they are imperfective in the present, cf.:

<i>ateinù</i> 'I am coming'	<i>atęjaũ</i> 'I came'	<i>ateišiu</i> 'I will come'
<i>įnešù</i> 'I am bringing in'	<i>įnešiau</i> 'I brought in'	<i>įnešiu</i> 'I will bring in'
<i>apžiuriù</i> 'I am inspecting'	<i>apžiūręjau</i> 'I inspected'	<i>apžiūrėsiu</i> 'I will inspect'
<i>uždaraũ</i> 'I am closing'	<i>uždariaũ</i> 'I closed'	<i>uždarysiu</i> 'I will close'

There is also a group of unprefixed verbs of dual aspectual character, e.g. *miręti* 'die', *gimęti* 'be born', *durti* 'thrust, prick', *rasti* 'find', *laimęti* 'win', *baįgti* 'finish'. The aspectual meaning of these verbs also depends on the tense form and context: their present tense form is imperfective and the simple past and future tense forms are either perfective (mostly) or imperfective according to context, e.g.:

<i>Ĵis miręsta.</i>	'He dies, is dying (IMPF).'
<i>Mergaitę mirę vękar.</i>	'The girl died (PF) yesterday.'
<i>Ĵmónęs mirę kasdięn.</i>	'People died (IMPF) every day.'

5.20 The imperfective meaning is most characteristic of unprefixated verbs, e.g.: *árti* 'plough', *dìrbti* 'work', *lýti* 'rain', *láukti* 'wait', *něšti* 'carry', *pìlti* 'pour', *pìnti* 'weave', *tráukti* 'pull', *švìlpti* 'whistle', *vèžti* 'carry, drive', *žiūrėti* 'look', *žaīsti* 'play', and a host of others. All tense forms of such verbs are imperfective.

The verbs derived by means of suffixes are usually imperfective, because the suffixes (except *-el(ė)-ti/-er(ė)-ti*) have imperfectivizing force, e.g.:

<i>braukýti</i> 'wipe, brush away (repeatedly)'	(: <i>braũkti</i> 'wipe, brush away')
<i>nešióti</i> 'carry (repeatedly), wear'	(: <i>něšti</i> 'carry, bear')
<i>švìlpauti</i> 'whistle (repeatedly, slightly)'	(: <i>švìlpti</i> 'whistle')
<i>šúkaiti</i> 'shout (repeatedly, for some time)'	(: <i>šaũkti</i> 'shout')
<i>mětyti</i> 'throw, fling (repeatedly)'	(: <i>mèsti</i> 'throw (once)')
<i>sūpúoti</i> 'rock (gently; for some time)'	(: <i>sũpti</i> 'rock, swing')
<i>šokinėti</i> 'jump (repeatedly), hop'	(: <i>šókti</i> 'jump, leap (once or repeatedly)')
<i>žvìlgčioti</i> 'glance (repeatedly), look (from time to time)'	(: <i>žveĩgti</i> 'glance, cast a glance')
<i>lũkuriuoti</i> 'wait patiently, tarry'	(: <i>láukti</i> 'wait')

As we see, in most cases the suffixed verbs acquire the imperfective meanings of iterativity, or duration, or state. The only perfectivizing suffix is *-er(ė)ti/-el(ė)ti* with momentary meaning, e.g.:

<i>šúktelėti</i>	'utter a cry'
<i>trinktelėti</i>	'bang, slam (once)'
<i>žvìlgterėti</i>	'cast a glance'

Among prefixed verbs, the imperfective aspect is characteristic of those which do not occur without a prefix (e.g.: *pāsakoti* 'tell (about), narrate', *prieštaráuti* 'object', *užgaulióti* 'offend, insult', *uždarbiáuti* 'earn a living') or whose lexical meaning is quite different from that of the unprefixated counterpart, e.g.:

<i>padėti</i> 'help'	(: <i>dėti</i> 'put, place')
<i>priklausýti</i> 'depend'	(: <i>klausýti</i> 'listen')
<i>apsieĩti</i> 'manage (without)'	(: <i>eĩti</i> 'walk, go')
<i>atsidúoti</i> 'smell (of)'	(: <i>dúoti</i> 'give')
<i>užjaũsti</i> 'sympathize (with)'	(: <i>jaũsti</i> 'feel')
<i>sutaĩti</i> 'get on (with smb)'	(cf. <i>taĩti</i> 'say')

The prefixed verbs denoting the ability to perform the action are imperfective in all the tense forms, e.g.:

<i>paėĩti</i>	'be able to walk'
<i>paskaitýti</i>	'be able to read'
<i>nusėdėti</i>	'be able to keep one's seat', etc.

Verbs with the suffix *-inė-ti* derived from prefixed verbs are also imperfective. Due to its iterative meaning this suffix is often used as means of secondary imperfectivization: it ascribes the imperfective meaning to the prefixed verbs, which are usually perfective in the past and future tense forms, e.g.:

<i>atidavinėti</i> 'give back, return repeatedly'	(: <i>atiduoti</i> 'give back, return')
<i>atleidinėti</i> 'dismiss repeatedly'	(: <i>atléisti</i> 'dismiss')
<i>pažeidinėti</i> 'violate repeatedly'	(: <i>pažeisti</i> 'violate')
<i>supirkinėti</i> 'buy up repeatedly'	(: <i>supiškinti</i> 'buy up')
<i>užpuldinėti</i> 'attack repeatedly'	(: <i>užpūlti</i> 'attack')

Morphological categories of the verb

TENSE

Laikas

- 5.21 The category of tense finds expression in sets of verbal forms marking the different time relation of the action, process or state to the moment of speech or to another point or period of time indicated in the sentence. Accordingly, there are three main tense groups in Lithuanian: present, past and future.

Depending on whether the tense forms are formed with the help of endings or with the help of auxiliaries, Lithuanian tenses are said to be simple or compound. Simple tenses are four in number:

Present:	<i>dërba</i> 'works'
Past:	<i>dërbo</i> 'worked'
Past frequentative:	<i>dërbdavo</i> 'used to work'
Future:	<i>dëršbs</i> 'will work'

All the simple tenses belong to the active voice. Compound tenses can be found both in the active and in the passive voice. In the active two groups of compound tenses can be distinguished:

(1) the perfect tenses:

Present perfect:	<i>yrà dërbes, dërbusi</i> 'has worked'
Past perfect:	<i>bùvo dërbes, dërbusi</i> 'had worked'
Past perfect frequentative:	<i>búdavo dërbes, dërbusi</i> 'used to have worked'
Future perfect:	<i>bùs dërbes, dërbusi</i> 'will have worked'

(2) the continuative tenses:

Past continuative:	<i>bùvo bedërbaš, bedërbanti</i> 'had been working'
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Past continuative frequentative: *búdavo bedirbqs, bedirbanti* 'used to have been working'

Future continuative: *bùs bedirbqs, bedirbanti* 'will have been working'

The compound passive tenses are also divided into two groups:

(1) the imperfect tenses:

Present imperfect: *yrà dāromas, dāroma* 'is (being) done'

Past imperfect: *bùvo dāromas, dāroma* 'was (being) done'

Past imperfect frequentative: *búdavo dāromas, dāroma* 'used to be done'

Future imperfect: *bùs dāromas, dāroma* 'will be done'

(2) the perfect tenses:

Present perfect: *yrà padarytas, padaryta* 'is done', 'has been done'

Past perfect: *bùvo padarytas, padaryta* 'was done', 'had been done'

Past perfect frequentative: *búdavo padarytas, padaryta* 'used to be done', 'used to have been done'

Future perfect: *bùs padarytas, padaryta* 'will be done', 'will have been done'

Tense forms can be found both in the indicative mood and in the oblique mood. The participles and gerunds have tense forms as well.

The participles and gerunds of the verb *dirbti* 'work':

Tense forms of active participles:

Present: *dirbqs* (m), *dirbanti* (f); *dirbdamas* (m), *dirbdamà* (f)

Past: *dirbqs* (m), *dirbusi* (f)

Past frequentative: *dirbdavqs* (m), *dirbdavusi* (f)

Future: *dirbsiqs* (m), *dirbsianti* (f)

Tense forms of passive participles:

Present: *dirbamas, dirbamà*

Past: *dirbtas, dirbtà*

Tense forms of gerunds:

Present: *dirbant*

Past: *dirbus*

Past frequentative: *dirbdavus*

Future: *dirbsiant*

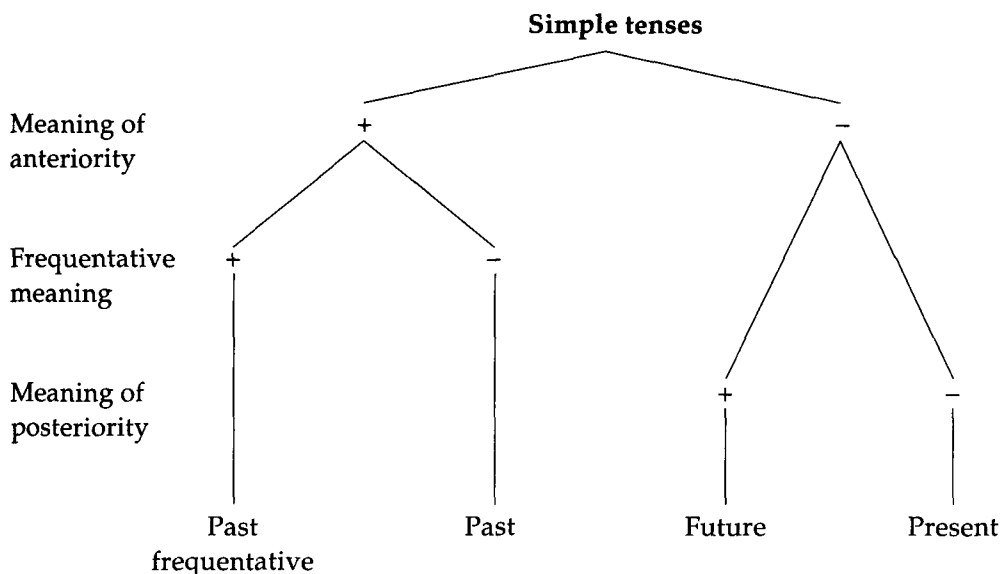
5.22 All verbal tense forms are grouped according to their basic meaning. The past and past frequentative forms indicate a state of affairs or an event which existed

or took place prior to the moment of speech. They are clearly opposed to the present and future forms which do not possess this meaning. Thus, the past tense forms are considered to be the marked members while the present and future tense forms the unmarked members of the basic tense opposition.

The present and future tense forms, in their turn, are opposed to each other in that the future forms denote an action following the moment of speech whereas the present tense does not possess this meaning, being the absolute unmarked member of all tense oppositions. It is most often used to denote an existing state of affairs, although sometimes it can also be used with future or past tense reference.

The opposition between the past and the past frequentative tenses is based on their aspectual rather than temporal differences: the frequentative forms (containing the suffix *-dav-*) indicate a repetitive (or frequentative) action in the past while the past – the unmarked member of the opposition – can be used to denote either a single or a (sometimes) repetitive event.

Relationships in the system of the simple tense forms are shown in the Figure below.



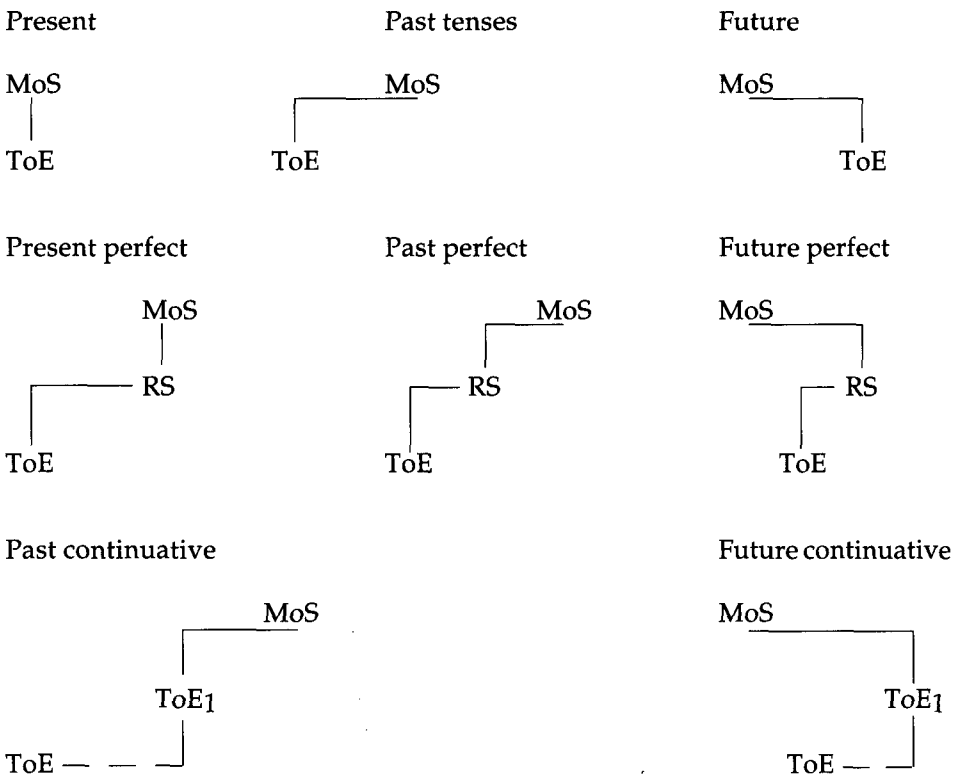
5.23 In each tense we can find both simple and compound forms.

Compound tense forms of the active voice refer the event to present, past or future time with respect to the main time of the context rather than to the moment of speech. Thus, compound perfect tenses indicate a state which, having resulted

from a previous event, is simultaneous with the main time of the context. Compound continuative tenses indicate an event which is simultaneous with the main time of the context, but is of a longer duration since it started earlier.

Simple tense forms constitute the unmarked member of the opposition. They can indicate a period of time in relation to the moment of speech or to the main time reference of the context. Certain simple tense forms (the past forms in particular) tend to supersede their respective compound tenses, driving them little by little out of use.

The differences in the meaning of simple and compound tense forms are shown in the Figure below.



MoS – moment of speech; ToE – time of the event; RS – resulting state coincident with the main time of the context; ToE1 – time of the event coincident with the main time of the context.

The compound present perfect holds a unique place among Lithuanian tense forms. It indicates a period of time stretching backwards from the moment of speech, but like all the other perfect tenses the present perfect tense also denotes

a state which has resulted from some previous event and is simultaneous with the main time of the context or the moment of speech. The present perfect tense is usually used in the context of the simple present tense forms.

The compound tenses of the passive voice constitute an opposition to the simple tenses of the active voice. In their meanings passive tense forms correspond to the respective simple and compound tense forms of the active voice.

- 5.24** Tense meanings defined in relation to the moment of speech are known as absolute tense meanings, whereas those defined in relation to another event in the context are known as relative tense meanings.

Simple tense forms usually possess absolute tense meanings.

*Išnįksiu kaip dūmas, neblāškomas
vėjo, ir niekas manęs neminės.*

'I'll vanish like smoke without
being scattered by the wind, and
nobody will ever mention me again.'

*Tiek tūkstančių amžiais gyvėno,
kentėjo, o kàs jų bent vardą
atspės?*

'So many thousand have lived and
suffered through ages, whoever
can guess as much as their names?'

*Kaip bangos ant mąrių, kaip
miñtys žmogaūs, taip maĩnos
pasáulio darbaĩ!*

'The deeds of the world change
like waves on the sea, like human
thoughts!'

A relative meaning is characteristic of simple tenses when they are used in subordinate clauses (or in corresponding asyndetic clauses). The present tense with the relative meaning indicates coincidence with the time denoted in the principal clause:

*Vakarè sužinójau, kad atva-
žiúoja nekviestì svečiaĩ.*

'In the evening I learnt that
uninvited guests were coming.'

Rytój pamatýsi, kad jaũ lýja.

'The next day you'll see it is raining.'

The past tense with the relative meaning indicates a time which precedes the time denoted in the principal clause:

*Tik tadà mán paaiškėjo, kodėl
jis taip elgėsi.*

'Only then did it become clear
to me why he had behaved like that.'

*Mótina niekadà nekláusdavo, kuř
jis buvo.*

'Mother never asked where he
had been.'

The future tense with the relative meaning indicates a time following that which is denoted in the principal clause:

*Niekadà netikėjau, kad tú manè
išdúosi.*

'I never believed you were
going to betray me.'

*Kaŗtais mán atródydavo, kad
niēko iš tō nebūs.*

‘Sometimes I thought nothing
would ever come of it.’

- 5.25 The meaning of the compound tenses is always relative, although in a slightly different way (cf. 5.36–37) since it is related to the meaning of the respective simple tenses. Compound perfect tenses indicate anteriority with respect to the time denoted by a simple tense form.

*Ĵis vālgó, kā yrà atsinēšēs
iš namū.*

‘He eats what he has brought
from home.’

*Ĵis vālgé, kā būvo atsinēšēs
iš namū.*

‘He ate what he had brought
from home.’

*Ĵis vālgydavo, kā būdavo
atsinēšēs iš namū.*

‘He used to eat what he had
brought from home.’

*Ĵis vālgys, kā būs atsinēšēs
iš namū.*

‘He will eat what he will have
brought from home.’

Compound perfect tenses (the present perfect tense in particular) can also denote the relation of the state resulting from an earlier action to the action denoted by a simple tense form.

*Āš žinóju, kad Ĵis yrà jaū pastreņģēs
važiúoti.*

‘I knew he was ready to go.’

*Kai kareĵivai apsūpo namūs, Ĵis
jaū būvo išvažiāvēs.*

‘By the time the soldiers surrounded
the house, he had already gone.’

Compound continuative tenses indicate an action concurrent with the action denoted by a simple tense form, except that it is of a longer duration since it starts earlier:

*Kai mēs atējome, Ĵis būvo už
stālo besēdĵs.*

‘When we came he had already
been sitting at the table.’

- 5.26 For stylistic purposes tenses can be used with time reference which is not typical of them. Thus, for example, the simple present tense can be used with past time reference (historical present) to make a story seem more vivid:

*Ilgaĩ ējaū pāmiške. Staigà žiūriū –
tūpi kiškis ant kélmo ir daĩrosi.*

‘For a long time I was following the edge
of the forest. Suddenly I see a hare
sitting on a tree stump, looking around.’

The simple future tense can be used to indicate a repetitive (frequentative) action (1) in the present, or (2) in the past:

(1) *Keistì dabaĩ žmónēs: nepasikalbēs, nepasitaĩs su kīts kitù, kaip pridera.*

'People are strange nowadays: they will not talk or discuss things with each other as they should.'

(2) *Sēnis Lāpinas klaūsē ir juōkēsi sáu po ūsais. Klausỹs, klausỹs ir pridēs sàvo žodēlį.*

'Old Lapinas listened and smiled to himself under his moustache. He would listen and listen and add a word of his own.'

The past frequentative tense is never used to replace other tenses with different time reference.

Compound tenses are very rarely used with time reference which is not typical of them. If they are, they usually go together with simple tenses:

*Įis kasdiēn sēdi sàvo kambarỹ.
Sēdēs taĩp nuo pat rýto, rašỹs,
o iki vākaro vis bìs kã parãšēs.*

'Every day he sits in his room. He will sit since morning like this, write and by the evening he will have written something.'

Simple tenses

Vientisiniai laikai

PRESENT

Esamàsis laikas

- 5.27 There are two main uses of the present tense: the generalized present and the concrete present.

The concrete present indicates a particular, individual event the relation of which to the moment of speech can be different.

(1) Most often the present tense indicates a state of affairs or an action which includes the moment of speech but has started before it and may continue for some time in the near future (this meaning is characteristic of the imperfective verbs only):

Ar tũ sergĩ, kad taĩp dejũoji?

'Are you ill that you are moaning like this?'

(2) The present tense signifies an event which is taking place only at the moment of speech while in the process of (a) saying or writing the verb, (b) performing the action here and now:

(a) *Tē, dovanóju táu ir áukso
bei sidãbro kiĩvoj.*

'Here, I give you a gold and silver axe as a present.'

(b) *Užsītimu ausīs, mataī!* 'I am blocking my ears, look!'

(3) The present tense indicates an action or process which is not happening right at the moment of speech because:

(a) a short break has been made:

*Āš tik trumpām. Kol ārklis
pamainīs. Mataī, pas gīmines
Rygōn važiūoju.* 'I'm here for a sec. While they
change horses. See, I'm travelling
to visit my relations in Riga.'

(b) the action has just ended:

*Kaīp čīa patekaī? – Tēvo sīūs-
tas atēinū... Nešū iš jō lāiškq.* 'How did you find your way here? –
I'm coming on my father's mission...
I'm bringing a letter from him.'

(c) the action has not started yet:

Už savāitēs āš īšteku... 'In a week's time I'm getting married...'

When referring to a future happening the 1st and 2nd person plural forms of the present tense acquire a meaning similar to that of the imperative mood, except that the order, instruction or advice to act is expressed in this case even more strongly than by the imperative form proper.

Lēkiam, lēkiam greičiaū, mielóji! 'Let's dash, dear, quick!
Atsimīņkite: šīņnakt jūs būdite. 'Remember: tonight you're on duty.'

Third person forms of the present tense may indicate a wished for event, but only in certain set expressions.

Īma jī gālas! 'Let it (him) perish!'

But when the third person forms of the present tense are used with the prefix *te-* or the particle *tegu(l)*, they always carry the meaning of a wished for event.

Tepasidžiaūgia sūneliū patī! 'Let her enjoy her sonny!'
*Tegū jis nemāno, kad mēs
nusilēisime.* 'Let him never think we are
going to give in.'

(4) The present tense is used in descriptions to make them more vivid, e.g.:

*O po kóju žemaī stebuklīngai
graži žýdi rōžēmīs Ālpių šalīs.* 'Down below our feet the
wonderfully beautiful Alpine
land is covered with roses.'

For the sake of vividness the present tense can also be used to describe past events. It is usually used while discussing what happens in a book, picture, play or film.

*Pavēiksle jaunā mōteris žvēģia
ī mūs didelēmīs, liūdnomīs akimīs.
Ant jōs raņķu miēga kūdikis.*

'From the picture a young woman is
looking at us with her big sad eyes.
A baby is sleeping in her arms.'

5.28 The generalized present tense usually indicates:

(1) universal time statements:

*Vēltaū mōkslininkai īrōdē, kad iš
tikrāju Žēmē sūkasi apie sāvō āšī
ir kartū skrieja aplink Sāulē.*

'Later scientists proved that the Earth
really rotates round its axis and at
the same time it flies round the Sun.'

(2) habitual time statements:

*Antanūkas ir miēga su senelē vienōj
lōvoj. Kadā jī gūla ir kēliasi,
Antanūkas retai tejuņita.*

'Antanukas also sleeps with his granny
in the same bed. Antanukas rarely feels,
when she goes to bed or gets up.'

PAST

Būtāsis kartinis laīkas

5.29 The past tense is used to describe both single (1) and regularly repeated (2) events:

(1) *Mōterims besīkalbant, kiēmē
pasigīdo žiņgsniai, prasivērē
dūrys ir ant sleņksčio pasirōdē
kaimýnas.*

'While the women were talking, they
heard the sound of footsteps in the yard,
the door opened and a neighbour
appeared on the threshold.'

(2) *Iš atliēkamo píeno mōterys
sūko sviestā, spāudē sūrī ir vēžē
ī miēstā pardúoti.*

'From surplus milk women churned
butter, pressed cheese and
took (those goods) to town to sell.'

The past tense can also indicate limitless events or states:

*Píevas ir ežerēlī sūpo aukštī
krantaī.*

'Steep banks surrounded the
meadows and the little lake.'

5.30 The past tense usually denotes:

(1) an action which was taking place for some time in the past (forms of the imperfective verbs):

*Būvo vējūotas rudeņs vākaras.
Visā šetmýna triūsēsi pīrkioje.*

'It was a windy autumnal evening. All the
family were busy inside the house.'

(2) an action which was completed at a certain moment in the past (forms of the perfective verbs):

*Staigà kiemè sulójo šuo, ir į
pīrkia įsiveržè kēletas vjry.
house.'*

'Suddenly the dog barked in the yard
and several men burst into the

5.31 Sometimes the past tense (especially of verbs in the perfective aspect) becomes similar in its meaning to (1) compound present perfect or (2) past perfect tenses (cf. 5.36).

(1) *Màno gerklė visai išdžiūvo* (cf.
yrà išdžiūvusi), dúokite gérti.

'My throat is absolutely dry
(cf. has become dry), give me
something to drink.'

(2) *Šeštādienio vākara įis
rādo netikėtą svėčią: atvažiā-
vo* (cf. *būvo atvažiāvęs) brólis.*

'On Saturday evening he found
an unexpected visitor: his
brother had arrived.'

The past tense (mostly the 1st and 2nd person forms) can also have certain modal shades of meaning, being related then to the attitudes of the speaker rather than to time. Thus, it can imply uncertainty, doubt, timidity, politeness associated with the present state of affairs:

*Valandėlę norėjau támstą
sutrukdýti.*

lit. 'I wanted to bother you a little' (i.e. 'I
wondered if I could bother you a little.')

PAST FREQUENTATIVE

Būtāsis dažninis laikas

5.32 The past frequentative tense indicates a repeated action in the past. The longer the period in which the repeated action took place the more general is the meaning of the past frequentative tense.

*Visaiįp atsitikdavo Kaukāzo
kalnuosė: kariāudavo kaimjyninėš
taūtos, susipėšdavo ġiminėš.*

'All kinds of things used to happen in the
Caucasian mountains: neighbouring
nations would war, related families
would quarrel.'

*Kasdiėn eīdavau tavėš pasitikti,
lāukdavau ilgas vālandas.*

'Every day I went to meet you,
waited for you long hours.'

If the sentence contains the indication of at least an approximately limited number of times the action was repeated, the past rather than the past frequentative should be used:

Trīs/kelis kartūs jau veīkē jī
(not **veīkdavo*), *būdamā vienā.*

'She has already cried three/
several times while alone.'

Sometimes the past frequentative tense is used to talk about habitual actions (processes, states) in the past:

O senōvėje, kaip pāsakoja mūsū
tēvai, dār geriaū būdavo.

'In the past, as our parents
say, it used to be even better.'

In certain contexts the simple past frequentative tense becomes similar in its meaning to the past perfect frequentative tense.

Motūtē sutīkdavo sakyti tāj pāsakā
tik tadā, kadā āš prisižadēdavau (cf.
būdavau prisižadējēs) neraudōti.

'Mummy would agree to tell me
this fairy-tale only after I
had promised not to cry.'

FUTURE

Būsimāsis laikā

5.33 The future tense is used to denote both (1) a concrete action which will take place at some specific time in the future, and (2) a generalized action in the future.

(1) *Netrūkus ateīs pavāsarīs, su-*
žaliuōs mēdžiai, o tavēs nebūs.

'Spring will come soon, the
trees will become green, but you will
not be here any more.'

(2) *Pasāulīs platūs – viētos už-*
tēks visiems.

'The world is large, there'll be
plenty of room for everybody.'

In certain contexts the simple future tense becomes similar in meaning to the compound future perfect tense.

Nāmā pradēsiu statyti už mėnesio,
kai leidimā gāusiu (cf. *būsiu*
gāvēs).

'I'll begin to build the house
in a month after I have
received the permission.'

5.34 The future tense is apt to acquire a variety of modal meanings. It can be used to express certainty or prediction that the action is going to take place; determination, threat or promise to perform an action; necessity that it should happen; a possibility that it may happen, etc. Sometimes the future tense becomes similar in meaning to the imperative (1) or the subjunctive (2):

(1) *Pérduosi* (cf. *pérduok*)
sukilēliams šitokį išākymā.

'To the insurgents you will
pass the following order.'

(2) *Kad širdį parodyčiau, ir tai sakysi (cf. sakytum), kad mėšos gābalas.*

'Even if I showed you my heart, you'll say it is a piece of flesh.'

The future tense can also be used to express:

(a) the uncertainty or doubt about a present action or state:

Nuo tō laiko jau būs keturios dėšimtys metų su viršum.

'Since then over two score years must have passed.'

(b) the speaker's displeasure at the action, his wish that it should be terminated:

Tai tū čià ilgai sėdėsi be dārbo?

'Are you going to sit here long without work?'

Compound tenses

Sudėtiniai laikai

ACTIVE VOICE

Veikiamoji rūšis

The compound perfect tenses

Sudėtiniai atliktiniai laikai

5.35 There are four compound perfect tenses:

present perfect,
past perfect,
past perfect frequentative,
future perfect.

Both the perfective and imperfective verbs have the compound tense forms.

Compound perfect tenses denote a state resulting from a previous action which is relevant at a certain moment in the present, past or future. In their meaning Lithuanian compound perfect tenses are similar to the perfect tenses in some other languages (e.g., Latin).

In different contexts the meaning of the perfect tenses may range from (1) concrete to (2) broadly general.

(1) *Kažkàs namiẽ yrà nakvojęs – lóva nepaklotà.*

'Somebody must have slept at home, the bed has not been made.'

(2) *Esù apkeliāvēs vīsa pasáulī
ir daūg kraštū mātēs.*

'I have travelled all over the
world and have seen many countries.'

The general meaning is mostly characteristic of the imperfective verbs.

- 5.36 The meaning of the perfect tenses can be described as both resultative and relative. While denoting a state resulting from a previous action, they also indicate the relation of the state to its cause – the previous action. The relative meaning of the perfect tenses becomes clear in the context of the simple tenses, since their action always precedes that expressed by a simple tense (it is only the resultative state which is concurrent with the action of the simple tenses). Therefore the compound perfect tenses are often used together with the simple tenses to indicate the relation between two or more actions in a compound or complex sentence.

The past perfect tense is different from the other perfect tenses in that under certain circumstances it may denote a resultative state which lasted for some time in the past and then was discontinued.

*Buvaū pamiřšēs, brólis prāšē táu
pērduoti šī láišķa.*

'I forgot (lit. 'had forgotten'), my brother
has asked me to give you this letter.'

Sometimes the meaning of a resultative state fades out and then the past perfect tense denotes a past action which was superseded by another explicit or implicit action.

*Buvaū māņēs táu niēko nesa-
kýtī, bet dabař pasakýsiu.*

'I had intended not to tell you anything,
but now I'm going to tell you.'

Ar buvaī užēķēs pas Jōnā?

'Have you called (lit. 'Had you called')
on John?'

The future perfect tense very often has a modal meaning: it expresses supposition and then it is used instead of the present perfect tense.

*Juk búsi (cf. esi) girdējsi,
kad jis tuōs namūs nusipirkēs.*

'You must (lit. will) have heard
that he has bought that house.'

Ar nebūs tik vaikaī lāngo išmūšē?

'It looks as if the children have (lit. 'would
have') broken the window.'

Sometimes the future perfect tense is used to indicate a state which is taking place at the moment of speech, but the speaker attributes it to the future.

*– Dabař búsiu ir vilķa mātēs, –
tāre Jōnas, eīdamas iš žvėrýno.*

'Now I will have seen a wolf
as well, – said John leaving the zoo.'

Simple tenses (the past in particular) can also possess the meaning typical of

māsto sau vaikaī.

he will break into the house,–
the children think to themselves.'

(2) *Jis jau trečią pāčią būs beturīs.*

'(I think) he has a third wife already.'

PASSIVE VOICE

Neveikiamóji rūšis

- 5.38 Only compound tenses are found in the passive voice. They can be divided into two groups: tense forms with the present passive participle (the so-called imperfect tenses) and tense forms with the past passive participle (perfect tenses).

The compound imperfect passive tenses

- 5.39 The compound imperfect passive tenses correspond to the simple active tenses, cf.:

<i>yrà rāšomas</i> 'is (being) written'	–	<i>rāšo</i> 'writes'
<i>būvo rāšomas</i> 'was (being) written'	–	<i>rāšė</i> 'wrote'
<i>būdavo rāšomas</i> 'used to be written'	–	<i>rašýdavo</i> 'used to write'
<i>būs rāšomas</i> 'will be written'	–	<i>rašýs</i> 'will write'

The tense forms of the imperfective aspect verbs are used both in the (1) concrete and (2) generalized meaning. Only the generalized meaning is characteristic of the past frequentative tense forms.

Present imperfect:

(1) *Laukuosė dabaī (yrà) kāsamos būlvės.*

'Potatoes are being dug in the fields now.'

(2) *Jis yrà visų mylīmas.*

'He is loved by everyone.'

Laīkraščiai mán (yrà) pristātomi kiekvieną dieną.

'The newspapers are delivered to me every day.'

Past imperfect:

(1) *Tamė pósėdyje būvo sprėndžiamas įmonės likīmas.*

'The fate of the enterprise was being discussed at the meeting.'

(2) *Sąskaitos būvo tikrinamos kiekvieną mėnesį.*

'The accounts were (being) checked every month.'

Past imperfect frequentative:

Į vóką būdavo įdedamas tūščias pōpieriaus lāpas.

'A blank sheet of paper used to be enclosed in the envelope.'

Future imperfect:

(1) *Vestūvės būs švenčiamos
linksmai.*

'The wedding will be celebrated
merrily.'

(2) *Tù visadà būsi kviččiamas
į Vyriausybės posėdžius.*

'You will be always invited to
the meetings of the Government.'

The compound perfect passive tenses

5.40 The compound perfect passive tenses have two main meanings: (1) the meaning of the state resulting from a previous action and (2) the meaning of the past or future action. The present perfect is devoid of the 2nd meaning; the past action, however, can be expressed by the passive past participle alone.

(1) In the first case the meaning of the perfect passive tenses corresponds to that of the perfect active tenses, cf.:

yrà parašýtas 'is written, has been written' – *yrà parāšęs* 'has written'
būvo parašýtas 'was written, had been written' – *būvo parāšęs* 'had written', etc.

Present perfect:

*Ant voko (yrà) užrašýta tàvo
pavardė.*

'Your name is written on the
envelope.'

Àš ne kartą esù tėvo išbártas.

'I have been scolded by father more
than once.'

Past perfect:

*Sienos jau būvo uždarytos ir mēs
negalėjome išvýkti į užsienį.*

'The frontiers were closed
already and we could not go abroad.'

*Àš nusipirkaũ knygą, kuri
būvo išleista prieš kãrą.*

'I bought a book which had been
published before the war.'

Past perfect frequentative:

*Kalnũ gyvėntojai per žiẽmą
būdavo atskirti nuo viso
pasáulio.*

'In winter the mountain dwellers
used to be separated from the
whole world.'

Future perfect:

*Kaip tù įeisi, jėigu dũrys
būs užrakintòs?*

'How will you get in if the
door is locked (lit. 'will be locked').'

(2) The second meaning of the perfect passive tenses corresponds to the meaning of simple active tenses, cf.:

būvo parašytas 'was written' – *parāšė* 'wrote'
būs parašytas 'will be written' – *parašys* 'will write', etc.

Past perfect:

Kitą dieną nusikaltėlis būvo sūimtas ir pasodintas į kalėjimą. 'The following day the criminal was arrested and put into prison.'

Past perfect frequentative:

Ji siūdavo töl, kól drabūžis būdavo pasiūtas. 'She used to sew until the garment was made (lit. 'used to be made').'

Future perfect:

Rytój būs paródytas naujas filmas. 'A new film will be shown tomorrow.'

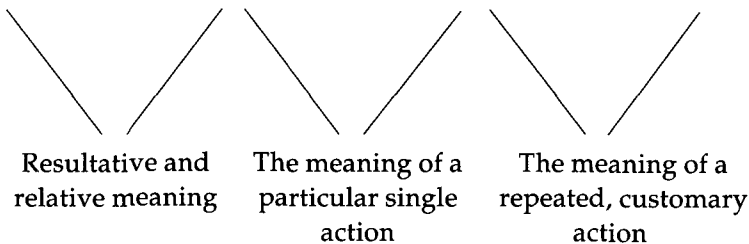
The second meaning is usually characteristic of the perfective aspect verbs. They generally denote a particular single action, as in (a), and differ from the corresponding imperfect passive forms which, as a rule, indicate repeated, customary actions, as in (b), cf.:

(a) *Nākčiai lóva būvo atitrauktà nuo sienos.* 'For (this) night the bed was moved away from the wall.'

(b) *Kiekviėnà nàktį lóva būvo atitraukiamà nuo sienos.* 'Every night the bed was moved away from the wall.'

Compound tenses of the passive voice

Perfect passive tenses of verbs in the imperfective aspect (<i>būvo výtas</i> 'has been chased')	Perfect passive tenses of verbs in the perfective aspect (<i>būvo pavýtas</i> 'has been chased', 'was chased')	Imperfect passive tenses of verbs in the imperfective aspect (<i>būvo vėjamas</i> 'was (being) chased')	Imperfect passive tenses of verbs in the perfective aspect (<i>būvo pàvejamas</i> 'was (being) chased')
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MOOD

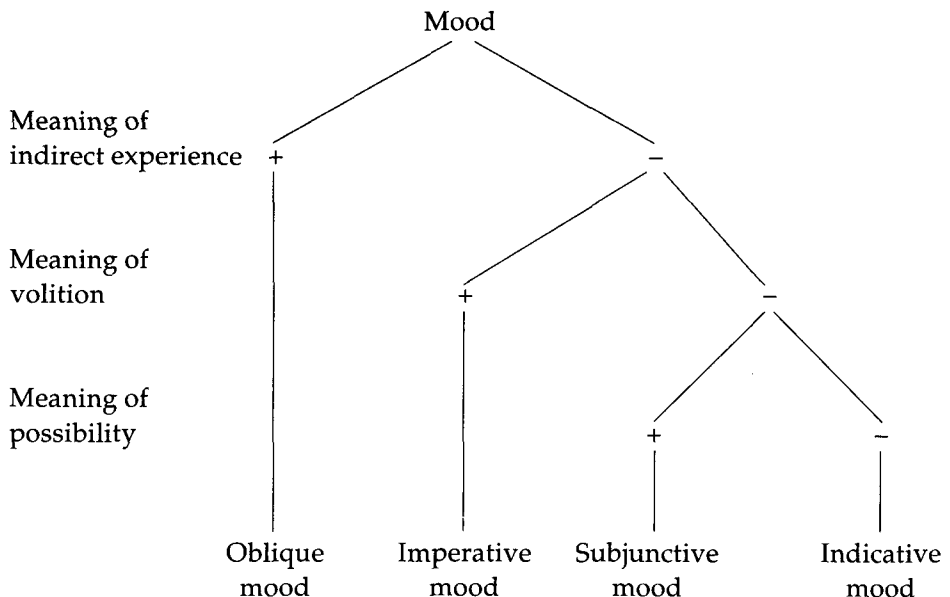
Núosaka

5.41 Mood expresses modality, i.e. the speaker's attitude towards the contents of an utterance. Modality subsumes a number of meanings which find expression in a variety of morphological, syntactical and lexical means.

Three kinds of modal oppositions are indicated in Lithuanian by means of the morphological mood forms of the verb:

- (1) on the basis of the speaker's attitude to the factual status of the action with respect to the source of information (evidence, direct or indirect experience);
- (2) on the basis of the speaker's will that something should or shouldn't take place or happen (volition);
- (3) on the basis of the speaker's attitude to the reality or possibility, probability of the action (possibility).

The oblique mood (*modus relatiuus*), having the distinctive feature of indirect experience, is opposed to all the other moods taken together. The notion of volition is characteristic of the imperative mood, whereas the meaning of possibility is typical of the subjunctive mood. Thus, the mood system in Lithuanian consists of three opposition levels.



- 5.42 The category of mood is not a homogeneous category either in its meaning or its form. The first level of opposition, which is defined on the basis of the meaning of evidence or indirect experience, characterizes the speaker's attitude toward the content of the utterance in a way which is different from both the second and third levels of opposition. In addition, it is expressed by the nominative case of an active participle, cf.: *brólis dārba* 'brother works' : *brólis dārbaš* 'brother is said to work'. Therefore it would be quite valid to consider these forms to represent an independent evidential category. These forms are included in the mood system taking into account their paradigmatic character and the regular correlation with the tense forms of the indicative mood.

The imperative mood is opposed to the indicative and subjunctive moods on the semantic basis of volition. The latter two moods, being the unmarked members of this opposition, can also sometimes indicate volition or request (*Eīnam namō!* 'Let's go home!'; *Eītume dabař namō!* 'I wish we could go home now!'). But these meanings cannot be considered to be the grammatical features of the indicative and subjunctive moods because in these cases they are entirely dependent upon the situation and the intonation of the utterance. The speaker's attitude of volition expressed by the imperative mood can refer both to an action which is really taking place (*Dīrbk ir toltāū taīp!* 'Go on working like this!) and a possible or desirable action.

The subjunctive mood is opposed to the indicative mood on the semantic basis of irrealty: the subjunctive mood indicates an action which the speaker considers possible, whereas the indicative mood indicates, as a rule, an action which the speaker considers to be real. Being, however, the unmarked member of all the oppositions within the mood system, the indicative mood can sometimes be used in the meaning of the other moods, i.e. it can also indicate a desirable, possible, probable or indirectly experienced action.

The indicative mood and the oblique mood have four tenses: the present, the past, the past frequentative and the future. The imperative and subjunctive moods are not inflected for tenses, except that the distinction of temporal meaning within the subjunctive mood is based on the opposition of its simple and compound forms (see 5.47).

- 5.43 The morphological forms of the imperative and subjunctive moods are formed mostly with the help of inflectional suffixes: the indicator of the imperative mood is the suffix *-k(i)*, while those of the subjunctive mood are the suffixes *-čia-* (1st person singular), *-tum(ē)-* (2nd person singular, 1st and 2nd person plural) and *-tu* (3rd person). The imperative 3rd person forms with the prefix *te-* and the endings *-ie* and *-i* are obsolescent and disappearing. Apart from the tense, person and number markers the indicative mood does not have any other particular

affixes. Thus, the indicative mood is the unmarked member of all the oppositions in the mood system not only in its meaning but also in its form.

Indicative mood

Tiesióginé núosaka

- 5.44 The indicative mood mostly expresses actions which the speaker considers to be real and attributes either to the present, past or future:

Žiēmą mēs visi draugē dīrbame/dīrbome/ 'In the winter we work/worked/
dīrbdavome/dīrbsime. used to work/will work all together.'

The main meanings of the tense forms of the indicative mood are described in 5.27–40. Sometimes the various tense forms of the indicative mood can acquire certain modal meanings, such as uncertainty, desirability, wish, determination, possibility, probability, volition, persuasion, etc. These modal meanings are determined by the linguistic context or the extra-lingual situation and they are usually emphasized by various particles, modal or parenthetical words.

- 5.45 In sentences with verbs of reporting, sensation, inert perception and cognition (e.g. *kalbēti* 'speak', *sakýti* 'say', *pāsakoti* 'tell', *pranēšti* 'inform', *rašýti* 'write', *jaūsti* 'feel', *girdēti* 'hear', *žinóti* 'know', *manýti* 'think', etc.), also with modal words (*gál* 'perhaps', *galbūt* 'maybe', *turbūt* 'most probably'), the indicative mood may indicate an indirectly experienced, reported or doubtful action, i.e. the forms of the indicative mood may be used in the meaning of the oblique mood.

<i>Tēvas sākē, kad Kazýs tik pāryčtu grīžo</i> (cf. <i>grīžēs</i>).	'Father said that Kazys had returned only in early morning.'
<i>Turbūt čia dār neseniai žmónēs gyvēno</i> (cf. <i>gyvēnē</i>).	'Obviously it hasn't been long since people lived here.'
<i>Rytój jis gál ir sugrīš</i> (cf. <i>sugrīšiņš</i>).	'Tomorrow he will perhaps come back.'

The use of the indicative mood instead of the oblique mood is becoming frequent in publicistic, scientific and official styles.

- 5.46 In certain contexts the present and future tenses of the indicative mood (except their 1st person singular forms) may carry the meaning of persuasion, becoming in this way similar in meaning to the imperative mood.

2nd person singular:

<i>Rytój einì ir àtneši mán dažū.</i>	'Tomorrow you go and bring me some paint.'
<i>Tù láuksi manēs miškē.</i>	'You'll wait for me in the forest.'

2nd person plural:

*Atsimiņkīte: rytój prādate
dirbti pirmojē pamainojē.*

'Remember: tomorrow you start
work in the first shift.'

Po pietū užeisite pas manē.

'After lunch you come to see me.'

1st person plural (verbs of motion in particular, such as *eīti* 'go', *lēkti* 'fly', *lipti* 'climb'):

Eīnam dabaš ī laukūs!

'Let's go now to the fields!'

Važiúojam!

'Let's go!'

*Žinaš, brolēli, geriaū
nekalbēsim apie tai.*

'You know, brother, let's not
talk about it.'

The old athematic 1st person dual and plural forms of the present tense of the verb *eīti* 'go' – *eivā* and *eimē*, respectively – nowadays are used exclusively in persuasive meaning:

Eimē visi kartū!

'Let's go all together!'

Eivā, sēni, piṛkion.

'Let's go, old man, (with me) into the
house.'

The present and future tense forms with the prefix *te-* or the particle *tegu(l)* now replace the disappearing 3rd person forms of the imperative mood (see 5.49). The present tense forms indicate a desirable action in the present or in the future, while the future tense forms refer to a desirable action only in the future.

Tepasidžiaūgia sūneliū patī!

'Let her enjoy her sonny herself!'

*Pagaliaū tebūna (tebūs), kaṛp
tū nóri.*

'After all, let it be as you wish.'

*Tegūl jī kartū su māno vaikaš
gyveņs, kartū vālgys, iš vienū
knūgų mókysis.*

'Let her live together with my
children, let her eat together
with them and learn from the same
books.'

An action that the speaker desires for himself/herself is usually denoted by the 1st person form of the future tense:

Geriaū težūsiu aš vienas!

'I had better die alone!'

When the extra-lingual situation or the linguistic context indicate the possibility, probability or conditionality of the action, the meaning of the present and future tense forms of the indicative mood becomes similar to that of the subjunctive mood.

*Į šitą kambarį ne vienas, o trīs
stalaš lengvaš telpa/tiļptų.*

'This room can easily accomodate
three tables rather than one.'

Subjunctive mood

Tariamóji núosaka

- 5.47 The subjunctive mood indicates a possible action. It possesses both simple and compound forms (see 5.103, 110ff.).

The simple subjunctive forms indicate actions which under certain circumstances would be possible or desirable in the present or in the future.

*Jéigu galėččiau, dabař kitaip
gyvėnčiau.*

'If I could, I would live
differently now.'

*Ō kad daugiaū tū žōdžiū nebe-
tařtum!*

'(I wish) you wouldn't utter
these words any more.'

The compound subjunctive forms consist of the simple forms of the auxiliary *būti* 'be' and active or passive participles.

The compound continuative forms of the subjunctive mood with present active participles containing the prefix *be-* (see 5.110) are used very rarely. They differ from the simple forms in that they convey the duration of a possible action more distinctly.

*Kō jīs láukė šiō laiko nevėdės,
būty beturīs šeiminiņķė!*

'Why did he wait so long and
didn't marry, he would be having a
housewife now!'

The compound perfect forms of the subjunctive mood with past active participles (see 5.109) denote a possible or imaginary action in the past or a state resulting from such an action.

*Būčiau žinójęs, būčiau ir kójos
iš namū nekėlęs.*

'If I had known, I wouldn't
have set my foot outside my home.'

*Ō, kad jūs būtumėte mātę, kaip
jīs manė šokdino!*

'I wish you had seen how he
danced with me!'

The compound perfect subjunctive forms relate to the simple forms of the subjunctive mood as past tense forms, cf.:

*Jėi tavė būty ištikusi/ištiktų
kokiā neláimė, kā dabař veiktum?*

'If a disaster had struck/struck
you, what would you do now?'

The meaning of a past action is still more emphasized in the rare compound perfect forms containing the compound forms of the auxiliary *būti* 'be':

1. Sg. *būčiau būvęs* (m), *būvusi* (f)
2. Sg. *būtum būvęs, būvusi*
3. Sg. *būty būvęs, būvusi*

1. Pl. *būtume bûve, bûvusios*
2. Pl. *būtumēte bûve, bûvusios*
3. Pl. *būtų bûve, bûvusios*

Jám bûvo neramù, tařtum bûtų bûves kuõ prasikaĩtęs.

'He felt uneasy as if he had done something wrong.'

Such compound subjunctive forms are nowadays more and more often replaced by forms containing the simple forms of the auxiliary *bûti* (cf. *tařtum bûtų kuõ prasikaĩtęs*).

The compound forms of the subjunctive mood with passive participles are opposed in their passive meaning to all the other forms of the subjunctive mood, cf.:

Active forms

Passive forms

mèščiau 'I would throw'

búćiau mētamas 'I would be thrown'

búćiau bemetąs 'I would be throwing'

'*búćiau mēstas* 'I would be thrown

búćiau mētęs 'I would have thrown'

búćiau bûves mētamas 'I would have been thrown'

búćiau bûves mēstas 'I would have been thrown'

Jinaĩ taip pàt norėtu, kad jõs išėjimas iš šių namų bûtų baĩgiamas maldà.

'She would also like it that her departure from this house should end in a prayer.'

Kad bûtų taip geřbiamas bûves, ařgi bûtų galėjes taip visiems įkyrėti?

'If he had been so respected, could he have become such a bore to everybody?'

Mán liėpta, kad visi darbaĩ per vālandą bûtų pabaigtĩ.

'I've been told that all work should be finished in an hour.'

5.48 Depending on the extra-lingual situation or the linguistic context the subjunctive mood can acquire the meaning of ability, condition, wish or persuasion.

(1) Ability:

Kàs įspėtu tã pāslaptĩ?

'Who could guess that secret?'

Tõkią grāžią diẽnà bûtume visùs dárbus pabaĩgę.

'On such a nice day we could have finished all chores.'

(2) Condition:

Jėi tās āšaras suriņktum, pasidarytų sraunį upė.

'If you gathered all the tears, they would make a mighty river.'

Kad būčiau tą dieną atsikėlęs vėląda vėliau, būtume ir šiañdien geruoju gyvėnė.

'If I had got up an hour later that day, we would be getting on nicely today.'

In such cases the simple subjunctive forms usually indicate an action which under certain circumstances would be possible, whereas the compound forms denote an action which could have taken place but never did.

(3) Wish (very often together with the particles *kad* 'that', *beñt* 'at least', the interjections *o* 'oh', *ak* 'oh', etc.):

Ō kad turėčiau nors motinėlę!

'Oh I wish I had at least my mother!'

Beñt vākaro būtum paláuķes.

'You should have waited at least until evening.'

In curses:

Velniai griebtų!

'Damn!' (lit. 'The devils would snatch!')

In polite requests, suggestions, advice the indicative mood of such verbs as *norėti* 'want', *pageidauti* 'wish', *prašyti* 'ask', *pasiūlyti* 'suggest' and the like is frequently replaced by the subjunctive mood:

Prašýčiau mielus svečius tvarkōs neardýti.

'I would request our dear guests not to introduce disorder.'

Patařčiau jūms daugiaū būti grynamė orė.

'I would suggest you spend more time in fresh air.'

In explicative subordinate clauses and clauses of purpose the subjunctive mood of verbs denoting wish, volition or fear (*norėti* 'want', *prašyti* 'ask', *veřsti* 'force', *rāginti* 'urge', *liėpti* 'order', *bijoti* 'fear', etc.) is used in the optative meaning:

Bijaū, kad neapsirikčiau.

'I'm afraid I may make a mistake.'

Paprašýk ją, kad dažniaū ateitų.

'Ask her to come more often.'

(4) Stimulation (on the basis of optative meaning):

Eitum (cf. eik) tū greičiaū namō.

'I wish you would go home as soon as possible.'

Paieškótumėt (cf. paieškokit) jūis mán lengvėsnio dārbo.

'I wish you would find some easier work for me.'

In such cases the subjunctive mood becomes similar in meaning to the imperative mood, but it is more polite and less categorical.

A forceful order can be expressed by the subjunctive mood when it is used in utterances with the particle *kād*:

Kād mán laikù sugrįžtum! 'Be sure to come back in time!'

Imperative mood

Liepiamóji núosaka

- 5.49 The meaning of volition and persuasion, typical of the imperative mood, fluctuates over a wide semantic range, from polite wish to categorical order. These various shades of persuasive meaning are generally indicated by the intonation of the utterance.

The grammatical paradigm of the imperative mood is defective (see 5.104–105) in that it lacks the 1st person singular form. By using the 2nd person singular the speaker appeals to the addressee to act (*Skubėk namō, vaške!* 'Hurry home, child!') while the 2nd person plural is directed toward several addressees (*Taip gyvėnkite, kaip mės gyvėnom.* 'Live as we have lived'). The 1st person plural denotes a suggestion about what the speaker and the addressee or several addressees should do together (*Kaip vįrai be báimės mės stókime į kōvą.* 'Like men let's join the struggle without fear').

The 3rd person forms with the prefix *te-* and the endings *-ie* and *-i* (*teein-iė* 'let him go', *terāša-i* 'let him write') are almost extinct in present-day Standard Lithuanian. They are sometimes to be found only in dialects and fiction. More frequent are the respective forms of the verb *būti* 'be': *teesiė* (*tesiė*), *tebūniė* 'let him/her/it/them be'. These forms are used to express a wish, suggestion or instruction that the persons, who do not participate in the speech act, should or should not perform a certain action, or that an action should or should not take place.

Tesižinai ir teeiniė visi, kuŗ panorėje. 'Let them all do what they want and go wherever they wish.'

Tebūniė taip, kaip pasakýsi. 'Let it be as you say.'

In present-day Standard Lithuanian these forms are usually replaced by the 3rd person forms of the present or future tense of the indicative mood used with the prefix *te-* or the particle *tegùl*: *teeina*, *tegù(l) eina*; *teeis*, *tegù(l) eis* 'let him/her/it/them go'; *terāšo*, *tegù(l) rāšo*; *terasųs*, *tegù(l) rašųs* 'let him/her/it/them write' (see 5.46).

In a number of Lithuanian grammars 3rd person forms of the imperative and sometimes even the 3rd person forms of the indicative used in the meanings typical of the imperative are considered to be a separate optative mood.

In set idiomatic phrases, expressing wish or desire, the 2nd person forms of the imperative mood can sometimes acquire the meaning of the 3rd person of the imperative mood.

Iņk (cf. *teimiē*) *tavē velniaī!* 'Let the devils take you!
Diēvui būk (cf. *tebūniē*) *garbē.* 'Let it be to the greater honour of God.'

5.50 The imperative mood also possesses compound (periphrastic) forms, which include continuative, perfect and passive forms.

The compound continuative forms (2. Sg. *būk bedirbās, bedirbanti* 'be working'; 2. Pl. *būkite bedirba, bedirbančios* 'be working'; 1. Pl. *būktime bedirba, bedirbančios* 'let's be working') are almost extinct now. The compound perfect forms (see 5.109) convey persuasion to achieve a certain resultant state.

Āš tuojaū atvažiūosiu, tik tū 'I'm coming immediately, you
būk pavālgēs ir apsireņgēs. just have a meal and be dressed.'

The 2nd person forms of the imperative mood often acquire a variety of modal meanings such as necessity, possibility, etc.:

Tuōs vaikūs tik ganyk ir ganyk 'You have to shepherd and shepherd
per dienās, nēr kadā nei dārbo those children from morning till
nusitvėrti. night, there's no time to do any work.'

Ant tōkio ārklio tik sėsk ir jōk. 'On a horse like this you just mount and ride.'

When used with the set phrase *tū mán* (lit. 'you for me'), the 2nd person singular of the imperative mood expresses surprise or threat:

Ir turėk tū mán tėk drąsōs. 'That he/she should have so much courage.'
Tū mán netingėk! 'Just don't be lazy!'

Oblique mood

Netiesiōginė nūosaka

5.51 The oblique mood (*modus relativus*) is used to convey actions which the speaker got to know indirectly (through other persons or sources of information) and the truth of which he is not quite sure of.

The oblique mood forms consist of active participles in the nominative case without any auxiliary verb, used in the function which is usually typical of a finite form of the verb. These participles retain their gender forms, which agree with the nominative case of nouns and pronouns. They correlate with the finite forms of the verb on the basis of the category of tense and voice.

The oblique mood forms are simple and compound: the simple forms consist of active participles in various tenses; the compound forms consist of active and passive participles of the present and past tense and the active participial forms of the auxiliary *búti* 'be' (*ēsqs, ēsanti; b̀v̀v̀eš, b̀v̀v̀usi; b̀d̀av̀eš, b̀d̀av̀usi; b̀s̀iqs, b̀s̀ianti*). The paradigm of the oblique mood is symmetrical with that of the indicative mood, i.e. the simple and compound forms of the oblique mood are correlated with the respective forms of the indicative mood (see Table 9).

- 5.52 The main formal difference between the oblique mood and the compound forms of the indicative mood is the obligatory absence of the auxiliary verb. But since the auxiliary verb of the present tense of the indicative mood is sometimes omitted, three forms of the oblique mood may formally coincide with those of the indicative mood and therefore they may become ambiguous.

Oblique mood	Indicative mood
<i>m̀t̀eš</i> (Past)	(<i>yr̀</i>) <i>m̀t̀eš</i> (Present perfect)
<i>b̀v̀v̀eš m̀t̀amas</i> (Past imperfect passive)	(<i>yr̀</i>) <i>b̀v̀v̀eš m̀t̀amas</i> (Present imperfect passive)
<i>b̀v̀v̀eš m̀stas</i> (Past perfect passive)	(<i>yr̀</i>) <i>b̀v̀v̀eš m̀stas</i> (Present perfect passive)

The meaning of such forms is usually disambiguated in the context.

To avoid ambiguity, the simple active voice forms of the oblique mood are sometimes replaced by compound forms (e.g. *m̀t̀eš* would be replaced by *ēsqs m̀t̀eš*) while the compound passive forms of the oblique mood are replaced by forms including a compound participial form of the verb *búti* (e.g. *b̀v̀v̀eš m̀t̀amas* is replaced by *ēsqs b̀v̀v̀eš m̀t̀amas; b̀v̀v̀eš m̀stas* by *ēsqs b̀v̀v̀eš m̀stas*). In this way the difference in meaning between indirect experience and doubt is made more distinct.

*Sv̀ečias ēsqs k̀l̀eš iš kaimiēčt̀i
ir t̀o nes̀gina.*

'The guest is said to be descended from the peasants and he doesn't deny it.'

Jis jau kařt̀q ēsqs b̀v̀v̀eš baūstas.

'He is said to have been punished once before.'

Certain active participles (the present tense participles without the prefix *be-*, frequentative past and future tense participles) are not used in compound tenses of the indicative mood at all.

- 5.53 Depending on the contextual and situational conditions, the oblique mood can indicate the following meanings:

(1) A fact learnt from report, hearsay or other sources of information; reported speech:

Table 9. Correlation between the oblique mood and the indicative mood

Tense	Simple forms		Compound	
			Continuative	
	Obl. m.	Ind. m.	Obl. m.	Ind. m.
Present	<i>metąs</i>	<i>mėta</i>	–	–
Past	<i>mėtęs</i>	<i>mėtė</i>	<i>būvęs bemetąs</i>	<i>buvo bemetąs</i>
Past frequentative	<i>mėsdavęs</i>	<i>mėsdavo</i>	<i>būdavęs bemetąs</i>	<i>būdavo bemetąs</i>
Future	<i>mėsiąs</i>	<i>mės</i>	<i>búsiąs bemetąs</i>	<i>būs bemetąs</i>

Girdėjau, jis gyvenąs miestė.

'I heard he lives in town.'

Čià, sàko, miškai bųvė.

'They say forests grew here once.'

*Búdavo, iñs pàsakoti, prie kokių
darbų jis bųvęs stùmdomas.*

'Sometimes he would start telling us what
kind of jobs he had been made to do.'

*Suzinójau, kad per mųsų sòdą
búsiąs tiėsiamas kėlias.*

'I have learnt that a new road
is going to be laid across our garden.'

(2) A doubtful action, the information about which is not quite reliable:

Užkastieji pinigai degi.

'The buried money is said to burn.'

Jiė māt búk tai lenktýnių ėjė.

'They are believed to have been racing.'

*Jis mėgdavo svajóti apie veikalus,
kuriuòs jis parašýsiąs ir kaip
dėl tò pakìlsiąs baronienės akysė.*

'He liked to daydream about the books
he was going to write and the esteem they
would gain him in the duchess' eyes.'

*Benė nuo žmonòs jis atsiskýręs
ėšąs.*

'Perhaps he is separated
from his wife.'

(3) An action implied by its results:

*Àk, žiūrėk, támsta jau besuprañtas
lietùviškai.*

'Oh, look, you seem to understand
Lithuanian already.'

*Jaū tie vaikai pùpose bųvė:
didžiáusios brýdės pàliktos.*

'Those children must have been
in the beans again, wide tracks were left.'

(4) An unexpected or surprising action:

*Po trijų dienų tėvai žiūri – visas
žalčių pułkas bešliaužiąs į jų kiėmą.*

'In three days the parents saw a whole pack
of grass-snakes crawling into their yard.'

active forms		Compound passive forms			
Perfect		Imperfect		Perfect	
Obl. m.	Ind. m.	Obl. m.	Ind. m.	Obl. m.	Ind. m.
<i>ēšqs mēṭeš</i>	<i>yrà mēṭeš</i>	<i>ēšqs mētamas</i>	<i>yrà mētamas</i>	<i>ēšqs mēstas</i>	<i>yrà mēstas</i>
<i>būveš mēṭeš</i>	<i>būvo mēṭeš</i>	<i>būveš mētamas</i>	<i>būvo mētamas</i>	<i>būveš mēstas</i>	<i>būvo mēstas</i>
<i>būdaveš mēṭeš</i>	<i>būdavo mēṭeš</i>	<i>būdaveš mētamas</i>	<i>būdavo mētamas</i>	<i>būdaveš mēstas</i>	<i>būdavo mēstas</i>
<i>būsiqs mēṭeš</i>	<i>būs mēṭeš</i>	<i>būsiqs mētamas</i>	<i>būsiqs mēstas</i>	<i>būsiqs mēstas</i>	<i>būs mēstas</i>

Jis atsigrēžes žiūri – stóvjs vél̃nias.

‘He looked back and there a devil was standing.’

Žiūrēk, kóks didel̃is lazdỹnas išáuḡes.

‘Look, how big the hazel-nut bush has grown.’

The most frequent meaning of the oblique mood forms is that of an indirectly perceived action. They are often used in the context of verbs of saying, perception, bodily sensation and thinking. The indirect or doubtful nature of action is sometimes emphasized by modal particles, such as *tařtum* ‘as if’, *l̃yg* ‘as if’, *gál* ‘perhaps’, *galbūt* ‘maybe’, *turbūt* ‘most probably’, etc.

The oblique mood participles are mostly used with nouns and 3rd person pronouns. With 1st and 2nd person pronouns the oblique mood sometimes appears in reported speech.

Jis p̃sakojo, kad aš serḡās.

‘He said I was ill.’

Tū tik sugaišiqs tenaĩ nuvažiāveš.

‘You’ll probably just lose time by going there.’

The oblique mood is often used in tales and legends, e.g.:

*Vieno p̃no mirusi pat̃i ir palikusi
dvỹlika sūnū ir dár vienaḡ dukterēle.
Po kiek laĩko tēvas pamīles
kitā mergĩnaḡ, rāgaḡ. Tā sākant̃i:
„Duktē tesiē, bet sàvo sūnus sudēgink...“
Tēvas māstēs šiaīp, māstēs taĩp,
nebežinaḡ, kās čia bebūs dar̃jti.*

‘The wife of a lord died and left twelve sons and a little daughter. After some time the father fell in love with another young woman, a witch. She said: “Your daughter may stay, but you must burn all your sons...” The father thought one way and another

Ir pasākęs vienām sàvo tařnui.

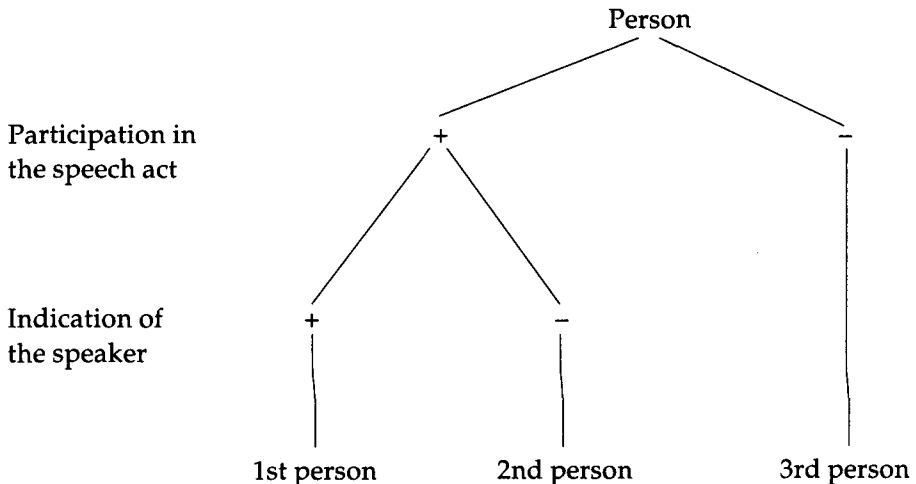
and didn't know what to do. Then he told one of his servants about it.'

- 5.54 In sentences where indirect experience or the uncertainty of the action is conveyed by verbs of saying, thinking or modal words, the oblique mood is often (in publicistic style, in particular) replaced by the indicative mood (*Sàko, jis gyvėna kàime* 'They say he lives in the countryside,' see 5.45). This neutralization is stimulated by the fact that the southern Lithuanian dialects do not use the oblique mood and it has been accelerated by the influence of the Russian language during the period of the Soviet occupation. Cases of neutralization, however, do not make the indicative mood synonymous with the oblique mood. The latter as the marked member of the opposition is used only in certain modal meanings and cannot replace the indicative mood in other cases.

PERSON

Asmuõ

- 5.55 Distinctions of person indicate the relation of the action to the participants of the speech act from the point of view of the speaker. The 1st person forms refer to the speaker himself; the 2nd person forms refer to the addressee(s), while the 3rd person forms refer to something or someone who does not participate in the speech act. In this way distinctions of person constitute two-level oppositions on the basis of two semantic features: (1) participation in the speech act, and (2) relation between the participants of the speech act.



The 3rd person forms constitute the unmarked member of the first level opposition, which is in line with their specific endingless form and possible impersonal employment.

- 5.56 The category of person is very closely related to the categories of number, tense and mood. Its relation to the category of number is especially close, for both categories are expressed by the same endings, and the meaning of number exerts a marked influence on the use of personal forms. In fact, it determines the semantic differences between the forms of the 1st and 2nd person plural. Many tense forms of verbs, e.g. the present tense 3rd person forms *běga* 'run(s)', *něša* 'carry(ies)', the past tense 3rd person forms *běgo* 'ran', *něše* 'carried' denote both tense and person.

The distinction of all three persons is typical only of the indicative and subjunctive moods. The imperative mood usually possesses only the 2nd person singular and the 1st and 2nd persons plural (except for the old and rare forms of the type *tenešiē* 'let him/her/it/them carry', *terāšai* 'let him/her/it/them write'. The oblique mood participles do not indicate any distinction of person, it is usually indicated by the accompanying nouns and pronouns (e.g. *āš, tū, jīs rāšqs* 'I, you, he am/are/is (said) to be writing').

- 5.57 The indicators of person distinction are the endings of the 1st and 2nd person forms. The 3rd person forms coincide with the stem of the verb and are opposed to the other forms of the verb as forms with a zero ending (see 5.86).

The same 3rd person forms are used both with the singular and plural forms of nouns and pronouns. They differ from the other personal verb forms in that they indicate actions or states performed or experienced both by animate and inanimate agents or patients, e.g.:

Šuō/akmuō gūli krjžkelēje.
Jūroje pakilo baņgos.

'A dog/stone lies at the crossroads.'
'Waves appeared on the sea.'

- 5.58 All the personal forms of the verb can be used with the respective personal pronouns: 1st person pronouns *āš* 'I', *mēs* 'we'; 2nd person pronouns *tū* 'thou', *tāmsta* 'you', *pāts* 'you', *jūs* 'you'; 3rd person pronouns *jīs* 'he', *jī* 'she', *jiē, jōs* 'they'; 3rd person verb forms can also be used with pronouns of other classes and nouns.

1st and 2nd person forms of the verb are usually (especially in colloquial speech) used alone, without any pronoun.

Viškā geraī prisimenu.
Ar manēs nepažīsti?
Ieškōjome tavēs ilgāi.

'I remember everything well.'
'Don't you recognize me?'
'We have looked for you a long time.'

Personal pronouns are almost never used with the imperative mood or in sentences of general meaning. On the other hand, they are applied in cases when emphasis on the participants of the speech act or their opposition to other persons is required, e.g.:

*Dabař àš eĩsiu, o tũ paláuksi
manęs čià.* 'Now I'll go, and you will wait
for me here.'

While addressing someone:

*Ar jũs, vaikaĩ, vienì pabũvat
namiẽ?* 'Do you, children, ever stay at
home alone?'

The use of 1st and 2nd person forms of the verb without personal pronouns is one of the prominent features of Lithuanian which makes it different from many other languages where the 1st and 2nd person pronouns are much more frequent or even required when a finite form of the verb is used.

The 3rd person finite forms of the verb, however, require the presence of subject nouns or pronouns, except in cases where the context or situation makes them absolutely clear. The absence of a 3rd person pronoun can also be the indication of the impersonal or generalized personal meaning of the sentence:

*Visuř šaukė, klįkė, spiėgė, daužė,
traĩkė dũrimis.* 'There were screams, shrieks, yells, slams
and the banging of doors all over the place.'

5.59 The generalized, expanded and figurative uses of verbal personal forms are based on their primary meaning.

Generalized reference is typical of 2nd person singular and 1st person plural forms in proverbs, saws and similar standard phrases.

Daũg norėsi, mažaĩ turėsi. 'If you want much, you'll get little.'
*Eidamì eĩti, dirbdamì dirbti
mókomės.* 'We learn to walk by walking,
we learn to work by working.'

1st person singular and 2nd person plural verbal forms retain their association with the speaker or the addressee(s) even when they are used in generalized reference.

Kaĩp móku, taĩp šóku. lit. 'I dance as I know how' (i.e. 'I work
as I can').

*Kuř tik pažvelęsit, visuř
geltonúoja rugiaĩ.* 'Wherever you look, you see
yellow fields of rye.'

3rd person verbal forms are used to refer an action to an indefinite agent, i.e. to people in general, e.g.:

*Kuŗ medŗiŗus keŗta, teŗŗ skiedros
lŗkia.*

'Where trees are being cut,
chips are flying around.'

However, the most usual way to convey that the agents of an action are people in general is to use the neuter form of a passive participle:

*Iŗ turtĩngo daugiaŗ
reikalaujama.*

'More is required from a rich
person.'

1st person plural forms, the so called *editorial we*, is sometimes used in writing instead of the 1st person singular, which is felt to be a little egotistic and, therefore, the author may wish to avoid it:

*Rŗŗini, ŗiaŗp ar taŗp, pŗtariame
skaitŗti mŗŗsŗ rŗŗŗŗ istorijos
reikalui, teŗkiame jŗ ir mokiniŗ
skaitŗkloms.*

'However it may be, we advise one
to read this piece in connec-
tion with the history of our
literature; we also supply it to school
libraries.'

When addressing a person directly, the 1st person plural form can also indicate an action performed by the addressee:

Tai vis veŗpiam, moŗiŗte?

'So we are still spinning, granny?'

In emotionally vivid speech, the 2nd person singular may indicate an action, performed by the speaker, but typical of people in general.

*Daraŗ, stŗngiesi, o jŗi vis nege-
raŗ ir negeraŗ.*

'You just toil, try hard, but
she is never pleased.'

2nd person plural is used instead of 2nd person singular when addressing the interlocutor politely:

*O jŗŗ mŗn tŗŗvas ŗsat.
Ar iŗ tŗlo eŗinate?*

'And you are my father.'

'Are you coming from far away?'

With the pronoun *tŗmsta* 'you' the 2nd person singular form of the verb is commonly used:

*Ar neŗinaŗ tŗmsta, kuŗ mŗno
Petriukas?*

'Do you know, mister, where
my Petriukas is?'

IMPERSONAL USE OF FINITE FORMS OF THE VERB

- 5.60** 3rd person forms, which by definition do not associate the action with the participants of the speech act, can be used impersonally. This is very typical of so called impersonal verbs which indicate natural phenomena or processes which

do not depend upon the will of the doer. Lithuanian possesses a very great number and variety of such impersonal verbs.

(1) Verbs denoting natural phenomena associated with changes in time and weather: *aūšti*, *aušróti*, *brėkšti*, *švísti*, *dienóti* 'dawn', *tamsúoti*, *tėmti*, *vakarėti* 'be getting dark', *dárganoti* 'be rainy', *dreñgti*, *drobliúoti* 'sleet', *dułkti*, *dulksnóti*, *rasėnti*, *lašnóti*, *lynóti* 'drizzle', *lýti* 'rain', *snaigýti*, *sniguriuoti* 'snow (slightly)', *snigti* 'snow', *spėigėti* 'freeze hard', *pustýti* 'drift, a blizzard', *griáuðėti*, *griáušti* 'thunder', *giedrėti* 'be clearing up', *žaubúoti* 'flash (about lightning)', etc.

Vaikai, kėlkitės, jau aūšta/švėnta! 'Children, get up, day is breaking!'

Võs tik pràdėda dienóti, jau jis ir rėtasi iš lóvos. 'As soon as day breaks, he rolls out of bed.'

Sniėgti, lýja, darganója, negiedrà dienėlė. 'It's snowing, raining, sleeting, the day is nasty.'

Per visą diėną dułkė. 'It was drizzling all day long.'

Kėlias užpustýtas ir dár pùsto. 'There are snow drifts on the road, and the blizzard doesn't stop.'

The verb *brėkšti* has two opposite meanings: 'to dawn' and 'to be getting dark'.

(2) Verbs denoting a person's physical and mental state: *gėlti*, *maūsti* 'ache', *niežėti* 'itch', *perštėti* 'smart', *skaudėti* 'ache', *sopėti* 'ache', *kniėtėti* 'itch to do sth.', *ganėti* 'be enough', *pakàkti*, *užtėkti* 'be enough', *stìgti* 'lack', *trúkti* 'lack', *pabaīsti* 'be frightened', *atródyti* 'seem', *reikėti* 'need', *priderėti* 'be proper, be fit', *vertėti* 'be worth', *tėkti* 'fall (on/to sb.)', *derėti* 'be proper, fit', etc.

Mán taip gálva skauða/gėlia! 'I have such a headache!'

Liežuvò jái niežti. 'Her tongue (ACC) itches.'

Gėrklė peršti nuo dūmu. 'The smoke makes my throat smart.'

Tárpais kniėti pasakýti, kad jisai melúoja. 'Sometimes I itch to say he is lying.'

Màno àmžiui visko užtėks. 'It'll be enough for me all my life.'

Mán svėtimo tuřto nereikia. 'I don't need what belongs to others.'

5.61 Among the impersonal verbs we can also find a large number of reflexive verbs denoting a spontaneous state:

(1) *blaustýtis* 'grow cloudy', *giėdrytis* 'be clearing up', *niáuuktis* 'grow cloudy':

Po lietaūs nusigiėdrijo. 'After the rain it cleared up.'

Šiañdien lietaūs būs – blaūstosi. 'It's going to rain today – it's getting cloudy.'

(2) *matýtis* 'be seen', *norėtis* 'experience a wish', *regėtis* 'seem', *ródytis* 'seem', *sėktis* 'go well; be lucky', *atsitíkti* 'happen':

Mán nórisi miēgo.

'I'm sleepy' lit. 'I (DAT. SG) want (3. PRES. REFL) to sleep (GEN. SG).'

Kodēl jám taīp sēkasi?

'Why is he (DAT. SG) so lucky (3. PRES. REFL)?'

The corresponding verbs without the reflexive suffix are most often used as personal verbs:

Kàs datnúoja, tàs vařgo nejaūčia.

'He who sings, doesn't feel his troubles.'

Cf.: *Ligōs nesijaūčia.*

'The illness (GEN. SG) is not felt (3. PRES. REFL).'

5.62 The morphological paradigm of impersonal verbs includes the 3rd person forms of the indicative, subjunctive and oblique moods, the infinitive and gerunds. Some impersonal verbs also have the neuter form of passive participles, e.g.:

snìgti 'snow'

*snìnga, snìgo, snìgdavo, snìgs;
bùvo/búddavo/bùs besnìnga, snìge; snìgtu;
snìnga, snìge, snìgdave, snìgsia; snìgta*

reikėti 'need'

*reikia, reikėjo, reikėdavo, reikės;
bùvo/búddavo/bùs bereikia; reikėtu; reikia,
reikėje, reikėdave, reikėsia; reikėta*

But reflexive verbs which possess a complete morphological paradigm, i.e. all the forms indicated above, are rare. For example, the verbs *pabaīso* 'became frightened', *pagaīlo* 'became sorry', *pagařdo* 'became tasty', are usually used only in the past tense, more rarely in the past frequentative. Instead of the other forms of these verbs the neuter forms of adjectives of a similar meaning in conjunction with the verb *darytis* 'become' are mostly used:

Present: *(dārosi) baisù* 'it's becoming frightening'
 (dārosi) gaīla 'I'm becoming sorry'

Past: *pabaīso/pasidārè baisù*
 pagaīlo/pasidārè gaīla

Past frequentative: *pabaīsdavo/pasidarýdavo baisù*
pagaīldavo/pasidarýdavo gaīla

Future: *pasidarýs baisù*
 pasidarýs gaīla

In the present the verb *vertėti* 'be worth' is replaced by the neuter adjectival form *veřta* with a link verb:

Present: *(yrà) veřta* 'it's worth'
Past: *vertėjo/bùvo veřta* 'was worth'

Past

frequentative: *vertėdavo/būdavo veřta* 'used to be worth'

Future: *vertės/būs veřta* 'will be worth'

In certain contexts the 3rd person forms of other verbs can also be used impersonally when they denote natural processes: *kaĩtina* 'it's hot', *kvėpia* 'it smells nice', *šąla* 'it's freezing', *atšýla* 'it's getting warmer', *baltúoja* 'it appears (is) white', *palengvėjo* 'it has become easier', etc.

Laukuosė jau geraĩ kaĩtino.

'It was already rather hot in the fields.'

Šiañdien staigà atšilo/atšalo.

'Today it suddenly has become warmer/colder.'

In other cases such verbs, differently from the impersonal verbs proper, possess the 1st and 2nd person forms, cf.:

Kaĩtinu pienu.

'I'm warming up the milk.'

Rankàs atšalsi.

'Your hands will get cold.'

NUMBER

Skaĩčius

- 5.63 In the simple tenses number is reflected in the different endings of the 1st and 2nd person forms of finite verbs (which also reflect person), e.g. *eĩnu* 'I go', *eĩni* 'you go' (singular); *eĩname* 'we go', *eĩnate* 'you go' (plural). The 3rd person forms contain no grammatical indicators of number, e.g.:

jìs/jì eĩna 'he, she goes' – *jiė/jòs eĩna* 'they go'.

In the compound tenses the distinction of number is indicated by the 1st and 2nd person forms of the auxiliary verb and the endings of the participial form of the main verb which is inflected only for number but not for person, e.g.:

(àš) *esù ěješ* 'I have walked (SG)' – (mės) *ėsame ěje* 'we have walked (PL)';

(tù) *buvai nėšamas* 'you were/had been carried (SG)' – *jūs bùvote nešamì* 'you were/had been carried (PL)'.

Number is also distinguished by the endings of the oblique mood participles, e.g.:

àš/jìs nešąs 'I am/He is said to be carrying (SG)' – *mės/jiė nešą* 'we/they are said to be carrying (PL)'.

In participles, just like in adjectives, number is indicated by the same inflections which convey case and gender distinctions.

Since the plural forms are the marked members of the opposition based on number, their meaning is always more definite than that of the singular forms, which can denote people in general, i.e. an indefinite agent. This is especially typical of the 2nd person forms:

Gyvenì ir mókaisi.

‘You live and you learn.’

Kaĩp pasiklòsi, taĩp išmiegósi.

lit. ‘As you make your bed, so you will sleep on it’ (i.e. one gets what one deserves).

Some other meanings of the singular and plural forms are indicated in 5.56–59 together with a description of the semantic distinctions which depend on person.

Finite forms of the verb agree with nouns and pronouns in number.

The now obsolete dual forms of the finite verb are still used in some dialects and literary writings, e.g.:

Eĩsiva namõ.

‘We two will go home.’

Eivà namõ.

‘Let’s we two go home.’

VOICE

Rúšis

- 5.64** The category of voice comprises two voices, active (*veikiamóji rúšis*) and passive (*neveikiamóji rúšis*). It finds expression in two sets of verbal forms indicating a different relation of the semantic subject to the syntactic subject.

The main formal means of marking the voice opposition is the participle which has active and passive forms, viz.:

nešq̄s ‘carrying (ACT. PRES)’

– *nėšamas* ‘being carried (PASS. PRES)’

nėšęs ‘carried (ACT. PAST)’

– *nėštas* ‘carried (PASS. PAST)’

The present and past passive participles and the auxiliary *búti* ‘be’ constitute periphrastic passive forms opposed to both simple and periphrastic active forms (cf. Table 10).

- 5.65** The active voice is represented by all the simple finite verb forms, infinitive, active participles (including gerunds) and the periphrastic forms with the active participles:

nešù ‘(I) carry’

nešq̄s, -anti, nėšdamas, -à, nėšant ‘carrying’

nešiaũ ‘(I) carried’

nėšęs, -usi, nėšus ‘carried’

Table 10. The correspondences between active and passive forms *šaukti* 'call', *eiti* 'walk'

Types of active forms	Tense	Mood					
		Indicative		Subjunctive			
		Active	Passive	Active	Passive		
Simple	Present	<i>šaukia</i>	<i>yrà šaukiamas, -à / yrà šaukiama</i>	<i>šauktų</i>	<i>būtų šaukiamas, -à / būtų šaukiama</i>		
		<i>eina</i>	<i>yrà einama</i>				
	Past	<i>šaukė</i>	<i>buvo šaukiamas, -à / buvo šaukiama</i>			<i>eitų</i>	<i>būtų eina</i>
		<i>ėjo</i>	<i>buvo einama</i>				
	Past freq.	<i>šaukdavo</i>	<i>būdavo šaukiamas, -à / būdavo šaukiama</i>				
		<i>eidavo</i>	<i>būdavo einama</i>				
	Future	<i>šaus</i>	<i>būs šaukiamas, -à / būs šaukiama</i>				
<i>eis</i>		<i>būs einama</i>					
Periphrastic	Present	<i>yrà šaukęs, -usi</i>	<i>yrà šauktas, -à / yrà šaukta</i>	<i>būtų šaukęs, -usi</i>	<i>būtų šauktas, -à / šaukta</i>		
		<i>yrà ėjęs, -usi</i>	<i>yrà eita</i>				
	Past	<i>buvo šaukęs, -usi</i>	<i>buvo šauktas, -à / buvo šaukta</i>			<i>būtų ėjęs, -usi</i>	<i>būtų eita</i>
		<i>buvo ėjęs, -usi</i>	<i>buvo eita</i>				
	Past freq.	<i>būdavo šaukęs, -usi</i>	<i>būdavo šauktas, -à / būdavo šaukta</i>				
		<i>būdavo ėjęs, -usi</i>	<i>būdavo eita</i>				
	Future	<i>būs šaukęs, -usi</i>	<i>būs šauktas, -à / būs šaukta</i>				
<i>būs ėjęs, -usi</i>		<i>būs eita</i>					

Mood

Imperative		Oblique	
Active	Passive	Active	Passive
<i>tešaukiē</i>	<i>tebūniē šaukiamas,-à / šaukiama</i>	<i>šaukiqs, -ianti</i>	<i>ēšqs šaukiamas, ēsanti šaukiamà/ēšq šaukiama</i>
<i>teeiniē</i>	<i>tebūniē eīnama</i>	<i>eīnqs, -anti</i>	<i>ēšq eīnama</i>
		<i>šaukēs, -usi</i>	<i>būvēs šaukiamas, būvusi šaukiamà / būvē šaukiama</i>
		<i>ējēs, -usi</i>	<i>būvē eīnama</i>
		<i>šaukdavēs, -usi</i>	<i>būdavēs šaukiamas, būdavusi šaukiamà / būdavē šaukiama</i>
		<i>eīdavēs, -usi</i>	<i>būdavē eīnama</i>
		<i>šauksiqs, -ianti</i>	<i>būsiqs šaukiamas, būsianti šaukiamà / būsiq šaukiama</i>
		<i>eīsiqs, -ianti</i>	<i>būsiq eīnama</i>
<i>tebūniē šaukēs, -usi</i>	<i>tebūniē šauktas, -à/šaukta</i>	<i>ēšqs šaukēs, ēsanti šaukusi</i>	<i>ēšqs šauktas, ēsanti šauktà / ēšq šaukta</i>
<i>tebūniē ējēs, -usi</i>	<i>tebūniē eīta</i>	<i>ēšqs ējēs, ēsanti ējusi</i>	<i>ēšq eīta</i>
		<i>būvēs šaukēs, būvusi šaukusi</i>	<i>būvēs šauktas, būvusi šauktà / būvē šaukta</i>
		<i>būvēs ējēs, būvusi ējusi</i>	<i>būvē eīta</i>
		<i>būdavēs šaukēs, būdavusi šaukusi</i>	<i>būdavēs šauktas, būdavusi šauktà / būdavē šaukta</i>
		<i>būdavēs ējēs, būdavusi ējusi</i>	<i>būdavē eīta</i>
		<i>būsiqs šaukēs, būsianti šaukusi</i>	<i>būsiqs šauktas, būsianti šauktà / būsiq šaukta</i>
		<i>būsiqs ējēs, būsianti ējusi</i>	<i>būsiq eīta</i>

něšdavau 'I used to carry'
něšiu '(I) shall carry'
něšti 'to carry'

něšdaveš, -usi, něšdavirus 'carried (FREQ)'
něšias, -ianti, něšiant 'carrying (FUT)'
esù / buvaũ / bũdavau / bũsiu něšes, něšusi
 '(I) have / had / used to have carried / shall
 have carried' etc.

The passive voice is represented by passive participles and the periphrastic finite forms with the present and past passive participles, e.g.:

něšama s, -à 'being carried'
něštas, -à 'carried'
něšimas 'carried (FUT)'
esù / buvaũ / bũsiu něšamas, -à / něštas, -à '(I) am / was / used to be / shall be carried'

The category of voice covers all the verbs, both transitive and intransitive, personal and impersonal, reflexive and non-reflexive, i.e. every single verb form is either active or passive. But not all active forms have passive counterparts; the restrictions on the passive voice are discussed below (5.75–78).

The correspondences between active and passive verb forms are influenced by the tense and aspect meanings of the verb. For instance, the present passive with the past participle (e.g. *láiškas yrà àtneštas kaimýno* 'a letter is brought by the neighbour') corresponds in the temporal and aspectual meaning both to the active periphrastic past (*kaimýnas yrà atněšes láiška* 'the neighbour has brought a letter') and to the simple past with the perfective meaning (*kaimýnas àtnešē láiška* 'the neighbour (has) brought a letter').

- 5.66 The marked member of the voice opposition is the passive. A passive verb form indicates that the semantic subject is not expressed by the syntactic subject or, in the case of an attributive passive participle, by the head noun. In the passive construction the semantic subject is expressed by the genitive or it is omitted, cf.:

Mótina mylėjo dũkterį. 'Mother loved her daughter.'
Duktė buvo (mótinòs) mylimà. 'The daughter was loved (by her mother).'

The choice of an active or a passive form of the verb determines the syntactic structure of the sentence.

If the subject of an active verb is the pronoun *àš* 'I' or *tũ* 'you: SG', in the corresponding passive construction it acquires the possessive genitive form *màno* 'my', *tàvo* 'your' instead of *manęs, tavęs*:

Àš pàkviečiau draũgą. 'I invited a friend.'
*Draũgas buvo màno (*manęs) pàkviestas.* 'The friend was invited by me.'

Tù pàmetei rākta.

'You lost the key.'

*Rāktas būvo tàvo (*tavęs)
pàmetas.*

'The key was lost by you.'

The passive of transitive verbs and the passive of intransitive verbs differ in a number of grammatical properties.

THE PASSIVE OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

- 5.67 Active transitive constructions may have two passive equivalents: with and without agreement in gender between the syntactic subject and the passive participle of the predicate:

Tėvas kviečia svečius.
'Father invites guests.'

(1) *Svečiai yra (tėvo) kviečiami.*

'Guests (NOM. PL. MASC) are invited (NOM. PL. MASC) (by father).'

(2) *Svečiai yra (tėvo) kviečiama.*

'Guests (NOM. PL. MASC) are invited (NEUTR) (by father).'

Of the two types, the former is regularly used in Standard Lithuanian. Masculine and feminine forms of passive participles agree with the subject in number and case as well, cf.:

Mergaitės būvo tėvo kvieštos.

'The girls (NOM. PL. FEM) were invited (NOM. PL. FEM) by father.'

Constructions of the latter type (with the neuter forms of participles without agreement) are peripheral in Standard Lithuanian.

Unprefixed reflexive verbs have passive forms with a neuter participle only, cf.:

peřkasi '(he) buys for himself' →

yra peřkamasi '(it is) bought for oneself'

mùšesi '(they) fought' →

yra mùštasi '(it was) being fought (by them)'

The prefixed reflexives have passive forms of both types:

nusipirko
'(he) bought for himself'

būvo nusipirktas, -à '(it) has been bought for oneself'

būvo nusipirkta '(it was) bought for oneself'

- 5.68** The accusative object of an active transitive verb is promoted to the nominative subject in the corresponding passive construction, while the active subject is demoted to the genitive complement:

<i>Visi manè skriaūdžia.</i> →	'Everybody (lit. All) offends me.'
<i>Āš esū visū skriaūdziamas.</i>	'I am (being) offended (NOM. SG) by everybody (GEN. PL).'
<i>Jis yrà piškęs šitą žemę.</i> →	'He has bought this land.'
<i>Šitą žemę yrà jō pirktà.</i>	'This land has been bought by him.'

- 5.69** The passive transformation with object promotion applies also to a number of verbs governing other than the accusative case forms. They are:

(1) Verbs taking the genitive object, e.g.: *norėti* 'want', *geisti* 'desire, long', *(pa)geidauti* 'wish, desire', *ieškoti* 'look (for)', *laukti* 'wait', *siekti* 'strive (for), seek', *vengti* 'avoid', *bijoti* 'be afraid (of)'; cf.:

<i>Mótina ieško dukteřs.</i> →	'Mother is looking for her daughter (GEN).'
<i>Duktė yrà mótinos ieškoma.</i>	'The daughter (NOM) is being looked for by her mother (GEN).'
<i>Visi laukė svečių.</i> →	'Everybody (NOM) was waiting for the guests (GEN).'
<i>Svečiai būvo visū laukiami.</i>	'The guests (NOM) were awaited by everybody (GEN).'

(2) Some verbs taking the dative object, e.g.: *atstovauti* 'represent', *įsakyti* 'order', *liępti* 'order, tell', cf.:

<i>Mēs atstovāvome darbininkams.</i> →	'We represented the workers (DAT).'
<i>Darbininkai būvo mūsų atstovaujami.</i>	'The workers (NOM) were represented by us.'
<i>Tėvai liępė jam dirbti.</i> →	'(His) parents ordered him (DAT) to work.'
<i>Jis būvo tėvū lięptas dirbti.</i>	'He (NOM) was ordered to work by his parents (GEN).'

The obligatory locative required by the verb *gyvėnti* 'inhabit, live (in)' may also be converted into the nominative subject:

<i>Žvėrys gyvėna urvuosė.</i> →	'Beasts live in burrows (LOC).'
<i>Urvaĩ yrà žvėriū gyvėnami.</i>	'The burrows (NOM) are inhabited by beasts (GEN).'

However, in the latter two cases the dative and the locative can be retained in the passive construction, in which the neuter form of the passive participle is used and the resultant sentence is subjectless:

<i>Jām būvo tēvū liēpta dīrbti.</i>	lit. 'To him (DAT) (it) was ordered (NEUTR) by (his) parents (GEN) to work.'
<i>Urvoosē yrā žvērtū gyvēnāma.</i>	lit. 'In the burrows (LOC) (it) is inhabited (NEUTR) by beasts (GEN).'

5.70 The verb *prašyti* 'ask' governing two objects (accusative and dative) may form two passive constructions, since either object can be converted into subject:

Berniūkas prāšē mokytoją knygą. → 'The boy asked the teacher (ACC) for a book (GEN).'

(a) *Mokytojas būvo (berniūko) prāšomas knygos.* 'The teacher (NOM) was asked (by the boy) for a book (GEN).'

(b) *Knygà būvo (berniūko) prāšoma.* 'The book (NOM) was requested (by the boy).'

The dative of addressee governed by the verb *dúoti* 'give' sometimes (very rarely) can also be converted into the subject of a passive construction, e.g.

Tėvas dāvė vaĩkui obuolį. 'Father gave the child an apple (ACC).'

Vaĩkas būvo dúotas obuolį. 'The child (NOM) was given an apple (ACC).'

Cf. the regular passive:

Obuolỹs būvo dúotas vaĩkui. 'The apple (NOM) was given to the child (DAT).'

5.71 The passive voice is a means of expressing an action irrespective of its agent. The agentive genitive is often omitted if the agent is unknown, unimportant to the speaker or implied by the situation and context, e.g.:

Tàs ligónis yrā gydomas seniaĩ. lit. 'This patient is being treated for a long time.'

Jām būvo pasiūlytas gerėsnis dárbas. 'He (DAT) was offered a better job (NOM).'

The agentive genitive is also omitted if the Agent is indefinite or generalized, e.g.:

Šiañdien vaĩsiai parduodamì visuř. 'Today fruit is sold everywhere.'

Netrukus visi darbaĩ būs baigtì. 'Shortly all work will be finished.'

Jis būvo labaĩ gerbiamas. 'He was highly esteemed.'

5.72 The passive of transitive verbs with the neuter participle (second type) is mainly used in the following cases:

(1) With the subject expressed by the pronouns unmarked for gender: *kàs* 'who, what', *kai kàs* 'somebody, anybody, something', *kas nòrs* 'anybody, anything', *kažkàs* 'somebody, something', *niėkas* 'nobody, nothing', *viskas* 'everything', etc., and by adverbs or word groups with the genitive of quantity, e.g.: *daũg* 'many, much', *mažaĩ* 'few, little': *daũg vandeñs* 'much water', *kėletas vaikų* 'several children', *tūkstančiai žmonių* 'thousands of people', etc.:

<i>Kàs bũvo liėpta, tũri bũti atlikta.</i>	'What was ordered must be carried out.'
<i>Viskas geraĩ dāroma.</i>	'Everything is being done well.'
<i>Niėkas nėrà pardũota.</i>	'Nothing is sold.'
<i>Išlėista šimtai knygũ.</i>	'Hundreds of books are published.'

(2) In impersonal (subjectless) sentences with the genitive of indefinite quantity (a) or with an infinitive (b):

(a) <i>Prie pamiñklo bũvo padėta gėliũ.</i>	'(Some) flowers (GEN) were laid (NEUTR) at the monument.'
(cf.: <i>Gėlės bũvo padėtos prie pamiñklo.</i>)	('The flowers (NOM) were laid at monument.')
<i>Vakarė laukiamo / tikimasi gerũ naujienũ.</i>	'Good news (GEN. PL) was expected (NEUTR) in the evening.'
(b) <i>Paskuĩ bũvo atnešta valgyti ir gėrti.</i>	'Food and drinks were brought (NEUTR) later (lit. Then it was brought to eat and drink).'
<i>Čià draũdziamo rūkỹti.</i>	'(It) is forbidden (NEUTR) to smoke.'
<i>Jám bũvo liėpta išeiti.</i>	'He (DAT) was ordered (NEUTR) to leave.'

5.73 The neuter passive participle is sometimes used also in personal sentences with the masculine or feminine subject, though agreement in gender is more common, cf.:

<i>Pavāsari rugiai bũvo sėjama / sėjami.</i>	'In spring, rye (MASC) was sown (NEUTR/MASC).'
<i>Bũlvės jau bũvo nũkasta / nũkastos.</i>	'The potatoes (FEM) were already dug up (NEUTR/FEM).'

The passive voice of some verbs governing the accusative object of quantity (*kainuoti* 'cost', *svėrti/svėrti* 'weigh', *trũkti* 'last', *sukàkti* 'turn (about age)' is formed with neuter passive participles only, e.g.:

<i>Višta</i>	<i>svėria</i>	<i>dũ</i>	<i>kilogramũs.</i>
hen: NOM. SG	weigh: 3. PRES	two	kilograms (ACC. PL)

'The chicken weighs two kilograms.'

<i>Vištos</i>	<i>svėriama</i>	<i>dū</i>	<i>kilogrāmai / kilogramūs.</i>
hen: GEN. SG	weigh: PASS.	two	kilograms: NOM. PL / ACC. PL
	PRES. PART. NEUTR		

‘The weight of the chicken is two kilograms.’

- 5.74 Neuter passive participles with the preposed agentive genitive, especially when used without an auxiliary, can acquire the evidential meaning close to that of the indirect mood. It denotes an action inferred from its consequences or hearsay, or assumed, or an action causing surprise:

<i>Girdėjau,</i>	<i>jõ</i>	<i>miestè</i>	<i>nāmas</i>	<i>stātoma.</i>
hear: 1. PAST	he: GEN	town: LOC	house: NOM	build: PRES. PASS.
				PART. NEUTR

‘I hear, he is building a house in the town.’

<i>Gál</i>	<i>Jonùko</i>	<i>tiẽ</i>	<i>grj̄bai</i>	<i>àtnešta.</i>
maybe	Jonukas: GEN	this: NOM. PL	mushroom: NOM. PL	bring: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR

‘Maybe it is Jonukas (Johnny) who has brought those mushrooms.’

<i>Senų</i>	<i>miškaĩ</i>	<i>mylėta,</i>	<i>tūloñ</i>	<i>giesmėn</i>	<i>dėta.</i>
old: GEN. PL	forest: NOM PL. MASC	love: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR	many: ILLAT. SG	song: ILLAT. SG	put: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR

‘(In the days of old) people loved forests and made many songs about them.’

Such constructions with the neuter participle of transitive verbs are characteristic of eastern Lithuanian dialects. In the standard language they are rare and stylistically marked.

THE PASSIVE OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS

- 5.75 Intransitive verbs have periphrastic passive forms with the neuter participles only. The passive forms of intransitive verbs are correlated with the respective active forms as in the case of transitive verbs (see Table 10).

The periphrastic passive of intransitive verbs is used with or without the agentive genitive.

Constructions without the genitive are mostly used if the semantic subject is generalized, or indefinite or implied by the situation or context:

<i>Čià nerūkoma.</i>	'No smoking here (lit. Here is not smoked (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR).'
<i>Rùdenį bũvo ilgai miėgama.</i>	'People slept long in autumn (lit. In autumn was slept (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR) long).'
<i>Ar nebũs pavėluota?</i>	'Won't it be too late (PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR)?'

Some impersonal verbs (e.g. *lỹti* 'rain', *snĩgti* 'snow', *pustỹti* 'drift (of snow)') also have passive forms with the neuter past participle, cf.:

<i>Šiānakt palijo, yrà / bũvo paliję. →</i>	'It rained (lit. it has/had rained) last night.'
<i>Šiānakt (bũvo) palỹta.</i>	'It had rained (lit. it was rained) last night.'
<i>Rytoj pasnĩgs, bus pasnĩgę. →</i>	lit. 'It will snow/will have snowed tomorrow.'
<i>Rỹtoj bũs pàsnĩgta.</i>	lit. 'Tomorrow will be snowed.'

5.76 Passive constructions with the agentive genitive correspond to active constructions as follows:

<i>Tėvas suĩnkiai seřga. →</i>	'Father is seriously ill.'
<i>Tėvo suĩnkiai seřgama.</i>	'Father (GEN) is seriously ill (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR).'
<i>Vaikai miegójo sodė. →</i>	'The children slept in the garden.'
<i>Vaikų bũvo miėgama sodė.</i>	lit. 'By the children (GEN) was being slept (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR) in the garden.'
<i>Jis jau bũvo išėjes. →</i>	'He was already gone.'
<i>Jõ jau bũvo išėita.</i>	lit. 'By him (GEN) was already gone (PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR).'

5.77 Passive constructions with the neuter participle and agentive genitive, especially without an auxiliary, are used in the evidential meaning (of an action not observed directly, but inferred from its consequences, assumed or hearsay). In such cases the agentive genitive is usually preposed to the verb, the word order of the respective active construction being retained, e.g.:

<i>Čià</i>	<i>turbũt</i>	<i>iř</i>	<i>grỹbu</i>	<i>ėsama.</i>
here	maybe: PTCL	and	mushroom: GEN. PL	be: PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR

'There must be mushrooms here.'

meaning explicitly), both the auxiliary and the main verb assume the form of the passive neuter participle, e.g.:

<i>Jis bũvo išėjėš.</i>		'He was gone out.' →
<i>Jõ</i>	<i>bũta</i>	<i>išėita.</i>
he: GEN	be: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR	go-out: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR

'(They say/Evidently) he was gone out.'

<i>Tadà mės jaũ bũvome atsigũlė.</i>		'We had gone to bed then.' →		
<i>Tadà</i>	<i>mũsũ</i>	<i>jaũ</i>	<i>bũta</i>	<i>atsigũlta.</i>
then	we: GEN	already	be: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR	lie-down: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR

'(Maybe/Evidently) we had already gone to bed then.'

The active form of the auxiliary can be retained, but in this case the evidential meaning is less clear, cf.: *Jõ bũvo išėita. Mũsũ bũvo atsigũlta.*

Finite forms of the verb

Veiksmãžodžiũ asmenũojamosios fõrmos

- 5.79** The finite forms of the verb include: the forms of three persons and two numbers (singular and plural), the forms of four tenses (present, past, past frequentative and future) in the indicative mood and in the oblique mood, and the forms of the subjunctive and imperative moods.

All the finite forms of the verb are formed from the three main verbal stems – that of the present, the past and the infinitive.

The present stem is the 3rd person form of the present tense, e.g. *sũpa* 'surrounds', *kėlia* 'raises', *lidi* 'accompanies', *rãšo* 'writes'. This stem is used to build the present tense forms of the indicative and the 3rd person form of the imperative.

The past stem is the 3rd person form of the past tense, e.g. *sũpo* 'surrounded', *kėlė* 'raised', *lydėjo* 'accompanied', *rãšė* 'wrote'. This stem is used to create the past tense forms of the indicative.

In the present and past tenses the 3rd person forms coincide with the stem and do not contain any morphemes of person or number.

The infinitival stem is the part of the verb which remains after dropping the suffix *-ti*, e.g. *sũp-ti* 'to surround', *kėl-ti* 'to raise', *lydė-ti* 'to accompany', *rãšỹ-ti*

'to write'. The infinitival stem is used to create the past frequentative and future tense forms of the indicative, the forms of the imperative with the suffix *-k(i)*, and the subjunctive.

Verbal stems and thematic vowels

- 5.80** According to the morphemic structure of their stems all the verbs can be divided into three groups: primary, mixed and suffixal verbs.

All the three stems of the primary verbs are simple, although they may contain certain infixes or formants, e.g.:

běga, běgo, běg-ti 'run'
spru-ň-ka, spruko, spruk-ti 'take to one's heels'
pŷk-st-a, pŷko, pŷk-ti 'to be angry'

Among the stems of the mixed verbs we find both simple and suffixal stems, e.g.:

miěga, mieg-ój-o, mieg-ó-ti 'sleep'
bráížo, bráížě, bráíž-y-ti 'scratch'

All the stems of the suffixal verbs contain a suffix, e.g.:

did-in-a, did-in-o, did-in-ti 'increase'

- 5.81** The present and past tense stems of many verbs differ in their thematic vowels only (they have the same root and the same affixes):

áug-a – áug-o 'grow'
atběg-a – atběg-o 'come running'
jùdin-a – jùdin-o 'move'

Almost all of the suffixal and a great number of primary verbs belong to this group. The stems of the other primary verbs differ quite often in their root vowels (apophonic change) or in certain consonant infixes, e.g. *skìn-a, skŷn-ě, skìn-ti* 'pluck', *šlaňp-a, šlāp-o, šlāp-ti* 'become wet' (see Table 11). There are several primary verbs which show irregular stem formation, e.g. *dúod-a, dāv-ě, dúo-ti* 'give'.

Mixed verbs have a suffix in the infinitive and the past tense stems or only in the infinitive stem (see Table 12).

- 5.82** The conjugation of verbs involves a number of systemic morphonological stem changes, which do not affect the morphological form of the stem in any way. The most important changes are the following ones:

(1) Before *-a* and *-u* the soft consonants *d, t* [d t̚] become soft affricates *dž, č* [dʒ, tʃ] cf.:

áudè – áudžia ‘weave’ (3 PRES)

keítè – keičiù ‘change’ (1 PRES)

The consonants *d, t* become *s* between a vowel and the consonant *t* (that means also before the infinitival suffix *-ti*):

sěda, sědo, sěsti (< *sěd-ti*) ‘sit down’

měta, mětè, mèsti (< *mèt-ti*) ‘throw’

The consonants *d, t* disappear between the sibilants *s, š, z, ž* and the infinitival suffix *-ti*:

brùzdo, brùzti (< *brùzd-ti*) ‘bustle about’

beřgždè, beřgžti (< *beřgžd-ti*) ‘become barren’

druṁstè, druṁsti (< *druṁst-ti*) ‘stir up’

pruṁkštè, pruṁkšti (< *pruṁkšt-ti*) ‘snort’

In the present stem the consonants *d, t* disappear also before *-st-*:

klýdo, klýsta (< *klýd-st-a*) ‘err’

kaító, kaísta (< *kaít-st-a*) ‘be getting hot’

(2) In the present tense stem after the sibilants *s, š, z, ž* the formant *-st-* loses *s*:

ílso, ílsta (< *íls-st-a*) ‘become tired’

aūšo, aūšta (< *aūš-st-a*) ‘dawn’

iřzo, iřzta (< *iřz-st-a*) ‘get annoyed’

dùžo, důžta (< *důž-st-a*) ‘break’

(3) Before consonants the sound clusters *sk, šk, zg, žg* become *ks, kš, gz, gž*:

drýska – drísko – driṁsti ‘grow worn out, tear’

brěško – brěkšta – brěkšti ‘dawn’

mězga – mězgè – mègzti ‘knit’

džeřžgia – džeřžgè – džeřgžti ‘jingle, clang’

(4) Changes of the consonant *j* which

(a) becomes *i* between the vowel *u* and a consonant:

gùja, gùjo, guíti ‘drive out; maltreat’

(b) disappears after *i* and before a consonant by making the latter vowel longer:

dalìja, dalìjo, dalýti ‘divide’

(c) disappears after all the other vowels and before a consonant without a trace:

sěja, sějo, sěti ‘sow, plant’

jója, jójo, jóti ‘ride’

(5) Between the vowel *u* and a consonant, the consonant *v* disappears, thereby lengthening the preceding vowel:

siùva, siùvo, siúti 'sew'

After all the other vowels the consonant *v* becomes *u*:

gāvo, gáuna, gáuti 'get'

(6) Before the consonants *l, m, n, r, s, š, z, ž, v* the present tense infix *n* and the same consonant in the infinitival stem disappears, thereby lengthening the preceding vowel:

bŷra (< *biñra*, cf. *biro*) 'trickle'

spŷra (< *spuñra*, cf. *spuro*) 'fray'

bāla (< *bañla*, cf. *bālo*) 'become white'

keñtè, kęsti (< *keñs-ti* < *keñt-ti*) 'suffer'

skùndè, skústi (< *skùns-ti* < *skùnd-ti*) 'report (against sb.)'

Concerning the changes of *s, š, z, ž* before the future tense suffix *-s(i)* see 5.102.

5.83 A large number of primary verbs possess different stems (see Table 11).

Table 11. Stems of primary verbs

Present	Past	Infinitive
The root contains <i>a, e, u:</i> <i>vāgia</i> <i>lēkia</i> <i>tūpia</i>	The root contains <i>o, é, ū:</i> <i>vōgè</i> <i>lēkè</i> <i>tūpè</i>	The root contains <i>o, é, ū:</i> <i>vōgti</i> 'steal' <i>lēkti</i> 'fly' <i>tūpti</i> 'alight'
The root contains <i>a, e, i, u:</i> <i>kāria</i> <i>kēlia</i> <i>gīria</i> <i>dūmia</i>	The root contains <i>o, é, y, ū:</i> <i>kórè</i> <i>kēlè</i> <i>gýrè</i> <i>dūmè</i>	The root contains <i>a, e, i, u:</i> <i>kárti</i> 'hang' <i>kélti</i> 'raise' <i>girti</i> 'praise' <i>dūmti</i> 'dash'
The root contains <i>y, ū</i> (after dropping the <i>-n-</i>): <i>gŷja</i> <i>griūva</i>	The root contains <i>i, u:</i> <i>gijo</i> <i>griuvo</i>	The root contains <i>y, ū:</i> <i>gŷti</i> 'heal' <i>griúti</i> 'fall'

Present	Past	Infinitive
The root contains <i>u, e:</i> <i>siüva</i> <i>vēja</i>	The root contains <i>u, i:</i> <i>siüvo</i> <i>vijo</i>	The root contains <i>u, y:</i> <i>siüti</i> 'sew' <i>výti</i> 'chase'
The root contains <i>e:</i> <i>veĭka</i> <i>keňša</i> <i>reňka</i> <i>peřka</i> <i>gěna</i>	The root contains <i>i:</i> <i>viĭko</i> <i>kiňšo</i> <i>riňko</i> <i>piřko</i> <i>giňe</i>	The root contains <i>i:</i> <i>viĭkti</i> 'drag' <i>kiňšti</i> 'stuff' <i>riňkti</i> 'choose' <i>piřkti</i> 'buy' <i>giňti</i> 'drive'
The root contains <i>au</i> and the infix <i>-n-</i> or <i>-j-</i> before the thematic vowel: <i>džiáuna</i> <i>liáuja</i>	The root contains <i>ov</i> and no infix: <i>džióvé</i> <i>lióvé</i>	The root contains <i>au</i> and no infix: <i>džiáuti</i> 'hang to dry' <i>liáuiti</i> 'stop doing'
The root contains the infix <i>-n-</i> (<i>-m-</i> before <i>b, p</i>): <i>aňka</i> <i>seňka</i> <i>stiňga</i> <i>spruňka</i> <i>šlaňpa</i> <i>gleňba</i> <i>driňba</i> <i>čiuňpa</i> <i>bāla</i> (< <i>baňla</i>) <i>šýla</i> (< <i>šiňla</i>) <i>spāra</i> (< <i>spuňra</i>)	The root contains no infix: <i>ako</i> <i>sěko</i> <i>stĭgo</i> <i>sprũko</i> <i>šlāpo</i> <i>glēbo</i> <i>dribo</i> <i>čtũpo</i> <i>bālo</i> <i>šilo</i> <i>spũro</i>	The root contains no infix: <i>akti</i> 'go blind' <i>sěkti</i> 'sink' <i>stĭgti</i> 'be not enough' <i>sprũkti</i> 'take to his/her heels' <i>šlāpti</i> 'get wet' <i>glēbti</i> 'become flabby' <i>dribti</i> 'tumble' <i>čtũpti</i> 'grab' <i>bālti</i> 'pale' <i>šilti</i> 'become warm' <i>spũrti</i> 'fray'
The root contains the formant <i>-st-</i> <i>aĭpsta</i> <i>ilsta</i> (< <i>ilš-st-a</i>) <i>aušta</i> (< <i>auš-st-a</i>) <i>iřzta</i> (< <i>iřz-st-a</i>) <i>lůžta</i> (< <i>lůž-st-a</i>)	The root contains no formant: <i>aĭpo</i> <i>ilso</i> <i>aušo</i> <i>iřzo</i> <i>lůžo</i>	The root contains no formant: <i>aĭpti</i> 'faint' <i>ilsti</i> 'get tired' <i>aušti</i> 'dawn' <i>iřzti</i> 'get irritated' <i>lůžti</i> 'break'

Irregular stems

Present	Past	Infinitive
<i>aūna</i>	<i>āvē</i>	<i>aūti</i> 'put on or take off shoes'
<i>yrà, ēsame</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>bāti</i> 'be'
<i>dēda</i>	<i>dējo</i>	<i>dēti</i> 'put'
<i>dúoda</i>	<i>dāvē</i>	<i>dúoti</i> 'give'
<i>eīna</i>	<i>ējo</i>	<i>eīti</i> 'go'
<i>gáuna</i>	<i>gāvo</i>	<i>gāti</i> 'get'
<i>ìma</i>	<i>ēme</i>	<i>iṁti</i> 'take'
<i>liēka</i>	<i>liko</i>	<i>likti</i> 'remain'
<i>mīršta</i>	<i>mīrē</i>	<i>mīrti</i> 'die'
<i>púola</i>	<i>púolē</i>	<i>pūlti</i> 'attack'
<i>slúoja</i>	<i>slāvē</i>	<i>slúoti</i> 'sweep'
<i>vérda</i>	<i>vīrē</i>	<i>vīrti</i> 'boil'

Mixed verbs have different stems as well. Their present tense stem is usually simple, while the other two stems contain suffixes except for one group of verbs which contain a suffix only in the infinitival stem (see Table 12).

Table 12. Stems of mixed verbs

Present	Past	Infinitive
<p>The simple stem ends in <i>a</i>:</p> <p><i>gieda</i> <i>miēga</i> <i>ráuda</i></p>	<p>The suffix <i>-ojo</i>:</p> <p><i>giedójo</i> <i>miegójo</i> <i>raudójo</i></p>	<p>The suffix <i>-oti</i>:</p> <p><i>giedóti</i> 'chant; crow' <i>miegóti</i> 'sleep' <i>raudóti</i> 'weep'</p>
<p>The simple stem ends in <i>o</i>:</p> <p><i>bījo</i> <i>ieško</i> <i>pūpsō</i> <i>telkšo</i></p>	<p><i>bijójo</i> <i>ieškójo</i> <i>pūpsójo</i> <i>telkšójo</i></p>	<p><i>bijóti</i> 'be afraid' <i>ieškóti</i> 'look for' <i>pūpsóti</i> 'lie puffed up' <i>telkšóti</i> 'lie (about water)'</p>
<p>The simple stem ends in <i>a</i>:</p> <p><i>býra</i> <i>dūilka</i> <i>žiba</i></p>	<p>The suffix <i>-ējo</i>:</p> <p><i>byrējo</i> <i>dulkējo</i> <i>žibējo</i></p>	<p>The suffix <i>-ēti</i>:</p> <p><i>byrēti</i> 'trickle' <i>dulkēti</i> 'get dusty' <i>žibēti</i> 'sparkle'</p>
<p>The simple stem ends in <i>ia</i>:</p> <p><i>keñčīa</i></p>	<p><i>kentējo</i></p>	<p><i>kentēti</i> 'suffer'</p>

Present	Past	Infinitive
<i>kvēpia</i> <i>reīkia</i>	<i>kvepējo</i> <i>reikējo</i>	<i>kvepēti</i> 'smell good' <i>reikēti</i> 'be necessary'
The simple stem ends in <i>i</i> : <i>gūli</i> <i>kriūksi</i> <i>bārksi</i>	<i>gulējo</i> <i>kriuksējo</i> <i>barkšējo</i>	<i>gulēti</i> 'lie' <i>kriuksēti</i> 'grunt' <i>barkšēti</i> 'rattle'
Simple stem ends in <i>-o</i> : <i>rāšo</i> <i>gāno</i> <i>girdo</i> <i>lāisto</i>	Simple stem ends in <i>-ē</i> : <i>rāšē</i> <i>gānē</i> <i>girdē</i> <i>lāistē</i>	Suffix <i>-yti</i> : <i>rašyti</i> 'write' <i>ganyti</i> 'shepherd' <i>girdyti</i> 'give water' <i>lāistyti</i> 'water'

Suffixal verbs usually retain their suffixes in all the principal forms, although in different phonetic environments some suffixes may undergo certain changes. For example, since the vowel cluster *au* becomes *av* before *o*, the present tense suffix *-(i)auja* and the infinitival suffix *-(i)auti* become *-(i)avo* in the past. The difference in the stems *dalijo* – *dalyti* 'distribute' is explained by the disappearance of *j* before a consonant (cf. 5.82(4), I.3.6). There is only one group of verbs containing two different suffixes in their principal forms, e.g. *banguoja*, *bangavo*, *banguoti* 'have waves'. Their stem in the past is like that of the verbs with the suffix *-(i)auti* (see Table 13).

Table 13 Differences in the stems of suffixal verbs

Present	Past	Infinitive
Suffix <i>-(i)uoja</i> : <i>dainuoja</i> <i>važiuoja</i> <i>lūkuriuoja</i>	Suffix <i>-(i)avo</i> : <i>dainavo</i> <i>važiavo</i> <i>lūkuriavo</i>	Suffix <i>-(i)uoti</i> : <i>dainuoti</i> 'sing' <i>važiuoti</i> 'go (by a vehicle)' <i>lūkuriuoti</i> 'linger'
Suffix <i>-(i)auja</i> : <i>uogauja</i> <i>keliąuja</i> <i>rėkauja</i>	<i>uogavo</i> <i>keliavo</i> <i>rėkavo</i>	Suffix <i>-(i)auti</i> : <i>uogauti</i> 'pick berries' <i>keliauti</i> 'travel' <i>rėkauti</i> 'shout (repeatedly)'
Suffix <i>-ija</i> : <i>dalija</i> <i>rūdiąja</i> <i>viršija</i>	Suffix <i>-ijo</i> : <i>dalijo</i> <i>rūdijo</i> <i>viršijo</i>	Suffix <i>-yti</i> : <i>dalyti</i> 'distribute' <i>rūdyti</i> 'rust' <i>viršyti</i> 'exceed'

- 5.84** There is a regular relationship between the form of the main stems and the thematic vowels in the present and the past.

In the present tense the stem of primary verbs ends in *a* (after a hard consonant or *j*) or in *ia* (after a soft consonant). The stems of the following verbs end in *a* if:

(1) they have an infix (or a formant) in the present tense stem or if the thematic vowel is preceded by *n, j, v*, e.g.:

kriñta, krìto, krìsti 'fall'
bÿra, bìro, bìrti 'trickle'
gĕsta, gĕso, gĕsti 'get low (about fire, lights)'
šáuna, šóvè, šáuati 'shoot'
jója, jójo, jóti 'ride'
griũva, griũvo, griũti 'crumble; fall'

(2) they retain the root vowels *a, e, i, u* in all their stems, e.g.:

kāla, kālè, kálti 'hammer'
lìpa, lìpo, lìpti 'climb'
nĕša, nĕšè, nĕšti 'carry'
lùpa, lùpo, lùpti 'peel'

(3) *i* and *y* alternate before *n*, e.g.:

pìna, pÿnè, pìnti 'braid'

(4) *e* interchanges with *i*, e.g.:

keñša, kiñšo, kiñšti 'stuff'
gĕna, gìnè, giñti 'drive'

The present tense stem of all other primary verbs ends in *ia* (with a few exceptions) (see Table 14).

The past stem of primary verbs ends in *o* or *è*. The final vowel *o* of the past stem is to be found in verbs which:

(1) in the present tense stem have an infix (or a formant) or *j, v* before the thematic vowel, e.g.:

kriñta, krìto, krìsti 'fall'
gĕsta, gĕso, gĕsti 'get low (about fire, lights)'
jója, jójo, jóti 'ride'

(2) have the short vowels *i, u*, in all their stems and no infixes or formants, e.g.:

lìpa, lìpo, lìpti 'climb'
sùka, sùko, sùkti 'rotate'

(3) have semidiphthongs with alternating *e* and *i*, e.g.:

teĭpa, tĭlpo, tĭlpti 'accommodate'

The past stem of all other primary verbs ends in *ĕ* (with a few exceptions) (see Table 14).

Table 14. Correlation of the present and past stems of primary verbs and the thematic vowels

Characteristics of the stem	Present thematic vowel	Past thematic vowel
	a	o
The actual or lost infix <i>-n-</i> (before <i>b, p; -m-</i>) in the present stem	<i>añka</i> 'goes blind' <i>geñda</i> 'gets bad' <i>kiñta</i> 'changes' <i>juñta</i> 'feels' <i>šlañpa</i> 'gets wet' <i>duñba</i> 'caves in' <i>bñla</i> 'pales' <i>gvěra</i> 'gets rickety' <i>bŷra</i> 'trickles' <i>spñra</i> 'frays'	<i>āko</i> <i>gēdo</i> <i>kitō</i> <i>ju̇to</i> <i>šlāpo</i> <i>dūbo</i> <i>bālo</i> <i>gvěro</i> <i>biro</i> <i>spūro</i>
	a	o
Infix <i>-st-</i> (following <i>s, š, z, ž; -t-</i>) in the present stem	<i>álksta</i> 'gets hungry' <i>měgsta</i> 'likes' <i>aũšta</i> 'dawns' <i>túžta</i> 'gets furious' <i>māžta</i> 'diminishes' <i>gŷžta</i> 'gets sour' <i>gimsta</i> 'is born'	<i>álko</i> <i>měgo</i> <i>aũšo</i> <i>túžo</i> <i>māžo</i> <i>gižo</i> Exception: <i>gimē</i>
	a	o
<i>v, j</i> preceding the thematic vowel in the present and past stems	<i>griūva</i> 'falls' <i>siūva</i> 'sews' <i>gŷja</i> 'heals' <i>jója</i> 'rides' <i>věja</i> 'pursues' <i>zùja</i> 'zooms'	<i>griūvo</i> <i>siūvo</i> <i>gijo</i> <i>jójo</i> <i>vijo</i> <i>zùjo</i>

Characteristics of the stem	Present thematic vowel	Past thematic vowel
<i>i, u</i> in the stems	a	o
	<i>kiša</i> 'stuffs'	<i>kišo</i>
	<i>lipa</i> 'climbs'	<i>lipo</i>
	<i>lùpa</i> 'peels'	<i>lùpo</i>
	<i>sùka</i> 'rotates'	<i>sùko</i>
		Exceptions:
	<i>gùla</i> 'lies down'	<i>gùlè</i>
	<i>mùša</i> 'beats'	<i>mùšè</i>
Apophonic change <i>e : i</i> (in semidiphthongs)	a	o
	<i>keřša</i> 'stuffs'	<i>kiřšo</i>
	<i>leřda</i> 'gets into'	<i>liřdo</i>
	<i>teřpa</i> 'is accommodated'	<i>tiřpo</i>
	<i>peřka</i> 'buys'	<i>piřko</i>
Apophonic change <i>e : i</i> (not in semidiphthongs)	a	è
	<i>gěna</i> 'drives'	<i>ginè</i>
	<i>měna</i> 'remembers'	<i>minè</i>
Apophonic change <i>i : y</i> (preceding <i>n</i>)	a	è
	<i>gìna</i> 'defends'	<i>gýnè</i>
	<i>mìna</i> 'treads'	<i>mýnè</i>
	<i>skìna</i> 'plucks'	<i>skýnè</i>
<i>-(i)auna, -(i)auja : -(i)ovè</i>	a	è
	<i>blíauna</i> 'brays'	<i>blíovè</i>
	<i>ráuna</i> 'uproots'	<i>róvè</i>
	<i>liáuja</i> 'desists'	<i>líovè</i>
<i>a, e</i> in the stems	a	è
	<i>bāra</i> 'scolds'	<i>bāre</i>
	<i>kāla</i> 'hammers'	<i>kālè</i>
	<i>děga</i> 'burns'	<i>děgè</i>
	<i>něša</i> 'carries'	<i>něšè</i>
	Exceptions:	
	<i>āria</i> 'ploughs'	<i>āre</i>
	<i>tāria</i> 'pronounces'	<i>tāre</i>
<i>žāgia</i> 'steals'	<i>žāgè</i>	

Characteristics of the stem	Present thematic vowel	Past thematic vowel
	ia	è
<i>é, y, o, ů, ě</i> in the stems	<i>grěbia</i> 'rakes' <i>krýkšćia</i> 'exults' <i>dróžia</i> 'planes' <i>plākia</i> 'rams' <i>těsia</i> 'continues' Exceptions: <i>ěda</i> 'eats' <i>běga</i> 'runs' <i>sěda</i> 'sits down' <i>šóka</i> 'dances' <i>grúda</i> 'stuffs'	<i>grěbè</i> <i>krýkšćè</i> <i>dróžè</i> <i>plāké</i> <i>těsè</i> Exceptions: <i>ědè</i> <i>běgo</i> <i>sědo</i> <i>šóko</i> <i>grúdo</i>
	ia	è
Diphthongs in the stems	<i>baġia</i> 'finishes' <i>braŭkia</i> 'brushes' <i>kéikia</i> 'curses' <i>díegia</i> 'implements' <i>puošia</i> 'decorates' <i>kuičia</i> 'rummages' <i>léidžia</i> 'permits' Exception: <i>áuga</i> 'grows'	<i>baġè</i> <i>braŭké</i> <i>kéikè</i> <i>díegè</i> <i>puošè</i> <i>kuitè</i> Exceptions: <i>léido</i> <i>áugo</i>
	ia	è
Semidiphthongs in the stems (without apophonic change <i>e : i</i>)	<i>skalbġia</i> 'washes' <i>kařšia</i> 'cards' <i>deňgia</i> 'covers' <i>teňpia</i> 'drags' <i>švġpia</i> 'whistles' <i>grifňdzia</i> 'grounds' <i>druňščia</i> 'makes turbid' <i>muřkia</i> 'purrs' Exceptions: <i>galánda</i> 'sharpens' <i>kánda</i> 'bites' <i>ďirba</i> 'works' <i>žinda</i> 'sucks'	<i>skalbè</i> <i>kařšè</i> <i>deňgè</i> <i>teňpè</i> <i>švġpè</i> <i>grifňdè</i> <i>druňštè</i> <i>muřké</i> Exceptions: <i>galándo</i> <i>kándo</i> <i>ďirbo</i> <i>žindo</i>

Continuation of Table 14

Characteristics of the stem	Present thematic vowel	Past thematic vowel
	ia	è
Apophonic changes <i>a : o, e : é, u : à</i>	<i>kāria</i> 'hangs' <i>vāgia</i> 'steals' <i>bēria</i> 'pours' <i>slēpia</i> 'hides' <i>kūlia</i> 'threshes' <i>tūpia</i> 'alights'	<i>kóré</i> <i>vōgè</i> <i>bēré</i> <i>slēpè</i> <i>kúle</i> <i>tūpè</i>
	ia	è
Apophonic change <i>i : y (preceding l, r)</i>	<i>gīlia</i> 'stings' <i>vīlia</i> 'gives hope' <i>gīria</i> 'praises' <i>tīria</i> 'investigates' Exception: <i>pīla</i> 'pours'	<i>gýlè</i> <i>výlè</i> <i>gýrè</i> <i>týrè</i> <i>pýlè</i>

5.85 A relationship between the thematic vowels in the present and in the past is also to be noticed.

The past stem in *o* corresponds, as a rule, to the present stem in *a*, whereas the past stem in *è* corresponds to the present stem in *ia* (exceptions are few, see Table 14).

All the present stems of suffixal verbs end in *a* (after *n* or *j*) whereas all the past stems (both of suffixal and mixed verbs) end in *o*.

If the past stem of mixed verbs contains no suffix, their present and past tense stems end in *o* and *è* respectively, e.g., *rāšo – rāšè* 'write'.

If the past stem of mixed verbs contains the suffix *-ojo* and if the infinitive contains the suffix *-otti*, the present tense stem also ends in *o*, e.g.:

ieško, ieškójo, ieškóti 'look for'
riōgso, riōgsójo, riōgsóti 'stand, stick'

The following three verbs with the present tense stem ending in *a* constitute an exception to the above rule:

gīeda, gīedójo, gīedóti 'chant; crow'
miēga, miēgójo, miēgóti 'sleep'
rāuda, raudójo, raudóti 'weep'

If the past stem of mixed verbs contains the suffix *-èjo* and the infinitival stem contains the suffix *-èti*, the present tense stem ends in *a* or *i*:

býra, byřějo, byřěti 'trickle'
gùli, gulějo, gulěti 'lie'

The following three verbs with the present stem ending in *ia* constitute an exception to the above rule:

keňčia, kentějo, kentěti 'suffer'
kvěpia, kvěpějo, kvěpěti 'smell well'
reikia, reikějo, reikěti 'be necessary'

Endings indicating person and number

5.86 Person is indicated by adding the following endings to the verbal stem:

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-u	-me
2nd person	-i	-te
3rd person	-ø	-ø

The third person forms contain no special ending, coinciding with the pure stem (in other words, the absence of an ending is the indication of the third person form).

Before endings which begin with a consonant, the thematic vowels do not undergo any changes, e.g.:

<i>sùpa-me</i> 'we rock'	<i>sùpa-te</i> 'you rock'
<i>mýli-me</i> 'we love'	<i>mýli-te</i> 'you love'
<i>rāšo-me</i> 'we write'	<i>rāšo-te</i> 'you write'
<i>něšě-me</i> 'we carried'	<i>něšě-te</i> 'you carried'

Before vowel endings, the long thematic vowels *o*, *ě* become *a* and *e* respectively, whereas the short thematic vowels *a*, *i* disappear altogether, e.g.:

Pres. 2. Sg. <i>raša-ī</i> (cf. <i>rāšo</i>) 'you write'
Past. 2. Sg. <i>neše-ī</i> (cf. <i>něšě</i>) 'you carried'
Pres. 1. Sg. <i>sup-ù</i> (< <i>sùpa+u</i>) 'I rock'
Pres. 2. Sg. <i>sup-ì</i> (< <i>sùpa+i</i>) 'you rock'
Pres. 1. Sg. <i>mýli-u</i> (< <i>mýli+u</i>) 'I love'
Pres. 2. Sg. <i>mýl-i</i> (< <i>mýli+i</i>) 'you love'

(In *mýliu* the letter *i* indicates that the preceding consonant is palatalized.)

The 1st and 2nd person endings convey also the meaning of number, whereas the 3rd person form (which coincides with the pure stem) does not carry any

meaning of number – it is used with nouns and pronouns both in the singular and in the plural.

The 1st and 2nd person plural forms may be shortened by dropping the final *e*, e.g.:

<i>bėgam</i> 'we run'	<i>bėgat</i> 'you run'
<i>bėgom</i> 'we ran'	<i>bėgot</i> 'you ran'
<i>bėgdavom</i> 'we used to run'	<i>bėgdavot</i> 'you used to run'
<i>bėgsim</i> 'we'll run'	<i>bėgsit</i> 'you'll run'
<i>bėgtumėm</i> 'we would run'	<i>bėgtumėt</i> 'you would run'
<i>bėkim</i> 'let's run'	<i>bėkit</i> 'run!'

- 5.87 In present-day Lithuanian there are several verbs which in the present tense have retained the old athematic 3rd person forms, which consist of the stem without the thematic vowel and the ending *-ti*, e.g.:

<i>ėsti</i> 'is, are'	<i>sniėgti</i> 'snows'
<i>kósti</i> 'coughs'	<i>peřšti</i> 'smarts'
<i>niėžti</i> 'itches'	

The verb *būti* 'be' has several 3rd person forms in the present tense: *ės-ti*, *būn-a*, *būv-a*, *yrà*. The latter is the most frequently used form in present-day Lithuanian. The present 3rd person forms *kósėja* 'coughs', *sniėga* 'snows' are widely used as well.

The 3rd person forms of the imperative mood, which are rapidly disappearing, possess the ending *-ie* and *-i* (see 5.49, 105), e.g.:

<i>teguł-iė</i> 'let him/her/it/them lie'
<i>terāša-i</i> 'let him/her/it/them write'

- 5.88 The endings of the 1st and 2nd person plural forms of all the **reflexive verbs** containing the formant *-s(i)* at the end are slightly different from those of the respective non-reflexive verbs, whereas the endings of *a*-stem and *i*-stem reflexive verbs differ from those of the respective non-reflexive verbs not only in the 1st and 2nd person plural, but also in the 1st and 2nd person singular.

Singular	Plural
(<i>a</i> -stem and <i>i</i> -stem reflexive verbs)	(all the reflexive verbs)
1st person: <i>-uo-si</i>	<i>-mė-s</i>
2nd person: <i>-ie-si</i>	<i>-tė-s</i>

Cf. the non-reflexive and reflexive present forms of the verb *sùkti/sùktis* 'turn': 1st Sg. *suk-ù* – *suk-úo-si*, 2nd *suk-i* – *suk-ie-si*, 1st Pl. *sùka-me* – *sùka-mės*, 2nd *sùka-te* – *sùka-tės*.

The difference in the endings of such reflexive verbs can be accounted for by the position of the ending before the reflexive formant *-s(i)*, which has helped them to retain their length. Cf. a similar difference in the endings of simple and definite adjectives, e.g.:

Instr. Sg.: *ger-ù* : *gerúo-ju* 'good'

Nom. Pl.: *ger-ì* : *gerié-ji*

In the 3rd person form the reflexive formant *-s(i)* is preceded by a pure thematic vowel, e.g.:

sùka-si 'turns, turn'

mýli-si 'they love each other'

ródo-si 'it seems'

In prefixed verbs the formant *-si-* is placed between the prefix and the root. Such reflexive verbs are conjugated in the same way as non-reflexive verbs.

The reflexive formant at the end of the 1st and 2nd person plural forms in all tenses as well as the 3rd person form of the future and the 2nd person form singular of the imperative is used without the final vowel *i*, e.g.:

sùkamès 'we turn'

sùkomès 'we turned'

sùkdavomès 'we used to turn'

sùksimès 'we'll turn'

sùksis 'he/she/it/they will turn'

sùkis 'turn!'

sùkatès 'you turn'

sùkotès 'you turned'

sùkdavotès 'you used to turn'

sùksitès 'you'll turn'

The final *i* of the reflexive formant can sometimes also be dropped in the 1st and 2nd person singular and sometimes even in the 3rd person, e.g.:

sukúos 'I turn'

sukaūs 'I turned'

sùkdavaus 'I used
to turn'

sùksiuos 'I'll turn'

sùkčiaus 'I would
turn'

sukíes 'you turn'

sukaĩs 'you turned'

sùkdavais 'you used
to turn'

sùksies 'you'll turn'

sùktumeis 'you
would turn'

sùkas 'turns'

sùkos 'he/she/it/they turned'

sùkdavos 'he/she/it/they used
to turn'

sùktus 'they would turn'

CONJUGATIONS

5.89 There are three conjugations which are distinguished according to the thematic vowels in the present tense.

(b) the formant *-st-* (or *-t-* following *s, š, z, ž*) in the present stem, e.g.:

<i>aļpsta</i> 'faints'	<i>aļpo</i> 'fainted'
<i>leīpsta</i> 'swoons'	<i>leīpo</i> 'swooned'
<i>pūkstā</i> 'is angry'	<i>pūko</i> 'was angry'
<i>sprōgsta</i> 'explodes'	<i>sprōgo</i> 'exploded'
<i>geļsta</i> 'becomes yellow'	<i>geļto</i> 'was becoming yellow'
<i>klýsta</i> 'errs'	<i>klýdo</i> 'erred'
<i>gaišta</i> 'tarries'	<i>gaišo</i> 'tarried'
<i>grīžta</i> 'returns'	<i>grīžo</i> 'returned'

Exception – the verb *gimsta* – *gimē* 'is/was born' which belongs to Group 2.

(c) *v* or *j* preceding the thematic vowels in the present and the past, e.g.:

<i>griūva</i> 'crumbles'	<i>griūvo</i> 'crumbled'
<i>pūva</i> 'rots'	<i>pūvo</i> 'rotted'
<i>siūva</i> 'sews'	<i>siūvo</i> 'sew'
<i>līja</i> 'rains'	<i>lījo</i> 'rained'
<i>vēja</i> 'chases'	<i>vījo</i> 'chased'
<i>plója</i> 'claps'	<i>plójo</i> 'clapped'
<i>lēja</i> 'pours'	<i>lėjo</i> 'poured'
<i>ūja</i> 'nags'	<i>ūjo</i> 'nagged'

Exceptions: verbs like *liáuja* – *lióvė* 'stop, cease', which belong to Group 2.

(d) the short vowel *i* or *u* in present and past stems, e.g.:

<i>knisa</i> 'roots'	<i>kniso</i> 'rooted'
<i>riša</i> 'ties'	<i>rišo</i> 'tied'
<i>riṭa</i> 'rolls'	<i>riṭo</i> 'rolled'
<i>brūka</i> 'thrusts'	<i>brūko</i> 'thrust'
<i>lūpa</i> 'peels'	<i>lūpo</i> 'peeled'
<i>sūpa</i> 'surrounds'	<i>sūpo</i> 'surrounded'

Exceptions are the following verbs, which belong to Group 2:

<i>gūla</i> 'lies down'	<i>gūlē</i> 'lay down'
<i>mūša</i> 'beats'	<i>mūšė</i> 'beat'

(e) semidiphthongs with alternating *e* and *i* in present and past stems, e.g.:

<i>keřpa</i> 'cuts'	<i>kiřpo</i> 'cut'
<i>kreṃta</i> 'bites'	<i>kriṃto</i> 'bit'
<i>reṅka</i> 'gathers'	<i>riṅko</i> 'gathered'
<i>veļka</i> 'drags'	<i>viļko</i> 'dragged'

(f) irregular stems, e.g.:

<i>yrà</i> 'is/are'	<i>bùvo</i> 'was/were'
<i>dēda</i> 'puts'	<i>dējo</i> 'put'
<i>eīna</i> 'goes'	<i>ējo</i> 'went'
<i>gáuna</i> 'gets'	<i>gāvo</i> 'got'
<i>liēka</i> 'remains'	<i>liko</i> 'remained'

(2) Mixed verbs with:

(a) the suffix *-ējo* in their past stem, e.g.:

<i>drēba</i> 'trembles'	<i>drebējo</i> 'trembled'
<i>jūda</i> 'moves'	<i>judējo</i> 'moved'
<i>krūta</i> 'stirs'	<i>krutējo</i> 'stirred'
<i>mīrga</i> 'shimmers'	<i>mīrgējo</i> 'shimmered'
<i>mōka</i> 'knows how to'	<i>mokējo</i> 'knew how to'
<i>sōpa</i> 'hurts'	<i>sopējo</i> 'hurt'
<i>stēna</i> 'groans'	<i>stenējo</i> 'groaned'

(b) the suffix *-ojo* in their past stem. Here belong only three verbs:

<i>gīeda</i> 'chants, crows'	<i>giedójo</i> 'chanted, crowed'
<i>miēga</i> 'sleeps'	<i>miegójo</i> 'slept'
<i>ráuda</i> 'weeps'	<i>raudójo</i> 'wept'

(3) All the derived verbs with the following seven suffixes:

(a) *-(i)au-ti* (*draugáuti*, *keliáuti*, etc.)

<i>draugáuja</i> 'are friends'	<i>draugāvo</i> 'were friends'
<i>keliáuja</i> 'travels'	<i>keliāvo</i> 'travelled'
<i>riešutáuja</i> 'picks nuts'	<i>riešutāvo</i> 'picked nuts'
<i>studentáuja</i> 'is a student'	<i>studentāvo</i> 'was a student'

(b) *-(i)uo-ti* (*dainúoti*, *eiliúoti*, etc.)

<i>dainúoja</i> 'sings'	<i>daināvo</i> 'sang'
<i>eiliúoja</i> 'creates rhymes'	<i>eiliāvo</i> 'created rhymes'
<i>miltúoja</i> 'covers with flour'	<i>miltāvo</i> 'covered with flour'
<i>vaziúoja</i> 'drives'	<i>vaziāvo</i> 'drove'

(c) *-(i)o-ti* (*galvóti*, *medžióti*, etc.)

<i>galvója</i> 'thinks'	<i>galvójo</i> 'thought'
<i>medžiója</i> 'hunts'	<i>medžiójo</i> 'hunted'
<i>pláukioja</i> 'swims'	<i>pláukiojo</i> 'swam'
<i>putója</i> 'foams'	<i>putójo</i> 'foamed'

žiemója 'winters'
vedžiója 'leads'

(d) -*ė-ti* (*áuklėti, akmenėti*, etc.)

áuklėja 'educates'
akmenėja 'petrifies'
gražėja 'becomes more beautiful',
pavasarėja 'comes (of spring)'
siūlėja 'hems'
vaikėja 'becomes infantile'

(e) -*y-ti* (*akýti, dalýti*, etc.)

akija 'becomes porous'
dalija 'distributes'
núodija 'poisons'
rūdija 'rusts'
skiėpija 'innoculates'
vilnija 'ripples'

(f) -*in-ti* (*bárškinti, lėsin*ti, etc.)

bárškina 'knocks'
lėšina 'feeds birds'
prātina 'habituates'
sodina 'plants'
šněkina 'talks to'
šlāpina 'wets'

(g) -*en-ti* (*gyvėnti, kedėnti*, etc.)

gyvėna 'lives'
kedėna 'picks'
kūrėna 'heats'
purėna 'loosens'
ridėna 'rolls'

žiemójo 'wintered'
vedžiójo 'led'

áuklėjo 'educated'
akmenėjo 'petrified'
gražėjo 'became more beautiful'
pavasarėjo 'came (of spring)'
siūlėjo 'hemmed'
vaikėjo 'became infantile'

akijo 'became porous'
dalijo 'distributed'
núodijo 'poisoned'
rūdijo 'rusted'
skiėpijo 'innoculated'
vilnijo 'rippled'

bárškino 'knocked'
lėsino 'fed birds'
prātino 'habituated'
sodino 'planted'
šněkino 'talked to'
šlāpino 'wetted'

gyvėno 'lived'
kedėno 'picked'
kūrėno 'heated'
purėno 'loosened'
ridėno 'rolled'

Additional derivative formants can make the suffixes longer, but the conjugation of the verb remains the same, e.g.:

mīrguliúoja 'shimmers'
lūkuriuoja 'lingers'
 cf. *dainúoja* 'sings'

līnkčioja 'nods'
vartaliója 'keeps turning'
 cf. *kartója* 'repeats'

šokinėja 'jumps up and down'
 cf. *áuklėja* 'educates'

mīrguliāvo 'shimmered'
lūkuriavo 'lingered'
daināvo 'sang'

līnkčiojo 'nodded'
vartaliójo 'kept turning'
kartójo 'repeated'

šokinėjo 'jumped up and down'
áuklėjo 'educated'

GROUP 2

5.92 Group 2 of Conjugation 1 includes primary verbs the present stem of which ends in *a* and the past stem of which ends in *ě*. Here belong primary verbs with:

(1) the vowels *a* or *e* in their stems, e.g.:

<i>bāra</i> 'scolds'	<i>bārě</i> 'scolded'
<i>kāsa</i> 'digs'	<i>kāsě</i> 'dug'
<i>lāka</i> 'drinks'	<i>lākě</i> 'drank (of a cat)'
<i>māla</i> 'mills'	<i>mālě</i> 'milled'
<i>bēda</i> 'stick'	<i>bēdě</i> 'stuck'
<i>mēta</i> 'throws'	<i>mětě</i> 'threw'
<i>pěša</i> 'pluck'	<i>pěšě</i> 'plucked'
<i>sēga</i> 'fastens'	<i>sējě</i> 'fastened'
<i>těpa</i> 'smears'	<i>tějě</i> 'smeared'
<i>věža</i> 'carry by a vehicle'	<i>vějě</i> 'carried by a vehicle'

Exceptions (belonging to Group 3):

<i>āria</i> 'ploughs'	<i>ārě</i> 'ploughed'
<i>tāria</i> 'pronounces'	<i>tārě</i> 'pronounced'
<i>žāgia</i> 'pollutes'	<i>žājě</i> 'polluted'

(2) *i* preceding *n* in the present stem changing to *y* in the past stem, e.g.:

<i>pìna</i> 'weaves, twines'	<i>pýně</i> 'wove, twined'
<i>skìna</i> 'plucks'	<i>skýně</i> 'plucked'
<i>trìna</i> 'rubs'	<i>trýně</i> 'rubbed'

(3) *e* in the present stem, changing to *i* in the past (this group includes only two verbs):

<i>gěna</i> 'drives'	<i>gìně</i> 'drove'
<i>měna</i> 'remembers'	<i>mìně</i> 'remembered'

(4) *-(i)auna* or *-(i)auja* in the present stem changing into *-(i)ově* in the past, e.g.:

<i>bliáuna</i> 'brays'	<i>blióvě</i> 'brayed'
<i>džíáuna</i> 'hangs out to dry'	<i>džióvě</i> 'hung (washing)'
<i>griáuna</i> 'destroys'	<i>grióvě</i> 'destroyed'
<i>kráuna</i> 'loads'	<i>króvě</i> 'loaded'
<i>pjáuna</i> 'cuts'	<i>pjóvě</i> 'cut'
<i>liáuja</i> 'desists'	<i>lióvě</i> 'desisted'

(5) irregular present and past stems, e.g.:

<i>aūna</i> 'puts on shoes'	<i>āvě</i> 'put on shoes'
-----------------------------	---------------------------

dúoda 'gives'
ìma 'takes'
mìršta 'dies'
púola 'attacks'
šlúoja 'sweeps'
vérda 'boils'

dāvē 'gave'
ěmè 'took'
mìrè 'died'
púolè 'attacked'
šlāvè 'swept'
vìrè 'boiled'

GROUP 3

5.93 This group includes primary verbs the present stem of which ends in *ia* and the past stem ends in *è*. It is a group of verbs characterized by the presence of the following stem vowels or diphthongs:

(1) the long vowels *è, y, o, ū, è*, e.g.:

glěbia 'embraces'
plěšia 'tears'
trŷpia 'tramples'
žnybia 'pinches'
vózia 'puts a lid on'
triūsia 'labours'
ŕžia 'drones'
gręžia 'drills'

glěbè 'embraced'
plěšè 'tore'
trŷpè 'trampled'
žnybè 'pinched'
vóžè 'put a lid on'
triūšè 'laboured'
ŕžè 'droned'
gręžè 'drilled'

Exceptions (which fall under Group 1):

běga 'runs'
sěda 'sits down'
šóka 'dances'
grúda 'stuffs'

běgo 'ran'
sědo 'sat down'
šóko 'danced'
grúdo 'stuffed'

(2) diphthongs:

baĩgia 'ends'
žaĩdžia 'plays'
spáudžia 'presses'
šaũkia 'shouts'
keĩčia 'changes'
steĩgia 'founds'
dĩegia 'plants'
liėpia 'orders'
kuõpia 'cleans out'
sliuõgia 'crawls'

baĩgè 'ended'
žaĩdè 'played'
spáudè 'pressed'
šaũkè 'shouted'
keĩtè 'changed'
steĩgè 'founded'
dĩegè 'planted'
liėpè 'ordered'
kuõpè 'cleaned out'
sliuõgè 'crawled'

Exceptions:

<i>áuga</i> 'grows'	<i>áugo</i> 'grew' (Group 1)
<i>púola</i> 'attacks'	<i>púolé</i> 'attacked' (Group 2)
<i>léidžia</i> 'permits'	<i>léido</i> 'permitted' (Group 4)

(3) semidiphthongs (without the apophonic change *e : i*):

<i>deñgia</i> 'covers'	<i>deñgè</i> 'covered'
<i>reñgia</i> 'prepares'	<i>reñgè</i> 'prepared'
<i>kařšia</i> 'cards'	<i>kařšè</i> 'carded'
<i>čičpia</i> 'chirps'	<i>čičpè</i> 'chirped'
<i>iňkščia</i> 'whines'	<i>iňkštè</i> 'whined'
<i>duľkia</i> 'drizzles'	<i>duľkè</i> 'drizzled'
<i>skùndžia</i> 'reports on'	<i>skùndè</i> 'reported on'

Exceptions (which fall under Group 1):

<i>kánda</i> 'bites'	<i>kándo</i> 'bit'
<i>galánda</i> 'sharpens'	<i>galándo</i> 'sharpened'
<i>dírba</i> 'works'	<i>dírbo</i> 'worked'
<i>žinda</i> 'suck'	<i>žindo</i> 'sucked'

(4) apophonic changes *a : o, e : è, u : ù, i : y* (the latter takes place only before *l* and *r*), e.g.:

<i>kāria</i> 'hangs'	<i>kórè</i> 'hanged'
<i>vāgia</i> 'steals'	<i>vōgè</i> 'stole'
<i>gēlia</i> 'stings'	<i>gēlè</i> 'stung'
<i>lēkia</i> 'flies'	<i>lēkè</i> 'flew'
<i>kūria</i> 'creates'	<i>kūré</i> 'created'
<i>pūčia</i> 'blows'	<i>pūté</i> 'blew'
<i>gīlia</i> 'stings'	<i>gýlè</i> 'stung'
<i>spīria</i> 'kicks'	<i>spýré</i> 'kicked'

The verb *pīla* 'pours', *pýlè* 'poured' is an exception and it falls under Group 2.

GROUP 4

5.94 Group 4 of Conjugation 1 includes verbs the present stem of which ends in *ia* and the past stem ends in *o*. This is the smallest group; it has only three mixed verbs and one primary verb:

<i>keñčia</i> 'suffers'	<i>kentějo</i> 'suffered'
<i>kvēpia</i> 'smells good'	<i>kvepějo</i> 'smelled good'

reikia 'it is necessary'
lėidžia 'allows'

reikėjo 'it was necessary'
lėido 'allowed'

Conjugation 2

- 5.95 Conjugation 2 comprises verbs the present stem of which ends in *i* and the past stem of which ends in *o*. All these verbs are of mixed derivation – in the present tense their stems are simple, but in the past they have the suffix *-ėjo*, e.g.:

gāli 'can'
girdi 'hears'
lydi 'accompanies'
rāvi 'weeds'
sēdi 'sits'
žydi 'blossoms'
čėpsi 'smacks his/her lips'
pókši 'bangs'

galėjo 'could'
girdėjo 'heard'
lydėjo 'accompanied'
ravėjo 'weeded'
sėdėjo 'sat'
žydėjo 'blossomed'
čėpsėjo 'smacked his/her lips'
pokšėjo 'banged'

Conjugation 3

- 5.96 Conjugation 3 includes verbs the present tense of which ends in *o* and the past stem of which ends in *ė* or *o*. All these verbs are of mixed derivation and fall into two groups.

GROUP 1

Group 1 includes verbs which have no suffix either in the present or in the past, but their infinitival form contains the suffix *-yti*. Their past stem ends in *ė*, e.g.:

bādo 'butts'
daūžo 'breaks'
gāno 'shepherds'
kāso 'scratches'
lāužo 'breaks'
mėto 'throws'
rāšo 'writes'
vařžo 'restricts'
ařdo 'dismantles'
mįgdo 'puts to sleep'
spārdo 'kicks'

bādė 'butted'
daūžė 'broke'
gānė 'shepherded'
kāsė 'scratched'
lāužė 'broke'
mėtė 'threw'
rāšė 'wrote'
vařžė 'restricted'
ařdė 'dismantled'
mįgdė 'put to sleep'
spārdė 'kicked'

bařsto 'strews'
kráusto 'moves'

bařstè 'strewed'
kráustè 'moved'

GROUP 2

The past stem of the verbs in this group contains the suffix *-ojo* (i.e., they end in *o*), e.g.:

bìjo 'is afraid'
ieško 'looks for'
kābo 'hangs'
klūpo 'kneels'
sáugo 'guards'
týko 'stalks'
žino 'knows'
duňkso 'looms'
spōkso 'gapes'
telkšo 'lies'

bijójo 'was afraid'
ieškójo 'looked for'
kabójo 'hung'
klūpojo 'knelt'
sáugojo 'guarded'
týkojo 'stalked'
žinójo 'knew'
dunksójo 'loomed'
spoksójo 'gaped'
telkšójo 'lay (of a water body)'

CONJUGATION AND ACCENTUATION OF SIMPLE FINITE VERBS

Indicative mood

PRESENT

- 5.97 Present tense forms are created by adding personal endings to the present tense stem. The three paradigms correspond to the three verb conjugations.

Paradigm 1

((i)a-stem)

Non-reflexive verbs

mokèti 'know', *sùpti* 'rock'
nèšti 'carry', *šukúoti* 'comb'
tráukti 'pull', *kentèti* 'suffer'

Reflexive verbs

sùptis 'rock oneself', *nèštis* 'bring for oneself'
šukúotis 'comb oneself'
tráuktis 'retreat'

Singular

1. *móku*, *supù*, *nešù*
 2. *móki*, *supì*, *neši*
 3. *móka*, *sùpa*, *něša*

supúosi, *nešúosi*
suptesi, *nešiesi*
sùpasi, *něšasi*

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>šukúoju, tráukiu, kenčiù</i> | <i>šukúojuosi, tráuktuosi</i> |
| 2. <i>šukúoji, tráuki, kentì</i> | <i>šukúojiesi, tráukiesi</i> |
| 3. <i>šukúoja, tráukia, keñčia</i> | <i>šukúojasi, tráukiasi</i> |

Plural

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>mókame, sùpame, nēšame</i> | <i>sùpamès, nēšamès</i> |
| 2. <i>mókate, sùpate, nēšate</i> | <i>sùpatès, nēšatès</i> |
| 3. <i>móka, sùpa, nēša</i> | <i>sùpasi, nēšasi</i> |
| 1. <i>šukúojame, tráuktame, keñčtame</i> | <i>šukúojamès, tráuktamès</i> |
| 2. <i>šukúojate, tráukiate, keñčiate</i> | <i>šukúojatès, tráukiatès</i> |
| 3. <i>šukúoja, tráukia, keñčia</i> | <i>šukúojasi, tráukiasi</i> |

Paradigm 2

(i-stem)

Non-reflexive verbs

*sėdėti 'sit', tikėti 'believe',
trinksėti 'bang'*

Reflexive verbs

tikėtis 'hope'

Singular

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. <i>sėdžiu, tikiù, trinksiu</i> | <i>tikiúosi</i> |
| 2. <i>sėdi, tiki, trinksi</i> | <i>tikiəsi</i> |
| 3. <i>sėdi, tiki, trinksi</i> | <i>tikisi</i> |

Plural

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. <i>sėdime, tikime, trinksime</i> | <i>tikimès</i> |
| 2. <i>sėdite, tikite, trinksite</i> | <i>tikitès</i> |
| 3. <i>sėdi, tiki, trinksi</i> | <i>tikisi</i> |

In the 1st and 2nd person singular the thematic vowels *a* and *i* in the stem of the verbs conjugated according to Paradigms 1 and 2 disappear (in Paradigm 2, *-i* at the end of the 2nd person singular is an ending).

Paradigm 3

(o-stem)

Non-reflexive verbs

*mókyti 'teach', bijóti 'fear',
žiopsóti 'gape'*

Reflexive verbs

mókytis 'learn', bijótis 'fear'

Singular

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>mókau, bijaũ, žiopsaũ</i> | <i>mókausi, bijaũsi</i> |
| 2. <i>mókai, bijaĩ, žiopsaĩ</i> | <i>mókaisi, bijaĩsi</i> |
| 3. <i>móko, bijo, žiõpso</i> | <i>mókosi, bijosi</i> |

Plural

1. <i>mókome, bijome, žiõpsome</i>	<i>mókomès, bijomès</i>
2. <i>mókote, bijote, žiõpsote</i>	<i>mókotès, bijotès</i>
3. <i>móko, bijo, žiõpso</i>	<i>mókosi, bijosi</i>

In Paradigm 3, before the endings of the 1st and 2nd person singular, the thematic vowel *o* changes into *a*.

- 5.98 The accentuation of present tense forms follows two patterns. If the acute toneme falls on the penultimate syllable of the stem or if a syllable more distant from the end irrespective of the toneme is stressed, all the forms carry the same toneme on the same stressed syllable, e.g.:

3. Sg./Pl.: *šóka* 'dance(s)', *mýli* 'love(s)', *važtúoja* 'drive(s)', *kìlsčtoja* 'keep(s) lifting', *prātina* 'habituate(s)', *snūduriuoja* 'doze(s)'

1. Sg.: *šóku, mýliu, važtúoju, kìlsčtoju, prātinu, snūduriuoja*

2. Sg.: *šóki, mýli, važtúoji, kìlsčtoji, prātini, snūduriuji*

1. Pl.: *šókame, mýlime, važtúojame, kìlsčiojame, prātiname, snūduriuojame*

2. Pl.: *šókate, mýlite, važtúojate, kìlsčiojate, prātinate, snūduriujate*

If the stressed penultimate syllable of the stem is short or carries the circumflex toneme, the same kind of accentuation is retained in the 1st and 2nd person plural, but in the 1st and 2nd person singular the stress shifts to the ending, e.g.:

3. Sg./Pl.: *nėša* 'carries/carry', *gyvėna* 'live(s)', *skūta* 'peel(s)', *gavìna* 'resuscitate(s)', *žino* 'know(s)'

1. Sg.: *nešù, skutù, žinaũ, gyvenù, gavìnù*

2. Sg.: *neši, skutì, žinaĩ, gyvenì, gavìnì*

1. Pl.: *nėšame, skūtame, žinome, gyvėname, gavìname*

2. Pl.: *nėšate, skūtate, žinote, gyvėnate, gavìnate*

PAST

- 5.99 The past tense forms are created by adding person endings to the past stem. The conjugation of verbs in the past follows two paradigms – those of the *o*-stem are conjugated according to Paradigm 3 (i.e. they have the same endings that verbs conjugated according to Paradigm 3 of the present tense have); those of the *é*-stem are conjugated according to Paradigm 4, which is typical only of the past tense.

Paradigm 3
(*o*-stem)

Non-reflexive verbs

sùpti 'swing', *kentėti* 'suffer',
šukúoti 'comb',
tikėti 'believe', *sáugoti* 'guard'

Reflexive verbs

sùptis 'swing oneself',
šukúotis 'comb one's hair',
tikėtis 'hope', *sáugotis* 'be careful'

Singular

1. *supaũ*, *kentėjau*, *šukavaũ*
2. *supaĩ*, *kentėjai*, *šukavaĩ*
3. *sùpo*, *kentėjo*, *šukāvo*

supaũsi, *šukavaũsi*
supaĩsi, *šukavaĩsi*
sùposi, *šukāvosi*

1. *tikėjau*, *sáugojau*
2. *tikėjai*, *sáugojai*
3. *tikėjo*, *sáugojo*

tikėjausi, *sáugojausi*
tikėjaisi, *sáugojaisi*
tikėjosi, *sáugojoši*

Plural

1. *sùpome*, *kentėjome*, *šukāvome*
2. *sùpote*, *kentėjote*, *šukāvote*
3. *sùpo*, *kentėjo*, *šukāvo*

sùpomės, *šukāvomės*
sùpotės, *šukāvotės*
sùposi, *šukāvosi*

1. *tikėjome*, *sáugojome*
2. *tikėjote*, *sáugojote*
3. *tikėjo*, *sáugojo*

tikėjomės, *sáugojomės*
tikėjotės, *sáugojotės*
tikėjosi, *sáugojoši*

Paradigm 3 is typical of verbs which belong to (a) Group 1 and 4 of Conjugation 1, (b) Conjugation 2, and (c) Group 2 of Conjugation 3.

Paradigm 4
(*é*-stem)

Non-reflexive verbs

mókyti 'teach', *nėšti* 'carry',
keĩsti 'change'

Reflexive verbs

mókytis 'learn', *nėštis* 'dash',
keĩstis 'change oneself'

Singular

1. *mókiau*, *nešiau*, *keičiau*
2. *mókei*, *nešeĩ*, *keiteĩ*
3. *mókė*, *nėšė*, *keĩtė*

mókiausi, *nešiaũsi*, *keičiaũsi*
mókeisi, *nešeĩsi*, *keiteĩsi*
mókėsi, *nėšėsi*, *keĩtėsi*

Plural

1. *mókėme*, *nėšėme*, *keĩtėme*
2. *mókėte*, *nėšėte*, *keĩtėte*
3. *mókė*, *nėšė*, *keĩtė*

mókėmės, *nėšėmės*, *keĩtėmės*
mókėtės, *nėšėtės*, *keĩtėtės*
mókėsi, *nėšėsi*, *keĩtėsi*

In verbs conjugated according to Paradigm 4 the thematic vowel *é* is shortened and changes into *e* before the inflexional vowel of the 1st and 2nd person singular. The resulting cluster *eu* at the end of the 1st person singular is spelled as *iau* like other forms containing the diphthong *au* after soft consonants.

Paradigm 4 is typical of verbs which belong to Groups 2 and 3 of Conjugation 1 and Group 1 of Conjugation 3.

5.100 The accentuation of past tense forms follows the same rules that present tense forms do (see 5.98).

Examples of fixed accentuation of all the forms of a verb:

3. Sg./Pl.: *kělè* 'lifted', *běgo* 'ran', *ravějo* 'weeded', *káltino* 'accused', *skiěpijo* 'inoculated'

1. Sg.: *kéliau*, *běgau*, *ravėjau*, *káltinau*, *skiěpijau*

2. Sg.: *kėlei*, *bėgai*, *ravėjai*, *káltinai*, *skiěpijai*

1. Pl.: *kėlėme*, *bėgome*, *ravėjome*, *káltinome*, *skiěpijome*

2. Pl.: *kėlėte*, *bėgote*, *ravėjote*, *káltinote*, *skiěpijote*

Examples of shifting accentuation:

3. Sg./Pl.: *keītė* 'changed', *sùpo* 'rocked', *kūrėno* 'heated', *važiavo* 'drove'

1. Sg.: *keičiaū*, *supaū*, *kūrenaū*, *važiavaū*

2. Sg.: *keiteĩ*, *supaĩ*, *kūrenaĩ*, *važiavaĩ*

1. Pl.: *keītėme*, *sùpome*, *kūrėnome*, *važiavome*

2. Pl.: *keītėte*, *sùpote*, *kūrėnote*, *važiavote*

PAST FREQUENTATIVE

5.101 The past frequentative forms are created by adding the suffix *-dav-* and personal endings to the infinitival stem and they are conjugated according to Paradigm 3 (*o*-stem).

Non-reflexive verbs

Reflexive verbs

Singular

1. *sùpdavau*, *sėdėdavau*, *mókydavau*

sùpdavausi, *mókydavausi*

2. *sùpdavai*, *sėdėdavai*, *mókydavai*

sùpdavaisi, *mókydavaisi*

3. *sùpdavo*, *sėdėdavo*, *mókydavo*

sùpdavosi, *mókydavosi*

Plural

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>sùpdavome, sèdédavome, mókydavome</i> | <i>sùpdavomès, mókydavomès</i> |
| 2. <i>sùpdavote, sèdédavote, mókydavote</i> | <i>sùpdavotès, mókydavotès</i> |
| 3. <i>sùpdavo, sèdédavo, mókydavo</i> | <i>sùpdavosi, mókydavosi</i> |

Past frequentative tense forms always retain the place of the accent and the same toneme of the accented syllable that is encountered in the infinitive.

FUTURE

5.102 Future tense forms are created by adding the suffix *-s(t)* and personal endings to the infinitival stem. The future tense of all verbs has the same conjugation.

Non-reflexive verbs

Reflexive verbs

Singular

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>sùpsiu, sèdèšiu, mókysiu</i> | <i>sùpsiuosi, mókysiuosi</i> |
| 2. <i>sùpsi, sèdèši, mókysi</i> | <i>sùpsiesi, mókysiesi</i> |
| 3. <i>sùps, sèdèš, mókys</i> | <i>sùpsis, mókysis</i> |

Plural

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>sùpsime, sèdèšime, mókysime</i> | <i>sùpsimès, mókysimès</i> |
| 2. <i>sùpsite, sèdèšite, mókysite</i> | <i>sùpsitès, mókysitès</i> |
| 3. <i>sùps, sèdèš, mókys</i> | <i>sùpsis, mókysis</i> |

Future tense forms are conjugated according to Paradigm 2 (*i*-stem), except that the 3rd person forms of non-reflexive verbs do not have the thematic vowel (e.g., *sùps* 'will rock'). The 3rd person singular/plural and the 2nd person singular forms of non-reflexive verbs are created by adding the shortened variant of the future tense suffix *-s-* (in the 2nd person singular (*sùps-i*) the final *i* is the ending).

The 3rd person form of reflexive verbs ends in *-s* (the shortened variant of the reflexive affix) preceded by the inserted vowel *i*, which appears after a consonant, cf.: *sùps* – *sùps-i-s*; *nèš* – *nèš-i-s*.

After the final consonants *s, š, z, ž* of the infinitival stem the consonant *s* of the future tense suffix disappears while the consonants *z, ž* change to *s, š*, e.g.:

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>mèšiu < mès-s-iu</i> | <i>nèšiu < nèš-s-iu</i> |
| <i>mèši < mès-s-i</i> | <i>nèši < nèš-s-i</i> |
| <i>mès < mès-s</i> | <i>nèš < nèš-s</i> |

mègsiu < *mègz-s-iu*
mègsi < *mègz-s-i*
mègs < *mègz-s*

grīštiu < *grīž-s-iu*
grīši < *grīž-s-i*
grīš < *grīž-s*

The 3rd person future of the primary verbs with the long vowels *y* and *ū* in the infinitive and the present tense and the short vowels *i* and *u* in the past have the short vowels *i* and *u* in the root, e.g.:

Infinitive	3rd person	3rd person	3rd person
	present	past	future
<i>gýti</i> 'heal'	<i>gýja</i>	<i>gìjo</i>	<i>gìs</i>
<i>gríúti</i> 'fall'	<i>gríúva</i>	<i>gríuvo</i>	<i>gríus</i>
<i>páti</i> 'rot'	<i>páva</i>	<i>pùvo</i>	<i>pùs</i>
<i>žúti</i> 'perish'	<i>žúva</i>	<i>žùvo</i>	<i>žùs</i>

Cf. verbs which do not contain long *y* or *ū* in the present tense:

<i>siúti</i> 'sew'	<i>siúva</i>	<i>siúvo</i>	<i>siúš</i>
<i>výti</i> 'chase'	<i>vēja</i>	<i>vìjo</i>	<i>výs</i>

Future tense forms usually retain the same accentuation as that of the infinitive except that the acute toneme changes into the circumflex toneme in monosyllabic 3rd person forms and in the final syllable of polysyllabic 3rd person forms, e.g.:

Infinitive: *klýsti* 'err' *sakýti* 'say' *aimanúoti* 'moan'

1. Sg.: *klýsiu*, *sakýsiu*, *aimanúosiu*

2. Sg.: *klýsi*, *sakýsi*, *aimanúosi*

1. Pl.: *klýsime*, *sakýsime*, *aimanúosime*

2. Pl.: *klýsite*, *sakýsite*, *aimanúosite*

But:

3. Sg./Pl.: *klýs*, *sakýs*, *aimanuōs*

Subjunctive mood

5.103 The 1st and 2nd person singular and plural of the subjunctive mood are created by adding the suffixes *-čia-*, *-tum(e)-* and personal endings to the infinitival stem. The 3rd person forms contain the suffix *-tu*.

Singular	Plural
1. <i>-čia-u</i>	<i>-tu(mě)-me</i>
2. <i>-tum(e-i)</i>	<i>-tumě-te</i>
3. <i>-tu</i>	<i>-tu</i>

In the 2nd person singular, before the ending *-i* the final vowel *ė* changes into *e* (similarly to the change which occurs in the past, cf., *neš-e-ī* (past) and *nėštum-e-i* (subjunctive)).

In present day Lithuanian, especially in colloquial speech, the shortened form of the 2nd person singular with *-tum* is mostly used.

The subjunctive mood of reflexive verbs is formed in the same way as the present and past tenses of the indicative mood.

Non-reflexive verbs

Reflexive verbs

Singular

sùpčiau, sėdėčiau, mokyčiau
sùptum, sėdėtum, mokytum
sùptų, sėdėtų, mokytų

sùpčiausi, mokyčiausi
sùptumeisi, mokytumėisi
sùptųsi, mokytųsi

Plural

sùptum(mė)me, sėdėtu(mė)me, mokytu(mė)me
sùptumėte, sėdėtumėte, mokytumėte
sùptų, sėdėtų, mokytų

sùptu(mė)mės, mokytu(mė)mės
sùptumėtės, mokytumėtės
sùptųsi, mokytųsi

The 1st person plural forms (e.g., *sùptumėme, sùptumėmės*) are rather often shortened by omitting the *-mė-* part of the suffix: *sùptume, sùptumės*. The 2nd person plural forms can also be shortened in the same way (*sùptumėte > sùptute, sùptumėtės > sùptutės*), but this occurs less frequently than in the first person plural.

Subjunctive forms retain the same place of the accent and the same toneme of the accented syllable which is encountered in the infinitive, cf.:

Infinitive: *augti* 'grow', *pūsti* 'blow', *didinti* 'increase'

Sg. 1. *augčiau, pūščiau, didinčiau*

2. *augtum, pūstum, didintum*

3. *augtų, pūstų, didintų*

Pl. 1. *augtu(mė)me, pūstu(mė)me, didintu(mė)me*

2. *augtumėte, pūstumėte, didintumėte*

3. *augtų, pūstų, didintų*

Imperative mood

5.104 The paradigm of the imperative mood is not complete – it does not have 1st person singular forms because the imperative mood conveys the volition of the speaker directed toward another person (or other persons).

The 2nd person singular and the 1st and 2nd person plural forms are created by adding the suffix *-k(i)* to the infinitival stem. The shorter variant *-k* of the suffix occurs in the 2nd person singular of non-reflexive verbs, e.g.:

sùp-k 'rock' *sédě-k* 'sit' *móky-k* 'teach'

In some dialects, however, and sometimes in fiction (poetry in particular) the 2nd person singular forms are made with the longer variant *-ki* of the suffix, e.g.:

eĩ-ki 'go' *bũ-ki* 'be' *něš-ki* 'carry'

The longer variant *-ki-* of the suffix is retained in the 2nd person singular of reflexive verbs (*něš-kis* 'take for yourself', *praūs-ki-s* 'wash yourself', *móky-ki-s* 'learn') and the 1st and 2nd person plural forms of both reflexive and non-reflexive verbs (*sùp-ki-me*, *sùp-ki-mès*, *sùp-ki-te*, *sùp-ki-tès*).

Before the suffix *-k(i)* the final consonants *g* and *k* of the infinitival stem disappear, e.g.:

áuk < *áug-k* 'grow'

sùk < *sùk-k* 'turn'

Non-reflexive verbs

Reflexive verbs

Singular

2. *sùpk*, *séděk*, *mókyk*

sùpkis, *mókykis*

Plural

1. *sùpkime*, *séděkime*, *mókykime*

sùpkimès, *mókykimès*

2. *sùpkite*, *séděkite*, *mókykite*

sùpkitès, *mókykitès*

Imperative forms with the suffix *-k(i)* retain the place and kind of accentuation which is encountered in the infinitive, e.g.:

Infinitive: *sùpti* 'rock' *rašýti* 'write'

Sg. 2. *sùpk*, *rašýk*

Pl. 1. *sùpkime*, *rašýkime*

2. *sùpkite*, *rašýkite*

5.105 The 3rd person form of the imperative mood, which in some grammars is considered to be a separate mood in its own right and called the optative, is used in Standard Lithuanian very rarely and is recognized as being archaic. It is made by adding the prefix *te-* to the present tense stem and the endings *-ie* or *-i*. The ending *-ie* is added to the (i)a- and i-stem verbs, e.g.:

te-sup-iē, *te-praus-iē*, *te-séd-iē*

te-si-sup-iē, *te-si-praus-iē*

The ending *-i* is added to the *o*-stem verbs, e.g.:

te-móka-i, te-sáuga-i, te-dāra-i
te-si-móka-i, te-si-sáuga-i

The only verb whose 3rd person form of the imperative is fairly often used in Standard Lithuanian is the verb *búti* 'be': *tees-iž, tebūn-iž*.

If the present tense stem is simple (i.e. if it does not contain a suffix), the imperative forms with the ending *-ie* carry the stress on the ending, e.g.:

tesukiē 'let him turn'
telydiē 'let him accompany'
teprausiē 'let him wash'

If the present tense stem contains a suffix, the imperative forms with the ending *-ie* retain the stress on the stem, e.g.:

teváikščiŃjie 'let him walk'
tevažiúŃjie 'let him drive'
tegyvėnie 'let him live'
teskūbinie 'let him hurry'

Forms with the ending *-i* usually retain the stress on the same syllable and have the same toneme which are encountered in the present tense, e.g.:

teskaĩtai 'let him read'
terāšai 'let him write'
temókai 'let him teach'

In Standard Lithuanian the meaning of the 3rd person of the imperative is usually conveyed by the 3rd person present (sometimes future) tense forms containing the prefix *te-*, or by these forms used in conjunction with the particles *te* or *tegù/tegùl*, e.g.:

tèsupa, tegù/tegùl sùpa, tè (jis) sùpa 'let him rock'
tesisupa, tegù/tegùl sùpasi 'let him rock himself'
tesėdi, tegù/tegùl sėdi 'let him sit'
temóko, tegù/tegùl móko 'let him teach'
tesimóko, tegù/tegùl mókosi 'let him learn'
tebùs, tegù/tegùl būs 'let it be'

Oblique mood

5.106 The oblique mood forms coincide with the nominative case of active participles. The oblique mood, like the indicative mood, has four tenses: the present, past,

past frequentative and future. The forms of the oblique mood are inflected for gender and number. They are not inflected for person, therefore the same form is used for all the three persons.

Table 15. Forms of the oblique mood

			Non-reflexive verbs	Reflexive verbs
Present	Sg.	masc.	<i>supqš sēdjs mōkqs</i>	<i>sūpqsis mōkqsis</i>
		fem.	<i>sūpanti sēdinti mōkanti</i>	<i>sūpantis mōkantis</i>
	Pl.	masc.	<i>supq sēdī mōqā</i>	<i>sūpqsī mōkqsī</i>
		fem.	<i>sūpančios sēdinčios mōkančios</i>	<i>sūpančiosī mōkančiosī</i>
Past	Sg.	masc.	<i>sūpēs sēdējēs mōkēs</i>	<i>sūpēsis mōkēsis</i>
		fem.	<i>sūpust sēdējust mōktust</i>	<i>sūpustis mōktustis</i>
	Pl.	masc.	<i>sūpē sēdējē mōkē</i>	<i>sūpēsi mōkēsi</i>
		fem.	<i>sūpusios sēdējusios mōktusios</i>	<i>sūpusiosī mōktusiosī</i>
Past freq.	Sg.	masc.	<i>sūpdavēs sēdēdavēs mōkydavēs</i>	<i>sūpdavēsis mōkydavēsis</i>
		fem.	<i>sūpdavust sēdēdavust mōkydavust</i>	<i>sūpdavustis mōkydavustis</i>
	Pl.	masc.	<i>sūpdavē sēdēdavē mōkydavē</i>	<i>sūpdavēsi mōkydavēsi</i>
		fem.	<i>sūpdavusios sēdēdavirusios mōkydavirusios</i>	<i>sūpdavusiosī mōkydavirusiosī</i>
Future	Sg.	masc.	<i>sūpsiqš sēdēsiqš mōkysiqš</i>	<i>sūpsiqšis mōkysiqšis</i>
		fem.	<i>sūpsiantī sēdēsiantī mōkysiantī</i>	<i>sūpsiantis mōkysiantis</i>
	Pl.	masc.	<i>sūpsiq sēdēsīq mōkysīq</i>	<i>sūpsiqšī mōkysiqšī</i>
		fem.	<i>sūpsiančios sēdēsiančios mōkysiančios</i>	<i>sūpsiančiosī mōkysiančiosī</i>

The oblique mood forms are accented like the active participles of the respective tense.

Conjugation of the verb *būti* 'be'

5.107 The verb *būti* possesses suppletive finite forms, containing different stems: *es-*, *bu-/bū-*; the 3rd person present possesses its own unique stem *yrà*.

Table 16 Forms of the verb *būti*

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural
Indicative	Present	1. <i>esù</i>	<i>ēsame</i>
		2. <i>esì</i>	<i>ēsate</i>
		3. <i>yrà</i>	<i>yrà</i>
	Past	1. <i>buvāū</i>	<i>būvome</i>
2. <i>buvāī</i>		<i>būvote</i>	
3. <i>būvo</i>		<i>būvo</i>	
Past freq.	1. <i>būdāvau</i>	<i>būdāvome</i>	
	2. <i>būdāvai</i>	<i>būdāvote</i>	
	3. <i>būdavo</i>	<i>būdavo</i>	
Future	1. <i>būsiu</i>	<i>būstime</i>	
	2. <i>būsi</i>	<i>būsite</i>	
	3. <i>būs</i>	<i>būs</i>	
Subjunctive		1. <i>būčiau</i>	<i>būtu(mē)me</i>
		2. <i>būtum</i>	<i>būtumēte</i>
		3. <i>būtu</i>	<i>būtu</i>
Imperative		1. —	<i>būkime</i>
		2. <i>būk</i>	<i>būkite</i>
		3. <i>tebūniē</i>	<i>tebūniē</i>
Oblique mood	Present	<i>ēsqs, ēsanti</i>	<i>ēsq, ēsančios</i>
	Past	<i>būves, būvusi</i>	<i>būve, būvusios</i>
	Past freq.	<i>būdaves, būdavusi</i>	<i>būdave, būdavusios</i>
	Future	<i>būsiqs, būsianti</i>	<i>būsiq, būsiančios</i>

In addition to the present tense forms given in the table, more recent forms created by adding the formants *-n-* or *-v-* to the infinitival stem exist in Standard Lithuanian:

Singular	Plural
1. <i>būnù, būvù</i>	<i>būname, būvame</i>
2. <i>būnì, būvì</i>	<i>būnate, būvate</i>
3. <i>būna, būva</i>	<i>būna, būva</i>

There is a slight semantic difference between the forms in the table *esù, esì, etc.* and the forms created from the infinitival stem *bū-* (*būnù, būvù, būnì, būvì, etc.*). The latter forms usually convey a regular process, a regular presence of something or somebody. The same meaning can also be expressed by the athematic 3rd person form *ėsti*. The 3rd person of the imperative has two coexistent forms *tebūniẽ* and *teesiẽ* 'let it be'.

COMPOUND (PERIPHRASTIC) FINITE FORMS

5.108 Compound finite forms of the verb are created with the help of the finite forms of the auxiliary *būti* 'be' and the present or past active or passive participle. Compound forms containing active participles belong to the active voice, and those containing passive participles belong to the passive voice.

Compound forms with a present active participle are termed compound continuative tenses and moods, and those with a present passive participle are termed compound imperfect tenses and moods. Compound forms containing a past participle (active or passive) are known as compound active or passive perfect tenses and moods.

The auxiliary *būti* in such compound tenses is usually used in one of its simple forms. Compound forms in which the auxiliary itself is used in a compound finite form are less frequent, e.g.:

yrà būves atėjẽs 'has been here' (lit. 'has been come')
būtu būves padarytas 'would have been done'

In present the auxiliary can be omitted, e.g.:

Aš jau paválgẽs. 'I have eaten already.'

Not every sequence consisting of the verb *būti* and a participle is a compound tense. Some combinations of this kind are simply free collocations. That depends

upon the meaning of the participle, whether it has a prevailing qualitative meaning and is similar to an adjective (e.g.: *Vaikas buvo silpnas, išbales*. 'The child was weak, pale'; *Tėvai savo vaikaiš buvo patėnkinti*. 'The parents were pleased with their children.'), or whether its semantics is more verbal than adjectival.

The distinctive feature of compound tense forms which sets them apart from free collocations is their correlation with simple tenses.

Active voice

COMPOUND PERFECT TENSES

5.109 Compound perfect tenses are formed with the help of the auxiliary *būti*, which is used in one of its finite forms, and the past active participle of a notional verb. It is the person, tense and mood of the auxiliary which determines the person, tense and mood of the compound perfect form. Thus, compound perfect forms occur in the present, past, past frequentative and future of the indicative and oblique mood and also in the subjunctive and imperative.

Table 17 Perfect tenses

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural	
Indicative	Present	1. <i>esù (at)nėšęš</i> <i>esù (at)nėšusi</i>	<i>ėsame (at)nėšę</i> <i>ėsame (at)nėšusios</i>	
		2. <i>esi (at)nėšęš</i> <i>esi (at)nėšusi</i>	<i>ėsate (at)nėšę</i> <i>ėsate (at)nėšusios</i>	
		3. <i>yrà (at)nėšęš</i> <i>yrà (at)nėšusi</i>	<i>yrà (at)nėšę</i> <i>yrà (at)nėšusios</i>	
		Past	1. <i>buvai (at)nėšęš</i> <i>buvai (at)nėšusi</i>	<i>buvome (at)nėšę</i> <i>buvome (at)nėšusios</i>
			2. <i>buvai (at)nėšęš</i> <i>buvai (at)nėšusi</i>	<i>buvote (at)nėšę</i> <i>buvote (at)nėšusios</i>
			3. <i>buvo (at)nėšęš</i> <i>buvo (at)nėšusi</i>	<i>buvo (at)nėšę</i> <i>buvo (at)nėšusios</i>
	Past freq.		1. <i>bùdavau (at)nėšęš</i> <i>bùdavau (at)nėšusi</i>	<i>bùdavome (at)nėšę</i> <i>bùdavome (at)nėšusios</i>
		2. <i>bùdavaui (at)nėšęš</i>	<i>bùdavote (at)nėšę</i>	

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural
Indicative		<i>búdavai (at)nēšusi</i> 3. <i>búdavo (at)nēšes</i> <i>búdavo (at)nēšusi</i>	<i>búdavote (at)nēšusios</i> <i>búdavo (at)nēšę</i> <i>búdavo (at)nēšusios</i>
	Future	1. <i>búsiu (at)nēšęs</i> <i>búsiu (at)nēšusi</i> 2. <i>búsi (at)nēšęs</i> <i>búsi (at)nēšusi</i> 3. <i>bùs (at)nēšęs</i> <i>bùs (at)nēšusi</i>	<i>búsimę (at)nēšę</i> <i>búsimę (at)nēšusios</i> <i>búsite (at)nēšę</i> <i>búsite (at)nēšusios</i> <i>bùs (at)nēšę</i> <i>bùs (at)nēšusios</i>
Subjunctive		1. <i>búčiau (at)nēšęs</i> <i>búčiau (at)nēšusi</i> 2. <i>bútum (at)nēšęs</i> <i>bútum (at)nēšusi</i> 3. <i>bútų (at)nēšęs</i> <i>bútų (at)nēšusi</i>	<i>bútum(mė)me (at)nēšę</i> <i>bútu(mė)me (at)nēšusios</i> <i>bútumėte (at)nēšę</i> <i>bútumėte (at)nēšusios</i> <i>bútų (at)nēšę</i> <i>bútų (at)nēšusios</i>
Imperative		1. ——— 2. <i>búk (at)nēšęs</i> <i>búk (at)nēšusi</i> 3. <i>tebūniē (at)nēšęs</i> <i>tebūniē (at)nēšusi</i>	<i>búkime (at)nēšę</i> <i>búkime (at)nēšusios</i> <i>búkite (at)nēšę</i> <i>búkite (at)nēšusios</i> <i>tebūniē (at)nēšę</i> <i>tebūniē (at)nēšusios</i>
Oblique mood	Present	<i>ėsq̄s (at)nēšęs</i> <i>ėsanti (at)nēšusi</i>	<i>ėsq̄ (at)nēšę</i> <i>ėsančios (at)nēšusios</i>
	Past	<i>bùvęs (at)nēšęs</i> <i>bùvusi (at)nēšusi</i>	<i>bùvę (at)nēšę</i> <i>bùvusios (at)nēšusios</i>
	Past freq.	<i>búdavęs (at)nēšęs</i> <i>búdavusi (at)nēšusi</i>	<i>búdavę (at)nēšę</i> <i>búdavusios (at)nēšusios</i>
	Future	<i>búsiąs (at)nēšęs</i> <i>búsianti (at)nēšusi</i>	<i>búsią (at)nēšę</i> <i>búsiančios (at)nēšusios</i>

COMPOUND CONTINUATIVE TENSES

5.110 Compound continuative tenses are formed with the help of the finite forms of the auxiliary *búti* 'be' and the present active participle with the prefix *be-*.

There are no present tense forms among the compound continuative tenses. The past continuative is most frequently used. The other compound continuative tenses are rare in present-day Lithuanian and occur mostly in the Low Lithuanian (Samogitian) dialect.

Table 18. **Continuative tenses**

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural
Indicative	Past	1. <i>buvau be(at)nešąs</i> <i>buvau bè(àt)nešanti</i> 2. <i>buvai be(at)nešąs</i> <i>buvai bè(àt)nešanti</i> 3. <i>bùvo be(at)nešąs</i> <i>bùvo bè(àt)nešanti</i>	<i>bùvome be(at)nešą</i> <i>bùvome bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>bùvote be(at)nešą</i> <i>bùvote bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>bùvo be(at)nešą</i> <i>bùvo bè(àt)nešančios</i>
	Past freq.	1. <i>búdavau be(at)nešąs</i> <i>búdavau bè(àt)nešanti</i> 2. <i>búdavai be(at)nešąs</i> <i>búdavai bè(àt)nešanti</i> 3. <i>búdavo be(at)nešąs</i> <i>búdavo bè(àt)nešanti</i>	<i>búdavome be(at)nešą</i> <i>búdavome bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>búdavote be(at)nešą</i> <i>búdavote bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>búdavo be(at)nešą</i> <i>búdavo bè(àt)nešančios</i>
	Future	1. <i>búsiu be(at)nešąs</i> <i>búsiu bè(àt)nešanti</i> 2. <i>búsi be(at)nešąs</i> <i>búsi bè(àt)nešanti</i> 3. <i>būs be(at)nešąs</i> <i>būs bè(àt)nešanti</i>	<i>búsime be(at)nešą</i> <i>búsime bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>búsite be(at)nešą</i> <i>búsite bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>būs be(at)nešą</i> <i>būs bè(àt)nešančios</i>
Subjunctive		1. <i>búčiau be(at)nešąs</i> <i>búčiau bè(àt)nešanti</i> 2. <i>bátum be(at)nešąs</i> <i>bátum bè(àt)nešanti</i> 3. <i>bátų be(at)nešąs</i> <i>bátų bè(àt)nešanti</i>	<i>bátu(mè)me be(at)nešą</i> <i>bátu(mè)me bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>bátumėte be(at)nešą</i> <i>bátumėte bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>bátų be(at)nešą</i> <i>bátų bè(àt)nešančios</i>
Imperative		1. ——— 2. <i>búk be(at)nešąs</i> <i>búk bè(àt)nešanti</i> 3. <i>tebūniė be(at)nešąs</i> <i>tebūniė bè(àt)nešanti</i>	<i>búkime be(at)nešą</i> <i>búkime bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>búkite be(at)nešą</i> <i>búkite bè(àt)nešančios</i> <i>tebūniė be(at)nešą</i> <i>tebūniė bè(àt)nešančios</i>

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural
Oblique mood	Past	<i>bùvęs be(at)nešąs</i> <i>bùvusi bè(àt)nešanti</i>	<i>bùvę be(at)nešą</i> <i>bùvosios bè(àt)nešančios</i>
	Past freq.	<i>búdavęs be(at)nešąs</i> <i>búdavusi bè(àt)nešanti</i>	<i>búdavę be(at)nešą</i> <i>búdavusios bè(àt)nešančios</i>
	Future	<i>búsiąs be(at)nešąs</i> <i>búsianti bè(àt)nešanti</i>	<i>búsią be(at)nešą</i> <i>búsiančios bè(àt)nešančios</i>

Passive voice

5.111 There are two groups of compound passive tenses: the imperfect passive and the perfect passive tenses. The forms of the 1st group contain present passive participle, those of the second group contain past passive participle. Concerning their meaning see 5.39, 40.

Table 19. Imperfect passive tenses

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural
Indicative	Present	1. <i>esù (àt)nėšamas,</i> <i>esù (at)nešamà</i> 2. <i>esi (àt)nėšamas</i> <i>esi (at)nešamà</i> 3. <i>yrà (àt)nėšamas</i> <i>yrà (at)nešamà</i>	<i>ėsame (at)nešamì</i> <i>ėsame (àt)nėšamos</i> <i>ėsate (at)nešamì</i> <i>ėsate (àt)nėšamos</i> <i>yrà (at)nešamì</i> <i>yrà (àt)nėšamos</i>
	Past	1. <i>buvaū (àt)nėšamas</i> <i>buvaū (at)nešamà</i> 2. <i>buvaĩ (àt)nėšamas</i> <i>buvaĩ (at)nešamà</i> 3. <i>bùvo (àt)nėšamas</i> <i>bùvo (at)nešamà</i>	<i>bùvome (at)nešamì</i> <i>bùvome (àt)nėšamos</i> <i>bùvote (at)nešamì</i> <i>bùvote (àt)nėšamos</i> <i>bùvo (at)nešamì</i> <i>bùvo (àt)nėšamos</i>
	Past freq.	1. <i>búdavau (àt)nėšamas</i> <i>búdavau (at)nešamà</i> 2. <i>búdavai (àt)nėšamas</i> <i>búdavai (at)nešamà</i> 3. <i>búdavo (àt)nėšamas</i> <i>búdavo (at)nešamà</i>	<i>búdavome (at)nešamì</i> <i>búdavome (àt)nėšamos</i> <i>búdavote (at)nešamì</i> <i>búdavote (àt)nėšamos</i> <i>búdavo (at)nešamì</i> <i>búdavo (àt)nėšamos</i>

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural
Indicative	Future	1. <i>būsiu (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būsiu (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būsime (at)nešamì</i> <i>būsime (àt)nēšamos</i>
		2. <i>būsi (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būsi (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būsīte (at)nešamì</i> <i>būsīte (àt)nēšamos</i>
		3. <i>būs (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būs (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būs (at)nešamì</i> <i>būs (àt)nēšamos</i>
Subjunctive		1. <i>būčiau (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būčiau (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būtum(mè)me (at)nešamì</i> <i>būtum(mè)me (àt)nēšamos</i>
		2. <i>būtum (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būtum (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būtumète (at)nešamì</i> <i>būtumète (àt)nēšamos</i>
		3. <i>būtų (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būtų (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būtų (at)nešamì</i> <i>būtų (àt)nēšamos</i>
Imperative		1. ———	<i>būkime (at)nešamì</i> <i>būkime (àt)nēšamos</i>
		2. <i>būk (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būk (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būkīte (at)nešamì</i> <i>būkīte (àt)nēšamos</i>
		3. <i>tebūniē (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>tebūniē (at)nešamà</i>	<i>tebūniē (at)nešamì</i> <i>tebūniē (àt)nēšamos</i>
Oblique mood	Present	<i>ėsq (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>ėsanti (at)nešamà</i>	<i>ėsq (at)nešamì</i> <i>ėsančios (àt)nēšamos</i>
	Past	<i>būves (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būvusi (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būve (at)nešamì</i> <i>būvusios (àt)nēšamos</i>
	Past freq.	<i>būdaveš (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būdavusi (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būdave (at)nešamì</i> <i>būdavusios (àt)nēšamos</i>
	Future	<i>būsiqs (àt)nēšamas</i> <i>būsianti (at)nešamà</i>	<i>būsiq (at)nešamì</i> <i>būsiančios (àt)nēšamos</i>

Table 20. Perfect passive tenses

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural
Indicative	Present	1. <i>esù (àt)nēštas,</i> <i>esù (at)neštà</i>	<i>ėsame (at)neštì</i> <i>ėsame (àt)nēštos</i>
		2. <i>esi (àt)nēštas</i>	<i>ėsate (at)neštì</i>

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural
Indicative		<i>esi (at)neštà</i> 3. <i>yrà (àt)nēštas</i> <i>yrà (at)neštà</i>	<i>ēsate (àt)nēštos</i> <i>yrà (at)neštì</i> <i>yrà (àt)nēštos</i>
	Past	1. <i>buvai (àt)nēštas</i> <i>buvai (at)neštà</i> 2. <i>buvai (àt)nēštas</i> <i>buvai (at)neštà</i> 3. <i>būvo (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būvo (at)neštà</i>	<i>būvome (at)neštì</i> <i>būvome (àt)nēštos</i> <i>būvome (at)neštì</i> <i>būvome (àt)nēštos</i> <i>būvo (at)neštì</i> <i>būvo (àt)nēštos</i>
	Past freq.	1. <i>būdavau (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būdavau (at)neštà</i> 2. <i>būdavai (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būdavai (at)neštà</i> 3. <i>būdavo (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būdavo (at)neštà</i>	<i>būdavome (at)neštì</i> <i>būdavome (àt)nēštos</i> <i>būdavome (at)neštì</i> <i>būdavome (àt)nēštos</i> <i>būdavo (at)neštì</i> <i>būdavo (àt)nēštos</i>
	Future	1. <i>būsiu (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būsiu (at)neštà</i> 2. <i>būsi (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būsi (at)neštà</i> 3. <i>būs (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būs (at)neštà</i>	<i>būsime (at)neštì</i> <i>būsime (àt)nēštos</i> <i>būsime (at)neštì</i> <i>būsime (àt)nēštos</i> <i>būs (at)neštì</i> <i>būs (àt)nēštos</i>
Subjunctive		1. <i>būčiau (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būčiau (at)neštà</i> 2. <i>būtum (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būtum (at)neštà</i> 3. <i>būtu (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būtu (at)neštà</i>	<i>būtum(mè)me (at)neštì</i> <i>būtum(mè)me (àt)nēštos</i> <i>būtumète (at)neštì</i> <i>būtumète (àt)nēštos</i> <i>būtu (at)neštì</i> <i>būtu (àt)nēštos</i>
Imperative		1. ——— 2. <i>būk (àt)nēštas</i> <i>būk (at)neštà</i> 3. <i>tebūniē (àt)nēštas</i> <i>tebūniē (at)neštà</i>	<i>būkime (at)neštì</i> <i>būkime (àt)nēštos</i> <i>būkite (at)neštì</i> <i>būkite (àt)nēštos</i> <i>tebūniē (at)neštì</i> <i>tebūniē (àt)nēštos</i>
Oblique mood	Present	<i>ēsqs (àt)nēštas</i> <i>ēsanti (at)neštà</i>	<i>ēsq (at)neštì</i> <i>ēsancštos (àt)nēštos</i>

Mood	Tense	Singular	Plural
Oblique mood	Past	<i>būvēs (āt)nēštas</i> <i>būvusi (at)neštā</i>	<i>būvē (at)nešti</i> <i>būvusios (āt)nēštos</i>
	Past freq.	<i>būdavēs (āt)nēštas</i> <i>būdavusi (at)neštā</i>	<i>būdavē (at)nešti</i> <i>būdavusios (āt)nēštos</i>
	Future	<i>būsiqs (āt)nēštas</i> <i>būsianti (at)neštā</i>	<i>būsiq (at)nešti</i> <i>būsiancios (āt)nēštos</i>

Non-finite forms of the verb

PARTICIPLES

Dalīviai

5.112 Participles possess both verbal and adjectival properties; sometimes they possess also adverbial properties.

Participles are associated with verbs through their verbal stem and the categories of tense and voice, which form the basis for the classification of participles. A large number of participles possess both reflexive and non-reflexive forms, e.g.:

<i>sukāš</i>	<i>sukāšis</i>	'rotating'
<i>sūkēš</i>	<i>sūkēšis</i>	'which rotated'
<i>sūkdavēs</i>	<i>sūkdavēsis</i>	'which used to rotate'
<i>sūksiqs</i>	<i>sūksiqšis</i>	'which will rotate'

In the sentence, active participles retain the valency typical of the finite forms of the respective verb, e.g.:

Vaiķas nēša obuolius. 'The child is carrying apples.'
Nēšantis obuolius vaiķas. 'A child carrying apples.'

The valency of passive participles changes according to the regularities of the passive transformation, e.g.:

Tēvas nēša vaiķq. 'The father is carrying a child.'
Tēvo nēšamas vaiķas. 'A child carried by the father.'

All participial constructions can be considered to be transforms of clauses containing the corresponding finite forms of the verb.

Most participles share with adjectives the categories of gender, number and case. All the masculine and feminine forms of declinable participles possess case and number forms. They agree with nouns and pronouns like adjectives, e.g.:

<i>tėkanti ūpė</i>	'flowing river'
<i>prinókę vaīstai</i>	'ripe fruit'
<i>nuláužtas mēdtis</i>	'broken tree'

The neuter forms of participles (see 5.124) are indeclinable. They cannot be used as modifiers of nouns or pronouns.

Like adjectives, participles can also possess definite forms, e.g.:

<i>stóvinčioji móteris</i>	'the standing woman'
<i>praėjusieji mėtai</i>	'last year'
<i>šnekamóji kalbà</i>	'colloquial speech'

Indeclinable participles, termed gerunds (Lith. *pādalyviai*), are similar to adverbs both by being indeclinable and by their syntactical usage, cf.:

Grįžome sutėmus/vėlai. 'We returned at dusk (PAST. GER)/late (ADV).'

Adverbial functions are also typical of the nominative case forms of certain declinable participles (see 5.142).

There is a group of participial forms which are called half-participles (Lith. *pūsdaľyviai*). These forms are created with the suffix *-dam-* and are inflected for gender and number, e.g.:

eīdamas – eidamà – eidamì – eīdamos 'while going'
nėšdamas – nešdamà – nešdamì – nėšdamos 'while carrying'

Some Lithuanian grammars do not classify these forms as participles, but consider them to be a separate group in their own right. However, these forms present, in fact, a specific nominative case of the present active participle designed to be used for adverbial functions (see 5.143).

Participles are clasified into two groups – active and passive participles.

Active participles have four tense forms:

	Masculine	Feminine
Present participle:	<i>nėšąs, nėšdamas</i>	<i>nėšanti, nešdamà</i>
Past participle:	<i>nėšęs</i>	<i>nėšusi</i>
Past frequentative participle:	<i>nėšdavęs</i>	<i>nėšdavusi</i>
Future participle:	<i>nėšiąs</i>	<i>nėšianti</i>

Active participles can be formed both from transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g.:

<i>āriantis laūką žmogūs</i>	'a man ploughing a field'
<i>važiuojantis vežimas</i>	'a travelling cart'
<i>rugiūs išguldytusi krušà</i>	'hail which has beaten down the rye'
<i>pavařgusi moteriškè</i>	'a tired woman'

According to their formal properties and verbal voice all gerunds can be grouped together with active participles:

Present gerund:	<i>nėšant</i> 'while carrying'
Past gerund:	<i>nėšus</i> 'having carried'
Past frequentative gerund:	<i>nėšdavus</i> 'after (somebody) used to carry'
Future gerund:	<i>nėšiant</i> 'while (somebody) carries in the future'

Passive participles have three tense forms:

Present participle:	<i>nėšamas</i>	<i>nešamà</i> 'being carried'
Past participle:	<i>nėštas</i>	<i>neštà</i> 'which was carried'
Future participle:	<i>nėšimas</i>	<i>nešimà</i> 'which will be carried'

Not all the formally passive participles are used in the meaning of the passive voice. Those participles which have passive meaning are mostly formed from transitive verbs (e.g., *skaĩtomas knygòs* 'books being read', *àtneštas kiřvis* 'an axe which has been brought') including verbs governing the objective genitive case (e.g., *laukiamà šveĩtè* 'an anticipated holiday', *nėkviestas svėčias* 'uninvited guest').

Formally passive participles lacking passive meaning are formed both from transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g.: *kepamóji kròsnis* 'baking oven', *miegamàsis kambarys* 'bedroom', *gimtàsis kràštas* 'native country'.

5.113 There is a special non-finite verbal form having a meaning of necessity which in certain Lithuanian grammars is classed as a passive participle. It is derived from the infinitival stem by adding the suffix *-tin-* and the adjectival *a*-stem (masculine) or *o*-stem (feminine) endings:

<i>nėšti:</i>	<i>nėštinas</i>	<i>neštinà</i> 'which should be carried'
<i>minėti:</i>	<i>minėtinas</i>	<i>minėtinà</i> 'which should be mentioned'

These forms are declined like *a*-stem (masculine) or *o*-stem (feminine) adjectives. If their infinitival derivational base contains a suffix, the necessity form retains the accent of the infinitive. If the infinitival derivational base is simple (i.e., if it does not contain a suffix), the necessity forms are accented like adjectives of Accentuation Class 3, e.g.:

	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	<i>dirbtinas</i>	<i>dirbtinà</i> 'artificial, that should be done'
Gen.	<i>dirbtino</i>	<i>dirbtinòs</i>

Dat.	<i>dirbtinām</i>	<i>dirbtinai</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbtinaŋ</i>	<i>dirbtinaŋ</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbtinu</i>	<i>dirbtinā, etc.</i>

Necessity forms denote qualities associated with an action which is supposed to be carried out, e.g.:

<i>pjautinī rugiaī</i>	'rye which should be harvested'
<i>atmiņtinas pavāsarīs</i>	'a memorable spring'

From the semantic point of view, these forms stand in opposition to all the other participles. The most frequent forms, however, containing the suffix *-tin-*, do not bear any of the meaning of necessity and function merely as verbal adjectives, e.g.:

<i>abejōtinas pāsakojimas</i>	'doubtful story'
<i>būtinās reīkalas</i>	'urgent matter'
<i>ītaŗtinas ņmogūš</i>	'suspected man'
<i>miŗtinas pavōjus</i>	'deadly danger'
<i>pageidāutinas svēŗtas</i>	'desirable guest'
<i>stebēŗtinas daļŗkas</i>	'surprising thing'

Active participles

Veikiamieji daļŗviai

PRESENT ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

5.114 Present active participles are formed by adding the suffix *-nt-* and the *ia*-stem (masculine) or *io*-stem (feminine) adjectival endings to the present tense verbal stem, e.g.:

<i>ŗirba – ŗirba-nt-is, ŗirba-nt-i</i>	'working'
<i>tŗļi – tŗļi-nt-is, tŗļi-nt-i</i>	'being silent'

In *o*-stem verbs, belonging to Conjugation 3, the final vowel *o* of the stem changes into *a* before the suffix *-nt-*:

<i>ŗāŗo – rāŗa-nt-is, rāŗa-nt-i</i>	'writing'
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In the nominative case the masculine forms of present active participles also have the short variant in which the suffix *-nt-* merging with the final vowel of the stem has produced the endings *-qs, -ŗs* (nominative singular) and *-q, -ŗ* (nominative plural). The endings *-qs, -q* appear in participles formed from verbs belonging to Conjugations 1 and 3. The endings *-ŗs, -ŗ* appear in participles formed from verbs belonging to Conjugation 2, e.g.:

dirba 'works' – *dirbąs/dirbąs, dirbą/dirbą*

rāšo 'writes' – *rāšąs, rāšą*

tįli 'is silent' – *tįlis/tįlis, tįlį/tįlį*

In the nominative plural the long forms of masculine present participles have the ending *-ys*, which is typical of *i*-stem nouns:

dirbantys, tįlintys, rāšantys

cf.: *ántys* 'ducks', *plėnys* 'flake ashes'

The usage of the long and short forms of masculine nominative case participles is slightly different – the long forms are used to indicate a quality, e.g.:

tėkantis vanduo

'flowing water'

blizgantis popierius

'shining paper'

žydintys medžiai

'blossoming trees'

The short forms are used to indicate the main or attending action, process or state in the sentence, e.g.:

Girdėjau, jis sergąs.

'I hear he is ill.'

Tėvas buvo beeinąs pro duris.

'Father was on the point of stepping out through the door.'

Niėkas jō darbštūmo nepastrōdė mātą.

'Nobody let it be known that they saw his diligence.'

In the nominative plural, the short forms of masculine participles (the original neuter forms) are sometimes used to replace feminine participles, e.g.:

Móterys sākėsi eīnančios/eīną grybáuti.

'The women said they were going to pick mushrooms.'

The present participle of the verb *būti* 'be' is formed from the present tense stem *es-* (cf.: *es-ù, es-ì, ės-ti*), although the other 3rd person form *yrà* is more frequently used in present-day Lithuanian:

ės-ti – ėsąs/esąs, ėsantis, ėsanti

ėsq/esą, ėsantys, ėsančios

- 5.115** With the exception of certain short forms ending in *-ąs, -is* in the nominative singular and in *-q, -į* in the nominative plural, all the case forms of present active participles retain the place of the accent and the toneme of the accented syllable which are observed in the 3rd person present of the respective verb.

The short forms of participles formed from the verbs belonging to Conjugations 1 and 2 which shift their stress to the prefix in the 3rd person of the present tense bear their accent on the ending, e.g.:

nėša 'carries' – *išneša* 'carries out' – *nešąs, nešą*
kalba 'speaks' – *nėkalba* 'doesn't speak' – *kalbąs, kalbą*
tiki 'trusts' – *pàtiki* 'entrusts' – *tikįs, tikį*
mìni 'remembers' – *nėmini* 'doesn't remember' – *minįs, minį*

In Standard Lithuanian, however, the tendency to move the stress to the ending can be observed in a large number of other short form participles formed from verbs of Conjugations 1 and 2. Thus, although the following verbs do not shift the stress to the prefix in the 3rd person of the present tense, their respective short form participles often bear the stress on the ending:

dìrba 'works' – *nėdìrba* 'doesn't work' – *dìrbąs, dìrba|dìrbąs, dìrbą*
eìna 'goes' – *ateìna* 'comes' – *eìnąs, eìna|eìnąs, eìną*
bėga 'runs' – *atbėga* 'comes running' – *bėgąs, bėga|bėgąs, bėgą*
týli 'is silent' – *patýli* 'is silent for a while' – *týlįs, týli|týlįs, tylį*
mýli 'loves' – *nemyli* 'doesn't love' – *mýlįs, mýli|mýlįs, mylį*

The tendency to move the stress to the ending is less pronounced in short form participles formed from verbs of Conjugation 3. However such short form participles are also sometimes stressed in either way – on the root, or on the ending, e.g.:

válgo 'eats' – *válgąs/valgąs, vólga/vólgą*
rāšo 'writes' – *rāšąs/rašąs, rāšq/rašq*
mìgdo 'puts to sleep' – *mìgdąs/migdąs, mìgda|migdą*

Short form participles formed from polysyllabic verbs usually keep their stress on the root, e.g.:

kartója 'repeats' – *kartójas, kartója*
gāsdina 'frightens' – *gāsdinąs, gāsdina*
keřšija 'takes revenge' – *keřšijas, keřšija*

The accentuation of prefixed short form participles follows the same rules as described above, e.g.:

išmeta 'throws out' – *išmetąs, išmetą*
nemyli 'doesn't love' – *nemylįs, nemyli|nemylįs, nemylį*
atkeřšija 'takes revenge' – *atkeřšijas, atkeřšija*

DECLENSION OF PRESENT ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

Masculine gender (*ia*-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>dìrbąs</i>	<i>tikįs</i>	<i>vólgąs</i>	<i>kartójas</i>
	<i>dìrbantis</i>	<i>tìkintis</i>	<i>vólgantis</i>	<i>kartójantis</i>

Gen.	<i>dirbančio</i>	<i>tikinčio</i>	<i>válgančio</i>	<i>kartójančio</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbančiam</i>	<i>tikinčiam</i>	<i>válgančiam</i>	<i>kartójančiam</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbantį</i>	<i>tikintį</i>	<i>válgantį</i>	<i>kartójančių</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbančiu</i>	<i>tikinčiu</i>	<i>válgančiu</i>	<i>kartójančiu</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbančiame</i>	<i>tikinčiame</i>	<i>válgančiame</i>	<i>kartójančiame</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dirba dirbantys</i>	<i>tiki tikintys</i>	<i>válga válgantys</i>	<i>kartója kartójančios</i>
Gen.	<i>dirbančių</i>	<i>tikinčių</i>	<i>válgančių</i>	<i>kartójančių</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbantiems</i>	<i>tikintiems</i>	<i>válgantiems</i>	<i>kartójančioms</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbančius</i>	<i>tikinčius</i>	<i>válgančius</i>	<i>kartójančius</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbančiais</i>	<i>tikinčiais</i>	<i>válgančiais</i>	<i>kartójančiais</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbančiuose</i>	<i>tikinčiuose</i>	<i>válgančiuose</i>	<i>kartójančiuose</i>

Feminine gender (*io*-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>dirbanti</i>	<i>tikinti</i>	<i>válganti</i>	<i>kartójanči</i>
Gen.	<i>dirbančios</i>	<i>tikinčios</i>	<i>válgančios</i>	<i>kartójančios</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbančiai</i>	<i>tikinčiai</i>	<i>válgančiai</i>	<i>kartójančiai</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbančią</i>	<i>tikinčią</i>	<i>válgančią</i>	<i>kartójančią</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbančia</i>	<i>tikinčia</i>	<i>válgančia</i>	<i>kartójančia</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbančioje</i>	<i>tikinčioje</i>	<i>válgančioje</i>	<i>kartójančioje</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dirbančios</i>	<i>tikinčios</i>	<i>válgančios</i>	<i>kartójančios</i>
Gen.	<i>dirbančių</i>	<i>tikinčių</i>	<i>válgančių</i>	<i>kartójančių</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbančioms</i>	<i>tikinčioms</i>	<i>válgančioms</i>	<i>kartójančioms</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbančias</i>	<i>tikinčias</i>	<i>válgančias</i>	<i>kartójančias</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbančiomis</i>	<i>tikinčiomis</i>	<i>válgančiomis</i>	<i>kartójančiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbančiose</i>	<i>tikinčiose</i>	<i>válgančiose</i>	<i>kartójančiose</i>

Half-participle

Pùsdalyvis

- 5.116** In the nominative singular and plural present active participles have another form which is used in adverbial function. This form is known in Lithuanian grammars as the half-participle.

Half-participles are used to indicate an attendant action or process simultaneous with the action or process denoted by the predicate and carried out by the subject of the sentence. Half-participles are inflected for gender and number and they agree with the subject of the sentence in gender and number, e.g.:

Vaikas skaitydamos užmigo. 'The child fell asleep while reading.'
Móterys grįžo dainuodamos. 'The women came back singing.'

Half-participles are formed by adding the suffix *-dam-* and *a-*stem (masculine) or *o-*stem (feminine) endings of the nominative case to the infinitival stem, e.g.:

	Singular	Plural
<i>dirb-ti</i> 'work'	Masc. <i>dirb-dam-as</i> Fem. <i>dirb-dam-à</i>	<i>dirb-dam-i</i> <i>dirb-dam-os</i>
<i>mylė-ti</i> 'love'	Masc. <i>mylė-dam-as</i> Fem. <i>mylė-dam-a</i>	<i>mylė-dam-i</i> <i>mylė-dam-os</i>
<i>kartó-ti</i> 'repeat'	Masc. <i>kartó-dam-as</i> Fem. <i>kartó-dam-a</i>	<i>kartó-dam-i</i> <i>kartó-dam-os</i>

Half-participles formed from infinitives containing suffixes retain the same accentuation as the infinitive, e.g.:

<i>sáugoti</i> 'guard'	<i>sáugodamas</i> <i>sáugodama</i>	<i>sáugodami</i> <i>sáugodamos</i>
<i>žadėti</i> 'promise'	<i>žadėdamas</i> <i>žadėdama</i>	<i>žadėdami</i> <i>žadėdamos</i>
<i>skaitýti</i> 'read'	<i>skaitýdamas</i> <i>skaitýdama</i>	<i>skaitýdami</i> <i>skaitýdamos</i>

Half-participles formed from simple (underived) infinitives retain the stress of the infinitive in the masculine singular form and the feminine plural, e.g.:

<i>grėbti</i> 'rake'	<i>grėbdamas</i>	<i>grėbdamos</i>
<i>nėšti</i> 'carry'	<i>nėšdamas</i>	<i>nėšdamos</i>

The plural masculine forms and the singular feminine forms of the above half-participles are stressed on the ending:

<i>grėbdamì</i>	<i>grėbdamà</i>
<i>nėšdamì</i>	<i>nėšdamà</i>

Prefixed half-participles are stressed like the respective non-prefixed half-participles, except those which have the prefix *per-*, which always attracts the stress.

PAST ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

5.117 Past active participles are formed by adding the suffix *-(i)us-* (except in the nominative singular and plural of the masculine forms) and the *ia*-stem (masculine) or *io*-stem (feminine) adjectival endings to the past stem of the verb. The final vowels *o* and *é* of the stem are dropped, e.g.:

		Nom. Sg.	Gen. Sg.	Dat. Sg.
<i>dìrbo</i> 'worked'	Masc.		<i>dìrb-us-io</i>	<i>dìrb-us-iam</i>
	Fem.	<i>dìrb-us-i</i>	<i>dìrb-us-ios</i>	<i>dìrb-us-iai</i>
<i>gěré</i> 'drank'	Masc.		<i>gěr-us-io</i>	<i>gěr-us-iam</i>
	Fem.	<i>gěr-us-i</i>	<i>gěr-us-ios</i>	<i>gěr-us-iai</i>
<i>daināvo</i> 'sang'	Masc.		<i>daināv-us-io</i>	<i>daināv-us-iam</i>
	Fem.	<i>daināv-us-i</i>	<i>daināv-us-ios</i>	<i>daināv-us-iai</i>

The variant *-ius-* of the preterit participial suffix occurs after a soft consonant in participles formed from verbs which have the suffix *-yti* in the infinitive and the vowel *é* at the end of their past stem, e.g.:

		Nom. Sg.	Gen. Sg.
<i>rašýti</i> 'write' – <i>rāšé</i>	Masc.		<i>rāš-ius-io</i>
	Fem.	<i>rāš-ius-i</i>	<i>rāš-ius-ios</i>
<i>laikýti</i> 'hold' – <i>laiké</i>	Masc.		<i>laik-ius-io</i>
	Fem.	<i>laik-ius-i</i>	<i>laik-ius-ios</i>

Before the suffix *-ius-* the consonants *t*, *d* change into *č* and *dž*, e.g.:

		Nom. Sg.	Gen. Sg.
<i>skaitýti</i> 'read' – <i>skaíté</i>	Masc.		<i>skaič-ius-io</i>
	Fem.	<i>skaič-ius-i</i>	<i>skaič-ius-ios</i>
<i>sklaidýti</i> 'disperse' – <i>sklaídé</i>	Masc.		<i>sklaidž-ius-io</i>
	Fem.	<i>sklaidž-ius-i</i>	<i>sklaidž-ius-ios</i>

The short forms of the nominative case of masculine past participles are formed by adding the endings *-es* (singular) and *-e* (plural) to the past stem of the verbs after dropping the final vowel, e.g.:

<i>dìrb-o</i> –	<i>dìrb-es</i>	<i>dìrb-e</i>
<i>gěr-é</i> –	<i>gěr-es</i>	<i>gěr-e</i>
<i>běg-o</i> –	<i>běg-es</i>	<i>běg-e</i>
<i>daināv-o</i> –	<i>daināv-es</i>	<i>daināv-e</i>

The long forms of the nominative case of masculine past participles occur much

more rarely than the short forms. They are formed by adding the suffix *-(i)us-* and the endings *-is* (singular) and *-ys* (plural), e.g.:

<i>dirb-o</i> – <i>dirb-us-is</i>	<i>dirb-us-ys</i>
<i>rāš-ē</i> – <i>rāš-ius-is</i>	<i>rāš-ius-ys</i>

These long forms have a dialectal colour and are used only as preposed attributes to indicate a quality, e.g.:

<i>pargrīžusis pōnas</i>	‘the gentleman who has come back’
<i>diņģusis brōlis</i>	‘the brother who has disappeared’
<i>praējusys mētai</i>	‘bygone years’

The short form of the nominative plural of masculine past participles is originally neuter and can fulfill the functions of the neuter forms, cf. *Būvo jau sutēme/tamsū*. ‘It was already dark’ (see 5.124). It is also used instead of the nominative plural of feminine participles, e.g.:

<i>nušālusios/nušālę raņkos</i>	‘frost-bitten hands’
<i>supūvusios/supūvē būlvēs</i>	‘rotten potatoes’

All preterit participles of the active voice follow the stress pattern of the respective infinitives. Since verbal prefixes in these participles do not attract the stress (except for the prefix *per-*), all prefixed participles are stressed like non-prefixed participles.

DECLENSION OF PAST ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

Masculine gender (*ia*-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>dirbēs</i>	<i>tikējēs</i>	<i>vālgēs</i>	<i>atnēšēs</i>
Gen.	<i>dirbusio</i>	<i>tikėjusio</i>	<i>vālgusio</i>	<i>atnēšusio</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbusiam</i>	<i>tikėjusiam</i>	<i>vālgusiam</i>	<i>atnēšusiam</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbusi</i>	<i>tikėjusi</i>	<i>vālgusi</i>	<i>atnēšusi</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbusiu</i>	<i>tikėjusiu</i>	<i>vālgusiu</i>	<i>atnēšusiu</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbusiame</i>	<i>tikėjusiame</i>	<i>vālgusiame</i>	<i>atnēšusiame</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dirbē</i>	<i>tikējē</i>	<i>vālgē</i>	<i>atnēšē</i>
Gen.	<i>dirbusiū</i>	<i>tikėjusiu</i>	<i>vālgusiu</i>	<i>atnēšusiu</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbusiems</i>	<i>tikėjusiem</i>	<i>vālgusiem</i>	<i>atnēšusiem</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbusius</i>	<i>tikėjusius</i>	<i>vālgusius</i>	<i>atnēšusius</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbusiais</i>	<i>tikėjusiais</i>	<i>vālgusiais</i>	<i>atnēšusiais</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbusiuose</i>	<i>tikėjusiuose</i>	<i>vālgusiuose</i>	<i>atnēšusiuose</i>

Feminine gender (io-stem)**Singular**

Nom.	<i>dìrbusi</i>	<i>tikėjusi</i>	<i>válgiusi</i>	<i>atnėšusi</i>
Gen.	<i>dìrbusios</i>	<i>tikėjusios</i>	<i>válgiusios</i>	<i>atnėšusios</i>
Dat.	<i>dìrbusiai</i>	<i>tikėjusiai</i>	<i>válgiusiai</i>	<i>atnėšusiai</i>
Acc.	<i>dìrbusią</i>	<i>tikėjusią</i>	<i>válgiusią</i>	<i>atnėšusią</i>
Instr.	<i>dìrbusia</i>	<i>tikėjusia</i>	<i>válgiusia</i>	<i>atnėšusia</i>
Loc.	<i>dìrbusioje</i>	<i>tikėjusioje</i>	<i>válgiusioje</i>	<i>atnėšusioje</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dìrbusios</i>	<i>tikėjusios</i>	<i>válgiusios</i>	<i>atnėšusios</i>
Gen.	<i>dìrbusių</i>	<i>tikėjusių</i>	<i>válgiusių</i>	<i>atnėšusių</i>
Dat.	<i>dìrbusioms</i>	<i>tikėjusioms</i>	<i>válgiusioms</i>	<i>atnėšusioms</i>
Acc.	<i>dìrbusias</i>	<i>tikėjusias</i>	<i>válgiusias</i>	<i>atnėšusias</i>
Instr.	<i>dìrbusiomis</i>	<i>tikėjusiomis</i>	<i>válgiusiomis</i>	<i>atnėšusiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>dìrbusiose</i>	<i>tikėjusiose</i>	<i>válgiusiose</i>	<i>atnėšusiose</i>

PAST FREQUENTATIVE PARTICIPLES

5.118 Past frequentative active participles are formed by adding the compound suffix *-dav-us-* (which combines the past frequentative suffix *-dav-* and the past participial suffix *-us-*) and the appropriate endings to the infinitival stem of the verb, e.g.:

	Nom. Sg. Fem.	Nom. Pl. Fem.
<i>dìrb-ti</i> 'work'	<i>dìrb-dav-us-i</i>	<i>dìrb-dav-us-ios</i>
<i>gér-ti</i> 'drink'	<i>gér-dav-us-i</i>	<i>gér-dav-us-ios</i>
<i>kartó-ti</i> 'repeat'	<i>kartó-dav-us-i</i>	<i>kartó-dav-us-ios</i>

The formation of masculine past frequentative participles is similar to that of masculine past participles in that they are also formed by adding the endings *-ęs* (Nom. Sg.) and *-ę* (Nom. Pl.) to the suffix *-dav-*, e.g.:

Nom. Sg. Masc.	Nom. Pl. Masc.
<i>dìrb-dav-ęs</i>	<i>dìrb-dav-ę</i>
<i>gér-dav-ęs</i>	<i>gér-dav-ę</i>
<i>kartó-dav-ęs</i>	<i>kartó-dav-ę</i>

Past frequentative participles are usually used only in the nominative case (singular or plural) and they usually indicate an indirectly experienced action or process (see 5.152).

The nominative plural form of masculine frequentative past participles also functions as a neuter form, e.g. *Vakaraīs palj̄dave*. 'In the evening it used to rain.' (See 5.153). It may replace the corresponding feminine form, e.g.:

<i>Móterys teñ d̄irbdavusios/d̄irbdave</i> .	'(They say) Women used to work there.'
<i>Vakaraīs abi t̄etos atvažiúodavusios/atvažiúodave</i> .	'In the evening both aunts used to come.'

All past frequentative participles retain the stress pattern of the infinitive, similarly to the finite forms of the frequentative past tense. Prefixes (except for the prefix *per-*) exert no influence on the accentuation of these forms.

FUTURE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

5.119 Future active participles are formed by adding the compound suffix *-si-ant-* (which combines the future tense suffix *si-* and the suffix *-nt-* of present active participles with the added vowel *a-*) and the adjectival *ia-* stem (masculine) and *io-* stem (feminine) endings to the infinitival stem of the verb, e.g.:

diñg-ti 'disappear' – *diñg-si-ant-is*, *diñg-si-ant-i*
válgy-ti 'eat' – *válgy-si-ant-is*, *válgy-si-ant-i*

The short forms of the nominative case of masculine future participles possess the endings *-qs* (singular) and *-q* (plural), which are joined to the suffix *-si-*, e.g.:

<i>d̄irb-si-qs</i>	<i>d̄irb-si-q</i>
<i>diñg-si-qs</i>	<i>diñg-si-q</i>
<i>válgy-si-qs</i>	<i>válgy-si-q</i>

Before the suffix *-si-* the final consonants *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž* of the stem undergo the same changes as in the finite forms of the future tense, i.e.:

$s + s \Rightarrow s$	$š + s \Rightarrow š$
$z + s \Rightarrow s$	$ž + s \Rightarrow š$

vès-ti 'lead' – *vèšiqs/vèšiantis*, *vèšianti*
mègz-ti 'knit' – *mègsiqs/mègsiantis*, *mègsianti*
nèš-ti 'carry' – *nèšiqs/nèšiantis*, *nèšianti*
vèž-ti 'transport by a vehicle' – *vèšiqs/vèšiantis*, *vèšianti*

In the nominative plural, the long form of masculine future participles ends in *-ys*, which is an ending typical of *i-* stem nouns. It is mostly used to indicate qualities, e.g.:

d̄irb-si-ant-ys
diñg-si-ant-ys
válgy-si-ant-ys

The short form of the nominative plural of masculine future participles may replace the respective case form of feminine future participles, e.g.:

Dabaŗ grāzios diēnos būsiančios/ būsia. 'Now (maybe) the days will be beautiful.'
Āvys ištrūksiančios/ištrūksia. 'The sheep (I think/probably) will escape.'

Future active participles are declined in the same way as present active participles. In all the cases, future participles retain the same accentuation as the infinitive. Prefixes, except for the prefix *per-*, do not attract the stress.

Most frequently future participles are used in the nominative case.

DECLENSION OF FUTURE ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

Masculine gender (*ia*-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>dīrbsiaŗ</i>	<i>eīsiaŗ</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiaŗ</i>
Gen.	<i>dīrbsiančio</i>	<i>eīsiančio</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančio</i>
Dat.	<i>dīrbsiančiam</i>	<i>eīsiančiam</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančiam</i>
Acc.	<i>dīrbsiantŗ</i>	<i>eīsiantŗ</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiantŗ</i>
Instr.	<i>dīrbsiančiu</i>	<i>eīsiančiu</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančiu</i>
Loc.	<i>dīrbsiančiamē</i>	<i>eīsiančiamē</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančiamē</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dīrbsiantys</i>	<i>eīsiantys</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiantys</i>
Gen.	<i>dīrbsiančŗ</i>	<i>eīsiančŗ</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančŗ</i>
Dat.	<i>dīrbsiantiemŗ</i>	<i>eīsiantiemŗ</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiantiemŗ</i>
Acc.	<i>dīrbsiančŗus</i>	<i>eīsiančŗus</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančŗus</i>
Instr.	<i>dīrbsiančŗais</i>	<i>eīsiančŗais</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančŗais</i>
Loc.	<i>dīrbsiančŗuose</i>	<i>eīsiančŗuose</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančŗuose</i>

Feminine gender (*io*-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>dīrbsianti</i>	<i>eīsianti</i>	<i>raŗšŗsianti</i>
Gen.	<i>dīrbsiančios</i>	<i>eīsiančios</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančios</i>
Dat.	<i>dīrbsiančiam</i>	<i>eīsiančiam</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančiam</i>
Acc.	<i>dīrbsiančŗa</i>	<i>eīsiančŗa</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančŗa</i>
Instr.	<i>dīrbsiančŗa</i>	<i>eīsiančŗa</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančŗa</i>
Loc.	<i>dīrbsiančŗioŗē</i>	<i>eīsiančŗioŗē</i>	<i>raŗšŗsiančŗioŗē</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dīrbsiančios</i>	<i>eīšiančios</i>	<i>rašýšiančios</i>
Gen.	<i>dīrbsiančīų</i>	<i>eīšiančīų</i>	<i>rašýšiančīų</i>
Dat.	<i>dīrbsiančioms</i>	<i>eīšiančioms</i>	<i>rašýšiančioms</i>
Acc.	<i>dīrbsiančias</i>	<i>eīšiančias</i>	<i>rašýšiančias</i>
Instr.	<i>dīrbsiančiomis</i>	<i>eīšiančiomis</i>	<i>rašýšiančiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>dīrbsiančiose</i>	<i>eīšiančiose</i>	<i>rašýšiančiose</i>

GERUNDS (INDECLINABLE ACTIVE PARTICIPLES)

Pādalyviai

5.120 Four indeclinable forms of active participles are traditionally called gerunds. They are formed by adding the same suffixes to the same stems as any other active participle, the difference being the absence of case endings:

(1) **Present gerunds** are formed by adding the suffix *-nt* to the present tense stem of the verb:

<i>dīrba</i> 'works'	– <i>dīrbant</i>
<i>láukia</i> 'waits'	– <i>láuariant</i>
<i>tiki</i> 'believes'	– <i>tikint</i>

(2) **Past gerunds** are formed by dropping the final vowel of the preterit stem and adding the suffix *-(t)us-*:

<i>dīrb-o</i> 'worked'	– <i>dīrb-us</i>
<i>rāš-ė</i> 'wrote'	– <i>rāš-ius</i>
<i>tikėj-o</i> 'believed'	– <i>tikėj-us</i>

(3) **Past frequentative gerunds** are formed by adding to the infinitival stem the compound suffix *-dav-us*, which includes the frequentative past tense suffix *-dav-* and the preterit participial suffix *-us*:

<i>dīrb-ti</i> 'work'	– <i>dīrb-dav-us</i>
<i>láuuk-ti</i> 'wait'	– <i>láuuk-dav-us</i>
<i>tikė-ti</i> 'believe'	– <i>tikė-dav-us</i>
<i>rašý-ti</i> 'write'	– <i>rašý-dav-us</i>

(4) **Future gerunds** are formed by adding to the infinitival stem the compound suffix *-si-a-nt*, which includes the future tense suffix *-si-* and the participial suffix *-nt-*, joined to the first suffix with the vowel *a*:

<i>dīrb-ti</i>	<i>dīrb-si-a-nt</i>
<i>lāuk-ti</i>	<i>lāuk-si-a-nt</i>
<i>tikē-ti</i>	<i>tikē-si-a-nt</i>
<i>rašj-ti</i>	<i>rašj-si-a-nt</i>

Before the future tense suffix *-si-* the final consonants *s, z, š, ž* of the infinitival stem undergo the same changes as in the future tense finite forms and future active participles (see 5.119), i.e.:

$s + s \Rightarrow s$	$\check{s} + s \Rightarrow \check{s}$
$z + s \Rightarrow s$	$\check{z} + s \Rightarrow \check{z}$
<i>vès-ti vèsiant</i>	<i>nèš-ti nèšiant</i>
<i>mègz-ti mègsiant</i>	<i>vèž-ti vèšiant</i>

Gerunds retain the infinitive accentuation.

The formation of gerunds can be described in another way. One may derive them by dropping the ending *-i* from the accusative singular of the respective active participle:

<i>dīrbant-i – dīrbant</i>	<i>dīrbdavus-i – dīrbdavus</i>
<i>dīrbus-i – dīrbus</i>	<i>dīrbsiant-i – dīrbsiant</i>

Historically, however, gerunds evolved from the old dative masculine forms with a consonantal stem which have lost the ending *-i*.

Passive participles

Neveiktamieji daljvīvai

PRESENT PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

- 5.121** Present passive participles are formed by adding the suffix *-m-* and *a*-stem (masculine) and *o*-stem (feminine) adjectival endings to the present tense stem of the verbs.

<i>dīrb-a</i> ‘works’ – <i>dīrba-m-as, dīrba-m-à</i>
<i>mýl-i</i> ‘loves’ – <i>mýli-m-as, myli-m-à</i>
<i>rāš-o</i> ‘writes’ – <i>rāšo-m-as, rāšo-m-a</i>

The passive participle of the verb *būti* ‘be’ is formed from the stem *es-* (cf., *es-ù, es-i, ěs-ti*), which is different from the usual 3rd person form *yrà*. The passive participial suffix *-m-* is joined to the stem *es-* with the vowel *a*:

ēs-a-m-as, es-a-m-à

Participles created from verbs of the 3rd conjugation and verbs containing suffixes retain the same stress pattern which is encountered in the finite forms of the present tense. Their stress pattern is the same as that of the adjectives belonging to Accentuation Class 1.

		Singular		Plural	
<i>skaīto</i> 'reads'	Nom.	<i>skaītomas</i>	<i>skaītoma</i>	<i>skaītomi</i>	<i>skaītomos</i>
	Gen.	<i>skaītomo</i>	<i>skaītomos</i>	<i>skaītomu</i>	<i>skaītomu</i>
	Dat.	<i>skaītomam</i>	<i>skaītomai</i>	<i>skaītomiems</i>	<i>skaītomoms</i>
<i>gyvėna</i> 'lives'	Nom.	<i>gyvėnamas</i>	<i>gyvėnama</i>	<i>gyvėnami</i>	<i>gyvėnamos</i>
	Gen.	<i>gyvėnamo</i>	<i>gyvėnamos</i>	<i>gyvėnamų</i>	<i>gyvėnamų</i>
	Dat.	<i>gyvėnamam</i>	<i>gyvėnamai</i>	<i>gyvėnamiems</i>	<i>gyvėnamoms</i>

Participles formed from bisyllabic verbs of the 1st and 2nd conjugations usually follow the stress pattern typical of adjectives belonging to the 3rd accentuation class, e.g.:

		Singular		Plural	
<i>nėša</i> 'carries'	Nom.	<i>nėšamas</i>	<i>nešamà</i>	<i>nešamì</i>	<i>nėšamos</i>
	Gen.	<i>nėšamo</i>	<i>nešamōs</i>	<i>nešamų</i>	<i>nešamų</i>
	Dat.	<i>nešamám</i>	<i>nėšamai</i>	<i>nešamiems</i>	<i>nešamóms</i>
<i>láukia</i> 'waits'	Nom.	<i>láukiamas</i>	<i>laukiamà</i>	<i>laukiamì</i>	<i>láukiamos</i>
	Gen.	<i>láukiamo</i>	<i>laukiamōs</i>	<i>laukiamų</i>	<i>laukiamų</i>
	Dat.	<i>laukiamám</i>	<i>láukiamai</i>	<i>laukiamiems</i>	<i>laukiamóms</i>

However, if the verbs belonging to the 1st and 2nd conjugations carry the acute toneme, the accentuation of present passive participles formed from them may follow the pattern typical of adjectives of the 1st accentuation class, i.e. their accentuation may be fixed, e.g. *mýlimas*, *mýlima*; *láukiamas*, *láukiama*.

Prefixed participles are accented like their respective non-prefixed counterparts if the prefix does not attract the stress in the finite present tense verb from which the participle is formed, e.g.:

<i>nemýli</i> 'doesn't love'	<i>nemýlimas</i>	<i>nemylimà</i>	cf. <i>mýlimas</i> , -à
<i>sulañksto</i> 'folds'	<i>sulañkstomas</i>	<i>sulañkstoma</i>	cf. <i>lañkstomas</i> , -a

If the prefix attracts the stress in the finite present tense forms, the prefixed present passive participle is stressed like adjectives belonging to the 3rd accentuation class, i.e. some of the case forms are stressed on the prefix, some on the ending (see the declension pattern below).

DECLENSION OF PRESENT PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

Masculine gender (a-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>d̄irbamas</i>	<i>gālimas</i>	<i>rāšomas</i>	<i>īžiūrīmas</i>	<i>nūgalimas</i>
Gen.	<i>d̄irbamo</i>	<i>gālīmo</i>	<i>rāšomo</i>	<i>īžiūrīmo</i>	<i>nūgalīmo</i>
Dat.	<i>d̄irbamám</i>	<i>galīmám</i>	<i>rāšomam</i>	<i>īžiūrīmám</i>	<i>nugalīmám</i>
Acc.	<i>d̄irbama</i>	<i>gālīma</i>	<i>rāšoma</i>	<i>īžiūrīma</i>	<i>nūgalīma</i>
Instr.	<i>d̄irbamu</i>	<i>gālīmu</i>	<i>rāšomu</i>	<i>īžiūrīmu</i>	<i>nūgalīmu</i>
Loc.	<i>d̄irbamamē</i>	<i>galīmamē</i>	<i>rāšomame</i>	<i>īžiūrīmamē</i>	<i>nugalīmamē</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>d̄irbamī</i>	<i>galīmī</i>	<i>rāšomī</i>	<i>īžiūrīmī</i>	<i>nugalīmī</i>
Gen.	<i>d̄irbamū</i>	<i>galīmū</i>	<i>rāšomū</i>	<i>īžiūrīmū</i>	<i>nugalīmū</i>
Dat.	<i>d̄irbamīems</i>	<i>galīmīems</i>	<i>rāšomīems</i>	<i>īžiūrīmīems</i>	<i>nugalīmīems</i>
Acc.	<i>d̄irbamus</i>	<i>gālīmus</i>	<i>rāšomus</i>	<i>īžiūrīmus</i>	<i>nūgalīmus</i>
Instr.	<i>d̄irbamaīs</i>	<i>galīmaīs</i>	<i>rāšomaīs</i>	<i>īžiūrīmaīs</i>	<i>nugalīmaīs</i>
Loc.	<i>d̄irbamuosē</i>	<i>galīmuosē</i>	<i>rāšomuose</i>	<i>īžiūrīmuosē</i>	<i>nugalīmuosē</i>

Feminine gender (o-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>d̄irbamà</i>	<i>galīmà</i>	<i>rāšoma</i>	<i>īžiūrīmà</i>	<i>nugalīmà</i>
Gen.	<i>d̄irbamōs</i>	<i>galīmōs</i>	<i>rāšomos</i>	<i>īžiūrīmōs</i>	<i>nugalīmōs</i>
Dat.	<i>d̄irbamai</i>	<i>gālīmai</i>	<i>rāšomai</i>	<i>īžiūrīmai</i>	<i>nūgalīmai</i>
Acc.	<i>d̄irbama</i>	<i>gālīma</i>	<i>rāšoma</i>	<i>īžiūrīma</i>	<i>nūgalīma</i>
Instr.	<i>d̄irbama</i>	<i>gālīma</i>	<i>rāšoma</i>	<i>īžiūrīma</i>	<i>nūgalīma</i>
Loc.	<i>d̄irbamojē</i>	<i>galīmojē</i>	<i>rāšomoje</i>	<i>īžiūrīmojē</i>	<i>nugalīmojē</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>d̄irbamos</i>	<i>gālīmos</i>	<i>rāšomos</i>	<i>īžiūrīmos</i>	<i>nūgalīmos</i>
Gen.	<i>d̄irbamū</i>	<i>galīmū</i>	<i>rāšomū</i>	<i>īžiūrīmū</i>	<i>nugalīmū</i>
Dat.	<i>d̄irbamóms</i>	<i>galīmóms</i>	<i>rāšomoms</i>	<i>īžiūrīmóms</i>	<i>nugalīmóms</i>
Acc.	<i>d̄irbamas</i>	<i>gālīmas</i>	<i>rāšomas</i>	<i>īžiūrīmas</i>	<i>nūgalīmas</i>
Instr.	<i>d̄irbamomīs</i>	<i>galīmomīs</i>	<i>rāšomomīs</i>	<i>īžiūrīmomīs</i>	<i>nugalīmomīs</i>
Loc.	<i>d̄irbamosē</i>	<i>galīmosē</i>	<i>rāšomose</i>	<i>īžiūrīmosē</i>	<i>nugalīmosē</i>

PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

5.122 Past passive participles are formed by adding the suffix *-t-* and the adjectival *a*-stem (masculine) or *o*-stem (feminine) endings to the infinitival stem, e.g.:

<i>dìrb-ti</i> 'work' –	<i>dìrb-t-as, dìrb-t-à</i>
<i>eĩ-ti</i> 'go' –	<i>eĩ-t-as, ei-t-à</i>
<i>mylě-ti</i> 'love' –	<i>mylě-t-as, mylě-t-a</i>
<i>kartó-ti</i> 'repeat' –	<i>kartó-t-as, kartó-t-a</i>

Participles formed from infinitival stems containing suffixes retain the stress pattern of the infinitive, i.e., they belong to Accentuation Class 1, e.g.:

<i>girděti</i> 'hear' –	<i>girdětas, girděta</i>
<i>rašýti</i> 'write' –	<i>rašýtas, rašýta</i>

Participles formed from verbs which contain no suffixes and bear the acute toneme on the stressed syllable follow the stress pattern of Accentuation Class 3, e.g.:

<i>dìrbti</i> 'work' –	<i>dìrbtas, dirbtà</i> (like <i>báltas, baltà</i> 'white')
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Due to dialectal influences, however, these participles may sometimes have fixed stress on the same syllable in all forms, e.g.:

<i>láukti</i> 'wait' –	<i>láuktas, lauktà/láukta</i>
<i>léisti</i> 'permit' –	<i>léistas, leistà/léista</i>

Participles with a short accented root vowel or the circumflex toneme on the root syllable follow the stress pattern of Accentuation Class 4, e.g.:

<i>mùšti</i> 'beat' –	<i>mùštas, muštà</i>
<i>eĩti</i> 'go' –	<i>eĩtas, eità</i> (cf. <i>gěras, gerà</i> 'good')

The stressed vowels *a* and *e* in the root of past participles of the passive voice are (according to the traditional norm) long and have the circumflex toneme, e.g.:

<i>mèsti</i> 'throw' –	<i>městas, mestà</i>
<i>něšti</i> 'carry' –	<i>něštas, neštà</i>
<i>ràsti</i> 'find' –	<i>ràstas, rastà</i>
<i>kàsti</i> 'dig' –	<i>kàstas, kastà</i>

In colloquial speech, however, these participles now tend to retain the short vowel of the infinitive, cf.:

mèstas, něštas, ràstas, kàstas

Prefixed participles formed from infinitival stems containing suffixes retain the stress pattern of the infinitive in all their forms, e.g.:

<i>aprašýti</i> 'describe' –	<i>aprašýtas, aprašýta</i>
<i>įžiūrėti</i> 'discern' –	<i>įžiūrėtas, įžiūrėta</i>
<i>pakartóti</i> 'repeat' –	<i>pakartótas, pakartóta</i>

Prefixed participles formed from infinitival stems which contain no suffixes are accented in two ways. If the infinitive bears the acute toneme, the stress in the participle is not attracted to the prefix and thus the prefixed participles are stressed like their respective non-prefixed counterparts, e.g.:

<i>išráuti</i> 'uproot' –	<i>išráutas, išrautà</i>
<i>praléisti</i> 'omit' –	<i>praléistas, praleistà</i>

If the infinitive contains a short stressed vowel or its root bears the circumflex toneme, the stress in the participle is attracted to the prefix or moved to the ending (accentuation class 3^b), e.g.:

<i>nukirpti</i> 'cut off' –	<i>nùkirptas, nukirptà</i>
<i>atnèšti</i> 'bring' –	<i>àtneštas, atneštà</i>
<i>atràsti</i> 'find' –	<i>àtrastas, atrastà</i>

DECLENSION OF PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

Masculine gender (*a*-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>dirbtas</i>	<i>mùštas</i>	<i>rašýtas</i>	<i>nùkirptas</i>	<i>àtneštas</i>
Gen.	<i>dirbto</i>	<i>mùšto</i>	<i>rašýto</i>	<i>nùkirpto</i>	<i>àtnešto</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbtám</i>	<i>muštám</i>	<i>rašýtam</i>	<i>nukirptám</i>	<i>atneštám</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbtą</i>	<i>mùštą</i>	<i>rašýtą</i>	<i>nùkirptą</i>	<i>àtneštą</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbtu</i>	<i>muštù</i>	<i>rašýtu</i>	<i>nùkirptu</i>	<i>àtneštu</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbtamè</i>	<i>muštamè</i>	<i>rašýtame</i>	<i>nukirptamè</i>	<i>atneštamè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dirbtì</i>	<i>muštì</i>	<i>rašýti</i>	<i>nukirptì</i>	<i>atneštì</i>
Gen.	<i>dirbtų</i>	<i>muštų</i>	<i>rašýtų</i>	<i>nukirptų</i>	<i>atneštų</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbtìems</i>	<i>muštìems</i>	<i>rašýtiems</i>	<i>nukirptìems</i>	<i>atneštìems</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbtus</i>	<i>muštùs</i>	<i>rašýtus</i>	<i>nùkirptus</i>	<i>àtneštus</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbtaĩs</i>	<i>muštaĩs</i>	<i>rašýtaĩs</i>	<i>nukirptaĩs</i>	<i>atneštaĩs</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbtuosè</i>	<i>muštuosè</i>	<i>rašýtuose</i>	<i>nukirptuosè</i>	<i>atneštuosè</i>

Feminine gender (*o*-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>dirbtà</i>	<i>muštà</i>	<i>rašýta</i>	<i>nukirptà</i>	<i>atneštà</i>
Gen.	<i>dirbtōs</i>	<i>muštōs</i>	<i>rašýtos</i>	<i>nukirptōs</i>	<i>atneštōs</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbtai</i>	<i>mūštai</i>	<i>rašýtai</i>	<i>nūkirptai</i>	<i>àtneštai</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbtą</i>	<i>mūštą</i>	<i>rašýtą</i>	<i>nūkirptą</i>	<i>àtneštą</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbta</i>	<i>muštà</i>	<i>rašýta</i>	<i>nūkirpta</i>	<i>àtnešta</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbtojè</i>	<i>muštojè</i>	<i>rašýtoje</i>	<i>nukirptojè</i>	<i>atneštojè</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dirbtos</i>	<i>mūštos</i>	<i>rašýtos</i>	<i>nūkirptos</i>	<i>àtneštos</i>
Gen.	<i>dirbtū</i>	<i>muštū</i>	<i>rašýtū</i>	<i>nukirptū</i>	<i>atneštū</i>
Dat.	<i>dirbtóms</i>	<i>muštóms</i>	<i>rašýtoms</i>	<i>nukirptóms</i>	<i>atneštóms</i>
Acc.	<i>dirbtas</i>	<i>muštàs</i>	<i>rašýtas</i>	<i>nūkirptas</i>	<i>àtneštas</i>
Instr.	<i>dirbtomìs</i>	<i>muštomìs</i>	<i>rašýtomìs</i>	<i>nukirptomìs</i>	<i>atneštomìs</i>
Loc.	<i>dirbtosè</i>	<i>muštosè</i>	<i>rašýtose</i>	<i>nukirptosè</i>	<i>atneštosè</i>

FUTURE PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

5.123 Future passive participles are formed by adding the compound suffix *-si-m-*, which includes the future tense suffix *-si-* and the suffix *-m-* of present passive participles, and the adjectival *a*-stem (for the masculine gender) or *o*-stem (for the feminine gender) endings, e.g.:

dìrbti 'work' – *dìrb-si-m-as*, *dìrb-si-m-à*
bùti 'be' – *bù-si-m-as*, *bù-si-m-à*

Before the compound suffix *-si-m-* the final consonants *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž* of the infinitival stem undergo changes similar to those in the formation of the finite forms of the future tense, i.e.:

$s + s \Rightarrow s$

$š + s \Rightarrow š$

$z + s \Rightarrow s$

$ž + s \Rightarrow š$

vèsti 'lead' – *vèsimas*, *vesimà*

nèšti 'carry' – *nèšimas*, *nešimà*

mègzti 'knit' – *mègsimas*, *mègsimà*

vèžti 'transport with a vehicle' – *vèšimas*,
vešimà

Except for the participle *bùsimas*, *bùsimà*, future passive participles are rarely used.

Future passive participles are declined like present passive participles.

Future passive participles are accented as follows:

(1) participles formed from infinitival stems containing a suffix retain the same accentuation which is encountered in the infinitive, e.g.:

rašýti 'write' – *rašýsimas*, *rašýsima*

(2) participles formed from simple infinitival stems which contain no suffix follow the stress pattern of adjectives of Accentuation Class 3, e.g.:

	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>búsimas</i>	<i>búsimà</i>	<i>būsimì</i>	<i>búsimos</i>
Gen.	<i>búsimo</i>	<i>búsimōs</i>	<i>būsimŭ</i>	<i>būsimŭ</i>
Dat.	<i>búsimám</i>	<i>búsimai</i>	<i>būsimiems</i>	<i>būsimóms</i>
Acc.	<i>búsimą</i>	<i>búsimą</i>	<i>būsimus</i>	<i>búsimas</i>
Instr.	<i>búsimu</i>	<i>búsimà</i>	<i>būsimaiš</i>	<i>būsimomiš</i>
Loc.	<i>būsimamè</i>	<i>būsimojè</i>	<i>būsimuosè</i>	<i>būsimosè</i>

Neuter participles

5.124 Participles (with the exception of half-participles) possess neuter forms, which most often function as predicates in impersonal sentences, in sentences with the pronouns *viskas*, *visa*, *taĩ* and several others as the subject, and in other sentence patterns typical of neuter adjectives (see 2.4).

The neuter forms of active participles coincide with the short masculine forms of the nominative plural. Most frequent are neuter forms in the past and past frequentative, e.g.:

<i>Viskas sušlāpē.</i>	'Everything has got wet.'
<i>Nāktį palýdavē.</i>	'At night it used to rain.'
<i>Kiek daũg prisnìgē.</i>	'How much snow there is.'
<i>Buvo jau sutēmē.</i>	'It was already dark.'
<i>Visuř priplēkē.</i>	'There's mold everywhere.'

The neuter forms of passive participles have the ending *-a*, which is never stressed, e.g.:

<i>Taiř nedāroma.</i>	'This is not done.'
<i>Nūtarta visiems eĩti draugē.</i>	'It has been decided that all should go together.'
<i>Sākoma, kad štuosè namuosè vaidēnasi.</i>	'They say this is a haunted house.'
<i>Kàs čia parašýta?</i>	'What is written here?'

Reflexive participles

5.125 The reflexive active participles without prefixes are formed by adding the reflexive formant to the ending of the nominative case. Only short nominative singular and plural masculine forms of active non-prefixed participles can be reflexive. In the singular they have the vowel *i* inserted before the shorter variant of the reflexive formant, e.g.:

	Masc.	Fem.
Present	<i>d̄irbq̄s-i-s</i>	<i>d̄irbanti-s</i>
Past	<i>d̄irbq̄s-i-s</i>	<i>d̄irbusi-s</i>
Past freq.	<i>d̄irbdav̄es-is</i>	<i>d̄irbdavusi-s</i>
Future	<i>d̄irbsiq̄s-is</i>	<i>d̄irbsianti-s</i>

In the plural the reflexive formant in its full form *-si* is added. It undergoes contraction with the final *-s* in feminine forms (*d̄irbančios-si* → *d̄irbančiosi*), e.g.:

	Masc.	Fem.
Present	<i>d̄irbq̄-si</i>	<i>d̄irbančiosi</i>
Past	<i>d̄irbq̄-si</i>	<i>d̄irbusiosi</i>
Past freq.	<i>d̄irbdav̄e-si</i>	<i>d̄irbdavusiosi</i>
Future	<i>d̄irbsiq̄-si</i>	<i>d̄irbsiančiosi</i>

The same contraction is observed in the feminine plural forms of the reflexive half-participles (*d̄irbdamos-si* → *d̄irbdamosi*). The reflexive half-participles retain the nominative plural ending *-ie-* before the reflexive formant, e.g.:

	Masc.	Fem.
Sg.	<i>d̄irbdamas-i-s</i>	<i>d̄irbdama-si</i>
Pl.	<i>d̄irbdamie-si</i>	<i>d̄irbdamosi</i>

The singular feminine form of reflexive half-participles sometimes preserves the long vowel *-o-* before the reflexive formant and coincides with the plural feminine form, e.g.: *d̄irbdamosi*, *nèšdamosi*.

The non-prefixed reflexive gerunds are formed by adding the shorter form of the reflexive formant with the inserted vowel *i* (i.e. *-is*) to the suffix, e.g.:

Present	<i>d̄irbant-i-s</i>	Past freq.	<i>d̄irbdavus-i-s</i>
Past	<i>d̄irbus-i-s</i>	Future	<i>d̄irbsiant-i-s</i>

The non-prefixed reflexive active participles (including gerunds) retain the stress and toneme of the corresponding simple (non-reflexive) participles.

5.126 In the sentence the nominative forms of non-prefixed reflexive participles usually function as predicates denoting indirect experience, e.g.:

Pirkl̥ys gul̥s s̥avo vežim̥e ir juñt̥as, kad po l̥angu laūm̥ės šn̥ėkančiosi.

'The merchant (the say) is lying in his cart and he hears the fairies talking under the window.'

Tai t̥oks m̥iškas tr̥auk̥ęsis per Lietuv̥os ž̥em̥ę.

'So such were (according to hearsay) the woods that extended across the Lithuanian land.'

Gird̥ėjau, ryt̥oj ji̥ rengi̥ąsi į keli̥on̥ę.

'I heard they are going on a journey tomorrow.'

The non-prefixed reflexive participles in Modern Lithuanian are not inflected for case. In the various case functions (except the nominative) they are replaced by the forms of the corresponding reflexive participles with the affix *be-*, e.g.:

Present participle

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>ju̯dkia̯sis, ju̯dkiantis</i>	<i>ju̯dkia̯si, ju̯dkiančiosi</i>
Gen.	<i>besiju̯dkiančio, besiju̯dkiančios</i>	<i>besiju̯dkiančių</i>
Dat.	<i>besiju̯dkiančiam, besiju̯dkiančiai</i>	<i>besiju̯dkiantiems, besiju̯dkiančioms</i>
Acc.	<i>besiju̯dkiantį, besiju̯dkiančią</i>	<i>besiju̯dkiančius, besiju̯dkiančias, etc.</i>

Past participle

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>ju̯dkęsis, ju̯dkusis</i>	<i>ju̯dkęsi, ju̯dkusiosi</i>
Gen.	<i>besiju̯dkusto, besiju̯dkusios</i>	<i>besiju̯dkusių</i>
Dat.	<i>besiju̯kustiam, besiju̯kusiai</i>	<i>besiju̯kusiems, besiju̯kusioms</i>
Acc.	<i>besiju̯kusi, besiju̯kusią</i>	<i>besiju̯kustus, besiju̯kusias, etc.</i>

5.127 In prefixed active participles, half-participles and gerunds, the reflexive formant *-si-* is inserted between the prefix (including the affixes *be-*, *te-*, *tebe-*, *ne-*) and the root, e.g.:

Infinitive	<i>apsidair̥yti</i> 'look around'	<i>nesitik̥ėti</i> 'not to expect'
Present	<i>ap-si-daĩrantis</i> <i>ap-si-daĩranti</i>	<i>ne-si-tikintis</i> <i>ne-si-tikinti</i>
Past	<i>ap-si-daĩręs</i> <i>ap-si-daĩrtusi</i>	<i>ne-si-tikėjęs</i> <i>ne-si-tikėjusi</i>
Past freq.	<i>ap-si-dair̥ydavęs</i> <i>ap-si-dair̥ydavusi</i>	<i>ne-si-tikėdavęs</i> <i>ne-si-tikėdavusi</i>

Future	<i>ap-si-dairýsiaq</i>	<i>ne-si-tikėšiaq</i>
	<i>ap-si-dairýsianti</i>	<i>ne-si-tikėsianti</i>
Half-participle	<i>ap-si-dairýdamas</i>	<i>ne-si-tikėdamas</i>
	<i>ap-si-dairýdama</i>	<i>ne-si-tikėdama</i>
Present gerund	<i>ap-si-daĩrant</i>	<i>ne-si-tikint</i>
Past gerund	<i>ap-si-daĩrtus</i>	<i>ne-si-tikėjus</i>
Past freq. gerund	<i>ap-si-dairýdavus</i>	<i>ne-si-tikėdavus</i>
Future gerund	<i>ap-si-dairýsiant</i>	<i>ne-si-tikėsiant</i>

Reflexive active participles are declined like their non-reflexive counterparts with one exception concerning the present participles and gerunds. If the stress falls on the prefix of a present active participle or gerund, it shifts to the reflexive formant *-si-* in their reflexive counterparts (just like in the reflexive finite forms), e.g.:

<i>àtnešantis – atsinešantis</i>	<i>atsinešant</i>	cf.: <i>atsineša</i> ‘brings’
<i>àtnešanti – atsinešanti</i>		
<i>nùperkantis – nusìperkantis</i>	<i>nusìperkant</i>	cf.: <i>nusìperka</i> ‘buys’
<i>nùperkanti – nusìperkanti</i>		

The masculine and feminine forms of reflexive passive participles are created only from prefixed verbs (including those with the negative prefix *ne-*). The reflexive formant *-si-* is inserted between the prefix and the root, e.g.:

Present Passive		Past Passive	
<i>pa-si-dirbamas</i>	<i>pa-si-dirbamà</i>	<i>pa-si-dirbtas</i>	<i>pa-si-dirbtà</i>
<i>nu-si-rāšomas</i>	<i>nu-si-rāšoma</i>	<i>nu-si-rašýtas</i>	<i>nu-si-rašýta</i>
<i>nu-si-vežamas</i>	<i>nu-si-vežamà</i>	<i>nu-si-vežtas</i>	<i>nu-si-vežtà</i>

These forms are declined and accented like their non-reflexive counterparts, except that those with a stressed prefix move the stress to the formant *-si-*, e.g.:

<i>àtnešamas</i>	<i>atnešamà –</i>	<i>atsinešamas</i>	<i>atsinešamà</i>
<i>àtneštas</i>	<i>atneštà –</i>	<i>atsineštas</i>	<i>atsineštà</i>

5.128 The neuter forms of reflexive passive participles can be formed both from prefixed and non-prefixed verbs. In non-prefixed neuter passive participles the formant *-si-* is added to the ending *-a*. These forms are accented like their non-reflexive counterparts, e.g.:

<i>juðkiama-si</i>	<i>praũsiamas-si</i>
<i>juðkta-si</i>	<i>praũstas-si</i>

In prefixed neuter participles the formant *-si-* is inserted, as in all the other forms, between the prefix and the root. The accentuation of prefixed neuter participles

is the same as that of the accusative singular of the corresponding masculine and feminine forms, e.g.:

<i>pa-si-dāroma</i>	<i>nu-si-rāšoma</i>	<i>ne-sì-vežama</i>
<i>pa-si-darýta</i>	<i>nu-si-rašýta</i>	<i>ne-sì-vežta</i>

Definite participles

5.129 The definite forms of active participles are derived and declined like definite *ia*-stem (masculine) and *io*-stem (feminine) adjectives (see *geresnýsis*, *geresnióji* ‘the better one’ in 2.34). In forming definite masculine forms of active participles, the definite formant is added to the long nominative case forms, which retain the long vowel before the definite formant:

	Simple form	Definite form
Present	<i>ðirbantis</i>	<i>ðirbantysts</i>
	<i>týlintis</i>	<i>týlintysts</i>
	<i>rāšantis</i>	<i>rāšantysts</i>
Past	<i>ðirbusis</i>	<i>ðirbusysts</i>
	<i>tylėjusis</i>	<i>tylėjusysts</i>
	<i>rāštusis</i>	<i>rāštusysts</i>
Future	<i>ðirbsiantis</i>	<i>ðirbsiantysts</i>
	<i>tylėsiantis</i>	<i>tylėsiantysts</i>
	<i>rašýsiantis</i>	<i>rašýsiantysts</i>

In the nominative plural, masculine forms retain the diphthong *ie* in their endings, e.g.:

Present	Past	Future
<i>ðirbantieji</i>	<i>ðirbusieji</i>	<i>ðirbsiantieji</i>
<i>týlintieji</i>	<i>tylėjusieji</i>	<i>tylėsiantieji</i>
<i>rāšantieji</i>	<i>rāštusieji</i>	<i>rašýsiantieji</i>

The nominative singular feminine definite participles are formed like feminine definite adjectives:

Present	Past	Future
<i>ðirbanč-io-ji</i>	<i>ðirbus-io-ji</i>	<i>ðirbsianč-io-ji</i>
<i>týlinč-io-ji</i>	<i>tylėjus-io-ji</i>	<i>tylėsianč-io-ji</i>
<i>rāšanč-io-ji</i>	<i>rāštus-io-ji</i>	<i>rašýsianč-io-ji</i>

The old nominative singular forms of feminine definite participles, containing

the participial ending *-i* (*dirbanti-ji*, *gimusi-ji*, etc.) have become almost entirely extinct and are only to be found in old writings and some dialects.

Since half-participles and gerunds are not used to denote qualities, they do not possess any definite forms. This fact can also explain why definite forms are not typical of frequentative past active participles.

The definite forms of active participles are accented like the respective simple forms, but if the short masculine form of the simple participle carries the stress on the ending, the nominative form of the respective definite participle also moves the stress to the ending, e.g.:

<i>nešāš</i>	<i>nešantýsis</i>
<i>tikš</i>	<i>tikintýsis</i>
<i>slenkāš</i>	<i>slenkantýsis</i>

5.130 The definite forms of passive participles are derived and declined exactly in the same way as *a*-stem (masculine) and *o*-stem (feminine) definite adjectives, e.g.:

<i>dirbamāsis</i>	<i>dirbamóji</i>
<i>dirbtāsis</i>	<i>dirbtóji</i>
cf.: <i>geltonāsis</i>	<i>geltonóji</i>
<i>gerāsis</i>	<i>geróji</i> (see 2.34).

Definite passive participles formed from *o*-stem verbs (Conjugation 3) or from verbs with a suffix retain the same stress pattern as the respective simple participles, e.g.:

<i>virtójamās</i>	<i>virtójama</i>	–	<i>virtójamās</i>	<i>virtójamoji</i>
<i>virtótās</i>	<i>virtóta</i>	–	<i>virtótās</i>	<i>virtótoji</i>
<i>ródomās</i>	<i>ródoma</i>	–	<i>ródomās</i>	<i>ródomojo</i>
<i>ródytās</i>	<i>ródyta</i>	–	<i>ródytās</i>	<i>ródytoji</i>

Definite passive participles formed from simple verbs belonging to Conjugation 1 or 2 are accented like definite adjectives with a shifting stress, e.g., *nešamāsis*, *nešamóji*, *gulimāsis*, *gulimóji* are accented like *geltonāsis*, *geltonóji*; *neštāsis*, *neštóji*, *dirbtāsis*, *dirbtóji* are accented like *baltāsis*, *baltóji* (see 2.41).

The stress in the definite forms of present passive participles formed from verbs of Conjugation 3 or from verbs with a suffix also tends to become mobile, particularly when the participle acquires an adjectival or substantival meaning, e.g.:

<i>rašomāsis</i>	<i>rašomóji</i> 'writing' (e.g. table)
<i>gyvenamāsis</i>	<i>gyvenamóji</i> 'living' (e.g. room)

DECLENSION OF DEFINITE ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

Masculine gender (ia-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>dìrbantysis</i>	<i>dìrbusysis</i>	<i>dìrbsiantysis</i>
Gen.	<i>dìrbančiojo</i>	<i>dìrbusiojo</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiojo</i>
Dat.	<i>dìrbančiajam</i>	<i>dìrbusiajam</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiajam</i>
Acc.	<i>dìrbantįjį</i>	<i>dìrbusįjį</i>	<i>dìrbsiantįjį</i>
Instr.	<i>dìrbančiuoju</i>	<i>dìrbusiuoju</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiuoju</i>
Loc.	<i>dìrbančiajame</i>	<i>dìrbusiajame</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiajame</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dìrbantieji</i>	<i>dìrbusieji</i>	<i>dìrbsiantieji</i>
Gen.	<i>dìrbančiųjų</i>	<i>dìrbusiųjų</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiųjų</i>
Dat.	<i>dìrbantiesiems</i>	<i>dìrbusiesiems</i>	<i>dìrbsiantiesiems</i>
Acc.	<i>dìrbančiuosius</i>	<i>dìrbusiuosius</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiuosius</i>
Instr.	<i>dìrbančiaisiais</i>	<i>dìrbustaisiais</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiaisiais</i>
Loc.	<i>dìrbančiuosiuose</i>	<i>dìrbusiuosiuose</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiuosiuose</i>

Feminine gender (o-stem)

Singular

Nom.	<i>dìrbančioji</i>	<i>dìrbusioji</i>	<i>dìrbsiančioji</i>
Gen.	<i>dìrbančiosios</i>	<i>dìrbusiosios</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiosios</i>
Dat.	<i>dìrbančiajai</i>	<i>dìrbusiajai</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiajai</i>
Acc.	<i>dìrbančiąją</i>	<i>dìrbusiąją</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiąją</i>
Instr.	<i>dìrbančiąja</i>	<i>dìrbusiąja</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiąja</i>
Loc.	<i>dìrbančiojoje</i>	<i>dìrbusiojoje</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiojoje</i>

Plural

Nom.	<i>dìrbančiosios</i>	<i>dìrbusiosios</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiosios</i>
Gen.	<i>dìrbančiųjų</i>	<i>dìrbusiųjų</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiųjų</i>
Dat.	<i>dìrbančiosioms</i>	<i>dìrbusiosioms</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiosioms</i>
Acc.	<i>dìrbančiąsias</i>	<i>dìrbusiąsias</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiąsias</i>
Instr.	<i>dìrbančiosiomis</i>	<i>dìrbusiosiomis</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiosiomis</i>
Loc.	<i>dìrbančiosiose</i>	<i>dìrbusiosiose</i>	<i>dìrbsiančiosiose</i>

Meaning and usage of participles

5.131 Lithuanian participles possess a great variety of grammatical meanings, which depend upon the syntactic relations of the participle within a sentence. From

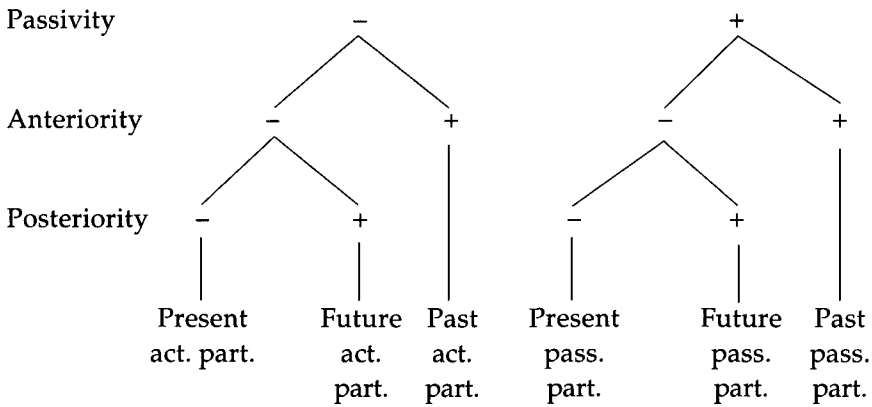
the syntactic point of view it is possible to distinguish three kinds of participial usage: attributive, semi-predicative and predicative.

ATTRIBUTIVE USAGE

5.132 Attributive participles combine with nouns and agree with them in gender, number and case. They denote properties which, depending upon the tense of the participle, are associated with the present, past or future.

Attributive usage is typical of all declinable participial forms, except half-participles (which are, in fact, adverbial present active participles) and frequentative past active participles. The meanings of attributive participles can best be described by oppositions based on three distinctive semantic features: passivity, anteriority and posteriority.

Relations among attributive participles



5.133 Present active participles being the unmarked members of the above oppositions indicate properties associated with (1) an action taking place simultaneously with the action denoted by the predicate, or (2) a regular, habitual action, e.g.:

(1) *Visì geraĩ mātè artějantĩ tráukinj.* 'Everybody could see well the approaching train.'

(2) *Těkantīs vanduõ švarèsnīs už stóvintĩ.* 'Flowing water is cleaner than still (water).'

Present active participles are most often formed from verbs of imperfective meaning. Even when they denote properties associated with regular, habitual

actions present participles mostly retain the meaning of the active voice and the verbal government of cases, cf.:

<i>ligàs gyđantis vanduð</i>	‘water curing diseases’
<i>dárbus išmānantis úkininkas</i>	‘a farmer knowledgeable about various jobs’

5.134 Past active participles possess the meaning of anteriority and indicate properties, associated with actions which took place prior to the action or state denoted by the predicate, e.g.:

<i>Móters žviļgsnį patráukè tolumðj pasiródes žmogùs.</i>	‘The woman’s eye was attracted by the man who had appeared in the distance.’
<i>Vaikas ilgaĩ trýnè sušálusias rankàs.</i>	‘The child rubbed his frozen hands for a long time.’

Past active participles are most often made from prefixed resultative verbs with the perfective meaning. If the resultative meaning is predominant, its relation to the previous action may fade out and then the participle denotes a permanent property, e.g.:

<i>pasiùtes šuð</i>	‘rabid dog’
<i>išdýkës vaikas</i>	‘naughty child’
<i>suáugusi merginà</i>	‘grown up girl’

Perfective meaning is also typical of a great number of participles which are made from non-prefixed verbs, e.g.:

<i>vēdës jaunikáittis</i>	‘married young man’
<i>rúgusis píenas</i>	‘sour milk’
<i>mirusi sesuð</i>	‘dead sister’

Even in such cases active participles don’t lose the meaning of the active voice and they never become true adjectives.

Past active participles formed from non-prefixed verbs sometimes can possess imperfective meaning and denote properties derived from an action which had been taking place for some time in the past, but such cases are not frequent, and they mostly occur in written language, e.g.:

<i>Sárgas, stovējës už dūru, iējo ĩ kambarį.</i>	‘The watchman, who had been standing behind the door, entered the room.’
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5.135 Future active participles indicate properties associated with a foreseen (posterior) action. These participles are rarely used as attributes.

<i>Laūmēs pradējo lemti gīmsiančiam kādīktiui atettīšs gyvēnīma.</i>	'The fairies began to foretell the future life of the baby who was to be born.'
<i>Atēisiančios žiemōs ilgūmo nežīnom.</i>	'We do not know the length of the coming winter.'

5.136 Present passive participles denote properties associated with the action taking place at present or with a habitual regular action.

Participles with the passive meaning are formed from verbs (mostly transitive verbs) which govern a direct object. The object of a passive participle is usually expressed by the head word modified by that participle, e.g.:

<i>mýlimas draūgas</i>	'beloved friend'
<i>pažīstamas žmogūs</i>	'an acquaintance' (lit. 'acquainted man')
<i>žīnomas kēlias</i>	'(well-)known way'
<i>láukiamas svēčias</i>	'welcome visitor'

Some of these participles, particularly those formed from prefixed verbs, denote a property associated with a habitual (generalized) action and, at the same time, the possibility of performing that action, e.g.:

<i>suprantamà kalbà</i>	'comprehensible speech'
<i>sùkalbamas žmogūs</i>	'compliant man'
<i>pàkeliamas vařgas</i>	'endurable misery'
<i>įskaītomas rāštas</i>	'legible handwriting'

This is particularly true of negative participles, e.g.:

<i>neapsākoma galià</i>	'indescribable might'
<i>neišbrendamì uogienójai</i>	'berry-plants which are impossible to wade through'
<i>nenumaldomas priešas</i>	'implacable enemy'
<i>nepasiekiamas tikslas</i>	'unattainable goal'
<i>nepàkeliamas akmuō</i>	'a stone which cannot be lifted'

Owing to their adjectival meaning such participles combine, like adjectives, with the dative rather than the agentive genitive, e.g.:

<i>Ne kiekvienám prieinamas skanēstas.</i>	'A delicacy which is not affordable by everyone.'
<i>Kitiems neregimas būdas.</i>	'A method invisible to others.'
<i>Dūrys visiems einamos.</i>	'A door everybody can walk through.'

(Cf.: *Dūrys visiems atviros.* lit. 'A door open to everybody.')

A similar semantic group of present passive participles consists of those which possess the meaning of destination. This meaning is typical of a great number of participles characterized by adjectival usage, e.g.:

<i>dirbamà žėmė</i>	'tilled land'
<i>ariamì laukāi</i>	'arable fields'
<i>gyvėnamas nāmas</i>	'dwelling house'

Similarly to classifying adjectives, these participles are often used in the definite form and can form terminological collocations, e.g.:

<i>geriamàsis vanduõ</i>	'drinking water'
<i>melžiamóji kárvė</i>	'milking cow'
<i>pučiamàsis instrumeñtas</i>	'wind instrument'
<i>mušamàsis instrumeñtas</i>	'percussion instrument'

The meaning of necessity is not very typical of these participles and it mostly occurs in dialects, e.g.:

<i>Keliamõs kárvės blogà varškė.</i>	'The milk of a puny (lit. 'to be lifted') cow is bad for curd.'
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Present passive participles can also enter into a number of other relations with the modified noun.

(1) The modified noun denotes an instrument while the attributive participle specifies the action for the performance of which the instrument is used.

<i>vālgomasis šáukštas</i>	'eating spoon'
<i>jójamas arklỹs</i>	'riding horse'
<i>gėriamas puodėlis</i>	'drinking cup'

In their definite form such participles are often used to designate tools and implements, e.g.:

<i>kuliamóji mašinà</i>	'threshing machine'
<i>siuvamóji mašinà</i>	'sowing machine'
<i>pjaunamóji mašinà</i>	'cutting machine'
<i>šaunamàsis giñklas</i>	'fire arm'
<i>braižomoji/braižomóji lentà</i>	'drawing board'
<i>rāšomoji/rašomóji mašinėlė</i>	'typewriter'

(2) An attributive participle (most often in its definite form) derived either from a transitive or intransitive verb is used to modify a noun which indicates (a) a place, or (b) time, e.g.:

(a) <i>miegamàsis kambarỹs</i>	'bedroom' (lit. 'sleeping room')
<i>vālgomasis/vālgomàsis kambarỹs</i>	'dining room'

<i>gyvėnamoji/gyvenamoji trobà</i>	'dwelling house'
<i>stovimóji vietà</i>	'standing accomodation' (lit. 'place')
<i>sėdimóji vietà</i>	'sitting accomodation'
<i>rūkomasis/rūkomàsis vagònas</i>	'smoking railcar'
(b) <i>dirbamóji dienà</i>	'working day'
<i>pėreinamasis laikótarpis</i>	'transition period'
<i>prìimamosios vālandos</i>	'reception hours'

When a participle formed from a transitive verb modifies a noun denoting an instrument, place or time, the object of the action can be designated by a noun in the genitive, e.g.:

<i>alaūs</i>	<i>dāromas</i>	<i>kūbilas</i>
beer: GEN. SG	make: PART. PRES. PASS	tub: NOM. SG
'tub for making beer', cf. also:		

<i>avių keřpamos žirklės</i>	'shears for cutting sheep'
<i>būlvių sodinamas laūkas</i>	'field for planting potatoes'

(3) A participle (formed most often from an intransitive verb) denotes a property attributed to the semantic subject of the action or state, e.g.:

(a) participles formed from intransitive verbs:

<i>skaudamà nūgara</i>	'aching back'
<i>tiņkamas dáiktas</i>	'suitable thing'
<i>limpamà ligà</i>	'contagious disease'
<i>atliekamì pinigāi</i>	'extra (lit. 'remaining') money'

(b) participles built from transitive verbs:

<i>gýdomas vanduō</i>	'healing water'
<i>viliójamas pavėikslas</i>	'enticing picture'

In their relations with the modified noun these participles are similar to present active participles (cf.: *skaūdanti nūgara, gýdantis vanduō, viliójantis pavėikslas*). The difference lies in their more pronounced qualitative character and the meanings of suitability and possibility, which are responsible for the wide use of such passive participles in building terms, e.g.:

<i>grįžtamóji šiltinė</i>	'relapsing fever'
<i>atsākomasis/atsakomàsis redāktorius</i>	'chief (lit. 'responsible') editor'
<i>výkdomoji/vykdomóji valdžià</i>	'executive power'
<i>nejudamàsis tuřtas</i>	'real (lit. 'non-movable') estate'

(4) The participle indicates a property which derives from an action related to the head noun by causal, manner or some other kind of relation, e.g.:

<i>mirštamà ligà</i>	'lethal (lit. 'dying') illness'
<i>gulimà dúona</i>	lit. 'lying bread' (bread that can be earned simply by being in a lying position)
<i>priverčiamieji darbai</i>	'forced labour'
<i>baigiamóji kalbà</i>	'closing speech'

Some linguistic terms belong here, e.g.:

<i>geidžiamóji núosaka</i>	'optative mood'
<i>liepiamóji núosaka</i>	'imperative mood'
<i>tariamóji núosaka</i>	'subjunctive mood'
<i>veikiamóji rúšis</i>	'active (lit. 'doing') voice'
<i>esamàsis laikas</i>	'present tense'
<i>ràšomoji kalbà</i>	'written language'
<i>šnekamóji kalbà</i>	'spoken language'

5.137 Past passive participles denote properties which derive from a past (anterior) action. They are formed mostly from transitive, particularly prefixed, verbs, and carry a resultative meaning, e.g.:

<i>pradėtas dárbas</i>	'work which has been started'
<i>ùžbaigtas dárbas</i>	'finished work'
<i>pamirštà dainà</i>	'forgotten song'
<i>išmuštas lánegas</i>	'broken window'

The resultative meaning is sometimes carried by participles which are formed from non-prefixed and non-perfective verbs, e.g.:

<i>keptà dúona</i> 'baked bread'	<i>súdyta mèsà</i> 'salted meat'
<i>virtà žuvis</i> 'cooked fish'	<i>rauginti aguřkai</i> 'pickled cucumbers'
<i>grįstas kėlias</i> 'paved road'	<i>mókytas žmogùs</i> 'learned man'
<i>tašýtas akmuõ</i> 'hewn stone'	

These participles often indicate constant properties of things or persons, particularly when these are based on their figurative or peripheral meaning:

<i>àtmestas dárbas</i>	'careless work'
cf.: <i>àtmestas pràšymas</i>	'rejected petition'
<i>patėnkintas žmogùs</i>	'pleased man'
cf.: <i>patėnkintas pràšymas</i>	'accepted petition'

Non-prefixed participial forms which possess a highly generalized qualitative meaning and which do not enter into any oppositions with participles in other tenses are considered to be verbal adjectives, e.g.:

dru̯m̯stas 'turbid'
ri̯ēstas 'bent'

glaūstas 'concise'
sūktas 'sly'

A great number of such forms derived from intransitive verbs are also considered to be verbal adjectives, e.g.:

báltas, baltà 'white' (: *bálti* 'to pale')
ri̯m̯tas, rimtà 'serious' (: *ri̯mti* 'become quiet')
prāstas, prastà 'bad' (: *prāsti* 'become accustomed')
skýstas, skystà 'thin' (: *skýsti* 'become thinner' (about liquid))

But forms which constitute tense oppositions to other participial forms are considered to be participles, e.g.:

mirtà dienà
cf.: *mirštamà dienà*
mirštamì nuodaĩ

'dying day' (in the past)
'dying day'
'lethal poison'

būtà vietà
cf.: *esamà vietà*

'past place'
'present place'

eĩtas kēlias
cf.: *eĩnamas kēlias*

'road which has been travelled'
'road which is being travelled, which can be travelled'

gyvėntas nāmas
cf.: *gyvėnamas nāmas*

'house which was inhabited'
'house which is inhabited, a dwelling house'

5.138 Future passive participles indicate properties associated with a posterior (foreseen) action, e.g.:

Àptarėme dirbamus ir dirbsimus dārbus.

'We discussed our present and future work.'

Jis skaičiuoja turėsimus pinigų.

'He is counting money which he is going to have.'

These participles are rarely used in present-day Lithuanian, except for the participle *būsimas, būsimà* 'future' which has no passive meaning, but constitutes a tense opposition to the present participle *ėsamas, esamà* 'present'.

5.139 Some attributive participles which denote permanent properties possess **degrees of comparison**. Degrees of comparison are mostly typical of present passive participles., e.g.:

mylìmas, mylìmà 'beloved'
mylìmèsnis, mylìmèsnė
mylìmiáusias, mylìmiáusia

rėgìmas, rėgìmà 'apparent'
rėgìmèsnis, rėgìmèsnė
rėgìmiáusias, rėgìmiáusia

tìkìmas, tìkìmà 'credible'
tìkìmèsnis, tìkìmèsnė
tìkìmiáusias, tìkìmiáusia

Only singular past passive and past active participles possess degrees of comparison, e.g.:

mókytas, mókyta 'learned'
mokytèsnis, mokytèsnė
mokyčiáusias, mokyčiáusia

pasiùtęs, pasiùtusi 'mad'
pasiutèsnis, pasiutèsnė
pasiučiausias, pasiučiausia

- 5.140** Attributive participles of all tenses may be used in nominal positions, but fully substantivized participles occur only among present passive participles (except for the past active participle *suáugęs, suáugusi* 'grown-up'), e.g.:

miegamàsis

'bedroom'

kuliamóji

'threshing machine'

pažįstamas, pažįstamà/pažįstama

'acquaintance'

In colloquial speech some feminine forms of past passive participles can be used in a peculiar substantivized meaning, e.g.:

*Kaip sàkoma, praeitóji –
 užmìrštóji.*

'As they say, what is past is
 forgotten.'

SEMI-PREDICATIVE USAGE

- 5.141** In the sentence semi-predicative participles enter into two kinds of relations – with nouns and with finite verbal forms. They usually denote a secondary action which is associated with the main action of the sentence (designated by the predicate) through various semantic relations. Semi-pradicative usage is the most typical usage of Lithuanian participles.

According to their relations with the main action of the sentence, semi-predicative participles fall into two groups – adverbial participles and completive participles.

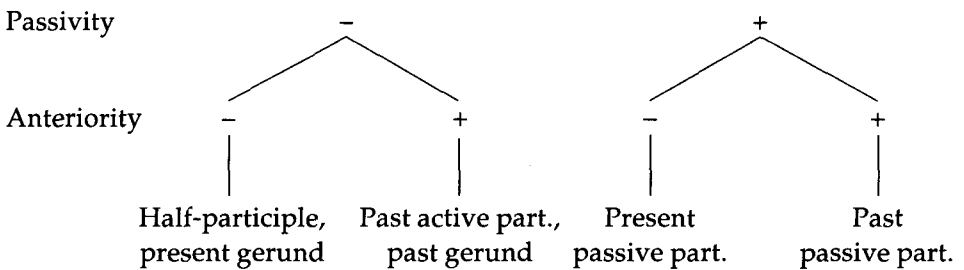
- 5.142 Adverbial participles** are used in only one case form – the nominative, which agrees with the subject of the sentence (designated by a noun or a pronoun) in gender and number. Gerunds, being not inflected for case, show no concord with the nouns or pronouns. The semantic relations of adverbial participles with

the finite verbal form in the sentence can be characterized as temporal, causal, conditional, or concessional. These semantic relations are often closely intertwined and are difficult to categorize.

Adverbial usage is most typical of half-participles, past active participles and gerunds. It is less typical of present and past passive participles.

Adverbial participles are opposed to one another on the basis of voice and tense, i.e. on the basis of the semantic distinctive features of passivity and anteriority.

Relations between adverbial participles



5.143 Half-participles are, in fact, present active participles designed for adverbial (appositive) use. They indicate a secondary action which is simultaneous with the main action of the sentence. Half-participles are most often formed from non-resultative imperfective verbs, e.g.:

- Gaiļiai veŗkia dukruŗēlē nuo moŗiŗtēs eidamā.* 'The daughter cries bitterly leaving her mother.'
- Tēvas visā ķēliā vaŗtiŗodamas dāŗrēsi.* 'Father kept looking around all the time while he drove.'

Those half-participles which are made from prefixed perfective verbs indicate the simultaneity of the main and secondary actions, but they do not indicate duration, e.g.:

- Uŗmigdamā palikaŗ, nubusdamā neradaŗ ant galvōs vainikŗŗio.* 'I had my wreath on my head when I fell asleep, I did not find it when I awoke.'

Being the unmarked member of the temporal opposition, the half-participle can sometimes indicate an action which is posterior to the main action, e.g.:

- Lāngas atsidāŗē, ņlēisdamas gaiŗvaŗs ņro.* 'The window opened letting in some fresh air.'

Half-participles can also indicate:

(1) a secondary action which predetermines the main action, e.g.:

Võgdamas nepraturtēsi. 'You cannot get rich by stealing.'

(2) the content of the main action, e.g.:

*Kazjys mēgdavo paišdykauti
gāšdindamas mergiotēs.* 'Kazys liked to amuse himself by
frightening the girls.'

(3) the result of the main action, e.g.:

*Māno žmonā mirē palikdamā
trīs vaikūs.* 'My wife died leaving three
children.'

(4) half-participles can emphasize the action which is denoted by another verb form of the same root, e.g.:

*Dīrbk dīrbdamas, nežiūrēk, kās
kur šnēka.* 'Do whatever you are doing, don't
listen to whatever anyone is saying.'

5.144 Past active participles indicate a secondary action which is usually completed before the main action.

Vaikas pabūdeš apstāīrē. 'Waking up the child looked around.'

*Kiškis išsigañdeš nukūrē ī
mīškā.* 'The hare got scared and ran away
into the forest.'

On the basis of their relative temporal meaning past active participles are opposed to half-participles. Their distinctive semantic feature is the meaning of anteriority, cf.:

*Eīdamā mīškū, Verōnika išgāšdīno
kažīn kōkj žvērēļj.* 'Walking in the forest, Veronika
scared some animal.'

*Išējusi iš mīško, jī net
stābtelējo.* 'Having left the forest, she
(suddenly) stopped.'

Non-prefixed past active participles can sometimes denote a process which continued for some time in the past, e.g.:

Trīs dienās ējēš priējo trobēļj. 'Having walked for three days, at last he
came to a small hut.'

Similarly to half-participles, past active participles can also be used to emphasize the main action indicated by a verb form with the same root as that of the participle, e.g.:

Lakstjyk belāksčīusi. 'You may run as much as you like.'

Used with the negative prefix and in combination with cognate verbs, past active participles indicate an alternative, e.g.:

Galvók negalvóġes, vis tas pàts. 'You may think as much as you like (lit. 'think not thinking'), nothing will change.'

Used in combination with verbs of a different root, negative past active participles can indicate an opposite action, e.g.:

Nutìlk neraudóġes. 'Stop, don't cry.'

5.145 Gerunds are similar to active participles in their tense and voice meanings. The difference between them lies in their relation to the agent of the main action.

If the performer of the secondary action is the same as the performer of the main action, the secondary action is indicated by a participle (or half-participle) in the nominative case, e.g.:

Vaikaĩ grĩždamì daināvo. 'The children sang while coming back.'
Vaikaĩ sugrĩžę daināvo. 'After coming back, the children sang.'

If the secondary action and the main action are performed by different agents (or if the secondary action is spontaneous and impersonal), the secondary action is indicated by a gerund.

Vaikāms grĩžtant, pragýdo lakštiņgala. 'When the children were coming back, a nightingale burst into song.'
Vaikāms sugrĩžus, pragýdo lakštiņgala. 'After the children came back, a nightingale burst into song.'

Relations between adverbial active participles and gerunds

	Simultaneity	Anteriority
The agents are the same	half-participle	past active participle
The agents are different	present gerund	past gerund

Similarly to half-participles, adverbial gerunds of the present tense usually indicate a continuing action, whereas past gerunds indicate a secondary action completed before the main action.

5.146 The agent of the gerundial action (i.e., the gerund's semantic subject) is most often expressed by a noun or pronoun in the dative, forming a clause which is usually known as the **dative absolute** construction, e.g.:

Sáulei tēkant pàsiekēme krūžkele. 'We reached the crossroads when the sun was rising.'

Sáulei patekējus pàsiekēme krūžkele. 'We reached the crossroads after the sun rose.'

Gerunds are also formed from impersonal verbs.

Lījant geraī dýgsta grýbai. 'When it rains, mushrooms grow well.'

Palijus geraī dýgsta grýbai. 'Mushrooms grow well after it has rained.'

Prirēikus jis ir mūrīninką pavadúoja. 'When it is necessary he can also work as a bricklayer.'

Some adverbial gerunds may lose their meaning of a secondary action and function as adverbs, e.g.:

bemātant, bēregīnt mean not only 'while somebody is seeing', but also 'immediately';

veřkiant means (1) 'while (somebody) is crying', and (2) 'necessarily, by all means';

netrūkus means 'soon, immediately'.

The gerunds *nepáisant* 'notwithstanding', *neskaĩtant*, *išskýrus* 'except for' are functionally very similar to the preposition *bē* 'without'. Gerunds are also used as parenthetical words (see IV.4.19 (7), 4.20). In combination with neuter adjectives and adverbs or with the particle *kàd* (used to express a wish), past gerunds bear a semantic resemblance to the infinitive, e.g.:

Gal geriaū būtų namō grįžus (cf. grįžti)? 'Wouldn't it be better to go home?'

Kad taĩp įsigįjus žąsėlę! 'I wish I could get a goose.'

5.147 Present passive participles are similar to half-participles in that they also indicate a secondary action simultaneous with the main action. The difference, however, lies in the meaning of the passive voice, e.g.:

Lāpē vejamà dar paspėjus pėrlįst pro vartūs. Šuvà gi výdamas įkliūves. 'The fox being chased managed to get through the gate. The dog chasing the fox got stuck.'

Ugnis gesinama pýksta. 'When fire is being extinguished, it gets angry.'

Ir katē glóstoma nùgarą riēčia.

'A cat also bends its back when it is being stroked.'

Present passive participles are usually built from non-prefixed verbs.

- 5.148 Past passive participles** indicate a secondary action which was completed before the main action began. They are usually formed from prefixed perfective verbs. Preterit passive participles correlate with preterit active participles in the meaning of tense, but are opposed to them in the meaning of voice.

*Vīlkas, geraī išpertas, nutráuķes
úodegą pabēgo.*

'After a good hiding, the wolf ran away breaking off his tail.'

*Akmuō paléistas nùbimbē per
stóga.*

lit.: 'The thrown stone zoomed over the roof.'

While indicating a secondary action, adverbial participles often carry an indication of time, manner, cause, condition or concession.

- 5.149** When used with the relative adverbs *kíek*, *kuř*, *kadà*, the relative pronoun *kàs*, the particle *kaīp*, and similar words, participles enter into syntactical constructions which are synonymous to subordinate clauses introduced by the same conjunctive words, e.g.:

Half-participles:

Sakýk kę išmanýdamas.

'Say what you can think of.'

Cf.: *Sakýk, kę išmanaī.*

*Laukiūs arinėja kadà atsi-
miñdamas.*

'He ploughs the fields when he remembers.'

Cf.: *Laukiūs arinėja, kadà atsi-
mena.*

*Bóbos išsigañdo, skùba kíek
begalédamos.*

'The women got scared and are hurrying away as fast as they can.'

Cf.: *Bóbos išsigañdo, skùba, kíek
begāli.*

*Kiáurą nāktį kaīp galédami
dirbo.*

'All night through they worked as much as they could.'

Cf.: *Kiáurą nāktį dirbo, kíek
galėjo.*

Past active participles:

Visì pajùto kō netēķę.

'Everybody felt whom/what they had lost.'

Cf.: *Visì pajùto, kō netēko.*

Einù kuř panorēķes.

Cf.: *Einù, kuř nóriu.*

Kō vaikštīnēji užúot dīrbes?

Cf.: *Kō vaikštīnēji, o nedīrbi?*

Present passive participles:

*Vaikaī dūko ir neklaūsē kā
liepiamī.*

Cf.: *Vaikaī dūko ir neklaūsē, kā
jīems liēpē.*

Dabař vīsko turēsi kiek tiņkamas.

Cf.: *Dabař vīsko turēsi, kiek norēsi.*

Past passive participles:

Viskā padariaū kāp pālieptas.

Cf.: *Viskā padariaū, kāp mán liēpē.*

*Taīp tas šuō kuř pāsīstas nešīōjo
pyragūs, dūona, mēsā.*

Cf.: *Taīp tas šuō, kuř tik jī siuñtē,
nešīōjo pyragūs, dūona, mēsā.*

Present and past gerunds:

Reīkia kiek/kaīp gālint paskubēti.

Cf.: *Reīkia paskubēti, kiek/kaīp gālima.*

Nežīnaū, kā čia mán padārius.

Cf.: *Nežīnaū, kā čia mán darýti.*

*Jám patiņka vaikštīnēti užúot
dīrbus.*

Cf.: *Jám patiņka vaikštīnēti, bēt
ne dīrbti.*

'I go wherever I want.'

'Why are you walking around
instead of working?'

'The children romped and didn't
listen to what they were told.'

'Now you'll have everything as
much as you want.'

'I did everything the way I was
told to.'

'So this dog took pies, bread,
meat wherever it was sent to.'

'We should hurry as much as we can.'

'I don't know what I should do.'

'He likes to walk around
instead of working.'

5.150 Present active participles and future active participles can also sometimes form constructions with conjunctive words. The meaning of present active participles in such cases is identical to that of half-participles:

Dīrbk kā gāļis/

Dīrbk kā galēdamas/

Dīrbk, kā gali.

'Do whatever job you can do.'

Su šienù darýkit kāp išmānantys/

Su šienù darýkit kāp išmanýdami/

Su šienù darýkit, kāp išmānot.

'Do with hay whatever you think.'

*Susirašiaū ką sakýsiaš/
Susirašiaū, ką sakýsiu.*

'I put down what I was going to say.'

*Darbúokis ìt amžinaĩ gyvėnsias/
Darbúokis, ìt amžinaĩ gyvėnsi.*

'Work as if you were going to live for ever.'

Note should be made of the syntactical construction *nebúti* 'not be' (3rd person, any tense) + *kàs* + present active participle (masculine):

Nėrà kàs dúodąs.

'There's nobody (here) who might give.'

Nebùvo kàs dirbąs.

'There was nobody who would work.'

This construction is synonymous to the following clauses:

(1) *nebúti* 'not be' (3rd person, any tense) + *kàs* + finite verb (3rd person, present):

Nebùvo kàs dirba;

(2) *nebúti* 'not be' (3rd person, any tense) + *kám* + infinitive:

Nebùvo kám dirbti.

In combination with the pronoun *kàs* the neuter form of present active participles can replace the infinitive:

Nėrà kàs dāra/darýti.

'There's nothing to be done.'

Nėrà kàs pjáuna/pjáuti.

'There's nothing to be cut.'

5.151 Completive participles disclose the contents of the verbs of sensation, mental activity or saying and function (alone or in combination with their dependent words) as synonyms to completive subordinate clauses.

Completive usage is characteristic of participles in the nominative case (with the exception of half-participles and future passive participles) and gerunds.

In the sentence the nominative case of completive participles most frequently depends on a reflexive verb and indicates a secondary action performed by the same agent, e.g.:

Tėvas sākėsi geraĩ gyvėnąs.

'Father said he lived well.'

Tėvas sākėsi geraĩ gyvėnėš.

'Father said he had lived well.'

Tėvas sākėsi geraĩ gyvėnsias.

'Father said he would live well.'

Completive participles usually depend on non-reflexive verbs and indicate a secondary action performed by a different subject, which is most often designated by the accusative, e.g.:

Sakiaū tėvą geraĩ gyvėnant.

'I said father lived well.'

Sakiaū tėvą geraĩ gyvėnus.

'I said father had lived well.'

Sakiaū tėvą geraĩ gyvėnsiant.

'I said father would live well.'

The performer of the secondary action may also be designated by a genitive if the finite verb of the sentence has a negative prefix or requires an object in the genitive.

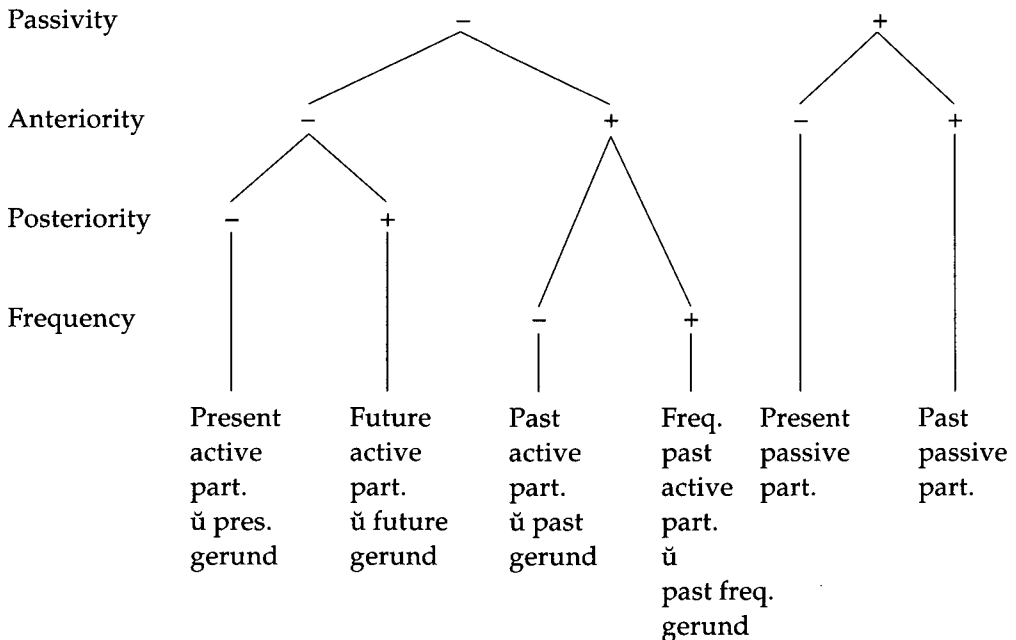
Ar nemateī tēvo pareīnant? 'Did you see father coming?'

In combination with the infinitives *matýti*, *girdēti* the performer of the secondary action indicated by a gerund may also be expressed by a nominative.

Tolumoje matýti laīvoas plaūkiant. 'In the distance you can see a boat sailing.'

Relations among completive participles can be described on the basis of oppositions according to passivity, anteriority, posteriority and frequency of action.

Relations among completive participles



Examples of completive participial usage:

(1) **Participles in the nominative case.**

(a) Present active participles:

Viñcas tārēsi gālīs/galīs bróli pavadúoti.

'Vincas thought he could substitute for his brother.'

Senēlē mán skūndēsi seřganti.

'Granny complained to me she was ill.'

(b) Past active participles:

Āš nesįjaučiū niēko blōgo padāreš.

'I don't feel as if I have done anything wrong.'

Mótina apsimetē niēko nepastebėjusi.

'Mother pretended she hadn't noticed anything.'

In combination with verbs denoting termination of a process the past active participle is synonymous with the infinitive:

Lietūs nustójo lišes/lýti.

'It has stopped raining.'

Paliaūs ir vėjas mēdžiti šakàs láužes/láužyti.

'The wind will stop breaking tree branches.'

(c) Frequentative past active participles:

Jis sākėsi visadà tuō keliū važtúodavėš.

'He said he always used to go along that road.'

Jōs sākosi daūg dirbdavusios Amėrikoje.

'They say they worked a lot in America.'

(d) Future active participles:

Tikėjausi miestē išgįšisį naujėną.

'I hoped I would hear some news in town.'

Gýrėsi gaidýs vānagą pagáusiasį.

'The cock bragged he would catch the hawk.'

(e) Present passive participles:

Tikiúosi ištėisinama.

'I hope I will be acquitted.'

Nesidžiaūk giriamas, neveřk bāramas.

'Don't be overjoyed when being praised, don't cry when being scolded.'

These participles are also used with verbs denoting agreement, disagreement, wish, request, fear, etc.:

Nepasidúosim skriaudžiamì.

'We'll not allow ourselves to be wronged.'

Móteris prāšosi pavežamà.

'The woman is asking to be given a lift.'

Arklýs bijo mùšamas.

'The horse fears beating.'

(f) Past passive participles:

Jūs neprisipažinsite nugalėtas.

'You will not admit you are defeated.'

Keleivis susiprāto apgáutas.

'The traveller understood he had been taken in.'

(2) Gerunds**(a) Present gerunds:**

Maniaū jį gyvėnant miestè. 'I thought he lived in town.
Visi sàko jį ėsant labaĩ mókytà. 'Everybody says he is very learned.'

(b) Past gerunds:

Eik ir pranėšk svėčią atvažiàvus. 'Go and announce the arrival of the visitor.'
Radaū visus sumigus. 'I found everybody asleep.'

(c) Past frequentative gerunds (very rare):

Sàko kartais užėidavus tókią liūtį. 'They say such torrential rains would sometimes come.'
Girdėjau jį priiľsdavus tenái. 'I hear he used to get very tired.'

(d) Future gerunds:

Kaip jauti tėvą pasielģsiant? 'What's your feeling about father's future behaviour?'
Tikiu jį netrūkus sugrįšiant. 'I believe he will soon come back.'

The absence of passive gerunds is compensated for by combining gerunds of the verb *būti* 'be' with passive participles.

Girdėjau jį ėsant mùšamą. 'I heard they beat him.'
Girdėjau jį bìvus mùšamą. 'I heard they used to beat him.'
 Cf.: *Jis sàkėsi mùšamas.* 'He said they used to beat him.'

PREDICATIVE USAGE

5.152 Predicative participles function as predicates in the sentence and they differ from finite verbs in certain shades of modal meaning. Predicative usage is typical only of participles in the nominative case and neuter forms.

Relations among predicative active participles are identical with those among completive participles.

Predicative active participles are used as oblique mood forms, e.g.:

Girdėjau, tù ėsas mókytas žmogùs. 'I heard you are a learned man.'
Tai tóks miškas tráukęsis per Lietuvòs žėmę. 'That was the kind of forest that extended (according to hearsay) across the Lithuanian land.'

Seniaū žmónės namū nerakindavę.

‘(I heard) People didn’t lock their doors in olden times.’

Jis sako, kad pinigai vis tiek nebūsią pinigai, o viřsią pōptieriumi.

‘He says money will stop being money and will become paper.’

(See also 5.52ff.).

5.153 Neuter forms of active participles are mostly used as predicates of impersonal sentences indicating indirectly experienced or doubtful events.

Present active participle:

Jai nuo dārbo rankās sukā.

‘(She said) Her arms ache from work.’

Past active participle:

Čia daūg grībų būvę.

‘(I heard) There used to be a lot of mushrooms here.’

Frequentative past active participle:

Kaip gražū būdavę!

‘How beautiful it used to be!’

Future active participle:

Kitamet būsią ir žqsių.

‘Next year there’ll be (probably) geese as well.’

Neuter forms of passive participles, which combine with an agentive genitive, are also similar semantically to the oblique mood, but differ from the latter in that they usually convey an unexpected event or an event judged by its results and often causing surprise (see also 5.73, 77).

Present passive participle:

Kaip gamtōs mōkama visa pinti į vieną visumą!

‘How well nature can weave everything into one unified whole!’

O gandai skēlbē, kad ēsama ir užmuštū.

‘Rumour had it there were casualties as well.’

Past passive participle:

Matyt, jō žinōta apiē sukaktuvēs.

‘He must have known about the anniversary.’

Keliū tik vienos vėžės – mào važiūota.

‘There’s only one track on the road – that was me driving.’

Neuter forms of passive participles of the verb *būti* ‘be’ combine with the genitive case to function as compound predicates which are similar in meaning to compound predicates with the nominative, e.g.:

Nežinójau, kad jš ēsama turtīngo.
(Cf.: *Nežinójau, kad jis yrà/ēsqs*
turtīngas.)

'I didn't know he was rich.'

O tšs mergēlēs būta vieno karāliaus
dukteřs. (Cf.: *O tà mergēlè*
būvo/būvusi vieno karāliaus
duktē)

'And the girl was (appeared to be) the
daughter of a king.'

The semantic object of the neuter forms of transitive passive participles is denoted by the nominative case, e.g.:

Jū jaū ir namaī stātoma, stogaī
deņgiama.

'They are already building
houses and putting on the roofs.'

Mūsų tėvėlių visos tšs giesmės
mokėta.

'Our parents used to know all
those hymns.'

By combining with the finite forms of the verb *būti* 'be' predicative participles form compound tenses (see 5.35–40).

THE INFINITIVE

Bendratīs

Formal properties

5.154 The infinitive is an uninflected verbal form which indicates an action without specifying tense, voice, person or number.

Formally, the infinitive is signalled by the presence of the suffix *-ti*, which is joined directly to the stem, e.g.:

eī-ti 'to go'

matý-ti 'to see'

mès-ti 'to throw'

ieškó-ti 'to look for'

In colloquial speech the infinitive is widely used in its short form (with the shortened suffix *-t*), e.g.:

eī-t

matý-t

mès-t

ieškó-t

The infinitival stem is one of the three principal verbal stems (see 5.79).

The infinitival stem of primary verbs may end in a consonant (*bėg-ti* 'run', *ràs-ti* 'find'), a long vowel (*jó-ti* 'ride a horse', *dė-ti* 'place', *vý-ti* 'chase'), a diphthong

(*ráu-ti* 'uproot', *eī-ti* 'go', *līe-ti* 'pour') or a semi-diphthong (*vir-ti* 'boil', *reī-ti* 'support', *pūl-ti* 'attack').

The infinitival stem often differs from present and past stems in its stem vowel (due to morphological vowel gradation), cf.:

<i>dě-ti</i>	<i>děda</i>	<i>dějo</i>	'place'
<i>vý-ti</i>	<i>věja</i>	<i>vijo</i>	'chase'
<i>vōg-ti</i>	<i>vāgia</i>	<i>vōgē</i>	'steal'

The infinitival stem of mixed and suffixal verbs may end in one of the following long vowels: *y*, *o*, *ē* (*rašý-ti* 'write', *miegó-ti* 'sleep', *turě-ti* 'have', *kartó-ti* 'repeat', *akě-ti* 'harrow'); one of the two diphthongs *au*, *uo* (*rěkau-ti* 'shout', *dainúo-ti* 'sing'), or in one of the following semidiphthongs: *en*, *el*, *er*, *in* (*gyvén-ti* 'live', *mėgin-ti* 'try', *trīntel-ti* 'make a bang', *žvilgter-ti* 'have a look'). The infinitival stems of mixed and suffixal verbs never end in a short vowel. The root vowel of the infinitival stem of these verbs is the same as in the present and past tense forms.

Reflexive infinitives are formed with the help of the affix *-s(t)*, which is placed after the infinitival suffix if the verb does not have a prefix, or between the prefix and the root if the verb contains a prefix, e.g.:

<i>praūsti</i> 'wash'	–	<i>praūstis</i> 'wash oneself'
<i>ródyti</i> 'show'	–	<i>ródytis</i> 'show oneself'
<i>kartóti</i> 'repeat'	–	<i>kartótis</i> 'repeat oneself'
<i>nupraūsti</i> –		<i>nu-si-praūsti</i>
<i>paródyti</i> –		<i>pa-si-ródyti</i>
<i>nekartóti</i> –		<i>ne-si-kartóti</i>

Meaning and usage

5.156 Verbal properties. The infinitive usually retains the valency typical of the finite forms. It can have dependent cases, adverbs or prepositional phrases. However, lacking tense, mood and voice forms, the infinitive most often combines with finite forms of the verb or other predicative words.

The infinitive is indispensable in combination with phasal verbs which denote the ingressive or completive phase of the action but not the action itself, such as *pradėti* 'begin', *iīti* 'start', *baīgti* 'finish', *liáu-tis* 'stop', *nustóti* 'stop' and others, or in combination with modal verbs indicating ability, obligation, wish, etc. such as *galėti* 'can', *turėti* 'must', *norėti* 'wish', *ketinti* 'intend', *bandyti* 'try', *mėginti* 'attempt', etc., e.g.:

<i>pràdeda dirbti</i>	'begins to work'
<i>gāli váikščioti</i>	'can walk'
<i>norėjo išvykti</i>	'wanted to leave'
<i>ketino grįžti</i>	'intended to return'
<i>bandýsiu užmigti</i>	'I'll try to fall asleep'

The infinitive can also combine with the respective verbal nouns, e.g.:

<i>nóras grįžti</i>	'desire to come back'
<i>bañdymas pabėgti</i>	'attempt to escape'
<i>gebėjimas skaitýti</i>	'ability to read'

In expressive speech the finite form of an ingressive verb can sometimes be omitted, e.g.:

<i>Ji – bėgti, jis – výtis.</i>	'She started running, he chased her.'
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The infinitive also combines with impersonal verbs, such as *reikėti* 'be necessary', *tėkti* 'have to', with neuter adjectives and other words denoting states. The patient of the state is then designated by a dative, e.g.:

<i>Mán reikia grįžti.</i>	'I have to go back.'
<i>Ligóniui sunkù váikščioti.</i>	'It is difficult for the patient to walk.'
<i>Ar táu ne gėda melúoti?</i>	'Aren't you ashamed to tell lies?'

The object of the transitive infinitive in such cases is denoted by an accusative or sometimes (in dialects and informal speech) by a nominative, e.g.:

<i>Táu pačiám reikės rugiùs/ rugiáĩ pjáuti.</i>	'You'll have to cut the rye your- self' lit. 'For you (DAT) it will be necessary the rye (ACC/NOM) to cut.'
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The infinitive can sometimes carry the meaning of obligation even when it stands alone, i.e., without a modal verb, e.g.:

<i>Jùm tik juodà dúona krimšti.</i>	'You should be given only brown bread' lit. 'For you (DAT) only brown bread (NOM) to nibble.'
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In combination with the auxiliary verb *búti* (which is usually omitted in the present tense) the infinitives *matýti* 'see', *girdėti* 'hear', *jùsti* 'feel', *jaùsti* 'feel' are used with a nominative denoting the content of perception, e.g.:

<i>Jaũ namaĩ matýti.</i>	'The house (NOM) is already visible (INF).'
<i>Iš toli bus matýti dúmai.</i>	'You'll be able (lit. 'it will be') to see the smoke from afar.'

In combination with finite verbs of stimulation the infinitive indicates an action

which is performed by another agent different from that of the action expressed by the finite verb:

Ji prāšo manęs valdyti tavè.

'She asks me to manage you.'

Sárgas rėkė mán grįžti.

'The watchman shouted for me to come back.'

Uždraūskite dūkteriai su juo matytis.

'Forbid your daughter to meet him.'

In expressive speech the infinitive can indicate order, stimulation, or surprise even when it is used alone without a finite verb, e.g.:

Tuojaū visiems išėiti!

'Everybody (DAT) is to leave immediately!'

The infinitive can collocate with a finite verb of the same root. Such collocations are used for emphasis sake.

Ir pažinti támsta jō geraĩ nepažįsti.

'You don't even know him well.'

5.156 Nominal properties. Being historically derived from the dative of verbal nouns, the infinitive also possesses certain nominal properties. In combination with finite verbs the infinitive can indicate the purpose of an action or the intention to perform an action:

O pinigų aš jái palikaū ne tik gyvėnti.

'I left money for her not only for subsistence (INF).'

Atvažiavaū dirbti, o nē ilsėtis.

'I've come here to work, not to rest.'

In such cases the infinitive is semantically similar to the dative case.

When a transitive infinitive combines with verbs of motion, its object is expressed by a genitive, e.g.:

Ir atjōja bernužėlis bėro žirgo pagirdyti.

'Here comes a young laddie to water his bay steed (GEN).'

In eastern Lithuanian dialects and sometimes in fiction the special verb form with a suffix *-ti* termed supine (siekinys) replaces the infinitive in combination with verbs of motion, e.g.:

Vaikai išėjo grybauti.

'The children went out to gather mushrooms.'

In combination with other verbs the object as well as the semantic subject of the infinitive is expressed by a dative, e.g.:

Niėko neruoškite mán priimti.

'Don't prepare anything for my reception (lit. 'for me to receive').'

Àtnešė knygą vaikams pasiskattyti.

'They brought a book for the children to read.'

When the infinitive, alone or with a dative, denotes purpose, it often collocates with:

(a) a noun:

<i>peļlis dūonai riēkti</i>	'a knife for cutting (INF) bread (DAT)'
<i>lentýna iñdams sudēti</i>	'a shelf to put the dishes (DAT) on'
<i>vietà apsisistóti nākčiat</i>	'a place to put up for the night'

(b) an adjective:

<i>gražùs pažiūrēti</i>	'nice to look at'
<i>siaūras nešióti</i>	'tight to wear'

Some infinitives (e.g., *válgyti* 'eat', *rūkýti* 'smoke', *praūstis* 'wash oneself', *gérti* 'drink', *dēvēti* 'wear') can also be used to indicate an object, e.g.:

<i>Pasiēmē válgyti ir gérti.</i>	'They took (something) to eat and drink.'
<i>Katrē ģnešē praūstis.</i>	'Katrē brought in (a bowl) to wash (ourselves).'

When used as the subject or the predicative of the sentence, the infinitive is similar in its meaning and function to verbal nouns in the nominative:

<i>Ūkininkáuti – taiñ ne tvōra tvērti.</i>	'To be a farmer is not making a fence.'
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The infinitive *matýti* is very widely used as a parenthetical word, e.g.:

<i>Tù, matýt, manš neláuķei.</i>	'You seem (lit. 'to see') not to have expected me.'
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The infinitive (*ne*)*palýginti* is often used as a modal adverb, e.g.:

<i>Ķis dar palýginti jáunas žmogùs.</i>	'He is a comparatively (INF) young man.'
<i>Tēvoas nepalýginti didēsnis už sánu.</i>	'The father is much (lit. 'not to compare') taller than the son.'

More on the usage of the infinitive see in the chapters on syntax.

6 ADVERB

Príveiksmis

- 6.1 Adverbs are a class of uninflected words which express qualitative and quantitative, spatial and temporal characteristics of actions, states, properties, sometimes of things, and also, the circumstances under which actions and states occur. Accordingly, they are used to modify verbs, adjectives and adverbs, and clauses.

When used with verbs, adverbs function as adverbials:

<i>gražiai dainuoja</i>	'(he) sings well'
<i>daug skaītė</i>	'(he) read much'
<i>parvažiāvome namō</i>	'(we) returned home'
<i>vakar lijo</i>	'it rained yesterday'

A number of adverbs typically serve as modifiers of adjectives and adverbs:

<i>labai gėras / gerai</i>	'very good / well'
<i>pakañkamai aukštas / aukštai</i>	'sufficiently tall/high (ADV)'

Less commonly, adverbs modify nouns:

<i>gyvenimas vakar</i>	'the life yesterday'
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A number of qualitative adverbs can be used as predicatives, e.g.:

<i>Mán čià gerai.</i>	lit. 'It's good for me here'
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or as sentence modifiers, e.g.:

<i>Tikriáusiai grįšime kitaīs mėtaiš.</i>	'We'll probably return next year.'
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The class of adverbs overlaps with particles and prepositions. For instance, words like *dár, vėl, jaũ* function as adverbs if they have a separate syntactic function and they are used as particles if they emphasize the same part of a sentence, cf. respectively:

<i>Dúok mán dár dúonos.</i>	'Give me some more bread (ADV).'
<i>Tėvas dár negrįžo.</i>	'Father has not returned yet (PRTCL).'

Some adverbs are pressed into service as prepositions when they govern a noun, cf.:

Nuėjom netolì.

lit. 'We didn't walk far (ADV).'

Sėdėjau netolì mótinos.

'I was sitting not far from (my) mother (PREP).'

It should be noted that assigning words to one class or another is sometimes arbitrary. Thus, the words *galbút* 'maybe' and *turbút* 'probably' (lit. 'must be') are traditionally classed as modal particles rather than adverbs.

Formal properties

- 6.2** From the point of view of form and derivative relations, adverbs may be divided into two main types, primary and secondary adverbs.

Primary (non-derived) adverbs are not motivated by words of other classes in Modern Lithuanian and they have no formal markers, e.g.:

dár 'more; yet'

vėl 'again'

teñ 'there'

čia 'here'

dabař 'now'

daũg 'much'

This class of adverbs is not numerous.

Secondary (derived) adverbs are extremely numerous and they display a wide range of derivative patterns. Most adverbs are formed by one of three principal means, either suffixes, or prefixes, or both.

- 6.3** The most productive means of adverb derivation is the suffix *-(i)ai*. Adverbs derived from *a*-stem (MASC) and *o*-stem (FEM) adjectives have the allomorph *-ai*:

ret-ai 'sparsely; rarely'

(: *rėt-as*, -à 'sparse; rare')

žem-ai 'lowly'

(: *žėm-as*, -à 'low')

Adverbs derived from *ia*, *u*-stem. (MASC) and *io*, *ė*-stem (FEM) adjectives take the allomorph *-iai*, e.g.:

suñk-iai 'heavily; with difficulty' (: *sunk-ūs*, -ì 'heavy; difficult')

apyger-iai 'rather well'

(: *apyger-is*, -ė 'rather good')

Before the suffix *-iai*, the consonants *t* and *d* alternate with the affricates *č* and *dž*, e.g.:

stač-iaĩ 'straight; upright'

(: *stat-ūs*, -ì 'straight; upright')

gardž-iaĩ 'tastefully'

(: *gard-ūs*, -i 'tasty')

- 6.4** Adverbs with the suffix *-(i)ai* display two basic stress patterns.

<i>vĭkusiai</i> 'successfully'	(: <i>vĭk-ęs, -usi</i> 'successful')
<i>prĭderančĭai</i> 'becomingly'	(: <i>prĭderant-is, -i</i> 'becoming')
<i>užsispyrustai</i> 'obstinately'	(: <i>užsispyr-ęs, -usi</i> 'obstinate')

Adverbs formed from present passive participles with fixed stress and some participles with a long stem, also retain their stress and tone, e.g.:

<i>mātomai</i> 'visibly'	(: <i>mātom-as, -a</i> 'visible')
<i>suprañtamai</i> 'intelligibly'	(: <i>suprañtam-as, -à</i> 'intelligible')

Those derived from participles with mobile stress are mostly stressed on the final syllable:

<i>girdimai</i> 'audibly'	(: <i>girdim-as, -à</i> 'audible')
<i>patikimai</i> 'reliably'	(: <i>pàtikim-as, -à</i> 'reliable')

Adverbs related to past passive participles with fixed stress retain its position and tone, e.g.:

<i>negirdėtai</i> 'unprecedentedly'	(: <i>negirdėt-as, -a</i> 'unheard-of, unprecedented')
<i>apgalvótai</i> 'deliberately'	(: <i>apgalvót-as, -a</i> 'deliberate')

They are stressed on the final syllable if the base participle has mobile stress:

<i>nelauktai</i> 'unexpectedly'	(: <i>neláukt-as, -à</i> 'unexpected')
<i>įtemptai</i> 'strenuously'	(: <i>įtempt-as, -à</i> 'strained, strenuous')

The suffix *-(i)ai* does not derive adverbs from past frequentative and future participles.

- 6.6 The suffix *-ai* is used to form adverbs from non-finite necessity verbal forms. If the latter form has fixed stress the derived adverb retains it, e.g.:

<i>abejótin-ai</i> 'doubtfully'	(: <i>abejótin-as, -a</i> 'doubtful')
<i>pakartótin-ai</i> 'repeatedly'	(: <i>pakartótin-as, -a</i> 'repeated, (that) which needs to be repeated')

In the case of mobile stress in the base form, the adverb is stressed on the final syllable:

<i>būtin-ai</i> 'necessarily'	(: <i>būtin-as, -à</i> 'necessary')
<i>atmintin-ai</i> 'memorably; by heart'	(: <i>atmiñtin-as, -à</i> 'memorable')

- 6.7 The suffix *-yn* serves to form adverbs from two-syllable (sometimes polysyllabic) qualitative adjectives. It adds the meaning of direction or increase in quality, cf.:

<i>žem-yn</i> 'down'	(: <i>žėm-as, -à</i> 'low')
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raudon-ỹn '(growing) redder' (: *raudón-as*, -à 'red')
tobul-ỹn '(growing) more perfect' (: *tóbul-as*, -à 'perfect')

This suffix is occasionally used to derive adverbs from nouns, participles and, even, adverbs, e.g.:

krašt-ỹn 'edge-wards' (: *krāšt-as* 'edge')
dugn-ỹn 'bottom-wards' (: *dùgn-as* 'bottom')
ištviirk-ỹn 'to depravity' (: *ištviirk-ęs* 'depraved')
daug-ỹn 'increasingly' (: *daũg* 'much')
tol-ỹn 'farther, into the distance' (: *tolì* 'far')

The adverb *pirm-ỹn* 'forward' is a recent derivative from the ordinal numeral *pirm-as*, -à 'first'. As is clear from the examples, in these adverbs the suffix carries the stress.

- 6.8 The adverbs *kuř* 'where', *kadà* 'when', *tadà* 'then' and *kaĩp* 'how', *taĩp* 'so, this way' comprise a separate group. Historically, they are related to the pronouns *kàs* 'who, what', *tàs*, *tà* 'that', but in Modern Lithuanian they have lost derivative relations with these pronouns. By analogy, a great many other adverbs have been formed, e.g.:

kit-uř 'elsewhere' (: *kìt-as*, -à 'other, another')
vien-uř 'in one place' (: *víen-as*, -à 'one') (cf. *vienuř kituř* 'here and there')
vis-uř 'everywhere' (: *vìs-as*, -à 'all')
svet-uř 'in a strange place/land' (: *svet-ỹs* 'guest', cf. *svėtim-as*, -à 'strange, foreign')
kita-dà 'sometime' (: *kìt-as*, -à 'other, another')
visa-dà 'always' (: *vìs-as*, -à 'all, whole')
an-aĩp 'that way' (: *an-às*, -à 'that (one)')
ši-aĩp 'this way' (: *šìs*, -ì 'this')
tav-aĩp 'in your way' (: *tāv-as*, -à 'thine, your')
antr-aĩp 'otherwise' (: *añtr-as*, -à 'second')
nauj-aĩp 'in a new way' (: *naũj-as*, -à 'new')

In these adverbs, the suffixes *-(i)uř*, *-dà* and *-(i)aĩp* can be distinguished. They are nearly always stressed, with the exception of *niėkur* 'nowhere', *niėkaip* '(in) no way', and *šitaip* 'this way'.

The suffix *-dà* often alternates with its allomorph *-dōs*, e.g.: *visadà/visadōs* 'always', *kitadà/kitadōs* 'some other time, sometime', *niekadà/niekadōs* 'never'; it also has an abbreviated variant *-d*, cf.: *niėkad* 'never', *visad* 'always'.

6.9 A great many adverbs are adverbialised case forms of nouns, sometimes of pronouns and adjectives; here belong:

(1) nominative: *ganà* 'enough', *valià* '(it) is allowed, one may', *nevalià* '(it) is not allowed, one can't', *žinià* 'of course'; *nežinià* '(it) is not known';

(2) genitive: *kō* 'why' (: *kàs* 'what'), *kūlio* 'upside down', *šūolio* 'by jumps';

(3) dative: *kám* 'why, what for' (: *kàs* 'what'), *ilgám* 'for long', *trumpám* 'for a short while';

(4) accusative: *trūputį* 'a little', *māžumą* 'a little', *truputėlių* 'just a little', *mažumėlę* 'just a little';

(5) instrumental: *pūsbalstiu* 'in a low voice', *gretà* 'side by side', *šalià* 'near, close by', *tyčia* 'on purpose', *draugè* 'together', *sykiù* 'together', *slaptà* 'secretly', *žiņgine* 'at a slow pace', *piktúoju* 'maliciously', *kaŗtais* 'sometimes', *mainaĩs* 'in exchange';

(6) locative: *šalyjè* 'side by side', *tarpùsavyje* 'between themselves (ourselves)'.

6.10 The following adverbs are descended from the old locative case of numerals which came to be used adverbially through functional shift: *dviese* 'the two together', *trise* 'the three together', *keturiese* 'the four together' ... *devyniese* 'the nine together', as in *Jiē dviese tai padārè* 'They did it the two of them together'. Likewise, the adverb *keliесе* 'how many together' is formed from the pronoun *keli*, *kēlios* 'how many'. The adverbs *namiē* 'at home', *arti* 'near(by)', *tolì* 'far(away)' retain the archaic locative case form of the respective noun and adjectives.

In Modern Lithuanian, a number of archaic postpositional locative forms, viz. the allative and the illative, with the fused postpositions *-n* and *-p*, are used as adverbs, e.g.: *laukañ* 'outside' (as in *Eik laukañ* 'Get out'), *šaliñ* 'away, off', *viduñ* 'inside', *viršuñ* 'up'; *galóp* 'to the end, finally', *vakaróp* 'towards evening', *velnióp* 'to hell'.

6.11 A great many adverbs are derived by means of the generalized suffix *-(i)ui* (which is traced back to the ending of the dative singular case), usually with the prefix *pa-*, from nouns and adjectives, and occasionally from words of other classes, e.g.:

véltui 'in vain'

ilgainiui 'afterwards, eventually'

apliñkui 'around'

padieniuĩ 'by the day, every other day' (cf. *dienà* 'day')

paeiliuĩ 'in turn, by turns' (cf. *eilē* 'turn, queue')

pakeliuĩ 'on the way, the same way' (cf. *kēlias* 'way')

paryčiuĩ 'early in the morning' (cf. *rytas* 'morning')

pavējuī 'with/before the wind' (cf. *vējas* 'wind')
paviēniui 'one by one' (cf. *vienas* 'one')

The instrumental plural ending *-mis* and to a lesser degree *-ais*, have developed into adverbial suffixes through the adverbial use of the respective case forms, cf.:

-mis: *lygiomīs/lygiōm* 'in equal parts, equally' (cf. *līgus* 'equal')
nóromis/nórom 'willingly' (cf. *norūs* 'willing')
slaptomīs/slaptōm 'secretly' (cf. *slāptas* 'secret', ADJ)
(pa)tylomīs/patylōm 'silently, on the quiet' (cf. *tylūs* 'silent')
negirdomīs/negirdōm 'without hearing'
pakaitomīs/pakaitōm 'by turns' (cf. *pakaitā* 'change')
paskubomīs 'in a hurry' (cf. *skubā* 'hurry')

-ais: *prīšais* 'in front, opposite' (cf. dial. *prīšas* 'front, fore-part')
patyliūkais 'silently, on the sly' (cf. *tylūs* 'silent')
rētkarčiais 'now and then' (cf. *rētas karštas* 'rare case')
šalimaīs 'close by, side by side' (cf. *šālimas* 'near, close')

Numerous adverbs are formed by analogy with other adverbialized case forms; cf. the following adverbs with affixes traced back to the genitive: *toljūdžio* 'continuously, constantly' (cf. *tolydūs* 'continuous'), *nuolatūs* 'constantly' (cf. *nuolat* 'constantly'), *atgaliūs* 'back(wards)' (cf. *atgalī* 'back(wards)').

On the other hand, there are case forms of nouns of that retain their status despite their frequent adverbial use, e.g.: *ratū* 'in a circle' (Instr. of *rātas* 'circle'), *būriū* 'in a crowd' (Instr. of *būrīs* 'crowd, group'), *žaibū* 'like lightning' (Instr. of *žaišbas* 'lightning'), etc.

6.12 A great many prepositional phrases used as adverbial modifiers have acquired adverbial meanings; here belong:

(1) genitive with the prepositions *dēl* 'because of', *iš* 'from, out of', *bē* 'without, except', *iki(ik)/ligi(lig)* 'until, up to', *nuō* 'from', *pō* 'after', e.g. *dēl kō* 'why' (lit. 'because of what'), *dēl tō* 'therefore' (lit. 'for that'), *iš karšo* 'at once', *iš tikrūju* 'indeed', *be gālo* 'extremely' (lit. 'without end'), *lig laiko* 'in advance' (lit. 'before time'), *po laiko* 'too late' (lit. 'after the time'), *nuo mažėns* 'since childhood';

(2) dative with the prepositions *pō* 'after' and *iki(ik)/ligi(lig)* 'until, up to' (mostly in colloquial speech); *iki/lig(i) vāliai* 'to one's heart's content', *po draūgei* 'together', *po senovei* 'as of old, still', *po visām* 'after all (is over)';

(3) accusative with the prepositions *ī* 'to, in', *peř* 'over, in', *prō* 'through, by'; e.g. *ī vāliq/valiās* 'sufficiently', *per vienaq* 'together', *pro tamšq* 'while it's dark'.

Quite a number of similar prepositional phrases, having lost case endings and blended into a single word, have developed into prefixed adverbs, cf.:

iškaŗt 'at once' (: *iŗ kaŗto*)

iŗsỹk 'at once' (: *iŗ sỹkio*)

iŗvis 'altogether, on the whole' (: *iŗ v̄iso*)

iŗtiŗs 'really, indeed' (: *iŗ tiesũ*)

iŗv̄ien 'together' (: *iŗ v̄ieno*)

perdiŗn 'all the day (long)' (: *per d̄ieną*)

pernākt 'overnight' (: *per nāktį*)

prieŗpiŗt 'before lunch' (: *prieŗ pietũs*)

A variety of adverbs have developed in the same way from nonprepositional word groups, e.g.:

kasvākar 'every night' (: *kās vākaras*

or *kās vākarą*)

ŗiŗnakt 'tonight' (: *ŗiŗ nāktį*)

ŗiamsỹk 'for this occasion' (: *ŗiŗm sỹkiui*)

anākart 'that time' (: *anā kaŗtą*)

anuŗsyk 'that time' (: *anuŗ sykiũ*)

tuomŗt 'then, at that time' (: *tuŗ metũ*)

ŗiuŗkart 'this time' (: *ŗiuŗ kartũ*)

- 6.13 In Lithuanian, there is a productive class of adverbs derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-te* or *-tinai*:

nŗŗ-ti 'carry' : *nŗŗ-tŗ, nŗŗ-tinai*

ŗiŗŗ-ti 'look' : *ŗiŗŗ-te, ŗiŗŗ-tinai*

These adverbs are traditionally classed as non-finite verb forms termed *bũdintỹs*. They are used with verbs of the same root to intensify or emphasize their meaning. Due to their function they are contiguous to both adverbs and intensifying particles.

In deverbal intensifying adverbs the suffix is added to the infinitival stem. When formed from reflexive verbs, these adverbs lose the reflexive morpheme *-si/-s*, cf.: *dŗiaũgti-s* 'rejoice': *dŗiaug-tŗ, as in dŗiaugtŗ dŗiaũgtiasi* '(he) rejoices greatly' (lit. 'rejoices rejoicing'). With prefixed verbs, a derivative from the respective non-prefixed verb is used, e.g. *bŗg-tŗ* (: *bŗg-ti* 'run') *at-bŗgo* '(he) came running'.

When formed from infinitival stems without a prefix these adverbs carry final stress:

bŗg-ti 'run' – *bŗg-tŗ, bŗg-tinai* 'on a run'

eĩ-ti 'go, walk' – *eitŗ, ei-tinai* 'walking'

Those derived from suffixed stems retain the stress and accent of the infinitive:

matỹ-ti 'see' – *matỹ-te, matỹ-tinai*

kartó-ti 'repeat' – *kartó-te, kartó-tinai*

vālgỹ-ti 'eat' – *vālgỹ-te, vālgỹ-tinai*

- 6.14 Both forms of an intensifying adverb are interchangeable, though *-te* forms are more common. In emphatic speech they modify both prefixed and unprefixed verbs of the same root, cf.:

Žmónēs grūs-tè grūdosi prie vařtu. 'People jostled and tussled (lit. 'jostled jostling') at the gate.'

Jis grūs-tè pra-si-grūdo prie vařtu. 'He forced his way by force to the gate.'

Sometimes these adverbs express the manner of action, e.g.:

Jéi válgyte nepriválgysi, laižýte neprilaižýsi.' 'If you can't get your fill by eating (lit. eat enough eating') you won't get enough by licking.'

In this case they do not differ from ordinary adverbs.

When used with verbs with the negative prefix, intensifying adverbs are interchangeable with an infinitive used for emphasis:

Těvas nè girděte (= girděti) negirdějo. 'Father didn't hear it at all.'

Deverbal intensifying adverbs with the suffix *-tinai* are formally identical with other adverbs in *-tinai* (e.g. *Pirkaū nāmq išsimokětinai* 'I have bought a house on credit'), but they are more restricted in use since they modify verbs of the same root exclusively, e.g.:

Grètè nusigañdo ir begtinaī paběgo nuo Viliaus. 'Grete got frightened and rushed away from Vilius.'

- 6.15** The following and similar word groups, which are unanalysable semantically and unchangeable formally, may be regarded as complex adverbs: *kai kada* 'sometimes', *kol kàs* 'so far, so long', *kada nòrs* 'some day, ever', *bet kaīp* 'somehow, anyhow', *bet kuř* 'anywhere', *kai kuř* 'here and there', *kuř ne kuř* 'here and there'.

Degrees of comparison

- 6.16** Like adjectives, a great many adverbs have degrees of comparison, the comparative and the superlative. They are characteristic of two types of adverbs denoting gradable concepts:

(1) adverbs with the suffix *-(i)ai* derived from adjectives and some participles with adjectival meanings, such as *aukštaī* 'high(ly)', *laimingai* 'happily'; *suprañ-tamai* 'understandably';

(2) the adverbs *daūg* 'much, many', *ankstī* 'early', *tolī* 'far', *artī* 'near(by)', *šalià* 'near(by), next to', *paskuī* 'afterwards' and the like.

complex stressed suffix *-ēliaū* comprised of the diminutive suffix *-ēl-* and the comparative degree marker *-iau*, e.g.:

ger-ēliaū 'a little better'
aukšt-ēliaū 'a little higher'
daug-ēliaū 'a little more'

These forms are viewed as diminutive forms of the principal comparative form of adverbs.

- 6.19** The **comparative** degree usually denotes a stronger, greater, or more intense characteristic of an action or process as compared with another action or process or with an earlier stage of the same action or process, cf.:

<i>Štañdten jis grįžo namō anksčiaū negū vākar.</i>	'Today he returned home earlier than yesterday.'
<i>Jis grįžo namō anksčiaū / ankstēliaū už sēserį.</i>	'He returned home earlier / a little earlier than his sister.'
<i>Paaiškink tai suprantamiaū.</i>	'(Please) explain it more clearly.'
<i>Láužas labiaū įsidegė.</i>	'The bonfire started burning more brightly.'

The comparative form of adverbs is often used with a noun with the preposition *ūž* 'than' or with the conjunctions *negū / neĩ* 'than' and *kaĩp* 'as' (see the above examples). The basis of comparison can also be expressed by the genitive case of a noun, e.g.:

<i>Vandėns būvo aukščiaū júostos.</i>	'The water reached above (lit. higher) waist.'
<i>Neĩk toliaū sàvo kiėmo.</i>	'Don't go farther than your yard.'

These comparative adverbs are functionally similar to prepositions that take the genitive case.

To specify the content of the comparative form of an adverb, a prepositional phrase may also be used; cf.:

<i>Miškas tįsėsi toliaū į vākarus.</i>	'The woods stretched farther to the west.'
<i>Atsisėdau arčiaū prie dūrų.</i>	'I took a seat nearer to the door.'

- 6.20** When used with the adverb *užvis* '(most) of all' and synonymous prepositional phrases *už visius (visa)* 'of all' *už viską (visa)* 'of everything', and the emphatic particles *kuō, kō*, the comparative form expresses the highest degree or quantity

of the adverbial meaning and thus approaches the meaning of the superlative forms, cf.:

<i>Skraidė užvis greičiau</i> (cf. <i>greičiausiai</i>).	'(He) was flying faster than everybody else (cf. the fastest).'
<i>Atsikėliau už visus anksčiau</i> (cf. <i>anksčiausiai</i>).	'I got up earlier than everybody else (cf. the earliest).'
<i>Grįžkite namo kuč/kō greičiau</i> (cf. <i>greičiausiai</i>).	'Return home as soon as possible (cf. the soonest).'

On the other hand, the comparative form of some temporal adverbs, especially when used with prepositions, is practically synonymous with the positive form, cf.:

<i>pirmiaū</i>	– <i>pirmà</i> 'first, earlier (than)'
<i>paskiaū</i>	– <i>paskuī</i> 'afterwards, later'
<i>iš anksčiau</i>	– <i>iš aňksto</i> 'from the time before/earlier'
<i>nuo seniaū</i>	– <i>nuo sėno</i> 'since earlier (time)'

6.21 The **superlative** forms denote the highest degree or quantity of a characteristic referred to by the adverb on the scale of comparison, cf.:

<i>Tà knygà jį labiausiai sudōmino.</i>	'That book caused his interest most (of all).'
<i>Ji dainuoja gražiausiai.</i>	'She sings the best.'
<i>Jis yrà blogiausiai pasireňges.</i>	'He is prepared the worst.'

The superlative form of adverbs may express the elative meaning, i.e. a very high degree of a qualitative manner of action without implying comparison (cf. the respective use of the superlative form of adjectives, see 2.14). This meaning is often emphasized by the particles *kuč, kō*, e.g.:

<i>Gyvėnsim (kuč/kō) puikiausiai.</i>	'We shall live very well (lit. quite the best).'
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The superlative form may be used with the adverbs *užvis, pervis* 'most of all' and prepositional phrases *už visus, -às* 'of all' *už viską/visa* 'of everything', which emphasize its meaning, e.g.:

<i>Užvis labiausiai mylėjau senėle.</i>	'I loved my grandmother best of all.'
<i>Jis mōkėsi už visus geriausiai.</i>	lit. 'He studied best of all.'

A favoured means of emphasis is the genitive plural *visū* from the pronoun *visi, visos* 'all, everybody', cf.:

<i>Sugrįžom visū vėliausiai.</i>	'We returned the latest (latest of all).'
<i>Mūsų káime vaikū visū daugiáusia.</i>	'There are more children in our village than in all the others (lit. most of all).'

The elative meaning is also emphasized by the genitive plural case of the

respective adjective, e.g.: *senį seničiausiai* 'very, very long ago', *ramiū ramčiausiai* 'quietly as possible'. To emphasize the superlative degree of the adverb *daug* 'much, many', the form *daugiau* is used which is derived by analogy with the genitive of adjectives, cf.:

Prisiriņko daugiu daugiausia šimtą žmoniū. 'There gathered a hundred people at the most.'

The comparative and the superlative forms of the adverb *labai* 'very', which typically combines with adjectives as an intensifier (cf. *labai šaltas* 'very cold', *labai gražus* 'very beautiful'), are never used with adjectives; instead, the respective form of the adjective itself is used: *šaltėsnis* 'colder', *šalčiausias* '(the) coldest'; *gražėsnis* 'more beautiful', *gražiausias* '(the) most beautiful' (**labiaū, labiausiai šaltas; *labiaū, labiausiai gražus*). However, *labiaū* and *labiausiai* are used with those participles which do not have the degrees of comparison: *labiaū, labiausiai pavařges* 'more/(the) most tired'.

- 6.22 The comparative and the superlative forms of a number of adverbs, e.g. *verčiaū* 'rather, better', *veikiaū, veikiausiai* 'most likely, probably', *greičiausiai* 'probably, very likely', *tikriausiai* 'probably, most likely, surely', express modal assessment, certainty, doubt, etc. rather than manner or quantity of an action, cf.:

Jis tikriausiai niėko nesuprāto. 'He probably didn't understand anything.'
Āš verčiaū palāukstu jō čiā. 'I'd rather wait for him here.'
Jis greičiausiai pavėluōs. 'He will most likely be late.'

Semantic types of adverbs

- 6.23 With respect to meaning, adverbs are divided into adverbs of manner, place, time, cause, purpose and modality.
- 6.24 **Adverbs of manner** denote qualitative (i.e. quality, manner or intensity) and quantitative characteristics of an action, or a state, or a property.

Quality is expressed by most of the *-(i)ai* adverbs formed from adjectives and participles. They commonly modify verbs, e.g.:

ramiai miegōti 'sleep quietly' *blogai dirbti* 'work poorly'
žiaūriai nubaūsti 'punish severely' *priderančiai elgtis* 'behave properly'

Depending on their lexical meaning, some adverbs may also modify adjectives (cf. *juokingai liūdnas* 'funnily sad', *taūsiat žālias* lit. 'darkly green') and in exceptional cases, adverbs, cf.: *nudažyti taūsiat raudōnai* 'paint dark (lit. 'darkly') red' (ADV) (: *taūsiat raudōnas* lit. 'darkly red').

The meaning of the manner of an action is rendered by numerous adverbs formed in a variety of ways, many of them traced back to adverbialized case forms; these adverbs usually modify verbs; here belong:

<i>apgraiDOMis</i> 'groping(ly)'	<i>kitaip</i> 'otherwise'
<i>vogčiomis</i> 'surreptitiously'	<i>iškařt</i> 'at once'
<i>vėltui</i> 'in vain'	<i>geruóju</i> 'in a friendly way'

Quantity is expressed mostly by adverbs related to numerals, e.g.:

<i>dvigubai</i> (<i>atlyginti</i>) '(pay) double'
<i>dviese</i> (<i>dirbti</i>) '(work) two-together'
<i>añtrasyk</i> (<i>pakartóti</i>) '(repeat) a second time'
<i>dvigubai</i> (<i>ilgėsnis</i>) 'twice (as long)'

Other adverbs have a generalized meaning of quantity: *daug* 'much, many', *gausiai* 'abundantly', *trūputį* 'a little', *galutinai* 'finally'. A number of adverbs of quantity can modify the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives and adverbs, e.g.:

<i>dvigubai didėsnis</i> 'twice as large (lit. twice larger)'
<i>dvigubai daugiaū</i> 'twice as much/many (lit. twice more)'
<i>trūputį stiprėsnis</i> 'a little stronger'
<i>trūputį stipriaū</i> 'a little more strongly'

The most common adverb of intensity is *labai* 'very'. It modifies the positive degree of both adjectives and adverbs, cf. respectively: *labai piktas/piktaĩ* 'very angry/angrily'. It is also used as a verbal intensifier, e.g.: *labai pỹkti/džiaũgtis* 'be angry/ rejoice very much', *labai juóktis* 'laugh hard'; but there are lexical restrictions on its co-occurrence with verbs, cf.: **labai miegóti/sėdėti* 'sleep/sit very'. Other intensifying adverbs are:

<i>ypatĩgai</i> / <i>ypač</i> 'especially'	<i>smařkiai</i> 'hard, heavily'
<i>nuostabiaĩ</i> 'wonderfully, remarkably'	<i>gerókaĩ</i> 'pretty (hard)
<i>puĩkiaĩ</i> 'perfectly'	considerably', etc.
<i>stipriaĩ</i> 'strongly'	

Here also belong deverbial adverbs in *-te/-tinaĩ* which are in fact specified intensifiers (see 6.13), e.g.:

<i>bėgtė bėgti</i> lit. 'run running'	<i>verktinaĩ veřkti</i> 'cry very hard'
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To express an increasing degree of quality, quantity or intensity, adverbs with the suffix *-yn* are used, mostly in collocation with the verb *eĩti* 'go' which acquires the processual meaning 'become, grow'; these verbal groups are synonymous with process verbs derived from respective adjectives by means of the suffix *-ėti*, cf.:

<i>eīti ilg-ŷn</i>	– <i>ilg-ēti</i> ‘become/grow longer’
<i>eīti giedr-ŷn</i> ‘grow clearer (of weather)’	– <i>giedr-ēti</i> ‘clear up’
<i>eīti plat-ŷn</i> ‘become wider’	– <i>plat-ēti</i> ‘widen’

6.25 Adverbs of place denote the place of action, direction, of the initial or final point of motion.

Place adverbs are extremely numerous and formally varied; here belong:

<i>aukštāi</i> ‘high above’	<i>teñ</i> ‘there’
<i>žemāi</i> ‘below’	<i>arti</i> ‘nearly’
<i>namiē</i> ‘at home’	<i>tolī</i> ‘far (away)’
<i>visur</i> ‘everywhere’	<i>šalimaīs</i> ‘side by side’
<i>čīa</i> ‘here’	<i>aplīņkui</i> ‘around’, etc.

Direction of motion is mostly rendered by adverbs with the suffix *-yn* (1), or those descended from the illative case (2), and other adverbialized cases (3), or other forms (4), e.g.:

(1) (*kīlti*) *aukšt-ŷn* ‘(rise) upwards’
 (*lēistis*) *žemŷn* ‘(go) downwards’
 (*eīti*) *pirm-ŷn* ‘(go) forwards’

(2) (*pasūkti*) *dešin-ēn* ‘(turn) to the right’
 (*užlīpti*) *virš-uñ* ‘(ascend) to the top’
 (*eīti*) *lauk-añ* ‘(go) outside’

(3) (*plaūkti*) *pavējui* / *pasroviuī* / *pavandeniūi* ‘(swim) with the wind / downstream’
 (*skubēti*) *namō* ‘(hurry) home (ward)’

(4) (*grīžti*) *atgāl* / *atgaliōs* ‘(return) back’
 (*važiūoti*) *tiesiōg* ‘(go) straight forward’
 (*atbēgti*) *priešprieštais* ‘(come running) from the opposite direction’

The **starting point** of motion is usually expressed by place adverbs with the prepositions *iš* ‘from’, *nuō* ‘from’ (1), and the **final point** by place adverbs with the prepositions *ikī* / *līgi* ‘to, as far as’ (2):

(1) <i>iš kuŗ keliāujate?</i>	‘Where are you coming from?’
<i>iš aukštāi nukristi</i>	‘fall from high above’
<i>pradēti nuo čīa</i>	‘begin from here’

(2) <i>ikī čīa</i>	‘as far as here’
<i>līgi kuŗ</i>	lit. ‘as far as where’

Most of the adverbs of place can denote both place and direction, either interpretation being determined by the verbal meaning: with verbs of motion these

adverbs usually refer to direction, and with verbs of stationary action to place, cf. respectively:

eīsim kituř 'we'll go elsewhere' – *gyvenù kituř* 'I live elsewhere'
skubėkim teñ 'let's hurry there' – *teñ užaugau* 'I grew up there'

6.26 Adverbs of time denote various temporal characteristics of verbal actions, such as period or duration, point of time, frequency or repetition.

Adverbs expressing generalized temporal concepts occur mostly with verbs, e.g.:

<i>dabař pailsėsim</i>	'we'll have a rest now'
<i>paskuī dīrbsim</i>	'we'll work afterwards'
<i>seniaī nesimātėme</i>	'we haven't met for a long time'
<i>niekadà nebegrīšiu</i>	'I'll never return'
<i>anksti / vėlai sutėmo</i>	'it grew dark early/late'

They can also express an indefinite period of time, e.g.:

<i>ilgaī / laikinaī gyvėno</i>	'(he) stayed for a long time/temporarily'
<i>greītai apsirengė</i>	'(he) dressed quickly'
<i>ilgainiui apsiprātome</i>	'we got used in due course'
<i>tuojaū ateisiu</i>	'I'll come immediately'

An approximate time period is usually rendered by adverbialized dative case forms, e.g.:

<i>ilgám atvažiāvo</i>	'he's come for a long time'
<i>trumpám išėjo</i>	'he's left for a short while'

The following adverbs refer to (1) days and (2) time of the day and (3) year relative to the moment of utterance:

(1) <i>šiañdien</i> 'today'	<i>ùžvakar</i> 'the day before yesterday'
<i>rytoj</i> 'tomorrow'	<i>porjyt</i> 'the day after tomorrow'
<i>vākar</i> 'yesterday'	<i>kitañdien</i> 'some other day'
(2) <i>šiānakt</i> 'tonight'	<i>popiėt</i> 'after lunch'
<i>nakčìa</i> 'at night'	<i>priešpiėt</i> 'before lunch'
(3) <i>šiėmet</i> 'this year'	<i>pėrnai</i> 'last year'
<i>rudenióp</i> 'towards autumn',	<i>ùžpėrnai</i> 'the year before last'

Repetition and frequency of action are also rendered by specialized adverbs such as:

<i>dažnai</i> 'often'	<i>vėl</i> 'again'
<i>retai</i> 'seldom'	<i>kai kada</i> 'sometimes'

rētkarčiais 'now and then'
kaŗtais 'sometimes'

visadā 'always'
visuomēt 'always' etc.

They modify mostly verbs and sometimes, adjectives and adverbs, e.g.:

ŗis visadā juōktiasi 'he is always laughing' – *visadā liŗksmas* 'always merry' – (*gyvėn-sim*) *visadā linksmaŗ* '(we'll live) always merrily'

vėl pŗksta 'he is in a bad temper again' – *vėl piktas* 'angry again' – *vėl piktaŗ* 'an-grily again'

The **starting** and the **final temporal** points of action are mostly signified by ad-verbs with the prepositions *nuō* 'from, since', *iki/liŗi* 'until', which may be merged into a single adverb: *iki ŗiōl/liŗ ŗiōl* 'until now', *ikiŗiŗet* 'until lunch', cf.: *iki dabaŗ* 'until now', *nuo vākar* 'since yesterday'.

6.27 Adverbs of cause and purpose make up a very small group; the most common adverbs are:

dėl kō 'why'
dėl tō 'therefore'
kodėl 'why'
kō 'what for'

kām 'why'
todėl 'therefore'
uŗtāt 'that's why'

There is no distinct border-line between the two meanings in these adverbs, cf.: *Dėl kō/kodėl/kō tū taŗp suŗnkiai đirbi?* 'Why do you work so hard?' – *Dėl vaikū* 'For the children' (purpose); *Dėl netuŗto* 'Out of poverty' (cause). The adverbs *tŗŗcia* (*tŗŗciomis*) 'on purpose, intentionally', *netŗŗcia* (*netŗŗciomis*) 'inadvertently, unintentionally', *ŗiaŗp sāu* 'without particular purpose', *vėltui* 'in vain, to no purpose' are semantically contiguous to adverbs of purpose; cf.: *ŗis tŗŗcia melūoja* 'he is lying on purpose', *vėltui stėngėsi* 'he tried in vain'.

6.28 Modal adverbs express the speaker's assessment of the content of a statement. They may express modality ranging from certainty to greater or lesser doubt and supposition, e.g.:

tikraŗ 'surely, certainly'
greiŗciausiai 'doubtless'
būttinaŗ 'by all means'
neiŗvėngiamai 'inevitably'

tikriausiai 'probably'
veikiāu(siai) 'very likely, probably'
verŗiaū 'rather, better'

A few adverbs express neutral assessment, e.g.:

apskritaŗ 'in general, generally'
paprastaŗ 'usually, commonly'
pirmausiai 'in the first place'

The adverb *verčiaũ* can express advice:

Tũ verčiaũ patylėk.

'You'd better keep silence.'

The modal adverbs usually precede a verb: *jis tikrai/greičiausiai ateis* 'He will surely/doubtless come', though most of them can be used in the initial position as sentence modifiers, cf.: *Tikriausiai/veikiausiai jis vėluoja* 'Probably/very likely he is late'. All of them, with the exception of *neišvėngiamai*, *verčiaũ* and adverbs of neutral assessment, may be used in response to a question, e.g.:

Ar tũ ateisi? 'Will you come?' – *Tikrai/tikriausiai/veikiausiai*. 'Of course/most probably/probably.'

A number of other word forms (the infinitive *matyti* 'probably', lit. 'see', the nominative case *laime* 'luck' and its dative case forms *laimet* 'luckily' and *nelaimet* 'unluckily', the present passive participles *žinoma* 'of course' (lit. 'known') and *suprañtama* 'of course, understandably' and the prepositional phrase *be abejo* 'without doubt' are used very much like modal adverbs and are interchangeable with them, cf.:

jis matyti/žinoma/tikriausiai vėluoja. 'He is probably/of course/most likely late.'

7 PARTICLES

Dalėlytės

7.1 Particles are a class of words which serve to give modal or emotional emphasis to other words, or word groups, or clauses. Particles are unchangeable words and they have no particular syntactic function in a sentence.

In Lithuanian, particles are extremely numerous and varied semantically. Particles can specify, or limit, or intensify the meaning of a word or phrase. Some of them also serve as connectives between clauses and sentences and thus are a means of achieving coherence in a text.

A number of particles have a broad range of semantic functions; e.g. the particle *tik* 'only' is used to limit, or single out, or intensify the meaning of a word (see 7.6, 13).

Interrogative and negative particles modify and even change the meaning of an utterance (see 7.9, 10).

A number of particles are identical in form with other parts of speech, e.g. with conjunctions (*ař* 'if, whether', *iř* 'and', *kàd* 'that', *nórs* 'though'), adverbs (*kaĩp* 'how', *taĩp* 'thus, so', *čia* 'here'), pronouns (*kõ* 'what' (GEN), *kuõ* 'what' (INSTR)).

The particles *bevéik* 'almost', *dár* 'yet', *jaũ* 'already', *vėl* 'again', *võs võs* 'hardly', etc. are semantically close to adverbs; *neĩ* 'neither, nor', *tik* 'only', *vos tik* 'as soon as', *nebeĩt* 'if only', are very similar to conjunctions in certain contexts, without losing their meaning and their limiting or specifying function; the particles *õgi* 'surely', *và* 'there, here', *vái* 'oh' border on interjections.

7.2 Particles are usually preposed to the subordinating word or phrase:

Jis bevéik pasveĩko.

'He (has) almost recovered.'

The particles *gi* and *pàt* which are used in post-position are exceptions:

Ateĩsiu tuojaũ pàt.

'I'll come right now'.

Gẽros gi tàvo àkys!

'Aren't your eyes good!'

When used with a prepositional noun phrase, *pàt* is placed between the preposition and noun: *nuo pàt rjto* 'since very morning'.

Monosyllabic particles are usually unstressed (they are proclitics or enclitics). Other particles, including compounds, tend to retain their stress, e.g.: *galbūt* 'maybe', *nejaūgi* 'really(?)', *võs ne võs* 'hardly'.

7.3 With respect to their structure, particles may be simple, compound and complex.

Simple particles are short, mostly monosyllabic words which are not analysable into components in Modern Lithuanian, e.g.: *ař*, *bè*, *dár*, *gì*, *jaū*, *nè*, *nē*, *nèt*, *pàt*, *vìs*, *vēl*.

Compound particles usually comprise two (rarely three) fused components and most of them contain either the negative particle *nè* 'not' or the intensifying *gì*:

<i>nèbe</i> 'not any longer'	<i>ařgi</i> 'really(?)'
<i>nebeñt</i> 'if only'	<i>nègi</i> 'really(?)'
<i>benè</i> (emphatic)	<i>nètgi</i> 'even'
<i>konè</i> 'almost'	<i>nejaūgi</i> 'really(?)' (= <i>nejaū</i> + <i>gì</i>)
<i>mažnè</i> 'almost'	<i>nejaū</i> (= <i>nè</i> + <i>jaū</i>)

A few particles contain other components:

<i>nèmàž</i> 'not at all' (= <i>nē</i> + <i>màž</i>)
<i>tiktaĩ</i> 'only' (= <i>tìk</i> + <i>taĩ</i>)
<i>begù</i> (<i>bè</i> + <i>gù</i>) (interrogative)

The compound particle *kažìn* 'hardly' is a contraction of the phrase *kàs žino* 'who knows', *galbūt* 'perhaps' derives from *gāli būti* '(it) may be'.

Complex particles comprised of two separate components can be semantically indivisible, cf. *võs tik* (as in *Sēnis võs tik pàjuda* 'The old man is hardly capable of moving') and *võs* 'hardly' and *tik* 'only'; here also belong *kõ tik*, *tik tik* 'just'. Most of the complex particles, however, are free combinations of simple particles retaining their own meaning, e.g. *ar nè* 'isn't it', *kad iř* 'even', *lýg tai* '(it) seems', *vien tik* 'just only'; cf. *Taĩ beñt výras!* 'He is quite a man!'

7.4 According to their relatedness to other words, particles fall into primary (non-derived) and secondary (derivative).

The monosyllabic simple particles *ař*, *beñt*, *gì*, *jaū*, *nè*, *tè*, *tìk*, etc. are primary, since they are not relatable to any other words in Modern Lithuanian.

Secondary particles are related to words of other classes (parts of speech), e.g.:

pronouns:

<i>anà</i> 'there'	– <i>anàs</i> , <i>anà</i> 'that'
<i>vìs</i> 'still'	– <i>vìsas</i> , <i>vìsà</i> '(the) whole', 'entire', also the adverb <i>vìsái</i> 'entirely'
<i>štai</i>	– <i>šitas</i> , <i>šita/šità</i> 'this'

adjectives and/or adverbs:

<i>ypač</i> 'especially'	– <i>ypatingas</i> 'special'
<i>lyg</i> 'like, as'	– <i>lygus</i> 'flat, smooth', also the the adverb
<i>lygiai</i> 'smoothly, evenly'	
<i>bemàž</i> 'almost, nearly'	– <i>be mào</i> 'without a little'

verbs:

<i>gál</i> 'maybe'	– <i>gali</i> '(you) can (2. SG. PRES)'
<i>galbút</i> 'maybe'	– <i>gáli búi</i> '(it) may be'
<i>ràsi</i> 'maybe'	– <i>ràsi</i> '(you will) find (2. SG. FUT)'
<i>tařtum</i> 'like'	– <i>tařtum</i> '(you would) say (2. SG. SUBJ)'

All the compound and complex particles are also secondary.

A number of particles have lost their status of words and become bound morphemes within words of other classes, viz. of complex pronouns (*bet kàs* 'anyone', *kažin kàs* 'somebody, something', *koks nòrs* 'any, some') and adverbs (*kažin kaip* 'somehow', *kaip nòrs* 'somehow', *tek pàt* 'as much/many'). The prefixes *ne-* 'not', *nebe-* 'not any more', *te-* 'yet', *tebe-* 'yet' originate from respective particles (cf. *laimė* 'happiness' – *nelaimė* 'misfortune', *dirba* '(he) works' – *nebedirba* '(he) does not work any more', *gyvėna* '(he) lives' – *tebegyvėna* '(he) goes on living'). The components *-gi* and *-gu* in *taigi* 'now then, then', *negù* 'than' also derive from particles.

Semantic types of particles

- 7.5 The meaning of a particle usually varies within certain limits since it is largely dependent on the meaning of words and phrases it occurs with as well as on broader context and/or intonation. Therefore their semantic classification presents considerable difficulties. Nevertheless, they can be tentatively categorized into the following semantic-functional types: (1) specifying and limiting, (2) demonstrative, (3) negative, (4) affirmative, (5) interrogative and dubitative, (6) comparative, (7) optative, (8) intensifying-emphatic, and (9) connecting.

Affirmative, interrogative, comparative and optative particles are modal words, i.e. they express the speaker's attitude to the content of the utterance; intensifying-emphatic particles can also express the speaker's subjective evaluation.

- 7.6 **Specifying and limiting particles.** The particles (1) *bevéik* 'almost', *bemàž*, *maž-daũg*, *konė* and *mažnė* 'nearly, almost', *peř* 'too', *vòs* 'hardly', etc. are used to specify quantity or degree, and (2) *dár* 'yet', *jaũ* 'already', *pàt* 'right', *vėl* 'again', *vis* 'still', *vòs* 'hardly', etc. specify the mode of action or state; cf. respectively:

(1) *Kambarjys bevėik / bemàž pìlnas žmonių.* 'The room is almost full of people.'
Čià peř tamsù. 'It is too dark here.'

(2) *Jiė dár negrįžo.* 'They haven't returned yet.'
Sáulė jaũ nusilėtdo. 'The sun has already set.'

The particle *pàt* specifies spatial or temporal limits expressed by other words, cf.:

Prie pàt trobėlės bũvo šulnỹs. 'There was a well right by the hut.'

The particles *beñt* 'at least', *tik* 'only', *tiktaĩ* 'only', *nėt* 'even', *ýpač* 'especially', *kad iř* 'even', *nebeñt* 'if only', *nórs* 'though', *vien* 'at least', *vien tik* 'even only', usually serve to single out a thing or to limit the meaning of a word.

The particles *tik*, *tiktaĩ*, *vien*, *vien tik* have no additional connotations, whereas *nėt*, *nėtgi*, *nėt ir*, *nė* imply wonder, surprise; cf. respectively:

Mės rãdome tik / tiktaĩ jō ākinius. 'We found only his glasses.'
Jis nėtgi nežinójo jōs ādreso. 'He didn't even know her address.'
Nėt jis atėjo. 'Even he turned up.'

The limiting particles *beñt* 'at least', *nórs* 'though', *kad iř*, *nebeñt* imply concession, e.g.:

Pasimk beñt / nórs lãzdã šunims atsiginti. 'Take at least a stick to defend yourself against the dogs.'

Tã merginã nebeñt ūgiũ panaši į Őnã. 'That girl is at least as tall as Ona (Ann).'

The particle *ýpač* has a very strong specifying and limiting force, e.g.:

Ýpač àš nemėgstu bailiũ. 'Especially I don't like cowards.'

There is no distinct borderline between specifying and limiting particles.

7.7 Demonstrative particles. The particles *anà* 'there', *antaĩ* 'there', *aurė* 'there', *štaĩ* 'here', *šit* 'here', *và* 'here, there', semantically close to demonstrative pronouns, are used to introduce a statement by pointing out the place of an action or a thing, etc.; cf.:

Antaĩ bėga lãpė. 'There is a fox running.'
Štaĩ sėdžiu àš prie lãngo. 'Here I am sitting by the window.'
Štaĩ tãvo knygã. 'Here (is) your book.'

7.8 Affirmative particles. In Standard Lithuanian the only affirmative particle in use is *taĩp* 'yes'; in colloquial Lithuanian the particles *taĩgi* 'yes' and *ahà* 'yea' sometimes are used instead. The particle *taĩp* is often used alone as an affirmative reply to a question:

Ar važiuosi namo? – *Taip.* ‘Will you go home? – Yes.’

It is also used:

(1) when confirming negation:

Juk jūs teñ nebuvote? – *Taip, nebuvaū.* ‘But you weren’t there, were you? – No, I wasn’t (lit. Yes, I wasn’t).’

(2) in echo questions to express surprise:

Ar žinaĩ, kad jis grįžo? – *Taip* ‘Do you know he is back? – Really? No, I didn’t.’
Nežinójau.

It is emphatic in contexts like *Čià taip gražū.* ‘It is so nice here’, and with adverbs, cf. *taip gražiaĩ* ‘so nicely’.

7.9 Negative particles. In Standard Lithuanian, four negative particles are in use: the principal particles *nè* ‘no, not’ and *nebè* ‘not (any more/longer)’, and also *nė* and *neĩ* ‘not (a)’, ‘not even’.

The particle *nebè* differs from *nè* in that it is used to negate continuation of an action or state that has gone on for some time; cf.:

Màno sūnūs ne tóks gėras. ‘My son is not so good.’
Màno sūnūs (jaū) nebe tóks gėras. ‘My son is not so good any longer.’

The particles *nè* and *nebè* also double as negative prefixes:

Jis buvo negėras. ‘He was not good.’
Jis neberášo. ‘He does not write any more.’

In fact, they are spelt together with verbs, adjectives, etc., in accordance with Lithuanian orthography.

The particle *nè* can be used singly in response to a general question. In a reply to a negative question, this particle expresses confirmation and in a reply to a positive question, it expresses negation; cf. respectively:

Nemateĩ jō? – *Nè.* ‘You didn’t see him? – No.’
Ar grįši šiañdien? – *Nè.* ‘Will you return today? – No.’

In response to the question *Juk jūs teñ nebuvote?* ‘You weren’t there, were you?’ one can say *Nè, buvaū* lit. ‘No, (but) I was’, which denies the implied negative presupposition and affirms the opposite (cf. the response *Taip, nebuvaū* ‘No, I wasn’t’ above).

The particle *nė* denotes emphatic negation (a sentence usually contains another negative marker), cf.:

Àš jō nepastebėjau. ‘I didn’t notice him.’
Àš jō nė nepastebėjau. ‘I didn’t even notice him.’

If two or more coordinated words (or clauses) are negated, the reduplicated negative conjunction *neĩ ... neĩ* 'neither ... nor', identical in meaning with the particle *neĩ*, is often used if the predicate has the negative prefix):

Nedžiũgino jõs neĩ šviesĩ saulũtė, 'Neither the bright sun nor
neĩ giždras dangũs. the clear sky gave her joy.'

7.10 Interrogative and dubitative particles. The most common interrogative particle used to introduce general questions is *aĩ*:

Ar teisybė jĩs sãko? 'Does he tell the truth?'

Its functional equivalent is *bė*, which is rarely used; cf.:

Bet pati, be viškã padareĩ? 'But yourself, have you done
everything?'

Questions with these particles and negation acquire the meaning of doubt or supposition. This combined meaning is also rendered, in most cases, by the particle *benė*:

Benė vėĩ bũs kãs atsitĩkė? 'Has anything again happened (I
wonder)?'

The interrogative particles *nėgi/nejaũ/nejaũgi* 'really(?)', *aĩgi* 'indeed(?)', really(?)' strongly imply the speaker's surprise, disbelief or doubt:

Nejaũgi/nejaũ/negi tũ skĩrsies 'Will you really divorce me (= I can't
su maniĩ? believe it)?'

Aĩgi tũ viškã padareĩ? 'Have you really done everything?'

When used in rhetorical questions, these particles express doubt.

Doubt or uncertainty are explicitly rendered by the particles *gãl* 'probably', *galbũt* 'maybe', *kažĩn* 'I doubt/wonder', *rãsi* 'perhaps, maybe', *turbũt* 'probably'; cf.:

Jĩs gãl/galbũt pavėluõs. 'He will be probably late.'
Kažĩn ar jĩs grĩžo. 'I doubt if he is back.'

The modal words *gãl* 'probably', *galbũt* 'maybe', *turbũt* 'probably' are classed with particles here, due to their functional affinity to the latter, since modal words are not distinguished as a special word class in Lithuanian grammar.

7.11 Comparative particles. Here belong *lyg* and *lyg ir* 'like, as if, kind of', *lyg kad* and *nevã* 'ostensibly, as if', *taĩsi/taĩtum/tarĩtum* 'as if, as though' which are used to express ostensible comparison and uncertainty, doubt at the same time; cf.:

Lýg debesis, lýg miglã kokiã nusilėido 'It seemed as if a cloud, a kind of mist
iš viršãus. came from above.'

Dabař jám tarýtum pasidārè lengviaũ. 'Now he, it seemed, felt better.'
Ĵis tařsi atjaunėjo. 'He kind of grew younger.'

These particles may introduce comparative phrases and clauses, in which case they function as conjunctions; cf.:

Ĵis gyvėna lýg/tařsi atsiskýrėlis. 'He lives like a hermit.'

7.12 Optative particles serve to convey the speaker's will, wishes, and the like. The particles *tegũ(l)* and *tė* 'let' are often used with the present or (less commonly) future tense 3rd person form to render the imperative mood 3rd person meaning; cf.:

Ĵeigu nóri, tegũl skraĩdo (PRES). 'If he feels like it, let (him) fly.'
Te kiekvėnas parařys (FUT). 'Let everyone write.'

These particles may also occur with the future or present tense 1st person or with the subjunctive mood:

Geriaũ tegũ ař mĩřsiu, negũ Ĵi išdũosiu. 'Better let me (I'd rather) die (FUT) than betray him.'

In dialects and sometimes in written Standard Lithuanian, the particle *laĩ* is used to render the optative meaning; e.g.:

Laĩ tàs bũs karãlius. 'Let that one be the king.'

To express request, order, wish, threat the particle *kãd* can be used with the subjunctive mood of verbs:

Kad tũ sudėgtum (SUBJ)! 'May you burn! (I wish you would burn!)'
Kad turėčiau (SUBJ) *řiã knygã!* 'I wish I had this book!'

The particles *řė*, *tė*, *nà* which express inducement are used (mostly in colloquial Lithuanian since they sound familiar) when offering or giving something:

řė tãu mařřã pinigũ. 'Here, take this bag of money' (lit. Here a bag of money for you).'

The particles *řėkit* and *tėkit* which are contiguous to interjections are formed from the particles *řė*, *tė* with the imperative suffix and 2. PL ending:

řėkit, imkite vřskã. 'Here, take everything.'

7.13 Intensifying-emphatic particles are used to emphasize a word or a clause. The most common intensifiers are the particles *gĩ*, *Ĵũk* and *iř*:

Ĵis gĩ kvãilas. 'He is just stupid.'
Ĵinaĩ gĩ Ĵõ pãpročius. 'You do know his ways (or: You know his ways, don't you).'

Jùk ir àš tàvo duktē.

'I am your daughter, too, aren't I.'

Jis ir yrà tàs žmogūs, apiē kuri kalbame.

'He is just the man (the very man) we are talking about.'

The particle *gi*, usually postposed to the word it intensifies, sometimes occurs in the initial position:

Gi žinaī, kō jām reikia.

'You do know what he wants.'

The particles *kād*, *kādgi* 'simply', *taī* 'that', *tik* 'only', *nèt* 'even', *jaū kad* 'simply' are also used as emphasizees:

O tàs gaidỹs ant tvorōs kad gieda.

'That rooster on the fence is simply bursting with crowing (lit. just crows).'

Jis nèt pravĩrko.

'He even burst into tears'.

O jì tik veřkia!

'And she is crying and crying!'

Taī būs juōko!

'That'll be a good laugh, won't it!'

The particles *kuō*, *kō* are used with the superlative (sometimes comparative) degree of adjectives and adverbs:

kuō geriáusias / geriáusiai 'the best possible/in the best possible way'
kō geriaū 'as well as possible'

7.14 Connecting particles. The particles *iřgi* 'also, too' and *taip pàt* 'also, too' are used as connectors between clauses and sentences to achieve logical coherence:

Pētras pradėjo juōktis, kitì taip pàt nusijuokė.

'Peter burst out laughing, the others laughed too.'

Àš kã tik sutikaū Jōnã. – Àš iřgi/taip pàt jì sutikaū.

'I've just met John. – I have also met him.'

The intensifying particle *iř*, which is identical in form with the conjunction *iř* 'and', is also used a connector:

Nevãlgyk pyrãgo. – Aš ir nenóriu.

'Don't eat the cake. – [But] I don't even want it.'

The particle *dár* has an additive force, usually when used with interrogative pronouns:

Kàs dár nóri arbãtos?

'Who else wants tea?'

7.15 A number of adverbs and other words and word groups can function as particles in certain contexts, the boundary between particles and other word classes being rather fuzzy.

This is characteristic of the following words:

(1) adverbs, e.g. *tiesióg* 'straight, right', *stačtāi* 'straight', *ganà* 'enough, rather', used as intensifiers; cf.:

Tiē kalnāi tiesióg pāsakiški. 'Those mountains are just fabulous.'
Jis grīžo ganà greīt. 'He returned quite soon.'

(2) the dative case form *mán* 'to me', *táu* 'to you', *sáu* 'to oneself' of the respective personal and reflexive pronouns, used as intensifiers, cf.:

Tù mán nejuokáuk! 'Don't you dare to joke!'
Gyvėnsi sáu kaip ponià. 'You'll live just like a lady.'

(3) the pronoun *vienas* 'one', used as an intensifier:

Vienì vargāi su tavim. 'What a lot of trouble you cause.'

(4) verbal forms like *nelýginant* 'without comparing', *sakýtum(ei)* 'you'd say':

Mēs čià nelýginant/sakýtumei 'We are here just like strangers.'
visái svetimì.

(5) in exclamatory sentences and rhetorical questions, word clusters like *kàs per* 'what(a)', *tai táu*, *šè tau*, *ką tik* 'just', *tai štaĩ* 'so' are used very much like particles to emphasize surprise:

Viēšpatie, kàs per gražūmas! 'Oh dear, what a wonderful sight!'
Tai štaĩ kuř tù buvāi pasislėpęs. 'Ah, so that's where you were hiding.'

8 PREPOSITIONS

Príelinksniai

8.1 Prepositions constitute a class of invariable words which denote the dependence of nouns on other words in the sentence. They express a variety of relational meanings of which spatial relations (e.g. *knygà ant stàlo* 'a book on the table', *eíti į mišką* 'go to the woods') are the most prominent. A preposition followed by a noun or pronoun forms a compact unit with it, called a prepositional phrase. In word groups, a prepositional phrase is subordinated to the head word, which may be a verb, a noun, an adjective, etc. A complement may be a noun or a pronoun or sometimes an adverb, never a clause. Certain Lithuanian prepositions may also be used as postpositions, e.g. *liñk(ui)* 'towards', *dėlei* 'because of' and *viėtoj* 'instead of'. Postpositions which function similarly to prepositions are placed after the case form of a noun or pronoun. The postposition *dėkà* 'due to' may not function as a preposition.

8.2 Lithuanian prepositions are either primary (non-derived) or secondary (derivative).

Primary prepositions are simple (mostly monosyllabic) words which are not formally related to other words in Modern Lithuanian. They are the oldest prepositions historically. Many primary prepositions are identical in form with verbal prefixes, cf.:

<i>į</i> 'into, to'	– <i>į-</i> , as in <i>į-vėsti</i> 'lead in(to), introduce'
<i>iš</i> 'out of'	– <i>iš-</i> , as in <i>iš-vėsti</i> 'lead out(of)'
<i>sù</i> 'with'	– <i>su-</i> , as in <i>su-eíti</i> 'come together'
<i>už</i> 'on, over'	– <i>už-</i> , as in <i>už-dėti</i> 'put on'

Sometimes they differ due to vowel alternation, e.g.:

<i>apiė</i> 'about'	– <i>ap(i)-</i> , as in <i>ap-eíti</i> 'go round'
<i>nuo</i> 'from'	– <i>nu-</i> , as in <i>nu-eíti</i> 'go away'
<i>pra</i> 'by'	– <i>pra-</i> , as in <i>praeíti</i> 'pass by'

The prepositions *añt* 'on', *anót* 'according to', *dėl* 'because of', *iki* 'to, till', *lig(i)* 'till', *pàs* 'at, by, to', are also primary.

Secondary prepositions are those which are related to other words, mostly adverbs, or formally coincide with them, e.g.:

<i>abìpus</i> 'on both sides of'	<i>išilgaĩ</i> 'along'
<i>anàpus</i> and <i>kìtapus</i> 'on the other side of'	<i>įstrižai</i> 'slantwise'
<i>šiàpus</i> 'this side of'	<i>skersai</i> 'across'
<i>aplĩnk(ui)</i> '(a)round'	<i>liĩnk(ui)</i> 'towards, in the direction of'
<i>pāskui/pāskum</i> 'behind, after'	<i>priėš</i> 'against'
<i>gretà</i> 'next to'	<i>tiėš</i> 'by, at'
<i>šalià</i> 'by, next to'	<i>kiaurai</i> 'through'
<i>arti/arčiaũ</i> 'near, by'	<i>viėtoj</i> 'instead of'
<i>artijn</i> 'nearer to'	<i>vidurỹ/viduř</i> 'in the middle of'
<i>netoli</i> 'not far from'	<i>vidũj</i> 'inside'
<i>pirmà/pirmiaũ</i> 'before'	<i>virš/viršũj/viršumĩ</i> 'above'

They may be referred to as adverbial prepositions. Most of them, except *liĩnk(ui)*, *tiėš*, *virš*, *viduř* and *pasàk* 'according to', *pagalĩ* 'along, according to', *tařp* 'between', *dėkà* 'thanks to' are also used as adverbs, cf.:

<i>Gyvenũ arti ùpės.</i>	'I live near the river.'
<i>Įis gyvėna arti.</i>	'He lives nearby.'

These adverbs are in their turn mostly derived either from adjectives (e.g. *ilg-as* 'long': *iš-ilg-aĩ* 'along', *įstriž-as* 'slanting': *įstriž-aĩ* 'slantwise, across'), or nouns (e.g. *viet-à* 'place': *viėt-oj* 'instead of' (lit. 'in place of'), *vidur-ỹs* 'middle': *vidur-ỹ(jė)* 'in the middle of'), a numeral (*pirm-as* 'first': *pirm-à* 'before'), etc.

The locative case of a number of nouns meaning 'end', 'side', and the like may acquire a function similar to that of prepositions; cf.:

<i>galė laũko</i>	'at the end of the field'
<i>šone kėlio</i>	'on the side of the road'
<i>kraštė mării</i>	'by (lit. 'at the edge') lagoon'
<i>priėky / priėšakỹ vežimo</i>	'in front of the cart'
<i>užpakalỹ kolėnos</i>	'behind the column'

Secondary prepositions are more complex with respect to morphemic structure than primary prepositions, since they mostly retain the form of the respective adverbs or case forms.

In Lithuanian, there is also a number of complex prepositions composed of two primary (*iš pō* 'from under' and *iš ùž* 'from behind') or a primary and a secondary (*į anàpus* 'to the other side of', *iš tařp* 'from among') prepositions. In Standard Lithuanian only two of them, viz. *iš pō* and *iš ùž*, are frequent.

- 8.3 Primary and secondary prepositions also differ semantically. Primary prepositions are usually polysemous; as a rule, their meanings tend to be more abstract than those of secondary prepositions, cf. *ant miesto* (= *viršūj miesto*) 'above the town' and *pjkti ant draūgo* 'to be angry with a friend'. They may express a variety of semantic relations within a word group, e.g.:

<i>ateiti iš miško</i>	'to come from the woods' (spatial relation)
<i>ateiti iš rýto</i>	'to come in the morning' (temporal relation)
<i>nāmas iš plýtu</i>	'a house (built) of bricks' (relation between a thing and material)
<i>šokinėti iš džtaūgsmo</i>	'jump with joy' (causal relation)

These meanings are usually determined by the lexical meaning of the complement and, sometimes, of the head word a prepositional phrase depends on.

Secondary prepositions usually retain the lexical meaning of the corresponding adverb, therefore they are concrete and monosemous.

- 8.4 Primary prepositions which have identical correlates among verbal prefixes typically occur with respective prefixed verbs, when used in their spatial meaning, e.g.:

<i>ap-eiti apie nāma</i>	'go around the house'
<i>į-eiti į nāma</i>	'go into the house'
<i>iš-eiti iš nāmo</i>	'go out of the house'
<i>nu-mèsti nuo stālo</i>	'throw from the table'
<i>pér-bègti per kēlią</i>	'run across the road'
<i>pri-eiti prie ūpės</i>	'to come up to the river'

- 8.5 A preposition may have a distinct lexical meaning, especially if it denotes direction, cf.:

<i>į miestą</i>	'to the town'
<i>iš miesto</i>	'from the town'
<i>pro miestą</i>	'past the town'
<i>už miesto</i>	'beyond the town'

In most cases, however, the meaning of a preposition is dependent on that of the complement and its case form (cf. 8.3) therefore it is hard to distinguish one from the other and the meaning of a preposition can be identified with that of the prepositional phrase it occurs in.

- 8.6 In Standard Lithuanian, the genitive, accusative and the instrumental cases occur with prepositions. Most of the prepositions combine with one of these cases only.

The preposition *ūž* takes two case-forms, the genitive and the accusative, and *põ* alone combines with all the three case-forms.

Prepositions with the genitive case

8.7 The majority of prepositions are used with the genitive case, here belong:

(a) the primary prepositions *anót, aņt, bē, dēl(ei), ikì, līg(i), iš, nuō, priē;*

(b) the derivative prepositions *artì (arčīaū, artjyn), aukščīaū, dēkà, gretà, fkanđin, liņk(ui), netolì, pasàk, pīrmà (pīrmīaū, pīřm), pusīáu, šalià, tařp, toliaū, vidūj, vidurj (viduř), vižtoj, viřš (viršūj, viršum), žemiaū; anàpus, abīpus, antràpus, šiàpus, abīšal, anàšal;*

(c) the complex prepositions *iš ūž, iš pō, iš tařp, iš anàpus, i anàpus, už anàpus.*

With *išilgaī, ištřižaī, skersaī, kiauraī, etc.* the genitive alternates with the accusative without a change in meaning (see 8.16, 3). The most characteristic meanings of the more common prepositions are listed below, the primary prepositions being treated first.

8.8 The preposition *aņt* denotes the following:

(1) position on top, or on the surface, e.g.:

<i>gulēti ant grindū</i>	'lie on the floor'
<i>būti ant kálno</i>	'be on the hill'

(2) the final point of movement:

<i>padēti ant stālo</i>	'put (sth) on the table'
<i>atsigūlti ant súolo</i>	'lie down on the bench'

(3) manner or means, depending on the lexical meanings of the complement noun and head verb, cf.:

<i>gulēti ant nūgaros</i>	'lie on (one's) back'
<i>jóti ant žirgo</i>	'ride on horseback'
<i>plaūkti ant lentōs</i>	'swim on a board'
<i>pakēlti ant šākiu</i>	'raise (sth) on a pitchfork'

(4) stimulus or target, with verbs expressing negative emotions or their manifestation, cf.:

<i>pjkti ant kō</i>	'be angry at sb'
<i>rēkauti / bārtis ant kō</i>	'shout/swear at sb'

- 8.9 The preposition *anót* 'according to' and its synonym *pasàk* refer to the source of information; they are used in introductory parenthetical phrases:

Ĵis, anót tĕvo, kvaĩlas. 'As his father says, he is stupid.'
Pasàk laĩkraščiu, bus káršta. 'According to newspapers, it will be hot.'

Anót is colloquial and implies the speaker's agreement with the source, and *pasàk* is rather bookish and carries no implications.

- 8.10 The preposition *bè* 'without, except' (antonymous to *sù* 'with') has no spatial meanings. It is commonly used to denote absence or lack of something. The prepositional phrase *bè* + GEN indicates:

(1) absence or lack of a thing or a person when used with a verb, e.g.:

siúti be ādatos 'sew without a needle'
grĩžti be kepùrès 'return without a cap'
ateĩti be žmonõs 'come without (one's) wife'
dirbti be póilsio 'work without a rest'
gyvènti be džiaũgsmo 'live without joy'

(2) absence of a property or a part, when subordinated to a noun:

nāmas be stógo 'the house without a roof'
žmogùs be sąžinès 'a man without conscience'

(3) being short of some quantity:

litas be ceĩto lit. 'a litas without a cent' (= 99 cents)
šimtas be vieno 'a hundred minus one' (= almost a hundred)

(4) the temporal limit before which an action takes (or does not take) place (usually with negated verbs):

Atsikėliau be šviesõs. 'I got up before daylight.'
Be pavāsario negrĩšiu. 'I won't return before (lit. 'without') spring.'

(5) it has an additive sense in cases like *Be brólto, àš turiu dvi sēseris* 'Besides a brother, I have two sisters'; it denotes exception when used after negated verbs:

Be brólto, àš daugiaũ niėko neturiu 'Except for a brother, I have no relatives.'

- 8.11 The preposition *dĕl(ei)* 'because of, due to, thanks to' expresses abstract relations such as the following:

(1) cause or reason (very often with verbs of emotion and speech):

Žvaĩgdždès atródo māžos dĕl dideliũ atstũmu. 'Stars look small because of the great distances.'

Supykaī dēl niēku. 'You got angry because of nothing.'
Jis skūndēsi dēl nesēkmiū. 'He complained of failures.'

(2) purpose or goal, mostly with verbs of volitional actions especially those of motion:

kovóti dēl láisvēs 'fight for freedom'
išgérti dēl drąsōs 'take a drink for courage'
ateīti dēl mergēlēs 'come to see (lit. 'because of') the fair girl'

(3) concession:

Dēl tókio lietaūs gali eīti 'With this rain, you can go out without an
be skēčio umbrella.'
Dēl manēš gali tr pasikárti. 'As far as I am concerned, you can go hang
yourself.'

(4) content, with verbs of speech and mental processes:

taŗtis dēl paliáubų 'negotiate a truce'
suabejóti dēl tų žōdžių 'doubt the statement'
susirúpinti dēl sveikātos 'get worried about (one's) health'

8.12 The synonymous prepositions *ikì* and *lig(i)* 'as far as, until' specify:

(1) the final limit of movement, or extent of a thing in space:

nueīti ikì / ligi miško 'go as far as the woods'
pakilti ikì debesų 'rise up to the clouds'
(miškas) tēšiasi ikì júros '(the forest) stretches as far as the sea'
ikì stotišs tolì 'it is far to the station'

(2) the temporal limit of an action:

dĩrbti ikì naktiēs 'work till / until night'
grĩžti ikì šeštādienio 'return before Saturday'

(3) the upper limit of quantity:

suskaičiuoti ikì dēšimt 'count to ten'
susiriņko lig šiņto žmoniū 'as many as a hundred people gathered'

(4) the highest degree of a state or an action:

(geležis) įkaīto ikì baltumo '(the iron) got white hot' (lit. 'until whiteness')
juōktis ikì ašarų 'laugh to the point of tears'

8.13 The preposition *iš* 'out of', 'from', 'for' has a very broad range of meanings; depending on the meaning of the complement, it may identify:

(1) the initial point of movement:

(a) from inside a place or a thing:

išeiti iš kambario 'go out of the room'
išiimti iš spintos 'take (sth) out of a cupboard'

(b) from a place, which can be denoted metonymically by a human noun:

grįžti iš miesto / iš sesešs 'return from the town / from one's sister'
parsinėsti paltą iš siuvėjo 'fetch the coat from the tailor'

(c) from the place of activity, the complement denoting an action or process:

grįžti iš karo 'return from a war'
pareiti iš medžioklės 'come back from hunting'

(2) the initial state, with verbs denoting a change of state:

pabūsti iš miego 'awake from sleep'
atsipėikėti iš išgąsčio 'recover from fright'
išeiti iš pusiausvyros 'lose (lit. 'go out of') composure'

(3) material or ingredients of the whole:

Pastatė namą iš plytų. '(He) built a house from bricks.'
Kalbà susideda iš žodžių. 'A language is composed of words.'

(4) a thing which changes into something else:

Iš nāmo liko pelenaĩ. 'Ashes was all that remained of the house.'
Iš erėlio pavirto žmogūs. 'An eagle turned into a man.' (lit. 'A man became out of a eagle.')

(5) the source, especially of information:

sužinoti iš laikraščiu 'learn from newspapers'
pažinti iš eisenos 'recognize by (lit. 'from') the gait'
suprasti iš akių 'understand from the eyes'
pirkti iš kaimyno 'buy from a neighbour'

(6) origin with respect to place, social class or family:

*Jis (kilęs) iš Kaūno / iš vals-
 tiėčių / iš Radvilų.* 'He is (comes) from Kaunas / from
 peasants / from the Radvila family.'

(7) a class or a whole from which a part or component is distinguished:

išsiskirti iš visų 'stand out among all'
vienas iš mokinių 'one of the students'
jauničiausia iš seserų 'the youngest of the sisters'

(8) the object of verbs denoting manifestation of negative emotions:

týčiotis / juōktis iš žmoniū 'jeer/laugh at people'

(9) the cause of negative emotions, states, etc.:

pabálti iš pýkčio 'grow pale with anger'

virpėti iš bálmės 'shake with fear'

miřti iš (nuo) bādo 'die of hunger'

(10) the initial time limit of an action (with temporal nouns):

skaudėti iš (nuo) rýto 'ache since morning'

siřgti iš (nuo) pavāsario 'be ill since spring'

(11) the manner of action (in set phrases):

supràsti iš kárto 'understand at once'

padėti iš širdiės 'help sincerely' (lit. 'from heart')

iš petiės 'with all one's might'

iš esmės 'in essence'

8.14 The preposition *nuo* 'from, off' specifies:

(1) negative direction, viz.

(a) from the initial point downward or upward:

nukristi nuo stālo 'fall from the table'

nusilėisti nuo kálno 'descend from the hill'

pakėlti nuo žemės 'pick up from the ground'

(b) away from the initial point:

ateiti nuo miřko 'come from the direction of the woods'

atsitráukti nuo sienos 'pull away from the wall' (antonymous with *liñk* 'towards', see 8.16, 2)

(c) an entity from which a part is taken or another entity detached (with verbs of respective lexical meanings):

atřiřti žirgą nuo tvorės 'untie a horse from the fence'

nusivalýti sniėgą nuo bātų 'brush snow from (one's) shoes'

(2) relative static position:

Mėdis (auga) netolì nuo nāmo. 'The tree (grows) not far from the house.'

(3) limits of space or distance:

eiti nuo miėsto iki ežero 'go from the town to the lake'

(4) the initial time limit of an action (with temporal nouns):

lýti nuo rýto 'rain since morning'

(5) cause, either external or internal (with verbs of physical and psychological states):

susvyrúoti nuo smūgio 'stagger from (under) the blow'

užsnūsti nuo (iš) núovargio 'fall asleep from fatigue'
(iš is more common in the latter case)

(6) the person(s) as the initiator(s) in collocations like:

Pérduok linkėjimų nuo manęs. 'Give my best regards to ...' (lit. 'from me')

Pasiuntinys atvyko nuo karaliaus. 'The envoy has arrived from the king.'

(7) purpose, when modifying a noun:

váistai nuo gripo 'medicine against the flu'

pastógė nuo lietaus 'shelter from rain'

8.15 The preposition *prie* 'at, by, to' specifies mostly spatial relations:

(1) position next to a place or a thing:

stovėti prie vartų 'stand at the gate'

gyvėnti prie upės 'live by the river'

(2) final point of movement (with or without coming into contact):

nueiti prie ežero 'go to the lake'

prisiglaūsti prie sienos 'press to the wall'

sėsti prie stalo 'sit down at the table'

(3) the person(s) in whose presence the action takes place:

kalbėti prie vaikų 'speak in children's presence'

(4) relation of subordination to an institution:

komisija prie universiteto 'a committee at (attached to, subordinated to) the university'

8.16 The secondary prepositions, including adverbial prepositions, explicate a variety of spatial relations. They identify:

(1) relative place or position (*arti* 'near to', *gretà* 'next to', *šalià* 'next to, on the side of', *netoli* 'not far from', *pirmà* 'in front of', *vidurỹ* 'in the middle of', *virš* 'above', *žemiau* 'under, below', *tařp* 'between, among', *abipus* 'on both sides of', *abùsal* 'on both sides of', *anàpus / kitapus* 'on the other side of') cf.:

<i>bēgti pirmā vežimo</i>	'run in front of the cart'
<i>skraidīti virš miēsto</i>	'fly above the town'
<i>sēdēti šaliā / gretā tēvo</i>	'sit next to (one's) father'
<i>āugti tarp mēdžiu</i>	'grow among the trees'

(2) direction, the final point of movement (*artī* 'next to', also *arčiaū* 'near to', *artīn* 'nearer to', *liņk(ui)* 'towards', *tar̄p* 'between, among', *vidur̄j* 'in the middle of'), cf.:

<i>prieiti artī nāmo</i>	'come up to the house'
<i>diņgti tarp mēdžiu</i>	'disappear among trees'
<i>eiti namū liņk</i>	'go towards home'

(3) route, i.e. direction of movement with reference to the path (*išilgaī* 'along', *skersaī* 'across', *īstrižaī* 'slantwise', *kiauraī* 'through' (with these prepositions, the genitive is interchangeable with the accusative), cf.:

<i>nubēgti skersaī kēlio / kēliā</i>	'run across the road'
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8.17 Few of the secondary (including adverbial) prepositions express other than spatial relations. The following prepositions are used to identify:

(1) temporal relations:

(a) *pirmā* expresses precedence in time:

<i>atējo pirmā mūsū / pūsryčiu</i>	'(he) came before us/breakfast'
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(b) *tar̄p* indicates temporal limits:

<i>atējo tarp pirmōs ir antrōs valandōs</i>	'(he) came between one and two o'clock'
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(c) *vidur̄(j)*, and rarely *vidūj* express the middle of a period of time:

<i>vidur̄ / vidur̄j / vidūj naktiēs</i>	'in the middle of the night'
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(d) *artī* indicates approximate time:

<i>būvo artī vidūrnakčio</i>	'it was close to midnight'
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(2) *artī* is also used to specify the approximate time or quantity:

<i>artī kilogrāmo / kilomētro</i>	'near to (almost) a kilogram/a kilometre'
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tar̄p is used to indicate the limits of quantity:

<i>kainūoja tar̄p penkiū ir dešimtiēs litū</i>	'it costs between five and ten litas'
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(3) *dēkā* 'due to, thanks to', which has no locative meaning, denotes (positive) cause:

<i>jō dārbo dēkā</i>	'thanks to his work'
<i>daūg pasiekti gabūmu dēkā</i>	'achieve much due to talents'

(4) *viētojs* 'in place of' specifies the relations of substitution:

<i>gērti piēnā viētojs vandeñs</i>	'drink milk instead of water'
<i>viētojs tēvo atējo sūnūs</i>	'instead of the father, the son came'

(5) *šaliā* 'along with, next to' is used figuratively to express oppositeness:

<i>šaliā pilnū fōrmu vartojamos ir sutruņpintos</i>	'along with full forms, abbreviated forms are also used'
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8.18 The complex preposition *iš pō* 'from under' can specify spatial and temporal relations:

<i>iš po stālo</i>	'from under the table'
<i>iš po žiemōs</i>	'after (lit. 'from under') winter'

The prepositions *iš ūž* 'from behind', *ī anāpus* 'to the other side', *iš anāpus* 'from the other side' and others specify spatial relations exclusively:

<i>iš už miško</i>	'from behind the forest'
<i>iš anāpus ūpēs</i>	'from the other side of the river'

Prepositions with the accusative case

8.19 The prepositions that require the accusative case of the complement are:

<i>apiē / apliņk(ui)</i> 'about, around'	<i>pāskui / pāskum</i> 'after, behind'
<i>ī</i> 'to, in, into'	<i>peř</i> 'through, over, in, by'
<i>pagal</i> 'by, according to, along'	<i>priēš</i> 'against, before'
<i>palei</i> 'by, near, along'	<i>prō</i> 'through, by'
<i>pās</i> 'by, to, with'	

Most of these prepositions are polysemous.

8.20 The prepositions *apiē* 'about, around' and *apliņk* 'around' are synonymous as regards their spatial meanings, and the latter, being a secondary preposition, has no other meanings. They are used to specify:

(1) the place of an action or position round an object:

<i>stovēti apiē / apliņk lāužā</i>	'stand round the fire'
<i>triņsti apiē namūs</i>	'work about the house'

(2) the route of movement (after verbs of motion):

<i>(api)bēgti apiē / apliņk nāma</i>	'run round the house'
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(3) approximate time (with temporal nouns):

<i>apiē vidūrdienī</i>	'at about midday'
<i>apiē peņktā vālandā</i>	'at about five o'clock'

(4) approximate quantity:

<i>sveīti (svērti) / nupīřkti apiē dū kilogramūs</i>	'weigh/buy about two kilograms'
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(5) content (after verbs of speech and mental processes):

<i>kalbēti apiē kelionēs</i>	'speak about travels'
<i>pāsakoti apiē keliōņē</i>	'tell about the trip'
(but <i>pāsakoti naujienas, īspūdžius</i>)	'tell the news, impressions'
<i>galvōti apiē vaikūs</i>	'think about (the) children'

8.21 The preposition *ī* 'in, to, into' denotes:

(1) direction of movement into, inside a place:

<i>eīti ī miēstā</i>	'go to the town'
<i>padēti ī stālčīņū</i>	'put into the drawer'
<i>īeīti ī kaīmbarī</i>	'come into the room'

The meaning 'inside' is neutralised after verbs of other semantic types:

<i>pasūkti ī dēšīņē</i>	'turn to the right'
<i>atsīrēīti ī mēdī</i>	'lean against a tree'
<i>bēlstis ī durīs</i>	'knock at the door'

(2) when used metaphorically, destination of movement (with nouns denoting activities, events):

<i>īšvījkti ī kārā</i>	'go to war'
<i>nueīti ī susīrīnkīmā, ī šokiūs, ī pāskaitā</i>	'go to a meeting, to dance, to a lecture'

(3) the target of an action (with certain verbs):

<i>žiūrēti ī sáulē</i>	'look at the sun'
<i>táikytis ī žmōgū</i>	'aim at a man'

(4) the result of process (after verbs of change):

<i>Žmónēs pavīřto ī ākmenīs.</i>	'People turned into stones.'
<i>Sānūs išáugo ī vīrā.</i>	'The son has grown into a man.'
<i>Stīklīnē sudūžo ī šukēs.</i>	'The glass broke into pieces.'

(5) the approximate time of action:

<i>Atējo ī vākārā.</i>	'He came when it was almost evening.'
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(6) the standard of comparison:

Sūnūs panašūs ī tėvą 'The son resembles the father.'

8.22 The prepositions *pagal* 'according to; by, along' and *palei* 'along, by, near' are synonymous in their spatial meanings; the former preposition has a broader range of meanings than the latter. They specify:

(1) the route of movement along and outside object:

eiti pagal upę 'walk along the river'

(2) location next to an object (usually long, or of large dimensions):

gulėti pagal/palei tvorą 'lie under (along) the fence'

gyventi palei ežerą 'live next to/by the lake'

(3) the standard or basis of action:

veikti pagal planą 'act according to plan'

rengtis pagal mādą 'dress in accordance with fashion'

(4) the criterion of comparison:

áukštas pagal ámžiu 'tall for (his) age'

(5) the source of information (in parenthetical phrases):

Pagal laikraščius, teñ šáudoma. 'According to newspapers, shooting goes on there.'

8.23 The preposition *pàs* 'by, at; with' has spatial meanings only; it identifies:

(1) location referred to by a human (or animate) noun:

gyventi pas tėvùs 'live with one's parents (at their place)'

pas mūs gražù 'it's beautiful at our place' (lit. 'with us')

(2) the final point of movement also referred to by a human (or generally animate) noun:

sueiti pas draugą 'go together to a friend'

nuvèsti pas daktarą 'take (sb) to a doctor'

(3) with inanimate nouns it is used as a synonym of *prie* in colloquial speech:

stovėti pas láną/prie lángo 'stand at/by the window'

nuėiti pas upę/prie upės 'go to the river'

8.24 The preposition *pāskui/pāskum* 'after, behind' differs from all the others (except its antonym *pirmà* 'in front of') in that it denotes a spatial relation between two moving objects:

<i>jis bēgo pāskui / pāskum manē</i>	'he was running behind me'
Cf. <i>pirmā manēs</i>	'in front of me'
<i>šalīā manēs</i>	'at my side, next to me'

8.25 The preposition *per* 'through, across; in, within' specifies a variety of spatial and other relations:

(1) passage through, within, across, over an object or space:

<i>eīti per mīškā</i>	'go through the forest'
<i>išeīti per durīš</i>	'go out through the door'
<i>žeņgti per sleņkstī</i>	'step across the threshold'
<i>šōkti per tvōrā</i>	'jump over the fence'
<i>važiūoti ī Lōndonā per Parīžiu</i>	'go to London via Paris'

the path of movement from one place to another, covering many:

<i>eīti per krāutuves</i>	'go shopping' (lit. 'through shops')
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(2) the target (usually a body part) at which a blow is aimed:

<i>mūšti per gālva</i>	'beat on the head'
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a part (a body part, as a rule) of the whole to which an action or state is related:

<i>bātai siaurī per pirštūs</i>	'the shoes are narrow at the toes'
<i>lūžo rankā per rīešā</i>	'the hand broke at the wrist'

(3) the distance relative to an object:

<i>stovēti per žiņgsnī nuo dūru</i>	'stand a step away from the door'
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(4) period of time during which an action takes place, or duration of an action:

<i>ateīti per pietūs</i>	'come during dinner'
<i>per (visā) diēnā</i>	'all day long'
<i>padarýti per divī dienās</i>	'do (sth) in (within) two days'

(5) the cause of a (negative) event:

<i>nukentēti per draugūs</i>	'suffer because of (through the fault of) friends'
cf. <i>nukentēti nuo draugū</i>	'suffer from friends'

(6) the mediator or means:

<i>kalbēti per vertējā</i>	'speak through an interpreter'
<i>pranēšti per spaūda</i>	'announce through the press'

(7) exceeding the quantity:

<i>sumokēti per dū šimtūs</i>	'pay more than (over) two hundred'
<i>jāi per trīsdešimt</i>	'she is over thirty (years old)'

8.26 The preposition *prieš* / *priešais* 'against, in front of, before' identifies:

(1) position relative to an object (facing it):

Gyvenū prieš parduotuvę. 'I live opposite a shop.'
Kėdė stovi prieš stalą. 'A chair is before (in front of) the table.'

(2) the opposite direction of motion:

Plaukiaū prieš srovę. 'I swam against the current.'
Vaikai bėga priešais mótiną. 'The children are running to meet (their) mother.'

(3) position in front of a moving object (*pirmà* is more frequent in this case, see 8.16, 1):

Prieš vežimą bėgo šuo. 'In front of the cart a dog ran.'

(4) precedence in time, viz.:

(a) the period of time before which an action takes place:

ateiti prieš rytą 'come before morning'
susitikti prieš karą 'meet before the war'

(b) the period of time that separates the action from the moment of utterance:

Grįžau prieš mėnesį. 'I returned a month ago.'

(5) opposition to the person:

(a) at whom hostile action is directed:

kovoti prieš engėjus 'fight against oppressors'
šiáuštis prieš tėvą 'stand against (one's) father'

(b) with respect to whom a psychological state or its manifestation takes place:

žėmintis prieš viřšininką 'abase oneself with one's superior'
raudonuoti prieš žmónes 'blush in the presence of people'

(6) the standard of comparison:

Sūnūs prieš tėvą negražūs. 'The son is not handsome in comparison (lit. 'against') with father.'

8.27 The preposition *pro* 'past, through' is used to denote spatial relations:

(1) the route of movement past an object or place:

važiuoti pro mišką 'ride past a forest'
jis praėjo pro mane 'he passed by me'

(2) the route of movement through an object, obstruction:

<i>išeiti pro duris</i>	'go out through the door'
<i>bráutis pro minia</i>	'force one's way through a crowd'
<i>švižesti pro rāka</i>	'shine through fog'
<i>žiūrėti pro žiūronùs</i>	'look through binoculars'

Prepositions with the instrumental case

8.28 The prepositions *sù* 'with', *sulig* 'up to' and *tišs* 'by, at, against, opposite, over' are used with the instrumental case exclusively. The most frequent and polysemous of them is *sù* which has no spatial meanings.

8.29 The preposition *sù* 'with' renders a broad variety of comitative and sociative and other relations. It may identify:

(1) the object of verbs denoting reciprocal actions:

<i>giñčytis / draugáuti su mókytoju</i>	'argue/be friends with the teacher'
<i>kovóti su priešu</i>	'struggle with the enemy'

(2) the accompanying person(s) or thing(s), cf. respectively:

(a) <i>Tėvas su vaikaiš būvo namiē.</i>	'The father and children (lit. 'father with children') were at home.'
<i>pakviēsti tėvaq su vaikaiš</i>	'invite the father and his children'
<i>gyvėnti su tėvaiš</i>	'live with one's parents'
(b) <i>žmogùs (atėjo) su kirviù</i>	'the man (came) with an ax'
<i>válgyti dúonaq su sviestu</i>	'eat bread with (= and) butter'

(3) an ingredient, or a feature, or the content of a whole:

<i>nāmas su balkonù</i>	'a house with a balcony'
<i>žmogùs su charākeriu</i>	'a man with (= of) character'
<i>maišas su miltais (= miltų: GEN)</i>	'a bag with (= of) flour'

(4) the time of action (simultaneity with an event, usually a natural phenomenon):

<i>kéltis su sáule</i>	'rise with the sun (= at dawn)'
<i>grįžti su šviesà</i>	'return with light (= while it is light yet)'

(5) the standard of comparison after expressions of similarity and identity:

<i>tapatùs su kuō nòrs</i>	'identical with sb/sth'
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(6) the state of the subject during an action:

<i>kalběti su užsidegimù</i>	'speak with enthusiasm'
<i>láukti su nekantrumù</i>	'wait with impatience'
<i>klausýtis / kalběti su šýpsena</i>	'listen/speak with a smile'

(7) the instrument:

<i>rašýti su pieštukù</i>	'write with a pencil'
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(synonymous with the instrumental case without a preposition: *rašýti pieštukù*)

8.30 The secondary preposition *sulìg* 'up to' (= 'equally') indicates:

(1) the spatial limits of an action on the vertical axis:

<i>vanduō pakìlo sulìg tìltu</i>	'water rose up to the bridge'
<i>nusileñkti sulìg žemè</i>	'bow down to the ground'

(2) the standard of comparison in expressions of equivalence:

<i>mēdis sulìg namù</i>	'a tree as tall as the house'
<i>sulìg tėvu storùmò</i>	'as fat as (his) father'

(3) simultaneity with another event or time:

<i>atsikēlti sulìg sáulès tekėjimu</i>	'get up at (= at the same time as) sunrise'
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8.31 The secondary preposition *tìēs* specifies position relative to an object:

<i>sustóti ties vařtais</i>	'stop at the gate'
<i>áugti ties takeliù</i>	'grow by the path'

It is also synonymous with *viřš* 'over, above':

<i>lémpa kábo ties stalù</i>	'a lamp hangs over the table'
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Prepositions with two and more case forms

8.32 The preposition *už* 'behind, over, outside; later; by, for, etc.', takes either an accusative or a genitive complement. When used with the **genitive** case, it indicates:

(1) position behind or outside the reference point:

<i>būti / áugti už nāmo</i>	'be/grow behind the house'
<i>gyvėnti už miēsto</i>	'live out of town'
<i>sėsti(s) už stālo</i>	'sit down at the table'

(2) distance relative to a place:

*gyvėnti / nuvėžti už dvejų
kilometrų nuo namų* 'live/take (sb) two kilometers
away from home'

(3) the time period after which an action took or will take place:

atėjo / ateis už valandos '(he) came/will come in an hour'
(*põ* + GEN is more common in this sense, see 8.33, 1b)

(4) part of a whole of which hold is taken:

vėsti / patĩti už raĩkos 'lead/take by the hand'
laikytis už turėklo 'hold onto the rail'

When used with the **accusative** case, *už* identifies:

(5) the goal or beneficiary:

kovoti už tėvynę / laisvę 'struggle/fight for the homeland/ freedom'
balsuoti už prezidentą 'vote for the president'

(6) the motive of actions like paying, rewarding, punishing, etc.:

apdovanoti / mokėti / bausti už ką nors 'award/pay/punish for sth'

(7) the sum of money for which a thing is sold or bought:

pirkti / parduoti už dešimt dolerių 'buy/sell for ten dollars'

(8) the motive or stimulus of an emotion or its manifestation:

mylėti / girti / nekėsti / burti už ką nors 'love/praise/hate/scold for sth'

(9) (interchangeably with *viėtoį* 'instead of') the person instead of whom an action is performed:

dirbti už kolegą 'stand in for a colleague'
pasirašyti už sūnų 'sign in one's son's name'

(10) the status (social, professional, etc.) or function of the subject (in colloquial speech):

dirbti už sekretorių 'work as a secretary'

(11) the standard of comparison, with the comparative (rarely superlative) degree of adjectives and adverbs:

sunkėsnis už akmenį 'heavier than stone'

8.33 The preposition *põ* 'about, around, after' is used with all the three cases. When used with the **genitive** case, it specifies:

(1) temporal sequence, viz.:

(a) the period of time which precedes an action:

Po naktiēs pāteka saulē. 'The sun rises after the night.'
Grīžaū po pamokā. 'I returned after the classes.'

(b) the period of time separating an action from the preceding point of reference:

Grīžaū po valandōs. 'I returned in an hour.'
 cf. also *dēšimt (minūčtū) po šeštū* 'ten (minutes) past six'

It is also used in sequences like *dienā po dienōs* 'day after day'

(2) (in colloquial speech) the object which is destroyed or disappears as a result of the action, as in the pattern:

Išteķėjai, ir po gražūmo. 'You marry, and your beauty is gone' (lit. 'and after beauty').

When used with the **accusative** case, *pō* identifies:

(3) the place within the limits of which an iterative action takes place:

vāikščioti po kaņbarī/laukūs 'walk about the room (pace the room)/in the fields'
ieškōti po kišenēs 'search in all the pockets'
keliāuti po krāštā 'travel all over the country'

(4) the route of movement from one place to another or a pervasive movement, with the complement in the plural number:

vāikščioti po parduotuvēs 'go shopping (visit many shops)'
vāikščioti po susstrinkimūs/ draugūs 'attend meetings/visit friends'

(5) the places over which an action or state of a thing is distributed (pervasive static meaning):

Māno ģiminēs gyvōna po visā pasāulī. 'My relatives live all over the world.'

(6) distributive quantity:

dūoti vaikāms po dū ūbuolius 'give children two apples apiece'
vāikščioti po dū 'walk in pairs (= in twos)'

When used with the **instrumental** case, *pō* indicates:

(7) relative position or place of an action under a thing or in proximity to the lower part of it (spatial proximity):

gulěti / paljšti po stalù
sěděti po lánqu
áugti po kálnu

'lie / creep under the table'
'sit at the window'
'grow at the bottom of the hill'

9 CONJUNCTIONS

Jungtùkai

- 9.1 Conjunctions are a class of invariable words which serve to connect notional words, word groups and/or clauses collectively termed conjuncts, cf.:

Jis gražùs, bet mǎžas.

‘He is handsome but small.’

Àš žinaũ, kad jis čìà.

‘I know that he is here.’

Conjunctions differ from prepositions in that they do not determine the grammatical form of nouns, cf.: *mótin-a ir vaik-aĩ* ‘mother (NOM) and children (NOM)’ and *mótin-a su vaik-aĩs* lit. ‘mother (NOM) with (the) children (INSTR)’.

- 9.2 With regard to form, conjunctions are divided into **simple** (one-word) and **complex** (of more than one words) conjunctions.

Most of the **simple conjunctions** are monosyllabic words, e.g.:

õ ‘and, but’

nès ‘as’

iř ‘and’

kàd ‘that’

ař ‘or’

jóg ‘that’

bèt ‘but’

nórs ‘though’

A number of simple conjunctions consist of two or more syllables. Some of them are descended from two- (or more) word clusters, e.g. *bètgì* ‘but’ (*bèt + gì*), *užtát / užtāĩ* ‘therefore’ (*ùž + tāt / ùž + tāĩ*); but in Standard Lithuanian most of them are unanalysable into segments. Here belong:

arbà ‘for’

benè ‘perhaps’

jéigu ‘if’

õgi ‘but’

negù ‘than’

taĩgi ‘so’

nekaĩp ‘than’

kadángi ‘because’

nebeĩt ‘unless’

tiktāĩ ‘only’

A few conjunctions have retained their derivative relations with other words and word forms, thus *tařtum / tarjřtum / tařsi* ‘as if’ are descended from tense and mood forms of the verb *tařti* ‘say’, *nelýginant* ‘like’ is originally a gerund of (*ne*)-*lýginti* ‘(not) compare’).

Simple conjunctions either function as conjunctions exclusively (e.g. *jóg* 'that', *nès* 'as', *kadángi* 'because', *beī* 'and', *tačiaū* 'but, though'), or they double as particles (*aī* 'or', *neī* 'than', *taīsi* / *taīrtum* / *taīytum* 'as if', *tegùl* '(even) though', *tik* 'but', *vòs*, *vòs tik* 'hardly [ever]'; *bèt* 'but', *iī* 'and', *kàd* 'that', *lýg* 'as if', *nórs* 'though'), adverbs (*kadà* 'when', *kòl* 'while', *kaīp* 'how', *kuī* 'where'), or prepositions (*iki* 'until', *ligi* 'until, till'), or interjections (*ò* 'but').

Complex conjunctions are composed of two or more words at least one of which is a simple conjunction. They may be comprised of:

(1) two semantically contiguous conjunctions:

<i>ò tačiaū</i> 'but however'	<i>ligi kòl(ei)</i> 'until, till'
<i>ò bètgi</i> 'but however'	<i>lýg kaīp</i> 'as if'
<i>ò vīs dèltò</i> 'but still'	<i>lýg taīrtum</i> 'as if'
<i>iki kòl(ei)</i> 'until'	<i>nelýgtinant kaīp</i> 'like, as if'

(2) a (subordinating) conjunction or adverb and the particle *tik* 'only':

<i>kaī tik</i> 'as soon as'	<i>līg tik</i> 'as soon as'
<i>vòs tik</i> 'as soon as'	<i>kòl tik</i> 'while'
<i>jéi tik</i> 'if only'	<i>kadà tik</i> 'just when'

(3) a (comparative) conjunction and the particle *kàd*:

<i>kaīp kàd</i> 'as, like'	<i>negù kàd</i> 'than'
<i>lýg kàd</i> 'as, if'	<i>nebeñt kàd</i> 'unless'

(4) a conjunction such as *kàd* 'that' or *nórs* 'though', etc., and the particle *iī*:

<i>kàd iī</i> 'though'	<i>nórs iī</i> 'though'
<i>tegùl iī</i> 'though'	<i>kaīp iī</i> 'as if, like'

If a particle retains its intensifying force, the conjunction is regarded as a simple one, i.e. the particle does not become a part of the latter; e.g.:

<i>Malonù aplankýti svētimas</i>	'It is a pleasure to visit foreign
<i>šalis, bèt ir teñ galvóji apiē</i>	countries, but even there one
<i>namùs.</i>	keeps thinking about home.'

9.3 According to the number of positions they occupy in a sentence, conjunctions are divided into one-place (single) and two-place (multiple-place) units.

One-place (single) conjunctions (simple and complex) are positioned either between conjuncts (e.g. *brólis ir sesuō* 'brother and sister'; *Ateīsiu, jéigu nelis* 'I'll come if it does not rain') or they precede the first one (e.g. *Jéigu nelis, ateīsiu* 'If it doesn't rain I'll come').

Multi-place conjunctions consist of two, rarely more elements each introducing a conjunct, e.g.: *Kuð giliaū į miška, tuð daugiaū mēdžiu* 'The deeper into the forest, the more trees.' They are subdivided into paired and reduplicated conjunctions.

Paired conjunctions consist of two formally different elements each introducing a conjunct. Two types of paired conjunctions are distinguished:

(1) the first part corresponds to a concessive (subordinating) conjunction, and the second to an adversative (coordinating) conjunction; here belong:

<i>kad iř ... bēt</i>	'however ... but'
<i>kad iř ... ō / tačiaū</i>	'though ... but'
<i>nōrs (iř) ... bēt / ō / tačiaū</i>	'though ... but'
<i>tegū ... bēt</i>	'even if ... but'; e.g.:

Nors / Kad ir labaī stēngēmēs, bet niēko negalējom padaryti. 'However hard we tried (but) we couldn't do anything.'

Nors naktis būvo tamsi ir šaltà, tačiaū vaikaī laimìngai pasiekē namūs. 'Though the night was dark and cold, (but) the children reached home safely.'

(2) the first part corresponds to a coordinating conjunction (or another type of conjunctive word), and the second to the particle *taī*, sometimes *taīp*; here belong:

kaī ... taī / taīp 'if / when ... then', *kadà ... taī* 'when ... then', *kōl ... taī* 'while ... then', *ikì ... taī* 'until ... then', *kadàngi ... taī / tàd* 'because ... then', *jéi(gu) ... taī* 'if ... then', *kàd (iř) ... taī* 'even if ... then', *tegùl (tr) ... taī* 'even if ... then'; e.g.:

Kai àš kur nōrs iškeliāju, tai vaikaī galvōm eīna. 'As soon as I go away, the children start romping.'

Kadàngi labaī kāršta būvo, tai dūrys būvo ikì gālo atidaros. 'As it was very hot, the door was wide open.'

Jei beñt kiek pavēluosi, tai tikraī niēko namiē neràsi. 'If you are even a little late, you are sure to find no one at home.'

There is a special group of conjunctions *kuð ... tuð* 'the ... the', *juð ... tuð*, *juð ... juð* with the same meaning, comprised of components which are never used as simple conjunctions; cf.:

Kuð / Juð daugiaū skaitýsi, tuð daugiaū sužinósi. 'The more you will read the more you will learn.'

Reduplicated conjunctions are comprised of identical elements which can be repeated any number of times. The component elements are either simple conjunctions or they are identical with adverbs, cf. respectively:

iř ... iř 'both ... and', *ař ... ař* 'whether ... or', *arbà ... arbà* 'either ... or', *neī ... neī* 'neither ... nor', *taī ... taī* 'now ... now'; and *čia ... čia* 'now ... now', *tiek ... tiek* 'both ... and'.

- 9.4 With regard to the type of relations they express, coordinating and subordinating conjunctions are distinguished.

Coordinating conjunctions (coordinators) serve to connect units, (either words or clauses) of equal syntactic status.

Subordinating conjunctions (subordinators) serve to express the relation of subordination between clauses (rarely words).

The conjunction *ař* is polyfunctional: it is used to denote both coordination and subordination, cf. respectively:

Ĵis būvo ĵōs ĵimináttis ar nèt brólis. 'He was her relative or even brother.'
Pažiārėk, ar ĵis čia. 'See if he is here.'

COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

- 9.5 The coordinators *beř* 'and' and *neř* 'nor' are used to connect words and word groups exclusively, whereas *tař* 'so', *tařgi* 'so', *tad* 'so, thus', *vis dėtō* 'still, however', *vis tėek* 'all the same, nevertheless' are used to connect clauses. The other conjunctions can join both words within a clause and clauses within a composite sentence. With regard to meaning, coordinators are subcategorized into the following types:

(1) **Copulative (cumulative)** conjunctions: *iř* 'and', *iř ... iř* 'both ... and', *beř* 'and', *čia ... čia* 'now ... now', *neř* 'nor', *neř ... neř* 'neither ... nor', *tař ... tař* 'now ... now', *tėek ... tėek* 'both ... and'; they have additive force, e.g.:

<i>Sodė siřpo obuoliai ir vřřnios.</i>	'In the garden apples and cherries were ripening.'
<i>Rudenį daūg dārbo ir namiė, ir laukuosė.</i>	'In autumn there is much work both at home and in the fields.'
<i>Láužas tař / čia suliėpsnódavo, tař / čia vėl ĵėsdavo.</i>	'Now the bonfire flared up up now it died out.'
<i>Mergáttė neturėjo tėvo neř mótinos.</i>	lit. 'The girl had neither father nor mother.'
<i>Ĵis táu neř patařs, neř padėš.</i>	'He will neither give you advice nor help you.'

The conjunction *beř* coordinates words and word groups that are very close in meaning. This coordinated group may in its turn be linked to a word group by the conjunction *iř*:

*Pavāsaris beī vāsara iř ruđuð
beī žiemà skìria metùs ĩ šviēsujj
iř tařsujj mēta.*

‘Spring and summer, and autumn
and winter constitute the light
and the dark periods of the year.’

(2) **Adversative conjunctions:** *bèt(gi)* ‘but’, *ð(gi)* ‘but’, *tačiaū* ‘but, while, whereas’, *tik(tai)* ‘only, but’, *vìs dēltō* ‘still, however’, *vìs tik* ‘still’, *(bet) užitāt* ‘but, but then’, *o bētgì* ‘and nevertheless’, *o tačiaū* ‘but, whereas’, *o vīs dēltō* ‘and still’, *bet vīs dēltō* ‘but still’; they express contrast between conjuncts; e.g.:

*Mókslo šāknys kārčios, bēt jð
vaīšiai sáldūs.*

‘The roots of learning are bitter,
but its fruit is sweet.’

*Sēserys liko namiž, ð brólis
išējo apsižvalgýti.*

‘The sisters stayed at home, and the brother
went out to have a look around.’

*Šaūkē jì ilgāi, (ð) tačiaū niēkas
neatsiliepē.*

‘She shouted for a long time but
no one answered.’

*Vìsì dīrbo ligi vākaro, tik
Pētras vaikštīnējo švilpaudamas.*

lit. ‘Everybody worked until evening
only Peter loitered about whistling.’

*Ēsame dabař neturtingi, (bēt)
užitāt laisvì.*

‘We are poor now, but (we are)
free.’

*Netikējau jð pagyromìs, (ð) vīs
dēltō klausýtis būvo malonū.*

‘I didn’t believe his praise, but
all the same it was pleasant to listen.’

(3) **Disjunctive (alternative) conjunctions:** *ař* ‘or’, *ař ... ař* ‘either ... or’, *arbà* ‘or’, *arbà ... arbà* ‘either ... or’; they offer a choice between conjuncts; e.g.:

Šiañdien ař rytój grīši?

‘Will you return today or tomorrow?’

*Ař tū šaūksi, ar nešaūksi, niēkas
čìà neišgiřs.*

‘Whether you shout or not
(shout), – nobody will hear you here.’

*Dabař reikējo (arbà) nugalēti
arbà miřti.*

‘Now we had (either) to win or to die.’

(4) **Consecutive (inferential) conjunctions:** *taī/taīgi* ‘so, thus, therefore’, *tàð* ‘so, therefore’, they denote consequence or result; e.g.:

*Mergáitē pasijùto blogāi, tàð
(taī/taīgi) paprāšē brólį vástų
padúoti.*

‘The girl felt unwell, therefore
she asked her brother to give her
some medicine.’

A number of adverbs, e.g. *todēl* ‘therefore’, *per tai* ‘for that’, are also used to express consecutive relations. The explanatory relation can be expressed by words like *bútent* ‘namely’, *dēstis* ‘depending on’, *nelygu* ‘unlike’, *taī yrà* ‘that is’, *kaip antai* ‘for example’, which function very much like conjunctions.

To cover both conjunctions proper and words of other classes (some adverbs, pronouns and particles), that have a connective function, the term **conjunctives** is used.

SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

- 9.6 These conjunctions introduce a subordinate constituent (typically a clause) by connecting it with the principal constituent. A subordinate clause is dependent either on the main clause or on a word or word group in the latter.
- 9.7 Subordinating conjunctions are subcategorized into semantically loaded and asemanic conjunctions. The latter indicate syntactic subordination of a conjunct without explicating the semantic relationship which is dependent upon the *structural properties of a sentence*. Here belong the subordinators *kàd* 'that' and *jóg* 'that'. They subordinate completive and correlative clauses; on the other hand, the conjunction *kàd* is also used to express the semantic relations of cause, concession, condition, and purpose. The other conjunctions express both syntactic and semantic relations between conjuncts. Subordinators may be categorized into the following semantic types:

(1) **temporal** subordinators: *kaī* 'while, as', *kadà* 'when', *ikì/lìg(i)* 'until', *kōl* 'while, till', *vōs* 'as soon as', *tik* 'as soon as', *kadà tik* 'just when', *kaī tik* 'as soon as', *lìg(i) tik* 'only until', *vōs tik* 'as soon as', *kōl tik* 'only while/till', *ikì kōl(ei)* 'until', *kaī ... taī* 'when ... then', *kaī tik ... taī iř* 'as soon as ... then', *kadà ... taī* 'when ... then', *kōl ... taī* 'while ... then', *ikì ... taī* 'until ... then'; e.g.:

Kaī saulé tekėjo, mūsų linaī žydėjo.

'When the sun rose our flax was blossoming.'

Pasilik čià, kōl / ikì tavė pašauksiu.

'Stay here until I call you.'

Vōs (tik) nuaidėjo pirmieji šūviai, iš visų pusių subėgo daugybė žmonių.

'As soon as the first shots sounded, many people came running from everywhere.'

Kaī tik aš išvažiuoju, taī vis kàs nōrs atsitiņka.

'As soon as I leave, (then) something always happens.'

(2) subordinators of **cause**: *nēs* 'as', *kadangi* 'because', *kadangi ... taī* 'as ... then', *kadangi ... tad* 'as ... therefore'; e.g.:

Negalėjau táu parašyti laiško, nēs nežinójau adresu.

'I couldn't write you a letter as I didn't know your address.'

Kadangi buvo jaū vėlius vākaras, (taī) reikėjo kur nōrs apsisitoti pailsėti.

'As it was late night, we had to stop for a rest.'

(3) subordinators of **condition**: *jėi* 'if', *jėigu* 'if', *jėi(gu)* ... *taĩ* (*iř*) 'if ... then'; e.g.:

*Jėigu kã nũveikiau gėra,
pasakỹs kitĩ.*

'If have done any good, others
will say (about it).'

*Jėi per daũg norėsi, taĩ niėko
neturėsi.*

'If you want too much you will
have nothing.'

(4) the subordinator of **purpose** *idaĩt* 'in order that'; it is rarely used in Standard Lithuanian; the asemantic conjunction *kãd* 'that' is more common in this function; e.g.:

*Uĩėėjome į šį nãmq, idaĩt/kãd
pamatỹtume vienaį įdomiãusiu
reginiũ.*

'We went into this house in order
to see (lit. so that we could see)
one of the most interesting sights.'

(5) subordinators of **concession**: *nĩrs* (*iř*) 'though', *kãd iř* 'even though', *teguĩ* (*iř*) 'even if'; *nĩrs* (*iř*) ... *tačiaũ* 'though ... but', *nĩrs* (*iř*) ... *ĩ* 'though ... but', *nĩrs* (*iř*) ... *bėt* (*vis dėltĩ*) / (*vis*) *dėltĩ* / *vis tik* 'though ... but/all the same', *kãd iř* ... *tačiaũ* / *ĩ* / *bėt* (*vis dėltĩ*) / *vis dėltĩ* / *taĩ* 'even if ... but/all the same', *teguĩ* (*iř*) ... *bėt* (*vis dėltĩ*) / *vis* (*dėltĩ*) / *taĩ* 'even if ... but/all the same'; e.g.:

Nĩrs (*iř*) *labaĩ stėngėmės, (bėt)
niėko negalėjome pamatỹti.*

'Though we tried hard, we
couldn't see anything.'

*Teguĩ jis iř blĩgas žmogũs, ta-
ciaũ / vis dėltĩ vienaį kaĩtã mán
pagėlbėjo.*

'Even if he is a bad man (but) /
all the same he helped me once.'

Kãd iř aiřskiai sakaĩ, nesuprantũ.

'Though you speak clearly, I
don't understand.'

(6) subordinators of **comparison**; they are further divided into three subtypes:

(a) subordinators of similarity: *kaĩp* 'like', *lyg* 'as if', *taĩtum* / *taryĩtum* / *taĩsi* 'as if, as though', *ĩt* 'as if, like', *nelỹginant* 'like'; *lyg taĩtum* 'as if/though', *lyg kaĩp* 'like', *lyg kãd* 'like, as if', *kaĩp kãd* 'like', *nelỹginant kaĩp* 'like'; e.g.:

Čia gyvėnsi kaĩp poniã.

'You will live here like a lady.'

*Visas gyvėnimas praėjo lyg/taĩtum
sunkũs sãpnas.*

'All life has passed like a nightmare.'

*Ramiaĩ sėdėk, lyg kãd niėko
nebũtum mãtėš.*

'Stay quiet, as if you have not
seen anything.'

(b) subordinators of proportion: *juĩ* ... *juĩ* and *juĩ* ... *tuĩ* 'the ... the', *kuĩ* ... *tuĩ* 'the ... the'; e.g.:

*Juĩ / Kuĩ aukščiaũ kĩpsi, juĩ/
tuĩ daugiaũ pamatỹsi.*

'The higher you will climb the
more you will see.'

(c) subordinators of difference: *negù* 'than', *nekaīp* 'than', *neī* 'than' (rarely used), *kaīp* 'than', *negù kàd* 'than'; e.g.:

*Kálnas bìvo aukštēsnis, negù
(kàd) iš pradžiū atródē.*

'The mountain was higher than it
had seemed at first.'

*Ji visadà reñgēsi puošniaū
neī/nekaīp kitos.*

'She was always better dressed
than the others.'

10 INTERJECTIONS

Jaustūkai

- 10.1 Interjections are a class of invariable words which express emotions, reactions or commands without naming them. They do not enter into syntactic relations with any other words in a sentence.

Interjections have no referential meaning: they serve as verbal signals, often in conjunction with extralinguistic signs of communication such as gestures and facial expression, which also indicate the speaker's emotions, mood or will.

Interjections fall under two types, interjections proper (e.g. *àk* 'oh', *ói* 'ouch', *nà* 'well', *éi* 'hey') and vocative interjections used to call or drive away domestic animals (e.g. *kàt kàt* 'puss puss', *škàc* 'shoo').

Interjections proper are further subdivided into emotive and imperative interjections. Vocative interjections may also be regarded as a subclass of imperative interjections.

Emotive interjections express a broad range of the speaker's emotions, e.g. surprise, admiration, regret, pain, disgust, etc.; here belong *ã*, *àk*, *ě*, *éi*, *ài*, *ói*, *ojè*, *břr*, *èt* and a great many others.

Imperative interjections express the speaker's will, commands, encouragement or appeal to the listener, e.g. *éi* 'hey', *òpa!* 'hop', *šã* (*šà*) 'hush', *šš*, *tìč*, *tš(š)*, *tss* 'sh-sh', *márš!* 'march!', etc. There are other exclamatory words which function very much like interjections, viz. formulaic words required by speech etiquette, such as *ãčìū* and *děkui* 'thanks', *sudiē* 'goodbye', *labānakt* 'goodnight', etc., which retain their initial meaning. In grammars of Lithuanian, they are traditionally classed with imperative interjections, due to their functional affinity.

The lexical and grammatical meaning of interjections is not easy to define, since their content is purely emotive. Syntactically, interjections function either as emotive-expressive elements in a sentence (cf. *Ái, skaūda!* 'Ouch, it hurts!') or as sentence equivalents like *ãčìū* 'thank you' and *sudiē* 'good-bye'.

According to their structure, interjections can be divided into primary (non-derived) and secondary (derived) units.

10.2 Primary interjections have indeterminate morphological structure. They may consist either of a single vowel, viz. a monophthong (e.g. *ā, à, ě, è, ŷ, ō, ù, ū*) or a diphthong (*ái, ói, éi, ùi*), or a cluster of two or more phonemes (*ojě, ovà*). The vowel in an interjection may be lengthened or reduplicated: *Aà!, Ěě! Oō(ō)!*, e.g.:

Oō, kítek žmoniŭ!

'Gee, what a crowd!'

An interjection may be a combination of a short and a long vowel, e.g. *aā, eē*. The consonants *h* and *j* are often inserted between two identical vowels (*ahà, ohò, ohohò; ajà, ajajà*) and sometimes between different vowels (*ojè, ajè, ajà*).

Diphthongs may be reduplicated: *ai ái, ai ai ái*. The consonant *j* may be inserted here, too (in other words, the second component of the diphthong changes into *j*): *ai + ai = ajái, ajajái*.

A number of primary conjunctions have variants with the initial consonant *v*: *vái, vói, vùí, vajái*.

Quite a number of primary interjections consist of a vowel and a consonant: *àk, àt, èg, èt, èch, èk, òt, òpa, nà, šà, tè*. Some of them are usually reduplicated in speech (*ta tà, te tè, tiŭ tiŭ*), often with an added initial vowel, e.g. *ātata, ētete, ūtiti* (*ūtiti*), *òpapa, òčiačia, òlialia, ěpapa, àpapa*, etc.

There are also a few interjections comprising a prolonged consonant: *ss(s)!, šš(š)*, also *mm(m)*.

The interjection *mm(m-m)* has variants with *h*, viz. *hm* and *mhm*, cf.:

M-m, labaī skanù...

'Mm, (it) tastes good...'

M-h-m, nežinaŭ...

'Mm, I don't know...'

A number of primary interjections are of onomatopoeic origin. For instance, the interjections *viaŭ, éu* and the like imitate sounds caused by disgust or retching. The interjections *tfù, tfúi, pfù, pfúi, pfŭ, fù, fè, fi* imitate spitting; *břr* and *ŭtiti* are used when shivering with cold or fright. Cf.:

Pfúi, věl apsirikaŭ!

'Darn it, I'm wrong again!'

Břr... visái sustiraŭ nuō šalčio!

'Brr, I'm stiff with cold!'

10.3 Secondary interjections are descended from words of other classes through loss of their referential meaning and, as a rule, morphological properties.

Most secondary interjections are related to the vocative case of nouns and imperative verb forms (2. Sg.). Thus the interjections *diě, bról* are abbreviated desemanticized forms of the vocatives *Diěve!* 'God!', *Bróli!*, *Brolaŭ!* 'Brother!', e.g.:

Diě, Petrŭli, neminěk tŭ jō nakčìa.

'Gosh, Peter, never mention him at night.'

Taŭp jaŭ, bról, yrà, niěko nepadarýsi.

'That's how it is, dear, nothing doing.'

The full vocative forms of these nouns (*Diēve* 'God', *bróli* 'brother'), also with a diminutive suffix and the ending of a different stem (*Dievūliau* (= *Dievūli*) and *Dievulēliau* (= *Dievulēli*) 'Dearest God', *brolaū* (= *bróli*) 'brother', *motinēliau* (= *motinēle*) 'dearest mother') are also used as interjections, usually in conjunction with a primary interjection, cf.:

*Ūi, Dievūliau, ar iki pietū
miegosite!* 'Oh, Dearest God, are you
going to sleep until noon!'

A number of interjections are related to other case forms. Thus, *dejā* 'alas' is the petrified nominative case form of a noun; *velnióp* 'to hell', expressing disgust or anger, is the archaic allative form of the noun *vēlnias* 'devil'.

The interjections *žiū*, *pal*, *palà*, *išgraūš*, *išgraū*, *išgraūž* are descended from 2. SG imperative verb forms *žiūrēk* 'look', *paláuk* 'wait', and *išgráuzk* 'cut (it) out' respectively; cf.:

Žiū, jau atvažiuoja! 'Look, they are coming already!
Palà, kā tū norėjai pasakyti? 'Wait, what did you want to say?'

The 2. SG imperative forms *eik* (: *eiti* 'go'), *išlùpk* (: *išlùpti* 'pull out') are also used as interjections to express disbelief, resp. ingratitude:

Eik, eik, negāli tō būti! 'Don't say so (lit. go, go) that's impossible!'

The interjections *valiō* 'hurray' (: *valiōti* 'be able'), *ėdrō* (: *ėdrōti* 'eat' (of animals)) expressing joy, encouragement, are also deverbal derivatives.

The units *lābas* 'hello', *sveikas* (-à, -i) 'hello', *skalsù* 'bon appétit!', used as interjections are formally identical with the adjectives *lābas* (*rýtas*) 'good (morning)', *sveikas* 'healthy', *skalsùs* 'long-lasting, abundant, nourishing', respectively.

The words *dēkui* 'thank you' and *āčiū* 'thank you' are Slavic borrowings.

A number of interjections, e.g. *šè*, *tè*, are formally identical with particles, the difference being semantic and functional, cf.:

Šè, jau ir tàs miēga. 'Well, even this one is asleep already
(interjection).'

Šè táu knygą. 'Here is the book, take it (particle).'

A few interjections are related to other word classes, e.g. *taī* is identical with the pronoun *taī* 'that', *šimts* with the numeral *šimts* 'hundred'; cf.:

Taī! Iki paskutinio skatiko nulūpo. 'Oh dear, he's robbed me clean.'

10.4 A number of interjections are clusters of two or more words merged into one word that has acquired the emotional meaning and other properties characteristic of

interjections. The most common type here is a blend of an interjection and a particle, e.g.: *ajaũ* < *a* + *jaũ*, *avà* < *a* + *và*, *evà* < *e* + *và*, *avè* < *a* + *vè*. The emphatic particle *gi* is the most frequent one here, cf.: *ẽgi*, *õgi*, *eĩgi*, *ètgi*, *nàgi*.

Two interjections are often blended into one: *ojái*, *ajùi*; they may be extended by an additional formant: *ajèg*, *ajègi*, *ajējau*, *ajèti*. The interjection *aimán* is composed of the primary interjection *ài* and pronoun *mán* 'me (DAT)'.

An interjection can have a number of variants, e.g., alongside *ojà* 'oh', its variants *ojè*, *ojègi*, *ojègis*, *ojeĩ*, *ojejáičiau*, *ojètus* are used.

There are also complex interjections composed of (a) two interjections, e.g. *o véi*, *oi véi*, *ei véi*; (b) interjection + particle, e.g. *èt jau*, *àk jau*; (c) interjection + pronoun, e.g. *eĩ tu* lit. 'oh you', *vajè tu*, *àk tu*; cf.:

<i>Àk jau, nenóriu niẽko.</i>	'Oh, dear, I don't anything.'
<i>Vajè tu, neĩk teĩ.</i>	'Oh dear, don't go there.'

10.5 The following interjections (formulaic exclamations) are word groups blended into one:

<i>dievaži, dievãž, dievažiĩ</i>	(< <i>Diẽvas žino</i> 'God knows')
<i>sudiẽ, sudiẽv, sudiẽu</i>	(< <i>su Dievũ</i> 'with God')
<i>dievomylẽk, diemylẽk, die(v)mylỹ</i>	(< <i>Diẽve, mylẽk</i> 'God, love (us)')
<i>dievegĩn</i>	(< <i>Diẽve, gĩnk</i> 'God forbid')
<i>amžinãtilsj</i>	(< <i>Àmžinqãtilsj</i> 'Eternal rest (ACC)' = 'Rest in peace')
<i>labarýt, labrýt</i>	(< <i>Lãbas rýtas</i> 'Good morning')
<i>labadiẽn</i>	(< <i>Labà dienà</i> 'Good afternoon' (lit. 'Good day'))
<i>labãnakt, labãnaktis</i>	(< <i>Labà naktis, Lãbq nãktj</i> 'Good night')

The respective full words groups are also used in speech.

There is an number of idiomatic phrases containing words like *Diẽvas* 'God', *Viẽšpats* '(God) Almighty', *vẽlnias* 'devil', *perkũnas* 'thunder'; 'Thunderer (god of thunder)', that are used very much like interjections, cf.:

<i>Diẽve nedũok</i>	'God forbid'
<i>Diẽve sérgẽk</i>	'God protect'
<i>po velniũ/velniaĩs</i>	'damn'
<i>velniaĩ ráutu</i>	'confound it'
<i>nẽ vėlnio</i>	'no, the hell' (emph.)
<i>po perkũnu</i>	'damn'

The nouns *gālas* 'end', *šuō* 'dog', *būdelis* 'hangman', *bēdā* 'misfortune', *vařgas* 'misery, trouble', and the numeral *šimtas* 'hundred' are frequent in this kind of idioms; the latter often contain the particle *kād* and pronouns *tū* 'thou', *jis* 'he', *ji* 'she'; cf.:

<i>kād tavè gālas</i>	'Oh damn!'
<i>po galaīs</i>	'damn'
<i>vařge tu mào</i>	'Oh dear, dear'
<i>po šimts velniū (pypkiu, kalakūtu)</i>	'confound it' (lit. 'a hundred devils (pipes, turkeys)')
<i>nà dabař tau</i>	'oh my, oh well'
<i>tūščia jō (jōs, jū)</i>	'damn him (her, them)'.

Quite a number of interjectional set phrases, used to express surprise, disappointment, admiration, etc., contain the desemanticized adverb *kuř* 'where', sometimes *kiek* 'so (how) many', *kaip* 'how', e.g.: *kuř tau*, *kuř čia*, *kuř nè*, cf.:

<i>Maniaū, jis griš. Bèt kuř tau!</i>	'I thought he would come back. But alas!'
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Meaning and usage of interjections

10.6 As was mentioned above, interjections proper can be emotive and imperative. Due to the absence of referential meaning, the majority of interjections are used to express a variety of feelings each. The meaning is often determined by context and speech situation. Intonation plays a particularly important role. For instance, the interjection *ā* can express quite different emotions depending on the factors mentioned, e.g.:

remorse: <i>Ā, negeraī padariaū.</i>	'Oh dear, I've done the wrong thing.'
surprise: <i>Ā! Kàs gi čia tōks?</i>	'Oh! Who's this one?'
relief: <i>Ā, dabař tavè prisimenu.</i>	'Oh, now I remember who you are.'

Similarly, the interjections *ō*, *ē*, *āk!*, *ái*, and many other primary interjections can express admiration, joy, surprise, or sorrow, pity, regret, indignation, complaint, etc., e.g.:

surprise:

Ō! Ji jaũ parėjo.

'Oh! She is back already.'

admiration:

Ō! Tai beñt výras!

'Oh! He is a real man!'

contentment:

Ō, kad miegójau, tai miegójau.

'Oh, I slept like a log.'

The meaning of a number of interjections is less dependent on the factors mentioned. In the first place, this is true of secondary interjections like *dejà* 'alas', *valiõ* 'hurrah', *palà* 'here', *velnióp* '(to) hell', *diẽ* '(oh) dear', etc. The following interjections are also specialized with respect to meaning and usage: *tfũ* and *viáu* express contempt, *ātata* is used when one is hot or pleased; *ss*, *šš(š)*, *ts(s)* and *tš(š)* are used to request silence, (e.g.: *Šš, pasiklausyk* 'Hush, listen'); the interjections *òp* (*òpa*, *òpapa*) and *ùpa* (*ùpapa*) are used when lifting a heavy thing or jumping over an obstacle, or urging someone to do it.

Interjections are characteristic of expressive, emotional speech. Their repetition serves to create an emphatic colouring for speech. They can be used instead of descriptive notional words to give an emotional evaluation, e.g.: *Jõnas – tai výras oho-ohò!* 'John, he is super' (lit. 'John, he is a man oho!'). They can also function as sentence equivalents, e.g.: *Břr...* (when scared or cold); *Valiõ!* 'Hurrah!', 'Bravo!'; *Ái!* 'Ouch!' (sudden pain) or *Ói!* 'Oh!' (fright). Emotive interjections are a property of colloquial everyday speech: they make conversation lively, emotional, and add familiarity and intimacy.

A number of interjections also serve to intensify rhetorical questions, addressing somebody and exclamatory sentences and thus make speech elevated and solemn, e.g.:

O láisve, tu kařtais už grandinès sunkènè.

'Oh freedom, you can be heavier than chains.'

For all these reasons, interjections are also frequent in Lithuanian poetry and fiction.

VOCATIVE INTERJECTIONS

- 10.7 Vocative interjections are a special subclass of interjections used to call or drive away domestic animals and poultry. For instance, *nã*, *nõ-o*, *šiũ-ũ* are used to drive oxen; *nà*, *nà* or *nũ*, *nũ(ũ)*, *nẽ(ẽ)*, *kũž kũž* are used to urge horses and *tr(ř)*, *pr(ř)* are used to stop a horse.

There is a variety of ways to address a cow: *šitū* is a general “address”, along with *mùže mùže* and *muži muži*; *ōha* is used to make a cow stand still when milking; *kūre* is an order to stay in the herd. Oxen are summoned by saying *bulì bulì* (*bulià bulià*) and they are teased with *mý mý*. A dog is summoned with *čìù čìù*, *ciù ciù*, *nà nà*, or *čìùč, ss(s), sà*, e.g.:

Sà, šunēli, sà.

‘Here, doggie, here.’

Pigs are summoned with *čìùk(a) čìùk(a)*, *kriù kriù*, *ūdžìù (ūdžìù)* and driven away with *ucì*, *ajùts* and *aūkš*. One may call hens with *pùt(i) pùt(i)*, and chickens with *cìp(a) cìp(a)*; ducks are called with *pùl pùl*, *pulì pulì*, geese – *žìur žìur*, *žìuri žìuri*.

- 10.8** Some vocative interjections are similar to or identical with primary interjections in their phonemic structure (*nà, ò*, and the like). In the majority of cases, however, ways of addressing animals have distinctive phonemic and derivative properties, since they are related to the names of animals and/or to their onomatopoeic origin, viz. they imitate the sounds produced by animals.

Some of them are derived from the vocative case of animal names, e.g.:

bulì bulì (bulià bulià)

(cf. *bùltus* ‘bull, ox’)

kiául kiául

(cf. *kiaūlè* ‘pig’)

kàt kàt (kàc kàc)

(cf. *katē* ‘cat’)

triùš triùš

(cf. *triùšis* ‘rabbit’)

The following are onomatopoeic invocations:

ciù ciù, čìù čìù

(imitating a dog’s whimpering)

kriù kriù, čìùk(à) čìùk(à), čìukì čìukì

(imitating pigs)

kùt kùt, cìp(à) cìp(à)

(hens and chickens)

gìr gìr

(geese)

r-r-r and uř-uř

(used to tease dogs imitating dogs’ growling)

As is clear from the examples, interjections of this class are usually reduplicated units.

Invocations used to drive away or shoo animals are also mostly onomatopoeic: *šš, št, t(i)š, pū, più, čis*.

A limited number of vocative interjections are compound derivatives composed of an interjection or a particle and an infinitive, e.g.:

uzgýt < ùz + gýti/gìnti ‘drive’ (to drive away pigs)

šegułt < šè + gułti ‘lie down’

šelaūk < šè + laūk ‘out’, etc.

The vocative *káre* (stopping a cow) is a contraction of *Kuř eini?* ‘Where are you going?’

- 10.9** Most of the reduplicated vocatives with a final consonant can take the vowel formant *-i* or *-a*:

kàt kàt – katì katì

kìz kìz – kizì kizì

cìp cìp – cipà cipà

čìùk čìùk – čìukà čìukà.

In a number of invocations, the formant *a-* is also added initially:

a(š)tiš, aprùč, atiũ, ažiur̃.

The formant *š-* is also sometimes added initially. All these formants change the meaning of an invocation: *kàc, pùl, žiuř* are used to call cats, ducks and geese respectively and *škàc, špùl* and *ažiur̃* are used to shoo them away.

There are ways of addressing animals with both formants *a* and *š*, e.g.: *aštiš, aškàc, ašpùl*; these have numerous dialectal variants, too, cf.:

aškàc, aškàč, aškacȳ, aškatȳ

aškìc, aškȳc, askȳč

11 ONOMATOPOEIC WORDS

Ištiktúkai

- 11.1 This is a class of invariable words which are mostly a deliberate imitation of sounds or acoustic and visual effects or impressions of human actions, animals, natural phenomena, artifacts, etc., e.g.:

trìnk! 'bang!'

dīñ dīñ 'ding dong'

miáu 'meow'

káukšt! 'tap!, bang!'

bàkst! 'prick!'

apčý (imitation of sneezing)

guř guř (of running water)

blykst (of a flash of light)

Onomatopoeic words are distinguished from interjections and other parts of speech since they are characterized by specific semantic features and syntactic properties as well as by common formal properties. Semantically, most of them refer to actions by imitating the acoustic impression or association with the latter. Syntactically, they function as predicates (predicate substitutes) or verbal modifiers. Formally, they display a number of specific derivative patterns.

Due to their expressive force, onomatopoeic words are a property of informal everyday speech. They are particularly numerous and varied in dialects.

Onomatopoeic words are either verb-related or imitative.

- 11.2 **Verb-related words** share the stem (with or without a special formant) with respective verbs. In the stem, vowel and tone alternation are frequent enough. Verb-related words are an expressive means of referring to an action, therefore they have a distinct lexical meaning. This type comprises a limited number of units; here belong:

dribt (: *dribti* 'fall, drop, tumble')

glùst (: *glaūsti* 'clasp', *glūsti* 'snuggle, cuddle up')

klùp (: *klùpti* 'stumble')

krýp, *krýpt*, *krýpu*, *krypái* (: *krýpti* 'turn, swing, bend')

lìnk (: *liñkti* 'bend, stoop', *leñkti* 'bend, bow')

lilingt (: *lingúoti* 'rock, swing')

mìrkt (: *mérkti* 'shut (one's eyes), wink')

pakýšt (: *kišti* 'thrust, shove')

pèšt, *pěšt* (: *pěšti* 'pull, pluck')

rìkt, rýkt (: *rėkti* 'scream, shout')
skėst (: *skėsti* 'spread')
slýst (: *slýsti* 'slip, slide')
smùkt (: *smùkti* 'slip down')
spýg (: *spiėgti* 'squeal, shriek')
spùst (: *spáusti* 'squeeze, press')
stùmt (: *stùmti* 'push')
šipt, šýpt (: *šypsóti* 'smile')
šlam (: *šlamėti* 'rustle')
švilpt (: *švilpti* 'whistle')
tėpt, tėpt (: *tėpti* 'smear, stain')
trìinkt (: *treñkti* 'bang, hit, knock')
trùkt (: *tráukti* 'pull')
virtinkš (: *viřsti* 'overturn, tumble')
žūrgt, žėrgt (: *žėrgti* 'spread (one's legs) wide, stride')
žvilgt (: *žvelgti* '(cast a) glance'), etc.

- 11.3 Most onomatopoeic words are **imitation words**. Their meaning is usually diffuse and hard to define. With respect to phonetic structure, they vary within a broad range, cf.: *diñ, kař, kriù, miáu, klėpu, matarái, raràp, gurgulinkšt, šifkšt, šiù, rrr, zz*.

Natural sounds are imitated more or less within the limits of the phonetic system of Lithuanian; one and the same sound may be imitated in a variety of ways, thus *guř guř, šliukšt, gurguliukšt* imitate the sound of running water.

Impressions and sensations are rendered in an entirely arbitrary way, e.g. *matarái* denotes irregular, disorderly motion, *blykst* refers to a flash of light.

Onomatopoeic words are very frequent in colloquial Lithuanian. Most of them have no equivalents in English (and in other languages), therefore most of them are cited without translation.

Formal properties

- 11.4 Most onomatopoeic words are monosyllabic (they may comprise only consonants), less common are words of two and three syllables, and a few comprise as many as four syllable.

According to the final element, onomatopoeic words are divided into two subsets: those with a specific final formant and those without a formant. The **formant** is a final phoneme or a cluster of phonemes added to the root and thereby distinguished from a related verb or another onomatopoeic word. Words with the same formant are usually similar in meaning.

11.5 The most common formant is *-t*, typical mostly of monosyllabic words. As a rule, it is preceded by the voiceless consonants *k, p, s, š* and clusters *kš, ks*, e.g.:

càkt, stùkt, čtùlpt, kàpt, krúpt, šliúopt
rìst, snùst, švýtst
kišt, pèšt, šlýst
káukšt, pùkšt, šmùkšt
bàkst, drykšt

Less commonly it is preceded by voiced *b, g, ž, m, r*:

bùrbt, stàbt, klìngt, spràgt, lýžt, úžt, plùmt, bířt

Most of onomatopoeics in *-t* are imitation words. Some of them have counterparts without this formant, e.g.:

<i>kriùk – kriùkt</i>	<i>bràkš – bràkšt</i>
<i>càp – càpt</i>	<i>tvóks – tvókst</i>

A great many deverbial onomatopoeics also display this formant, e.g.:

lìnkt (: *liňkti*)
čtùlpt (: *čtùlpti*)
drikst, drykst (: *driksti, drěksti*)
 (see also the list in 11.2.)

In words of two and three syllables, the formant can follow a cluster of consonants, which forms with *-t* a kind of a suffix, e.g.: *mugùrkt, kulđìnkšt, šabaldókšt, gurguliùkšt*.

As was mentioned, onomatopoeic words with the same formant (and similar phonetic structure) may be similar in meaning. For instance, bi-syllabic and tri-syllabic words with *-(i)okšt* usually denote a sudden overturning, or fall: *kabókšt, šlamókšt, keberiókšt, tabarókšt*.

Onomatopoeic words with the formants *-t* and *-š* have an acute toneme if the vowel of the stressed syllable is either long or a diphthong. The vowels *a* and *e* alone, if they are lengthened under stress, have a circumflex.

11.6 The formants *-š* and *-s* also occur, usually after the consonant *k*, less frequently after *p, b, m, l* and *r*, e.g.: *bàkš, šmáukš, šnýpš, grybš, krùms, káls, dùrs*. Words with these formants are not numerous. They are being ousted by their very common respective equivalents with the final *-t*: *bàkšt, šmáukšt, šnýpšt, krùmst, kàlst, dùrst*.

A number of the onomatopoeic words in question have shortened variants without the formants *-š, -s*, e.g.: *bàk, kàp*.

11.7 A considerable number of onomatopoeic words display the final vowel formants *-i, -y, -u* and *-ū* preceded by a consonant, e.g.:

biri, svyri, vizgi
baldj, sukj, svirdikulj
lapatu, lingu, šlèpu
burkũ, sukũ, supũ

Some of them also occur without a final formant. The vowel formants alternate in some words, e.g.:

<i>čtupi / čtupj / čtupu</i>	<i>lapati / lapatu</i>
<i>šlamì / šlamj / šlamù</i>	<i>spuřdi / spurdj</i>

Words with the formants *-i, -u* and *-y, -ã* differ in meaning: those with the short formants convey weaker actions or impressions, and those with the long formants refer to a stronger, louder effect; cf.:

<i>Tuõj ponià atsikèlè iš lóvos – šiuři šiuři ateřna.</i>	‘The mistress at once got out of bed – and here she comes rustling.’
<i>Šiuřj šiuřj vėjās pláukus šiuřèna.</i>	‘The wind ruffles greatly the hair.’
<i>Brazdù brazdù kažkàs už sienos subrazdėjo.</i>	it. ‘Something scratched scratch scratch (softly) behind the wall.’
<i>Kažin kàs už grjýčios brazdũ brazdũ!</i>	‘Somebody there behind the hut was scratching (hard)!’

- 11.8** The formant *-(i)ai* is also used to form onomatopoeic words, mostly of three syllables (e.g.: *klebetái, reketái, šlapatái*) and sometimes of two syllables (e.g.: *lingái, rũkái*). Practically all of them have variants without a formant: *capái – cãp, klebetái – klebèt, makalái – màkal*.

The formant *-(i)ai* is always stressed and receives an acute toneme.

- 11.9** Onomatopoeic words ending in sounds and sound clusters other than those enumerated in the above sections do not make up any distinct groups, but the more frequent final elements are also similar to formants and can be distinguished from other respective onomatopoeic words or verbs. Here belong the segments *-um, -ur, -e, -(i)o, -ui*, e.g.:

klèktum (cf. *klèkt*), *cãpum* (cf. *cãp*)
kjřbur (cf. *kybóti* ‘hang’), *viřgur* (cf. *vingiúoti, vinguriúoti* ‘meander’)
cãpe (cf. *cãp*), *rũzge* (cf. *ruzgèti* ‘stir’)
bizeliõ (cf. *bizelióti* ‘run about madly’), *kumpõ* (cf. *kumpóti* ‘nod’)
lapatuĩ (cf. *lapatái, lapati; lapatúoti* ‘run with long strides’)

Onomatopoeic words in *-t, -s*, and *-š* usually refer to sudden actions and those in *-i, -y, -u, -ã, -(i)ai*, etc. refer to slow, longer actions and sounds.

11.10 Onomatopoeic words without formants are few in number, and their phonetic structure varies, e.g.: *gà, mē, cý, tfû, ũ, miáu, dziñ, dař, muř, spiř, šabál, càk, spàk, làp, čýv, bžž, prr, šš*. They are mostly sound imitations.

These words are mostly monosyllabic. Short syllable onomatopoeics of this subset usually express sudden, brief sound effects or actions and those with a long syllable, slow sound effects of longer duration, cf.:

<i>Jis dràk bóbai pāgaliu per gálvq.</i>	'He hit the woman on the head with a stick.'
<i>Avžlè rēkia bē, ožkà mē, vīsos nóri vālgyti.</i>	'The sheep bleats be-e, the goat me-e, all of them are hungry.'

Deverbal onomatopoeic words without a formant are identical in form with the verbal root, e.g.:

<i>biř</i> (: <i>bir-ti, byřēti</i> 'pour' (of sand etc.)
<i>jūd</i> (: <i>jud-ēti</i> 'move')

A number of onomatopoeic words are formed with the prefix *pa-*, mostly from words in *-t*, e.g.:

<i>pabràkšt</i> (: <i>bràkšt</i> 'crack', cf. <i>brakšēti</i> 'to crack')
<i>pastrìkt</i> (: <i>strìkt</i> , cf. <i>striksēti</i> 'hop')
<i>pašnìpšt</i> (: <i>šnìpšt</i> , cf. <i>šnipšēti</i> 'hiss, sputter')

The prefix also occurs in a few other onomatopoeic words, e.g.: *patáukuš, patvųks, pašmàkštu, pablink, pastràk*. The prefix *pa-* adds the meaning of onset, preparation of the action or sound expressed by the base word.

11.11 A characteristic feature of onomatopoeic words is reduplication of a segment (initial, middle, or final element) twice or more times (repetition of an entire imitation word is not considered to be reduplication; see below).

The most frequent instance is reduplication of the initial consonant(s) and the following vowel or first element of a diphthong, e.g.:

<i>balàkšt</i> (: <i>bàkšt</i>)	<i>kleklèbt</i> (: <i>klèbt</i>)
<i>brabràkš</i> (: <i>bràkš</i>)	<i>tvitvìsk</i> (: <i>tvìsk</i>)
<i>čičìnk</i> (: <i>čìnk</i>)	<i>klekleìkt</i> (: <i>kleìkt</i>)
<i>dudùn</i> (: <i>dùn</i>)	<i>kvakváuukt</i> (: <i>kváuukt</i>)

It may involve vowel alternation, e.g.:

<i>dridrýkt</i> (: <i>drykt</i>)	<i>klíklánkt</i> (: <i>klánkt</i>).
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A number of onomatopoeic words are derived from other onomatopoeic words by infixing *l* or *r* after the stem vowel and repeating the latter; e.g.:

talàk (: *tàk*)*caràp(t)* (: *càp(t)*)*dziliñ* (: *dziñ*)*čirik* (: *čik*)

Infixed words sometimes have a repeated middle segment, e.g.: *cililiñgt* (: *ciliñgt*), *talalañ* (: *talañ*). These infixed words usually co-occur with the base onomatopoeic word, e.g.: *càp(t) caràp(t)*, *čik čirik*, *dañ dalañ*.

Reduplicated and infixed words imitate a complex sound or impression.

- 11.12** Onomatopoeic words that are formally similar can combine into pairs. Paired words differ either in the vowel or the initial consonant (cf. *bim bàm*, *pykšt pàkšt*, *brùzdu bràzdu*, *cāpu lāpu*, *čyru vŷru*, *šuldù buldù*), or one of the components (as a rule, the second one) has the prefix *pa-*, or an infix, or another additional element, e.g.:

*kàpst pakàpst**striúokt pàstriúokt**ciñ ciliñ**kniáu kurniáu**stràk strākum**tèkšt tebelèkšt*

The two words in a pair may differ considerably, e.g.:

*cèpt làpt**džingt brìngt**cilim bàm**šālum drŷlum*

All these pairs refer to a complex sound or impression produced by one action; cf.:

*Stikliukas ciñ ciliñ ant**akmeñs ir subyrėjo.*

'The glass fell tinkling on the stone and broke into pieces.'

Dziufi dzàp – sùzvembè kulkà.

'Bleep blip – a bullet whined by.'

Dzingu lingu į jūsu sveikāta!

lit. 'Chin chin to your health!'

To imitate a repeated sound, an onomatopoeic word may be repeated two or more times, e.g.:

Jõ širdis dùkt dùkt plākė.

'His heart went tuck tuck.'

Šiur šiur šiur, – šnābzda

'Sh, sh, sh, – something is rustling in the hay.'

kažkàs šiauduosė.

A number of onomatopoeic words have variants with a short and a long vowel, e.g.:

*kèpšt / kěpšt**šlèpt / šlěpt**sriùbt / sriúbt**šliùkšt / šliákšt**kripu / krŷpu**rikt / rŷkt*

The difference in vowel length is meaningful: the short root usually imitates a

weaker and shorter sound, and the long root a stronger, longer (usually sudden) sound or action, cf.:

Šiùpt <i>drùskos žiupsnēļi.</i>	lit. '(She) poured a little salt.'
Šiúpt <i>visā sāuļā.</i>	lit. '(She) poured (emph.) a full handful'.
<i>Senūtē stīp stīp nuskubējo.</i>	'The old woman hurried away with tiny steps.'
<i>Didžiāusias kātinas stýp</i>	'With long strides the huge tomcat
<i>stýp paliņdo pō stalū.</i>	stole under the table.'

Lengthening is also observed in onomatopoeic words *čīř – čýr* and *šliòpt – šliópt*. To emphasize longer duration, in some onomatopoeic words the middle or final vowel or consonant (*r, n, z, ž*) is lengthened, e.g.:

Trýk trýk trýyk <i>trimitúoja</i>	lit. 'Tryk tryk tryyk went the
<i>medžiótojo rāgas.</i>	hunter's horn.'
Dzinnñ ... dzz ... dzinñ –	lit. 'Dzinn ... dzz ... dzinn, rang
<i>skambējo telefōnas.</i>	out the telephone.'

In pairs with different vowels, onomatopoeic words with a front vowel are commonly used to imitate high-pitched sounds or weaker impressions whereas those with a back vowel imitate low sounds or stronger perceptions, cf.:

Diñ diñ diñ <i>varpēlis suskambējo.</i>	lit. 'The little bell went din din din.'
Dañ dañ dañ – <i>skañba vařpas.</i>	'The bell booms dong dong dong.'
<i>Liepsnā kýšt, ugnēlē bli bli bli.</i>	'The flame jumped, tiny flames
	started dancing.'
Įmetē <i>keliàs skiedras, tik – blà</i>	'He threw a few chips (into the
<i>blà blà ir staigà užsiliepsnójo.</i>	fireplace) and suddenly (the
	logs) blazed up.'

11.13 Onomatopoeic words beginning with the consonant cluster *šm* usually imitate sounds caused by swift motion through the air (*šmýkšt, šmìrkš(t), šmùrkšt*), those with the initial *bl* refer to flashes of light (*blàkt, blyks(t), blizgù*). Words with the final *m* and *n* customarily imitate jingling and peeling (*bám, diñ*); those with the final *r* imitate vibrating sounds (*čīř, dař, tiř*).

Onomatopoeic words can include only those consonants which are associated with similar natural sounds, e.g.:

<i>Mūsēs bzz bzz apliņk.</i>	'Flies buzzed around.'
<i>Džž pradējo veřžtis vanduō.</i>	'Water spouted out babbling.'

Alongside the onomatopoeic words discussed above, occasional imitation words are often created to render specific sounds or impressions, e.g.: *ku ku ñk* (imitating stammering), *ž ž ž koh* (imitating shell fire), *vatakūū!* (imitating water poured into an engine).

Meaning and usage

11.14 Most onomatopoeic words are used to express the acoustic effect or impression of dynamic actions, mostly of motion (e.g. of walking, running, flying, throwing, falling, jumping, beating, cutting, breaking, grasping, and the like); cf.:

<i>Klausauš – kažin kàs tik šlèp šlèp į mào pùsę.</i>	'I listen – someone is shuffling towards me.'
<i>Strāzdas tik pūrpt – ir nuskrìdo.</i>	'The blackbird just took wing – and flew away.'
<i>Plùmpt nukrìto kaip pelū maĩšas.</i>	'He fell with a thud like a sack of chaff.'
<i>Cāpum aš įj už plaukų ir iš- tráukiau.</i>	'I grabbed him by the hair and pulled him out.'

Numerous onomatopoeic words imitate birds, animals, insects, e.g.:

<i>Antys „prý! prý! prý!“</i>	'The ducks (quacked) “quack! quack! quack!”'
<i>Kiaulė kriùkt kriùkt šaukia sàvo paršeliùs.</i>	'The sow calls her piglets grunting.'
<i>Stūgt sustáugė vilkas.</i>	'A wolf gave out a loud howl.'

Onomatopoeic words can also express the sound effects of physiological processes as well as actions of human beings and animals, e.g. talking (*plè plè plè* 'bla bla bla', cf. *plepėti* 'chatter, jabber'), laughter (*kà kà kà*), weeping (*vė*), sneezing (*apčý*), eating (*krimst*, cf. *krimsti* 'eat, nibble'), drinking or lapping up (*màk, gùrkšt*), fear (*brrř, šiurpt*, cf. *šiuřpti* 'shudder with fright'), etc.

Onomatopoeic words also imitate the sound effects of natural phenomena, such as flowing water (*guř guř, gurguliùkšt, šliùkšt*), rain (*pliuùpt*), thunder (*dù dù dù, dař dař*), and the like.

A number of onomatopoeic words imitate musical and other instruments, e.g. a trumpet (*turū turū*), a fiddle (*kniř kniř, čýru výru*), a hammer (*tùk tùk*), a saw (*džýru džýru*) and a great many others.

A number of onomatopoeic words emphasize the suddenness or unexpectedness of an action, or a poorly performed action, cf.:

<i>Bráuškšt ir nùmirė.</i>	'Bang, and he is dead.'
<i>Įis tik pýkšt ir pastātė nāma.</i>	lit. 'He just pop and built the house.'
<i>Dirbo, dirbo ir padirbo šnipšt.</i>	'He worked and worked, and produced a flop.'
<i>Dirbi kaip pakliūva – šiurum bùrum.</i>	'You work just anyhow – helter- skelter.'

11.15 Onomatopoeic words can be monosemous or polysemous. Almost all **monosemous** onomatopoeic words are related to verbs. Only some of them are sound imitations. Here belong *čičipt, cāpt, kāpt*, expressing grabbing a thing, *žvilgt, dīlbt, dėbt* referring to a glance, *chà chà, kà kà, kè ké, kì kì* imitating laughter. Very few of them (e.g., *žybt, brúks(t)*) are also used to emphasize a sudden action.

Words imitating specific sounds produced by animals, are also usually monosemous.

Polysemous units are mostly sound imitations. For instance, the word *tař tař* is used to imitate a variety of vibrating sounds, e.g. those of a spinning wheel, rattling windows, cart wheels, and also thunder; *màkt* is used to denote downing a glass of alcohol at one draught, plunging (sth.) into water, giving (sb) a punch, and a number of other sudden swift actions.

Onomatopoeic words function mostly as predicates instead of a verb or as verbal intensifiers.

In the former instance the meanings of tense, mood, person and number are implied by the context. They are particularly frequent as substitutes of Simple Past tense verbs, cf.:

<i>Pérsigando, ir pliùpt kiřvis iš raņķu.</i>	'He got a fright, and the ax fell out of his hands.'
<i>Tik šakà triókšt, àš žēmēn blūmpt.</i>	'The branch (went) crack, (and) I (went) bang down.'
<i>Pavālgyk ir driùn ģ lovēļē.</i>	'Finish your supper and jump into bed.'

When used as intensifiers, they modify a verb as a kind of illustration, e.g.:

<i>Šà šà kriņta lāpai.</i>	'The leaves fall with a rustle.'
<i>Bùm bùm pradējo šāudyt.</i>	'They started shooting bang bang.'

An onomatopoeic word can be conjoined with a verb by means of the conjunction *iř* 'and'; e.g.:

<i>Šuō knàbs ģ kójq ir ģkàndo.</i>	lit. 'The dog went snap and bit him in the leg.'
------------------------------------	---

Less frequently, onomatopoeic words are used instead of a noun or an adverb; cf.:

<i>Giřdime kažkókģ ūžimq, kažkókģ lýg tai bù bù bù.</i>	'We hear a kind of noise, a kind of bu bu bu.'
<i>Còp còp šito dārbo nepadīrbsi.</i>	'This job can't be done just anyhow in a jiffy.'

IV/Syntax

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1 SENTENCE AND ITS STRUCTURE

- 1.1 This section is concerned with the sentence and its structure in Lithuanian. Word forms described in Morphology from the viewpoint of their interior structure, meaning and categorial contrasts, are the primary units of syntax. They are regarded here as components of word groups, sentences and clauses which are determined by and described in terms of their mutual relations.

The sentence is viewed here as the minimal communicative unit represented by a grammatically independent form. In speech, a sentence displays a complete intonation pattern and is separated from other sentences by pauses; in writing punctuation marks are used as sentence boundaries.

In Lithuanian, a sentence may consist either of a single word form (cf. *Rudenėja* 'Autumn is coming'), a word group (cf. *Tyli naktis* lit. 'Quiet night'), or a number of interrelated word groups.

- 1.2 According to their communicative function, sentences are classified into a number of communicative types (declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory) each characterized by specific structural properties and intonation. The grammatical form of sentences is represented by a finite number of structural sentence patterns which are realized in an infinite number of utterances produced in speech. Sentence patterns are described in terms of the syntactic functions of constituent word forms (predicate, subject, object, etc.) and in terms of their semantic functions (agent, patient, content, instrument, etc.).

The syntactic structure of a sentence is regarded as a complex of interrelations between its constituents. The semantic structure of a sentence is determined by the semantic relations between the predicate and its actants. The semantic structure of a sentence is not necessarily isomorphic to its syntactic structure: the same content can be expressed by different syntactic structures, cf. *Tėvas* (NOM) *išvažiavo* (PAST. ACT) and *Tėvo* (GEN) *išvažiuota* (PASS. PART. NEUTR) both meaning 'Father has left.'

Syntactic relations

Sintaksiniai ryšiai

- 1.3 The term syntactic relations is used here to refer to immediate relations between word forms, word groups and clauses in a sentence.

The grammatical means of marking syntactic relations in Lithuanian are **endings** and, less commonly, **inflexional suffixes**, often supplemented by structural words, viz. prepositions, conjunctions, and particles. **Word order** is of secondary importance as a means of expressing grammatical relationships in Lithuanian. For instance, it signals the syntactic function of the adjective in phrases like *grāžios gēlės* (attribute; cf. *Grāžios gēlės āuga sodē* 'Beautiful flowers grow in the garden') and *Gēlės grāžios* (predicative), meaning *Gēlės yrā grāžios* 'The flowers are beautiful.' Within a sentence, **intonation** binds word forms into groups and serves to reinforce their syntactic relations (immediately related word forms usually form an intonational unit); it also signals communicative sentence types.

Three principal types of syntactic relations are distinguished: interdependence, subordination and coordination.

Interdependence

- 1.4 The term *interdependence* is used to refer to the syntactic relation between sentence constituents which mutually presuppose each other. Thus the central constituent, viz. the predicate, presupposes the second constituent, viz. the subject and is in its turn formally dependent on the latter. The relation is bilateral, which can be shown as follows:

<i>Mēs</i>	↔	<i>gailējomēs</i>	<i>draūgo.</i>
we: NOM		pity: 1. PL. PAST. REFL	friend: GEN
'We were sorry for (our) friend.'			

The predicate here determines the nominative case form of the pronoun *mēs* 'we', while the person and number of the verb are in concord with the pronoun (cf. *āš gailējāusi* 'I was sorry', *tū gailējāisi* 'you were sorry (2. SG)', *jiē gailējosi* 'they were sorry (3. PL)'). If we use the verb *pagāilo* the dative case of the pronoun should be used, and the verb does not agree with it in person and number, cf.:

<i>Mūms</i>	←	<i>pagāilo</i>	<i>draūgo.</i>
we: DAT		pity: 3. PAST	friend: GEN
'We began feeling sorry for (our) friend.'			

In this instance the relationship between *mùms* and *pagailo* is that of subordination.

The finite forms of *búti* 'be', used as a copula, also predetermine the nominative case of the subject and, in their turn, they are dependent on the latter for person and number, e.g.:

<i>Pētras</i>	↔	<i>būvo</i>	→	<i>piktas.</i>
Peter: NOM		be: 3. PAST		angry: NOM. SG

'Peter was angry.'

The predicative adjective agrees with the subject in case, number, and gender. Substitution of a passive participle (present or past), which also functions as a predicate, or an infinitive for the finite form of *búti* 'be' entails a change of the nominative into the genitive or dative respectively:

<i>Pētro</i>	<i>būta</i>	<i>pikto.</i>
Peter: GEN	be: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR	angry: GEN

'Peter was angry.'

<i>Pētrui</i>	<i>(sunkù)</i>	<i>būti</i>	<i>piktám.</i>
Peter: DAT	(difficult: ADJ. NEUTR)	be: INF	angry: DAT

'(It is difficult) for Peter to be angry.'

As was mentioned, the number and person of the finite link verb are determined by the subject in the nominative case:

<i>Mēs</i>	<i>būvome</i>	<i>piktì.</i>
we: NOM	be: 1. PL. PAST	angry: NOM. PL. MASC

'We were angry.'

<i>Jūs</i>	<i>būvotė</i>	<i>piktos.</i>
you: NOM	be: 2. PL. PAST	angry: NOM. PL. FEM

'You were angry.'

The nominative case of the subject related to the predicate by interdependence is sometimes interchangeable with uninflected word forms, e.g. an infinitive or a gerund (*pādalỹvis*), cf.:

<i>Gyvėnti</i>	(cf. <i>gyvėnimas</i>)	<i>yrà</i>	<i>laimė.</i>
live: INF	life: NOM. MASC	be: 3. PRES	happiness: NOM

lit. 'To live (cf. life) is happiness.'

<i>Būvo</i>	<i>girdėti</i>	<i>griáuđziant</i>	(cf. <i>griaustinis</i>).
be: 3. PAST	hear: INF	thunder: GER	thunder: NOM

'One could hear thunder.'

In these instances interdependence has no formal expression by means of concord, but it is explicated by substitution, i.e. by alternation with the nominative case of a noun. But these are atypical, marginal cases of interdependence.

Subordination

- 1.5 Subordination (*prijungimas*) is a syntactic relation between sentence constituents of which one (the principal constituent) determines the other (dependent constituent). Subordination is a unilateral relation shown by an arrow:

Skýniau → *gėlės*

'I picked flowers.'

baĩgė → *rašyti*

lit. 'he finished to write', i.e. 'he finished writing'

labai ← *gražus*

'very beautiful'

anksti ← *sutėmo*

early get dark: 3. PAST

'it grew dark early'

Subordination can be strong (obligatory) and weak (optional). In the case of strong (obligatory) subordination the dependent word form is necessary to produce a grammatically well-formed sentence structure, e.g.:

Vaikas pradėjo valgyti.

'The child began to eat.'

Kareivis pranešė naujieną.

'The soldier reported the news.'

(The sentences **Vaikas pradėjo* 'The child began' and **Kareivis pranešė* 'The soldier reported' are grammatically incomplete and they are admissible in certain contexts only, as elliptical sentences).

In the case of weak (optional) subordination the dependent constituent can be omitted without violating the sentence structure, though its meaning may be important for the content of the sentence, e.g.:

Mótina grįžo vakarė.

'Mother returned in the evening.'

Jis vėngia blogų žmonių.

'He avoids bad people.'

(*Mótina grįžo* 'Mother returned' and *Jis vėngia žmonių* 'He avoids people' are grammatically complete, though they differ in meaning from the above sentences).

Three types of subordination are distinguished: agreement, government, and adjunction.

- 1.6 Agreement** (*dėrinimas*) is a formal link between two words whereby the form of the principal word (head) requires that the dependent word should assume the same form. In the case of agreement the case, number and gender of the dependent word repeat the case, number and gender of the head word; cf.:

báltas
white: NOM. SG. MASC
'a white stone'

akmuõ
stone: NOM. SG. MASC

baltà
white: NOM. SG. FEM
'a white crow'

várna
crow: NOM. SG. FEM

devynì
nine: NOM. PL. MASC
'nine brothers'

bróliai
brother: NOM. PL. MASC

devýnios
nine: NOM. PL. FEM
'nine girls'

mergáitės
girl: NOM. PL. FEM

If the morphological form of the head word is changed, the dependent word obligatorily changes its form too, cf.:

devyniū
nine: GEN. PL. MASC
'of nine brothers'

bróliu
brother: GEN. PL. MASC

devyniaĩs
nine: INSTR. PL. MASC
'with nine brothers'

bróliais
brother: INSTR. PL. MASC

Agreement typically links adjectives, participles, adjectival pronouns and ordinal and some cardinal numerals to a head noun or pronoun.

- 1.7 Government** (*vaĩdymas*) is a relationship between the principal word (head) and a form of the dependent word determined by the grammatical valency of the head word. Non-prepositional and prepositional government is distinguished; cf. respectively:

parašýti → *láiška*
láukti → *rudeĩs*

'write a letter: ACC. SG'
'await autumn: GEN. SG'

pasakyti → (*apie* → *neláimę*) 'tell about a misfortune: Prep + ACC. SG'
gerėsnis → (*už* → *visùs*) 'best of all: Prep + ACC. PL'

The dependent constituent can be a non-inflected word, e.g.:

nóriu → *válgyti* 'I want to eat: INF'

The head word can be:

(1) a verb (finite and non-finite form), e.g.:

rašau láišką 'I am writing a letter: ACC. SG'
sáulei tēkant '(with) the sun: DAT. SG rise: GER'

(2) a preposition, e.g.:

prie lánogo 'at the window: Prep + GEN.SG'
per júrá 'across the sea: Prep + ACC. SG'

(3) an adjective, e.g.:

pilnas vandeñs 'full of water: GEN'

(4) a numeral, e.g.:

dvylika bróliu 'twelve brothers: GEN. PL'
dėšimt vŕru 'ten men: GEN. PL'

(5) an adverb, e.g.:

daug rūpesčiu 'many cares: GEN. PL'
ganà vargū 'enough hardships: GEN. PL'

(6) less commonly, an interjection or an onomatopoeic word, e.g.:

šė kiŗvŕ 'take the axe: ACC. SG'
grybšt pinigus 'catch the money: ACC. PL'

Many words (especially verbs) can govern two or more case forms, e.g.:

<i>Tėvas</i>	<i>dovanójo</i>	<i>sūnui</i>	<i>laĩkrodŕ.</i>
father	presented	son: DAT. SG	watch: ACC. SG

'Father gave a watch to his son as a present.'

<i>Prašiaũ</i>	<i>tavė</i>	<i>patarimo.</i>
I asked	you: ACC.SG	for advice: GEN.SG

Government is mostly a strong (obligatory) syntactic relationship, e.g.:

<i>Šiaņdien baigsiu dārbą.</i>	'Today I'll finish the work: ACC. SG'
<i>Miestē trūksta vandeņš.</i>	'There is a shortage of water: GEN. SG in the town.'
<i>Jis atstovāvo darbinīņkams.</i>	'He represented the workers: DAT. PL'
<i>Vaikaļ domējosi pāroda.</i>	'The children were interested in the exposition: INSTR. SG.'
<i>Mēs gývēnome miestē.</i>	'We lived in a town: LOC. SG.'

1.8 Adjunction (*šļiefimas*) is a relationship of dependency not determined by the valency of the head word. In the case of adjunction nominal and prepositional phrases are subordinated to the head word solely according to their meaning, e.g.:

<i>Atējaū kiřvoio.</i>	'I've come for an ax: GEN. SG.'
<i>Dīrbame sáu.</i>	'We work for ourselves: DAT. SG'
<i>Ējome miřkaīs / ģ kálnus / pas tėvus.</i>	'We went across the woods: INSTR. PL/to the hills: Prep + ACC. PL/to (our) parents: Prep + ACC. PL.'
<i>Sēdējom po medžiū / su drau- gaīs / paūnksņēje.</i>	'We sat under a tree: Prep + INSTR. SG / with friends: Prep + INSTR. PL / in shadow: LOC. SG.'

By means of adjunction, verbs subordinate all unchangeable words and word forms, e.g.:

<i>važiūojame namō</i>	'we are going home: ADV'
<i>atsisēdome pailsēti</i>	'we sat down to rest: INF'

Adjectives subordinate adverbs, infinitives and sometimes nouns:

<i>labaļ gražūs</i>	'very beautiful'
<i>perpūs mažēsnis</i>	'smaller by half'
<i>malonūs pažiūrēti</i>	'nice to look at: INF'
<i>gēras visēms</i>	'kind to everyone: DAT.PL'

Infinitives can be linked by adjunction to some nouns:

<i>viltis sugrīžti</i>	'the hope to return'
<i>prōga apsīlankýti</i>	'an occasion to pay a visit'

Less commonly, adverbs are also adjoined to nouns:

<i>žiņgsnis atgaļ</i>	'a step backwards'
<i>gývēnimas svetuř</i>	'life abroad'

Adverbs mostly adjoin adverbs :

<i>labaī daūg</i>	'very much'
<i>kīek geriaū</i>	'somewhat better'

Attributive genitives are adjoined to nouns:

<i>áukso žiedas</i>	'a ring of gold'
<i>žmogaūs rankà</i>	'a hand of man'
<i>rýto sáulē</i>	'morning sun'

However, the genitive of quantified content is usually governed by the noun, cf.:

<i>stiklinē vandeñs</i>	'a glass of water'
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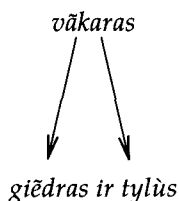
Adjunction is usually a weak (optional) relationship.

Coordination

- 1.9 Coordination (*sujungimas*) is a syntactic relation between two or more sentence constituents of equivalent syntactic status. They are included in a sentence either independently of each other or by means of an identical dependence on some head constituent.

Coordination links clauses within a complex sentence, and also phrases and word forms in a simple sentence. As a rule, coordinated clauses are not dependent on any other sentence constituent, cf.: *Pūtē vējas, ir mēdziai lingāvo* 'It was windy, and the trees were swaying.' Coordinated word forms have an identical dependence relation to another word, cf.: *Atējo ilgās ir lietīngās ruduō* 'A long and rainy autumn came' (two adjectives are in agreement with the noun).

Due to its specific nature, coordination is opposed to both interdependence and subordination. Each coordinated word form (or clause) can be used without the other; the link between them has no direction; e.g., the phrase *giēdras ir tylūs vākaras* 'a clear and quiet evening' can be represented graphically as follows:



Explicit markers of coordination are coordinating conjunctions (cf. *iņ* 'and' in the above example); constituents can also be coordinated without any explicit markers (asyndetic coordination), in which case coordination is indicated by juxtaposition of constituents and their equivalent syntactic status (cf. *giēdras, tylūs vākaras* 'a clear quiet evening'). Thus word order and intonation play a major role in the latter instance.

Parts of a sentence

Sākinio daļys

- 1.10** The structure of a sentence can be described in terms of the predicate, subject, object, adverbial, predicative complement and modifiers, which are the syntactic functions of the constituent word forms. The syntactic function of a word form is identified by its syntactic relation(s) with another word form (or other word forms) in a sentence, and by its substitution potential.

The most important syntactic function is that of the predicate. The predicate is the principal part of the sentence and its structural centre to which the subject, object(s) and adverbial modifiers are linked.

The syntactic relation of interdependence holds between the predicate and subject and the relation of subordination holds between the predicate and an object (objects) and adverbials. A twofold syntactic relation links a predicative complement to the predicate and subject or object.

An attribute dependent on a noun is not directly linked to the predicate and therefore it is not regarded as a part of sentence structure. It is a modifier hierarchically subordinated to the subject or another sentence part linked to the predicate.

Each part of a sentence is characterized by its syntactic relations with other sentence parts and by specific formal properties. Special questions help to identify the syntactic function of a word form in ambiguous cases.

According to their internal structure, simple and complex parts of a sentence are distinguished. A simple part of a sentence consists of a single word form, and a complex one is a word group or a cluster of two or more word forms.

- 1.11** The units of the syntactic structure of a sentence or clause commonly serve to encode the elements of its semantic structure, i.e. the agent, patient, instrument, and other semantic functions. The syntactic structure of a sentence does not always correlate with its semantic structure. It is only in straightforward cases

that the syntactic structure and semantic structure of a sentence are isomorphic, the subject encoding the agent, the object encoding the patient, etc. In Lithuanian, as in other accusative-type languages, a certain case form (typically accusative) encodes the patient (Pat) of a two-place predicate, while the agent (Ag) of a two-place predicate and the patient of a monovalent (one-place) predicate (both collectively referred to as semantic subject) are encoded by the same case form (typically nominative), cf.:

<i>Mergaitės</i>	<i>augina</i>	<i>gėlės</i> (Pat).
girl: NOM. PL	grow: 3. PRES	flower: ACC. PL
'The girls grow flowers.'		

<i>Gėlės</i> (Pat)	<i>auga</i> .
flower: NOM. PL	grow: 3. PRES
'Flowers grow.'	

The agent, however, is not always encoded by the syntactic subject. Thus, in the sentence

<i>Kambaryje</i>	<i>prisiriņko</i>	<i>žmonių</i> (Ag).
room: LOC. SG	gather: 3. PAST	people: GEN. PL
'Some people gathered in the room.'		

the agent is encoded by the genitive case form which is a syntactic object, as the verb, due to the prefix denoting indefinite quantity, has no subject valency. In a number of other cases, the semantic relationship between the predicate and its agent, patient, or content is often expressed by a syntactically impersonal (subjectless) sentence, cf.:

<i>Čià</i>	<i>kiškio</i> (Ag)	<i>bėgta</i> .
here	rabbit: GEN. SG	run: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR
'A rabbit has been (running) here' (evidential passive).		

<i>Mán</i> (Pat)	<i>trūksta</i>	<i>dūonos</i> .
I: DAT	lack: 3. PRES	bread: GEN
'I am short of bread.'		

Moreover, since the verb is inflected for person and number, the 1st and 2nd person subject need not be represented in the syntactic structure by a separate constituent. Therefore many personal sentences in Lithuanian have no overt subject.

<i>Nešù</i>	<i>lāzda</i> .
carry: 1. SG. PRES	stick: ACC
'I am carrying a stick.'	

1.12 Participial (including gerundial) constructions and subordinate clauses can also function as sentence parts related to the predicate; cf.:

(1) *Būvo girdėti lāšant / vanduō lāšant / kàd lāša (vanduō).*
 be: 3. PAST hear: INF drip: water: drip: that drip: water:
 GER NOM GER 3. PRES NOM

'One could hear dripping/water dripping/that it (water) is dripping.'

(2) *Jis gýrésì laimėjęs (rungtynės) / jóg laimėjo (rungtynės).*
 he: boast: win: PAST. competition: that win: competition:
 NOM 3. PAST. ACT. PART. ACC 3. PAST ACC
 REFL NOM

'He boasted having won (the competition)/that he had won (the competition).'

(3) *Išgiřdome (ratūs) bildant / kàd (rātai) bilda.*
 hear: wheel: rumble: that wheel: rumble:
 1. PL. PAST ACC. PL GER NOM. PL 3. PRES

'We heard (the wheels) rumbling/that wheels were rumbling.'

In (1) the gerund, the gerundial construction (*vanduō lāšant*) and the subordinate clause (*kàd vanduō lāša*) are identified as the syntactic subject since they can be replaced by a noun subject, cf.:

Būvo girdėti lietūs.
 be: 3. PAST hear: INF rain: NOM

'One could hear rain.'

In (2) and in (3) they are identified as objects, since they are interchangeable with a noun object, cf.:

Jis gýrésì laimėjimu (pėrgale).
 he: NOM boast: 3. PAST. REFL victory: INSTR

'He boasted of (his) victory.'

Išgiřdome bīlđesį.
 hear: 1. PL. PAST rumble: ACC. SG

'We heard a rumble.'

A gerund (gerundial construction) or a clause is an obligatory sentence constituent here. (For further discussion see 2.86, 3.101, III.5.151.)

THE PREDICATE

1.13 The predicate (*tarinỹs*) is the grammatical centre which determines the syntactic relations in a sentence. The other main syntactic constituents of sentence structure are immediately related to the predicate. Thus, in the sentence

Príemiesčio gatvès užpildė minios žmonių.
 suburb: GEN street: ACC. PL fill: 3. PAST crowd: NOM. PL people:

GEN. PL

‘Crowds of people filled the streets of the suburb.’

the subject *minios* ‘crowds’ and the (direct) object *gatvès* ‘streets’ are immediately linked to the predicate *užpildė* ‘filled’, and the attributes *príemiesčio* ‘of the suburb’ and *žmonių* ‘of people’ are linked to the object and subject respectively at the lower stage of sentence parsing. The subject is not immediately linked with the object: they are related via the predicate.

The predicate signifies a fact, which may be an action, or a state, or a qualitative or quantitative characteristic of the subject referent, or it attributes the subject referent to a class (as in *Šuõ yrà naminis gyvulýs* ‘The dog is a domestic animal’).

According to their internal structure, predicates are classified into simple and compound predicates. The latter are further subdivided into verbal and nominal predicates, depending on the grammatical class of the second component.

Simple predicate

1.14 In personal sentences, the simple predicate can be expressed by the following word forms:

(1) Any syntactic finite verb form, in whatever mood and tense, e.g.:

Miškè visi dainúoja / daināvo / dainúokite.
 wood: LOC all: NOM. sing: 3. PRES sing: 3. PAST sing: 2.
 PL. MASC PL. IMPER

‘In the woods everybody is singing/sang/sing.’

(2) An active participle without an auxiliary verb, used to express unexpectedness of the event, or doubt, or hearsay information about it, e.g.:

Tėvas jau beateĩnas.
 father: NOM already PREF-come: PRES. ACT. PART. NOM
 ‘Father is coming already.’

Kitadõs gyvėne dũ bróliai.
 sometime live: PAST. ACT. two brother: NOM. PL. MASC
 PART. PL. MASC

‘(They say) once upon a time there lived two brothers.’

These participles differ from finite verb forms by their modal meaning of the indirect mood (*modus relativus*), but they agree with the subject in the same way as the second part of a compound nominal predicate, e.g.:

Compound verbal predicate

1.15 The following types of verb phrases are qualified as compound verbal predicates.

(1) The finite form of a modal or phasal verb, which is obligatorily supplemented by the infinitive of a lexical verb, e.g.:

<i>Jūs</i>	<i>gālite</i>	<i>eīti.</i>
you: NOM	can: 2. PL. PRES	go: INF

'You can go.'

<i>Ji</i>	<i>ēme</i>	<i>veřkti.</i>
she: NOM	take: 3. PAST	cry: INF

'She began to cry.'

<i>Likaū</i>	<i>sēdēti.</i>
stay: 1. SG. PAST	sit: INF

'I kept sitting.'

<i>Jām</i>	<i>reikējo /</i>	<i>rūpējo</i>	<i>išeīti.</i>
he: DAT	need: 3. PAST	worry: 3. PAST	leave: INF

'He had/was anxious to leave.'

The finite verb subordinates the infinitive formally, but semantically the infinitive is the main word.

(2) Phasal verbs denoting the end of an action (*nustóti* 'stop', *liáutis* 'stop, cease', *mēsti* 'give up, stop' and the like) with the active past participle of a notional verb, e.g.:

<i>Nāšláité</i>	<i>lióvési</i>	<i>veřkusi.</i>
orphan: NOM. SG. FEM	stop: 3. PAST. REFL	cry: PAST. ACT. PART. NOM. SG. FEM

'The orphan stopped crying.'

<i>Lietūs</i>	<i>nustójo</i>	<i>liņes.</i>
rain: NOM. SG. MASC	stop: 3. PAST	rain: PAST. ACT. PART. NOM. SG. MASC

'It stopped raining.'

(3) The finite form of the copula *būti* 'be' (zero form in the present tense) with the infinitive of a verb of perception (*matýti* 'see', *girdēti* 'hear', *jaūsti* / *jūsti* 'feel', *numanýti* 'anticipate'), e.g.:

Kàs *naūja* *girdēti?*
 what: NOM new: NOM. NEUTR hear: INF
 'What's the news?'

Tolumojè *miškas* *bùvo* / *búdavo* / *bùs* *matýti.*
 distance: LOC forest: NOM was used to be will be see: INF
 'In the distance, one can/could/used to/will see a forest.'

1.16 In emphatic speech the following formal expressions of a compound verbal predicate occur:

(1) Repeated form of the same verb, or of two verbs with the same root, or of two synonymous verbs; cf. respectively:

Ējom *ējom* *visq* *diēnq.*
 go: 1. PL. PAST go: 1. PL. PAST all day
 'We walked on all day long.'

Griáudé *nugriáudé* *áudra.*
 thunder: 3. PAST PREF-thunder: 3. PAST storm: NOM
 'The storm thundered and spent itself.'

Sūnūs *tiēsé* *vāré* *pirmas* *vagàs.*
 son: NOM lay: 3. PAST cut: 3. PAST first: ACC. PL furrow: ACC. PL
 'The son ploughed and cut the first furrows.'

(2) A finite verb form with the infinitive of the same verb added for emphasis, e.g.:

Matýt *mačiaū,* *bèt* *nenutvėriau.*
 see: INF see: 1. SG. PAST but not-seize: 1. SG. PAST
 'I did see (him) but didn't catch him.'

(3) A finite verb form with a participle of the same verb, e.g.:

Kukúoja *gegėlė* *kukúodama.*
 cuckoo: 3. PRES cuckoo: NOM. SG. FEM cuckoo: HALF-PART. NOM. FEM
 'The cuckoo is calling and calling.'

Rašýk *berāšiusi!*
 write: 2. SG. IMPER PREF-write: PAST. ACT. PART. FEM
 'Write and write!'

(4) A verb in combination with its adverbial derivative in *-te/-tinai* which has a purely emphatic function, e.g.:

Ji *stingtė* *sustingo.*
 she freeze: ADV PREF-freeze: 3. PAST
 'She froze stiff.'

(5) A finite verb form with an onomatopoeic word, e.g.:

<i>Várna</i>	<i>šàst</i>	<i>nùtùpé.</i>
crow: NOM	ONOMAT	alight: 3. PAST

'A crow suddenly alighted.'

1.17 Periphrastic finite verb forms are an integral part of the tense-mood-voice paradigm and with respect to their grammatical categorial meanings of tense and voice they are regularly opposed to simple finite forms; therefore they can be regarded as simple verbal predicates. On the other hand, they are structurally similar to nominal predicates with the copula *búti* 'be' and an adjective, e.g.:

<i>Šítame</i>	<i>káime</i>	<i>jì</i>	<i>yrà</i>	<i>gyvėnusi.</i>
this: LOC	village: LOC	she: NOM	be: 3. PRES	live: PAST.
				ACT. PART.
				NOM. FEM

'She has lived in this village.'

Cf.:

<i>Šítame</i>	<i>káime</i>	<i>jì</i>	<i>gyvėna.</i>
this: LOC	village: LOC	she: NOM	live: 3. PRES

'She lives in this village.'

<i>Jì</i>	<i>yrà</i>	<i>jauniáusia.</i>
she: NOM	be: 3. PRES	young: ADJ. SUPERLAT. NOM. FEM

'She is the youngest.'

Compound nominal predicate

1.18 A compound nominal predicate consists of two parts, a copula and a predicative. The copula is expressed by the finite form of the auxiliary verb *búti* 'be' or of a semi-notional verb, and the predicative is either a noun (or its substitute), an adjective or an adjectivized participle. The predicative is linked to the copula by adjunction and to the subject by agreement, cf.:

<i>Onùté</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>pienininkė.</i>
Annie: NOM	be: 3. PAST	milkmaid

'Annie was a milkmaid.'

<i>Vaikaĩ</i>	<i>bùs</i>	<i>patėnkinti.</i>
child: NOM. PL. MASC	be: 3. FUT	pleased: NOM. PL. MASC

'The children will be pleased.'

In this respect a predicative is very much like a predicative attribute, cf.:

<i>Vaikaī</i>	<i>grīžo</i>	<i>paténkinti.</i>
children: NOM. PL. MASC	return: 3. PAST	pleased: NOM. PL. MASC

'The children returned pleased.'

THE COPULA

- 1.19** *Būti* 'be' is a link verb most frequently used in compound nominal predicates. It is devoid of any lexical meaning in this function and has a full paradigm of finite tense-mood forms. It denotes assigning the subject referent to a class of things or a property to the subject-referent within a temporal modal frame.

A compound nominal predicate can incorporate a modal verb (e.g. *galēti* 'be able to', *turēti* 'have to', *privalēti* 'be obliged to', *reikēti* 'need'), e.g.:

<i>Tū</i>	<i>turī</i>	<i>būti</i>	<i>teisīngas.</i>
thou: NOM	must: 2. SG. PRES	be: INF	just: NOM. SG. MASC

'You must be just.'

<i>Tās</i>	<i>žiņšnis</i>	<i>gāli</i>	<i>būti</i>	<i>paskutinis.</i>
that	step: NOM. SG. MASC	can: 3. PRES	be: INF	last: NOM. SG. MASC

'That step can be the last (one).'

The present tense form of *būti* 'be' can be omitted (zero form), its absence indicating the present tense of the indicative mood, e.g.:

<i>Māno</i>	<i>tēvas</i>	<i>sveīkas.</i>
my	father	healthy

'My father is well.'

(Cf.: *būvo* / *būdavo* / *būs* / *yrà būvēs* / *būtu sveīkas* 'was / used to be / will be / has been / would be well'.)

With a noun or a 3rd person pronoun as subject, the zero copula is equivalent to the 3rd person present form of *būti* 'be' (*yrà* 'is, are', *ēsti* 'is, are'); with a 1st or 2nd person pronoun it is equivalent to the 1st or 2nd person singular or plural forms, cf.:

<i>āš (esù) jáunas</i>	'I am young'
<i>tù (esi) jáunas</i>	'thou (are) young'
<i>jīš (ēšate) jauni</i>	'you (are) young'

In sentences with the zero copula the syntactic link between subject and predicative can be reinforced by the pronoun *taī* 'that' or emphasized by intonation,

marked by a dash in writing:

<i>Keliõnė</i> –	<i>taĩ</i>	<i>nė</i>	<i>juõkas.</i>
travel	that	not	joke

‘A trip is no joke.’

<i>Dù</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>dù</i> –	<i>keturì.</i>
two	and	two	four

‘Two and two is four.’

In most cases, an overt present tense form of *búti* is interchangeable with the zero form, cf.: *Tù pàts esi kaĩtas* = *Tù pàts kaĩtas* ‘You are guilty yourself.’

The zero form is commonly used in compound predicates denoting a permanent feature of the subject referent or assigning the latter to a class irrespective of time, e.g.:

<i>Genýs márgas, pasáulis</i>	‘The woodpecker is motley, the world
<i>dár margèsnis.</i>	is even more motley.’
<i>Janùlis teisingas žmogùs.</i>	‘Janulis is a just man.’

The copula *búti* is obligatory if the 1st or 2nd person subject is omitted (which is often the case) and has to be inferred from the predicate, e.g.:

<i>Esi</i>	<i>jáunas</i>	<i>iř</i>	<i>stiprùs.</i>
be: 2. SG. PRES	young: NOM. SG. MASC	and	strong: NOM. SG. MASC

‘You are young and strong.’

<i>Ėsame</i>	<i>jáunos</i>	<i>iř</i>	<i>grážiõs.</i>
be: 1. PL. PRES	young: NOM. PL. FEM	and	pretty: NOM. PL. FEM

‘We are young and pretty.’

A number of semi-notional verbs are also used like copulas: they express either a change (e.g., *tàpti* ‘become, grow’, *darytìs* ‘become’), or remaining in a state (e.g., *(pa)likti* ‘remain’), or pretending (e.g., *dėtis* ‘pretend’, *apsimėsti* ‘pretend, feign’), the state being denoted by the predicative; cf.:

<i>Jis tãpo turtìngas.</i>	‘He grew rich.’
<i>Jis liko vieniřas.</i>	‘He remained alone.’

The verbs denoting pretending can take participles, e.g.:

<i>Darbiniñkai</i>	<i>dėjosi</i>	<i>pavařge.</i>
worker: NOM. PL	pretend: 3. PAST. REFL	tired: PAST. ACT. PART. NOM. PL

‘The workers pretended to be tired.’

THE PREDICATIVE

1.20 The predicative can be expressed by the following word forms and phrases.

(1) The nominative case of a noun, single or with dependent words, cf. respectively:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| (a) <i>Geležis yrà metālas.</i> | 'Iron is a metal.' |
| <i>Bùvo žiemà.</i> | 'It was winter.' |
| (b) <i>Kaimýnas bùvo gēras žmogùs.</i> | 'The neighbour was a good man.' |

The predicative can also be expressed by a comparative phrase with the nominative case form:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>Sūnùs bùvo kaĩp džuolas.</i> | '(His) Son was like an oak-tree (= strong and handsome).' |
|---------------------------------|---|

(2) The nominative case of an adjective, (ordinal) numeral, pronoun, or participle, cf.:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| (a) <i>Dangùs bùvo giēdras.</i> | 'The sky was clear.' |
| (b) <i>Berniùkas liko vienas.</i> | 'The boy remained alone.' |
| <i>Jis bùvo aĩntras.</i> | 'He was the second.' |
| (c) <i>Laikaĩ bùvo kitókie.</i> | 'The times were different' (lit. 'other'). |
| (d) <i>Mótina bùvo tikinti.</i> | 'Mother was a believer' (lit. 'believing': PRES. ACT. PART). |

(3) The genitive case of a noun (single or with dependent words):

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Žiedas bùvo áukso.</i> | 'The ring was of gold.' |
| <i>Tàs ákis yrà màno tėvo.</i> | 'That farm is my father's.' |

The predicative noun (or adjective) is in the genitive case (and the semantic subject, too) if the copula is used with the negative particle or if it has the neuter form of a passive participle:

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Tėvo</i> | <i>nebėrà</i> | <i>gývo.</i> | |
| father: GEN | not-be: 3. PRES | alive: GEN | |
| 'Father is dead.' | | | |
| <i>Jõ</i> | <i>ėsama /</i> | <i>báta</i> | <i>ragāniaus.</i> |
| he: GEN | be: PRES. PASS.
PART. NEUTR | be: PAST. PASS.
PART. NEUTR | wizard: GEN. SG |
| '(They say) he is/was a wizard.' | | | |

(4) The instrumental case of a noun is used as a predicative to express a temporary or changing state. To express a permanent state, the nominative is used; cf.:

<i>Jis</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>mókytojas.</i>
he	was	teacher: NOM

'He was a teacher' (permanent profession).

<i>Jis</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>mókytoju.</i>
he	was	teacher: INSTR

'He worked as a teacher' (temporary occupation).

As a rule, the nominative can be substituted for the instrumental, but not vice versa; cf. also:

<i>Kėletą mėtų dėdė bùvo</i>	'For a number of years my uncle
<i>seniūnù (INSTR)/seniūnas (NOM).</i>	was the village elder.'

The instrumental is more common than nominative with semi-notional copulative verbs denoting a change of state or a seeming state, than with *būti* 'be', e.g.:

<i>Patì</i>	<i>eglè</i>	<i>tāpo.</i>
herself: NOM	fir-tree: INSTR	became

'She herself turned into a fir-tree.'

<i>Jis</i>	<i>apsimetė</i>	<i>viřšininku.</i>
he	pretended	boss: INSTR

'He pretended to be the boss.'

In the case of a descriptive part-whole relationship with the subject, the predicative noun denoting a (body) part must take an attribute, e.g.:

<i>Vaikaĩ</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>įdūbusiais</i>	<i>skrúostais.</i>
children	were	sunken: INSTR. PL	cheek: INSTR. PL

'The children had sunken cheeks.'

In Standard Lithuanian, adjectives and their equivalents in the predicative position are not used in the instrumental case, e.g.:

<i>Mēs</i>	<i>būsime</i>	<i>laisvi</i>	(not * <i>laisvais</i>).
we	will be	free: NOM. PL	(free: INSTR. PL)

'We will be free.'

(5) Prepositional phrases describe the subject referent when used predicatively, e.g.:

iř 'from, of' + GEN:

<i>Nāmo sienos iš rāstų.</i>	'The walls of the house are of timber.'
------------------------------	---

bè 'without' + GEN:

Mēdžiai jaū be lāpu. lit. 'The trees are already without leaves.'

iki 'up to' + GEN:

Rankóvės būs iki alkūnių. lit. 'The sleeves will be down to the elbows.'

sù 'with' + INSTR:

Dēdė būvo su ūsais. 'The uncle had a moustache.'

The preposition *iš* 'from' is also used with the genitive plural form of nouns (commonly denoting social status or origin), pronouns, pronominal adjectives and the superlative form of adjectives, cf.:

<i>Jō</i>	<i>senėlis</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>bajōrų.</i>
his	grandfather	was	from	gentry: GEN. PL

'His grandfather was descended from landed gentry.'

<i>Māno</i>	<i>duktė</i>	<i>nè</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>tokių /</i>	<i>nè</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>prastūjų</i>
my	daughter	not	from	such:	not	from	common:
				GEN. PL			PRON. GEN. PL

cf.: *ne tokià / neprastà.*
not such: NOM not common: NOM

'My daughter is not one of those/not one of the common wenches' (cf.: '(she) is not like that/not a common wench').

<i>Jis</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>nè</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>kvailiausių.</i>
he	was	not	from	stupid: ADJ. SUPERL. GEN. PL

'He was not one of the stupidest' (i.e. 'not very stupid').

(6) The neuter form of an adjective (the ending *-a, -u*) is used as a predicative in a personal sentence if the subject is either (a) a neuter adjective or (b) the pronoun *taī* 'that', or *vīsa* 'all, everything', *vīena* 'one', *kita* 'another (thing)', or (c) the indefinite pronoun *kàs* 'who, what' (or *kažkàs* 'something, somebody'), *kai kàs* 'something, someone', *daūg kas* 'much, many', *bet kàs* 'anything, anyone', *kàs ne kàs* 'something, somebody', *niėkas* 'nothing, nobody', *vīskas* 'everything'; cf.:

(a) <i>Sėna būvo nuobodù, ò</i> <i>naūja nedīšku.</i>	'(What was) old was dull, and (what was) new was uncertain.'
--	---

(b) <i>Taī labaī įdomù.</i> <i>Vīena yrà tikra.</i>	'That is very interesting.' 'One (thing) is true.'
--	---

(c) <i>Kàs táu malonù?</i>	'What is pleasant for you?'
<i>Kai kàs / daũg kàs / kažkàs</i>	'Some things / much (many
<i>bùvo negëra.</i>	things) / something was wrong' (lit. 'not good').
<i>Čià niëkas nemíela.</i>	lit. 'Nothing is pleasant here' (= 'I hate it here').

The neuter form of an adjective is used with the nominative subject to express a generalized assessment, cf.:

<i>Soëčias visadà malonù.</i>	'A guest is always a pleasure' (lit. 'pleasant').
<i>Nè pinigaĩ, ò drąsà svarbù.</i>	'Not money but courage is important.'

The neuter form of ordinal numerals, adjectival pronouns and passive participles is also used in this way, e.g.:

<i>Kalbà yrà víena, ò darbaĩ</i>	'Talking is one (thing) and
<i>kíta.</i>	deeds (quite) another.'

Neuter adjectives are widely used as predicatives in impersonal sentences to express a state, e.g.:

<i>Bùvo</i>	<i>káršta.</i>
was	hot: NEUTR
'It was hot.'	

<i>Jám</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>nesmagù.</i>
he: DAT	was	not pleasant: NEUTR
'He felt uneasy.'		

Neuter adjectives can also take an infinitive, e.g.:

<i>Čià</i>	<i>gëra</i>	<i>gyvénti.</i>
here	good: NEUTR	live: INF
'It's good to live here.'		

<i>Mán</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>neįdomù</i>	<i>klausýti.</i>
I: DAT	was	not interesting: NEUTR	listen: INF
'It was dull for me to listen.'			

(7) A number of adverbs of manner can also be used predicatively, to express meanings similar to those of neuter adjectives, cf.:

<i>Čià</i>	<i>kažkàs</i>	<i>negeraĩ /</i>	<i>negëra.</i>
here	something	not good: ADV	not good: NEUTR
'Something is wrong here.'			

<i>Táu</i>	<i>bùs</i>	<i>riestaĩ /</i>	<i>riësta.</i>
you: DAT	will be	hard: ADV	hard: NEUTR
'You'll be in a spot.'			

(8) An infinitive is also used in compound nominal predicates if the subject is a noun or an infinitive, e.g.:

<i>Jõ</i>	<i>visas</i>	<i>dárbas</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>dykinēti.</i>
his	all: NOM	work: NOM	was	idle: INF
'His job was to do nothing.'				
<i>Gyvėnti –</i>	<i>taĩ</i>	<i>kùrti.</i>		
live: INF	that	create: INF		
'To live is to create.'				

THE SUBJECT

- 1.21 The part of a sentence immediately linked to the predicate by the syntactic relation of interdependence is regarded as subject (*veiksnys*). A specialized grammatical form for encoding the subject is the nominative case of a noun, e.g.:

<i>Kviečiaĩ</i>	<i>pribrėndo.</i>
wheat: NOM. PL	ripen: 3. PAST
'The wheat has ripened.'	

<i>Mergaitė</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>linksmà.</i>
girl: NOM. SG. FEM	be: 3. PAST	cheerful: NOM. SG. FEM
'The girl was cheerful.'		

Any other word form (or word group) interchangeable with a noun in the nominative case is also viewed as subject, if it accepts a question beginning with *kàs* 'who, what.'

The subject denotes an entity whose processual, qualitative, quantitative or any other characteristic, or assignment to a class is expressed by the predicate.

According to internal structure, simple and complex subjects are distinguished.

Simple subject

- 1.22 A simple subject is expressed by the following word forms.

(1) The nominative case of a personal pronoun, e.g.:

<i>Àš dár niėko nežinójau.</i>	'I didn't know anything yet.'
<i>Jis labaĩ jáunas.</i>	'He is very young.'

The 1st and 2nd person pronouns in subject position are often omitted, since the verbal ending implies the subject unambiguously, e.g.:

<i>Einù</i>	<i>iř</i>	<i>dainúoju.</i>
go: 1. SG. PRES	and	sing: 1. SG. PRES
'I am walking and singing.'		

<i>Mokėjot</i>	<i>ateit,</i>	<i>mokėkit</i>	<i>išeit.</i>
know: 2. PL. PAST	come: INF	know: 2. PL. IMPER	leave: INF
'You knew how to come, you must know how (and when) to leave.'			

(2) The nominative case of other than personal pronouns, also numerals, adjectives, etc. used in the position of a noun, e.g.:

<i>Kiekvienas jį pažįsta.</i>	'Everyone knows him.'
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<i>Jauni šoka, seni žiūri.</i>	'The young are dancing, the old are watching.'
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<i>Dù bėga, trėčias vėjasi.</i>	'Two are running, the third is pursuing.'
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(3) The neuter form of an adjective or pronoun, e.g.:

<i>Iř sėna gimsta jáuna.</i>	'The young is born out of old.'
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<i>Tai būvo netikėta.</i>	'It was unexpected.'
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<i>Visa prapúolė.</i>	'All is lost.'
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(4) The genitive case of a noun with the meaning of indefinite quantity, e.g.:

<i>Pavāsariais</i>	<i>atplaūkdavo</i>	<i>laivų</i>	(cf. <i>laivai</i>).
spring: INSTR. PL	come: 3. PAST. FREQ	ship: GEN. PL	ship: NOM. PL
'Each spring, some ships (cf. 'ships') used to arrive.'			

The genitive case is used instead of the nominative with the negative form of *búti* 'be' to express absence of the indefinite subject referent in the place indicated, e.g.:

<i>Výru</i>	<i>kiemė</i>	<i>nebùvo.</i>
man: GEN. PL	yard: LOC. SG	not be: 3. PAST
'There were no men in the yard.'		

Cf.: <i>Výrai</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>kiemė.</i>
man: NOM. PL	were	yard: LOC. SG
'The men were in the yard.'		

<i>Výrai</i>	<i>kiemė</i>	<i>nebùvo.</i>
man: NOM. PL	yard: LOC	not be: 3. PAST
'The men were not in the yard.'		

If a compound nominal predicate is used with negation the subject retains the nominative case form:

A cluster of two pronouns can be replaced by one of them, mostly the second one, e.g.:

Patì (= Aš patì) pietùs išvirsiu. 'I myself will cook dinner.'
Visì (= Mēs visi) tai mātēme. 'All of us have seen it.'

(4) A quantitative adverb (*daūg* 'much, many', *kīek* 'how much/many', *tīek* 'so much/many', *šīek tīek* 'a little, a few', *māža* 'little') or the neuter adjectives *māža* 'little', and *apstū* 'a lot' used with the genitive case of a noun, e.g.:

Daūg mētų praėjo. 'Many years (have) passed.'
Tīek žmonių čia gyvėna. lit. 'So many people live here.'

The status of a complex subject is also assigned to a combination of (a) two synonymous words in the nominative case or (b) the nominative and emphatic genitive of the same noun, e.g.:

(a) *Bařs tavė močiūtė motinėlé.*
 scold: FUT you: ACC mother: DIMIN. NOM mother: DIMIN. NOM
 'Your mummy will scold you.'

Tyvuliāvo ežeraĩ ežeriūkai.
 stretch: 3. PAST lake: NOM. PL lake: DIMIN. NOM. PL
 'Many great and small lakes stretched around.'

(b) *Prabėgo mėtų mėtai.*
 pass: 3. PAST year: GEN. PL year: NOM. PL
 lit. 'Years of years (i.e. many years) passed by.'

(For the gerundial clauses in subject position see 3.103.)

Subject-predicate concord

- 1.24 In most cases, the subject and predicate are dependent upon each other with respect to form: the number and person of the predicate are determined by the subject while the overt subject assumes the case form imposed by the predicate. In other words, they are in concord with each other. In a number of cases, concord is not complete or limited.

In the 1st and 2nd person, the subject (expressed by a personal pronoun) and predicate in a simple tense form agree in person and number, e.g.:

āš sėdžiu mēs sėdime
 I: NOM sit: 1. SG. PRES we: NOM sit: 1. PL. PRES
 'I am sitting' 'We are sitting'

<i>tù</i>	<i>sēdi</i>	<i>jūs</i>	<i>sēdite</i>
thou: NOM	sit: 2.PRES	you: NOM	sit: 2. PL. PRES
'You are sitting'		'You are sitting'	

If the subject is a noun or a 3rd person pronoun, the predicate agrees with it in person (number being unmarked in this form):

<i>jīs/</i>	<i>jì/</i>	<i>jīž /</i>	<i>jōs /</i>	<i>vaikaī /</i>	<i>móterys</i>	<i>sēdi</i>
he	she	they: MASC	they: FEM	children	women	sit: 3. PRES
'he/she/they/children/women is/are sitting'						

As a polite form of address to one person, the plural pronoun *jūs* 'you' and the nouns *pōnas* 'Mister', *ponià* 'Madam', *panēlē* 'Miss' are used with the 2nd person plural form of a verb, e.g.:

<i>Kā</i>	<i>jūs</i>	<i>kalbate,</i>	<i>mielāsis?</i>
what: ACC	you: PL	talk: 2. PL. PRES	dear: SG. MASC
'What are you talking about, dear?'			

<i>Ař</i>	<i>ponià/</i>	<i>panēlē</i>	<i>jaū</i>	<i>papietāvotė?</i>
PARTICLE	madam/	miss	already	dine: 2. PL. PAST
'Have you had your dinner, Madam/Miss?'				

As a polite address, the pronoun *támsta* 'you', *pàts* 'yourself' and the adjective *sveīkas*, -à 'healthy, sound' in the meaning of *támsta* are used with the 2nd person singular verb form:

<i>Kaīp</i>	<i>támsta</i>	<i>gyveni?</i>
how	you	live: 2. SG. PRES
'How are you getting on?'		

<i>Kuř</i>	<i>pàts</i>	<i>eini?</i>
where	yourself	go: 2. SG. PRES
'Where are you going?'		

<i>Kodēl</i>	<i>sveīkas</i>	<i>nesiródai?</i>
why	healthy	not show: 2. SG. PRES. REFL
'Why do you never come (here)?'		

They are also used in the plural form:

<i>Kaīp</i>	<i>támstos</i>	<i>gyvėnate?</i>
how	you: PL	live: 2. PL. PRES
'How are you all getting on?'		

The subject can be extended by the prepositional phrase *iř* + GEN, in which case the person and number of the predicate correlate either with the subject or with the noun (pronoun) of the prepositional phrase, e.g.:

<i>Keli</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>jūsų</i>	<i>sėdėjo /</i>	<i>sėdėjote</i>	<i>namiė?</i>
how many	from	you:	sit: 3. PAST	sit: 2. PL. PAST	at home
Prep + GEN. PL					
‘How many of you stayed at home?’					

The subject may be expressed by a personal pronoun with another pronoun (*pàts* ‘oneself’, *vienas* ‘one, alone’, *kiekvienas* ‘each’, *abù* ‘both’), and in this cluster the personal pronoun can be omitted, the second component representing the subject group. In this case the person of the omitted pronoun is marked in the predicate:

<i>Pàts</i>	<i>nuėjaũ/</i>	<i>nuėjaĩ/</i>	<i>nuėjo.</i>
self: MASC	go: 1. SG. PAST	go: 2. SG. PAST	go: 3. PAST
‘I myself/you yourself/he himself went there.’			

<i>Vienà</i>	<i>viską</i>	<i>padariaũ/</i>	<i>padareĩ/</i>	<i>padārė.</i>
one: FEM. NOM	all: ACC	do: 1. SG. PAST	do: 2. SG. PAST	do: 3. PAST
‘I/thou/she alone did everything.’				

<i>Abù</i>	<i>grįžome/</i>	<i>grįžote/</i>	<i>grįžo.</i>
both	return: 1. PL. PAST	return: 2. PL. PAST	return: 3. PAST
‘Both of us/you/them returned.’			

With the pronouns *kàs* ‘who’ (and its derivatives *daũg kàs* ‘many’, *kàs ne kàs* ‘some (people)’, *katràs* ‘which (of the two)’, *kuris* ‘which’, *kėletas* ‘a few’, *niėkas* ‘no one’, *keli* ‘several’, *kai kuriė* ‘some (people)’ in subject position the verb is in the 1st and 2nd plural or in the 3rd person form, cf.:

<i>Kàs/</i>	<i>katràs/</i>	<i>kuris</i>	<i>dabař</i>	<i>ėisite?</i>
who	which	which	now	go: 2. PL. FUT
‘Who/which of you two/which one will go now?’				

<i>Daũg kàs/</i>	<i>kai kàs</i>	<i>apiė</i>	<i>taĩ</i>	<i>girdėjome.</i>
many	some	about	that	hear: 1. PL. PAST
‘Many of us/some of us (have) heard about it.’				

<i>Niėkas</i>	<i>nesupraĩtame/</i>	<i>nesupraĩta.</i>
no one	not understand: 1. PL. PRES	not understand: 3. PRES
‘None of us/No one understand(s) it.’		

<i>Kai kuriė</i>	<i>pasilikome /</i>	<i>pasiliko.</i>
some	stay: 1. PL. PAST	stay: 3. PAST
‘Some of us/Some (people) stayed.’		

The plural form of a verbal predicate can also combine with the singular form of some collective nouns:

Daugùmas *grįžome.*
 majority: NOM. SG return: 1. PL. PAST
 'Most of us returned.'

Tadà *daūgelis* *tylėjote.*
 then many: NOM. SG be silent: 2. PL. PAST
 'At that time many of you kept silent.'

- 1.25 The link verb of a compound nominal predicate correlates with the subject according to the same rules as a simple verbal predicate.

The predicative of a compound predicate is also formally correlated with the subject, different sets of rules applying to predicative nouns and adjectives.

Nouns and nominal substitutes do not agree with the subject in gender (cf. (1)), unless there is a choice between two words differing in gender (cf. (2)) or the noun has different gender forms (cf. (3)):

(1) *Túopa* *yrà* *mėdis.*
 poplar: FEM is tree: MASC
 'A poplar is a tree.'

Nėmunas *yrà* *ùpė.*
 Nemunas: MASC is river: FEM
 'The Nemunas is a river.'

(2) *Jõnas* *bùvo* *sūnùs,* *o* *Marytė* *jauniáusia* *duktė.*
 John: was son: and Mary: youngest: daughter:
 MASC MASC FEM FEM FEM
 'John was (their) son, and Mary (was) the youngest daughter.'

(3) *Jis* *bùvo* *mókytojas.*
 he was teacher: MASC. SG
 'He was a teacher.'

Jì *bùvo* *mókytoja.*
 she was teacher: FEM. SG
 'She was a teacher.'

The predicative noun usually agrees with the subject in number, e.g.:

Brólis *bùs* *úkininkas.*
 brother: NOM. SG be: FUT farmer: NOM. SG
 '(My) brother will be a farmer.'

Bróliai *bùs* *úkininkai.*
 brother: NOM. PL be: 3.FUT farmer: NOM. PL
 '(My) brothers will be farmers.'

This is not the case if one of the two nouns belongs to the class of *pluralia tantum*, cf.:

<i>Jū</i>	<i>maīstas</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>būlvės.</i>
their	food: NOM. SG	be: 3. PAST	potato: NOM. PL

'Their food was potatoes.'

<i>Akėčios</i> –	<i>pasėnės</i>	<i>įrankis.</i>
harrow: NOM. PL. FEM	outdated	tool: NOM. SG. MASC

'The harrow is an outdated tool.'

An abstract noun used as a predicative does not always agree with the subject in number, cf.:

<i>Vaikai</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>mūsų</i>	<i>viltis.</i>
child: NOM. PL	be: 3. PAST	our	hope: NOM. SG

'The children were our hope.'

If the pronoun *jūs* 'you' is used as a polite address instead of *tù* 'thou' the predicative noun is in the singular:

<i>Jūs</i>	<i>ėsite</i>	<i>dėdvyris.</i>
you	be: 2. PL. PRES	hero: NOM. SG

'You are a hero.'

If the subject is a noun or a pronoun in the singular, but referring to a number of persons or things (it may subordinate a prepositional phrase), the predicative has the plural form, e.g.:

<i>Kėletas</i>	(<i>iš</i> <i>jū</i>)	<i>būvo</i>	<i>studeñtai.</i>
several: NOM. SG	from them	be: 3. PAST	student: NOM. PL

'Some (of them) were students.'

<i>Visa</i>	<i>taĩ</i> –	<i>nesąmonės.</i>
all: NOM. SG	that	nonsense: NOM. PL

'All that is nonsense.'

<i>Kàs</i>	<i>būs</i>	<i>nugalėtojai?</i>
who	be: FUT	winner: NOM. PL

'Who will be the winners?'

The predicative noun is also plural if the subject is a collective noun or the phrase NOM + *sù* 'with' + INSTR, e.g.:

<i>Daugùmas</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>výrai.</i>
majority: SG	be: 3. PAST	man: NOM. PL

'The majority were men.'

Tēvas su mótina būvo darbiniņkai.
 father: NOM. SG with mother: INSTR be: 3. PAST worker: NOM. PL
 'Father and mother were workers.'

The instrumental case of a predicative noun agrees with the subject in number in the same way as the nominative, e.g.:

Visi bróliai tāpo júodvarniais.
 all: NOM. PL brother: NOM. PL become: 3. PAST raven: INSTR. PL
 'All the brothers turned into ravens.'

Cf.: *Jis tāpo júodvarniu.*
 he became raven: INSTR. SG
 'He turned into a raven.'

No agreement in number or in gender takes place if a collective or an abstract noun occurs in either position, e.g.:

Karóliai tāpo jōs mėgstamu pāpuošalu.
 bead: NOM. PL became her favourite adornment: INSTR. SG
 'Beads became her favourite adornment.'

1.26 Adjectives and other adjectival words in predicative position agree with the subject in the nominative case in gender, number, and case, e.g.:

Vaiķā būvo laimīgi.
 child: NOM. PL. MASC be: 3. PAST happy: NOM. PL. MASC
 'The children were happy.'

Mergāitēs būvo laimīgos.
 girl: NOM. PL. FEM were happy: NOM. PL. FEM
 'The girls were happy.'

Ji būvo pasipūtsi.
 she be: 3. PAST conceit: PART. NOM. SG. FEM
 'She was conceited.'

Gender is marked in the predicative noun or adjective if the subject is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun with no gender contrast, e.g.:

Āš būvā laimīgas/ laimīga.
 I was happy: MASC happy: FEM
 'I was happy.'

Jūs būsīte laimīgi/ laimīgos.
 you be: 2. PL. FUT happy: PL. MASC happy: PL. FEM
 'You will be happy.'

If the subject pronoun *jūs* 'you' is used as a polite address to one person, the predicative is in the singular, though the copula is in the plural:

<i>Jūs</i>	<i>ēsate</i>	<i>graži.</i>
you	be: 2. PL. PRES	pretty: SG. FEM

'You are pretty.'

On the other hand, if a subject in the singular refers to several persons or things, the predicative is in the plural:

<i>Daūgelis</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>pikti.</i>
many: SG	were	angry: PL. MASC

'The majority were angry.'

To sum up, in most cases semantic agreement underlies the choice of the grammatical categories of subject and predicative.

If a neuter adjective, or a pronoun, or an indefinite pronoun with no gender contrast is used as subject, the predicative adjective also assumes the neuter form (see (3) in 1.22).

Neuter adjectives used in a generalized sense do not agree with a subject noun, e.g.:

<i>Medūs</i>	<i>gardū.</i>
honey: MASC	tasty: NEUTR

'Honey is delicious.'

- 1.27** The participle of a periphrastic verb form agrees with the subject according to the same rules as the adjectival predicative of a compound nominal predicate, the auxiliary verb *būti* 'be' assuming the person and number of the subject; cf.:

<i>Āš</i>	<i>esū</i>	<i>kalbējēš /</i>	<i>kalbējusi.</i>
I	be: 1. SG. PRES	speak: PAST. ACT. MASC PART. SG.	speak: PAST. ACT. PART. SG. FEM

'I have spoken.'

<i>Tū</i>	<i>esi</i>	<i>kalbējēš /</i>	<i>kalbējusi.</i>
thou	be: 2. SG. PRES	speak: PAST. ACT. PART. SG. MASC	speak: SG.FEM

'You have spoken.'

<i>Mēs</i>	<i>būvome</i>	<i>grīžē /</i>	<i>grīžusios.</i>
we	be: 1. PL. PAST	return: PAST. ACT. PART. PL. MASC	return: PL. FEM

'We had returned.'

Jūs būvotė kviečiami/kviečiamos.
 you be: 2. PL. PAST invite: PRES. PASS. PART. PL. MASC invite: PL. FEM
 'You were invited.'

(But: *Jūs būvotė kviečiamas* (SG. MASC)/*kviečiamà* (SG. FEM) 'You were invited', when addressing one person.)

If the subject is an indefinite pronoun (*kàs* 'what', *niėkas* 'nothing, nobody', *keli* 'some, several', etc.; see 1.24) or a word or word group denoting quantity, which are neutral with respect to gender, the participle usually assumes the neuter form, e.g.:

Viskas būvo pàmiršta.
 everything be: 3. PAST forget: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR
 'Everything was forgotten.'

Daug grūdų būvo vėžama į miestą.
 much grain: GEN. PL was carry: PRES. to town: ACC. SG
 PASS. PART. NEUTR

'Much grain was taken to the town.'

Viskas būvo sugėdė.
 everything was spoil: PAST. ACT. PART. NEUTR
 'Everything was spoiled.'

The neuter form of passive participles can also be used with subject nouns of either gender and number, cf.:

Rugiai jau sėjama.
 rye: MASC. PL already sow: PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR
 'Rye is being sown already.'

Nāmas pastatyta.
 house: MASC. SG build: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR
 'The house is built.'

Būlvės būvo nūkasta.
 potato: FEM. PL be: 3. PAST dig up: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR
 'Potatoes have been dug up.'

The neuter form of a participle in a periphrastic verb form is also used if there are two or more conjoined subjects (especially if they differ in gender):

Pirmiausia bus nešama gėlės ir paveikslai.
 first be: 3. FUT carry: PRES. flower: and picture:
 PASS. PART. NEUTR PL. FEM PL. MASC

'First, flowers and pictures will be carried (out).'

THE OBJECT

- 1.28 The object (*papildinājs*) is immediately subordinated to the predicate and expressed by a noun in an oblique case form (with or without a preposition) or by its substitute (a word form or a word group) in the same position.

Direct and indirect objects are distinguished.

- 1.29 The status of a **direct object** (*tiesīgā papildinājs*) is assigned to a noun, a pronoun or a cardinal numeral in the accusative, and sometimes in the genitive case without a preposition, which change into the nominative case in a passive sentence, e.g.:

<i>Ji āpdengē stālq.</i>	'She laid the table (ACC. SG).'
<i>Stālas būvo jōs āpdengtas.</i>	'The table (NOM. SG) was laid by her.'
<i>Lāukēme svečīj.</i>	'We expected visitors (GEN. PL).'
<i>Svečīat būvo laukiamī.</i>	'Visitors (NOM. PL) were expected.'

The accusative case is a specialized form of the direct object. If a transitive verb is used with negation the genitive is obligatorily substituted for the accusative, e.g.:

<i>Mataū paūkštj.</i>	'I see a bird (ACC. SG).'
<i>Nemataū paūkščio.</i>	'I don't see a bird (GEN. SG).'
<i>Turiū sēserj.</i>	'I have a sister (ACC. SG).'
<i>Neturiū seseš.</i>	'I don't have a sister (GEN. SG).'

If a direct object refers to an indefinite quantity, the genitive case is also used instead of the accusative, e.g.:

<i>Ātnešiau obuoliū.</i>	'I brought some apples (GEN. PL).'
<i>Cf. Ātnešiau obuolius.</i>	'I brought the apples (ACC. PL).'
<i>Gavaū laiškū.</i>	'I received some letters (GEN. PL).'
<i>Cf. Gavaū laiškus.</i>	'I received the letters (ACC. PL).'

The following verbs always require a direct object in the genitive case: *lāukti* 'wait (for)', *ieškōti* 'look (for)', *geīsti* 'desire', *trōkšti* 'desire, wish', *norēti* 'want', *sīekti* 'strive (for)', *stokōti* 'be short (of)', *bijōti* 'be afraid (of)', *vēngti* 'avoid', and the like.

The accusative (or genitive) case of a direct object is interchangeable with an **infinitive** after some verbs, e.g.:

<i>Ji dāvē pavālgyti/vālgio.</i>	'She gave some food: INF/GEN.'
<i>Vaikat kartais gāuna lūpti / rjškščiu.</i>	'Sometimes (the) children get a beating (INF)/the birch (GEN).'

An infinitive often used with verbs like *vēngti* 'avoid', *mókytis* 'learn', *sáugotis* 'take care (of)', *bijóti* 'be afraid (of)', *at(si)miñti* 'remember', *užmiřšti* 'forget', etc. also occupies the position of a direct object; cf.:

<i>mókosi rašýti / rāšto</i>	'he learns to write (INF)/writing (GEN)'
<i>užmiršau pasisvėikinti</i>	'I forgot to say hello (INF)'
<i>bijaũ grįžti</i>	'I am afraid to come back (INF)'

A direct object can also be expressed by the neuter form of an adjective, a pronoun or a passive participle unmarked for case; e.g.:

<i>Šitas žmogus šilta</i>	<i>iř</i>	<i>šalta</i>	<i>mātes.</i>
this man warm: NEUTR	and	cold: NEUTR	see: PAST. ACT. PART
'This man has experienced everything' (lit. 'has seen hot and cold').			

<i>Jis pats visa</i>	<i>padarė.</i>
he himself all: NEUTR	do: 3. PAST
'He did everything himself.'	

<i>Ligonė nebevalgo</i>	<i>neĩ</i>	<i>virta,</i>	<i>neĩ</i>	<i>kėpta.</i>
patient: not any longer	neither	boil: PAST.	nor	fry: PAST.
NOM. eat: 3. PRES		PASS. PART.		PASS. PART.
FEM		NEUTR		NEUTR
'The patient does not eat either boiled or fried food any longer.'				

A direct object, like the subject, can be expressed by a variety of word clusters groups consisting, for instance, of (1) a personal and an intensifying pronoun; (2) a noun and another word, or (3) two nouns in the accusative; cf.:

(1) <i>Šiañdien ař jĩ patĩ mačiaũ.</i>	lit. 'Today I saw him himself.'
(2) <i>Sutikaũ daũg draugũ.</i>	'I met many friends.'
(3) <i>Rankàs kójas pavargaũ.</i>	lit. 'I tired (my) hands and feet.'

1.30 The status of an **indirect object** (*netiesiógintis papildinỹs*) is assigned to a noun in an oblique case (with or without a preposition) or its substitute, which retains its form with the passive form of the predicate, cf.:

<i>Mergaitė</i>	<i>gėlės</i>	<i>atnešė</i>	<i>mótinai.</i>
girl: NOM. SG	flower: ACC. PL	bring: 3. PAST	mother: DAT. SG
'The girl brought flowers to her mother.'			

<i>Gėlės</i>	<i>bũvo</i>	<i>atneřtos</i>	<i>mótinai.</i>
flower: NOM. PL	be: 3. PAST	bring: PAST. PL	mother: DAT. SG
PART. NOM.			

'Flowers were brought to the mother.'

Jiē džiaūgēsī pėrgale.
 They rejoice: 3. PAST. REFL victory: INSTR
 'They rejoiced at the victory.'

Būvo džiaūgiamasi pėrgale.
 be: 3. PAST rejoice: PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR. REFL victory: INSTR
 'There was rejoicing at the victory.'

An indirect object is most commonly expressed by (1) the dative, (2) the instrumental, (3) a prepositional phrase; cf. respectively:

(1) *Saulė visiems šviēčia.* 'The sun shines for all (DAT. PL).'
Jái neláimė atsitiko. lit. 'A misfortune happened to her (DAT. SG).'

(2) *Jiē didžiūojasi sàvo sūnuū.* 'They are proud of their son (INSTR. SG).'
Jis viskuo abejója. 'He doubts everything (INSTR. SG).'
Atvažiavaū tráukiniu. 'I have come by train (INSTR. SG).'

(3) *Jis juókiasi iš tavęs.* 'He laughs at you (Prep + GEN. SG).'
Papāsakok apiē sàvo kelionės. 'Tell (me) about your travels (Prep + ACC. PL).'

The genitive case without a preposition also occurs as indirect object, but in active constructions it is less common than the dative or the instrumental, e.g.:

Merginà drovējosi svečiū. 'The girl felt shy with visitors (GEN. PL).'

On the other hand, the genitive in the function of agentive complement is common in passive constructions (*genetivus auctoris*); cf.:

Stogas būvo vėjo nūneštas.
 roof: NOM. SG. MASC was wind: GEN. SG carry away: PAST. PASS.
 PART. NOM. SG. MASC

'The roof was blown away by the wind.'

Teñ vaikū žaidžiama.
 there child: GEN. PL play: PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR
 'There are children playing there.'

The genitive is required by adjectives and some adverbs of state used predicatively, cf.:

Jis būvo godūs pinigū.
 he was greedy: NOM. MASC money: GEN. PL
 'He was greedy for money.'

Kalbōs būvo apstū.
 talk: GEN. SG was abundantly
 'There was much talk (about it).'

1.31 An indirect object is often governed by a predicate having a direct object, e.g.:

Āš gēra naujienā jūms pařnešiau. 'I've brought you (DAT) good news (ACC. SG).'

Seniaū rugiūs pjautuvais 'In the old days we reaped rye (ACC. PL.)
pjáudavom. with sickles (INSTR. PL).'

Pasidariaū kibirā iš lentū 'I have made a pail (ACC. SG) from
bē kiřvio. planks (Prep + GEN. PL) without an ax
(Prep + GEN. SG).'

In these cases, the difference between a direct and indirect object is made explicit in a passive transform:

<i>Rašiaū</i>	<i>láiřka</i>	<i>pieřtukū</i>	<i>draūgui.</i>
write: 1. SG. PAST	letter: ACC. SG	pencil: INSTR. SG	friend: DAT. SG

'I was writing a letter to a friend with a pencil.'

<i>Láiřkas</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>rāřomas</i>	<i>pieřtukū</i>	<i>draūgui.</i>
letter: NOM. SG	was	write: PRES. PASS.	pencil:	friend: DAT.
SG		PART. NOM. SG	INSTR. SG	

'The letter was being written to a friend with a pencil.'

The word groups singled out in the following sentences are viewed as complex indirect objects:

Juōdu būvo vienas kitām skirti. 'The two of them were made
(lit. 'destined') for each (NOM) other
(DAT).'

Nórs manē áuksu sidabrū 'Even if they shower me with
apipiltū, neřsiu. gold silver (INSTR), I won't go.'

THE ADVERBIAL

1.32 The status of the adverbial (*aplínkybē*) is assigned to the part of a sentence immediately subordinated to the predicate and expressed by an adverb, a prepositional phrase replacing an adverb or by a noun in an oblique case (the locative, accusative and instrumental being the most frequent forms), also interchangeable with an adverb.

Adverbials may serve as the answer to the questions expressed by adverbs *kadā* 'when', *kařp* 'how', *kíek* 'how much/many', *kođēl* 'why', *kuř* 'where'; *nuo kadā* 'since when', *iki kōl* 'until when', *už kíek* 'for how much', *iř kuř* 'from where', etc. Adverbials denote the following:

(1) **place**, (including location and direction), e.g.:

Namiē niēko neradaū.
Apliņkui būvo tylū.
Miškē nuaidējo šūviai.
Grīzome iš miestēlio.

'I didn't find anyone at home.'
 'It was quiet all around (ADV).'
 'Shots were heard in the forest (LOC).'
 'We returned from the town (Prep + GEN).'

(2) time:

Anksčiaū tū taīp nekalbėjai.
Vidūdienį dēbesys išsisklaidē.
Pō dviejū dienū sugrīšiu.

'You never spoke so before (ADV).'
 'At noon (ACC) the clouds disappeared.'
 'In two days (Prep + GEN) I'll be back.'

(3) manner:

Arkliāi bėgo risčiā.
Kraūjas suņkėsi pō lāšq.

Čiā pusėtinai švarū.
Gyvėnome atskiraī, pō vienq.

'The horses ran at a trot (ADV).'
 'The blood seeped drop by drop
(Prep + ACC).'

 'It is rather (ADV) clean here.'
 'We lived separately, one to a
room (Prep + ACC).'

(4) cause:

Mirė iš siėlvaro.
Peř tavė pavėlavaū į trāukinį.

'He died of grief (Prep + GEN).'
 'Because of you (Prep + ACC) I
missed the train.'

(5) purpose:

Visi išėjo grybāuti.

'They have all gone out to gather
mushrooms (INF).'

Jis pākvietė mūs pietū.

'He invited us to dinner (GEN).'

Among adverbials of manner, modifiers of quantity (*Jis daūg šnėka, mažai dāro* 'He talks much and does little') and of comparison (*Bėga kaīp kiškis* 'He runs like a rabbit') can be distinguished.

Generally, adverbials are classified according to their semantic relationship with the predicate, the types distinguished displaying no specific grammatical features.

Some case forms and prepositional phrases may serve to answer two kinds of questions, cf.:

Grīzome iš vakarōnės.
(Iš kuř? 'From where?' / Iš kō? 'From what?').
Išėjaū pās mōtinq.

'We returned from an evening-party.'
 lit. 'I went to my mother.'

(*Kuř?* 'Where?' / *Pas kã?* 'To whom?').

Skaičiaũ láišką põ stalũ.

'I read the letter under the table.'

(*Kuř?* 'Where?' / *Po kuõ?* 'Under what?').

These intermediate instances are interpreted as adverbials. Only those instances are classed as indirect objects which cannot serve as the answer to a question with a generalized interrogative adverb (*kuř?* 'where', *kadã?* 'when', etc.). The only exception is an adverbial modifier of purpose for which there is no specific interrogative adverb and which can serve as the answer to the question *kuriuõ tikslũ?* / *kõ?* 'for what purpose?'. Therefore it may also be regarded as an indirect object.

An adverbial, like an indirect object, retains its form in a passive construction.

The structure and meanings of objects and adverbials are treated in more detail in the sections on word groups and sentence patterns.

THE PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENT

- 1.33 A part of a sentence immediately subordinated both to the predicate and to the subject or object is termed a predicative complement.

A predicative complement (like a predicative) agrees with the subject or with the object and is adjoined to the predicate, e.g.:

Berniũkas

bėgiõjo

bãsas.

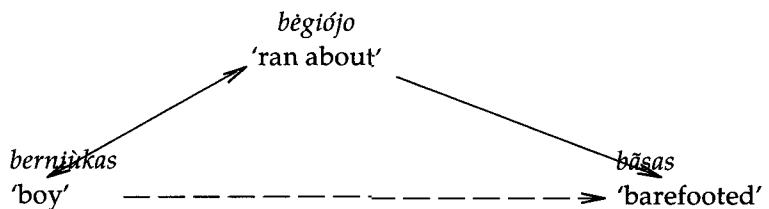
boy: NOM. SG. MASC

ran about

barefoot: NOM. SG. MASC

'The boy was running about barefooted.'

The syntactic relations in this sentence can be shown by the following scheme:



A predicative complement, expressed by an adjective, other adjectival word or participle and related to the subject takes the nominative case form and is in agreement with the subject in number and gender, e.g.:

Ji grīš turtinga.
 she: NOM return: FUT rich: NOM. SG. FEM
 'She will return rich.'

Vaikaī išėjo alkani.
 child: NOM. left hungry: NOM. PL. MASC
 PL. MASC
 lit. 'The children went away hungry.'

Jis stovėjo susiraūkęs, niūrus.
 he: NOM stood frown: PAST. ACT. gloomy: NOM. SG.
 PART. NOM. SG. MASC MASC
 'He stood frowning and gloomy.'

When related to an object, the predicative complement agrees with it in case and in number and gender as well, cf.:

Āš jį pažinaū dār studentą.
 I he: ACC. SG. MASC knew yet student: ACC. SG. MASC
 'I knew him as a student yet.'

Radaū sūnų nevalgįsį.
 find: 1. SG. PAST son: ACC. SG. MASC not eat: PAST. PART. ACC. SG. MASC
 'I found (my) son hungry' (lit. 'not having eaten').

Vaikui nusibodo vienám.
 child: DAT. SG. MASC be bored: 3. PAST alone: DAT. SG. MASC
 'The child got bored (being) alone.'

Nelaikyk šuňis paláido.
 not keep: IMPER dog: GEN. SG. MASC loose: GEN. SG. MASC
 'Don't keep the dog unleashed.'

- 1.34** A predicative complement can be realized by a noun with the conjunction *kaip* 'as, like' which in this case does not express comparison:

Sūnūs grįžo namō kaip šeiminiňkas. 'The son returned home as (in the capacity of) its owner (NOM).'

Jis atvųko kaip pasiuntinýs. 'He came as an envoy (NOM)
 (Cf. *atvųko pasiuntiniu.*) ('(He) came as an envoy (INSTR).')

Mēs gerbėme Motiėjų kaip gábu méistrą. 'We respected Matthew ACC. SG as a gifted master ACC. SG.'

- 1.35** A predicative complement (like a predicative, cf. 1.20, 4–5) can also be expressed by the instrumental case of a noun with a modifier or by a prepositional phrase,

in which case there is no agreement with the subject (1) or object (2); cf. respectively:

(1) *Pabūdo jaunāmartē neramiā širdīn.*

lit. 'The bride woke up with a heavy heart (INSTR).'

Jis grīžo namō su unifōrma.

'He returned home in uniform (INSTR).'

(2) *Ātvedē vaikinā surištōmīs raņķomīs.*

'They brought in a lad (ACC) with bound hands (INSTR. PL).'

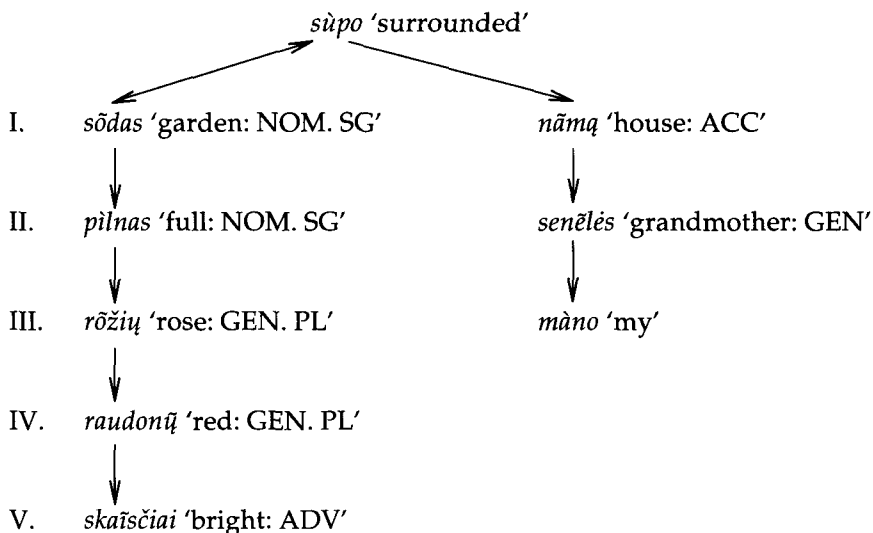
Surādo manē be sāmonēs.

'They found me unconscious' (lit. 'without consciousness (Prep + GEN)').

Participles in the predicative complement position often have an adverbial meaning and form participial clauses (see 4.2).

MODIFIERS

- 1.36 The parts of a sentence immediately related to the predicate are often extended by modifiers which in their turn may also have modifiers. Thus a sentence may have a structure of several consecutively subordinated levels, or ranks. On the first level the parts of a sentence related to the predicate are the subject, objects, adverbials and the predicative complement. On the lower levels, they are subordinated modifiers. For instance, a structure of several levels characterizes the sentence *Māno senēlēs nāmā sūpo sōdas, pilnas skaīščiai raudonū rōžiu* 'A garden full of bright(ly) red roses surrounded my grandmother's house'; cf.:



The object group contains here modifiers on two lower levels, and the subject group on four lower levels. The modifiers of lower levels are linked to the sentence parts and to one another either by agreement (*pilnas sōdas* 'full garden', *raudonū rōžiu* '(of) red roses'), or government (*pilnas rōžiu* 'full of roses', *māno senēlēs* 'my grandmother's'), or adjunction (*skaišćiai raudonū* '(of) bright(ly) red'). According to the type of syntactic relation with the head word these internal modifiers can be classified into attributive modifiers, or attributes (*pilnas sōdas*, *raudonū rōžiu*, *māno senēlēs*), objective modifiers (*pilnas rōžiu*) and adverbial modifiers (*skaišćiai raudonū*).

- 1.37 With respect to its syntactic relations, an **attribute** (viewed as a part of the sentence in traditional grammar) is but a modifier of a sentence part or of another higher level modifier, since it is distinguished on a lower level of sentence analysis.

An attribute agrees with the head word in gender, number and case if it is an adjective, an ordinal numeral, an adjectival pronoun, or a participle:

<i>mēlynas dangūs</i>	'blue sky (NOM. SG. MASC)'
<i>karštā vāsara</i>	'hot summer (NOM. SG. FEM)'
<i>pirmos diēnos</i>	'first days (NOM. PL. FEM)'
<i>kiti žmónēs</i>	'other people (NOM. PL. MASC)'
<i>įdūbę skruóstai</i>	'sunken (PAST. ACT. PART. NOM. PL. MASC) cheeks (NOM. PL. MASC)'

An attribute with dependent word forms constitutes an attribute group, cf.:

<i>pilnas raudonū rōžiu sōdas</i>	lit. 'full of red roses garden'
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- 1.38 An attribute expressed by a noun which agrees with the head noun in case and often in gender and number, is termed **apposition**. Both the head noun and apposition are termed appositives. An apposition can either precede (cf. *broliūkas Linas* 'little brother Linas', *generōlas Rāštikis* 'General Raštikis') or follow (cf. *žōdis láisvė* 'the word freedom') the head noun. It differs from other attributes in that it can be used instead of the entire word group, cf.:

<i>Sutikaū kaimýnq Pētrq.</i>	'I met (my) neighbour (ACC. SG. MASC) Peter (ACC. SG. MASC).'
-------------------------------	---

Cf.

<i>Sutikaū kaimýnq.</i>	'I met (my) neighbour.'
<i>Sutikaū Pētrq.</i>	'I met Peter.'

The postmodifiers in the following word groups are very similar to appositional constructions:

visi kiti
kažkàs júodas
visa gëra

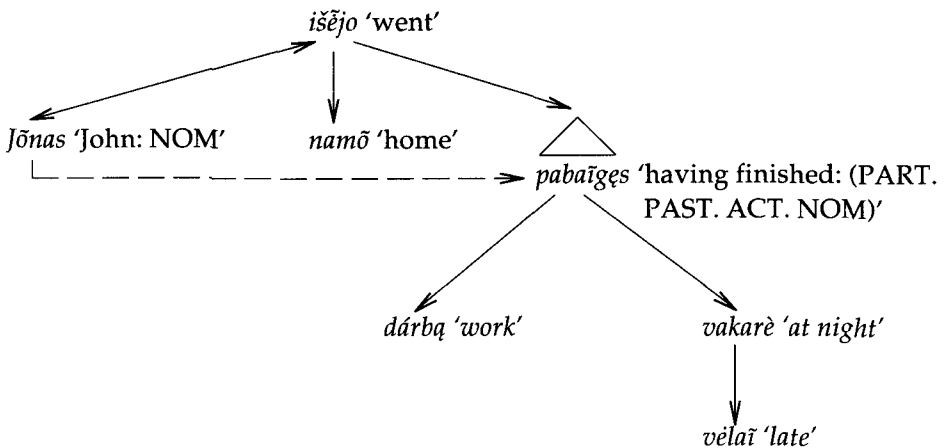
lit. 'all others (MASC. PL)'
 'something black (MASC. SG)'
 'everything good (NEUTR)'

1.39 An attribute does not agree with the head word if it is a noun (or its substitute) in the genitive case (*músu núomoné* 'our (GEN. PL) opinion', *vaikū žaislaĩ* 'children's (GEN. PL) toys'), in the instrumental case with dependent words (*mergáitė mėlynomis akimis* 'a girl with blue eyes (INSTR. PL)' or a prepositional phrase (*žmogùs bè kójos* 'a man without a leg (Prep + GEN. SG)', *nāmas priė kėlio* 'a house by the road (Prep + GEN. SG)').

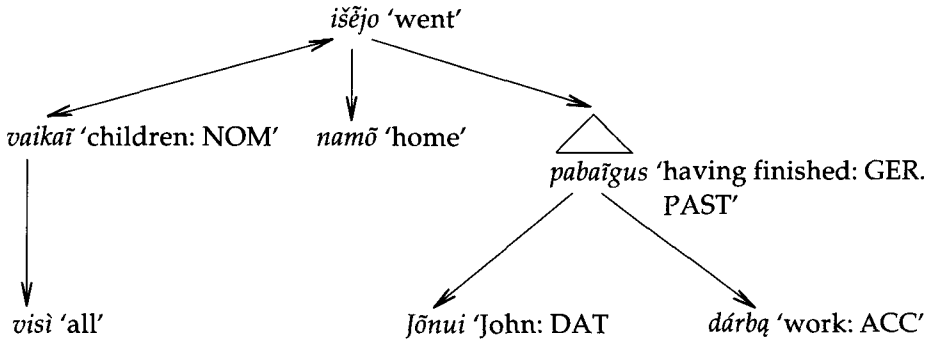
1.40 With respect to form, attributes are similar to predicatives and predicative complements. This similarity is not accidental: a phrase with an attribute may be regarded as a syntactic transform of a clause with a compound nominal predicate embedded in another clause, cf.:

<i>Teĩ sėdėjo žmogùs.</i>	'A man was sitting there.'
<i>Žmogùs būvo bè kójos.</i>	lit. 'The man was without a leg.'
⇒ <i>Teĩ sėdėjo žmogùs bè kójos.</i>	'A man without a leg was sitting there.'

1.41 Active participles (including gerunds) retain the valency of the base verb. A participial or a gerundial clause (i.e. participle or a gerund with dependent word forms) subordinated to the predicate is syntactically similar to a subordinate clause with a finite verb form. Therefore the constituents of participial and gerundial clauses (like the constituents of finite subordinate clauses) are also regarded as objects and adverbials. Thus the syntactic relations in the extended sentence *Vėlaĩ vakarė pabaĩges dárba, Jōnas išėjo namō* 'Having finished work late at night, John went home' can be represented as follows:



The syntactic relations within a gerundial phrase are analysable in the same way; cf. the sentence *Jōnui pabaīgus dārbā, visi vaikaī išējo namō* 'John having finished work, all the children went home':



2 WORD GROUPS

Žodžių junginiai

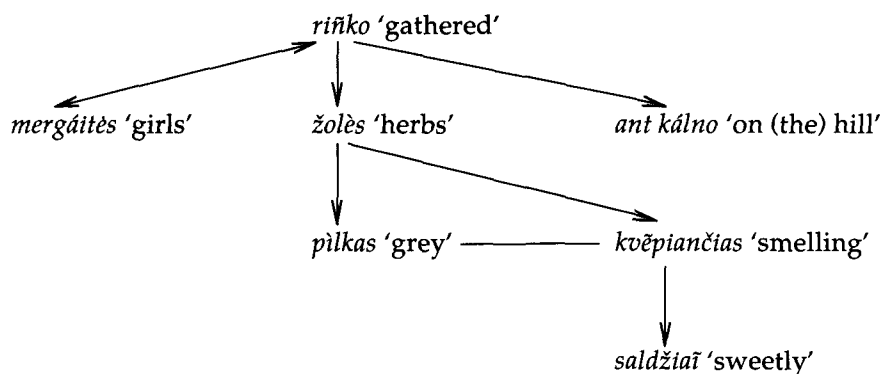
- 2.1 In a sentence, at least two notional words related by an immediate syntactic relation constitute a word group. According to the type of syntactic relation, they are classified into interdependent, subordinative and coordinative word groups.

Interdependent word groups are distinguished on the highest level of sentence analysis and they are discussed in the sections concerned with the subject and predicate (see 1.13–27).

Subordinative and coordinative word groups are distinguished on all the levels of sentence analysis. For instance, the following word groups are distinguished in the sentence *Mergaitės riņķo ant kālno pilkas, saldžiāi kvēpiančias žolēs* 'Girls gathered grey, sweet(ly) smelling herbs on the hill':

- (1) the interdependent group *mergāitēs riņķo* 'girls gathered';
- (2) the subordinative groups *riņķo žolēs* 'gathered herbs', *riņķo ant kālno* 'gathered on the hill', *pilkas žolēs* 'grey herbs', *kvēpiančias žolēs* 'smelling herbs', *saldžiāi kvēpiančias* 'sweet(ly) smelling';
- (3) the coordinative group *pilkas, kvēpiančias* 'grey, smelling'.

The following scheme shows the syntactic relations within the sentence:



A word form may enter into more than one group on different levels of analysis. Thus in the above sentence, the accusative *žolės* 'herbs' is a dependent constituent of the group *riņko žolės* and a head word in *pilkas žolės* and *kvēpiančias žolės*. The dependent word of the latter group is in its turn the head word of *saldziāt kvēpiančias*.

Word groups, especially those with the interdependence relation, can be structurally identical to a simple sentence, e.g. *vaikāi žaidžia* 'children are playing', *laukē pasnigo* 'it has snowed outside'.

Subordinative word groups

- 2.2 A **simple** subordinative word group is comprised of two word forms of which one is the head and the other is subordinated to it. A subordinative word group is incorporated in the sentence structure via its head word. A word form used with a preposition is termed a prepositional phrase, and it forms a single dependent constituent, as in *riņko ant kālno* 'gathered on the hill' (see the above example).

The structure of a subordinative word group is determined by the grammatical class and combinability of the head word. Accordingly, the verbal, nominal, adjectival, pronominal and adverbial groups are distinguished. They express a broad range of semantic relations: relations between an action and its agent (e.g. *paūkščio skridimas* 'a bird's flight'), or its patient (*ieties metimas* 'throwing a spear', *mēsti ietį* 'to throw a spear'), or content (*sakyti tišą* 'to tell the truth'), or beneficiary (*dūoti vaikui* 'give to the child'), relations between an entity and its property (*raudóna rōžē* 'red rose'), and also various relations of time, place, manner, etc. (*miegóti nākti/namiē/ramiaī* 'sleep at night/at home/quietly').

A word group may be a complex naming unit or an idiom, e.g.:

<i>dēmētoji šiltinē</i>	'typhus'
<i>laūmēs júosta</i>	'rainbow'
<i>kiáuras maīšas</i>	'glutton' (lit. 'a bag full of holes')
<i>gāudyti vārnas</i>	'gape' (lit. 'catch crows')

Structurally, however, these phrases are not different from regular neutral word groups.

- 2.3 A **complex** subordinative word group consists of a head word and two or more components subordinated to the latter on the same level of analysis, e.g.:

dúok mán rañkšluostį 'give me a towel'
labai godūs pinigų 'very greedy for money'

A complex word group can be regarded as a combination of simple ones:

dúok mán 'give me' + *dúok rañkšluostį* 'give a towel'
godūs pinigų 'greedy for money' + *labai godūs* 'very greedy'

Therefore, the subsequent analysis is concerned mostly with simple word groups, except in cases when complex groups are indivisible for semantic or syntactic reasons.

The dependent constituent of a word group may be obligatorily modified by another dependent word form, i.e. the head word is necessarily related to the whole dependent group, e.g.:

trečià dienà lįja 'it has been raining for three days'
 (but **dienà lįja*)
vaikas įdūbustais skrúostais 'a child with sunken cheeks'
 (but **vaikas skrúostais*)

- 2.4 Derivative words either retain or change the combinability of the base word. Thus, if a verbal group is transformed into a nominal one, optional modifiers of place, time, etc. usually retain their form; e.g.:

pailsėjau vāsaraq prie jūros 'I rested at the seaside in summer'
 ⇒ *màno pólisvis vāsaraq prie jūros* 'my rest at the seaside in summer'

A word group in such cases retains its verbal character.

On the other hand, the accusative case form governed by the verb is changed into the genitive in a derivative group:

rašýti láiškaq 'to write a letter (ACC)'
 ⇒ *láiško rášymas* lit. 'the writing of a letter (GEN)'

A verbal group with a qualitative adverb is often transformed into a nominal group with an adjective:

suñikiai dirbti 'to work hard (ADV)'
 ⇒ *sunkùs dárbas* 'hard (ADJ) work'

The structure of a word group also changes if an adjective is transformed into a noun:

graži móteris 'a beautiful woman'
 ⇒ *móters gróžis* 'the beauty of a woman (GEN)'

A. VERBAL GROUPS

- 2.5 Verbal groups are formed by all finite and non-finite verbs and by some deverbal nouns. The subordinate constituent can be an oblique case of a noun (or its substitute), a prepositional phrase, an infinitive, an adjective or an adverb. Accordingly, a number of subtypes are distinguished.

Verb – Noun

THE ACCUSATIVE CASE

- 2.6 The **objective accusative** obligatorily governed by a transitive verb denotes the following:

(1) an affected object of the verbal action (a) or an entity whose position is changed (b), e.g.:

(a) <i>skáldyti málkas</i>	'chop wood'
<i>dažýti pláukus</i>	'dye hair'
(b) <i>nėšti vándeni</i>	'carry water'
<i>varýti bañdą</i>	'drive a herd'

(2) an effected object, or the result of an action:

<i>statýti namùs</i>	'build houses'
<i>mėgzti piřštinę</i>	'knit a glove'

(3) the content of an experience, or state, or speech:

<i>girdėti mùziką</i>	'hear music'
<i>užmiřšti vařdą</i>	'forget a name'
<i>pranėšti naujieną</i>	'report news'
<i>mylėti vaikùs</i>	'love children'

With a number of verbs denoting physical sensation the accusative is interchangeable with the nominative:

<i>skaũda gálvą/galvà</i>	lit. '(the) head (ACC/NOM) aches'
<i>ausis/aũsys gėlia</i>	lit. '(the) ears (ACC/NOM) ache'
<i>dėlnus/delnaĩ niėžti</i>	'(the) palms (ACC/NOM) are itching'

- 2.7 The objective accusative is governed by numerous prefixed verbs derived from non-prefixed verbs governing other case forms or prepositional phrases; cf.:

<i>siūti (drabužiūs) šeīmai</i>	'sew (clothes) for the family (DAT)'
– <i>apsiūti šeīma</i>	lit. 'provide the family (ACC) with clothes'
<i>ganyti (avis) pievoje</i>	'graze (sheep) in a meadow (LOC)'
– <i>nuganyti pievą</i>	'damage a meadow (ACC) by grazing'
<i>birsti su bātais</i>	'wade with shoes (Prep + INSTR) on'
– <i>išbristi batūs</i>	'damage shoes (ACC) by wading'
<i>lōšti iš pinigū</i>	'play for money (Prep + GEN)'
– <i>pralōšti pinigūs</i>	'lose money (ACC) (at cards, etc.)'

Tautological combinations of a verb and a cognate object are distinguished as a special type:

<i>dainuoti dainą</i>	'sing a song'
<i>dīrbti darbą</i>	lit. 'to work work'
<i>kariāuti kārą</i>	'wage a war'
<i>keliāuti kēltą</i>	lit. 'walk/travel a path'

2.8 The adverbial accusative conveys temporal, spatial and quantitative meanings.

The optional accusative of temporal nouns (e.g. *dienā* 'day', *naktis* 'night', *pirmdienis* 'Monday', *ziemā* 'winter', etc., and nouns like *valandā* 'hour', *mēnuo* 'month' used with specifiers) denotes the **time** of an action:

<i>pabūsti naktį</i>	'wake up at night'
<i>grįžti rudenį</i>	'return in autumn'
<i>ateiti antrądienį</i>	'come on Tuesday'
<i>miegoti dieną</i>	'sleep in the daytime'
<i>atostogauti vasarą</i>	'have (one's) leave in summer'
<i>pietauti penktą valandą</i>	'have dinner at five o'clock'
<i>žydėti gegužės mėnesį</i>	'blossom in May'

The optional accusative of nouns denoting stretches of time denotes **duration** of an action:

<i>lijo valandą</i>	'it rained for an hour'
<i>sirgaū mėnesį</i>	'(I) was ill for a month'
<i>mokėmės metūs</i>	'(we) studied for a year'

The accusative of duration may have a quantitative attribute (a numeral, pronoun or adjective):

<i>snigo dvi/keltias parās</i>	'it snowed for two/several days'
<i>miegójau visą/ištisą dieną</i>	'(I) slept all/entire day'

The accusative of a numeral or pronoun is also used with the genitive of a temporal noun:

<i>laukti dēšimtį/keliolika valandų</i>	'wait for ten/several hours'
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The accusative of **subsequent period**, in most cases synonymous with the more common dative, is used with a limited number of verbs such as *pakviēsti* 'invite', *pasiūsti* 'send (sb)', *išlēisti* 'let out', *sustóti* 'stop over', *apsistóti* 'stay, stop (at)', *apsigyvénti* 'put up, stay (for a while)', e.g:

<i>išvažiúoti mėnesį/mėnesiui</i>	'to go away for a month'
<i>sustóti vālandą/vālandai</i>	'to stop for an hour'

- 2.9** The accusative of temporal nouns used with the pronouns *kàs* 'what' (without agreement in case), *kiekvienas*, -à 'each, every', adjectives *dāžnas*, -à 'frequent', *rėtas*, -à 'far between, rare' denotes **frequency** of action, i.e. intervals of time at which an action is regularly repeated, e.g.:

<i>ateina kàs/kiekvieną rytą</i>	'(he) comes every morning'
<i>aplauko dažną sekmadienį</i>	'(he) pays visits frequently on Sundays' (lit. 'on a frequent Sunday')
<i>rėtą dieną nelįja</i>	'it seldom (lit. 'on a rare day') does not rain'

A phrase *kàs* + ACC can be extended by a numeral or a quantitative pronoun:

<i>susitiūkame kàs antrą dieną</i>	'we meet every other (lit. 'second') day'
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In these cases, the nominative can be used instead of the accusative: *ateina kàs/kiekvienas rytas*, *dažnà dienà* 'he comes every morning, frequently (lit. '(on) a frequent day)'

- 2.10** The accusative of nouns denoting linear measures, when used with motion verbs, expresses **distance**:

<i>nueiti kilometrą</i>	'walk a kilometre'
<i>pasitraukti žingsnį</i>	'draw aside a step'

It can be extended by a numeral or a quantitative pronoun:

<i>nušókti tris/kelis metrų</i>	'jump three/several metres'.
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In such verbal groups as *nujóti šimtą/kėletą mylių* 'ride a hundred/several miles' the numeral or nominal pronoun assumes the accusative form, the noun of distance being used in the genitive (see 2.130, 2.134).

The accusative of nouns denoting other measures (often modified by a numeral or its pronominal substitute) occurs with the verbs *svėrti/svėrti (tòną)* 'weigh (a ton)', *sumokėti (dù litùs)* 'pay (two litas)', *kainúoti* 'cost', *sukàkti* (as in *jis sukàko penkerius metus vākar* (cf. *jám sukàko penkeri mētai*) 'he turned five years old yesterday'.

THE GENITIVE CASE

2.11 The **objective genitive** is obligatorily governed by verbs denoting the following:

(1) desire and other similar feelings: *norėti* 'want', *geĩsti/trókšti* 'desire', *ilgėtis* 'long (for)', *tikėtis* 'hope (for)', *láukti* 'expect', *pavydėti (draugáms sėkmės)* 'envy (friends, their success)', *klausyti (tėvų)* 'obey (parents)';

(2) fear, shame, and the like: *bijóti* 'be afraid (of)', *báimintis* 'be afraid (of)', *išsigąsti* 'be frightened', *baidýtis* 'take fright (of)'; *drovėtis* 'be shy', *gėdytis* 'be ashamed (of)', *gailėtis* 'be sorry', *gedėti* 'mourn'; *vėngti* 'avoid', *šálintis* 'avoid', *sáugotis* 'beware (of)', *atsikratýti* 'get rid (of)', *atsizadėti (įsitikinimų)* 'renounce (one's views)';

(3) want, loss or having enough (of sth.): *stįgti* 'be short of', *stokóti* 'lack', *trúkti* 'be lacking', *nustóti* 'lose, be deprived (of)', *užtėkti* 'have enough (of)', *pakàkti* 'have/be enough', *ganėti* 'have/be enough', *reikėti* 'need (sth)';

(4) asking or requesting: *kláuсти* 'ask', *meĩsti/maldáuти* 'beg', and *prašýti* 'ask (for sth)' which sometimes governs two genitives: *prašýti tėvo pinigų* 'ask father (GEN) for money'. The genitive of the noun denoting a human being is interchangeable with the accusative (which is more common): *prašýti tėvą pinigų* 'ask father (ACC) for money (GEN)';

(5) the genitive of object is also obligatorily governed by verbs with the prefixes *pri-*, *per-*, *at-*, *už-* derived from transitive verbs; it denotes a large or indefinite quantity:

<i>pri(si)riñkti úogu</i>	'to gather (enough) berries'
<i>pri(si)skinti gėlių</i>	'pick (enough) flowers'
<i>pėrsivalgyti obuolių</i>	'overeat of apples'
<i>atsivalgyti medaus</i>	'have one's fill of honey'
<i>už(si)kásti dúonos</i>	'eat (a little) bread'

The objective genitive is also obligatorily governed by transitive verbs with the negation *ne-* 'not':

<i>neparáše láiško</i>	'he didn't write a letter'
<i>nežino tiesės</i>	'he doesn't know the truth'

(see 3.115).

2.12 Some transitive verbs may take the **genitive of indefinite quantity**. The genitive is used to denote a part or indefinite quantity of the object expressed (a) by the plural form of a count noun, or (b) by the singular of a mass noun:

(a) <i>dúoti pinigū</i>	‘give some money’
<i>atnēšti obuoliū</i>	‘bring some apples’
<i>turėti ýdu</i>	‘have (some) faults’
(b) <i>piřkti cukraus</i>	‘buy some sugar’
<i>turėti kantrybės</i>	‘have patience’

The accusative is used to refer to the whole object or entire quantity, cf.:

<i>išgėrti vandenį</i>	‘drink some water (GEN)’
<i>išgėrti vandenį</i>	‘drink (all) the water (ACC)’

- 2.13** The agentive genitive denoting the **semantic subject** is required by passive participles (both present and past) used as attributes or predicates:

<i>tėvo mylimas (sūnus)</i>	‘(son) loved by (his) father’
<i>žolė buvo išdžiovinta saulės</i>	‘the grass was dried by the sun’
<i>(čia) žmonių gyvėnama</i>	‘there are people living (here)’ (lit. ‘it is lived by people (here)’)
<i>čia kiškio gulėta</i>	‘a rabbit evidently has been lying (here)’ (lit. ‘(here) has been lain by a rabbit’)

(see II.5.65–78).

- 2.14** Some intransitive verbs take the genitive of indefinite quantity instead of the nominative; here belong:

(1) perfective verbs with the prefix *pri-*, denoting an action in which a quantity of things is involved; cf.:

<i>krito lāpai</i>	‘leaves (NOM) were falling’
– <i>prikrito lāpų</i>	‘some leaves (GEN) have fallen’
<i>riņkosi žmonės</i>	‘people were gathering’
– <i>prisiriņko žmonių</i>	‘some, many people have gathered’
<i>dýgo grýbai</i>	‘mushrooms were sprouting’
– <i>pridýgo grýbų</i>	‘(a lot of) mushrooms have sprouted’

(2) verbs denoting a change of quantity:

(<i>pa</i>) <i>daugėjo žmonių</i>	‘the number of people increased’
(<i>su</i>) <i>mažėjo/apmažėjo mūsių/drėgmės</i>	‘(the number of) flies/dampness decreased’

(3) the verbs *ràstis* ‘become, appear’, *pasitáikyti* ‘be found’, *búti* ‘be’, *likti* ‘remain’, etc.; cf.:

<i>raņdasi úogu</i>	‘some berries (are ripening)’
<i>pasitáiko klaidų</i>	‘there are (some) mistakes (to be found)’

<i>yrà/bùvo/búdavo/ bùs žmonitŭ</i>	'there are/were/used to be/will be some people'
<i>lìko rúgtiŭ (laukè)</i>	'some rye remained (in the field)'
<i>užeina žmonitŭ</i>	'(some) people drop in'

- 2.15 The **adverbial genitive** when used with verbs may denote purpose or (indefinite) quantity. The genitive of purpose occurs with verbs of motion or interruption of motion: *eiti* 'go, walk', *vaztiuoti* 'ride, go', *vŷkti* 'go, travel', *bėgti* 'run', *skristi* 'fly', *grŷžti* 'return', *riŷktis* 'gather', *sustóti* 'stop', *apsistóti* 'stop (at)'; cause to move: *siŷsti* 'send', *varŷti* 'drive', *léisti* 'let', *kviēsti* 'invite', *prašŷti* 'ask'; change of position: *atsisēsti* 'sit down', *pasodinti* 'seat (sb)', *gułti* 'lie down', *klaūptis* 'kneel', *atsistóti* 'stand up', *pasileŷkti* 'lean'.

The meaning of **purpose** may be acquired by the genitive of nouns denoting:

(1) concrete things:

<i>išeiti vandeŷis</i>	lit. 'go out for water'
<i>išsiŷsti gŷdytojo</i>	'send for a doctor'
<i>pakviēsti arbātos</i>	'invite to tea'
<i>siekti lazdōs</i>	'try to reach a stick'

In this case the genitive often co-occurs with an infinitive:

<i>išeiti rugtŭ pjauti</i>	lit. 'go out to cut rye' (see 2.84)
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(2) processes, temporal concepts, meals, holidays, social events and the like:

<i>pakviēsti vakariēnēs</i>	'invite to supper'
<i>atsigułti pōgulto</i>	'lie down for a nap'
<i>grŷžti Kalėdu</i>	'return for Christmas'
<i>sustriŷkti išleistūviu</i>	'gather for a farewell party'
<i>išvŷkti gastrōltu</i>	'go on tour'

The genitive of a noun denoting process, action or event may be synonymous with the respective infinitive:

<i>sēsti vakariēnēs/ vakarientauti</i>	'sit down to supper (GEN)/ have supper (INF)'
<i>atsigułti pōilsio/pailsėti</i>	'lie down for a rest/to rest'

The genitive of **quantity** corresponds to the accusative of quantity (see 2.8), but it is used with negative verbs often emphasized by the negative particle *nē* 'not'; cf.:

<i>neláuukè (nē) valandōs/ (nē) dviejŭ valandŭ</i>	'he didn't (even) wait an hour/ two hours'
(cf. <i>láuukè vālanda</i>)	'he waited (for) an hour'

*nenuĕjo (nĕ) kilomĕtro/
(nĕ) keliŭ kilomĕtru
nĕsveria (nĕ) ŝimto grāmu*

'he didn't (even) cover a kilometer/
several kilometers'
'it doesn't (even) weigh a hundred grams'

THE DATIVE CASE

2.16 The **objective dative** denotes the beneficiary or addressee, sometimes a patient, – usually a person to whose advantage (or disadvantage) the action is performed. A number of instances can be distinguished:

(1) verbs taking the dative alone:

<i>atstováuti taŭtai</i>	'represent a nation'
<i>aukótis žmonĕms</i>	'sacrifice oneself to the people'
<i>tarnáuti atĕjŭnams</i>	'serve invaders'
<i>vadováuti ŝtaigai</i>	'be a chief of an office'
<i>vergáuti pŕnams</i>	'be a slave to lords'
<i>pataikáuti valďžiai</i>	'be obsequious to the authorities'
<i>nuolaidžiaiuti mokiniám</i>	'make concessions to pupils'
<i>nusileŕkti karāliui</i>	'obey, bow to a king'
<i>pasidúoti priĕšui</i>	'surrender to the enemy'
<i>pritaŕti draŭgui</i>	'give support (approval) to a friend'
<i>keŕšyti giminĕms</i>	'take revenge on (one's) relatives'
<i>keŕkti kaimýnams</i>	'do harm to the neighbours'
<i>prieŝtaráuti mókytojui</i>	'contradict the teacher'
<i>prieŝintis policijai</i>	'resist the police'
<i>dĕkóti kām (uŝ kĕ)</i>	'thank sb (for sth)'

(2) verbs subordinating the dative and an infinitive:

<i>liĕpti (ŝsakýti, pataŕti, pasiŭlyti, léisti) jām pasilikti</i>	'tell (order, advise, offer, allow) him to stay'
<i>uŝdraŭsti (sutruckýti) žmonĕms išvŕkti</i>	'forbid (prevent) people to leave (from leaving)'
<i>padĕti (pagĕlbĕti) ligóniui atsisĕsti</i>	'help (aid) the patient to sit up'

(see also 2.83)

(3) transitive verbs governing the accusative (or partitive genitive) and the dative of beneficiary or addressee:

<i>pardúoti kaimýnui árklį/grūdŭ dovanóti mótnai skarĕĕ</i>	'sell a horse/some grain to a neighbour' 'give mother a scarf (as a present)'
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<i>īteikti mokytojai gėlių</i>	'give (hand) flowers to the teacher'
<i>dūoti ligóniui vandens</i>	'give some water to the patient'
<i>pranešti viřštininkui naujieną</i>	'report the news to the chief'
<i>pasėkti vaikui pāsaką</i>	'tell the child a fairytale'
<i>piřkti sūnui kepirę</i>	'by one's son a cap'

2.17 The dative case governed mostly by impersonal (or impersonally used) verbs denotes the following:

(1) the experiencer of a psychological or psycho-physical state (usually with prefixed verbs), as in the syntactic pattern:

<i>Pagaĩlo</i>	<i>berniūkui</i>	<i>senėlio.</i>
pity: 3. PAST	boy: DAT. SG	grandfather: GEN. SG
'The boy felt sorry for his grandfather';		

cf. also:

<i>pabaĩso/paklaĩko mergáitei (miřkė)</i>	'the girl (DAT) got scared (in the woods)'
<i>palengvėjo/pagerėjo ligóniui</i>	'the patient (DAT) felt better '
<i>atsibódo/įkырėjo/įgriso vaikams (káime)</i>	'the children (DAT) got bored (in the village)'
<i>patiko svečiám vátšės</i>	'the guests (DAT) liked (enjoyed) the feast'
<i>tiřka mótnai skarėlė</i>	'the scarf becomes mother (DAT)'

(2) the person (or thing) who lacks, or needs, or has enough of what is referred to by the obligatory genitive case, as in:

<i>Stiřga</i>	<i>žmonėms</i>	<i>pinigų.</i>
lack: 3. PRES	people: DAT. PL	money: GEN. PL
'People are short of money';		

cf. also:

<i>kiekvienám reĩkia užúojautos</i>	'everyone needs compassion'
<i>užteĩka/pakaĩka visiems dúonos</i>	'there is enough bread for everybody'

(cf. 2.11, 3)

(3) a person (or, broader, an animate being) experiencing a psychological or psycho-physical state denoted by a reflexive verb, personal or impersonal:

<i>bróliui nórisi mięgo</i>	'(my) brother (DAT) is sleepy'
	(lit. 'wants sleep')

<i>kātei sapnūojasi pēlēs</i>	'the cat (DAT) is dreaming of mice'
<i>jám ródēsi/vaidēnosi šmēklos</i>	'he (DAT) saw ghosts'
<i>prisiminē vaīkui (vāsara)</i>	'the child (DAT) remembered the summer'
<i>mán giřāisi (mūzika)</i>	'I (DAT) hear (music (NOM))'
<i>jám visadā sēkasi</i>	'he (DAT) is always lucky'

A number of verbs govern the dative along with an infinitive:

<i>rūpējo vaīkui mōkytīs/mōkslas</i>	'The child (DAT) was eager to study (INF/NOM)'
<i>atsibódo mán láukti</i>	'I (DAT) got tired of waiting (INF)'
<i>kiekvienám pasitáiko suklysti</i>	'everyone (DAT) happens to make mistakes'
<i>mán tēko išvažiúoti</i>	'(it so happened that) I (DAT) had to go away'
<i>vertējo jám patylēti</i>	'he (DAT) should have kept silent' (see 2.82)

2.18 The dative case governed by verbs with another obligatory constituent has a **possessive** meaning in combinations like the following:

<i>jis</i>	<i>pabučiāvo</i>	<i>mótnai</i>	<i>raņķq.</i>
he: NOM	kissed	mother: DAT	hand: ACC
'He kissed (his) mother's hand.'			
<i>Skaūda</i>	<i>senēliui</i>	<i>kójq</i>	<i>/kója</i>
ache: 3. PRES	grandfather: DAT	foot: ACC	/foot: NOM
'Grandfather's foot aches.'			

The obligatory constituent naming an alienable or inalienable possession can be expressed by the following word forms:

(1) the nominative case, with intransitive verbs:

<i>jám mīrē žmonā</i>	'(his) wife (NOM) died on him (DAT)'
<i>diņgo kaimýnui arklýs</i>	'the neighbour's (DAT) horse (NOM) is missing' (lit. 'disappeared')
<i>karāliui gimē sūnūs</i>	'a son (NOM) was born to the king (DAT)'
<i>īdūbo nāmui stógas</i>	'the roof (NOM) of the house (DAT) has caved in'

(2) the accusative, with transitive verbs:

<i>mazgóti vaīkui kójas</i>	'wash the child's (DAT) feet (ACC)'
<i>pavōgti árklį kaimýnui</i>	'steal a horse (ACC) from the neighbour (DAT)'
<i>nuláužti stālui kójq</i>	'break a leg (ACC) off the table (DAT)'

also with impersonal transitive verbs, cf.:

<i>pēřti vaīkui akis</i>	'the child's (DAT) eyes (ACC) smart'
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(3) the locative case, with impersonally used verbs:

<i>mán cýpia ausysè</i>	'there is a ringing in my (DAT) ears (LOC)' (lit. 'in (the) ears is ringing to me')
<i>mán mîrga akysè</i>	'my (DAT) eyes (LOC) are dazzled'
<i>mán apkařto burnojè</i>	'I (DAT) have a bitter taste in my mouth (LOC)'

(4) a prepositional phrase, mostly with intransitive verbs:

<i>treñkè mán per gálva</i>	'(they) hit me (DAT) on the head (Prep + ACC)'
<i>(plaukaĩ) kriñta mergáitei</i> <i>ant akiũ</i>	'(hair) covers the girl's (DAT) eyes (Prep + GEN)'
<i>(skarèlè) nusmũko</i> <i>senèlei nuo galvõs</i>	'(the kerchief) slipped off granny's head (Prep + GEN)'
<i>nutvèrè kãtei už uodegõs</i>	'(he) caught the cat by the tail (Prep + GEN)'

The dative is often interchangeable with the possessive genitive in attributive position. The possessive genitive is a more immediate expression of possessivity, cf.:

<i>diņgo dēdei/ dēdès arklĩs</i>	'(my) uncle's (DAT/GEN) horse is missing'
<i>įdũbo nãmui/nãmo stõgas</i>	'the roof of the house (DAT/GEN) caved in'

2.19 The **adverbial dative** optionally dependent on a verb expresses time or purpose (or destination).

The temporal dative denotes the **time** for which the action or its result is intended rather than the time of action; e.g.:

<i>taupyk dúoną rytõjui</i>	'save bread for tomorrow (DAT)'
<i>prisiriñko žmonitũ nãkçtai</i>	'(many) people gathered for the night (DAT)'
<i>apsiřvãrino řveñtẽms</i>	'(they) tidied up for the holiday (DAT)'
<i>sugriřžo (į kãtma) vãsarai</i>	'(they) returned (to the village) for the summer (DAT)'
<i>užsidĩrbo senãtvei</i>	'(he) has earned enough for old age (DAT)'

A number of generalized temporal nouns require a specifying attribute:

<i>pasilikti pinigũ júodai diẽnai</i>	'put aside some money for a rainy (lit. 'black') day'
<i>atidėti paskutĩnei minũtei</i>	'put (sth) off for the last minute'
<i>piřkti bilietã dvỹliktai vãlandai</i>	'buy a ticket for twelve o'clock'

A noun in the dative case may refer to a subsequent period or duration of the resultant state, e.g.:

<i>atvažiúoti saváitei</i>	'come for a week'
<i>apsistóti diēnai</i>	'stop for a day'
<i>parsisamdýti mētams</i>	'hire oneself out for a year'
<i>paveřgti šimtmečiams</i>	'enslave for centuries'

The dative of duration is also used with quantitative attributes:

<i>išvįkti ketveriems/keleriems mētams</i>	'leave for four/several years'
<i>ateiti visám vākarui</i>	'come for the whole evening'

The dative of a quantitative word is often connected with the subordinated genitive of a temporal noun:

<i>sustóti dēšimčiai/</i> <i>kēletui dienų</i>	'stop (at a place) for ten (DAT)/several (DAT) days (GEN)'
<i>įsikūrti daūgeliui/</i> <i>pūsei mėtu</i>	'take up residence for many (DAT) years (GEN)/half (DAT) a year (GEN)'

(see 2.130, 2.134)

2.20 The optional dative with transitive verbs taking an obligatory object denotes **purpose or destination**:

<i>turėti pinigų nāmui</i>	'have (enough) money for a house'
<i>pįrkti (įsigýti, gáuti) lentų grindims</i>	'buy (acquire, get) planks for the floor'
<i>išsinuómoti kambarį mezgýklai</i>	'take a room on lease for a knitting shop'
<i>atnešti vandeņs daržáms</i>	'bring water for the kitchen-garden'
<i>suveřpti linūs dróbei</i>	'spin flax for linen'

The dative of purpose may co-occur with the dative of addressee, e.g.:

<i>dāvē mán siūlu megztniui</i>	'(she) gave (me) some yarn for a sweater'
<i>pařdavė kaimýnui rugių sėklai</i>	'(he) sold some rye (to his neighbour) for seed'

2.21 The dative of purpose also occurs in the following cases:

(1) it is governed by some verbs with the obligatory genitive; e.g.:

<i>mán trūksta pinigų váistams</i>	'I am short of money for medicines'
<i>pagailėjo knýgoms pinigų</i>	'(he) grudged money for books'

(see 2.11, 3)

(2) it is often used with an infinitive:

<i>atnešė vandeņs gėlėms paláistyti</i>	lit. '(he) brought some water for flowers'
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(see 2.84)

(3) it is governed by some intransitive verbs (it may be interchangeable with an infinitive):

<i>ruoš̄tis nākčiai/miegóti</i>	'prepare for the night/to sleep'
<i>apsireņgti keliōnei</i>	'get dressed for the trip'
<i>gĩmti kōvai</i>	'be born for struggle'

THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE

2.22 The **objective instrumental** is used to denote an instrument of an action, or the content of a state or the means of an action.

The instrumental of **content** (obligatory in most cases) is used with verbs of a number of lexical semantic groups:

(1) *didžiúotis* 'be proud (of)', *domētis* 'be interested (in)', *džiaūgtis* 'rejoice (at), be happy (with)', *grožētis* 'be delighted (with)', *gerētis* 'be delighted (with)', *žavētis* 'admire, be delighted (with)', *mēgautis* 'revel (in)', *stebētis* 'wonder (at)', *gardžiúotis* 'relish';

(2) *girtis* 'boast (of)', *skūstis* 'complain (of)', *pa(si)tikēti* 'trust', *abejōti* 'doubt', *gūostis/ramintis* 'console oneself (with)', *rūpintis* 'take care (of)';

(3) *ikyrēti (skuņdais)* 'plague (with complaints)', *igrīsti* 'pester, bore (with)';

(4) *skirtis (ūgiū)* 'differ (in height)', *pasīžymēti (grožiū)* 'be notable (for beauty)';

(5) *prekiáuoti* 'trade (in)', *veřstis* 'earn one's living (by)', *naudōtis* 'make use (of), benefit (by)';

(6) *susiřgti (gripū)* 'fall ill (with flu)', *užsikrēsti (šīltine)* 'catch (typhus)';

(7) *kvepēti* 'smell (of)', *smirdēti* 'stink (of)' and their synonyms; e.g.

<i>kvepēti ramūnēmīs</i>	'to smell of camomiles'
<i>dveļkti pavāsariu</i>	'to smell of spring'
<i>smirdēti dumblū</i>	'to stink of silt'
<i>dvōkti žuviņ</i>	'to stink of fish'

2.23 The instrumental of **means** is used optionally after numerous transitive verbs of action like:

<i>rašyti rāšalu</i>	'write with ink'
<i>užtēpti dervā</i>	'smear with tar'
<i>lāistyti vāndeniū</i>	'sprinkle with water'
<i>prikālti vīnīm</i>	'fasten with a nail'

The instrumental of means, interchangeable with the accusative, is required by verbs of the following lexical groups:

(1) verbs denoting wearing and putting on clothes, footwear, decorations, etc., the verbs being specialized with respect to the kind of clothes:

<i>avēti/aūtis bātais/batūs</i>	'wear/put on shoes (INSTR/ACC)'
<i>juosēti/júostis diržū/diřžq</i>	'wear/put on a belt'
<i>māvēti/māutis kēlnemis/kēlnes</i>	'wear/put on pants'
<i>ryšēti/rištis skarelē/skarēļ</i>	'wear/tie on a kerchief'
<i>segēti/sēgtis sijaonū/sijōnq</i>	'wear/put on a skirt'
<i>gobēti/gaūbtis skarā/skāřq</i>	'wear/wrap (around one's shoulders) a shawl'
<i>vilķēti/viļķtis drabūžiais/drabužiūs</i> (<i>pāltu, suknelē/pāltq, sukņēļ</i>)	'wear/put on clothes (a coat, a dress)'

The names of all kinds of clothes, footwear, etc. combine with the verbs *dēvēti/nešióti* 'wear, have (sth) on':

<i>dēvēti/nešióti bātais/batūs,</i> <i>suknelē/sukņēļ</i>	'wear shoes, a dress'
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The un-prefixed reflexive verbs of this list are used in two antonymous meanings, e.g. *viļķtis* means both 'put on' and 'take off'. Verbs of taking off clothes are used with the accusative case of the object, e.g.:

<i>viļķtis/nustviļķti pāltq</i>	'take off a coat'
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The choice of the accusative or the instrumental is sometimes determined by the context. The instrumental is used if a verb has another accusative object, e.g.:

<i>ap(si)rišti gālva skarelē (*skarēļ)</i>	'tie a kerchief (INSTR/*ACC) around one's head (ACC)'
<i>susijúosti kēlnes diržū (*diřžq)</i>	'girdle (one's) trousers (ACC) with a belt (INSTR/*ACC)'

If a prepositional phrase is used in place of the accusative, the accusative is used instead of the instrumental:

<i>užsirišti ant galvōs</i> <i>skarēļ (*skarēļ)</i>	'tie (up) a kerchief (ACC/*INSTR) on one's head'
<i>susijúosti júosta (*júosta)</i> <i>ant marškiniū</i>	'girdle/put on a belt (ACC/*INSTR) on one's shirt'

The accusative is also used with the non-reflexive transitive verbs from which the above reflexive verbs are derived, e.g., *viļkti* 'dress/take off', *aūti* 'put on/take off (sb)':

<i>aūti batukūs vaīkui</i>	'put on shoes (ACC) on the child's
<i>ant kóju</i>	(DAT) feet (Prep + GEN)'
<i>(i)sēgti sāgē ī suknelē</i>	'fasten a brooch (ACC) to the dress
	(Prep + ACC)'

(2) verbs denoting movement of body parts:

<i>linguoti (kinkuoti) gálva/gálva</i>	'shake one's head (INSTR/ACC)
(but only: <i>gálva kratýti, kraipýti, pūrtyti</i>)	'shake, toss one's head (ACC)'
<i>karpýti ausimīs/ausīs</i>	'move one's ears (INSTR/ACC)'
<i>grīežti, kalēnti dantimīs/dantīs</i>	'gnash, (lit.) chatter one's teeth
	(INSTR/ACC)'
<i>skēsčioti (skeryčioti) raņkomīs/rankàs</i>	'throw up one's arms (INSTR/ACC)'
(but: <i>sūpti kójas</i>)	'swing one's legs (ACC)'
<i>tráukyti (trūkčioti) pečiaīs/pečtūs</i>	'shrug one's shoulders (INSTR/ACC)'
(but: <i>gūžčioti pečiaīs (INSTR)</i>)	
<i>vīzginti uodega/uodega</i>	'wag one's tail (INSTR/ACC)'

(3) verbs denoting sounds produced by means of the referent of the instrumental/accusative case:

<i>bārškinti iņdais/iņdūs</i>	'rattle (the) crockery (INSTR/ACC)'
<i>žvanginti rāktais/raktūs</i>	'jingle (the) keys'
<i>skarņbinti taūrēmīs/taurēs</i>	'tinkle (the) wineglasses'
<i>treņkti dūrimīs/durīs</i>	'bang the door'
<i>sumūšti kulnimīs/kulnīs</i>	'click one's heels'
<i>bīrbinti vamzdeliū/vamzdēļi</i>	'paly a reed-pipe (INSTR/ACC)'
<i>čīrpinti smuikū/smuīka</i>	'play (lit. 'make chirp') a fiddle'

Most of these verbs have the causative suffix *-in(-ti)*. With non-causative verbs, the instrumental alone is used:

<i>(mergāitē) šilkaīs šlamējo</i>	lit. '(the girl) rustled with silk'
<i>(žīrgas) kāmanomīs žvangējo</i>	'(the steed) rattled (his) bridle'

2.24 The instrumental case of **instrument** is optionally used with verbs of action governing the following word forms:

(1) the accusative:

<i>rašýti láiška pieštukū</i>	'write a letter with pencil'
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nusišlúostyti véida rañkšluosčiu
kapóti málkas kirviù

'dry one's face with a towel'
 'chop wood with an axe'

(2) the genitive (rarely):

įsikibti rañkomis turėklų

'grasp the rail with (one's) hands'

(3) the dative (rarely):

pagrasýti vaĩkui pirštù

'shake (one's) finger at the child'

(4) a prepositional phrase:

atsiginti nuo priešo kalavijù

'defend oneself against the enemy
 with a sword'

The instrumental case denoting means of transportation combines with verbs of motion:

važiúoti dviračiu/tráukiniu
skristi léktuvù
plaũkti laivù
(at)vėžti prekès tráukiniu

'go by bicycle/train'
 'fly by plane'
 'sail by boat'
 'convey goods by train'

The instrumental case of instrument and means is sometimes (but rarely) used also with the preposition *sù* 'with', e.g.:

važiúoti su dviračiu
láistyti su vándeniu

'go by a bicycle'
 'sprinkle with water'

2.25 The adverbial instrumental is used to express place (route of motion), time, quantity and manner of an action.

The **spatial instrumental** denotes the route of motion along or inside a thing or place:

važiúoti keliù
eĩti miškù
plaũkti jũra
lĩpti láiptais

'go along a road'
 'walk through the forest'
 'sail in the sea'
 'walk up the stairs'

The instrumental of nouns denoting an area is interchangeable with a prepositional phrase *per* 'across' + ACC, e.g.:

eĩti laukù/per lauką
(ãšara) riėda skruóstu/per skruósta

'walk across the field'
 '(a tear) rolls down a cheek'

The instrumental of nouns with the prefix *pa-* denoting the edge or side of a place is synonymous with the locative when used with verbs of motion and other verbs, e.g.:

vāikščioti pāupiu/paupj
āugti pātvoriu/patvorj

'walk along the river (side) (INSTR/LOC)'
'grow along a fence (INSTR/LOC)'

2.26 The instrumental of **time** expresses a variety of temporal meanings.

(1) The instrumental of nouns denoting time of a day or a season expresses the moment or period of time when the action takes place:

grīžti vidūrnakčiu

'return at midnight'

susiņgti vidū(r)vasariu

'fall ill in midsummer'

līti pāryčiu

'rain at dawn'

darbýmečiu ir akmuõ krūta

'during a busy season even a stone moves'

In this cases the instrumental is interchangeable with the locative and the accusative:

grīžti pāvakarju/pavakarj/pāvakarj

'return towards evening (INSTR/LOC/ACC)'

The instrumental of generalized temporal nouns (e.g. *momeņtas* 'moment', *mētas/laīkas* 'time', *dienā* 'day') must be used with a specifying attribute:

tuõ momentū galvõjo kitaip

'at that moment (he) thought otherwise'

diņgo āudros metū

'(he) disappeared during a storm'

nerimāvo pirmomīs dienomīs

'(he) was worried during the first days'

(2) The instrumental of temporal nouns in the plural number indicates **frequency** of action, i.e. intervals at which an action is regularly repeated:

išeiti rytaīs

'go away every morning'

dirbti sekmādieniais

'work on Sundays'

The instrumental plural form of some temporal nouns must be used with an attribute:

susiņkti kiekvienaīs mētais

'meet every year'

išvažiūoti vāsaros mēnesiais

'go away in summer months'

skaityti pōilsio valandomīs

lit.'read in hours of rest'

(3) The instrumental plural form of nouns naming units of time denotes **duration** of an action:

valandomīs klausytis (mūzikos)

'listen (to music) for hours'

kariāuti āmžiais

'be at war for centuries'

neišeiti (iš namū) savāitēmīs

'stay (at home) for weeks'

The meaning of duration can be emphasized by an attribute:

ištisomīs dienomīs miegōti

'sleep days and days'

Sometimes, duration is expressed by the instrumental singular form with an obligatory attribute:

<i>išmókti trumpù laikù</i>	'learn in a short time'
<i>padarýti vienà dienà</i>	'do (sth) in one day'

This meaning can also be rendered by an instrumental plural form with the subordinated genitive of time:

<i>(Žemė) formāvosi tūkstančiais metų.</i>	'(The earth) was formed in the course of thousands of years.'
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2.27 Manner of action is expressed by the instrumental case of the following nouns:

(1) abstract nouns, with an obligatory attribute (adjective or adjectival pronoun):

<i>važiuoti dideliu greičiu</i>	'drive at great speed'
<i>išsitiėsti visù ūgiù</i>	'sprawl at full length'
<i>rėkti nesavù balsù</i>	'scream with all one's might' (lit. 'in a voice not one's own')

(2) abstract nouns with an attribute in the genitive case implying comparison:

<i>pùlti liūto smarkumù</i>	'attack with the might of a lion'
(cf. <i>pùlti smarkiai kaip liūtas</i>)	'attack (as) forcefully as a lion'
<i>bėgti vėjo greitumù</i>	'run at the speed of wind'

(3) a noun of the same stem as the verb, with an obligatory adjectival attribute:

<i>miegóti kietu miegù</i>	lit. 'sleep (with) a sound sleep'
<i>nusijuókti nemaloniù juokù</i>	'laugh (with) an unpleasant laugh'

(4) nouns denoting a part (of the body or a thing), with a locational modifier:

<i>stovėti nùgara į sieną</i>	'stand (with one's) back to the wall'
<i>atsisùkti véidu į sáulę</i>	'turn (one's) face (INSTR) to the sun'
<i>pakabinti (bùtelį) kaklù žemÿn</i>	'hang (a bottle) neck down'

The instrumental case can be used as a modifier of manner without an attribute, in which case it either implies comparison (a), or it is descriptive (b):

(a) <i>lóti šunimì</i> (cf. <i>lóti kaip šuó</i>)	'bark like a dog'
<i>áuksu žibėti</i>	'shine like gold'
<i>atlėkti vėju</i>	'come running like the wind'

(b) (*ášaros*) *bėga upeliù/upėliais*

'(teas) are streaming in rivulets
(SG/PL)'

(<i>dūmai</i>) <i>kilo kamuoliais</i>	'(smoke) was rising in puff-balls'
<i>bitės pakilo spiėčiumi</i>	'bees rose in a swarm'

2.28 Sometimes, the instrumental denotes the **cause** of a state. Two cases can be distinguished:

(1) the instrumental refers to a psycho-physical state of a person:

<i>véidas nuraūdo āpmaudu</i>	'(her/his) face grow red with vexation'
<i>jis nušvito džiaugsmū</i>	'he brightened with joy'
<i>véidas pėrsikreipė pykčiū</i>	'(his) face distorted with anger'
<i>vaikas leīpo juokū</i>	'the child was dying with laughter'

The genitive with the preposition *iš* 'from' is more common in this case (see 2.68, 1, 3)

(2) the instrumental implies cause by way of characterization of a thing:

<i>šlaitas mėlynūoja žibūtėmīs</i>	'the slope is blue with violets'
<i>dangūs mirga žvaigždėmīs</i>	'the sky sparkles with stars'
<i>mīškas skamba (paūkščiu) giesmėmīs</i>	'the woods ring with (birds') songs'

Note: This instrumental is interchangeable with the prepositional phrase *nuo* 'from' + GEN (see 2.69, 1)

THE LOCATIVE CASE

2.29 The locative case is used with verbs to express the adverbial meanings of place, time and (rarely) manner.

The **spatial** locative denotes location of an action or state inside or within the place named by the noun:

<i>kabėti spintoje</i>	'hang in the wardrobe'
<i>gyvėnti mieste</i>	'live in a town'
<i>žaisti sodė</i>	'play in the garden'
<i>skraidyti dangujė</i>	'fly in the sky'
<i>skęsti upėje</i>	'drown in the river'

Owing to the meaning of a noun, its locative case form may refer to the sphere of activity:

<i>dalyvauti varžybose/konferencijoje</i>	'take part in a match/conference'
<i>pirmauti moksle/spòrte</i>	'be the first in science/sports'

2.30 The **temporal** locative denotes the time of an action by locating it within a period named by the noun. Thus the meaning of the case form is necessarily determined by the lexical meaning of the noun which either denotes or implies a period of time:

<i>kėltis apýaušry</i>	'get up at (during) dawn'
<i>žydėti balañdyje</i>	'blossom in (during) April'

<i>máudytis vidù(r)vasaryje</i>	'bathe in midsummer'
(but <i>*vāsaroje</i>)	'in summer'
<i>mylėti jaunỹstėje</i>	'love in (one's) youth'
<i>žúti karè</i>	'die in a war'
<i>susipažinti vestùvèsè/per vestuvès</i>	'get acquainted at a wedding'
<i>tinginiáuti darbỹmetyje</i>	'idle in (during) a busy season'
<i>triukšmáuti pamokosè/per pāmokas</i>	'be noisy during lessons'

The locative case form of generalized temporal nouns must be used with a specifying attribute:

<i>gyvènti trečiamè ámžiuje</i>	'live in the third century'
<i>žydėti balañdžio mėnesyje/mėnesį</i>	'blossom in the month of April (LOC/ACC)'

2.31 Manner of action is expressed (rarely) by the locative case of nouns denoting:

(1) human states:

<i>gyvènti taikojè, méilėje,</i>	'live in peace, (lit.) in love, in unity,
<i>vienỹbėje, láisvėje, pèrtekluije,</i>	in freedom, in abundance, in wealth,
<i>tuřtuosè, skurdè, vargè</i>	in poverty, in hardship'
<i>miřti skausmuosè</i>	'die in pain'
<i>ilgėtis vienumojè</i>	'miss (sb) in solitude'

(2) collective concepts:

<i>áugti šeimojè</i>	'grow up in a family'
<i>gyvènti krūvòj/kùpetoj</i>	'live together (lit. 'in a heap)'
<i>ganýtis bandojè</i>	'graze in a herd'

(3) some means of transport (with verbs of motion) and containers:

<i>važiúoti vežimè (ir dainúoti)</i>	'go in a cart (and sing)'
<i>atvèžti alaūs statinèje</i>	'bring some beer in a barrel'
<i>atnèšti úogų saújoje</i>	'bring some berries in one's hand'

2.32 In the East High Lithuanian dialect and in fiction a variety of locative case – the **illative** (usually in the singular) is used with verbs of motion. It has the meaning of motion into or direction towards a place and is thus synonymous with the prepositional phrase *į* 'to' + ACC, cf.:

<i>eĩti miestañ/į miēstą</i>	'go to the town'
<i>įmèsti ùpèn/į ùpę</i>	'throw into the river'
(nu)važiúoti tuřgun/į tuřgų	'go to the market'
paiñti rañkon/į rañką	'take into (one's) hand'
įkristi akiñ/į ákį	'get into the eye, catch attention'

In Standard Lithuanian, the illative is stylistically marked and it is going out of use.

THE NOMINATIVE CASE

- 2.33** The nominative case of nouns, besides its main function of the subject and predicative (see 1.20–27), in some instances is used with verbs to express an **adverbial** meaning.

Frequency of action is expressed by temporal nouns with (1) the pronouns *kàs* ‘what; each’, less commonly *kiekvienas* ‘each’, and (2) the adjectives *dāžnas* ‘frequent’ and *rėtas* ‘rare’ as obligatory attributes; compare respectively:

(1) <i>eidavo kàs rýtas</i>	‘(they) used to go every morning’
<i>atvažiúoja kàs mėnuo</i>	‘(he) comes every month’
<i>(varžýbos) vỹksta</i>	‘(contests) take place every year’
<i>kiekvienì mėtai</i>	

(2) <i>dažnà dienà lỹja</i>	lit. ‘it rains a frequent day’
<i>dāžnas sekmādienis atvažiúoja</i>	‘(he) comes a frequent Sunday’
<i>retà dienà neskaũda kójų</i>	lit. ‘a rare day (my) feet don’t ache’

Words groups with *kàs* can be extended by a numeral or a quantitative pronoun:

<i>ateĩna kàs antrà dienà</i>	lit. ‘(he) comes every second day’
<i>susitiĩka kàs trejì (kelintì) mėtai</i>	‘(they) meet once in three (several) years’ (lit. ‘every three years’)

The accusative case is also used in this meaning (see 2.9)

- 2.34** **Quantity** of action may be expressed by the nominative case after non-finite verb forms (though the accusative is more common in Standard Lithuanian, cf. 2.8):

(1) with neuter passive participles (usually, with the agentive genitive):

<i>jõ nuẽita kilomètras</i>	lit. ‘a kilometre has been gone by him (GEN)’, i.e. ‘he has gone a kilometre’
<i>màno išláuhta valandà</i>	lit. ‘an hour has been waited by me’
<i>jõ sumokėta litas</i> (cf. <i>litą</i>)(<i>už pàslaugas</i>)	‘one litas (NOM) has been paid by him (GEN) (for services)’ (see 2.13)

(2) with a past gerund, used either as predicate or in a dependent position (mostly subordinated to neuter adjectives):

<i>kad taĩp nors kilomètras</i>	‘I wish I could ride in a car at least a kilometre (NOM/ACC)’
(cf. <i>kilomètrą nuvažiãvus mašínà</i>)	

<i>kad nòrs saváitē</i> (cf. <i>saváitē</i>) <i>paatostogāvus</i>	'I wish I could have a holiday at least for a week (NOM)'
<i>būtu gēra/gerāi</i> <i>valandēlē</i> (cf. <i>valandēlē</i>) <i>nusnūdus</i>	'it would be nice to have a nap at least for a minute (NOM)'
<i>būtu láimē nòrs gurkšnēlis</i> (cf. <i>gurkšnēlī</i>) <i>vandeņš išgērus</i>	'it would be happiness if I had (drunk) at least a mouthful (NOM) of water'

(3) with an infinitive, used either as predicate or in a dependent position (usually, after a neuter adjective or an impersonal verb):

<i>ne vaīkui kilomētras</i> (cf. <i>kilomētra</i>) <i>nueīti</i>	'it's not for a baby to walk a kilometre'
<i>ne jām valandā</i> (cf. <i>vālandā</i>) <i>išlāukti</i>	'it's not for him to wait an hour'
<i>neleņģva ceņtneris</i> (cf. <i>ceņtnerī</i>) <i>pakēlti</i>	'it's not easy to lift a centner'
<i>reīkia nòrs lītras</i> (cf. <i>lītra</i>) <i>priuogāuti</i>	'it is necessary (impersonal verb) to gather at least a litre (NOM) of berries'

This usage of the nominative is restricted to impersonal sentences.

2.35 The nominative of temporal nouns (often with an attribute) can be used also with finite imperfective verbs (mostly in present tense forms) to denote the quantity of time (duration), e.g.:

<i>mēnuo seřga tēvas</i> (but: <i>mēnesī siřgo</i>) <i>saváitē kāsa būlves</i>	'father has been ill (for) a month' '(father) was ill for a month (ACC)' '(they) have been digging potatoes (for) a week'
<i>parā nesīkelia iš lóvos</i>	'he hasn't been out of bed all day and night'
<i>treti mētai</i> (cf. <i>trečiūs metūs</i>) <i>mókosi</i>	lit. 'he has been studying three years'
<i>višas/ištīsas rýtas</i> (cf. <i>višq/ištīsq rýta</i>) <i>lýja</i>	'it's been raining all/the whole morning'

The nominative of nouns denoting a measure of distance occurs with a dependent prepositional phrase:

<i>lēktūvas nūtūpē</i> <i>kilomētras nuo miško/nuo čīā</i> <i>sustójo žiņģsnis nuo manēš</i>	'the plane (has) landed a kilometre from the forest/from here' '(he) stopped a step from me'
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Verb – prepositional phrase

OBJECTIVE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Objective prepositional phrases are considered below according to the case form of the dependent noun and the preposition.

Prepositional phrases with the accusative

2.36 The phrase *ĩ* + ACC expresses a number of objective meanings determined mostly by the semantic character of the verb.

(1) With verbs of striking and touching this prepositional phrase names the affected object:

(a) <i>bélstis ĩ lánqā</i>	‘knock on the window’
<i>treñkti ĩ síenā</i>	‘bang on the wall’
<i>klítáti/patáikyti (ākmeniu) ĩ gálvā</i>	‘hit (sb) on the head (with a stone)’

With some verbs, this phrase is synonymous with the prepositionless accusative (*daužýti ĩ véidā/véidā* lit. ‘hit (sb) in the face/the face’) or with the phrase *peř* + ACC:

<i>treñkti per pečiūs</i>	‘strike (sb) on the shoulders’
<i>gáuti per pirštūs</i>	lit. ‘get smacked on (one’s) fingers’

(b) <i>sudūžti ĩ uolūs</i>	‘crash into rocks’ (e.g., of a plane)
<i>susižeisti ĩ stiklā</i>	‘injure/hurt oneself on glass’
<i>nusivalýti (batūs) ĩ žolę</i>	‘clean (one’s) shoes on grass’

(c) <i>ĩsikĩbti ĩ turėklus</i>	‘grasp (at) the rail’
(also <i>turėklų/už turėklų</i>)	
<i>kĩbti ĩ pláukus</i>	‘seize (sb) by the hair’

With verbs of answering, responding and the like this phrase refers to the stimulus:

<i>atsakýti ĩ kláusimā</i>	‘answer a question’
<i>atsiliėpti ĩ šaũksmā</i>	‘answer, respond to a call’

(2) This prepositional phrase denotes the result of change in the following cases:

(a) with verbs denoting breaking and dividing up it refers to resultant fragments:

<i>sudūžti ĩ šukės</i>	‘break into pieces (slivers)’
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<i>sudaužyti (k̄ā) į šukės</i>	‘smash (sth) into pieces’
<i>suláužyti (lāzdą) į šipulius</i>	‘break (a stick) into splinters’
<i>suskirstyti (žėmę) į sklypūs/skljypais</i>	‘divide (land) into plots (ĩ+ ACC/INSTR)’

(b) with verbs of uniting, putting and getting together it denotes the resultant whole:

<i>sukráuti (málkas) į krūvą</i>	‘pile (fire-wood) into a stack’
<i>sugniáužti (sniėga) į kāmualį</i>	lit. ‘squeeze (snow) into a ball’

(c) with verbs (both transitive and intransitive) denoting a change of state, it denotes the resultant state:

<i>paviřsti į ākmenis/akmenim̄s</i>	‘turn into stones’
<i>iřáugti į vỹrus/vỹru</i>	‘grow up into a man’
<i>iřriņkti į seniūn̄s/seniūn̄</i>	‘select as village elder’

In some of these cases the prepositional phrase is synonymous with the instrumental.

2.37 The phrase *už* + ACC also has a number of meanings dependent on the head verb.

(1) With verbs of rewarding, thanking, etc., the prepositional phrase refers to recompense or motivation:

<i>sumokėti už dárba</i>	‘pay for the work’
<i>apdovanóti už drąsa</i>	‘award for bravery’
<i>dėkóti už pāramą</i>	‘thank for help’
<i>girti už pólę</i>	‘praise for a deed’

It has the same meaning after the verbs *kovóti/kariáuoti (už láisvę/dėl láisvės)* ‘struggle/fight (for freedom)’, *aukótis (už tėvynę/dėl tėvynės)* ‘sacrifice oneself (for homeland)’.

(2) With verbs of buying, selling, and the like, the phrase denotes the form of payment (usually money):

<i>pirkti (nāma) už áuksą/pinigis</i>	‘buy (a house) for gold/money’
<i>dirbti už valģį (o ne už pinigus)</i>	‘work for food (not for money)’

(3) With a number of verbs, it denotes the person for whom the agent acts as proxy:

<i>dirbti už tėvą</i>	‘work instead of (the) father’
<i>išeiti (į rekrutūs) už brólį</i>	‘join (the army) instead of one’s brother’

2.38 The phrase *apiė* + ACC is used with verbs of speech, mental processes and the like to denote content:

<i>kalbėti apie namus</i>	'speak about home'
<i>užsiminti apie pinigus</i>	'mention money'
<i>svajoti apie ateitį</i>	'dream about the future'
<i>sužinoti apie nelaimę</i>	'learn about the misfortune'

2.39 The phrase *prieš* + ACC is used with verbs of resistance to name the counteragent or opposition:

<i>spirtis/šiáuštis prieš tėvus</i>	'resist/stand against the parents'
<i>maištauti prieš valdžią</i>	'rebel against the authorities'
<i>kilti prieš pavergėjus</i>	'revolt against the conquerors'

It is also used with *kovoti* 'struggle', *kariauti* 'fight' instead of *sù* 'with' + INSTR; cf. also:

<i>didžiūotis prieš kaimynus</i>	'be proud with one's neighbours'
<i>raudonuoti prieš žmones</i>	'blush when facing people'

Prepositional phrases with the genitive

2.40 The phrase *iš* + GEN has a number of objective meanings determined by the verbs it occurs with.

(1) It denotes the material from which the referent of the direct object is created, after verbs of 'making':

<i>nupinti (vainiką) iš gėlių</i>	'weave (a garland) out of flowers'
<i>pastatyti (namą) iš plytų</i>	'build (a house) out of bricks'
<i>gaminti (vyną) iš piėnių</i>	'make (wine) from dandelions', etc.

It also denotes the component parts or source in word groups with intransitive verbs:

<i>daina susideda iš žodžių</i>	'a song consists of words'
<i>dėbesys susidaro iš garų</i>	'clouds are formed from vapour'
<i>gaisras kilo iš kibirkštės</i>	'the fire grew from a spark'
<i>obelis išdygo iš grūdo</i>	'the apple-tree grew from a seed'

(2) This phrase denotes the source (of information, etc.) after verbs of the following types:

(a) <i>sužinoti/išgirsti iš žmonių</i>	'learn/hear from people'
<i>išmókti iš mótinós (mėgzti)</i>	'learn from one's mother (how to knit)'
(b) <i>pažinti/atpažinti iš balso,</i> <i>iš drabužių</i>	'recognize/identify by the voice, by the clothes'

<i>supràsti iš akių</i>	'understand from sb's eyes'
<i>suvokti/spėti iš véido</i>	'perceive/guess from sb's face'
(c) <i>piřkti iš kaimýno</i>	'by from a neighbour'
<i>paimti iš draūgo</i>	'take from a friend'
<i>gáuti iš bânko</i>	'get from a bank'
<i>pavõgti/pasiskõlinti iš vaĩko/parduotuvès</i>	'steal/borrow from a child/a shop'
<i>išlõšti/atimti (iš draūgo)</i>	'take by force (from a friend)'
(d) <i>norėti (tikėtis, láukti)</i>	'want (hope for, expect) help from people'
<i>paramõs iš žmonių</i>	
<i>reikaláuti/išprašýti iš tėvų (pinigų)</i>	'demand/get (some money) from one's parents'
(3) After verbs like <i>týčiotis (iš draugų)</i> 'mock (at friends)', <i>juõktis (iš visko)</i> 'laugh (at everything)', <i>šypsõtis (iš kalbõs)</i> 'smile (at sb's words)', the prepositional phrase denotes the target of emotional reaction, e.g.:	
<i>pýkti ant draugų</i>	'be angry with (one's) friends'
(4) The phrase <i>iš</i> + GEN denotes the whole from which a part is distinguished or selected, when used after the verbs denoting choice or separation:	
<i>skirtis iš kitų</i>	'be different from others'
<i>išskirti iš visų</i>	'single out, choose from all'
<i>išsiskirti iš miniõs</i>	'stand out in a crowd'
<i>riñkti(s) iš krūvõs</i>	'choose from a pile'

2.41 The phrase *nuõ* + GEN denotes the following:

(1) the whole from which a part or a related entity is separated or separates (mostly after verbs with the prefixes *nu-* (related to the preposition *nuõ*)) and *at-*:

<i>nuplėšti nuo mēdzio (lapūs)</i>	'tear off (leaves) from a tree'
<i>nušluostyti (dūlkes) nuo stalo</i>	'wipe (dust) from the table'
<i>atsõkti/atstõti nuo sienos</i>	'come off the wall (of plaster)'
<i>atsiskirti nuo tėvų</i>	'leave (lit. 'break away from') one's parents'
<i>atsilikti/atitrũkti nuo bũrio</i>	'fall behind/stray the platoon'
<i>atsiribõti nuo žmonių</i>	'dissociate oneself from people'

(2) the state one is relieved of:

<i>atsigáuti nuo ligōs</i>	‘recover from an illness’
<i>atsipéikėti nuo išgąsčio</i>	‘come to oneself after a fright’
<i>atsipalaiduoti nuo rūpesčių</i>	‘get rid of worries’
<i>atsikratyti nuo snáudulio</i>	‘shake off somnolence’
<i>atpràsti nuo gėrimo</i>	‘break oneself of drinking’

(3) the counteragent or a factor against which the agent takes precautions or defends himself or someone:

<i>ginti(s) nuo priešu</i>	‘defend (oneself) from the enemies’
<i>gydyti(s) nuo džiovōs</i>	‘treat (undergo treatment) for tuberculosis’
<i>ap(si)drausti nuo gaisro</i>	‘insure (oneself) against fire’
<i>slėpti(s) nuo uodų/nuo sáulės</i>	‘protect oneself (lit. ‘hide’) from gnats/ from the sun’

cf. also:

<i>priklausyti nuo klimato</i>	‘depend on the climate’
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2.42 The phrase *priē* + GEN denotes the following:

(1) the entity to which the agent or patient is attached or added (usually, after verbs with the prefix *pri-* derived from the preposition *priē*):

<i>pidėti prie visumōs</i>	‘add (sth) to the whole’
<i>pikáliti prie sienos</i>	‘nail (sth) to the wall’
<i>priřšti prie tvorōs</i>	‘tie to the fence’
<i>mōlis liņpa prie bātų</i>	‘clay sticks to shoes’
<i>prisidėti prie sukilėlių/prie sukilimo</i>	‘join the rebels/the rebellion’
<i>prisiplàkti prie nepažįstamų</i>	‘stick to strangers’

(2) the entity (inanimate or human) one gets used or adjusted to:

<i>pripràsti prie aplinkōs/prie šalčio</i>	‘get used to the environment/ to the cold’
<i>pri(si)táikyti/pri(si)dėrinti (drabužiūs) prie figūros</i>	‘fit (clothes) to (one’s) figure’
<i>prisitáikyti prie aplinkýbių</i>	‘adjust oneself to circumstances’
<i>prisiriřti/prisigėrinti/ prismėilinti prie tėvų</i>	‘be attached/ make up to one’s parents’

cf. also:

<i>(pri)tikti prie akių</i>	‘match (one’s) eyes’ (of colour)
<i>priklausyti prie gerų žmonių</i>	‘be numbered among (lit. ‘belong to’) decent people’

2.43 The phrase *añt* + GEN denotes the target:

(1) of negative emotions after the verb *pjkti* 'be angry (with)' and its synonyms *nifsti*, *šifsti*, *tūžti*, *siūsti*, e.g.:

pjkti ant kaimýnu 'be angry with one's neighbours'
nifsti ant viso pasáulio 'be enraged against the whole world'

(2) of actions motivated by negative emotions:

bártis ant vaikų 'scold children'
 (cf. *bárti vaikùs*) ('scold children (ACC)')
rėkti/šaukti ant mokinių 'shout at pupils'
murmėti ant vadovo/prieš vadovą 'grumble at the chief/against the chief'

2.44 The phrase *bè* + GEN is used:

(1) obligatorily, with some intransitive verbs:

likti be namų 'be left without a home'
 (cf. *netèkti namų*) ('lose one's home')
išsiveřsti be pinigų 'manage without money'
apsieiti be pagálbos/draugų 'manage without help/friends'

(2) optionally, with transitive verbs of action to denote an instrument or means not used by the agent:

siúti be ádatos 'sew without a needle'
 (cf. *siúti su ádata*) ('sew with a needle')
statyti be kiřvio 'build without an ax'

It is often used with negative verbs:

be tiřklo nesugáusi žuvų 'you won't catch fish without a net'
be pinigų nenupirksi 'you can't buy without money'

2.45 The phrase *už* + GEN denotes a support when used with the following verbs:

laikytis už šakõs 'hold on to a branch'
įsikibti/įsitvėrti už šakõs/šakõs 'catch hold of a branch/a branch (GEN)'
griėbtis už šiaudo 'catch at a straw'
užkliúti už sleñksčio/sleñksčio 'stumble (catch one's foot) over a threshold'

It also denotes a (body) part of the object, as in:

tampyti kãtę už uodegõs 'pull a cat by the tail'
paimti vaiką už rañkos 'take a child by the hand'
laikyti dviratį už vairo 'hold the bicycle by the handlebar'

Prepositional phrases with the instrumental

2.46 The phrase *sù* + INSTR has two objective meanings determined by the head verb:

(1) With reciprocal (and more generally, symmetrical) predicates this prepositional phrase names:

(a) the second human actant (an obligatory comitative object):

<i>bártis/giņčytis/pỹktis su draugaĩs</i>	'quarrel/argue/be on bad terms with friends'
<i>mùštis (pèštis) su bróliu</i>	'fight with one's brother'
<i>derētis su pirkējais</i>	'bargain with buyers'
<i>táikytis su draugù</i>	'make peace with a friend'
<i>bučtũotis/svéikintis/ tuõktis/skĩrtis su žmonà</i>	'kiss/greet/marry/divorce (one's) wife'
<i>kovóti/kariáuti su</i>	'struggle/fight with/against
<i>užpuolikais/prieš užpuolikùs</i>	the aggressors'
<i>ruņgtis su varžovù</i>	'compete with a rival'

(b) the second inanimate actant:

<i>dangùs susisiėkia/susilĩėčia su jũra</i>	'the sky blends (lit. 'touches') with the sea'
<i>mĩškas ribójasi su ėžeru</i>	'the forest borders on the lake'
<i>dienà susilýgino su naktiĩn</i>	lit. 'the day has become equal with the night'
cf.: <i>maišýti mólį su smėliù</i>	'mix clay with sand'

Many symmetrical predicates have the prefix *su-*: *susipažĩnti* 'get acquainted', *susitĩkti* 'meet', *susidũrti* 'encounter, collide', *susirašĩnėti* 'correspond (with)', *sugyvėnti* 'be on good terms', *susibárti* 'quarrel', *susitáikyti* 'make up (with)', etc. This prepositional phrase is also obligatory with some non-symmetrical predicates, e.g.:

<i>susidoróti su dárbu/su priešu</i>	'cope with the work/have done with the enemy'
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This phrase is also used to denote an optional comitative object with non-symmetrical predicates, e.g.:

<i>ateĩti su vaikaĩs</i>	'come with (one's) children'
<i>válgyti dúoną su sviestu</i>	'eat bread and (lit. 'with') butter'

(2) The prepositional phrase *sù* + INSTR is interchangeable with the more common instrumental case (without a preposition) denoting instrument or means:

<i>rašýti (su) pieštukù</i>	'write with a pencil'
<i>atvažiuoti (su) tráukiniu</i>	'come by train' (see above 2.24)

ADVERBIAL PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Prepositional phrases of place

2.47 Meanings of place are expressed by prepositional phrases with concrete nouns (and their pronominal substitutes).

The following principal meanings are distinguished:

(1) location (static), e.g.:

<i>stovėti ant stógo</i>	'stand on the roof'
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(2) direction, usually with verbs of motion. This includes (a) the initial point of motion (*išeiti iš namų* 'leave home'), (b) the final point, or destination of motion (*grįžti į namus* 'return home'), and (c) route (*eiti per kiemą* 'go across the yard').

LOCATION

2.48 Prepositional phrases of relative position are particularly associated with 'static' verbs denoting state, position and concrete action (but not with verbs of directed motion).

Prepositional phrases of position express a broad range of specific meanings, viz.:

(1) position relative to an object near or far from it (usually by the side); the following prepositions are used here:

priė + GEN (the least distance from an object):

<i>áugti prie nāmo</i>	'grow by the house'
<i>susitikti prie vartėlių</i>	'meet at the gate'

arti/netoli + GEN:

<i>stovėti arti ugniės</i>	'stand near the fire'
<i>gyvėnti netoli upės</i>	'live not far from the river'

tolì nuo + GEN (the greatest distance from an object):

<i>apsistóti tolì nuo miėsto</i>	'stay far from the town'
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(2) position relative to a linear object (parallel to it):

*pagal̃/paleĩ + ACC:**(súolas) stóvi pagal̃ síeną*

'(a bench) stands along the wall'

(žolė) áuga paleĩ griovĩ

'(grass) grows along a ditch'

(3) relative position by the side:

*šalià/gretà + GEN:**sėdėti šalià krósnies*

'sit by the stove' (lit. 'at the side of')

áugti šalià kėlio

'grow by the road' ('on the roadside')

(4) position on both or all sides of an object:

*abìpus + GEN:**abìpus kėlio geltonúoja rugiaĩ*

'rye is turning yellow/is yellow (lit. 'is yellowing') on both sides of the road'

*apiẽ/apliñk + ACC:**sėdėti apie stālą*

'sit round a table'

áugti apliñk nāmą

'grow round a house'

(5) position on top or on the surface:

*añt + GEN:**stáksóti ant kálno*

'loom on (top of) a mountain'

sėdėti ant kėlmo

'sit on a tree stump'

ryšėti skarėlę ant galvõs

'have a kerchief on (one's) head'

áugti ant mėdžio

'grow on a tree' (e.g. of moss)

The preposition *añt* with names of surfaces is synonymous with the locative case:

gyvėnti ant krañto/krantė

'live on the shore'

pasiródyti ant viėškelio/viėškelyje

'appear on the highway'

laikyti ant dėlno/dėlnė

lit. 'hold on/in one's palm'

sėdėti ant žėmės/žėmėje

'sit on the ground'

(6) position above an object (without touching it):

*virš/viršų/viršum̃ + GEN:**kabėti virš galvõs*

'hang above one's head'

skraidyti viršum̃ laukų

'fly above the fields'

*aukščiaũ + GEN:**(rándas) bũvo aukščiaũ alkũnės*

'(the scar) was above the elbow'

(7) position under an object:

pō + INSTR:

<i>tupėti po stalū</i>	‘squat under a table’
<i>likti po sniegū</i>	‘remain under snow’
<i>stovėti po medžiū</i>	‘stand under a tree’

(8) position in front, on this side of a thing:

priš + ACC (usually with names of objects with a front):

<i>sustóti prieš rūmus</i>	‘stop in front of a palace’
<i>klūpóti prieš altóriū</i>	‘kneel in front of the altar’
<i>staiptytis prieš veidrodį</i>	‘mince in front of a mirror’
<i>šildytis prieš ugnį</i>	‘warm oneself in front of a fire’
<i>stovėti prieš vėją</i>	‘stand facing the wind’

šiàpus + GEN (the place is determined relative to the observer):

<i>gyvėnti šiàpus girios</i>	‘live (on) this side of the forest’
<i>pasivýti draūgą šiàpus tilto</i>	‘catch up with a friend on this side of the bridge’

(9) position on the other side of an object (relative to its front side or to the observer’s position):

ūž + GEN:

<i>stovėti už prekýstalió</i>	‘stand behind the counter’
<i>slėptis už nāmo</i>	‘hide behind a house’

anàpus/kitapus/antràpus/anàšal + GEN (the relative position is determined by the observer):

<i>gyvėnti anàpus ūpės</i>	‘live on the other side of the river’
<i>sėdėti kitapus stālo</i>	‘sit on the other side of the table’

(10) position between two or more objects:

tar̃p + GEN:

<i>gyvėnti tarp ūpės ir miško</i>	‘live between a river and a forest’
<i>tyvuliúoti tarp kalnū</i>	‘stretch (of a lake) between mountains’
<i>slėptis tarp lāpū</i>	‘hide among leaves’
<i>stovėti tarp durū</i>	‘stand in the doorway’ (with <i>pluralia tantum</i>)

(11) position on the surface or inside an object relative to its dimensions:

išilgaī/įstrižai/įkypai + GEN/ACC:

<i>vežimas stóvi skersai</i>	'the wagon stands across the road
<i>kėlio/kėlia</i>	(GEN/ACC)'
<i>(kāsos) tįso išilgaī nùgaros/nùgara</i>	'(plaits) hang down the back'
<i>gulėti įstrižai lóvos</i>	'lie across a bed'

Place of action is also expressed by the phrase *pàs* + ACC of a human noun:

<i>gyvėnti pas tėvùs</i>	'live with one's parents'
<i>būti pas dirėktorių</i>	lit. 'be at the manager's'

The preposition *pàs* is also occasionally used with concrete nouns instead of *priė*, e.g.:

<i>stovėti pas lángrą/prie lángró</i>	'stand by the window'
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Note: Static position is also expressed by the locative (see 2.29) and instrumental cases (see 2.25).

DIRECTION

The initial point of motion

2.49 Prepositional phrases may refer to the following concrete locations of the initial point of motion:

(1) inside an object (the head verb is often prefixed with *iš-*):

iš + GEN:

<i>(iš)važiuoti iš miėsto</i>	'go out of town'
<i>paimti/išimti (knųgrą) iš spintós</i>	'take (a book) out of the bookcase'
<i>(iš)krìsti iš rañkų</i>	'fall out of the hands'
<i>vėjas pùčia iš pietų</i>	'the wind is blowing from the south'

(2) next to an object:

nuo + GEN (the verb is often prefixed with *at-*):

<i>(at)jóti nuo miėsko</i>	'ride from (the direction of) the forest'
<i>atsitráukti nuo ugniės</i>	'draw from fire'

(3) the surface (or top) of an object:

nuo + GEN (the verb can be prefixed with *nu-* or *pa-*):

<i>nukrìsti nuo stálo</i>	'fall from the table'
<i>pakìlti nuo žemės</i>	'rise from the ground'

cf. the respective static location:

gulěti ant stālo 'lie on the table'

(4) below a thing:

iš pō + GEN:

išlīsti iš po kélmo 'crawl out from under a tree stump'

cf. the respective static location:

linděti po kélmu 'be under a tree stump'

(5) behind (another side) an object:

iš ūž + GEN:

išlīsti iš už debesū 'appear from behind the clouds'

cf. the respective static position:

būti už debesū 'be behind the clouds'

iš anàpus/iš antràpus/iš kitapus + GEN:

pérsikelti iš anàpus ùpès 'move (come) from the other side of the river'

cf. the respective static position:

būti anàpus ùpès 'be on the other side of the river'

(6) between two or more objects:

iš tarp + GEN:

išbėgti iš tarp mēdžiu 'run out from between/among trees'

cf. the respective static position:

būti tarp mēdžiu 'be among trees'

2.50 The initial point of motion is also expressed by the same prepositions combined with the following adverbs:

(1) *iš, nuo + čia* 'here' / *teñ* 'there' / *kuř* 'where' / *visuř* 'everywhere' / *kituř* 'elsewhere' / *kažkuř* 'somewhere' / *niėkur* 'nowhere' (these adverbs can refer to both static position and direction), e.g.:

ateiti iš teñ 'come from there'

susiriñkti iš visuř 'gather from everywhere'

atsinėsti iš kituř 'bring from elsewhere'

atbėgti iš kažkuř 'come running from somewhere'

nuo čia toli matyti 'one can see far from here'

nuo teñ nukrito 'it fell from there'

(2) *iš* + *arti* 'nearby' / *tolì* 'far away' / *aukštaĩ* 'high above'; e.g.:

<i>matýti iš arti</i>	'see from a short distance'
<i>grįžti iš tolì</i>	'return from far away'
<i>nukrìsti iš aukštaĩ/iš aukšto</i>	'fall from high above'

(3) *iš* + *anàpus/kìtapus/antràpus, šiàpus, abìpus*; e.g.:

<i>atvõjkti iš anàpus</i>	'arrive from the other side'
<i>ateĩti iš šiàpus</i>	'come from this side'
<i>žiūrėti iš antràpus</i>	'look from the other side'
<i>bėgti iš abìpus</i>	'run from both sides'

The final point of motion

2.51 Prepositional phrases of the final point of motion may refer to the following concrete destinations:

(1) inside a place or object:

ĩ + ACC (a perfective verb often has the prefix *i-*):

<i>(i)važiũoti į mišką</i>	'come into the forest'
<i>įsidėti į kišėnę</i>	'put into the pocket'
<i>pasũkti į dẽštinę</i>	'turn to the right'
<i>pašũkti į viršũ</i>	'jump upward'

cf. the respective static position expressed by the locative:

<i>bũti miškẽ</i>	'be in the forest'
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(2) near to an object (in contact or not):

priẽ + GEN (the head verb often has the related prefix *pri-*):

<i>priẽiti prie vařtũ</i>	'come up to the gate'
<i>priľipti prie sienos</i>	'stick to the wall'
<i>pastatýti prie dũrũ</i>	'put at the door'
<i>pasileĩkti prie ligõnio</i>	'bend over the patient'

cf. the respective static position:

<i>stovėti prie vařtũ</i>	'stand at the gate'
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artýn + GEN:

<i>sliĩkti artýn ežero</i>	'move nearer to the lake'
cf. <i>sliĩkti prie ežero</i>	'move towards the lake'

arti/arčiaũ + GEN:

prieiti arti/arčiaũ nãmo 'come up near/nearer to the house'

(3) on the surface of an object:

aĩt + GEN (the verb may be prefixed with *už-*):

(*už*)*lĩpti ant stõgo* 'climb on to the roof'

padĩti ant stãlo 'put on the table'

nukristi ant žẽmẽs 'fall to the ground'

(4) above an object (without touching it):

virš/viršumĩ + GEN:

užskristi virš miẽsto 'fly up above the town'

pakĩlti viršumĩ stõgo 'rise above the roof'

aukščiaũ + GEN:

pakĩlti aukščiaũ debesũ 'rise above (higher than) clouds'

(5) below an object:

põ + INSTR (often after verbs with the related prefix *pa-*):

palĩsti po stalũ 'crawl under the table'

padĩti po pagãlve 'put under a pillow'

atsisĩesti po medžiũ 'sit down under a tree'

cf. the respective static location:

lindĩti po stalũ 'stay under a table'

(6) behind, on the other side of an object:

ũž + GEN (often, with verbs with the prefix *už-*):

užlĩsti už spĩntos 'creep behind a cupboard'

nunĩesti už vaĩtũ 'take outside the gate'

užkĩšti (peĩlĩ) už diržo 'stick (a knife) behind the belt'

cf. the respective static location:

lindĩti už spĩntos 'stay behind a cupboard'

(i) *anãpus/kĩtapus* + GEN:

pĩrsikelti (i) anãpus ùpẽs 'cross to the other bank of the river'

(7) between two or more things:

tarp + GEN:

ĩstrĩgti tarp mĩdžiũ 'get stuck between trees'

ĩbrĩsti tarp mĩldũ 'wade in among rushes'

2.52 Prepositional phrases can also express:

(1) the limit of movement:

iki/līgi + GEN:

<i>nueīti iki/līgi miēsto</i>	'walk as far as the town'
<i>pakīlti ligi debesū</i>	'rise up to the clouds'
<i>ībrīsti (ī vāndenī) iki kēliu</i>	'wade (into the water) up to one's knees'

sulīg + INSTR:

<i>(béržas) užāugo sulīg namū</i>	'(the birch-tree) grew equal to the house (i.e. as tall as the house)'
<i>(vanduō) pakīlo sulīg lieptū</i>	'(water) rose up to (as high as) the footbridge'

(2) direction (without indicating the limit):

GEN + *liņk(ui)* or *liņk(ui)* + GEN:

<i>nueīti miēsto link/link miēsto</i>	'walk towards the town'
cf. <i>nueīti ī miēsto pūšē</i>	'walk in the direction of the town'

The prepositional phrase *pas* + ACC, with a human noun, denotes destination metonymically:

<i>nuvažiūoti pas ģimines</i>	'go to (one's) relatives' (i.e. the place where they live)
<i>išeīti pas kirpēja</i>	'go to the hairdresser('s)'
<i>nubēgti pas brōli</i>	'run to one's brother's (place)'

2.53 A number of other prepositional phrases of place denote the final point of movement when used with verbs of change of posture or position (*atsisēsti* 'sit down', *pasodinti* 'seat (sb)', *padēti* 'put down', etc.); when associated with verbs of state or motion, they denote location or passage (see 2.48, 2.55). Here belong:

apiē/apliņk + ACC:

<i>susēsti/susodinti apie stālā</i>	'sit down/seat (people) round the table'
<i>apvyniōti šālikā apliņk kāklā</i>	'wrap a scarf around (one's) neck'

pagalī/paleī + ACC:

<i>atsiguļti paleī sīenā</i>	'lie down along the wall'
<i>patiēsti (drōbe) pagalī upēli</i>	'stretch (a roll of linen) along the stream'

priēš + ACC:

<i>atsisēsti priēš židni</i>	'sit down in front of the fire-place'
<i>atsiklaūpti priēš tevūs</i>	'kneel in front of (before) the parents'

gretà/šalià + GEN:

atsisėsti gretà/šalià mokytojo 'sit down next to the teacher'
pasidėti šalià lóvos 'put next to the bed'

skersai, išilgai, įstrižai/įkypai + GEN/ACC:

numėsti leñtą skersai kėlio/kėlią 'throw a plank across the road'
atsigułti įstrižai lóvos/lóvą 'lie down across (= slantwise) the bed'
pastatyti súolą išilgai sienos 'put a bench along the wall'

2.54 The final point or destination of movement is expressed by a number of prepositional phrases with adverbs:

(1) *į* + *čia/teñ/kuř*:

eĩk į čia 'come here'
sùk į teñ 'turn that way (there)'

(2) *į* + *anàpus/kitàpus/antràpus/šiàpus/abìpus*:

išeĩti į anàpus lit. 'go to the other side' (i.e. die)
grĩžti į šiàpus 'return to this side'
ištiėsti rankàs į abìpus 'stretch out (one's) arms' lit. 'to both sides'

(3) *iki/ligi* + *čia/teñ/kuř/kòl/tòl*:

atbėgti iki čia 'run up to here'
nueĩti iki teñ 'go as far as there'
ateĩti iki tòl 'come up to here'
iki kuř/kòl eĩsi? 'how far will you go'

Route

2.55 Two variants of this meaning can be distinguished: most prepositional phrases express the route of unidirectional motion, and *pð* + ACC expresses the route of multi-directional motion.

Prepositional phrases denoting the route of unidirectional motion are given below:

(1) route across an object from one end to the other:

per + ACC:

eĩti per miėstą 'go across the town'
važiúoti per tiltą 'drive across the bridge'
riedėti per véidą 'roll down (one's) face' (of tears)

These prepositional phrases are synonymous with the instrumental of place (see 2.25). After verbs with the prefix *per-* the preposition can be omitted, e.g.:

<i>pérbēgti/péreiti per kiēma/kiēma</i>	'run/go across the yard/cross the yard'
<i>pérskristi per ēžera/ēžera</i>	'fly across the lake/cross the lake flying'
<i>pérsokti per griðvi/griðvi</i>	'jump across (over) a ditch'

skersai, išilgai, įstrižai/įkypai + GEN/ACC (reference to movement through or along the surface):

<i>plaūkti skersai ùpės/ùpę</i>	'swim across the river'
<i>péreiti išilgai lentės/leñta</i>	'walk the length of the plank'
<i>nuriedėti įstrižai aikštės/áikštę</i>	'roll across (diagonally) the square'

(2) route of motion through an object (with names of things with holes or gaps):

prõ + ACC, with nouns as the following:

<i>išeiti pro duris</i>	'walk through the door'
<i>žiūrėti pro grõtas</i>	'look through the lattice'
<i>išlįsti pro tiñkla</i>	'get through a net (of fish)'
<i>rũkti pro kãmina</i> (also <i>iš kãmino</i>)	'go out through a chimney (of smoke)'

The phrase *peř* + ACC is occasionally used in the same sense:

<i>įeiti per duris</i>	'enter through the door'
<i>žiūrėti per lãnga</i>	'look through a window'

peř + ACC (with names of solid objects and materials):

<i>išlįsti per siena</i>	'pass through a wall (of a bullet)'
<i>peřsigerti per drabužiũs</i>	'soak through clothes (of water)'

The phrase *prõ* + ACC is occasionally used instead, cf.:

<i>suñktis pro batũs</i>	'soak through shoes (of water)'
<i>prasimũsti pro stõga</i>	'break out through the roof (of fire)'

kiaurai/skrãdžiai + ACC/GEN:

<i>(vinis) išliñdo kiaurai leñta</i>	'(a nail) came out the plank'
<i>(rõgės) kliñpsta skrãdžiai sniẽga</i>	'(the sled) sinks through snow'
<i>(nãmas) nugriñzdo</i>	'(the house) sank through the earth'
<i>kiaurai/skrãdžiai žemę/žemės</i>	

(3) route of motion past an object, by its side:

prõ + ACC:

<i>važiuoti pro ēžera</i>	'go past a lake'
<i>nueiti pro sõda (į miška)</i>	'go past the garden (to the woods)'

After verbs with the related prefix *pra-*, the preposition can be omitted:

<i>pravažiúoti pro miěstą/miěstą</i>	‘drive past a town/pass a town’
<i>praeiti pro óbelį/óbelį</i>	‘walk past an apple-tree/pass an apple-tree’

pagaĩ/paleĩ + ACC (with names of things having length):

<i>eiti paleĩ úpe</i>	‘walk along a river’
<i>šliaũžti paleĩ/pagaĩ tvõrą</i>	‘crawl along a fence’

(4) route of motion around an object, on all sides:

apliñk/apie + ACC (mostly with verbs with the prefix *ap(i)-*):

<i>(api)bėgti apie/apliñk nāmą</i>	‘run around a house’
<i>žemė sukasi apie sąvo ašį</i>	‘the earth rotates round its axis’

(5) route of motion over, above an object (with verbs denoting motion in the air):

per + ACC:

<i>skristi per ežerą</i>	‘fly above a lake’
<i>péršokti per griðvį</i>	‘jump over a ditch’
<i>pėrmesti ākmenį per tvõrą</i>	‘throw a stone over a fence’

virš/viršum̃/viršuj + GEN:

<i>skristi virš miško</i>	‘fly above a forest’
<i>pralėkti virš galvõs</i>	‘fly over (sb’s) head’

aukščiaũ + GEN:

<i>skristi aukščiaũ/virš debesũ</i>	‘fly above the clouds’
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(6) route of motion between two or more objects:

taĩp + GEN:

<i>šliaũžti tarp bėgių</i>	‘crawl between the rails’
<i>bráutis tarp žmoniũ</i>	lit. ‘force one’s way among the people’

(7) route is also occasionally expressed by the following prepositional phrases:

priešais + ACC:

<i>praeiti priešais tribũnų</i>	‘pass in front of the stands’
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ũž + GEN:

<i>prabėgti už nūgaros</i>	‘run behind (sb’s) back’
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põ + INSTR:

<i>praplaũkti po tiltu</i>	‘swim by under a bridge’
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arti/netoli + GEN:

praskrìsti netoli/arti žžmès 'fly not far from/close to the ground'

tiēs + INSTR:

skrìsti ties gálva 'fly past (sb's) head'

gretà/šalià + GEN:

eīti šalià vežimo 'walk next to the cart'

Note. Route is also expressed by the instrumental case (see 2.25).

2.56 Multidirectional, iterative motion within the limits of an area is denoted by the prepositional phrase *pō* + ACC; it combines with verbs denoting:

(1) reiterated movement (also searching):

váikščioti po kiēmą 'walk about a yard'

pláukioti po ēžerą 'sail on a lake'

ieškóti po mišką 'look for (sth) all over the forest'

graibýtis po kišenès 'grope in the pockets'

(2) dispersing, spreading:

pasklìsti po mišką 'disperse (all) over the forest'

išmėtyti po laukùs 'scatter (sth) over the fields'

aidėti po mišką 'echo over the forest'

The phrase *pō* + ACC can be interchangeable with the locative, cf.:

váikščioti po kiēmą/kiemė 'walk over the yard/in the yard'

ieškóti po kišenès/kišėnėse 'search through the pockets/in the pockets'

pasklìsti po piėvą/piėvoje 'spread over the meadow/in the meadow'

The spatial position of moving objects relative to each other is denoted by the prepositional phrases *pirmà* + GEN and *pāskui/pāskum* + ACC, when used with verbs of motion, e.g.:

šuō bėga pirmà vežimo/
pāskui vežimą 'the dog is running in front of/behind the cart'
(both the dog and the cart are moving)

The direction of motion is also indicated: both are moving along the same path and in the same direction. The prepositional phrases *priėky/priėšaký* 'in front of' + GEN and *priėš/priėšais* 'in front' + ACC render the same meaning.

The phrase *priėš* + ACC can also denote motion from the opposite direction, e.g.:

vaikaĩ išbėgo priėšais mótiną 'the children ran out to meet (lit. 'opposite')
their mother'

2.57 Phrases with two prepositions, viz. *nuõ ... priẽ, nuõ ... aĩt, nuõ ... ĩ, nuõ ... pàs, nuõ ... iki/liġi*, and *iš ... ĩ* occur with imperfective (often iterative) multidirectional verbs to describe a change of direction or to delimit the path of motion. These prepositional phrases may contain:

(1) the relevant case-forms of the same noun, e.g.:

<i>bėginėti nuo mėdžio prie mėdžio</i>	'be running from tree to tree'
<i>šoknėti nuo kũpsto ant kũpsto</i>	'be jumping from mound to mound'
<i>váikščioti iš kambario į kambarį</i>	'walk from room to room'

(2) indefinite pronouns as in:

<i>váikščioti nuo vieno lango prie kito</i>	'walk from one window to another'
<i>nešiõti iš vienõs viėtos į kitą</i>	'carry from one place to another'

(3) two different nouns: *bėgiõti nuo lango prie dũrų* 'be running from the window to the door'.

To emphasize iteration, a prepositional phrase can be repeated in reversed order:

<i>váikščioti nuo lango iki dũrų, nuo dũrų iki lango</i>	lit. 'walk from the window to the door, from the door (back) to the window'
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Prepositional phrases of time

2.58 Temporal meanings are expressed by prepositional phrases with nouns denoting concepts of time, sometimes processes and seldom concrete things.

The following principal temporal meanings are distinguished:

- (1) the time of an action,
- (2) duration,
- (3) the commencement and terminal points of an action,
- (4) the limits of duration,
- (5) anteriority and posteriority,
- (6) simultaneity,
- (7) frequency.

TIME OF ACTION

2.59 Two instances can be distinguished here.

(1) A stretch of time within which an action takes place is indicated by the prepositional phrase *per* + ACC. It is not necessarily implied that the event lasted for the entire period. The following nouns are used in this phrase:

(a) names of holidays, rituals, meals, some natural phenomena, etc.:

<i>susitikti per Kalėdās/ per rugiapjūtę/per atostogas/per vakariėnę</i>	'meet at Christmas/at harvest time/ during holidays/at supper'
<i>šokti per vestuvės</i>	'dance at a wedding'
<i>šienauti per karštą</i>	'make hay during a period of heat'

(b) names of parts of the day, seasons, and the like:

<i>lyti per dieną/per naktį</i>	'rain in the daytime/at night'
<i>žydėti per vasarą</i>	'blossom in summer'
<i>susiřgti per darbųmetį</i>	'fall ill during a busy season'

These phrases are close in meaning to phrases of duration (see 2.60).

(c) names of units of time (with an obligatory modifier):

<i>pasikeiřti per praėjusį deřimtmetį</i>	'change in the past decade'
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(2) The approximate time of an action is expressed by the following prepositional phrases with temporal nouns:

apie + ACC:

<i>grįžti apie rytą/apie penktą valandą</i>	'return approximately in the morning/at about five o'clock'
<i>iřvažiuoti apie pietus/apie pavasarį</i>	'go away at about lunchtime/ about spring time'

į + ACC:

<i>atvėsti į rytą</i>	'grow colder by (towards) morning'
<i>pristigti (dúonos) į pavasarį</i>	'be short (of bread) by spring'
<i>sugrįžti į mėnesio/mėtu pabaigą</i>	'return by (towards) the end of the month/year'

artì/netolì + GEN (rare):

<i>baigtis artì vidurnakčio</i>	'be over at about (lit. 'near to') midnight'
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DURATION

- 2.60** Duration of an action (from the beginning to the end of a period) is expressed by *per* + ACC. In this phrase, temporal nouns are used usually with a quantitative modifier, viz. a numeral, the pronouns *kelì* 'several', *visas* 'all', the adjectives *iřtisas* 'entire', *kiáuras* 'all, entire', and the like, e.g.:

šókti per visā/ištisā/kiáurā naktī 'dance all/the entire night'
dirbtī per visā vāsarā 'work all summer'

This prepositional phrase can also indicate the period of time in which a certain result is achieved, e.g.:

páltā pāsiuva per trīs mēnesius '(they) make a coat in three months' ('it takes three months to make a coat')

The prepositional phrase *apie* + ACC with nouns denoting units of time (often with quantitative attributes) expresses approximate duration:

lýti apie vālandā 'rain for about an hour'
láukti apie penkis/kelīs mēnesius 'wait for about five/several months'

Note: Duration of an action is also expressed by all the case forms without prepositions.

COMMENCEMENT AND TERMINAL POINTS

2.61 The initial temporal point of an action is expressed by *nuō* + GEN and *iš* + GEN. The former indicates the time when an action (which is still going on) began and it occurs mostly with imperfective verbs; cf.: *miegóti nuo vākarō* 'sleep since evening'. The latter phrase is used mostly with perfective verbs to indicate the time when an action takes place and the implied resultant state (which still holds) begins, e.g.: *susiruōšti iš vākarō* 'get ready in the evening (and be ready since)'.

The preposition *nuō* has broader combinability with nouns than *iš*; cf.:

iš + GEN:

ateiti iš vākarō 'arrive in (lit. 'from') the evening (and be here since)'

sužaliúoti iš pavāsario 'turn green in (since) spring'

nuō + GEN:

nekēsti iš/nuo pirmōs dienōs 'hate from/since the first day'

išlīkti iš/nuo senū laikū 'exist from/since the olden times'

vāikščioti nuo rýto 'walk since morning'

mókytis nuo vaikýstēs 'study since childhood'

láukti nuo antrōs valandōs 'wait since two o'clock'

The terminal point of an action or the period before which an action comes to an end is expressed by *iki/līgi* + GEN with temporal nouns:

láukti iki vākarō/rudeņs/pirmādienio 'wait until evening/autumn/Monday'

<i>mókytis ligi egzaminū</i>	‘study until the examinations’
<i>sugrīžti iki gegužės mēnesio</i>	‘return until the month of May’

The prepositional phrase *iki/līgi* + GEN with nouns denoting units of time specifies the limits of duration:

<i>(juūs tēks) lāukti iki valandōs/mētū</i>	‘(you have to) wait for about (as long as) an hour/a year’
<i>(be vandeņs gālīma) išgyvénti ligi septīniū parū</i>	‘(without water one can) live up to (for about) seven days’

THE LIMITS OF DURATION

2.62 A limited period of time is expressed by *tar̃p* + GEN *īr* GEN, e.g.:

<i>(žvērys) šēriasi tarp rugpjūčio ir spālio mēnesio</i>	‘(wild beasts) moult between September and October’
<i>(žadējo) ateīti tarp vienuolikos ir dvjliktos valandōs</i>	‘(they promised to) come between eleven and twelve o’clock’

The coordinated genitives can be sometimes replaced by the plural form of a noun:

<i>susitīksim tarp šveņčiū</i>	‘we’ll meet between the holidays’
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The limits of duration can also be expressed by a complex prepositional phrase *nuō* + GEN – *iki/līgi* + GEN. The following nouns are used here:

(1) antonyms, e.g.:

<i>dirbti nuo rjto iki vākaro</i>	‘work from morning till night’
<i>keliāuti nuo pavāsario iki rudenš</i>	‘travel from spring to autumn’

(2) nouns with the modifiers *vīenas ... kitas*:

<i>lāukti nuo vīeno sekmādienio iki kito</i>	lit. ‘wait from one Sunday till the next’
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ANTERIORITY AND POSTERIORITY

2.63 The prepositional phrases *prižš* + ACC and *pirmā* + GEN relate an action to the following time or event. The phrase *pō* + GEN relates an action to the preceding time or event. Nouns used in these phrases denote:

(1) temporal concepts and also events, e.g.:

<i>(a) kēltis priēš aūšra/pirmā aušrōs</i>	‘get up before dawn’
<i>ateīti priēš vākara/pirmā vākaro</i>	‘come before evening’
<i>susitīkti priēš atōstogas</i>	‘meet before the vacation’

(b) <i>grįžti po pietų</i>	'return after dinner'
<i>sužaliuoti po lietaūs</i>	'break into young leaf after rain'
<i>rasti po naktiės</i>	'find (sth) after a night'
<i>išdygti po žiemės/iš po žiemės</i>	'sprout after the winter'

(*iš pō* is used with the nouns *naktis* 'night' and *žiemà* 'winter' exclusively);

(2) animate beings, plants and things which refer to time by implying comparison:

(a) <i>gyvėno (čia) prieš lietuvius/pirmà lietuvių</i>	'(they) lived (here) before the Lithuanians' (= 'before the Lithuanians had lived here')
<i>(pėmpė) atskrido prieš gañdrą atėjo prieš manè/pirmà manės</i>	'(the lapwing) returned before the stork' '(he) came before me'
(b) <i>(Vytautas) valdė Lietuvą po Kęstutis</i>	'(Vytautas) ruled Lithuania after Kęstutis'
<i>pjauti kviečius po rugių</i>	'cut rye after wheat'
<i>sugrįžti po brolio</i>	'return after (one's) brother'

(3) generalized temporal concepts (with an obligatory modifier):

(a) <i>išeiti prieš dvyliktą valandą</i>	'leave before twelve o'clock' (lit. 'twelfth hour')
<i>palýti prieš pjūtiės mētą</i>	'rain before harvest time'
<i>susitáikyti prieš ámžiaus gálą</i>	'get reconciled before the end of life'
(b) <i>ateiti po penktōs valandōs</i>	'come after five o'clock'
<i>atsilti po ledýnų laikótarpio</i>	'grow warmer after the glacial period'

2.64 The prepositional phrase *bè* + GEN, with various temporal nouns, denotes a period of time before which an action cannot take place; it is used with the future tense and imperative form of verbs with negation, e.g.:

<i>neišvažiuos be vākaro</i> (i.e. <i>išvažiuōs tik vakarè</i>)	'he won't leave until (lit. 'without') evening' '(he'll leave only in the evening)'
<i>negrįžk be rudeñs</i>	'don't return until autumn'
<i>nesusitiksi be šveñčių</i>	'we won't meet until the holidays'

It is seldom used after verbs without negation, in which case it refers the verbal action to the time preceding the moment named:

<i>atsikélti be sáulės (dienōs, šviesōs)</i>	'get up before sunrise (daylight, light)'
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2.65 A stretch of time separating the verbal action from a later reference point (usually the present moment) is specified by the prepositional phrase *priēš* + ACC with a noun denoting a unit of time, e.g.:

<i>susiriņko prieš vālandā</i>	‘they gathered an hour ago’
<i>atvīko prieš divus mēnesus</i>	‘he arrived two months ago’
<i>gyvėno prieš simtā mētū</i>	‘he lived a hundred (ACC) years (GEN) ago’

The synonymous prepositional phrases *pō* + GEN and *ūž* + GEN (less common), and also *bē* + GEN (with negative verbs) when used with nouns naming units of time, specify the stretch of time separating the verbal action from a prior reference point (implied by or given in the context), cf. respectively:

<i>sugrīžo po/uz valandōs</i>	‘he returned an hour later’
<i>susitiko po trijū (keliū) dienū</i>	‘they met three (a few) days later’
<i>atējo po dešimtiēs minūčtū</i>	‘he came ten (Prep + GEN) minutes (GEN) later’
<i>negērk vāistū be valandōs</i>	‘take this medicine in an hour’s time only’ (lit. ‘don’t take this medicine without an hour’)
<i>ligōnis nepasveiks be diviejū savāičtū</i>	‘the patient will get well in two weeks only’

SIMULTANEITY

- 2.66** Simultaneity of an action with another event or moment is expressed by *sū* + INSTR with the names of parts of the day and seasons, and natural phenomena related to seasons of a year:

<i>atsikēlti su šviesā</i> (<i>aušrā, dienā, sāule</i>)	lit. ‘get up with the (day)light (dawn, day(light), sun(rise))’
<i>bāimē ateina su vākaru</i>	‘fear comes with the night’
<i>līgos prasīdēda su rūdeniu</i>	‘illnesses begin with the autumn’
cf. also: <i>kēltis (kartū) su paūkščiats</i>	‘get up (together) with the birds’
<i>gulīti su vīštomis</i>	‘go to bed with the hens’ (i.e. ‘very early’)

FREQUENCY

- 2.67** A period of time in which an action is regularly reiterated is denoted by prepositional phrases *per* + ACC with the plural number of temporal nouns:

(<i>vējas</i>) <i>stūgauja per naktis</i>	‘(the wind) howls at nights’
(<i>šeimā</i>) <i>susitīkdavo per šventēs</i>	‘(the family) used to meet during holidays’
(<i>mokiniai</i>) <i>išdykāuja per pārtraukas</i>	‘(schoolchildren) romp during intervals’

When used with *pluralia tantum*, this phrase denotes frequency with the past frequentative tense form only, cf.:

<i>atvažiūodavo per atostogas</i>	'he used to come (home) on holidays' (frequency)
– <i>atvažiavo per atostogas</i>	'he came (home) during holidays' (time of action)

Frequency of action is also expressed by the nominative (see 2.33), accusative (see 2.9) and instrumental (see 2.26, 2) used without a preposition.

Prepositional phrases of cause

In prepositional phrases of cause the prepositions *iš* 'because of, out of, for', *nuo* 'from, of', *dėl* 'because of', *už* 'for', less commonly *dėkà* 'thanks to', *per* 'through, because of' are used.

iš + GEN

2.68 The phrase *iš* + GEN expresses the cause of volitional actions and emotional states of human (and other animate) beings. The cause may be:

(1) an emotion or mood (either positive or negative):

<i>šokinėti iš džiaugsmo/ laimės/linksmumo</i>	'be jumping with joy/happiness/ merriment'
<i>paraūsti iš pykčio/gėdos</i>	'redden with anger/shame'
<i>verkti iš nuoskaudos/ ąpmaudo/neviltiės</i>	'cry out of mortification/vexation/ despair'
<i>drebtėti iš baimės/ susijaudinimo/išgąsčio</i>	'tremble with fear/agitation/fright'

(2) a psychological feature:

<i>atsisakyti iš kuklumo/mandagumo</i>	'refuse (sth) out of modesty/politeness'
<i>padėti iš pareigingumo/ gerumo/draugiškumo</i>	'help (sb) out of a sense of duty /kindness/friendliness'
<i>nusigyvėnti iš tinginystės</i>	'become impoverished because of laziness'

(3) a feeling or a physical state:

<i>raitytis iš skausmo</i>	'writhe with pain'
<i>užmigtį iš nuovargio</i>	'fall asleep from fatigue'
<i>apaľpti iš alkio/bãdo/trõškulio</i>	'faint from hunger/starvation/thirst'
<i>drebtėti iš šalčio</i>	'tremble with cold'

nuõ + GEN

2.69 The phrase *nuõ* + GEN specifies the cause of (a change of) a state, and, occasionally an action; the cause may be:

(1) a concrete thing, sometimes an animate being:

<i>susiřgti nuo obuolių</i>	'fall ill from apples'
<i>žúti nuo priešu</i>	'perish at the hands of the enemies'
<i>mėlynúoti nuo žibúčiu</i>	'be blue with violets'
<i>pėrmirkti nuo lietaus</i>	lit.' get wet through (of shoes, clothes) from rain'

(2) a natural phenomenon:

<i>nudėgti nuo saulės</i>	'get sunburnt from/in the sun'
<i>sùktis nuo vėjo</i>	'go round (of a windmill) because of the wind'
<i>supelyti nuo drėgmės</i>	'grow mouldy because of humidity'
<i>kentėti nuo karščio</i>	'suffer from the heat'
cf. also: <i>miřti nuo žaizdų</i>	'die from wounds'

dėl + GEN

2.70 The phrase *dėl* + GEN differs from the above two prepositional phrases in that it commonly refers to the reason of explanation, mental cause or logical motivation, seldom to the cause of an action and it usually modifies the entire clause, e.g.:

<i>dėl blogų kelių atvažiuodavo</i>	'few people used to come because of (due to) poor roads'
<i>nedaug žmonių</i>	
<i>dėl saldumo geresnė</i>	'because of its sweetness, maple sap was
<i>buvo laikoma klevų sulà</i>	considered to be better'

The preposition *dėl* typically combines with nouns denoting:

(1) abstract concepts: *aplinkybės* 'circumstances', *sąlygos* 'conditions', *bruožai* 'features', *ypatybė* 'peculiarity', *padėtis* 'position, state', *pobūdis* 'character', *stokà* 'shortage', *forma* 'form', *turinys* 'content', *idėja* 'idea', *laikas* 'time' and the like; cf.:

<i>Dėl savo geografinės padėties</i>	'Because of its geographical position,
<i>Lietuvà negalėjo likti uždarà.</i>	Lithuania could not remain isolated.'
<i>Žvaigždės dėl didelio atstumo</i>	'Stars look small due to the great
<i>atródo mažos.</i>	distance.'

(2) permanent properties and features of humans: *gabùmai* 'abilities', *gróžis* 'beauty', *atkaklùmas* 'pertinacity', *įsitikinimai* 'convictions', *svóris* 'weight', *ùgis* 'height', *įšvaizda* 'appearance', *dýdis* 'size', *ámzius* 'age', *sveikatà* 'health', etc., e.g.:

<i>Dēl sàvo mokytiūmo jis greičtai pagarsėjo.</i>	‘Because of his learning, he soon became famous.’
<i>Jis negalėjo dirbti dėl sveikatos.</i>	‘He could not work because of his health.’

(3) also concrete things:

<i>Čià negālima gyvėnti dėl uodų.</i>	‘People can’t live here because of gnats.’
<i>Ji mán patiko dėl sàvo žydrų akių.</i>	‘I liked her for her blue eyes.’

The preposition *dēl* is used with the noun *priežastis* ‘cause’ with an obligatory modifier:

<i>dėl šiōs/menkōs priežasties</i>	‘for this/slight reason’
<i>dėl kēleto priežasčių</i>	‘for a number of reasons’

(this noun is never used with other prepositions).

2.71 *Dēl* + GEN typically combines with verbs denoting the following:

(1) emotional and physical states (usually negative): *nusimiñti* ‘become dispirited’, *jáudintis* ‘be worried’, *nerimáuti* ‘be uneasy/worried’, *gráužtis/krimstis* (*dėl ateitiēs*) ‘be worried (about the future)’, *liūdėti* ‘be sad’, *gedėti* ‘mourn’, *sielotis/sielovartáuti* (*dėl artimūjų*) ‘grieve (for one’s near relatives)’, *drebėti* ‘tremble’, *nusigāsti* ‘get frightened’, *nustėbti* ‘be surprised’, *susigėsti/raudonuoti* ‘get ashamed/blush’, *džiaūgtis* (*dėl sėkmės/sėkmė*) ‘rejoice at one’s success (Prep + GEN)/(INSTR)’, *pýkti* ‘be angry’, etc.;

(2) negative actions: *bárti(s)* ‘scold’, *giñčytis* (*dėl mážmožių*) ‘argue (about trifles)’, *mūštis* (*dėl pinigų*) ‘fight (about money)’, etc.;

(3) spontaneous events: *atsitikti/įvykti* ‘happen’, *atsiràsti/kilti* ‘arise, appear’, *pasikeĩsti* ‘change’, *padaugėti* ‘increase’, *sumažėti* ‘decrease, diminish’, etc.; cf.:

<i>neláimė įvyko dėl neatsargumo</i>	‘the accident happened because of carelessness’
<i>gaisras kilo dėl sausrōs</i>	‘the fire started because of the drought’
<i>uodų padaugėja dėl drėgmės</i>	‘gnats multiply (lit. ‘increase in number’) due to humidity’

Dēl + GEN is commonly used after verbs with negation, e.g.:

<i>neatėjo dėl ligōs</i>	‘he didn’t come because of (his) illness’
<i>negalėjo atvažiuoti dėl lietaūs</i>	‘he couldn’t come because of the rain’
<i>neužáugo javai dėl kaitrōs</i>	‘rye didn’t grow because of the heat’

2.72 *Dēl* + GEN sometimes denotes concession, i.e. a cause in spite of which an action takes or can take place; it usually combines with (1) modal predicates (*galėti* ‘be

able to', *gālima* 'it is possible', less frequently *privalēti* 'be obliged', *reikēti* '(be) necessary', *turēti* 'have to' with an infinitive or (2) the future tense, imperative subjunctive form of a verb; cf. respectively:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) <i>Dēl tōkio šalčtio reikējo ateīti.</i> | 'In spite of this cold (weather), you should have come.' |
| <i>Dēl tōkio lietaūs gālime važiūoti.</i> | 'In spite of such rain, we can drive.' |
| (2) <i>Dēl tōkios ligōs
gyvėnsi šimtą mētų.</i> | 'With such an illness, you'll live a hundred years.' |
| <i>Dēl manēš eikit nors į prāgarą.</i> | 'For me (= as far as I am concerned) you can go to hell.' |
| <i>peř + ACC</i> | |

2.73 The prepositional phrase *peř + ACC* is typically used in negative contexts. It naturally combines with negative verbs and usually contains a negative noun, or a noun that acquires negative connotations. Thus it combines with the following types of verbs:

(1) verbs with negation:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>nepabaigė darbo per tingėjimą</i> | 'he didn't finish work because of (out of) his laziness' |
| <i>nėdavė pinigų per šykštumą</i> | 'he didn't give money out of stinginess' |
| <i>negalėjo išeiti per vaikūs</i> | 'he couldn't go out because of the children' |
| <i>nepailsėjo per darbūs</i> | 'he had (had) no rest because of work' |

(2) verbs with negative meanings:

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>apàkti per apsileidimą</i> | 'become blind through carelessness' |
| <i>kentėti per giminės</i> | 'suffer because of relatives' |
| <i>išeikvooti (pinigus) per mōteris</i> | 'embezzle (money) because of women' |
| <i>pavėluoti per svečiūs</i> | 'be late because of the visitors' |

(3) verbs acquiring negative connotations in context:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>pasielgti koailai per nesusipratimą</i> | 'do a silly thing through misunderstanding' |
| <i>ne taip atsakyti per susijaudinimą</i> | 'give the wrong answer because of excitement' |
| <i>paimti ne peilį, o šakutę per skubėjimą</i> | 'take a fork instead of a knife in a hurry' |

Peř + ACC is usually interchangeable with the neutral *dėl + GEN*:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>nusigyvėnti per tingėjimą/dėl tingėjimo</i> | 'become impoverished through (one's) laziness' |
|--|--|

GEN + *dèkà*

- 2.74 The phrase GEN + *dèkà* ‘thanks to’ renders a specialized causal meaning which is antonymous to that of *peř* + ACC: it expresses a positive cause of an action. It is used with nouns denoting persons or their positive qualities; cf.:

<i>pasveikti gýdytojų dėkà</i>	‘recover thanks to doctors’
<i>parašyti puikų romàną tàlento dėkà</i>	‘write a perfect novel thanks to talent’

ùž + ACC

- 2.75 The prepositional phrase *ùž* + ACC expresses motive or reason with verbs denoting:

(1) punishment for misdeeds, or awarding:

<i>baūsti už nusikaltimùs</i>	‘punish for crimes’
<i>keřšyti už skriaudàs</i>	‘revenge for offences’
<i>teĩsti už vagýstę</i>	‘try (take to a court of law) for stealing’
<i>apdovanóti už drąsą</i>	‘award for bravery’

(2) verbal and emotional behavior and assessment, e.g.: *bárti* ‘scold’, *kéikti* ‘curse’, *káltinti* ‘accuse’, *smeřkti* ‘blame’, *kritikúoti (už klaidàs)* ‘criticize (for mistakes)’, *priekaištáuti* ‘reproach’, *peřkti* ‘blame’, *niėkinti* ‘scorn’, *žėminti* ‘humiliate’, *meňkinti* ‘belittle’, *mylėti* ‘love’, *mėgti* ‘like’, *geřbti* ‘respect’, *vértinti* ‘appreciate’, *atsiprašýti* ‘apologize’, *girti* ‘praise’, etc.; these verbs are also used with *dėl* + GEN.

Note: Cause is also expressed by the instrumental case (see 2.28).

Prepositional phrases of purpose

- 2.76 The following prepositional phrases are used with verbs to express purpose.

(1) The phrase *dėl/dėlei* + GEN refers to the purpose of an active action (most frequently, movement):

<i>atjóti dėl mergėlės</i>	lit. ‘come riding for the fair girl’
<i>lenktyniáuti dėl pirmòs viėtos</i>	‘compete for the first place’
<i>kovóti dėl láisvės/už láisvę</i>	‘fight for freedom’
<i>iřgėrti dėl drąsòs</i>	‘have a drink for courage’
<i>pasislėpti atsargumo dėlei</i>	‘hide oneself for the sake of caution’

(2) The phrase *ĩ* + ACC, used with verbs of motion (or inducement, e.g. *kviėsti* ‘invite’), refers to an event in which the agent (patient) intends (is urged) to participate; e.g.:

jóti į medžioklę/medžióti 'ride to the hunt/to hunt'
pakvięsti (bičiulių) į puotą 'invite (friends) to a feast'

(3) The phrase *prie* + GEN, combined with verbs of motion or change of position (e.g. *sęsti* 'sit down'), refers to a thing which implies motivation of an action:

nueęti prie rugių lit. 'go to the rye' (i.e. to cut rye)
sęsti prie ratęlio 'sit down to the spinning-wheel' (i.e. to do spinning)

pastatęyti darbininką prie stąklių 'send (lit. 'stand') a worker to the machine-tool'

cf.: *stóti prie dárbo/dįrbti* 'take up work' (lit. 'stand to work (Prep + GEN)/to work (INF)')

Note: Purpose is also expressed by the genitive (see 2.15) and the dative case (see 2.19–21).

Prepositional phrases of quantity

2.77 Prepositional phrases with quantitative nouns (and numerals) subordinate to a verb express quantitative characteristics of an action (extent or amount), e.g.:

nueęti apie kilometrą 'walk about a kilometre'
pįřkti už penkis litų 'buy for five litas'

Nouns of quantity are often modified by a numeral (*apie dū kilometrų* 'about two kilometres') or they are subordinated to a numeral (*apie šimtą mylių* 'about a hundred miles'). Quantity is expressed by the following prepositional phrases.

(1) The phrase *apie* + ACC refers to an approximate quantity:

nuvažiuoti apie mylią 'cover (drive) about a mile (about three miles/hundred miles)'
(apie tris myliąs/šimtą mylių)
sveřti/svérti apie toną (apie penkiąs tonąs/apie dęšimt tonų) 'weigh about a ton (about five tons/ten tons)'

(2) *artį/netolį* + GEN denotes a somewhat smaller quantity than that named by the noun:

nueęti artį kilometrą 'walk nearly a kilometre'
parduóti artį centnerio (grūdų) 'sell almost a centner (of grain)'
sumokęti netolį šimto litų 'pay nearly a hundred litas'

(3) *iki/lįgi* + GEN indicates the upper limit of quantity:

nueęti iki kilometrą 'walk as much as a kilometre (six/ten kilometres)'
(iki šešį/dešimtięs kilometrų)
suskaičiuóti iki šimto 'count up to a hundred'

(4) *peř* + ACC denotes a greater quantity than that named by the noun or numeral:

sveřti/svérti per kilogrāma 'weigh over (more than) a kilogram'
kainúoti per tūkstantį dólerių 'cost over a thousand dollars'

(5) *ùž* + GEN denotes distance from the reference point:

sustóti už kilometrò (už dviejų/šimtò kilometrų) nuo miěsto 'stop at the distance of a kilometre (two/a hundred kilometres) from the town'

nukristi už penkių mètrų (nuo manęs) 'fall five metres away (from me)'

(6) *ùž* + ACC denotes price, the account of payment, etc. (see 2.37, 2):

pirkti už šimtą litų 'buy for a hundred litas'

For prepositional phrases of quantifying time see 2.60.

Prepositional phrases of manner

2.78 Prepositional phrases of manner describe the following:

(1) the state of the agent while performing an action (or characterization of the action), viz.:

(a) presence of a characteristic or possession, for which purpose *sù* + INSTR is used:

pùlti su įniršiu 'attack with fury'
pažvelgti su mélie 'glance (at sb) with love'
láukti su nekantrumù 'wait with impatience'
išeiti su pàltu 'go out in a coat (wearing a coat)'
sėdėti su kepurė 'sit with one's cap on'

(b) absence of a characteristic or possession, which is rendered by *bė* + GEN:

pùlti be báimės 'attack without fear'
išvarýti be gailesčio 'drive (sb) out without pity'
gulėti be sąmonės 'lie unconscious' (lit. 'without consciousness')
ateiti be kepurės 'come without a cap'

(2) the maximum intensity of an action or process, which is rendered by *iki/līgi* + GEN:

prisiválgyti iki sóties lit. 'eat to satiety'
įkaisti iki raudonùmo 'be heated red' (lit. 'to redness') (of iron)
įkyrėti iki gývo káulu 'bore (sb) to death' (lit. 'to the live bone')

(3) the motive or plan, or grounds for performing an action, for which purpose *pagaļ* + ACC is used:

<i>statyti (rūmus) pagaļ projektā</i>	'build (a palace) according to a project'
<i>nubausti pagaļ ištātymā</i>	'punish in accordance with the law'
<i>reņģtis pagaļ mādā</i>	lit. 'dress according to fashion'
<i>veikti pagaļ plānā</i>	'act according to a plan'

(4) the intermediary or medium, expressed by *peŗ* + ACC:

<i>kalbētiŗ per vertēŗā</i>	'talk through an interpreter'
<i>pranēŗti per rādiŗā/laŗkraŗŗi</i>	'announce on (lit. 'through') the radio/ through a newspaper'
<i>pasĩĩŗti (linkēŗjumus) per draũŗā</i>	'send (best wishes) with (lit. 'through') a friend'

(5) means:

<i>ĩsĩverŗŗti per jēŗā</i>	'break in by force'
<i>ĩsĩĩvēŗti per priēŗvartā</i>	'lead (sb) away under compulsion'

(6) an obstacle (which may be the agent's state), expressed by *prō/peŗ* + ACC:

<i>ŗypŗsōtis pro āŗarās/skaũŗsmā</i>	lit. 'smile through tears/pain'
<i>ĩŗŗĩŗti pro triũŗŗsmā</i>	'hear through noise'
<i>susĩkalbēti per sienā</i>	'communicate through a wall'

(7) the mode of action relative to the position of a body part, expressed by *aŗĩt* + GEN:

<i>stovēti ant viēŗds kōŗos</i>	'stand on one foot'
<i>gulēti ant nũŗŗaros</i>	'lie on one's back'
<i>pasĩreŗĩti ant raŗĩŗķũ</i>	'lean on one's hands'
<i>nēŗti (vaŗĩŗķā) ant peŗĩtiũ</i>	'carry (a child) on one's shoulders'

With verbs of 'attaching' this prepositional phrase may refer to a means:

<i>palēĩŗti āĩtvarā ant siũŗlo</i>	'fly a kite on/with a thread'
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(8) distribution of the plural agent or patient in equal numbers during an action, expressed by *pō* + ACC:

<i>ĩsĩsvāĩkŗŗĩti po viēŗnā</i>	'disperse one by one'
<i>ateĩti po kelis</i>	'come in groups of several'
<i>prĩneŗĩtōti (ŗiŗēno) po glēŗbi</i>	'bring (hay) in armfuls'

The manner of an action can also be expressed by *ĩŗ* + GEN, e.g.:

<i>surĩkĩti iŗ visũ jēŗģũ</i>	'cry out with all one's might'
<i>palĩnkēti (ŗēŗo) iŗ řĩrdiēŗ</i>	lit. 'wish (good luck) with/from one's heart'

There is a number of adverbialized phrases with this preposition, e.g.:

<i>žiūrėti iš padilbū/paniūrū</i>	'look scowlingly'
<i>kalbėti iš lėto</i>	'speak slowly'
<i>ateiti iš (pa)leñgvo</i>	'walk slowly'
<i>perrašyti iš naujo</i>	'rewrite anew'
<i>užpūlti iš pasalū</i>	'attack on the sly'

Verb – Infinitive

2.79 In verb groups with a dependent infinitive the semantic subject of the latter may coincide with the subject of the head verb (*jis moka skaityti* 'he can read') or it may not coincide with it (*jis ližpė mán ateiti* 'he told me to come'). The former infinitive is traditionally termed 'subjective', and the latter 'objective'. Syntactically, the infinitive is either a part of a compound verbal predicate (*galì eiti* 'you can go'), or it takes the position characteristic of an object (*jis mėgsta skaityti* 'he likes to read'), or it is an adverbial modifier of purpose (*atėjo padėti* 'he came to help'); it may also take the subject position (*mán nusibódo láukti/laukimas* lit. 'to wait/waiting (NOM) bored me', i.e. 'I was bored with waiting').

2.80 In verb groups with a 'subjective' infinitive, the head may be a semantically deficient verb, in which case it modifies the meaning of the infinitive and serves as a semi-auxiliary in a compound verbal predicate. Here belong:

(1) phasal verbs:

<i>pradėti/iñti (mokyti)</i>	'begin (to study)'
<i>(pa)baigti (rašyti)</i>	'finish (writing)'
<i>mèsti (rūkyti)</i>	'stop, give up (smoking)'
<i>liáutis/nustóti (lyti)</i>	'stop, cease (raining)'
<i>likti (stovėti)</i>	'continue, go on (standing)'
<i>įpusėti (knjgą skaityti)</i>	lit. 'do half (to read a book)'

These verbs typically combine with imperfective infinitives excepting *baigti* which also takes a perfective infinitive:

<i>baigia išdžiúti</i>	lit. 'it finishes to dry' i.e. 'it has almost dried'
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The following verbs are also used with an infinitive to express a sudden and/or unexpected intense beginning of an action: *šókti* 'jump', *pūlti* 'rush, attack', *mèstis* 'throw oneself, rush', *griėbtis* 'seize, set to', *tvėrtis* 'seize, snatch', *subrūzti* '(begin to) bustle', 'start (quickly)', *sujūsti* '(begin to) move', 'start, set about', *praplūpti* 'gush out, burst into', *prakiūrti* 'burst', *pašėlti* 'get furious', *įnikti* 'apply oneself (to)'. The

ending of an action is expressed by the verbs *nutūlti* 'fall silent', *nuščiūti* 'die away', etc. They acquire a phasal meaning in combination with an infinitive only, cf.:

<i>šoko padėti</i>	'(he) rushed to help'
<i>praplýšo dainuoti</i>	'(he) burst into singing'
<i>nutūlo šūkauti</i>	'(he) (suddenly) stopped shouting'

(2) Verbs with a modal meaning: *galėti* 'be able', *sugebėti* 'be able, capable', *pajėgti/įstėngti/valiėti* 'be able', *mokėti* 'be able, know (how to)', *įprasti/įgūsti* 'get used, get into the habit (of)', *turėti* 'have (to)', *privalėti* 'be obliged (to)', *reikėti* 'have (to)', e.g.:

<i>reikia tikėti</i>	'one ought to believe'
<i>gali padėti</i>	'he can help'
<i>turi išeiti</i>	'he must go'

2.81 The following types of verbs retain their lexical meaning and subordinate a 'subjective' infinitive as a syntactic object, often interchangeable with a case form of a noun or a prepositional phrase.

(1) Verbs of volition and the like: *norėti* 'want', *vežžtis* 'long', *geisti* 'wish, long', *trokšti* 'crave', *tikėtis/viltis* 'hope', *mėgti* 'like', etc.; *mėginti* 'try', *bandyti* 'try', *stėngtis* 'strive, seek', *išdrįsti* 'dare', etc., e.g.:

<i>norime džiaugtis/džiaūgsmo</i>	'we want to enjoy/enjoyment (GEN)'
<i>mėgstu gerti/gėrimus</i>	'I like to drink/drinks (ACC)'

(2) Verbs of intention, agreement or refusal, or memory: *galvoti* 'think, plan', *manyti* 'think, intend', *svajoti* 'dream', *užmiršti* 'forget', *atsiminti* 'remember', *nuspręsti/nutařti* 'decide', *ketinti* 'intend', *ruđštis/reņgtis* 'prepare, get ready', *susipręsti (išeiti)* 'have the sense (to leave)', *apsiimti* 'undertake (to do sth)', *sutikti* 'agree', *įsipareigoti* 'pledge oneself (to do sth)', *prisiekti* 'promise', *rýžtis* 'decide, resolve', *žadėti* 'promise', *susitařti* 'arrange (to do sth)', *siūlytis* 'offer', *atsisakyti* 'refuse', e.g.:

<i>nusprendė išeiti</i>	'(he) decided to leave'
<i>užmiršo pranešti</i>	'(he) forgot to report'
<i>žadėjo padėti</i>	'(he) promised to help'

(3) Verbs with negative connotations: *bijoti* 'be afraid', *vėngti* 'avoid', *sąugotis* 'fear, avoid', *gėdytis* 'be ashamed', *drovėtis* 'be shy', *tingėti* 'be lazy'; e.g.:

<i>bijo pėrsalti</i>	'(he) is afraid of catching a cold'
<i>vėngia kalbėti</i>	'(he) avoids talking'

(4) Verbs denoting excess or insufficiency: *padāuginti/pamāžinti* 'add too much/little', *patānkinti* 'make too thick/frequent', *parētinti* 'make too thin', *nuilginti*

'make too long', *patrum̃pinti* 'make too short', and the like. The infinitive can be omitted here, e.g.:

padáuginau/pamāžinau
(*įdėti*) *druskos*

'I added too much/little salt' lit. 'I
exceeded/lessened (to add) salt'

- 2.82** A number of verbs take an infinitive and the dative case of a noun naming the semantic subject of both the head and the infinitive; the latter occupies the position of the nominative case:

Atsibódo mán láukti / laukimas
bored I: DAT wait: INF waiting: NOM
'I got bored with waiting'

Here belong verbs of psychological states, assessment, and the like: *įkyrėti/įgrįsti/įsipýkti/prailgti* 'bore', *rūpėti/magėti* 'worry, be anxious', *knietėti* 'have an urge', *patikti* 'like', *tikti/derėti* 'be suitable', *sėktis* 'go well', *vertėti/apsimokėti* 'be (well) worth', *atsitikti/pasitáikyti* 'happen', *tėkti* 'fall to the lot of', *pavýkti* 'succeed (in), manage', e.g.:

mán rūpėjo dirbti/dárbas 'I (DAT) was anxious to work'
mán patiñka dainúoti/daĩnos 'I like to sing/songs'
jám sėkasi rašýti/rāšymas 'to write/writing goes well with him'
jiems tēko láukti '(it so happened that) they (DAT) had to wait'
mùms pavýko grįžti 'we (DAT) managed to return'

The following verbs are impersonal, they also take the dative case of a noun and an infinitive interchangeable with the genitive case of a noun:

reikia žmōgui pailsėti/póilsio 'a person (DAT) needs to rest/a rest (GEN)'
užtēks táu veřkti lit. 'it is enough for you to cry' ('you have
cried enough, stop it')
kiekvienám nōristi 'everyone (DAT) wants to be joyful/joy
(GEN)'

- 2.83** An 'objective' infinitive occurs with verbs of causation governing either (1) the accusative (*pàkvietė manė ateĩti* 'he invited me (ACC) to come') or (2) the dative case (*lėido mán išeĩti* '(he) allowed me (DAT) to go out') of a noun which names a person to whom the infinitival action is ascribed:

(1) *prašýti* 'ask', *kviesti/vadinti* 'invite', *vilióti/gūndyti* 'allure, tempt', *rāginti* 'encourage, urge', *skātinti* 'induce', *kūrstyti* 'incite, instigate', *drāsinti* 'encourage', *įpareigóti* 'obligate', *priveřsti/prispirti* 'force, compel', *įkalbėti/prikálbinti* 'persuade', *išmókyti* 'teach', (*pri*)*prātinti* 'train', e.g.:

priprātino vaiką ankstėi gulėti '(she) trained the child to go to bed early'

(2) *liēpti* 'tell', *īsakýti* 'order', *lēisti* 'let, allow', *padēti* 'help', *pataŗti* 'advise', *(pa)siūlyti* 'suggest', *(u)ŗdraūsti/uŗginti* 'forbid', e.g.:

<i>liēpē mán atsisēsti</i>	'(he) told me to sit down'
<i>pasiūliau jám nueĩti teŗ</i>	'I suggested that he should go there'
<i>padējau jám atsikēlti</i>	'I helped him stand up'

2.84 The infinitive can be used optionally with verbs denoting motion to express **purpose**. This can also be expressed by the genitive case of a noun, e.g.:

<i>atējome pasikalbēti/pokalbio</i>	'we have come to talk (INF)/for a talk (GEN)'
<i>atsisēdo pailsēti/póilsio</i>	'(he) sat down to rest (INF)/for a rest (GEN)'
<i>ĩssiuntē vaikūs uogáuti/úogu</i>	'(he) sent the children to gather berries (INF)/for berries (GEN)'

If the dependent infinitive is transitive its direct object is expressed in the genitive instead of the accusative:

<i>ĩšvažiávo kēlio taisýti</i>	'(they) went to repair the road (GEN)'
(cf. <i>taisýti kēliq</i>)	('repair the road (ACC)')
<i>atējo draūgo aplankýti</i>	'(he) came to visit his friend (GEN)'
<i>liko namū sáugoti</i>	'(he) stayed to look after the house (GEN)'
<i>siuņtē mergáite vandeņs parņēsti</i>	'(she) sent the girl to fetch water (GEN)'

In sentences of this type a transitive infinitive may be omitted if the genitive of a concrete noun is sufficient to express purpose:

<i>ĩšējo píeno parņēsti</i>	'(he) went to bring milk'
(cf. <i>ĩšējo píeno</i>)	(lit. '(he) went for milk')
<i>ĩssiuntē sūņū dāktaro pakviēsti</i>	'(he) sent his son to get the doctor'
(cf. <i>ĩssiuntē sūņū dāktaro</i>)	(lit. '(he) sent his son for the doctor')

The infinitive of purpose, with the exception of sentences with motion verbs, is mostly combined with the dative case denoting the direct object of the infinitive:

<i>pastātē daŗžineŗ šĩēņui sukráuti</i>	'they built a hay-loft to keep hay' (lit. 'they built a hay-loft for hay (DAT) to keep')
<i>ĩššóvē ųmonēms pagāsdinti</i>	'(he) fired to scare people (DAT)'

The infinitive may be either obligatory (cf. **ĩššóvē ųmonēms* 'he fired for people') or optional, as in:

<i>paŗveŗēm lentū nāmui (apmūŗti)</i>	lit. 'we brought some boards for the house (to cover)'
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The dative case is also used if the semantic subject of the infinitive is the beneficiary of the head verb:

<i>pastūmė kėdę svėčiui atsisėsti</i>	'he moved the chair for the visitor (DAT) to sit down'
<i>daviaū svėdinį vaikams žaisti</i>	lit. 'I gave a ball to the children (DAT) to play'
<i>iškasė griovį vándentui nutekėti</i>	lit. 'they dug a ditch for water (DAT) to flow away'

2.85 The infinitives *válgyti* 'eat', *užkąsti* 'have a snack', *lėsti* 'peck' (of hens), *ėsti* 'eat' (of animals), *gėrti* 'drink', *ląkti* 'lap', *rūkyti* 'smoke', *skaityti* 'read', *siūti* 'sew', *mėgzti* 'knit', *dėvėti* 'wear', *apsivilkti* 'put on', when subordinated to the verbs *nėšti(s)* 'take/carry (for/with oneself)', *at(si)nėšti* 'bring (for oneself)', *vėžtis* 'take/drive for oneself', *pa(si)tīmti* 'take (for oneself)', *duoti* 'give', *nu(si)pirkti* 'buy (for oneself)', *paruošti* 'prepare', are equivalent to the accusative (or genitive) case of a noun as a direct object, cf.:

<i>dāvė mán vólgyti/maīsto</i>	lit. 'she give me to eat/some food (GEN)'
<i>pasīemiau vólgyti/dúonos</i>	lit. 'I took to eat/some bread (GEN)'
<i>išidėjau mėgzti/mėzginį</i>	lit. 'I have put (in my bag) to knit/the knitting (ACC)'

Verb – Participle, Gerund

2.86 The grammatical properties and meaning of a number of verbs permit complementation by a participle, e.g.:

<i>sākėsi</i> say: 3. PAST. REFL 'he said he would come'	<i>atėisias</i> come: FUT. ACT. PART. NOM. MASC
<i>mėgsta</i> like: 3. PRES 'he likes being praised'	<i>pàgiriamas</i> praise: PRES. PASS. PART. NOM. MASC

In a number of cases, the nominative of a participle is interchangeable with an infinitive (a) or with the accusative or genitive of a deverbal noun (b), cf.:

(a) <i>tikisi laimėsiąs/laimėti</i> <i>prašėsi įlėidžiamas/įlėisti</i>	'he hopes to win (FUT. ACT. PART/INF)' 'he asked to be let in (PRES. PASS. PART/INF)'
(b) <i>mėgsta pàgiriamas/ pagyrimūs</i> <i>bijo bāramas/barimo</i>	'he likes being praised (PRES. PASS. PART)/praises (ACC)' 'he fears being scolded (PRES. PASS. PART)/scolding (GEN)'

Verbs of perception can also subordinate a gerund, or a gerundial phrase with the accusative or genitive case of a noun, e.g.:

<i>girdējau griāudžiant</i>	'I heard thundering (PRES. GER)'
<i>mačīaū skreñdant paūkštī</i>	'I saw a bird flying (PRES. GER)'
<i>lāukē mótinos pareñnant</i>	lit. 'he was waiting for mother coming (PRES. GER)'

For a detailed treatment of verbs joined with a participle and gerund see 3.101, II.5.151.

Verb – Adverb

2.87 Adverbs define the action of the head verb with respect to place, time, quality, quantity, and manner.

(1) Adverbs of place:

<i>gyvėnti toli/arti/nuošaliai/šalià</i>	'live far/nearby/apart/near'
<i>līkti namiē</i>	'stay at home'
<i>sliñkti artyn</i>	'move near(er)'
<i>žiūrėti aukštyn</i>	'look upwards'
<i>eiti namō</i>	'go home'

A number of adverbs refer either to location or direction:

<i>gyvėna/atvōjko čià, teñ</i>	'(he) lives/arrived here, there'
<i>niėkur nebūvo/nenuėjo</i>	lit. 'he has been/gone nowhere'
<i>gyvėno/išėjo kituř</i>	'he lived/went elsewhere'

(2) Adverbs of time:

<i>dabař nelýja</i>	'it is not raining now'
<i>vākar lijo</i>	'it rained yesterday'
<i>ankstī atsikėlė, vėlaī atsìgulė</i>	'(he) got up early, went to bed late'
<i>ateina kasdiėn (kàs diėnq)</i>	'(he) comes every day'
<i>negyvėno (čià) niekadà</i>	'(he) never lived (here)'
<i>vaikaī gimė pamečiuī</i>	'the children were born every year'

(3) Adverbs of cause:

<i>kodėl/dėl kō nepasākė?</i>	'why didn't he say?'
<i>kažkodėl neatėjo</i>	'he didn't come for some reason'
<i>todėl/dėl tō/už taī nukentėjo</i>	'therefore/for that reason he suffered'
<i>týčia taip pasākė</i>	'he said so on purpose'

(4) Quantitative adverbs:

<i>daūg skaīto</i>	'he reads much'
<i>mažai vālgo</i>	'he eats little'
<i>ilgaī gyvėno</i>	'he lived long'
<i>padaugėjo dvīgubai/dūkart</i>	'it increased twice' i.e. 'it doubled'
<i>ketūrgubai atlėgino</i>	'(they) remunerated (him) four times (as much)'
<i>labai laukė</i>	lit. 'he waited very (much)'
<i>mirtinaī įkyrėjo</i>	'it bored (sb) to death'

(5) Adverbs of manner:

<i>skaūdziai sudejavo</i>	lit. '(he) groaned painfully'
<i>klausiamai pažvelgė</i>	'(he) glanced inquiringly'
<i>kalba pašnibždōm</i>	'they talk in a whisper'
<i>dirba pakaitōm</i>	'they work by turns'

Adverbs in *-te/-tinai* are used exclusively as intensifiers (see II.6.13):

<i>bėgtė bėga</i>	lit. '(he) runs running' i.e. '(he) runs fast'
<i>gertinaī gėria</i>	lit. '(he) drinks drinking' i.e. '(he) drinks like a fish'

Nominalisations

- 2.88** Many deverbal nouns of action or result (action nominals, *nomina actionis*) retain the syntactic relationships characteristic of the base verbs. Therefore they form word groups with the same dependent constituents, e.g.:

<i>tamsōs baimė</i>	'fear of darkness (GEN)'
(cf. <i>bijōti tamsōs</i>)	('be afraid of darkness (GEN)')
<i>tikėjimas ateitimū</i>	'belief in the future (INSTR)'
(cf. <i>tikėti ateitimū</i>)	('believe in the future (INSTR)')
<i>gyvėnimas miestė</i>	'life in a town (LOC)'
(cf. <i>gyvėnti miestė</i>)	('live in a town (LOC)')
<i>svajōnės apie āteitį</i>	'dreams about the future (Prep + ACC)'
(cf. <i>svajōti apie āteitį</i>)	('dream about the future (Prep + ACC)')
<i>skrydis per Atlāntą</i>	'flight across the Atlantic (Prep + ACC)'
(cf. <i>skristi per Atlāntą</i>)	('fly across the Atlantic (Prep + ACC)')
<i>sustojimas pakeliuī</i>	'a stop(ping) on the way (ADV)'
(cf. <i>sustōti pakeliuī</i>)	('to stop on the way (ADV)')

Deverbal nouns also retain the same relationships with an infinitive of the base verb, e.g.:

<i>pómēgis skaitýti</i>	'liking for reading (INF)'
(cf. <i>mēgti skaitýti</i>)	('like to read')
<i>viltis pasveikti</i>	'the hope to get well'
(cf. <i>viltis pasveikti</i>)	('to hope to get well')
<i>leidimas išēiti</i>	'permission to leave'
(cf. <i>lēisti išēiti</i>)	('allow to leave')

2.89 Deverbal nouns do not combine with the following:

(1) qualitative adverbs with the suffix *-(i)ai*, which are changed into the respective adjective, participle, or pronoun, e.g.:

<i>gražiai mēgzti</i>	'knit beautifully'
(cf. <i>gražūs mezgimas</i>)	('beautiful knitting')
<i>įtikinamai atsakýti</i>	'answer convincingly'
(cf. <i>įtikinamas atsākymas</i>)	('convincing answer')
<i>kitaip supràsti</i>	'understand otherwise'
(cf. <i>kitòks supratimas</i>)	('different (PRON) understanding')

(2) the accusative of measure, which is transformed into the genitive case or some other form, cf.:

<i>dirbti metùs</i>	'work for a year'
– <i>mētų/mētinis dárbas</i>	'the work of a year (GEN/ADJ)'
<i>nueiti kilometrą</i>	'walk a kilometre'
– <i>kilometro ėjimas</i>	'walking a kilometre (GEN)'
<i>sveiti/svérti kilogramą</i>	'weight a kilogram (ACC)'
– <i>kilogramo svōris</i>	lit. 'weight of (equal to) a kilogram (GEN)'

(3) the accusative case of direct object and the nominative case of subject, which are transformed into the genitive case (see 2.102, 103).

B. NOMINAL GROUPS

2.90 A noun can be joined with an adjective (or another adjectival word, viz. a participle, an ordinal numeral, a pronoun), a case form of a noun, a prepositional phrase, an infinitive and, less commonly, a gerund and an adverb.

Subordinated word forms usually express a qualitative characteristic of the noun referent, sometimes a quantitative and, rarely, an adverbial (circumstantial) characteristic.

NOUN – NOUN

Nominal groups with the governed case of a noun are further described according to the latter case form and its meanings.

The genitive case

THE POSSESSIVE GENITIVE

2.91 The possessive relations between the head noun and a genitive premodifier subsume the following instances:

(1) The relation of inalienable possession between part and whole, the genitive case referring to the whole and the head noun to the part:

<i>vaīko rankà</i>	'child's hand'
<i>guībēs spařnas</i>	'swan's wing'
<i>bēržo šakà</i>	'branch of a birch-tree'
<i>tráukinio vagðnai</i>	'carriages of a train'

(2) The relation of alienable possession between possessor denoted by the genitive and property denoted by the head noun:

<i>tēvū sodýba</i>	'parents' farmstead'
<i>valstybės miškas</i>	lit. 'forest of the state'
<i>universitėto bibliotekà</i>	'university library'

(3) Blood and family relationships. The following cases are distinguished here:

(a) both the head noun and the genitive premodifier denote relatives:

<i>mótinos tėvas (senėlis)</i>	'mother's father (grandfather)'
<i>senėlio tėvas (prósenelis)</i>	'grandfather's father (great-grandfather)'
<i>výro brólis (díeveris)</i>	'husband's brother (brother-in-law)'
<i>výro sesuð (móša)</i>	'husband's sister (sister-in-law)'
<i>výro tėvas (šėšuras)</i>	'husband's father (father-in-law)'
<i>seseřs duktė (dukterėčia)</i>	'sister's daughter (niece)'
<i>seseřs sūnùs (sūnėnas)</i>	'sister's son (nephew)'

The head noun often denotes a relative, and the genitive premodifier a person identified otherwise:

<i>mókytojo brólis</i>	'teacher's brother'
<i>karāliaus sūnùs</i>	'king's son'
<i>Pėtro tėvas</i>	'Peter's father'

(b) the head noun denotes an animal with respect to age or gender and the genitive premodifier names the species:

<i>viľko jauniklis (vilkiukas)</i>	'wolf's cub'
<i>várnos vaikas (varniukas)</i>	lit. 'crow's child (young crow)'
<i>ánties pátinas (aňtinas)</i>	lit. 'duck's male (drake)'

(4) A human (animate) possessor can be referred to by the possessive genitive form of personal pronouns (*māno* 'my', *tāvo* 'your (SG)', *sāvo* 'one's own', *mūsū* 'our', *jūsū* 'your', *jū* 'their', *jō* 'his', *jōs* 'her') or the same case form of indefinite pronouns:

<i>māno knygā</i>	'my book'
<i>tāvo tėvai</i>	'your parents'
<i>jū draugystė</i>	'their friendship'
<i>kienō kaltė</i>	'whose fault'
<i>kažkienō žōdis</i>	'someone's word'

THE DESCRIPTIVE GENITIVE

2.92 The genitive premodifier expresses a qualitative characteristic of the head noun referent:

<i>prōto žmogūs</i>	'a man of intellect'
<i>lāimės diėnos</i>	'days of happiness'
<i>užūojautos žōdžiai</i>	lit. 'words of condolences'
<i>tylōs minūtė</i>	'a minute of silence'

The genitive of the subordinated noun is often used with an obligatory limiting modifier:

<i>gėro būdo mōteris</i> (but * <i>būdo mōteris</i>)	lit. 'woman of good nature'
<i>didelio tālento rašytojas</i>	'writer of great talent'
<i>nematyto gražūmo mergūitė</i>	'girl of exceptional beauty'
<i>plačių pečių jaunuōlis</i>	lit. 'a youth of broad shoulders'

THE GENITIVE OF COMPARISON

2.93 The genitive describes the referent of the head noun by implying comparison with respect to (1) the basic characteristic or (2) inalienable possession of the referent of the dependent noun:

(1) <i>sidābro šalnā</i>	lit. 'frost of silver' (i.e. 'frost like silver')
<i>deimanto žvaigždės</i>	'stars of diamond'
<i>aukso žōdžiai</i>	'words of gold'
(2) <i>erėlio nōsis</i>	'the nose of an eagle' (i.e. 'a nose like that of an eagle')
<i>ārklīo sveikatā</i>	'the health of a horse'

<i>šūņš apetītas</i>	'the appetite (like that) of a dog'
<i>vārnos balsas</i>	'the voice (like that) of a crow'

The genitive modifier (especially of abstract nouns) is in its turn often premodified by another genitive case form, e.g.:

<i>pelenū spalvōs plaukaī</i>	lit. 'hair of the colour of ashes'
(cf. <i>pelenū spalvā</i>)	('the colour of ashes')
<i>mōtinōs būdo duktē</i>	lit. 'the daughter of the temper of her mother'
<i>kriāušēs pavīdalo qšōtis</i>	'a pearshaped jug' (lit. 'jug of the shape of a pear')

In poetic speech, nominal groups with the opposite relation of comparison are used: the genitive modifier names the object described, and the head noun refers to the basis of comparison, e.g.:

<i>mēnūlio pjāutuvas</i>	'the sickle of a moon' (i.e. 'the moon like a sickle')
<i>upēlio kāspinas</i>	'the ribbon of the river'
<i>ežerū ākys</i>	'the eyes of the lakes' (i.e. 'lakes like eyes')

THE GENITIVE OF MATERIAL

- 2.94** In this case, the genitive premodifier names the material the referent of the head noun is made of:

<i>āukso žīedas</i>	'gold (GEN) ring'
<i>vāško žvāķē</i>	'wax candle'
<i>kiškio kepūrē</i>	'cap of rabbit (fur)'
<i>āžuolo stālas</i>	'oak table'

The genitive plural has a similar meaning in the following instances:

<i>ēgliu mīškas</i>	'fir forest'
<i>vīšniu sōdas</i>	'cherry orchard'
<i>ruģiū laūkas</i>	'rye field'

THE GENITIVE OF PURPOSE

- 2.95** The genitive premodifier refers to the purpose the referent of the head noun is intended for:

<i>dūonos peīlis</i>	'bread knife' (i.e. 'a knife for cutting bread')
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<i>aktių lašai</i>	'eye drops'
<i>dūonos miltai</i>	'bread flour' (i.e. 'flour for making bread')
<i>grindų lentos</i>	lit. 'floor planks'
<i>kavos puodėlis</i>	'coffee cup'
(cf. <i>puodėlis kavos</i>)	('a cup of coffee')
<i>darbo kambarys</i>	'work room'
<i>rugių metai</i>	lit. 'rye year' (i.e. 'a good year for growing rye')
<i>kviečių žemė</i>	lit. 'wheat soil' (i.e. 'soil suitable for growing wheat')
<i>grįbų laikas</i>	'mushroom season'

THE GENITIVE OF NAME

2.96 The genitive premodifier is the proper name of, or a narrower term for, the referent of the head noun.

(1) The genitive can be the proper name of:

(a) geographical objects, places, countries, administrative units, seas, etc.:

<i>Vilniaus miestas</i> (= <i>Vilnius</i>)	'the City of Vilnius'
<i>Rambyno kalnas</i>	'Mount Rambynas'
<i>Romos imperija</i>	'the Roman Empire'
<i>Trakų pilis</i>	'the castle of Trakai'

(b) institutions, factories, newspapers, magazines, pieces of art, e.g.:

<i>"Lelijos" fabrikas</i> (also <i>"Lelijà"</i> , <i>fabrikas "Lelijà"</i>)	'the factory "Lelija"'
<i>"Mokslo" leidyklà</i>	'"Mokslas" publishing house'
<i>"Mėtų" poemà</i>	'poem "Metai" ("Year")'

(c) holidays (with the nouns *dienà* 'day', *šventė* 'holiday'):

<i>Motinos dienà</i>	'Mother's day'
<i>Visų šventųjų dienà</i>	'All Saints' day'
<i>Velykų šventė</i>	'Easter holiday'

(2) The genitive premodifier denotes a narrower concept, and the head noun a broader concept, e.g.:

(a) <i>plėšrūnų būrys</i>	'order of predators'
<i>banginių pūbūris</i>	'whale suborder'

<i>lėmingų gentis</i>	'lemming genus'
<i>kirstūkų rūšis</i>	'the shrew species'
(b) <i>erškėčių krūmas</i>	'blackthorn bush'
<i>lelijų kėras</i>	lit. 'lily bush'
<i>serbečių krūmas</i>	'currant bush'
(c) <i>saūsis mėnuo</i>	'the month of January'
<i>rýto mėtas</i>	'the time of morning'
	(i.e. 'morning time')
<i>rudeńs laikas</i>	'autumn time'
<i>jaunýstės laikai</i>	lit. 'times of youth'
(d) <i>fizikos mokslas</i>	'the science of physics'
<i>novėlės žánras</i>	'the genre of the short story'
<i>romantizmo srovė</i>	'the trend of romanticism'

THE GENITIVE OF PLACE

- 2.97 The genitive case describes the referent of the head noun relative to the place it names:

<i>mìško paukštis</i>	'forest bird'
<i>miėsto žmogus</i>	'town dweller' (lit. 'man of town')
<i>vandėns lelijà</i>	'water lily'
<i>kalnų upėlis</i>	'mountain stream'
<i>gàtvės žibińtas</i>	'street lamp'
<i>Rytų Lietuvà</i>	'East Lithuania'
<i>Pietų ašigalis</i>	'South Pole'

THE TEMPORAL GENITIVE

- 2.98 The temporal genitive (1) describes the referent of the head noun relative to time or (2) specifies the time denoted by the head noun:

(1) <i>rudeńs gėlė</i>	'autumn flower'
<i>naktiės paukštis</i>	'night bird'
<i>rýto rasà</i>	'morning dew'
<i>vàsaros darbai</i>	'summer work'
<i>senovės dainos</i>	'songs of old times'
(2) <i>pavàsario rýtas</i>	'spring morning'
<i>biržėlio vàkaras</i>	'June evening'
<i>šeštàdienio pòpietė</i>	'Saturday afternoon'

THE QUANTITATIVE GENITIVE

2.99 In this case, the genitive case form, due to its lexical meaning, expresses a quantitative characteristic of the referent of the head noun:

<i>kilogrāmo lydekā</i>	lit. 'a pike of a kilogram' (i.e. 'a pike weighing a kilogram')
<i>kilomētro kāliās</i>	'the way a kilometre long'
<i>minūtes pārtrauka</i>	'a (one) minute interval'
<i>mēnesio viščiūkas</i>	'a month-old chicken'

A complex quantitative modifier may consist of two subsequently subordinated genitives or it may be a nominal group with a numeral; cf. respectively:

(1) <i>mētro ilgjo lentā</i>	lit. 'a plank of (one) metre's length'
(cf. <i>mētro ilgis</i>)	('metre's length')
<i>mētų senūmo vjūnas</i>	lit. 'wine of (one) year's age' (i.e. 'wine a year old')
(2) <i>ketverių mētų (amžiaus) vaikas</i>	'a child of four years (of age)'
<i>dviejų kilogramų (svorio) žuvis</i>	'a fish of two kilograms (of weight)'

THE INTENSIFYING GENITIVE

2.100 The genitive plural case form premodifying the same noun has an intensifying function: it emphasizes either (1) the highest degree with respect to the quality of the referent of a singular noun or (2) the quantity of the referent of a plural noun; cf. respectively:

(1) <i>draugų draugas</i>	'the best of friends' (lit. 'the friend of friends')
<i>giesmių giesmė</i>	'the song of songs'
<i>žvaigždžių žvaigždė</i>	'the brightest of stars'
<i>vařgšų vařgšas</i>	'the poorest of all'
<i>kvailių kvailys</i>	'the stupidest of fools'
(2) <i>minių minios</i>	lit. 'crowds of crowds' (i.e. 'huge crowds')
<i>dienų diēnos</i>	'many, many days'
<i>amžių amžiai</i>	'centuries and centuries'
<i>žiedų žiedai</i>	'lots of blossoms'
<i>kartų kartos</i>	'many generations'

THE GENITIVE OF QUANTIFIED CONTENT

2.101 In this case, the genitive denoting matter or a thing usually modifies nouns denoting:

(1) an indefinite quantity:

<i>daugumā/daugybē žmoniū</i>	'majority/a lot of people'
<i>gausybē/áibē daiktū</i>	'plenty/a lot of things'
<i>daļis/pūse miško</i>	'a part/half of the forest'
<i>ketvīrtis/trēčdaļis turto</i>	'a quarter/a third (part) of the property'
<i>trupūtis pinigū</i>	'a little money'

(2) a unit of quantity:

<i>kilogrāmas sviesto</i>	'a kilo of butter'
<i>lītras piēno</i>	'a litre of milk'
<i>mētras dróbēs</i>	'a metre of linen'
<i>kilomētras kēlio</i>	'a kilometre of the road'
<i>sáuja miltu</i>	'a handful of flour'
<i>gūrksnis vandeņš</i>	'a mouthful of water'
<i>šēno glēbys</i>	'an armful of hay'
<i>gābalas dróbēs</i>	'a piece of linen'

(3) a container or a place:

<i>stiklinē vandeņš</i>	'a glass of water'
<i>lēkštē sriubōs</i>	'a bowl of soup'
<i>maišas miltu</i>	'a sack of flour'
<i>vežīmas šēno</i>	'a cart (load) of hay'
<i>klojīmas šēno</i>	'a barn (full) of hay'
<i>skryniā drōbiu</i>	'a coffer of linen'

The genitive premodifying nouns of this type is often ambiguous: it may refer either to the quantified content (like the postpositive genitive) or to the purpose of the container:

<i>kavōs puodēlis</i>	1. 'a cup (full) of coffee'; 2. 'a cup for drinking coffee'
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The meaning is disambiguated by the context.

(4) a group of things of one kind:

<i>būrjys kareiviu</i>	'a platoon of soldiers'
<i>miniā žmoniū</i>	'a crowd of people'
<i>gaujā vilkū</i>	'a pack of wolves'
<i>spiēčcius biētiu</i>	'a swarm of bees'

krūvā akmenū
pūokštē gēlītū

'a heap of stones'
'a bunch of flowers'

THE OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE GENITIVE

2.102 The objective genitive modifies (de)verbal nouns from:

(1) transitive verbs taking the accusative case of a direct object (transformed into the objective genitive):

<i>obuoliū rāškymas</i>	'the picking of apples'
(cf. <i>raškyti obuolius</i>)	('pick apples')
<i>akiū gýdytojas</i>	'an eye specialist'
(cf. <i>gýdyti akis</i>)	('treat eyes')
<i>nāmo statýba</i>	'the building of a house'
<i>lāpių medžiotklė</i>	'fox hunting'
<i>namū sárgas</i>	'a house watchman'

(2) verbs taking other case forms:

<i>tėvo padėjėjas</i>	lit. 'father's helper'
(cf. <i>padėti tėvui</i>)	('help father: DAT')
<i>tautōs atstōvas</i>	'representative of the nation'
(cf. <i>atstovauti tautai</i>)	('represent a nation: DAT')
<i>rañkų dárbas</i>	lit. 'work of hands' (i.e. 'handiwork')
(cf. <i>dirbti rañkomis</i>)	('work with (one's) hands: INSTR')
<i>Birutės dainà</i>	lit. 'Birutė's song'
(cf. <i>dainuoti apie Birutę</i>)	('sing about Birutė')

2.103 The subjective genitive modifies nouns formed from:

(1) Verbs, e.g.:

<i>paūkščio skrydis</i>	'a bird's flight'
(cf. <i>paūkštis skreñda</i>)	('a bird flies')
<i>upėlio čiurlėnimas</i>	'the babble of a stream'
<i>tėvų sutikimas</i>	'(the) parents' consent'
<i>draūgo atvykimas</i>	'a friend's arrival'

The genitive is thus a transform of the subject of the respective finite verb.

(2) Adjectives, e.g.:

<i>sniėgo baltumas</i>	'the whiteness of snow'
<i>gamtōs grōžis</i>	'the beauty of nature'

In this case the genitive corresponds to the subject of a nominal predicate, cf.:

<i>sniėgas (yra) baltas</i>	'snow is white'
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The dative case (with the infinitive)

2.104 The dative case denotes the purpose for which the head noun is intended:

<i>lašāi akīms</i>	lit. 'drops for eyes'
<i>pōpieriūs laiškāms</i>	'paper for letters'
<i>kraītis dūķterīai</i>	'trousseau for (the) daughter'
<i>lēsalas paūkščīams</i>	'seed for birds'

In this meaning, the genitive of purpose (cf. *akiū lašaī* 'eye drops') is more common (see 2.95). The dative is more frequently used with an infinitive:

<i>iñdas arbātai vīrti</i>	'a kettle for making tea' (lit. 'for tea to make')
<i>sklūpas nāmui statyti</i>	'a plot for building a house' (see 2.84)

With some nouns, the infinitive alone is used to signify purpose:

<i>vietā sēdēti</i>	'a place for sitting' (lit. 'to sit')
<i>vanduō atsigērti</i>	'water for quenching the thirst' (lit. 'to drink')
<i>siūlai mēgzti</i>	'yarn for knitting'
<i>laīkas žydēti</i>	'the time for blossoming'
<i>prōga susitīkti</i>	'an occasion for meeting'

The instrumental case

2.105 The instrumental case of a noun with an obligatory modifier is used to denote an exterior feature of the head noun referent; the modifier can be expressed by:

(1) an adjective, a participle, or a numeral which agrees with its head in case:

<i>mergāitē geltonomīs kasomīs</i>	'a girl with blond plaits'
<i>paūkštis lenktū snapū</i>	'a bird with a crooked beak'
<i>šākēs trimīs piřštāis</i>	'a pitchfork with three prongs'

(2) the genitive case of a noun:

<i>žīedas deīmanto akimī</i>	'a ring with a diamond' (lit. 'with a diamond eye')
<i>vaīkas sēnio vėīdu</i>	'a child with an old man's face'
<i>vyriškis kārīo unīforma</i>	'a man in a soldier's uniform'

(3) with two (or more) sequentially subordinated genitives:

<i>paūkštis ryškīū spalvū plūnksnomīs</i>	lit. 'a bird with feathers of brilliant colours'
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*karalāitē mēnesio spalvās
rūbais*

lit. 'a princess with clothes of the colour
of the moon'

*mēdis diviejū mētru ilgio
šaknīmīs*

lit. 'a tree with roots of the length of two
metres'

(4) the adjective *panašūs* 'similar' governing a prepositional phrase *ī* + ACC:

āugalas panašiaīs ī kārdā lāpais

'a plant with leaves like swords'

The locative case

2.106 The locative case of concrete nouns subordinated to concrete (rarely abstract) nouns denotes the place of the referent of the head noun:

ēžeras miškē

'a lake in the woods'

āšaros akysē

'tears in (sb's) eyes'

āudra jūroje

'a storm in the sea'

The accusative case

2.107 The accusative case of temporal nouns describes the referent of the head noun relative to time:

miēstas nāktī

'the town at night'

ēžeras žiēmā

'the lake in winter'

mokyklā rugsėjo mėnesī

'a school in the month of September'

Appositive groups

2.108 Here belong nominal groups consisting of two nouns termed appositives which are typically identical in form and in reference (or else the reference of one is included in the reference of the other):

kaimynas Pētras

'the neighbour Peter'

upė Nėmunas

'the river Nemunas'

Apposition can be full or partial. In the case of partial apposition one of the appositives is clearly the head, and the other is the modifier termed apposition (*mokytojas Petrāitis* 'the teacher Petraitis', *žodis laisvė* 'the word freedom'). In full apposition, both nouns are semantically of (more or less) equal importance and it is not obvious which of the appositives is the head noun.

In an appositive group, both nouns are not always coordinated in case, number, and in gender.

(1) The appositives may not be coordinated in case in the following instances:

(a) in addresses, the polite 'title' *põnas* 'Mister' commonly retains its nominative case form if the head is in the vocative case, though the vocative is also used:

<i>põnas/põne Juozáiti!</i>	'Mister (NOM/VOC) Juozaitis (VOC)!'
<i>põnas/põne Prezideñte!</i>	'Mister (NOM/VOC) President (VOC)!'

(b) titles of publications, names of organizations, institutions, etc., comprised of two or more words, in Standard Lithuanian retain the nominative case form if the head noun is used in a different case:

<i>Prenumerúoju žurnāla</i>	'I subscribe to the magazine (ACC)
<i>"Kultūros barai".</i>	"Kultūros barai" (NOM).'

In informal speech, however, the genitive case of a modifier is preferable:

Prenumerúoju "Kultūros barų" (GEN) žurnāla (ACC) (cf. 2.96);

(c) invariable nouns cannot agree in case with the head noun:

<i>(grįžome) iš Tártu mižsto</i>	lit. '(we returned) from Tartu town (GEN)'
<i>álfa dalēlēs</i>	'alpha particles'

(2) The appositives may not agree in number:

(a) if one of the appositives is invariable for number (it is either singular or plural only):

<i>(miestēlio) vařdas Taurāgnai</i>	'(the town's) name (SG) Tauragnai (PL)'
<i>lięa raupaĩ</i>	'the disease (SG) smallpox (PL)'

(b) if two or more appositives are subordinated to the same plural head noun:

<i>žōdžiai láisvė ir lygybė</i>	'the words freedom and equality'
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(3) The appositives do not agree in gender if both are invariable with regard to it:

<i>vabzdys bitė</i>	lit. 'the insect (MASC) bee (FEM)'
<i>sōstinė Vilnius</i>	lit. 'the capital (FEM) Vilnius (MASC)'

If an appositive is neutral with respect to gender it combines with nouns of both genders:

<i>padáuža sūnūs/duktė</i>	'scapegrace son (MASC)/daughter (FEM)'
<i>akìplėša mokinys/mokinė</i>	'cheeky (NOUN: COMMON) pupil (MASC/FEM)'

In the case of nouns with gender contrast (*substantiva mobilia*), coordination in gender is obligatory; cf.:

<i>poëtas Mairónis</i>	'the poet Maironis (MASC)'
– <i>poëtė Salomėja Nėris</i>	'the poetess Salomėja Nėris (FEM)'
<i>diėvas Perkūnas</i>	'the god Perkūnas (MASC)'
– <i>deivė Milda</i>	'the goddess Milda (FEM)'

2.109 In the case of **partial apposition** subordinated appositives occur most frequently with proper personal names:

<i>mókytojas Jonáittis</i>	'the teacher Jonaitis'
<i>karálius Mindaugas</i>	'king Mindaugas'
<i>Sigūtė našlaitėlė</i>	'Sigutė (the little) orphan'

also with human nouns in general:

<i>kaimiētės móterys</i>	lit. 'villagers (FEM) women'
<i>bróliai dvyniaĩ</i>	'twin brothers ' (lit. 'brothers twins')
<i>pāmotė rāgana</i>	'stepmother (the) witch'
<i>sūnūs palaidūnas</i>	'the son debauchee'

sometimes also with animate and concrete nouns:

<i>šárka vagilė</i>	'magpie (the) pilferer'
<i>sáulė močiūtė</i>	lit. 'the sun mother'

In official style, in order to achieve precision, appositive collocations like *ùpė Nėmunas* 'the river Nemunas', *ėžeras Sartai* 'lake Sartai', are used, with proper nouns in apposition, though otherwise the genitive case is more common: *Nėmuno ùpė* 'the river (NOM) of Nemunas (GEN)'.

2.110 **Full apposition** is realised by clusters of two juxtaposed nouns collectively referring to a single (often semantically complex) notion. Here belong:

(1) pairs of hyponyms, usually jointly synonymous to the respective hyperonym:

<i>tėvas móтина (tėvaĩ)</i>	'father and mother (parents)'
<i>bróliai sėserys (brolijà)</i>	'brothers and sisters'
<i>výrai móterys</i>	'men and women'
<i>rañkos kójos</i>	'arms and legs'
<i>žiemà vāsara</i>	'winter and summer' (i.e. 'the year round')
<i>dienà naktis</i>	'day and night' (i.e. 'all the time, round the clock')

(2) pairs of synonyms, e.g.:

<i>laūmė rāgana</i>	lit. 'witch sorceress'
<i>vargaĩ bėdos</i>	lit. 'worries troubles'

kēlias viēškelis
kaļbos šnēkos

lit. 'road highroad'
lit. 'talk chat'

They are used for emphasis, as well as those of the following groups:

(3) two nouns of the same stem, the second noun usually with a diminutive suffix:

keltaī kelēliai
kalnaī kalnēliai
žōdžiai žōdēliai

lit. 'roads little-roads'
'hills'
'words'

All these clusters are stylistically marked. They are common in folklore, dialectal speech and in fiction; e.g.:

Skrīščiau pas mergēlē
rýtas vakarēlis.

'I'd go rushing to my girl
morning and evening.'

Tarp kalnū tyvuliāvo
ežeraī ežeriūkai.

'Among the hills there stretched
countless lakes.'

NOUN – PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

2.111 Prepositional phrases used to modify a noun express a variety of meanings.

(1) *iš/nuō* + GEN denotes the origin, source, material or composition of the head noun referent, e.g.:

(a) *žmogūs iš miēsto*
giminē iš tėvo pūsēs

'a man from the city'
lit. 'relatives from (the) father's side (of the family)'

komīcija iš trijų žmoniū

'a committee of three persons'

(b) *sūnūs nuo pirmo vjro*

'the son by the first marriage (lit. 'husband')'

laiškas nuo tėvū

'a letter from (one's) parents'

(2) the following prepositional phrases denote:

(a) the purpose for which the referent of the head noun is intended:

nuō + GEN:

váistai nuo galvōs skaūsma
žōlēs nuo kōsulio

'remedy for a headache'
'herbs for a cough'

ī + ACC:

bīlietas į teātrą
stráipsnis į laikrašti

'a ticket to the theatre'
'an article for a newspaper'

priē + GEN (rare):

sausāiniai prie alaūs 'biscuits for beer (to go with beer)'

(b) the purpose for which the head noun referent has been used, is expressed by *nuō* + GEN (often interchangeably with the preposed genitive without a preposition), cf.:

buteliūkas nuo vāistų/
vāistų buteliūkas 'a medicine phial'

statinė nuo siškių/
siškių statinė 'a herring barrel'

(3) The phrase *sū* + INSTR has a comitative meaning and thus refers to an attendant entity or possession. The noun in the instrumental case names the following:

(a) an object or a person of the same class as the head noun:

mótina su vaikaīs lit. 'mother with the children'
stālas su kėdėmīs 'a table and (lit. 'with') chairs'
sāulė su mėnuliū 'the sun and the moon'
žėmė su dangumi 'the earth and the sky'

These groups are close in meaning to coordinated groups with the conjunction *iř* 'and':

mótina su vaikaīs = mótina ir vaikaī 'mother and the children';

(b) the entity habitually associated with the head noun referent:

sėnis su lazda 'an old man with a cane'
pyrāgas su vārške 'a cake with cottage cheese'
(cf. *varškės pyrāgas*) ('a cottage cheese (GEN) cake')
dūona su sviestu 'bread and (lit. 'with') butter'

(c) a part or a feature of the head noun referent:

mergaitė su kasomīs 'a girl with plaits'
puodėlis su gėlytėmīs 'a cup with flowers (on it)'
vaīkas su kepurė 'a child in (lit. 'with') a cap'
žmogūs su charākeriu 'a man of (lit. 'with') character'

Sometimes, the preposition can be omitted, e.g.:

kiřvis (su) ilgu kótu 'an axe with a long handle' (see 2.104)

(d) the content of a place or thing denoted by the head noun:

vežimas su šienū 'a cart (loaded) with hay'
pintinė su uogomis 'a basket with berries'

These prepositional phrases are often close in meaning to the postpositive genitive:

<i>puodēlis su pienu</i>	'a cup of (lit. 'with') milk'
– <i>puodēlis piēno</i>	'a cup of milk' (see 2.101, 3).

(4) The phrase *bē* + GEN denotes lack or absence of the noun referent; the noun in the genitive case refers to the following:

(a) an object or person(s) usually associated with the head noun referent, e.g.:

<i>vaikaī be tēvū</i>	'children without parents'
<i>mókytojas be mokiniū</i>	'teacher without pupils'
<i>laīvas be kapitāno</i>	'a ship without a captain'

(b) a part or a feature of the head noun referent, e.g.:

<i>paūkštis be spařno</i>	'a bird without a wing'
<i>nāmas be stōgo</i>	'a house without a roof'
<i>žmogūs be vālios</i>	'a man without character'
<i>žolē be kvāpo</i>	'grass without a smell'
<i>naktis be žvaigždziū</i>	'a night without stars'

(c) the quantity the head noun referent is short of:

<i>mētai be mēnesio</i>	'almost a year' (lit. 'a year without a month')
<i>mēnuo be dviejū dienū</i>	'a month minus (lit. 'without') two days'
<i>mētras be dešimtiēs centimētru</i>	'ninety centimetres' (lit. 'a metre without ten centimetres')

(5) The following prepositional phrases indicate the size or limit of the head noun referent:

iki/ligi + GEN:

<i>kāsos iki liemeņš</i>	lit. 'plaits (reaching down) to the waist'
<i>spīnta iki lubū</i>	'a wardrobe up to the ceiling'
<i>pūsnys iki langū</i>	'snowbank up to the windows'

virš(uņ)/aukščiaū, žemiaū + GEN:

<i>suknēlē virš(uņ)/aukščiaū kēliu</i>	'a gown / above the knees'
<i>kalnaī virš(uņ) debesū</i>	'mountains higher than clouds'
<i>rankóvès žemiaū alkūniū</i>	'sleeves longer (lit. 'lower') than elbows'
<i>pāltas žemiaū kēliu</i>	'a coat (reaching) below the knees'
cf. also: <i>pāltas pusiāu blauzdū</i>	lit. 'a coat (reaching) to midcalf'

sulig + INSTR:

sijõnas sulig kēliais

'a skirt up to the knees'

mēdis sulig namù

'a tree as tall as the house'

(6) The phrase *pagaĩ* + ACC denotes the standard to which the head noun referent corresponds:

drabùžiai pagaĩ mādą

lit. 'clothes according to fashion'

vāsara pagaĩ žiēmą

lit. 'summer according to (i.e. like) winter'

(7) The phrase *apie* + ACC is used to refer to the content of the head noun referent:

stráipsnis apie žolės

'an article about herbs'

žodžiai apie draugùs

'words about friends'

(8) The phrase *prie* + GEN, when modifying nouns referring to institutions, indicates subordination of one social body or institution to another:

komìsija prie Seĩmo

'a committee at the Parliament'

This phrase belongs to official style.

2.112 When modifying a noun, prepositional phrases sometimes may have adverbial meaning and denote:

(1) **place**, e.g.:

pilis ant káлно

'a castle on the hill'

béržas prie kēlio

'a birch-tree by the road'

kēlias į káлно

'path up the hill'

tiltas per ùpę

'a bridge across the river'

akmuõ po slenkščiu

'a stone under the doorstep'

(2) **time**, e.g.:

Vilnius prieš áudrą

'Vilnius before a storm'

miēstas po gaisro

'a town after a fire'

NOUN – ADVERB, GERUND

2.113 Nouns rarely subordinate (1) adverbs and (2) gerunds, which usually have adverbial meanings, cf. respectively:

(1) *kēlias atgaĩ*

'the way back'

žiņgsnis pirmỹn

'a step forward' (locative meaning)

(2) *miēstas áuštant*

'the town at dawn' (lit. 'dawning')
(temporal meaning)

NOUN – ADJECTIVE

2.114 Adjectival words are joined to nouns by way of agreement in gender, number, and case. Their combinability is subject to lexical restrictions only. The following classes of adjectival words modify a noun.

(1) Adjectives, simple and definite, e.g.:

<i>gražūs rýtas</i>	‘a fine morning’
<i>medinis nāmas</i>	‘a wooden house’
<i>baltà/baltóji lelijà</i>	‘a white/the white lily’
<i>ilgèsnè dienà</i>	‘a longer day’

(2) Active and passive participles, both present, past and future, e.g.:

<i>spiñdinčios ākys</i>	‘shining eyes’
<i>išbāļes véidas</i>	‘a pale face’ (lit. ‘a whitened face’)
<i>ateisianti vāsara</i>	‘the summer that will come (FUT. ACT. PART)’
<i>neišsiųstas láiškas</i>	‘unmailed letter’
<i>būsimos kařtos</i>	‘future (FUT. PASS. PART) generations’

(3) Adjectival pronouns of all semantic types; e.g.:

<i>šis mižstas</i>	‘this town’
<i>tóks gróžis</i>	‘such beauty’
<i>kai kuriē augalai</i>	‘some plants’
<i>vīsas pasáulis</i>	‘all the world’
<i>patì viršūkalnè</i>	‘the very mountain-top’

(4) Ordinal numerals, which agree with the head noun like adjectives, e.g.:

<i>antrà dienà</i>	‘the second day’
<i>aštuonioliktieji mētai</i>	‘the eighteenth year’

Cardinal numerals from one to nine are used with the plural number of the head noun (excepting *vīenas*, -à ‘one’), with agreement in gender (except *trīs* ‘three’) and case; e.g.:

<i>dū bróliai, dvì sēserys</i>	‘two brothers, two sisters’
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(but *trīs bróliai, sēserys* ‘three brothers, sisters’)

<i>peñkios saváitės</i>	‘five weeks (FEM)’
<i>penkì mėnesiai</i>	‘five months (MASC)’
<i>trėjos dūrys</i>	‘three doors (FEM)’

C. ADJECTIVAL GROUPS

ADJECTIVE – NOUN

Adjectives can govern all noun cases except the nominative.

The genitive case

2.115 (1) The genitive case specifies the meaning of the adjective denoting its content, e.g.:

<i>pilnas/kūpinas/sklīdīnas vandeņs</i>	'full of water'
<i>turīngas pinigū</i>	'rich in money'
<i>veftas pagarbōs</i>	'worthy of respect'
<i>reikalīngas paramōs</i>	'needful of support'
<i>godūs tuftu</i>	'greedy for riches'
<i>skolīngas pinigū</i>	'owing money'

The meaning of content is also expressed by the genitive after the neuter adjectives used predicatively:

<i>māža pinigū</i>	'(there is) little money'
<i>ilga dienōs</i>	lit. '(it is) long of the day' (i.e. 'the day is (too) long')
<i>truṃpa naktiēs</i>	lit. '(it is) short of night' ('the night is (too) short')
<i>siaūra viētos</i>	lit. '(it is too) narrow of space'
<i>baisū kāro</i>	'(one is) afraid of war'
<i>ilgū tēvynēs</i>	'(one is) homesick for the native country'

The masculine and feminine gender of these adjectives do not usually govern the genitive case.

(2) The superlative degree of adjectives governs the genitive case of the adjectival pronoun *visas* 'all' (alone or with a noun it modifies) which serves as an intensifier, e.g.:

<i>visū gražiāusia</i>	'the most beautiful (FEM) of all'
<i>visū aukščiāusias (kālnas)</i>	'the highest (mountain) of all'

The preposition *iš* can be used with the genitive:

<i>iš visū gražiāusia</i>	'the most beautiful of all' (see 2.119, 1)
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(3) An adjective can take the genitive of the noun derived from it, to emphasize the truth of the statement, usually in adversative statements:

*Gerūmo jis gēras, bet
negudrūs.*

'He is really good (lit. 'of goodness he is good'), but not clever.'

*Jis gražūmo tai gražūs, bet
nedōras.*

'He is really handsome, but dishonest.'

The dative case

2.116 When governed by an adjective, the dative case of object refers to the thing for which the quality named by the adjective is intended or suitable or manifests itself, e.g.:

gabūs mūzikai

'gifted for music'

kenksmingas žiedams

'harmful to flowers'

pavojingas sveikātai

'dangerous to the health'

atsparūs ugniai

'fire resistant'

priešingas prigimčiai

'contrary to nature'

reikalingas/naudingas augalams

'necessary/useful to plants'

The dative of human nouns (and personal pronouns) used with a predicative neuter adjective of state names the experiencer of the latter state:

gēra jauniems

lit. '(it is) good to the young' ('the young feel good')

liņksma berniūkui

lit. '(it is) merry to the boy' (i.e. 'the boy is (feeling) merry')

sunkū visiems

'(it is) hard for everyone'

ilgū mán

lit. '(it is) homesick to me' ('I feel homesick')

The instrumental case

2.117 (1) The instrumental case denotes the cause, or source, or basis of comparison, or content of the quality named by the adjective, e.g.:

gývas maldomìs

'alive due to prayers'

garsūs/žīnomas darbaīs

'famous/known for deeds'

īdomūs (sàvo) praeitimì

'interesting for (its) past'

(2) When governed by an adjective with the suffix *-in(as)* formed from a transitive verb implying motion, the instrumental case names a comitative object, the

adjectival group functioning as a modifier of manner of an intransitive verb of motion, e.g.:

išėjo kibiru nėšinas '(he) went out with a bucket'

(cf.: *išėjo nėšdamas kibirą*)

išvėjo vėžinas sūnumi 'he left taking his son with him'

(3) The instrumental case used with the comparative degree of adjectives denotes:

(a) the feature (of an entity) subjected to comparison, e.g.:

sesuõ vėidu skaitèsnė už bairą

lit. 'sister (NOM) by face (INSTR) fresher than a wave' (i.e. 'sister's face is fresher than a wave')

(b) the difference in quantity:

metrù/dviēm mètrais platèsnis

'a metre/two metres broader'

mėtais/triñ mėtais jaunèsnis

'a year/three years younger'

(c) The instrumental case of temporal nouns (usually with an obligatory modifier) indicates the time when the property denoted by the head adjective is manifested, e.g.:

garsùs taìs laikais

'famous in those days'

žinomas vidùramžiais

'(well-)known during the Middle Ages'

The accusative case

2.118 (1) The accusative case of object can be used with very few adjectives, e.g.:

(jis) *skolingas šimtą litų*

'(he) owes a hundred litas'

kaìtas kaimýnui batùs

'(he) owes (lit. 'guilty') shoes to his neighbour'

(2) The comparative degree of adjectives governs (a) the accusative of the nouns *kaìtas/sýkis* 'time' (as in *dù kartùs* 'two times') with a numeral or with the adjectival pronoun *keli* 'several' as attribute, or (b) the accusative of cardinal numerals (*dėšimt* 'ten', *šimtas* 'hundred') and nominal pronouns *kėletas*, *keliólika* 'several' with the governed genitive of *kaìtas/sýkis*; cf. respectively:

(a) *dù (tris ... devýnis)*

'two (three ... nine) (ACC) times

kartùs didèsnis

(ACC) as big' (lit. 'bigger')

keliis syktùs greitèsnis

'several times as fast'

(b) *šimtą kaìtų brangèsnis*

'hundred (ACC) times (GEN) more expensive'

kėletą/keliólika sýkių didèsnis

'several (ACC) times (GEN) bigger'

(3) The accusative case of temporal nouns (rare with adjectives) indicates the time when the quality named by the head adjective manifests itself, e.g.:

<i>žalias vāsara</i>	‘green in summer’
<i>paklusnūs visą laiką</i>	‘obedient all the time’

The locative case

2.119 The locative case of nouns denoting or implying place indicates the space where the quality named by the head adjective is manifested:

<i>garsūs apylinkėje</i>	‘famous in the area’
<i>žinomas kátme</i>	‘(well-)known in the village’
<i>didžiáusias pasáulyje</i>	‘the biggest in the world’
<i>turtingiáusias miestè</i>	‘the richest in town’

The accusative case of temporal nouns and nouns denoting processes indicates the time the quality named by the head adjective manifests itself, e.g.:

<i>garsūs senóvėje</i>	‘famous in the old times’
<i>narsūs mūšyje</i>	‘courageous in battle’
<i>sumanūs darbè</i>	‘clever in work’

ADJECTIVE – PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

Adjectives, when used predicatively, govern a number of prepositional phrases.

2.120 The phrase *iš* + GEN is used:

(1) with the superlative (less commonly, comparative) degree of adjectives to denote the whole or class from which an entity is singled out, e.g.:

<i>Vienà žvaigždė iš visų šviesiáusia.</i>	‘One star is brightest of all.’
<i>Šità mergáitė iš visų gražiáusia.</i>	‘This girl is the prettiest of all.’

In this phrase, the genitive singular form of collective nouns is also used:

<i>Iš (viso) būrio jis buvo tinkamiáusias.</i>	‘Out of the (whole) group he was the most suitable.’
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(2) with the positive degree of some adjectives to denote the part or property of entity described by the head adjective, e.g.:

<i>mergáitė graži iš véido</i>	lit. ‘girl (is) pretty of the face’
(cf. <i>mergáitė gražaūs véido</i>)	(lit. ‘the girl (is) of a pretty face (GEN)’)
<i>žmogùs protingas iš kalbõs</i>	lit. ‘the man (is) clever of speech’

2.121 The prepositional phrase *už* + ACC is used:

(1) with the positive degree of some adjectives to denote cause or motive, e.g.:

dėkingas už pagalbą 'grateful for the help'
skolingas už darbą 'indebted for the work'

(2) with the comparative degree of adjectives to denote the basis of comparison:

sunkėsnis už akmenį 'heavier than stone'
baltėsnis už sniegą 'whiter than snow'

This prepositional phrase containing the accusative plural case of the pronoun *visas*, -à (alone or with a head noun) is synonymous with *iš* + GEN (cf. 2.120, 1):

Šitą mergaitę už visàs gražėsnė. 'This girl is prettier than all.'

2.122 The prepositional phrase *prieš* + ACC occasionally denotes an object with which the subject is compared, e.g.:

Sūnūs prieš tėvą negražūs. 'The son is not handsome in comparison with (lit. 'against') the father.'

2.123 The prepositional phrase *pagal* + ACC denotes the basis of comparison, e.g.:

Šįmet dešlius pagal 'The harvest this year is poor in
kitūs metų prāstas. comparison with the last year.'
Pagal amžių jis ganà gudrūs. 'He is quite clever for his age.'

2.124 The prepositional phrase *su* + INSTR is used:

(1) after adjectives denoting human properties to refer to persons (sometimes things), e.g.:

kuklūs su vyresniais 'modest with elder (people)'
mandagūs su visais 'polite to everybody'

(2) after the adjectives *lygus* 'equal', *giminiųškas* 'kindred, related', *tapatūs* 'identical', *panašūs* 'alike, similar' e.g.:

lygus su visais 'equal to everybody'
brōlis su sėseria panašūs 'brother and (lit. 'with') sister are alike'
 (but: *brōlis panašūs į sėserį*) ('the brother looks like sister (ACC)')

2.125 The prepositional phrase *bė* + GEN combines with neuter adjectives (used predicatively) to denote a thing whose absence or lack causes the state expressed by the head adjective:

ilgū be tėvynės 'one is homesick (lit. 'it is homesick')
 without one's homeland'

baugù be šuñs 'it is scary without a dog'
sunkù be namū 'it is hard (for one) without (one's) home'

2.126 The following prepositional phrases are rare in adjectival word groups:

añt + GEN:

piktas ant žmoniū 'angry with people'
 (cf. *pỹkti ant žmoniū*) ('be angry with people')

nuõ + GEN:

laĩsvas nuo dárbo 'free from work'

2.127 Prepositional phrases are occasionally used with adjectives to express the same adverbial meanings as with verbs, e.g.:

reikalĩngas prie namū 'necessary at home'
 (cf. *jõ reikia prie namū*) ('he is needed at home')
ištikimas iki mirties 'faithful unto death'
 (cf. *tarnáuti iki mirties*) ('serve until death')
ráišas nuo káro 'lame since the war'
siĩpnas po ligõs 'weak after an illness'
júodas iš pỹkçto 'black with anger'
kaĩtas dėl nelátmès 'guilty of the accident'
be gálo laimĩngas 'extremely happy' (lit. 'without end happy')

ADJECTIVE – PRONOUN

2.128 Qualitative adjectives can be modified by the adjectival pronouns *tóks*, *-ià* (*pat*) 'such', *kóks*, *-ià* 'what', *šitoks*, *-ia* 'such', etc. which assume the same gender, number and case. These pronouns are used for emphasis; cf.:

tóks nelaimĩngas 'so unhappy'
kóks gražùs 'how beautiful'
šitoks tólimas (kėlias) 'such (a) long (way)'

They are also used in comparative sentences, e.g.:

Jis tóks báltas kaip obelis. 'He is as white as an apple-tree.'
Vaikaĩ tokie pat gražùs kaip ir tėvaĩ. 'The children are as handsome as their parents.'

ADJECTIVE – ADVERB

2.129 Adjectives can be modified by adverbs. The following instances can be distinguished.

(1) Most commonly, the modifying adverb is an intensifier, the very frequent one being *labai* 'very', e.g.:

<i>labai gēras</i>	'very good'
<i>per daūg brangūs</i>	'too expensive'
<i>vīsiškai naujas</i>	'quite new'
<i>ypatingai svarbūs</i>	'especially important'
<i>nepaprastaī gražūs</i>	'exceptionally beautiful'

(2) The modifying adverb can specify the quality of the head adjective, e.g.:

<i>šviēšiai/tañšiai pilkas</i>	'light/dark grey'
<i>žalsvai mėšvas</i>	'greenish blue'
<i>saldžiaī rūgštūs</i>	'sweetly sour'
<i>savaīp įdomūs</i>	'interesting in its own way'

(3) Numerous adverbs denote quantity or difference in quantity (with the comparative degree of adjectives), e.g.:

(a) <i>trupūti keīstas</i>	'a little queer'
<i>šiektiek kreīvas</i>	'somewhat curved'
(b) <i>daūg/gerōkai šviesēsnis</i>	'much/considerably lighter (in colour)'
<i>kur kās sunkēsnis</i>	'a lot heavier'
<i>dvīgubai brangēsnis</i>	'twice as (lit. 'more') expensive'
<i>perpūs mažēsnis</i>	'smaller by half'

(4) Adjectives (especially neuter) are sometimes modified by adverbs of place and time, e.g.:

<i>visuŗ bālta</i>	'(it is) white everywhere'
<i>aplīņkui tamsū</i>	'(it is) dark around'
<i>visadā kārštas</i>	'always hot'
<i>šiañdien pigūs</i>	'cheap today'

ADJECTIVE – INFINITIVE

2.130 Some adjectives can be modified by a postposed infinitive which may denote the following.

(1) The property named by the head adjective, which can also take the genitive case instead of the infinitive, e.g.:

<i>veřtas pagirti/pagyřimo</i>	'worthy of praise (INF/GEN)'
<i>godūs gērti/pinigū</i>	lit. 'greedy to drink/for money (GEN)'
<i>reikalingas pareñti/paramōs</i>	'in need of support (INF/GEN)'

Neuter adjectives used predicatively also take an infinitive (though not the genitive case), e.g.:

<i>sunkù gyvénti</i>	'(it is) hard to live'
<i>nuobodù láukti</i>	'(it is) boring to wait'
<i>liñksma šòkti</i>	lit. '(it is) merry to dance'

(2) The purpose or suitability of the property the head adjective denotes, e.g.:

<i>báltas pažtārėti</i>	lit. 'white to look at'
<i>(arklỹs) gėras árti</i>	lit. '(the horse) good to plough'
<i>(mèsà)kietà pjáustyti</i>	'(meat) tough to cut'
<i>(sniėgas) minkštas pačiupinėti</i>	'(snow) soft to touch'

An infinitive denoting purpose can co-occur with the dative case (cf. 2.84), e.g.:

<i>(dienà) gerà šiėnui džiovinti</i>	lit. '(a day) good for the hay (DAT) to dry'
<i>(suolėlis) patogùs kójoms</i>	lit. '(a stool) convenient for the feet <i>pasidėti</i> (DAT) to put on'

ADJECTIVAL NOMINALISATIONS

2.131 Nouns derived from the following adjectives retain their combinability properties; e.g.:

<i>tuřto godulỹs</i> (cf. <i>godùs tuřto</i>)	'greed for money (GEN)' '(greedy for money)'
<i>gabùmai mùzikai</i> (cf. <i>gabùs mùzikai</i>)	'talent for music' (lit. 'talented for music')
<i>piktùmas ant kaimýnu</i> (cf. <i>piktas ant kaimýnu</i>)	'anger with neighbours (Prep + GEN)' '(angry with neighbours)'
<i>dėkingùmas už pāramą</i> (cf. <i>dėkingas už pāramą</i>)	'gratitude for support' '(grateful for support)'
<i>lipšnùmas su žmonėmìs</i> (cf. <i>lipšnùs su žmonėmìs</i>)	lit. 'sweetness with people' '(sweet with people)'
<i>malonùmas keliáuti</i> (cf. <i>malonù keliáuti</i>)	'the pleasure of travelling' '(it is) pleasant to travel'

D. NUMERAL GROUPS

The cardinal numerals, and (less commonly) ordinal numerals are joined with the genitive or a prepositional phrase.

NUMERAL – GENITIVE CASE

2.132 The genitive case (plural) of a noun (or its substitute) is governed by the following numerals:

(1) basic cardinal numerals *dėšimt(is)* 'ten', *vienúolika* 'eleven' ... *dvidešimt* 'twenty', *trisdešimt* 'thirty' ... *devýniasdešimt* 'ninety', *šimtas* 'hundred', *tūkstantis* 'thousand', *milijonas* 'million', *milijárdas* 'billion'; e.g.:

<i>dėšimt dienų/tūkstančių</i>	'ten days/thousand (GEN. PL)'
<i>šimtas litų/milijonų</i>	'(one) hundred litas/million (GEN. PL)'

(2) the collective numerals (marked by the suffix *-et(as)*) *dvėjetas* 'two', *trėjetas* 'three' ... *devýnetas* 'nine', e.g.:

<i>kėtvertas vaikų/šimtų</i>	'four children/hundred (GEN. PL)'
(cf. <i>keturi vaikai</i>)	'four children (NOM. PL)'
<i>septynetas žirgų/tūkstančių</i>	'seven horses/thousand'
(cf. <i>septyni žirgai/tūkstančiai</i>)	'seven horses/thousand (NOM. PL)'

2.133 When used in the plural number, the numerals *dėšimtys* 'tens', *šimtai* 'hundreds', *tūkstančiai* 'thousands', *milijonai* 'millions', *milijárdai* 'billions' denote an indefinitely great quantity of the entities in the dependent genitive plural:

<i>šimtai keleivių/tūkstančių</i>	'hundreds of passengers/thousands'
<i>dėšimtys kilometrų/milijonų</i>	'tens of kilometres/millions'

The meaning of an indefinitely great quantity is also rendered by the word groups *šimtų šimtai* 'hundreds upon hundreds' (lit. 'hundreds of hundreds'), *tūkstančių tūkstančiai* 'thousands upon thousands' (lit. 'thousands of thousands') and the like. In these phrases the genitive is preposed to the head numeral and serves as an intensifier (cf. noun groups like *mintų minios* lit. 'crowds of crowds', see 2.100).

2.134 Composite fractional numerals formed from the root *pus-* (= *pùsė* 'half') and an ordinal numeral are used in the genitive case and take another genitive, e.g.:

<i>pusanthro kilogramo/šimto</i>	'one and a half kilograms/hundred' (lit. 'half of the second kilogram/hundred')
<i>pustrečiós dienós</i>	'two and a half days'
<i>pusketvirtų metų</i>	'three and a half years'

In these phrases, the fractional numeral governs the genitive and agrees with the dependent noun or numeral in gender and number.

Numeral – prepositional phrase

2.135 Cardinal numerals may subordinate the following prepositional phrases:

(1) *iš* + GEN:

dù iš dešimtiēs

‘two out of ten’

vienas iš tūkstančio

‘one out of a thousand’

vienas iš draugū

‘one of (the) friends’

(2) *bè* + GEN:

šimtas be trejū mētu

lit. ‘one hundred (years) without three years’, i.e. ‘97 years’

penkiólīka valandū be

‘five minutes to fifteen hours’ (lit. ‘fifteen hours without five minutes’), i.e. ‘14:55’.

penkiū minūčiū

Ordinal numerals occur in phrases like:

pirmāsīs iš eilēs

‘the first in (lit. ‘from’) the sequence’

añtras nuo gālo

‘the second from the end’

trēčias pagal ūgti

‘the third in height’

E. PRONOMINAL GROUPS

Word groups with a head pronoun are less varied than those with a head noun or adjective. Some pronouns can be used with the genitive case of noun, with an adjective or adverb.

Pronoun – Genitive case

2.136 The indefinite pronoun (with no gender contrast) *kàs* ‘who, what’ and complex pronouns incorporating *kàs* (*kas nōrs* ‘somebody, something’, *kai kàs* ‘some (people)’, *daūg kas* ‘many (people)’, *kàs ne kàs* ‘somebody, some people’, *kažkàs/kažin kàs* ‘somebody, something’, *niēkas* ‘nobody, nothing’, and *šīs tās* ‘something’, and also indefinite adjectival pronouns (inflected for gender) *kurīs*, *-ī*, *katrās*, *-ā* ‘which’ (MASC/FEM) and the derivative adjectival complex pronouns *kai kurīs* ‘some’, *kažkurīs* ‘some’, *kurīs ne kurīs* ‘some’, *kītas* ‘other, another’, *vīenas kītas* ‘some, some people’, *kīekvīenas* ‘each, every’, *nē vīenas* ‘no one’ govern the genitive plural (with or without the preposition *iš* ‘from’) which refers to a group or class out of which a part is distinguished, e.g.:

kàs (iš) kaimýnu

‘which of the neighbours’

kažkurīs (iš) draugū

‘one (someone) of the friends’

<i>vienà (iš) móteru</i>	‘one of the women’
<i>niėkas (iš) keleiviu</i>	‘no one among (lit. ‘from’) the passengers’
<i>kiekvienas (iš) mūsų</i>	‘each of us’

Collective nouns are used in the singular, the preposition *iš* ‘from’ being obligatory, cf.:

<i>kàs iš vyriausybės</i>	‘someone (lit. ‘who’) of the government’
<i>nė vienas iš komisijos</i>	‘no one from the committee’

The indefinite quantitative pronouns *kėletas* ‘several’ (from 2 to 10), *keliólika* ‘several’ (from 11 to 19) and *kėliasdešimt* (20, 30 ... 90) take the genitive plural of a noun without a preposition, e.g.:

<i>kėletas žmoniu</i>	‘several people’
<i>keliólika dienų</i>	‘several days’
<i>kėliasdešimt kilometrų</i>	‘some dozens of kilometres’

Pronoun – Adjective

2.137 The indefinite pronouns *kàs* ‘something’, *kažkàs* ‘something’, *kas nòrs* ‘anything’, *šis tàs* ‘something’, *niėkas* ‘nothing’ which have no gender distinctions can be modified by the genitive plural masculine or the neuter form of adjectives interchangeably, e.g.:

<i>kàs pikto/pikta</i>	‘something bad’
<i>kas nòrs svarbaūs/svarbù</i>	‘something important’
<i>(turėti) ši tã vãlgomo/vãlgoma</i>	‘(to have) something edible’
<i>(pajusti) kažkã blõgo/blõga</i>	‘(to feel) something bad’
<i>(nepasakyti) niėko</i>	lit. ‘(not to say) nothing unnecessary’
<i>nereikalìngo/nereikalìnga</i>	

The interrogative pronoun *kàs* ‘what’ is also used with the same adjective forms:

<i>kàs gėro/gėra?</i>	lit. ‘what (is) good?’ (‘what’s the good news?’)
<i>kàs naujo/naũja?</i>	‘what’s new?’

The same pronouns also occur (though very seldom) with the masculine singular of adjectives instead of the neuter form, cf.:

<i>kažkàs júodas/júoda</i>	‘something black (NOM. MASC/NEUTR)’
<i>(susidomėti) kažkuõ ypatìngu</i>	‘(get interested) in something peculiar (INSTR. MASC)’

Pronoun – Adverb

- 2.138** The adjectival pronouns *kītas*, -à ‘other, another’, *kitōks*, -ià ‘another, different’, *tōks pāt* ‘the same (as)’, *vīsas* ‘all’ can be modified by the intensifying and specifying adverbs *vīsai/vīsiškai* ‘quite, entirely’ (*vīsas* ‘all’), *bevétk* ‘almost’, cf.:

<i>vīsai/vīsiškai kītas</i> , <i>kitōks</i> , <i>tōks pāt</i>	‘quite another, different, the same’
<i>bevétk vīsas</i>	‘almost all’
<i>bevétk tōks pāts</i>	‘almost the same’

F. ADVERBIAL GROUPS

Adverb – Adverb

- 2.139** Adverbs are joined to other adverbs very much like to the respective adjectives (see 2.128–129), cf.:

<i>labaī gražiaī</i> (cf. <i>gražūs</i>)	‘very beautifully (beautiful)’
<i>per daūg pigiaī</i> (<i>pīgūs</i>)	‘too (much) cheaply (cheap)’
<i>trupūtī keīstaī</i> (<i>keīstas</i>)	‘a little queerly (queer)’
<i>savaīp īdōmiaī</i> (<i>īdomūs</i>)	‘interestingly (interesting) in its own way’
<i>taīnsiaī rudaī</i> (cf. <i>rūdas</i>)	‘dark brown’
<i>taīp geraī</i> (cf. <i>tōks gēras</i>)	‘so well’ (cf. ‘so good’)
<i>kaīp aiškaī</i> (<i>aiškūs</i>)	‘how clearly (clear)’
<i>ši taīp ramiaī</i> (<i>ramūs</i>)	‘so quietly (quiet)’

Respective adverbial groups are formed with the comparative degree of adverbs (coinciding with that of the neuter adjectives):

<i>kuř kās sunkiaū</i> (<i>sunkēsnis</i>)	‘much more heavily (heavier)’
<i>dvīgubai brangiaū</i> (<i>brangēsnis</i>)	‘twice as expensively (expensive)’

Adverb groups with the head *daūg* alone have no corresponding adjective groups, e.g.:

<i>labaī/be gālo/neišpasakjūtai daūg</i>	‘very / extremely / unusually much’
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Adverb – Noun

- 2.140** Adverbs of quantity combine with the genitive case of nouns denoting quantified entities, in which respect these adverbs are similar to numerals and nouns or neuter adjectives denoting quantity, e.g.:

<i>daug/daugiaū/daugiausia žmoniū</i>	'many/more/the greatest number of people'
<i>mažaī</i> (cf. <i>māža</i> : ADJ. NEUTR)	'little snow'
<i>sniēgo</i>	
<i>šieks tiek džiaūgsmo</i>	'a little joy'
<i>tiek vandeīns</i>	'so much water'
<i>sóčiai</i> (cf. <i>sótu</i> : ADJ. NEUTR)	'(more than) enough bread'
<i>dūonos</i>	

2.141 The comparative degree of adverbs combines with (1) the accusative of a numeral word group indicating the extent of difference and (2) the instrumental case, these phrases being parallel to word groups with the respective adjectives, e.g.:

(1) <i>dū kartūs greičiaū</i> (cf. <i>grettēsnis</i>)	'two times (ACC) faster (ADV (cf. ADJ))'
<i>šiimtą kaŗtų mažiaū</i> (cf. <i>mažēsnis</i>)	'a hundred (ACC) times (GEN) less (cf. smaller)'
(2) <i>metrū siauriaū</i> (cf. <i>siaurēsnis</i>)	'a metre (INSTR) narrower (ADV/ADJ)'
<i>dviēm litais brangiaū</i>	'two litas (INSTR) more expensive'
<i>dēšimčia dienū anksčiaū</i>	'ten (INSTR) days (GEN) earlier'

Word groups with *daugiaū* 'more' as the head are formed in the same way:

<i>dū kartūs/šiimtą kaŗtų daugiaū</i>	'twice/a hundred (ACC) times more'
<i>penkiaīs kilogrāmais/</i>	'five kilograms (INSTR)/ten (INSTR)
<i>dēšimčia kilogrāmų daugiaū</i>	'kilograms (GEN) more'

2.142 Time adverbs can take (1) the accusative, (2) the instrumental and (3) locative case of a noun, cf. respectively:

(1) <i>vēlai rūdenī</i>	'late in autumn'
<i>pērnai pavāsarī/vāsarā/ziēmā</i>	'last year in spring/summer/winter'
(2) <i>vākar apýaušriais</i>	'yesterday at dawn'
<i>šiañdien pāvokariu/pavakarġ</i>	'today before evening (INSTR/LOC)'
(3) <i>rytoj vakarē</i>	'tomorrow (in the) evening'
<i>šiañdien rytē</i>	'today in the morning'

2.143 Place adverbs commonly govern the locative case of a noun which modifies the meaning of the head adverb, e.g.:

<i>aukštaī kalnuōs</i>	'high in the mountains'
<i>giliaī žemēje</i>	'deep in the ground'
<i>tolī šiaūrēje</i>	'far in the north'

Adverb – Prepositional phrase

- 2.144** Some of the place adverbs are commonly modified by the following prepositional phrases (usually with a locative meaning):

priē + GEN:

arti/arčiaū/artīn prie miško 'near/nearer to the woods'

nuo + GEN:

toli/toliaū nuo namū 'far/farther from home'

nuošaliai/nuošaliaū nuo žmoniū 'apart from people'

žemīn nuo kálno 'down (from) the hill'

ī + ACC:

giliai/giliaū/gilīn ī mišką 'deep/deeper/deep into the woods'

aukštīn ī kálną 'up the hill'

pakeliū ī namūs 'on the way home'

per + ACC:

skersai per kėlią 'across the road'

išilgai/ištrižai per kiėmą 'along/across the yard'

- 2.145** The comparative and the superlative degrees of an adverb, like the respective basic adjectives, can be modified by the following prepositional phrases referring to the basis of comparison:

už + ACC:

geriaū už brólį 'better than (one's) brother'

(cf. *gerėsnis už brólį* 'better (ADJ) than (one's) brother')

iš + GEN:

(bėgti) greičiausiai iš visū '(run) the fastest of all' (see 2.120, 1)

Coordinative word groups

- 2.146** A coordinative word group is comprised of grammatically equivalent word forms which are related to the same word (or word group) in a sentence by an identical syntactic relation. They can be linked by means of a coordinating conjunction, as in (1) or by juxtaposition only, as in (2):

(1) *Lankaū draugūs ir pažįstamus.* 'I visit friends and acquaintances.'

(2) *Lankaū draugūs, pažįstamus.* 'I visit friends, acquaintances.'

Coordinative word groups may consist of three or more word forms or phrases, e.g.:

*Jám vēl grīžo nóras gyvénti, dīrbti,
išēīti iš namū, susitīkti su žmonēmī.* 'He again felt a desire to live, to
work, to go out, to meet people.'

2.147 The grammatical equivalence of coordinated words usually finds expression in their identical class membership and morphological form; cf.:

Jis dāvē mán alaūs, sūrio, sviesto. 'He gave me (some) beer, cheese,
butter.'

*Dabaŗ trūksta dorū ir
išmintīngu žmoniū.* 'There is a shortage of honest and
wise people now.'

Žmónēs jō nemēgo, bet bijójo. lit. 'People didn't like, but feared him.'

*Negrīšīme nei šiaūdien,
nei rytój.* 'We won't return either today or
tomorrow.'

Coordinated word forms may belong to different word classes on condition that they have the same syntactic function, e.g.:

Tū dar jáunas ir gali paláukti. 'You are young (ADJ) yet and can wait (V).'

Gūstas kalbėjo lėtaĩ, neskubėdamas. 'Gustas spoke slowly (ADV), without
hurry (HALF-PART).'

In case of coordination of prepositional phrases with the same preposition, the latter can be omitted in the second and subsequent phrases, e.g.:

*Iš miēstų ir (iš) káimų
skubėjo žmónēs.* 'People hurried from towns and (from)
villages.'

Jis grīš po mėnesio ar (po) saváitēs. 'He'll be back in a month or (in) a week.'

The same word form (or co-referential word forms) is (are) repeated in a coordinative collocation if it occurs with different prepositions, especially if different cases are involved, cf.:

*Mergáitė šokinėjo ant
akmeņs ir nuo jō.* 'The girl was jumping onto the stone
and (down) from it.'

*Pōpieriai būvo išmėtyti
ant stálo ir po stalū.* 'The papers were strewn on the table
and under the table.'

The identical particle is usually omitted by the second and subsequent coordinated form to avoid unwanted emphasis, e.g.:

*Ne keliaĩ, (ne) ūpės, (ne)
jūros skiria žmónēs.* 'Not roads, (not) rivers, (not) seas
separate people.'

2.148 If conjoined nouns share an identical modifier it may be used once with the first noun, especially if both nouns have the same form, e.g.:

*Nemėgstu jō véido, (jō)
bálso, (jō) ełgesio.*

'I don't like his face, (his) voice, (his) manners.'

*Kiemè būvo daūg mažū
mergáičių ir berniūkų.*

'There were many little girls and boys in the yard.'

However, if conjoined nouns require different forms of the same modifier, it can not be omitted:

*Šito vỹro ir šitōs móters
aš nepažĩstu.*

'I don't know this (MASC) man or this (FEM) woman.'

On the other hand, a group consisting of a noun and two or more modifying adjectives can be viewed as a phrase with the first head noun omitted, cf.:

*raudóni ir baltì obuoliaĩ
músu (vaikaĩ) ir júsų vaikaĩ*

'red and white apples'

'our (children) and your children'

Coordinative groups consisting of finite verb forms are naturally similar to compound sentences, cf.:

*Žmónės jų nemėgo už
šykštumą, bet gárbino už pìnigus.*

lit. 'People disliked them for their stinginess, but respected (them) for (their) money.'

2.149 Coordinative groups can be structurally closed or open.

Structurally closed groups consist of two components conjoined by a single or a two-member conjunction, e.g.:

*šáltas ir vėjúotas rýtas
(Ūpė būvo) nors ir neplatì,
bet sraunì.*

'cold and windy morning'

'(The river was) though not wide but rapid.'

A closed group can be asyndetic, an adversative relation being implied, e.g.:

Džiaũkis dúonos tũrinti, ne sviesto!

'Rejoice at having bread, not butter!'
(i.e. 'even if you don't have butter').

Structurally open groups may comprise any number of components conjoined by repeated conjunctions (1), or asyndetically by intonation and juxtaposition, as in (2), cf.:

(1) *Tokių šarvų nepràmuša nei àkmenys,
nei kalavĩjai, nei kiřviai, nei ietys.*

'Such armor cannot be pierced either by stones, or swords, or axes, or spears.'

(2) *Ji kalbėjo nedrąsiai,
taikingai, švelniai.*

'She spoke timidly, quietly, sweetly.'

2.150 Coordinate word forms can be subordinated to a generalizing superordinate word whose meaning they specify and explain. The superordinate word can be preposed or postposed to the coordinate words, or it can be distanced from them (see the examples below).

The following words are commonly used as generalizers:

(1) the pronouns *visi* 'all', *viskas* 'everything', *visa, visa kita* 'all the rest', *niekas* 'nothing, nobody', *toks (pāt)* 'such', etc., e.g.:

*Jai viskas buvo įdomu:
ir sodųba, ir tvenkinys,
ir miškas.*

'Everything interested her: the farm-stead, and the pond, and the woods.'

*Iš ryto ji atsikėlė vėl
tokia pāt: gyvā, sveikā, linksmā.*

'In the morning she was her usual self again: alive, healthy, merry.'

(2) the adverbs *visur* 'everywhere', *visadā* 'always', *niekur* 'nowhere', e.g.:

*Nei kiemė, nei sodė, nei
laukė – niekur nėra ramybės.*

'There is no peace anywhere – neither in the yard, nor in the garden, nor in the field.'

(3) nouns related to the coordinated words as their hyperonym, e.g.:

*Visur bėgiójo žmonės –
vėjrai, móterys ir vaikai*

'People – men, women and children – were running about everywhere.'

Syndetic Coordination

2.151 In this case coordinated forms are linked either by a coordinating conjunction or, sometimes, by a subordinating conjunction, viz. *juó ... tuó* 'the ... the', *juó ... juó* 'the ... the', *nórs ... bėt* 'though ... but', *nórs ... tačiaū* 'though ... but', and the like.

According to the type of conjunction and the relation between the coordinated units, these groups are further divided into copulative, juxtapositive and adversative, disjunctive and consecutive.

COPULATIVE GROUPS

2.152 This is the most frequent type, the commonly used conjunction being *iř* 'and':

Tàvo vaĩkà padarýsiu 'I'll make your son rich and honorable.'
turtĩngà ir garbingà.

The conjunction *beĩ* 'and' (synonymous with *iř*) connects units that are very similar in meaning: it emphasizes their semantic proximity; e.g.:

řis beĩ tàs 'this and that'
nesutarĩmai beĩ konfliktai tarp řalių 'discord and conflicts between countries'
iřvĩrsiu beĩ iřkèpsiu 'I'll cook and bake'

Word forms joined by the conjunction *beĩ* can be connected with other coordinated units by *iř* to indicate the hierarchy, e.g.:

Tamè miřkè gyvèna lãpès beĩ 'In that forest, there are foxes and
vilkai ir kitì laukiniai žvėrys. wolves, and other wild beasts.'

In two-component groups, reduplicated conjunctions are also used, viz. *iř ... iř* 'and ... and', *neĩ ... neĩ* 'neither ... nor', and sometimes *čią ... čią* 'now ... now', *taĩ ... taĩ* 'now ... now', *tiek ... tiek (ir)* 'both ... and'; e.g.:

Pasidãrè ir řilčiaũ, ir řviesiaũ. 'It grew both warmer and lighter.'
Dabař nebelãukiui nei 'Now I don't expect either news or a
žiniòs, nei láiško. letter any longer.'
Įis jaũtè tai báimę, tai džiaũgsmà. lit. 'He felt now fear, now joy.'

Three or more coordinated units are linked with reduplicated conjunctions:

Nereĩkia mán tàvo 'I don't want your clothes, or diamonds,
drabũzių, nei deĩmantų, nei tuřtų. or riches.'

JUXTAPOSITIVE AND ADVERSATIVE GROUPS

2.153 These groups consist of two units only, coordinated by adversative conjunctions, the most commonly used ones being *bèt* and *tačiaũ*, e.g.:

Jãunas, bet/tačiaũ/ 'A young, but wise man.'
užtãt protĩngas vỹras.
Niřkas kitas, tiktaĩ lit. 'Nothing other but only life will teach
gyvènimas pamókys jĩ. him.'

Adversative groups are sometimes formed with the subordinating conjunctions *nórs (ir)* 'although' and *nórs (ir) ... bèt* 'though ... but':

*įdomūs, nors neleñgvas uždaviniỹs
šveñtėme nors ir trumpai,
bet linksmai*

'an interesting, though hard task'
lit. 'we celebrated though briefly, but
merrily'

DISJUNCTIVE GROUPS

- 2.154** Disjunctive groups may consist of two or more components. In two-component groups the single conjunctions *ař* 'or' and *arbà* 'or' and reduplicated *ař ... ař*, *arbà ... arbà* are commonly used and, sometimes, *jėi(gu) nė ... tai* 'if not ... then'; e.g.:

*Dabař privàlome laimėti arba žúti.
Jėi ne tėvùs, tai sėserį
tikiúosi pamatýsiař.*

'Now we must win or perish.'
lit. 'I hope to see if not my parents then
my sister.'

Three or more components are linked by the reduplicated conjunctions *ař ... ař ...* and *arbà ... arbà ...* :

*Kõ jinaĩ bijójo, patĩ geraĩ
nežinójo: ar sàvo žmoniũ,
ar prieřu, ar kažiñ kõ kito.*

'She herself didn't know who she was
afraid of: whether her own people, or
enemies, or somebody else.'

CONSECUTIVE GROUPS

- 2.155** Consecutive groups may consist of two components only, linked by the consecutive conjunctions *tai (iř)* 'so', *taięi* 'so' and *tad* 'so, therefore':

*Mės visi bũvome pavařę,
tad nelinksmi.*

'We were all tired, therefore not merry.'

Daũg dirba, tai viřko ir tũri.

'He works hard, therefore (he) has
everything.'

GROUPS WITH VARYING CONJUNCTIONS

- 2.156** Copulative conjunctions may be combined with conjunctions denoting adverbative, disjunctive or consecutive relations; e.g.:

*Sàvo tikslo įis siėkė tvirtai
ir drąsiai, bet atsargiai.*

lit. 'He pursued his object firmly and
boldly, but cautiously.'

*Dabař grýbai daugiausia
dýgsta paleĩ ėžerus ir
pamiřkėšė arba palaũkėse.*

'Now mushrooms grow mostly by the
lakes and woods or by the fields.'

*Įis bũvo sėnas ir paliėęř,
tad labai irzlũs.*

'He was old and ailing, therefore
petulant.'

Asyndetic coordination

2.157 Asyndetic word groups can be comprised of two or more juxtaposed units:

Didelis, raudónas mėnūlis patekėjo.

'A huge, red moon rose.'

Svečiai šoko, dainavo, gėrė alų.

'The guests danced, sang, drank beer.'

Mixed coordination

2.158 In this case at least three units are coordinated by at least two different means on the same level of syntactic structure:

*Jis vėlgo sūrį, sviestą,
mėsą, tik ne lėšinius.*

'He eats cheese, butter, meat, but not
bacon.'

The coordinated units can be arranged in pairs, either syndetic or asyndetic, linked by the alternative means: thus in (1) two syndetic pairs are linked asyndetically and in (2) two asyndetic pairs are linked by an adversative conjunction:

(1) *Mėdžiai mėtė ilgus
šešėlius į laukus ir pievas,
ant kėlio ir takų.*

'The trees threw long shadows on the
fields and meadows, on the road and
paths.'

(2) *Žmogus parklūpo, parpuolė,
bet greit pašoko, apsidairė.*

'The man stumbled, fell, but at once
jumped to his feet, looked around.'

3 THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

Vientisìnis sakinys

3.1 A simple sentence consists of one clause only, i.e. it has a single syntactic centre. The syntactic centre is the predicate to which all the other sentence components are related, either directly or through an intermediate word form or word group.

In Lithuanian, a simple sentence may contain the syntactic subject, or it may be subjectless. Accordingly, simple sentences are classified into personal and impersonal.

3.2 In a **personal sentence**, the predicate requires a subject:

Viršum̃ miško patekėjo mėnuo.
above forest: GEN rise: 3. PAST moon: NOM. SG
'The moon rose above the forest.'

Visos gėlės buvo nuvytusios.
all flower: NOM. PL. FEM be: 3. PAST wilted: NOM. PL. FEM
'All the flowers were wilted.'

The subject of a personal sentence does not always need to be expressed by a separate word. A sentence remains personal if the 1st or 2nd person subject is marked in the predicate only, an overt pronoun in subject position being redundant:

Atsikėliau anksti.
get up: 1. SG. PAST early
'I got up early.'

Visą dieną dirbome laukuosė.
all day work: 1. PL. PAST field: LOC. PL
'We worked in the fields all day.'

Rytą važiuosite į mišką.
tomorrow drive: 2. PL. FUT to forest: ACC
'Tomorrow you'll go to the forest.'

Sentences with the 2nd person singular predicate and no overt subject may express a generalized statement:

Gyvenì *ir* *mókaisi.*
 live: 2. SG. PRES and learn: 2. SG. PRES. REFL
 'You live and learn.'

Prieš *vėjā* *nepapūsi.*
 against wind: ACC not-blow: 2. SG. FUT
 'One can't blow against the wind.'

The subject is sometimes mentioned in these generic sentences:

Taip ir gyvenì *žmogùs* *niėko* *nematýdamas.*
 so and live: 2. SG. PRES man: NOM nothing not-see: HALF-PART. SG
 'Thus one (a person) spends one's life without seeing anything.'

The subject is also omitted in sentences with a 3rd person predicate to imply an unspecified, indefinite or generalized human agent (*žmónės* 'people', *visì* 'all (people), everyone', etc.):

Jám *pàvogė* *árklį.*
 he: DAT steal: 3. PAST horse: ACC. SG
 'Someone stole a horse from him.'

These sentences with a zero subject are termed indefinite-personal.

3.3 An **impersonal sentence** consists either of the predicate alone (*Rudenėja* 'Autumn is coming') or the predicate with subordinated components, e.g.:

Mán *skaudėjo* *gálvą.*
 I: DAT ache: 3. PAST head: ACC. SG
 'I had a headache.'

Impersonal sentences are mostly formed by:

(1) the finite form of an impersonal or an impersonally used verb, e.g.:

Jám *visadà* *sėkasi.*
 he: DAT always go well: 3. PRES. REFL
 'He is always lucky.'

Vākar *snigo.*
 yesterday snow: 3. PAST
 'It snowed yesterday.'

(2) the neuter form of an adjective or a passive participle used predicatively:

Tamsù *miškė.*
 dark: NEUTR forest: LOC
 'It is dark in the forest.'

(cf. *Miškė buvo tamsù* 'It was dark in the forest.')

Teñ žmoniū gyvénta.
 there people: GEN. PL live: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR
 'People lived there' (lit. 'There it was lived by people.')

(3) the infinitive of a personal verb:

Kaĩp mums dabař gyvénti?
 how we: DAT now live: INF
 'How can/shall we live now?'

(4) the past tense form of a gerund:

Kaĩp čia padārius?
 how here do: PAST. GER
 'How should I/one do it? (What should I/one do?)'

The predicate of an impersonal sentence can also be a noun (usually the name of a state or natural phenomenon) with or without a link verb:

Vākaras. 'Evening' (= 'It is evening').
Būvo naktis. 'It was night.'

Simple sentence patterns

- 3.4 The predicate and the constituents required for its complementation comprise the nucleus of a sentence. The obligatory elements are usually the subject, an object or two objects, and sometimes an adverbial, as in

Svečiaĩ suėjo į tróba.
 guests gathered to house: ACC
 'The guests gathered in(side) the house.'

Cf. **Svečiaĩ suėjo.* 'The guests came into', which is ungrammatical.

The nucleus of a sentence can be expanded by various optional elements, which may change the informational content without changing the sentence pattern, cf. (the optional constituents are bracketed):

(Vakarė) (pavařgę) keleiviai išvįdo (nuo kálno) (didelį) miestą.
 evening: tired traveller: saw from hill big town:
 LOC NOM. PL ACC

'(In the evening) the (tired) travellers saw a (great) city (from the hill).'

Context may render it possible to omit sentence nucleus elements which are otherwise considered obligatory (see 3.105).

- 3.5 The sentence pattern realized in a concrete sentence is essentially determined by the syntactic properties of the predicate. The predicate may require from one

to three positions for sentence constituents. Accordingly, two-member (*Patekėjo saulė* 'The sun rose'), three-member (*Arklis traukė vežimą* 'The horse was pulling a cart') and four-member (*Sūnūs paprašė tėvą pinigų* 'The son asked his father for money') sentence patterns can be distinguished.

3.6 The following major sentence types described in terms of sentence parts can be distinguished in Lithuanian:

(1) Subject – predicate:

Vaikai miėga. 'The children are sleeping.'

(2) Subject – predicate – object:

Jiė mums yra giminė. lit. 'They are relatives to us.'

(3) Subject – predicate – object – object:

Draugas graėino man knygą. 'A friend returned a book to me.'

(4) Subject – predicate – (object) – adverbial:

Jonas elėgiasi negraėiai. 'John behaves badly.'
Berniukas padėjo sviėdinį ant grindų. 'The boy put the ball on the floor.'

(5) Subject – predicate – (object) – predicative complement:

Mokytojas atrėdė piktas. 'The teacher looked angry.'
Tėismas pripaėino jį kaltą. 'The court declared him guilty.'

(6) Predicate:

Pasnėgo. 'It has snowed.'
Buvo naktis. 'It was night.'

(7) Predicate – object:

Draugui sėkasi. 'My friend (DAT) is in luck.'
Man šalta. 'I (DAT) am cold (ADJ. NEUTR).'

(8) Predicate – object – object:

Mums užteėka pinigų. 'We (DAT) have enough money (GEN).'

(9) Predicate – (object) – adverbial:

Laukė dūnda. 'It is thundering outside (LOC).'

Miestė trūksta vandėnis. 'There is a shortage of water (GEN) in the town (LOC).'

3.7 Each of the above sentence types covers a variety of sentence patterns which differ in respect of the formal expression of the constituents.

In the sections below, the most common sentence patterns are described in terms of word forms abbreviated as follows:

Vf – finite verb form, active voice,
 Vf_p – finite verb form, passive voice,
 Vf_{cop} – finite form of a copula verb,
 N – noun,
 Adj – adjective,
 Num – numeral,
 Pron – pronoun,
 Adv – adverb,
 Inf – infinitive,
 PrepP – prepositional phrase,
 AdvLoc – adverbial of place,
 AdvDir – adverbial of direction or route,
 AdvQuant – adverbial of quantity,
 AdvMan – adverbial of manner;

abbreviations for the case forms:

n – nominative,
 g – genitive,
 d – dative,
 a – accusative,
 i – instrumental,
 l – locative,
 x – any oblique case;
 neutr – neuter adjective or passive participle.

In the formulae of sentence patterns below, the abbreviation N_n is placed initially before Vf, to indicate the most common position of the subject and to emphasize its importance since the subject determines concord with the predicate.

3.8 The sentence patterns below are also considered in terms of the semantic functions of their constituents.

The predicate can express an action, or a state, or a process (change of state). The verbal meaning largely determines the semantic functions (roles) of the subject and object(s). The latter may encode a number of roles for which the following tentative terms are used below:

Agent,
 Cause (including Force),
 Experiencer,
 Comitative (second Agent or Patient, etc.),

Beneficiary (including Addressee and Possessor),
 Patient (affected semantic object),
 Result (effected semantic object),
 Counteragent,
 Goal,
 Content,
 Comparative,
 Instrument,
 Means,
 Source.

Each syntactic pattern may be associated with one or more sets of semantic roles.

According to the type of predicate, sentences can be classified into verbal and nominal. These two types are considered separately in the subsequent sections.

VERBAL SENTENCES

Veiksmazodiniai sakiniai

- 3.9 The predicate of a verbal sentence is either a simple or periphrastic finite verb form (Vf), or it is a compound verbal predicate with a modal or phrasal semi-auxiliary.

Personal sentence patterns

- 3.10 A personal sentence pattern consists of at least two constituents, the predicate (Vf) and the subject nominative or its substitute (N_n).

The finite verb form of the predicate in a personal sentence may be omitted, in which case it is recoverable from the context or speech situation, e.g.:

Tù žėmei prakaitą, ji táu viską.
 you land: DAT sweat: ACC she you: DAT everything: ACC
 'You give sweat to your land and it gives you everything.'

I. SUBJECT – PREDICATE

- 3.11 This sentence type is realized by a single formal pattern:

N_n – Vf

Vaikas miėga.

'The child is asleep.'

It typically encodes the following semantic structures:

(1) Agent/Force – Action:

Laukuosè daināvo merginos.
Kaminè kaukia vējas.

'Girls were singing in the fields.'
'The wind is howling in the chimney.'

(2) Patient – State/Process:

Lēkštē sudūžo.
Ligónis jau gūja.
Gyvēno trīs bróliai.

'The plate broke.'
'The patient is already recovering.'
'(There) lived three brothers.'

II. SUBJECT – PREDICATE – OBJECT

This type is realized by a number of sentence patterns.

3.12 $N_n - V_f - N_a$

Vaiķas skaīto knýgā.

'The child is reading a book.'

(1) Agent/Cause – Action – Patient/Result:

Vaiķas sudaūžē lēkštē.
Šviesà ērzina akīs.
Daīlininkas nutāpē pavéikslā.

'The child broke a plate.'
'Light irritates the eyes.'
'The artist has painted a picture.'

(2) Agent – Action – Content:

Výrai žaīdžia krepšini.
Senēlē sēka pāsakā.

'The men are playing basketball.'
'Granny is telling a fairy-tale.'

(3) Instrumental – Action – Patient:

Peīlis peīlī pagalānda.
Rāktas rakina visās spynās.

'A knife sharpens a knife.'
'The key opens all locks.'

(4) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

Mataū mīškā.
Ķis apgalvójo plānā.
Ķi prisiminē jaunýstē.

'I see a forest.'
'He thought over a plan.'
'She recollected (her) youth.'

(5) Beneficiary – State/Process – Patient:

Dēdē tūri ākī.
Darbintņikai gāvo algās.
Brólis prarādo dārba.

'(My) uncle has a farm.'
'The workers received wages.'
'Brother lost (his) job.'

(6) Patient – State – Comparative.

This semantic structure is ascribed to sentences with relational verbs of state, e.g.:

Kòpíja atitiĩka origināla. 'The copy corresponds to the original.'

(7) Sentences with desemanticized verbs of change, a noun in the nominative or accusative denoting the state of the Patient or Experiencer, or Beneficiary:

Těvoq sùèmè miēgas.
 father: ACC took sleep: NOM
 'Father fell asleep.'

Mergáite pagāvo báimè.
 girl: ACC caught fright: NOM
 'The girl got scared.'

Sūnūs līgq igāvo (= susiřgo).
 son: NOM disease: ACC got (= fell ill)
 'The son caught a disease (fell ill).'

Priešas patýrè pralaimējimq (= pralaimėjo).
 enemy: NOM experienced defeat: ACC (= lost)
 'The enemy suffered defeat.'

The accusative case of a noun can be a cognate object:

Ĵi sapnāvo blōgq sāpnq.
 she dreamed bad dream: ACC
 'She had a bad dream.'

3.13 N_n – Vf – Ng

Sesuō ieško bróliq. 'The sister is looking for her brothers.'

(1) Agent – Action – Patient/Result:

Arklīs atsigère vandeñs.
 horse: NOM drank: PEF. REFL water: GEN
 'The horse drank some water.'

Ĵi prikepè pyrāgq.
 she: NOM baked: PEF cake: GEN. PL
 'She (has) baked a lot of pies.'

(2) Agent – Action – Content:

Ĵis mókosi matemātikos. 'He learns mathematics.'
Těvas atsisākè dārbo. 'Father gave up his job.'

(3) Agent – Action – Goal:

Mergáttè íeško lèlēs.

'The girl is looking for her doll.'

Móteris šaūkèsi pagálbos.

'The woman called for help.'

(4) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

Šuō nóri mēsōs.

'The dog wants (some) meat.'

Láukiame pavāsario.

'We wait for spring.'

Kìškis lāpo išsigañdo.

'The rabbit got scared of a leaf.'

Mēs pastìlgome namū.

'We are homesick' (lit. 'We are missing our home').

Jis nekeñčia brólio.

'He hates his brother.'

(5) Beneficiary – State/Process – Content:

Mēs pritrúkome pinigū.

'We fell short of money.'

(6) Patient (N_n) – State/Process – Content:*Ji netēko sámonēs.*

'She fainted' (lit. 'She lost consciousness').

Laīvas pribēgo vandeñs.

'The boat filled with water.'

(7) This sentence pattern is also realized by sentences with transitive verbs used with negation *ne-*. These negative sentences are transforms of the respective affirmative sentences, (cf. 3.115–118), e.g.:

*Katē**sugāvo**pēlē.*

cat

caught

mouse: ACC

'The cat caught a mouse.'

⇒ *Katē**nesugāvo**pelēs.*

cat

not-caught

mouse: GEN

'The cat didn't catch a mouse.'

3.14 N_n – Vf – N_d*Jis padējo draūgui.*

'He helped (his) friend.'

This pattern encodes the following principal sets of semantic functions:

(1) Agent – Action – Beneficiary/Counteragent:

Sūnūs pàdeda tēvám.

'The son helps his parents.'

Gyvėntojai prīešinosi okupántams.

'The inhabitants resisted the invaders.'

(2) Agent – Action – Patient:

Vaikui išpýrė arklýs.

'A horse kicked the child (DAT).'

Mán įgėlė bitė.

'A bee stung me (DAT).'

(3) Agent – Action – Goal:

Žmónės ruošiasi sėjai. 'The people are preparing for sowing.'

(4) Experiencer – State/Process – Goal:

Laurýnas atsìdavè mēnui. 'Laurynas gave himself up to art.'

(5) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

Žmónės pasìdavè pānikai. 'People gave in to panic.'

(6) Patient – State/Process – Beneficiary:

Nāmas priklaūso brōliui. 'The house belongs to (my) brother.'

*Palikimas atitēko
vyriāusiam sūnui.* 'The property was inherited (ACT) by the
eldest son.'

(7) Patient – State – Goal:

Dobilaĩ tiñka pāšarui. 'Clover is suitable for fodder.'

(8) Content (N_n) – State – Experiencer (N_a):

Mān patiñka kātēs. 'I like cats.'

Mótinai rūpi vaikai. 'Mother is worried about the children.'

(9) Content (N_n) – State – Beneficiary:

Mūms grēsia bādas. 'We (DAT) are threatened with starvation
(NOM).'

(10) Patient – State – Comparative:

Sūnūs prilýgsta tėvui. 'The son is like (equals) his father.'

Fāktai prieštaraúja teĩginiui. 'The facts contradict the statement.'

3.15 Nn – Vf – N_i

Jis dōmisi mūzika. 'He is interested in music.'

(1) Agent – Action – Patient:

Berniūkai apsikeitè kepūrėmis. 'The boys swapped (their) caps.'

Mergaitēs pasidalijo obuoliu. 'The girls shared an apple.'

(2) Agent – Action – Instrument/Mean:

Vidudienĩ Mýkolas skaĩbina varpaĩs. 'At midday, Mykolas rings the bells.'

Jis susijūosè diržū. 'He girded himself with a belt.'

(3) Agent – Action – Content:

Káimo gyvėntojai veřtėsi žvejýba. 'Villagers earned their living by fishing.'

Ji pasivadino mótinos pāvarde. 'She assumed (lit. 'called herself') her
mother's name.'

(4) Agent – Action – Result:

Vēlnias pasivertē šunimī. 'The devil turned himself into a dog.'

(5) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

Svečiai gērējosi pavēikslais. 'The visitors admired the pictures.'

Abejōju tāvo pažadaīs. 'I doubt your promises.'

(6) Patient – State/Process – Content:

Mergāitē vilkējo bālta suknelē. 'The girl was wearing a white gown.'

(for the respective constructions with the accusative see (1) in 2.23)

Bātai aplīpo mōliu. 'The shoes got covered with mud.'

Vaiķas užsikrētē tymaiš. 'The child caught measles.'

(7) Patient – Process – Result:

Lāužas viřto pelenaiš. 'The campfire turned into ashes.'

N_n – Vf – PrepP

Tēvas susītiko su sūnumī. lit. 'Father met with his son.'

Prepositional phrases functioning as object are discussed in detail above (see 2.36ff.); in this section, the most typical semantic structures encoded by this pattern will be enumerated.

3.16 Sentence patterns with an object expressed by a prepositional phrase with the genitive encode the following semantic functions:

(1) Agent – Action – Patient:

Tēvas bārasi ant vaikū. 'Father scolds the children.'

Jis gērinosi prie manēš. 'He was courting (making up to) me.'

Žmogūs nusitvērē už šakōs. 'The man clutched at the branch.'

(2) Agent – Action – Counteragent/Contentive:

Žemaičiai gýnēsi nuo kryžiuōdčių. 'The lowlanders defended themselves from crusaders.'

Duktē ištekējo už girtuōklio. 'The daughter married a drunkard.'

(3) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

Tik kvailýs džiaūgiasi iš neláimēs. 'Only a fool rejoices at misfortune.'

Užpykaū ant vaikū. 'I got angry with/at the children.'

Šuō priprāto prie naujo šeiminīņko. 'The dog got used to the new master.'

Tinginýs nuo dārbo atprańta. 'A lazy man falls out of the habit of working.'

(4) Patient – State/Process – Content:

Metālai susideda iš kristalų. 'Metals consist of crystals.'

(5) Patient – State – Comparative:

Ji skýrėsi iš visų vaikų. 'She was different (lit. 'differed') from all the children' (standard of comparison).

Dienà nuo naktiės nesiskýrė. 'The day did not differ from the night.'

(6) Less obvious is the semantic function encoded by the prepositional phrase in sentences with relational stative verbs, such as the following:

Vaikai priklaūso nuo tėvų. 'Children depend on their parents.'

3.17 Sentence patterns with an object expressed by a prepositional phrase with the accusative encode the following principal semantic structures:

(1) Agent – Action – Content:

Žmónės dar tebekalbėjo apie karą. 'People were still talking about the war.'

Vyriausýbė atsizvolgė į piliečius. 'The government took the citizens into account.'

(2) Agent – Action – Patient:

Jis pabėdė į duris. 'He knocked on the door.'

Žaibas treñkė į mėdį. 'A bolt of lightning struck the tree.'

(3) Agent – Action – Goal:

Mēs balsuosime už sàvo kandidatą. 'We shall vote for our candidate.'

Jiė kovója už láisvę. 'They fight for freedom.'

(4) Agent – Action – Addressee:

Mokinýs kreipėsi į mokytoją. 'A schoolboy addressed the teacher.'

(5) Experiencer – State – Content:

Visi galvója apie áteitį. 'Everybody thinks about the future.'

Jis atsàko už sàvo darbą. 'He is responsible for his work.'

(6) Agent – Action – Counteragent:

Žmónės sukilo prieš okupántus. 'The people revolted against the invaders.'

(7) Patient – Process – Result:

Vanduō pavirfto į lėdą. 'Water turned into ice.'

3.18 The frequently used prepositional phrase *sù* + INSTR encodes a variety of semantic roles in the following semantic patterns:

(1) Agent – Action – Comitative:

Jis kalbējosi su kaimynais. 'He talked with the neighbours.'
Mēs atsisvėikinome su draugais. 'We said goodbye to our friends.'

(2) Agent – Action – Patient:

Polīcija susidorōjo su gyvėntojais. 'The police dealt (harshly) with the people.'
Žmōnēs darbāvosi su šienū. lit. 'People worked with hay (were making hay).'

(3) Experiencer – State – Comitative:

Tēvas geraī sutiņka su kaimynais. 'Father is on good terms with his neighbours.'
Jis susīpīko su draugū. 'He quarrelled with his friend.'

(4) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

Vīlķas apsiprāto su nelāisve. 'The wolf got used to captivity.'

(5) Patient – State/Process – Comitative:

Štāurēje Lietuvā susieīna su Lātviķa. 'In the north Lithuania borders (on) Latvia.'

(6) Patient – Process – Comparative:

Ažuoliūķas susilīgino su ūosiu. 'The oak-tree has caught up with (has grown as tall as) the ash-tree.'

Sentences with an infinitive

3.19 Sentences with an infinitive in object position have patterns analogous to those with an inflected substantive or a prepositional phrase.

Three-member patterns with an infinitive as object ($N_n - Vf - Inf$) are formed by verbs denoting a prospective (future) action: *nutaīti* 'decide', *nusprēsti* 'decide', *su(sī)taīti* 'agree, come to an agreement', *tikētis* 'hope', *viltis* 'hope', *numatīti* 'foresee, plan', *manīti* 'think, intend', *svajōti* 'dream', etc., cf.:

Kaimynai susitarē kol kās patylēti. 'The neighbours agreed to keep silent for the time being.'

Dar vīs tikējāusi sugrīžti. 'I still hoped to return.'

Kā manaī darīti? 'What do you intend to do?'

Svajōju tavē pamatīti. lit. 'I dream (hope) to see you.'

After some of these verbs, the infinitive is interchangeable with a future active participle or a subordinate clause; cf.:

<i>Jiē</i>	<i>susìtarē</i>	<i>patylēti /</i>	<i>patylēsiq /</i>	<i>kad</i>	<i>patylēs.</i>
they	agreed	keep silent: /	keep silent: /	that	keep silent:
		INF	FUT. ACT.		3. FUT
			PART. NOM. PL		

'They decided to keep silent/that they would keep silent.'

<i>Àš</i>	<i>tikējausi</i>	<i>grīžti/</i>	<i>grīšiqs/</i>	<i>kad</i>	<i>grīšiu.</i>
I	hoped	return: INF/	return: FUT.	that	return:
			PART. NOM.		1. SG.FUT
			SG. MASC		

'I hoped to return/that I would return.'

The verbs *sutikti* 'agree, consent', *ruoštis* 'prepare', *rūpintis* 'take care', *rýžtis* 'resolve', *bijóti* 'fear', *tingēti* 'be lazy', and the like take an infinitive only (but not a participle or a clause), cf.:

<i>Duktē sutiko mokyti.</i>	'The daughter agreed to study.'
<i>Mařcē tingi dirbti.</i>	'Marcé doesn't feel like working.'

Only an infinitive is used after verbs like *padáuginti* 'do (sth) too much', *numāžinti* 'do (sth) too little', *paañkstinti* 'do (sth) too early', *pavēlinti* 'do (sth) too late', etc.:

<i>Paañkstinau</i>	<i>ateiti.</i>
do too early: 1. SG. PAST	come: INF
'I came too early.'	

<i>Jis nenudáugina</i>	<i>dúoti.</i>
he not-do too much: 3. PRES	give: INF
'He does not give too much.'	

The infinitive usually encodes the content of the verbal action or state.

III. SUBJECT – PREDICATE – OBJECT – OBJECT

- 3.20 The sentence patterns below are grouped by the form of the first object and further subdivided according to the form of the second object. For each formal pattern, the most common semantic functions of the constituents are pointed out. Among all the four-member patterns, the most common are patterns with the accusative direct object and the dative, or instrumental, or the prepositional phrase *iš* + GEN as a second object.

Sentence patterns with the accusative as first object

The second object can be expressed by the genitive, dative, instrumental and by a prepositional phrase.

Here belong the following variants.

3.21 $N_n - Vf - N_a - N_g$

Sėntis paklausė jį kėlio. 'The old man asked him the way.'

The semantic patterns are:

(1) Agent – Action – Addressee – Goal:

Vaikas prāšė tėvą pinigų. 'The child asked his father for money.'

(2) Agent – Action – Patient – Content:

Ji moko vaikùs lietuvių kalbòs. 'She teaches children Lithuanian.'

Výrai statinę pripylė vandėnis. 'The men filled the barrel with (lit. 'of') water.'

3.22 $N_n - Vf - N_a - N_d$

Senėlė dāvē mergýtei obuolį.
 granny gave little girl: DAT. SG apple: ACC. SG
 'Granny gave the little girl an apple.'

The most common semantic structures encoded by this pattern are:

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Beneficiary:

Tėvas pāvedė sàvo tuřtą sūnui. 'Father entrusted his property to his son.'

Jiė įdavė vāgį policijai. 'They delivered the thief to the police.'

Áuklė užrišo vaikui šaliką. lit. 'The nurse tied a scarf to the child.'

The class of verbs taking the obligatory dative of Beneficiary is quite numerous in Lithuanian. With some verbs, the dative may denote purpose as well, cf.:

Komisiija paskýrė pinigùs švietimui. 'The committee allocated money for education.'

(2) Agent – Action – Content – Beneficiary:

Àš táu viską paaiškinsiu. 'I'll explain everything to you.'

Pasakyk mán tiėsq. 'Tell me the truth.'

Mótina atlėidžia vaikams visàs skriaudàs. 'Mother forgives her children all the offences.'

Numerous verbs denoting communication are used in this pattern.

3.23 $N_n - Vf - N_a - N_i$

<i>Āuklē</i>	<i>āpavē</i>	<i>vaīķa</i>	<i>batūkais.</i>
nurse: NOM	put on	child: ACC. SG	shoes: INSTR. PL. MASC

lit. 'The nurse shod the child with boots.'

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Instrument/Means/Content:

<i>Šeiminiņķē tvorās nudžiōvē</i>	'The housewife hung the wash on the fences
<i>skalbiniaīs.</i>	(for drying).'

<i>Kaimīnās užsiūdē kīaulēs</i>	'The neighbour set the dogs (INSTR) on
<i>šunimīs.</i>	the pigs (ACC).'

<i>Draugaī apkāltīno jī išdavystē.</i>	'Friends accused him (ACC) of betrayal
	(INSTR).'

(2) Agent/Cause – Action – Patient – Result:

<i>Rāģana pāvertē brōliūs</i>	'The witch turned the brothers into stones
<i>akmenimīs.</i>	(INSTR).'

<i>Tāvo namūs jīs pelenaīs palēido!</i>	'He turned your house into ashes!'
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<i>Šāltīs pāvertē vādenī ledū.</i>	'Frost turned water into ice.'
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3.24 $N_n - Vf - N_a - PrepP$

<i>Berniūkas</i>	<i>ātēmē</i>	<i>žaišlā</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>draūgo.</i>
boy: NOM. SG	took	toy: ACC. SG	from	friend: GEN. SG

'The boy took a toy from his friend (by force).'

Note: In sentences with verbs meaning 'buy', 'sell', 'lend', 'rent', 'pay', etc. three semantic valencies are often realized:

<i>Tēvas pařdavē kaimīnui kārvē.</i>	'Father sold a cow to the neighbour.'
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<i>Kaimīnās piřko kārvē iš tėvo.</i>	'The neighbour bought a cow from father.'
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<i>Šeimīniņķas atsiskāitē su</i>	'The owner paid me (lit. 'settled an account
<i>maniņ uķ dārbā.</i>	with me') for the work.'

But the second object is often omitted, the sentence retaining its grammaticality:

<i>Tēvas pařdavē kārvē.</i>	'Father sold a cow.'
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<i>Jīs atsiskāitē su maniņ.</i>	'He settled accounts with me.'
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THE PREPOSITIONAL GENITIVE AS SECOND OBJECT

3.25 The most common semantic structures are:

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Source/Counteragent:

Pasiskólinau iš draūgo knūgą. 'I borrowed a book from my friend.'
Mikas apgýnė vaiką nuo šuñs. 'Mikas (Michael) defended the child from a dog.'
Kažkàs pàvogė iš manės žiedą. 'Somebody stole a ring from me.'

(2) Beneficiary – Process – Patient – Source:

Jis gāvo iš draūgo láišką. 'He received a letter from his friend.'

(3) Experiencer – State/Process – Content/Patient – Source:

Visa tai sužinójau iš draūgo/laikraščiu. 'I learned all that from a friend/
newspapers.'
Būda jis paveldėjo iš tėvo. 'He inherited his temper
from his father.'

(4) Agent – Action – Patient – Content:

Visi atkalbinėjo manė nuo tō sumānymo. 'Everybody was trying to dissuade me from
that intention.'

THE PREPOSITIONAL ACCUSATIVE AS SECOND OBJECT

3.26 The most common semantic structures are:

(1) Agent – Action – Addressee – Content:

Vaikai klausinėjo mokytoją 'The children were asking the teacher
(also *mokytojo*) *apie paukščius.* (cf. GEN) about birds.'

(2) Agent – Action – Patient – Beneficiary:

Jis užsiūndė šunį ant avių. 'He set the dog on the sheep.'

(3) Agent – Action – Patient – Goal:

Tėvai sūnų į kunigus išlėido. 'The parents had their son become a priest.'
Jis iškeitė paltą į lėšintus. 'He exchanged a coat for bacon.'

(4) Agent/Cause – Action – Patient – Result:

Rāgana pàvertė brólius į ākmenis. 'The witch turned the brothers into stones.'
Šāltis pàvertė vāndenį į lėdą. 'Frost turned water into ice' (cf. (2) in 3.23).

(5) Agent – Action – Patient – Counteragent:

Mótina užstójo/ùžtarė manė prieš tėvą. 'Mother interceded for me with father.'
Mēs sukėlsime žmónes prieš biurokratùs. 'We shall incite the people against
bureaucrats.'

THE PREPOSITIONAL INSTRUMENTAL AS SECOND OBJECT

3.27 The common semantic structures are:

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Comitative (second Patient):

*Darbiniņkas sumaišē
cemeņtā su žvyrū.* 'The worker mixed cement
with gravel.'

(2) Agent - Action - Patient - Comparative:

Jōs akis poētas lūgina su žvaigždēmīs. 'The poet compares her eyes to stars.'

(3) Agent – Action – Patient – Comitative (second Agent):

Mergāitē pasidalījo ābolū su draugē. 'The girl shared an apple with her friend.'

(4) Agent – Action – Content – Comitative:

Jōnas āptarē planūs su šeimā. 'John discussed the plans with his family.'

Sentence patterns with the genitive as first object

Here belong the following patterns.

3.28 $N_n - Vf - N_g - N_g$

Senēlē paprāšē manēs vandeņīs.
granny asked I: GEN water: GEN
'Granny asked me for water.'

This pattern is a variant of the pattern with the accusative direct object: in fact, the accusative and the genitive of a direct object are used interchangeably with the same verbs (cf. 3.21 above). The semantic functions of the nominal elements are the same:

Agent – Action – Addressee – Goal:

*Praeīvis pasiklāusē
mergāitēs/mergāitē kēlto.* 'A passerby asked the girl (GEN/ACC) the
way.'

*Visi prāšē Dižvo/Dižvoq
lietaūs.* 'Everybody begged God (GEN/ACC) for
rain.'

3.29 $N_n - Vf - N_g - N_d$

Āš linkiū tāu sēkmēs.
I: NOM wish you: DAT success: GEN. SG
'I wish you luck.'

It encodes two sets of semantic roles:

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Beneficiary:

Jaunikis priđavē jāi ‘The bridegroom gave her (a lot of)
brangiŭ dovanŭ. expensive presents.’

(The genitive of indefinite quantity is required by this and other verbs with the prefix *pri-*; the accusative is ungrammatical here.)

(2) Experiencer – State – Content – Beneficiary (Possessor):

Katrē pavŭjdi draūgei pasisekimo. ‘Katrē (Katherine) envies her friend her success.’

3.30 N_n – Vf – N_g – PrepP

Ĵis *reikalāuja* *iš* *manžs* *pinigŭ.*
he: NOM demands from I: GEN money: GEN. PL
‘He demands money from me.’

(1) Agent – Action – Goal/Patient – Source:

Atējānai prisiplēšē iš ‘The invaders looted (a lot of) property
gyvėntoju tuŭto. from the inhabitants.’

(See also the above example.)

(2) Agent – Action – Addressee – Content:

Ĵi visŭ (cf. *visŭs*) ‘She asked everybody (cf. ACC)
klausinėjo apie sąvo vŭrą. about her husband.’

The prepositional phrase *apie* + ACC is used with the same verbs of speech as the genitive of content (cf. *klausinėti kėlio* ‘ask/inquire about the way’).

Sentence patterns with the dative as first object

Here belong two patterns.

3.31 N_n – Vf – N_d – N_i with verbs *skŭstis* ‘complain’, *girtis* ‘boast’, etc. encoding the semantic structure:

Agent – Action – Addressee – Content:

Tėvas *visiems* *girtiasi* *sūnumi.*
father all: DAT. PL boasts son: INSTR. SG
‘Father boasts to everybody of his son.’

3.32 $N_n - Vf - N_d - PrepP$

The prepositional phrase can be either *apie* + ACC (with verbs denoting communication like (*pa*)*sakýti* 'say', *pāsakoti* 'tell', *pranēšti* 'report', etc.), or *už* + ACC; the semantic structure is:

Agent – Action – Addressee – Content:

<i>Niēkas</i>	<i>mums</i>	<i>neprānešē</i>	<i>apie</i>	<i>susirinkimā.</i>
nobody: NOM	we: DAT	not-informed	about	meeting: ACC. SG

'Nobody informed us about the meeting.'

<i>Redāktorius</i>	<i>jām</i>	<i>padēkōjo</i>	<i>už</i>	<i>lāišķā.</i>
editor: NOM	he: DAT	thanked	for	letter: ACC. SG

'The editor thanked him for the letter.'

Sentence pattern with the instrumental as first object

3.33 $N_n - Vf - N_i - PrepP$

Agent – Action – Comitative – Patient

The most productive pattern here is with *sū* + INSTR in which reflexive verbs of reciprocal action are used:

<i>Āš pasīkeičiai/pasīdaliĵā</i>	'I exchanged/shared clothes (INSTR)
<i>su draugē drabūžiais.</i>	with my friend.'

After some verbs, e.g. *pasīdalyti*, the instrumental is interchangeable with the accusative (cf. (3) in 3.27). These verbs, like all other symmetrical predicates, are also used in sentences with a plural subject and the accusative or instrumental case encoding the Patient:

<i>Mēs pasīdaliĵome/</i>	'We shared/exchanged the clothes'
<i>pasīkeitēme drabūžiais.</i>	(cf. (1) in 3.12, 15).

SENTENCE PATTERNS WITH AN INFINITIVE

A number of verbs governing the accusative or dative case require an infinitive as the fourth member of a sentence pattern.

3.34 In sentences with the accusative case the following semantic functions can be assigned to the components:

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Goal

(with the verbs *prašyti* 'ask', *rāginti* 'encourage', *īkalbinėti* '(try to) persuade', *kviesti* 'invite', *vilioti* 'tempt', *sūsti* 'send', etc.):

Šeiminiškė rāgino svečius vālgyti. 'The hostess urged the guests to eat.'
Jis kviētė manė užėiti. 'He invited me to come in.'

The infinitive is often interchangeable with an explicative subordinate clause (see 7.19ff.).

(2) Agent – Action – Patient – Content

(with the verbs *mōkyti* 'teach', *veřsti* 'make, force', *paskirti* 'appoint', etc.):

Mōtina mōko vaiką kalbėti. 'The mother teaches the child to speak.'
Draugai priverė jį nutilti. 'Friends made him stop talking.'

In both cases, the performer of the infinitival action is in the accusative.

- 3.35 Sentences with the dative case are formed by verbs denoting (a) permission or prohibition and the like (*liēpti* 'order', *siūlyti* 'suggest', *linkėti* 'wish', *léisti* 'allow', *draūsti* 'forbid', *trukdyti* 'prevent', etc.), (b) assistance in performing an action (*padėti* 'help', *pagėlbėti* 'assist'), (c) promise to perform an action ((*pa*)(*si*)*žadėti* 'promise', *prisiekti* 'give an oath', etc.).

With group (a) verbs, the infinitive is interchangeable with an explicative subordinate clause, cf.:

Jis mán liēpė ateiti rytój/ 'He ordered me to come
kad ateičiau rytój. tomorrow / that I come tomorrow.'

With (c) verbs it is interchangeable with a clause or a future active participle:

<i>Jis</i>	<i>pažadėjo</i>	<i>mán</i>	<i>nevėluoti /</i>	<i>nevėluosiqs /</i>	<i>kad</i>	<i>nevėluōs.</i>
he	promised	me	not-be late:	not-be late:	that	not-be late:
			INF	FUT. ACT.		3. FUT
				PART/		

'He promised not to be late / that he wouldn't be late.'

In sentences with type (a) and (b) verbs, the dative encodes the performer of the infinitival action, whereas with type (c) verbs the latter is expressed by the nominative case of the subject.

In sentences with the dative and an infinitive, the following semantic functions can be assigned to the components:

Agent – Action – Addressee – Content:

Mán mamà liēpė sugrįžti. 'Mother ordered me to return.'
Tù mán prisiekei tylėti. 'You gave me an oath to keep silent.'
Draūgas padėjo mán pabėgti. 'A friend helped me to escape.'
Mōkytojas léido vaikams pailsėti. 'The teacher allowed the children to have a rest.'

IV. SUBJECT – PREDICATE – (OBJECT) – ADVERBIAL

3.36 A number of verbs require an obligatory adverbial.

Some of these verbs determine the meaning of the adverbial (e.g. spatial or quantitative, rarely some other meaning) without determining its grammatical form, cf.:

<i>Knygà</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>spìntoje</i>	/	<i>ant</i>	<i>spìntos</i>	/	<i>po</i>	<i>spìnta</i>	/	<i>čìà.</i>
book	was	bookcase:		on	bookcase:		under	bookcase:		here
		LOC/			GEN/			INSTR/		

'The book was in/on/under the bookcase/here.'

There are also verbs that determine the grammatical form of an adverbial. Thus, many verbs with prefixes denoting direction require a prepositional phrase with a preposition reduplicating the prefix and its meaning:

<i>Vaikas</i>	<i>ìkrìto</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>vándenì.</i>
child	into-fell	into	water

'The child fell into water.'

<i>ìis</i>	<i>ìššòko</i>	<i>ìš</i>	<i>duoběs.</i>
he	out-jumped	out of	pit: GEN. SG

'He jumped out of the pit.'

<i>Arklÿs</i>	<i>péršoko</i>	<i>per</i>	<i>griðvì.</i>
horse	over-jumped	over	ditch: ACC. SG

'The horse jumped over a ditch.'

An obligatory adverbial is most commonly a noun in the locative or instrumental case or a prepositional phrase, though it may often vary. Therefore, in sentence patterns below the type of an adverbial and its general meaning are indicated instead of the case form or preposition.

Intransitive verbs with an obligatory adverbial form three-member (subject – predicate – adverbial) patterns and transitives – four-member (subject – predicate – object – adverbial) patterns.

Sentence patterns with spatial adverbials

These sentence patterns contain either an adverbial of place (AdvLoc) or an adverbial of direction or route of motion (AdvDir).

SENTENCE PATTERNS WITH AdvLoc

An adverbial of place usually varies in form: it may be the locative or instrumental case of a noun or a prepositional phrase.

3.37 N_n - Vf - AdvLoc

Senēlē gyvēna kāime.

'Granny lives in the country.'

(1) Patient – State – Place:

Dešinėjē būvo pīeva.

'On the right was a meadow.'

Vaiškas tūnójo kampē.

'The child stayed in the corner.'

Pavēikslas kābo ant sienos.

'A picture hangs on the wall.'

(2) Agent – Action – Place:

Ķis laņķēsi pas kaimýnus.

'He visited his neighbours.'

Šeiminiņķē sūkosi virtūvēje.

'The housewife was busy (working) in the kitchen.'

3.38 N_n – Vf – N_a – AdvLoc

Ķis palīko sūnu namiž.

'He left his son at home.'

The semantic functions are:

Agent – Action – Patient – Place:

Senēlē laikýdavo kiaušinius lentýnoje.

'Granny used to keep eggs on the shelf.'

Šuō gáiniojo vištās kiemē.

'The dog chased chickens in the yard.'

Súolus sustātēme

'We put the benches along the walls/

pasieniais/prie stālo.

at the table.'

SENTENCE PATTERNS WITH AdvDir

3.39 The expression of an adverbial in this case is determined by its meaning, which may be that of direction, i.e. the initial or final point of motion, route, or a variant of these (see 2.49ff.). Direction is often expressed by a prepositional phrase, though sometimes the instrumental can be used instead, e.g.:

<i>Ķis</i>	<i>ējo</i>	<i>per</i>	<i>ližptā /</i>	<i>lieptū.</i>
he	walked	across	foot-bridge:	foot-bridge:
			ACC/	INSTR

'He walked across the foot-bridge.'

3.40 $N_n - Vf - AdvDir$

<i>Raitelis</i>	<i>nusėdo</i>	<i>nuo</i>	<i>árklío.</i>
rider	off-sat	off	horse: GEN. SG

'The rider dismounted from the horse.'

(1) Agent – Action (Motion) – Initial/Final Point/Route:

<i>Iš krúmu išliñdo šuo.</i>	'A dog crawled out of the bushes.'
<i>Káttinas užšóko ant tvoróš.</i>	'The cat jumped on the fence.'
<i>Kárvės breñda per ùpę.</i>	'The cows are wading across the stream.'

(2) Patient – Process – Initial/Final Point/Route:

<i>Vijóklis vyniójosi apie stułpą.</i>	'Ivy wound round a post.'
<i>Pupà išáugo iki dangauš.</i>	'The bean has grown up to the sky.'

3.41 $Nn - Vf - N_a - AdvDir$

<i>Gýdytojas nùsiuntė vaíką į váistinę.</i>	'The doctor sent the child to the drugstore.'
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Agent/Force – Action – Patient – Initial/Final point/Route:

<i>Vėjas plėšė lapus nuo mēdžių.</i>	'The wind tore leaves from the trees.'
<i>Jis pridėjo ausį prie dūrų.</i>	'He pressed his ear to the door.'
<i>Piemuó vārė bañdą keliù.</i>	'The shepherd drove the herd along the road.'

3.42 Many intransitive and transitive verbs can take two (and even three) adverbials denoting the initial and final points of motion; cf. respectively:

(1) <i>Ji péréina iš kambario į kambarį.</i>	'She passes from room to room.'
<i>Vaikas nušóko nuo kėdės žemèn.</i>	'The boy jumped down from the chair onto the ground.'
(2) <i>Výrai nurítino rąstus nuo kálno į ùpę.</i>	'The men rolled (down) the logs from the hill into the river.'
<i>Šituó takù jiė vėsdavo kárvės iš namų į ganýklą.</i>	'They used to drive the cows along this path from home to the pasture.'

However, only one of the adverbials with these verbs can be regarded as obligatory. Thus these sentences realize the three- or four-member patterns discussed in 3.40–41.

For a more detailed treatment of spatial adverbials in verb groups see 2.47ff.

SENTENCE PATTERNS WITH AdvQuant

- 3.43 A quantitative adverbial is obligatory in sentences with the verbs (mostly prefixed) whose lexical meaning implies a quantitative characteristic of the action or subject (object).

The grammatical form of quantitative adverbials is not rigidly determined.

Sentences with an obligatory quantitative adverbial can contain other obligatory components. A number of patterns are distinguished here.

N_n – Vf – AdvQuant

Dárbas trūko ilgāi.

'The work lasted long (ADV).'

The encoded semantic structure is:

Patient – State/Process – Quantity.

- 3.44 A temporal quantitative adverbial is usually dependent on verbs with the prefixes *iš-* and *pra-*:

Jis prasiřgo/iřgulřjo visā žiēmā.

'He was ill/spent in bed all winter'

(cf. **Jis prasiřgo/iřgulřjo*).

- 3.45 A spatial quantitative adverbial is obligatory with the verbs *siekti* 'reach, stretch (as far as), equal', *tęstis* 'stretch', *nusitęsti* 'last, extend' and the like:

Kūno ilģis siekia tris metrūs.

'The length of the body equals three metres.'

Lygumā tęsiasi/nusitęsia tolī.

'The plain extends far.'

- 3.46 Quantitative adverbials denoting other dimensions are obligatory with the verbs *sveřti* 'weigh', *kainuoti* 'cost', *atsieiti* 'cost, come to', *įkainoti* 'appraise, fix the price (of)', etc.:

Kūdikis svėrė keturis kilogramūs/daūg/mažaī.

'The baby weighed four kilograms/much/ little.'

Knygà kaināvo pigiaī.

'The book cost little (lit. 'cheaply').'

In the following sentence the Agent is added:

Jō tuřtā aņtstolis įkainojo dviēm tūkstančiais litų.

'The sheriff appraised his property at two thousand litas.'

To express the limits of a quantitative characteristic, two prepositional phrases are used, usually with the prepositions *nuo* 'from' and *iki* 'to':

Operācija trūko nuo rýto iki vākaro.

'The operation lasted from morning till evening.'

3.47 $N_n - Vf - AdvLoc - AdvQuant$

Pas sūnų ji išbūvo neilgai. 'She stayed at her son's place a short while.'

The encoded semantic structure is:

Patient – State – Place – Quantity of time.

A number of intransitive verbs, usually with the prefixes *iš-*, *pra-* and sometimes others, form four-member patterns of this type, with an obligatory quantitative adverbial.

Iki dvylikos mėtų amžiaus ji išgulėjo lovoje. 'She stayed in bed until (she was) twelve years of age.'

3.48 $N_n - Vf - N_a - AdvLoc - AdvQuant$

Agent – Action – Patient – Place – Quantity of time:

Ji išlaikė sūnų namiė iki dvidešimties mėtų. 'She kept her son at home until (he was) twenty years of age.'

Sentence pattern with AdvMan

- 3.49 The verbs *elgtis* 'behave', *atrodyti* 'appear, look', *jaūstis* 'feel, be', *gyvūoti* 'get on', *laikytis* 'hold oneself, behave', and a few others take an obligatory adverbial of manner expressed by a qualitative adverb or its substitute (a comparative phrase, sometimes a prepositional phrase).

 $N_n - Vf - AdvMan$

Jis keistaĩ/kaip vaĩkas elĩgiasi. 'He behaves strangely/like a child.'
Tėvas prastaĩ atródo/jaūčiasi. 'Father looks/feels unwell' (cf. also 3.50).

V. SUBJECT – PREDICATE – (OBJECT) – PREDICATIVE
COMPLEMENT3.50 $N_n - Vf - Adj_n/N_n/N_i$

Mókytojas *atrodė* *pĩktas.*
 teacher: NOM. SG. MASC seemed angry: NOM. SG. MASC
 'The teacher looked angry.'

With the verbs *atrodyti* 'seem, look', *ródytis* 'look', *pasiródyti* 'turn out (to be)' used in this pattern the subject encodes the Patient; with the verbs *jaūstis* 'feel (oneself)', *pasijūsti* 'begin to feel (oneself)', and the like, it encodes an Experiencer.

These verbs require specification by a qualitative adjective or a class noun in the nominative (less commonly instrumental) case (cf. sentences with a semantically similar adverbial in 3.49).

An adjective can be replaced by a qualitative participle:

<i>Jis</i>	<i>jaūtēsi</i>	<i>nūskriaustas</i> /	<i>atródē</i>	<i>pavaļģes</i> .
he	felt	hurt: PAST. PASS. PART. MASC /	seemed	tired: PAST. ACT. PART. MASC

'He felt hurt/seemed tired.'

An adjective may also be replaced by a comparative phrase, the genitive case of a noun (often with an attribute) or a prepositional phrase; cf. respectively:

<i>Jis jaūtēsi kaip nesāvas.</i>	'He didn't feel like his own self.'
<i>Mergytė atródē gerōs širdiēs.</i>	'The girl seemed to be kind-hearted lit. 'of kind heart').'
<i>Ji pasiródē visāt be nūovokos.</i>	'She turned out to be quite witless (lit. 'quite without quick wits').'

If the subject is the neuter pronoun or an indefinite pronoun with no gender contrast, the predicative adjective is used in the neuter form:

<i>Visa /</i>	<i>viskas</i>	<i>teñ</i>	<i>atródē</i>	<i>naūja,</i>	<i>gražū.</i>
all: NEUTR	everything	there	looked	new: NEUTR	beautiful: NEUTR

'Everything there looked new and beautiful.'

In sentences with the verbs *rōdytis/atródyti/pasirōdyti* 'seem, look' the dative object of Experiencer can be used:

<i>Jis</i>	<i>mán</i>	<i>baisūs</i>	<i>keistuōlis</i> /	<i>baisiū</i>	<i>keistuoliū</i>	<i>pasiródē.</i>
he	I: DAT	terrible	crank: NOM /	terrible: INSTR	crank: INSTR	seemed

'He seemed to me a terribly queer man.'

3.51 $N_n - V_f - N_a - Adj_a/Adj_i - N_i$

<i>Kāras</i>	<i>padārē</i>	<i>visūs</i>	<i>nelaimīgus.</i>
war: NOM. SG	made	all: ACC. PL	unhappy: ACC. PL

'The war made everybody unhappy.'

N_n commonly encodes Agent with the verbs (*pa*)*daryti* 'make' (in the above example it encodes Cause), *vadinti* 'name, call', *pravardžiuoti* 'call', *pripažinti* 'recognize, acknowledge', and Experiencer with the verb *laikyti* 'consider'; cf. respectively:

- (a) *Visì pravardžiãvo jĩ bedieviù.* 'Everyone called him an atheist (INSTR).'
 (b) *Mēs laikēme jĩ išmiñčiumi /išmintingu.* 'We considered him a wise man (N_i)/ wise (Adj_i).'

SENTENCE PATTERNS WITH THE POSSESSIVE DATIVE CASE

- 3.52 The possessive dative case of a (usually human) noun often occurs in sentences with the subject or an object denoting a body part (or rather, inalienable and, sometimes, alienable possession); cf.:

Mótnai drēba rañkos.
 mother: DAT tremble hand: NOM. PL
 'Mother's hands tremble.'

The dative denotes the possessor or the whole and it is related both to the name of a (body) part and to the predicate:

Pabučiãvo rañkã mótinaì.
 kissed hand: ACC. SG mother: DAT
 'He kissed mother's hand.'

Lúžo rankà vaĩkui.
 broke arm: NOM. SG child: DAT
 'The boy's arm broke' (or 'The boy broke his arm').

Sėdi ant kėliu tėvui.
 sits on knee: GEN. PL father: DAT
 'He sits in his father's lap.'

To denote a part – whole relation, inanimate nouns can also be used in the possessive dative case, e.g.:

Švaŗkui atiro rankóvė.
 jacket: DAT. SG ripped off sleeve: NOM. SG
 'A sleeve of the jacket got ripped off.'

The dative is also used to denote Beneficiary who is also the possessor of alienable property:

Tù mán (iš manėš) žėmę norėjai atimti.
 thou I: DAT from I: GEN land: ACC wanted take: INF
 'You wanted to take my land from me.'

- 3.53 The noun denoting a body part may assume a number of case forms with or without a preposition: it may be in the nominative or accusative case as in the above examples, or the locative, as in:

Mán jō žōdžiai be paliouōs skambějo galvojè.
 I: DAT his word: NOM. PL without pause sounded head: LOC. SG
 'His words constantly sounded in my head.'

Here are examples with prepositional phrases:

Šākos brēžē jām per véida.
 branches scratched he: DAT across face: ACC
 'Branches scratched him on the face.'

Žuvīs išslýdo vaĩkui iš raĩkų.
 fish slipped-out child: DAT from hand: GEN. PL
 'The fish slipped out of the boy's hands.'

In sentences with momentary verbs like *smōgti* 'strike, hit' and its synonyms (*drōžti*, *skėlti*, *treĩkti*, (*su*)*dúoti*, etc.), *dũrti* 'stab', *ĩkásti* 'bite' and its synonyms (*ĩgėlti*, *ĩkiĩsti*) the name of a body part may be omitted, in which case the dative of possessor/whole can be interpreted as Patient, cf.:

Šuō ĩkándo mán ĩ kóją.
 dog: NOM bite: 3. PAST I: DAT into leg: ACC. SG
 'A dog bit me on the leg.'

Mán ĩkándo šuō.
 I: DAT bite: 3. PAST dog: NOM
 'A dog bit me.'

Impersonal sentence patterns

- 3.54 Impersonal sentences are formed with impersonal verbs, i.e. verbs which have no subject valency. Though subjectless, impersonal verbs may have a number of other valencies, therefore sentence patterns are varied enough: they may consist of a predicate alone or a predicate and obligatory dependent components.

VI. PREDICATE

- 3.55 Vf

Aũšta. 'Day is breaking.'

This pattern is realized mostly by sentences with impersonal verbs denoting meteorological phenomena or processes associated with the times of the day or with seasons:

<i>Sniņga.</i>	'It is snowing.'
<i>Laukē šķāla.</i>	'It is growing cold outside.'
<i>Jaū šviņta.</i>	'Day is already breaking.'
<i>Rudenēja.</i>	'Autumn is coming.'
<i>Žaibúoja.</i>	'Lightning is flashing.'

Impersonal verbs of this class are extremely numerous and varied.

Most of these verbs can take a tautological subject, the noun being lexically identical with the verb:

<i>Lýja lietūs.</i>	lit. 'Rain is raining.'
<i>Aūšta aušrā.</i>	lit. 'Dawn is dawning.'

The exceptions are very few, e.g. the verbs *rudenēja* 'autumn is coming', *vakarēja* 'evening is coming', and a few others.

Structurally, sentences with a tautological subject assume the pattern $N_n - V_f$, but they remain impersonal since they denote events unrelated to any agent, the subject noun naming the same event. A two-member structure is used for emphasis, or in case it is necessary to include a modifier:

<i>Lījo šiltas lietūs.</i>	'A warm rain was raining.'
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The verbs under consideration can also be used in personal two-member (usually metaphorical) sentences:

<i>Išāušo graži dienā.</i>	lit. 'A beautiful day (has) dawned.'
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Some impersonal verbs are sometimes used with an optional instrumental:

<i>Ledaīs lýja.</i>	lit. 'It rains with icicles.'
<i>Bóbu kášniais sniņga</i>	'It snows with huge snowflakes.'

VII. PREDICATE – OBJECT

3.56 Vf – N_g

<i>Prisiriņko</i>	<i>reikalū.</i>
accumulated	affair: GEN. PL
'A lot of affairs have accumulated.'	

The encoded semantic structure is:

State/Process – Patient/Content.

This pattern is realized by sentences with perfective verbs with the prefix *pri-* which require the genitive of indefinite quantity. These sentences are interpreted as impersonal, because the genitive is not interchangeable with the nominative; e.g.:

<i>Šižmet privižo uodū (*uodaī).</i>	'This year lots of gnats (GEN) have hatched.'
Cf. <i>Veīstasi uodaī.</i>	'Gnats (NOM) are hatching.'

This pattern is also associated with the negative form of the verb *būti* 'be' (and *likti* 'remain'):

<i>Nērà</i>	<i>jokiōs</i>	<i>išettiēs.</i>
not-be: 3. PRES	no	way-out: GEN. SG
'There is no way out.'		

Cf. *Yrà* *išeitis.*
is way-out: NOM. SG
'There is a way out.'

<i>Seniaī</i>	<i>nebērà</i>	<i>tēvo.</i>
old: ADV	not-be: 3. PRES	father: GEN
'Father died a long time ago.'		

3.57 Vf – N_d

<i>Draūgui</i>	<i>sēkasi.</i>
friend: DAT. SG	go well: 3. PRES. REFL
'My friend is in luck.'	

The encoded semantic structure is:

State/Process – Experiencer/Beneficiary/Patient (human).

This pattern is realized by sentences with impersonal and some impersonally used verbs denoting physical or psychological states, the dative encoding either an Experiencer, or a Beneficiary, or a Patient. Here belong a number of non-reflexive verbs (e.g. *pagerēti* 'become better', *palengvēti* 'become easier', *pabaīsti* 'feel horror', etc.) which are used in sentences like

<i>Kařtais</i>	<i>jám</i>	<i>palengvēja.</i>
sometimes	he: DAT	become better: 3. PRES
'Sometimes he feels better.'		

Most of these verbs are also used in personal sentences, the dative being interchangeable with the nominative of the subject:

Ligóniui pagerějo = Ligónis pagerějo.
 patient: DAT became better patient: NOM became better
 'The patient improved.'

A number of verbs are *reflexiva tantum*, e.g. *sèktis* 'go well', *klótis* 'get on', e.g.:

Kaĩp táu klójasi?
 how you: DAT goes on
 'How are you getting on? (How are things with you?)'

A few verbs are reflexives derived from personal intransitives to express a modal-potential meaning; they are commonly used with negation or with an adverb of manner:

Mán nesidĩrba / nesimiegójo.
 I: DAT not-REFL-work: 3. PRES not-REFL-sleep: 3. PAST
 'I can't work (don't feel like working)/ couldn't sleep.'

Žmoněms kituř geriaũ gyvėnasi.
 people: DAT. PL elsewhere better live: 3. PRES. REFL
 'People live better in other places.'

Adverbs of manner are also common with the verbs *eĩtis/išeĩti* 'go, happen', *klótis* 'get on', and they are less common with their synonyms *sèktis/pasisèkti* 'go well'; e.g.:

Ne kiekvienám lygiai gerai eĩnasi.
 not everybody: DAT equally well goes: REFL
 'Not everyone is equally lucky.'

The verbs *sèktis*, *eĩtis*, *išeĩti* can also take the prepositional phrase *sũ + INSTR*:

Su kelionė jiems neišėjo / nepavyko.
 with journey: INSTR they: DAT not-went not-succeeded
 'They failed to make the trip.'

3.58 Vf – N_a

Manė pỹkĩna.
 I: ACC make sick: 3. PRES
 'I feel sick.'

The encoded semantic structure is:

Process/State – Patient.

In this pattern, two types of verbs occur: (1) impersonal or impersonally used (mostly prefixed) verbs denoting spontaneous natural processes (e.g., *sulỹti* 'get

wet (in the rain)', *užsnigti* 'snow over', *nutreñkti* 'strike dead (of a bolt of lightning)' and the like) and (2) impersonally used personal verbs denoting the physical state of a human patient; cf. respectively:

(1) *Visái užpùstè kēliq.*
quite cover up: 3. PAST road: ACC. SG
lit. 'It snowed up the road.'

Vāsara mūsu kárve nùtrenkè.
summer: ACC our cow: ACC. SG strike dead: 3. PAST
'In summer, our cow was struck dead.'

(2) *Vežimè ligónè labaĩ krātè.*
cart: LOC patient: ACC. SG very jolt: 3. PAST
'The patient was being badly jolted in the cart.'

Gál prieš óro pėrmatnq manè taĩp láužo.
maybe before weather: GEN change: ACC I: ACC so break: 3. PRES
'Maybe because of the change of weather I am aching all over.'

The latter sentences are similar in meaning to three-member impersonal sentences with the possessive dative, e.g.:

Mán skaūda gálvq.
I: DAT aches head: ACC
'I have a headache.'

VIII. PREDICATE – OBJECT – OBJECT

3.59 Vf – N_g – N_d

Mùms trūksta dúonos.
we: DAT lack: 3. PRES bread: GEN. SG
'We are short of bread.'

This pattern encodes two semantic structures.

(1) State/Process – Beneficiary – Content:

Mán nereikia svetimū tuftų.
I: DAT not-need: 3. PRES strange: GEN. PL riches: GEN. PL
'I don't need other people's riches.'

Sáulès mùms užteñka.
sun: GEN. SG we: DAT is enough
'We have enough sun (light).'

Žmōgui niēkad viltiēs nestiņga.
 man: DAT never hope: GEN not-lacks
 'A man is never short of hope.'

The dative sometimes can be replaced by the locative of the inanimate noun, e.g.:

Šulinyjē trūksta vandeņš.
 well: LOC lacks water: GEN
 'There is too little water in the well' (see 3.67).

The verbs *užtēkti* 'be/have enough', *stīgti* 'be short (of)', *pristīgti* 'fall short (of)', *trūkti* 'lack' are also used, though less commonly, with the nominative subject instead of the dative object (cf. 3.13, 5):

Vienā kaŗtā pristīgo jis dūonos.
 one time fell short he: NOM bread: GEN
 'One day he was short of bread.'

(2) State/Process – Experiencer – Content:

Mán labaĩ norējosi ņbuolio.
 I: DAT very want: 3. PAST. REFL apple: GEN. SG
 'I wanted an apple very much.'

Medžiōtojui pagaĩlo stirniūkēs.
 hunter: DAT. SG fell sorry: 3. PAST roe: GEN. SG
 'The hunter felt sorry for the little roe.'

This pattern is also realized by sentences with the negative form of the reflexive verbs of sense perception *ne-si-māto* '(is) not to be seen', *ne-si-jaũčia* '(is) not to be felt', *ne-si-giŗdi* '(is) not to be heard'; these sentences are in fact negative transforms of their respective affirmative sentences; thus

Mán nestigirdējo balsĩ.
 I: DAT not-REFL-hear: 3. PAST voice: GEN. PL
 'I couldn't hear any voices'

is a transform of

Mán girdējosi balsai.
 I: DAT hear: 3. PAST. REFL voice: NOM. PL
 'I could hear voices.'

Cf. the non-reflexive sentence:

Āŗ girdējau balsus.
 I: NOM hear: 1. SG. PAST voice: ACC. PL
 'I heard voices.'

These reflexives, however, are more common without the dative case, thus implying a generalized Experiencer:

<i>Laukuosè</i>	<i>nebesimãtè</i>	<i>žmonių.</i>
field: LOC. PL	not-any longer-REFL-see: 3. PAST	people: GEN

'One could no longer see people in the fields.' Or: 'There were no longer any people to be seen in the fields.'

It should be noted that in Standard Lithuanian sentences with the infinitive of the respective non-reflexive verbs are more common:

<i>Nebematýti</i>	<i>žmonių.</i>
not-any longer see: INF	people: GEN

'One can see no people any longer' (see 3.95).

3.60 Vf – N_a – N_g

<i>Sõdã</i>	<i>prìnešè</i>	<i>snižgo.</i>
garden: ACC. SG	drift: 3. PAST	snow: GEN. SG

'The garden was snowed up.'

The encoded semantic structure is:

Process – Patient – Content.

This pattern is limited to a small lexical group of verbs with the prefix *pri-* referring to meteorological phenomena, the accusative case denoting place, and the genitive snow or rain:

<i>Priľijo</i>	<i>pìlnã</i>	<i>griðvi</i>	<i>vandẽns.</i>
PREF-rained	full: ACC	ditch: ACC	water: GEN

'Rain filled the ditch with water' or 'It rained the ditch full of water.'

3.61 Vf – N_a – N_i

<i>Vaĩkã</i>	<i>mẽto</i>	<i>spuogaĩs.</i>
child: ACC. SG	throw	pimple: INSTR. PL

'The child is covered with pimples.'

(Spontaneous) Process – Patient (human or body part) – Content.

This pattern is characteristic of impersonally used verbs like (*iš*)*beĩti/išbėrti* 'break out (of a rash)', (*iš*)*kėlti* lit. 'raise', *mėtyti* 'cover' (lit. 'throw'), (*iš*)*mũšti* 'break out, erupt', (*iš*)*pìlti* 'erupt' (lit. 'pour out'), *veĩsti* 'erupt, break out' denoting an eruption of sores, pimples and the like, which makes them synonyms; cf. also:

<i>Jĩ išbėrè/išbėrè spuogaĩs.</i>	'He had an eruption of pimples.'
<i>Manè kaĩtais išmuša dẽmẽmĩs.</i>	'Sometimes I have an eruption of spots.'

The instrumental can be omitted with the verb *(iš)beřti*/*(iš)bėrti* since the meaning of the noun is incorporated in the verb:

Manė būvo smařkiai išbėre. 'I had a bad rash.'

With all these verbs the accusative can be used to denote a body part, in which case the possessive dative is used to refer to the person (see 3.72):

Mán nukėlė spuogaĩ liežuvį.
I: DAT raised sore: INSTR. PL tongue: ACC. SG
'My tongue was covered with sores.'

With a number of these verbs, the instrumental alternates with the nominative, in which case the sentence is syntactically personal:

Vaĩka pĩla spuogaĩ.
child: ACC pour: 3. PRES pimple: NOM. PL
'Pimples erupt on the child's body.'

This pattern is also realized by sentences with meteorological verbs, e.g.:

Daņgų užtráukė debesimĩs.
sky: ACC covered cloud: INSTR. PL
'The sky got covered with clouds'

which has an alternative personal variant:

Daņgų užtráukė dėbesys.
sky: ACC covered cloud: NOM. PL
'Clouds covered the sky.'

3.62 Vf – Nd – nuo Ng

Jám kliùs nuo tėvo.
he: DAT get: 3. FUT from father: GEN
'He will get it hot from his father.'

The dative here denotes Patient and the prepositional phrase may be interpreted as Source of the state.

In this pattern, two verbs only, viz. *kliùti* and *tėkti* 'get (it)', are used.

IX. PREDICATE – (OBJECT) – ADVERBIAL

- 3.63** The nucleus of a number of impersonal sentences contains an obligatory adverbial of place (AdvLoc) or direction (AdvDir). Its grammatical form is not as a rule rigidly determined by the predicate. The following patterns can be distinguished here.

3.64 Vf – AdvLoc/AdvDir

Apliňkui dùnda.
 around roar: 3. PRES
 ‘There is a roar around here.’

The encoded semantic structure is:

State/Process – Place/Direction.

Sentences of this type are formed by impersonal and impersonally used intransitive verbs denoting acoustic or visual effects or events not attributed to any agent or cause and specified with respect to place.

Vakaruosè parausvějo.
 west: LOC. PL grow reddish: 3. PAST
 ‘It grew reddish in the west.’

Gìriose švōkštè, šlamějo.
 wood: LOC. PL swish: 3. PAST rustle: 3. PAST
 ‘There was swishing and rustling in the woods.’

Po kójomis žliùgsi.
 under foot: INSTR. PL squelch: 3. PRES
 ‘(Water) squelches underfoot.’

Nuo stógo vařva.
 from roof: GEN drip: 3. PRES
 ‘It is dripping from the roof.’

The locative case is often interchangeable with the nominative, the subject designating place; cf.:

Gìrios šlamějo. ‘The woods (NOM) rustled.’
Dangùs parausvějo. ‘The sky grew red.’

3.65 Vf – N_i – AdvLoc/AdvDir

Čìa kvěpia gèlémis.
 here smell: 3. PRES flower: INSTR. PL
 ‘It smells of flowers here.’

State/Process – Content – Place/Direction.

This pattern is characteristic of impersonally used intransitive verbs denoting the emitting of an odour or flowing usually with an adverbial either of place or direction, cf. respectively:

(a) *Laukuosè* *kvepějo* *medumì.*
 field: LOC. PL smell: 3. PAST honey: INSTR. SG
 'In the fields it smelled of honey.'

(b) *Nuo* *ěžero* *patráuke* *věsumù.*
 from lake: GEN draw: 3. PAST freshness: INSTR
 'There was a draught of fresh air from the lake.'

3.66 Vf – N_a – AdvDir

Manè *tráukia* *namð.*
 I: ACC draw: 3. PRES home
 'I long to go home.'

State – Patient (human) – Direction.

This pattern is characteristic of impersonally used transitive verbs which acquire the meaning of an uncontrolled urge to go to the place designated by an adverbial; here belong *kělti* 'raise', *tráukti* 'draw, pull', *stùmti* 'push', etc.; also *vilió-ti/māsinti* 'attract, lure'. Direction is expressed by a prepositional phrase or an adverb:

Manè *lyg* *stúme* *i* *ěžeraq /* *pirmjñ.*
 I: ACC as if push: 3. PAST into lake: ACC forwards
 'Some force kind of pushed me into the lake/forwards.'

Sentences of this type are semantically similar to those of the pattern Vf – N_a denoting a person's physical state (see 3.58.).

3.67 Vf – N_g – AdvLoc/AdvDir

Šulinyjè *stiñga /* *pakañka* *vandeñs.*
 well: LOC. SG lack: 3. PRES be enough: 3. PRES water: GEN
 'There is too little/enough water in the well'

This pattern encodes two semantic structures.

(1) State/Process – Content – Place:

Kambaryjè *trúksta* *óro.*
 room: LOC lack: 3. PRES air: GEN
 lit. 'There is too little air in the room (i.e. it is stuffy)'
 (cf. also the above example).

The pattern is formed by verbs denoting shortage, lack of sth. and their antonyms (cf. *pakàkti* 'be in sufficient quantity').

(2) State/Process – Patient/Content – Direction:

<i>Į</i>	<i>statinė</i>	<i>pribėgo</i>	<i>vandėis.</i>
into	barrel: ACC. SG	PREF-run: 3. PAST	water: GEN. SG

'(Much) water filled the barrel.'

<i>Pribyrėjo</i>	<i>tinko</i>	<i>nuo</i>	<i>lubų.</i>
PREF-fall: 3. PAST	plaster: GEN. SG	from	ceiling: GEN. PL

'A lot of plaster flaked off down from the ceiling.'

This pattern is semantically similar to the two-member pattern, e.g.:

Prisiriūko reikalų. 'A lot of affairs have accumulated' (see 3.56).

Most of these verbs are also used personally, with the nominative of spatial noun instead of an adverbial of place:

<i>Į</i>	<i>kažbarį /</i>	<i>Kambarys</i>	<i>prisiriūko</i>	<i>žmonių.</i>
into	room:	room:	PREF-REFL-gather:	people:
	ACC. SG	NOM. SG	3. PAST	GEN

'A lot of people gathered in the room/The room filled with (a lot of) people.'

With verbs of shortage and sufficient quantity an adverbial can alternate with the dative case of an object, unless it is a locative noun (see 3.59), cf.:

<i>Knūgoje</i>	<i>trūksta</i>	<i>dvieljū</i>	<i>lāpų.</i>
book: LOC. SG	lack: 3. PRES	two: GEN	page: GEN. PL

'Two pages are missing in the book.'

<i>Knūgai</i>	<i>trūksta</i>	<i>dvieljū</i>	<i>lāpų.</i>
book: DAT. SG	lack: 3. PRES	two: GEN	pages: GEN

'The book lacks two pages'

but:

<i>*Šuliniai</i>	<i>trūksta</i>	<i>vandėis.</i>
well: DAT	lacks	water: GEN

'The well is short of water.'

SENTENCE PATTERNS WITH AN INFINITIVE

- 3.68** A number of verbs (*tèkti* 'have to', *patikti* 'like', *rūpėti* 'care, be worried (about)', *traukti* 'attract' and the like) can be semantically supplemented by an infinitive or a noun in object position, cf.:

<i>Sūnui</i>	<i>patiko</i>	<i>dìrbti /</i>	<i>dàrbas.</i>
son: DAT. SG	like: 3. PAST	work: INF	work: NOM. SG

'The son liked to work/the work.'

Mán nórisi váłgyti / vałgio / dúonos.
 I: DAT want: 3. PRES. REFL eat: INF food: GEN bread: GEN
 'I'd like to eat/some food/some bread.'

Manè tráukia keliáuti / keliðnès.
 I: ACC attract: 3. PRES travel: INF travelling: NOM. PL
 'I'd like to travel/Travelling attracts me.'

According to the case form of the second subordinate nominal, two patterns are distinguished.

3.69 Vf – N_d – Inf

Svečiáms reikēs paláukti.
 guest: DAT. PL be necessary: FUT wait: INF
 'The visitors will have to wait a while.'

The encoded semantic structure is:

State – Experiencer/Beneficiary – Content.

The verbs *užtèkti/pakàkti* 'have/be enough', *sèktis* 'succeed, be a success', *derėti* 'be suited/suitable', *tèkti/pasitàikyti* 'happen', *patikti* 'like', *at(si)bósti* 'get bored', *įkyrėti* 'bore', *rūpėti* 'be worried (about), care', *knietėti* 'be anxious (to do sth)', *pabaīsti* 'feel terror', etc. are also used in this pattern; e.g.:

Jám pasisekè išlòšti. 'He (DAT) was lucky enough to win.'
Ganēs táu niekùs taūkšti. lit. 'It is enough for you (DAT) to jabber.'
Táu neprìdera taīp darýti. 'It isn't proper for you (DAT) to do so.'
Mán pakyrėjo láukti. 'I (DAT) got bored with waiting.'

The dative case of a human noun is often omitted if it is implied by the context or if it is generalized:

Rytój tèks labaī gailėtis.
 tomorrow have-to: 3. FUT very be-sorry: INF
 'Tomorrow one will be very sorry.'

Vakarè jau nórisi pailsėti. 'In the evening one feels like having a rest.'

The object of a transitive infinitive can take the form of the nominative instead of the accusative:

Jám nepatiko laukēlis (laukēlį) árti.
 he: DAT not-like: 3. PAST field: field: plough: INF
 NOM. SG ACC. SG

'He didn't like to plough the field (NOM/ACC).'

3.70 Vf – N_a – Inf

<i>Manè</i>	<i>tráukia</i>	<i>keliáuti.</i>
I: ACC	attract: 3. PRES	travel: INF

'I'd like to travel.'

The encoded semantic structure is:

State – Experiencer/Patient – Content.

In fact, the semantic structure is similar to that in the previous case, the difference being in the case form of Experiencer or Patient: in this case impersonally used transitive verbs (such as *vilióti/māsinti* 'lure', and also *veřsti* 'force, compel', *gündyti* 'tempt', etc.) require the accusative (cf. 3.66):

<i>Jā veřčia vémti.</i>	lit. 'It makes her (ACC) sick (INF).'
<i>Manè sentai viliója</i>	'I have been longing to see the sea for a
<i>patatyti járaq.</i>	long time.'

The accusative of Patient/Experiencer may be omitted if it is generalized or implied by the context, cf.:

<i>Tjly vākarq taip ir tráukia</i>	'On a quiet evening one feels like taking
<i>pasiváikščioti.</i>	a walk.'

3.71 The infinitive of *búti* 'be' and *tàpti* 'become' used as a copula after an impersonal verb takes either (a) the instrumental case of a noun, or (b) the dative or accusative of an adjective which agrees with the case of a human object:

(a) <i>Táu</i>	<i>tėks</i>	<i>pabúti /</i>	<i>tàpti</i>	<i>vertėju.</i>
you: DAT	have-to: 3. FUT	PREF-be: INF	become: INF	translator: INSTR

'You'll have to act as an interpreter.'

<i>Berniūkq</i>	<i>tráukė</i>	<i>búti /</i>	<i>tàpti</i>	<i>lakūnū.</i>
boy: ACC. SG	draw: 3. PAST	be: INF	become: INF	pilot: INSTR

'The boy had an urge to be/become a pilot.'

(b) <i>Táu</i>	<i>reikia</i>	<i>búti</i>	<i>atsargiam.</i>
you: DAT	be necessary: 3. PRES	be: INF	careful: DAT

'You ought to be careful.'

<i>Manè</i>	<i>gündė</i>	<i>búti</i>	<i>abėjingq</i>	<i>viskam.</i>
I: ACC	tempt: 3. PAST	be: INF	indifferent: ACC	all: DAT

'I was tempted to be indifferent to everything.'

PATTERNS WITH THE POSSESSIVE DATIVE

- 3.72 The possessive dative is included in impersonal sentence patterns in the same way as in personal sentences when the possessive part – whole relationship is to be expressed. The animate possessor (whole) is named by the dative and the (body) part, by various case forms and prepositional phrases:

<i>Mònikai</i>	<i>kójas</i>	<i>įskaũdo.</i>
Monica: DAT	foot: ACC. PL	begin-to-ache: 3. PAST

'Monica's feet began to ache.'

<i>Jám</i>	<i>speñgia</i>	<i>ausysè.</i>
he: DAT	ring: 3. PRES	ear: LOC. PL

'There is a ringing in his ears.'

<i>Mán</i>	<i>smilksi</i>	<i>per</i>	<i>širdį.</i>
I: DAT	prick: 3. PRES	across	heart: ACC. SG

'I feel a stitch in the heart.'

The possessive dative is common with verbs denoting pain and similar sensations: *skaudėti* 'ache', *maūsti* 'ache', *gėlti* 'ache', *dūrti* 'prick', etc.

INFINITIVAL SENTENCES

- 3.73 A special type of impersonal sentence is formed with the infinitive as a predicate. The semantic subject of the infinitive can be expressed by the dative case of an object (very much as in other types of impersonal sentences), but it often is not expressed if a generalized or indefinite agent is implied.

The pattern for infinitival sentences is:

Inf (- N_d)

<i>Išeĩti</i>	<i>(visiems)!</i>
leave: INF	all: DAT. PL

'Get out (everybody)!'

Personal verbs with a human agent are commonly used in this type of sentence. An infinitive retains its objects and adverbials, the subject being changed into the dative object.

Infinitival sentences are common in emphatic speech and express a variety of modal and emotive meanings by context and/or intonation.

Infinitival sentences are used to express:

(1) Order, request, prohibition (usually without the dative case of an agent):

Vaikaĩ, dainuoti!
 children sing: INF
 'Children, sing!'

(2) Wishing luck (to oneself or another person):

Laimingai sugrįžti!
 happily return: INF
 'Happy return!'

Taĩ kad mán taĩp pasivažinėti!
 PRT PRT I: DAT so travel: INF
 'I wish I could travel so too!'

(3) Censure, disapproval:

Tokiám rimtám výrui taĩp pasielęgti!
 such serious man: DAT so behave: INF
 'That such a serious man should have behaved so (i.e. disgracefully)'

Infinitival sentences can also be interrogative:

Ar mán čia likti, ar išęiti?
 PRT I: DAT here stay: INF or leave: INF
 'Shall I stay or leave?'

These cases can be viewed as sentences with an omitted modal verb (cf. 3.98).

3.74 The infinitive often alternates with a past gerund in impersonal sentences expressing a question, intention, or a wish, especially in sentences beginning with the particle *kād* or an interrogative or relative pronoun:

Kad taĩp tę paũkštę pagąuti / pagąvous!
 PRT so that bird: ACC. SG catch: INF catch: PAST. GER
 'I wish I (we) could catch that bird!'

Kę čia mums daręti / padęrius?
 what: ACC here we: DAT do: INF do: PAST. GER
 'What could/should we do here (I wonder)?'

NOMINAL SENTENCES

Vardažodiniai sakiniai

3.75 This term is used here to refer to sentences with a compound nominal predicate, i.e. a predicate consisting of a noun or an adjective (or any other nominal part

of speech) and a copula (link verb). Instead of a noun, an adverb or an infinitive can be used. The most common link verb is *būti* 'be' devoid of any lexical meaning and having the grammatical meanings of tense, mood, etc. The verbs *darýti* / *pasidarýti* 'become', *tāpti* 'become' etc. denoting change and *likti* 'remain' are also used as copulas.

Most nominal sentences contain an obligatory subject, and they may contain other grammatically obligatory constituents, e.g.:

Sūnūs lýgus su tēvu. lit. 'The son is equal with the father.'

They are entered in the sentence patterns below.

However, the obligatory valencies of infinitives and verbal nouns (*keřštas* 'revenge', *užduotis* 'task', (cf. *uždúoti* 'give a task'), *atlýginimas* 'pay' (cf. *atlýginti* 'to pay') are not included in sentence patterns. They are described in the sections on word groups and verbal sentence patterns.

Since a compound nominal predicate is a syntactic unit, the copula and the nominal part (predicative) are not separated by a dash in the sentence patterns below.

Nominal sentences, like verbal sentences, are classified into personal and impersonal sentences.

Personal sentence patterns

Ia. SUBJECT – PREDICATE

3.76 $N_n - V_{f_{cop}} N_n$

<i>Pētras</i>	<i>yrà</i>	<i>darbiniņkas.</i>
Peter: NOM	is	worker: NOM. SG. MASC
'Peter is a worker.'		

This pattern is encountered in sentences which:

(1) Assign the subject referent to a class, e.g.:

<i>Bērzas yrà mēdis.</i>	'The birch is a tree.'
<i>Aš vērgas nebuvaū ir nebūsiu.</i>	'I haven't been and won't be a slave.'

The predicative noun can have a modifier, especially if it is a noun of generalized meaning (*dáiktas* 'thing', *žmogūs* 'person', *výras* 'man', etc.).

<i>Jūsų sūnūs būvo gēras mokinýs.</i>	'Your son was an excellent student.'
<i>Tōs būlvēs būvo pigūs dáiktas.</i>	'Those potatoes were a cheap thing.'

(2) Identify the subject referent:

<i>Màno pavadē Stonys.</i>	'My surname is Stonys.'
<i>Taī būvo vienīftelis mào gyvēnime šūvis.</i>	'That was the only shot in my life.'

The predicate noun often acquires this function only if modified, as in the latter example; cf. also:

<i>Kīvois yrà mào mēgstamiáusias frankis.</i>	'An ax is my favourite instrument.'
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(3) Show the relationship between the referents of a plural subject, whose meaning is determined by the predicate noun:

<i>Mūdu su Jonū senī pažįstami.</i>	'Jonas and I (lit. 'We two with Jonas') are old acquaintances.'
<i>Taiþ mēs pasidārēme giminēs.</i>	'In this way we became relatives.'

3.77 $N_n - V_{f_{cop}}N_i$

<i>jis</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>mókytoju.</i>
he: NOM	was	teacher: INSTR. SG
'He was a teacher.'		

The instrumental case instead of the nominative expresses a temporary characteristic, cf.:

<i>Jū vestūvēse jis būvo pābroliu.</i>	'At their wedding he was best man.'
<i>Ir grýnas vandenēlis mūms medumī būvo.</i>	'At that time pure water was honey to us.'

The instrumental is sometimes replaced by a prepositional phrase *per* + ACC:

<i>Nà, tai liksiu àš per pīemenį.</i>	'Well, I'll remain a shepherd.'
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3.78 $N_n - V_{f_{cop}}Adj_n$

<i>Peīlis</i>	<i>būvo</i>	<i>aštrūs.</i>
knife: NOM. SG	was	sharp: NOM. SG
'The knife was sharp.'		

The predicate denotes a qualitative (or quantitative) characteristic of the subject referent. The predicate can also be expressed by any other adjectival word (a participle, adjectival pronoun or an ordinal numeral) (see 1.20, 2).

An adjective is also interchangeable with the following:

(1) the genitive case of a noun or nominal pronoun:

Visos sienos būvo (júdo) mēdžio. 'All the walls were of (black) wood (GEN).'
Šitas kambarys būs tavo. 'This room will be yours.'

(2) the instrumental case of a noun with an obligatory modifier:

Mergaitė būvo juodaīs plaukaīs. 'The girl was black-haired (lit. 'with black hair').'

(3) a prepositional phrase:

Darbas būvo ne pagaĩ jėgās. 'The job was beyond (his) abilities (lit. 'not according to strength').'

(4) the genitive or instrumental case of some nouns with a dependent prepositional phrase:

Àš esù vardù ĭ dėde.
 I am name: INSTR in uncle: ACC. SG
 'I have been named after my uncle.'

Pĩvas būvo didùmo sulig mažù kálnu.
 belly: NOM. SG was bigness: GEN equal to small: INSTR hill: INSTR
 'The belly was as big as a small hill.'

(5) a comparative phrase:

Tavo liežūvis lyg ādata. 'Your tongue is like a needle.'

In all these sentences the predicate denotes a qualitative characteristic of the subject referent.

Due to the lexical meaning of the predicate adjective, the following sentences express comparison:

Mēs vienas ĭ kitą panāšūs.
 we one: NOM to another: ACC similar: NOM. PL. MASC
 'We two are alike.'

Jõnas su Petrù labaĩ skirtingi. 'John and Peter (lit. 'with Peter: INSTR') are quite different.'

A quantitative characteristic of the subject referent is expressed by cardinal numerals (and the quantitative pronouns *keli*, *keleri*, *kėletas*, *keliólika* meaning 'several'):

Žuviēs patiekalaĩ tebūs tik dū.
 fish dish: NOM. PL will be only two: NOM
 'There will be only two fish dishes.'

Mēs būvome teĩ keli. lit. 'We were several there.'

3.79 $\text{Pron}_{\text{neutr}}/\text{N}_n - \text{Vf}_{\text{cop}}\text{Adj}_{\text{neutr}}$

<i>Taī</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>puikù.</i>
that: NEUTR	was	wonderful: NEUTR

'That was wonderful.'

If the predicate is a neuter adjective or a pronoun or adverb, the subject is either the pronoun *taī* 'it, that' or an indefinite pronoun (*kažkàs* 'something', *kas nòrs* 'something', *kai kàs* 'something', *vìskas* 'everything'):

<i>Viskas atródè apsiblaūšè,</i>	<i>'Everything looked dull, commonplace,</i>
<i>kasdiēniška, niūrù.</i>	<i>gloomy.'</i>

<i>Nè,</i>	<i>čià</i>	<i>jaū</i>	<i>kas nòrs</i>	<i>negeraī.</i>
no	here	already	something	not-good: ADV

'Well, something is wrong here.'

The subject can also be an infinitive:

<i>Pavařgti</i>	<i>už</i>	<i>tėvỹnė</i>	–	<i>gražù.</i>
suffer: INF	for	homeland: ACC		beautiful: NEUTR

'To suffer for one's homeland is an honour.'

The nominative case of a noun in subject position is not common with a neuter adjective used predicatively; it occurs, however, in sentences like

<i>Ne mėtai, o drąsà svarbù.</i>	<i>'Not age, but courage is important.'</i>
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In the latter case, an adverb equivalent to a neuter adjective can be used:

<i>Dárbas bùvo vėltui.</i>	<i>'The work was in vain.'</i>
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Sentences of this type with a neuter adjective (or its equivalent) as a predicate express assessment, or a qualitative or quantitative characteristic of the subject.

3.80 $\text{N}_n - \text{Vf}_{\text{cop}}\text{Inf}$

<i>Tavo</i>	<i>dárbas</i>	<i>yrà</i>	<i>mókytis.</i>
your	work: NOM	is	study: INF. REFL

'Your job is to study.'

In sentences with an infinitive predicate, the subject is usually an abstract noun with a dependent modifier; cf. also:

<i>Tavo reikalas susiràsti</i>	<i>'Your business is to find a new master and</i>
<i>naūjq šeiminiñkq ir išėiti.</i>	<i>leave.'</i>

If the infinitive is a link verb, it takes (1) the dative case of an adjective or (2) the instrumental case of a noun:

(1) *Svarbiáusias dalýkas*
bùvo išlíkti gyviems.

'The most important thing was to stay
alive (DAT).'

(2) *Jõ troškimas – būti mokytoju.*

'His wish is to be a teacher (INSTR).'

3.81 Inf – Vf_{cop}N_n

Tylėti *búty* *nusikaltimas.*
be silent: INF be: 3. SUBJ crime: NOM. SG
'It would be a crime to keep silent.'

The predicate is usually an abstract noun, often with a modifier; cf.:

Dúona auginti yrà alsùs dárbas. lit. 'To grow (grain for) bread is a tiring
job.'

A link verb in subject position combines with the dative case of an adjective or the instrumental of a noun (cf. 3.80):

Búti gerù mokytoju – didelis dalýkas. 'To be a good teacher is a great thing.'
Búti mandagiám – tai svarbiáusias 'To be polite is the most important
reikalávoimas. requirement.'

3.82 Inf – Vf_{cop}Inf

Dìrbti – *taĩ* *gyvénti.*
work: INF it live: INF
'To work is to live.'

The copula is usually omitted, because such sentences mostly state general truths. Semantically, the subject infinitive is equated with the predicate infinitive; cf. also:

Knygàs rašýti – tai ne àly gérti. 'To write books is not (the same as) to
drink beer.'

Sentences of this type can contain a human noun in the dative case dependent on the subject infinitive:

Mán nedìrbti – tai negyvénti. 'For me, not to work is not to live' (cf. 3.84).

IIa. SUBJECT – PREDICATE – OBJECT

3.83 Nominal sentences realizing this pattern can be subdivided into two types.

In sentences of the first type, the predicate requires complementation by an object. The following word forms occur as predicates in these sentences:

(1) Nouns (like *tėvas* 'father', *brólis* 'brother', *giminė* 'relative', *draūgas* 'friend', *priešas* 'enemy', etc.) implying symmetrical relations, complemented by the dative or the prepositional phrase *sù* + INSTR:

Bal̃trus mán dēdė.
Baltrus: NOM I: DAT uncle: NOM. SG
'Baltrus is my uncle.'

Mēs ėsame giminės su Stoniaĩs.
we: NOM are relative: NOM. PL with Stonys: INSTR.PL
'We are relatives with the Stonys family.'

The predicate is sometimes expressed by *ùž* + ACC:

Žirgas būs mán už draugėlį 'The horse will be (like) a friend to me.'
(cf. *draugeliù*).

The dative case or prepositional phrase of an object is semantically equivalent to the possessive genitive, cf.:

Bal̃trus mào dēdė. 'Baltrus is my uncle.'
Mēs ėsame Stonių giminės. 'We are the Stonys' relatives.'
Žirgas būs mào draūgas. 'The horse will be my friend.'

(2) Adjectives, namely:

(a) the adjectives *pilnas* 'full', *kūpinas* 'full', *reikalingas* 'necessary, requiring', *veřtas* 'worthy, worth', *turtingas* 'rich', etc. which govern the genitive case:

Obelis pilnà žiedų. 'The apple-tree is full of blossoms.'
Šitas nāmas veřtas didelių pinigų. 'This house is worth a lot of money.'

(b) the adjectives *artimas* 'near, close (to)', *būdingas* 'peculiar (to), characteristic (of)', *naudingas* 'useful', *palankius* 'favourable (to)', *pavojingas* 'dangerous', *reikalingas* 'necessary', etc. which require the dative case:

Vertimas artimas originālui. 'The translation is close to the original.'
Jis būs mums naudingas. 'He will be useful to us.'

(c) the adjective *patėnkintas* 'pleased' which governs the instrumental:

Jis buvo viskuo patėnkintas. 'He was pleased with everything.'

(d) a number of adjectives require a prepositional phrase:

Jis su manimi bevėtk lygus. 'He is almost equal (in height) with me.'
Jis panašus į tėvą. 'He looks like (lit. 'is similar to') his father.'

The prepositional phrase *ùž* + ACC is obligatory with the comparative form of adjectives:

Vilnius yra didesnis už Kauną. 'Vilnius is bigger than Kaunas.'

This sentence is synonymous to:

Vilnius yra didesnis kaip/negù Kaunas. lit. 'Vilnius is bigger than Kaunas.'

If a predicative adjective is in the superlative form it requires *iš* + GEN:

Marytė laimingiausia iš visų mergaičių. 'Marytė is the happiest of all the girls.'

The genitive or the dative case form of a noun is sometimes interchangeable with an infinitive, cf.:

*Žmogutis toks nevertas
pažiūrėti/dėmesio.* lit. 'The little man is quite unworthy to
look at/of attention (GEN).'

Sąlygos palankios mokytis/mokslui. lit. 'The conditions are favourable to study
(INF)/ for studies (DAT).'

Adjectives are used in the neuter form if the subject does not require agreement in gender, in which case they retain their object valency:

Tai verta pagyrimo. 'That is worthy of praise (GEN).'

*Tas paskyrimas buvo
lygu ištrėmimui.* 'That appointment was equal to an exile
(DAT).'

Tai buvo panašū į skandālą. 'That looked like a scandal.'

*Geraį pailsėti dabar
svarbiaū už viską.* 'To have a good rest is now more
important than anything.'

- 3.84** Sentences of the second type contain the dative case of a human noun referring to the experiencer of a state. The predicate is a neuter adjective, sometimes an adverb or a noun with a similar meaning (*gėda* 'shame', *garbė* 'honour', *vargas* 'misery', and the like):

Visa tai man nauja. 'All that is new to me.'

Jai niekas nemėla. 'Nothing gives her pleasure' (lit. 'is
pleasant to her').

O tai jam buvo didelė garbė. 'That was a great honour to him.'

The dative of a human noun is also possible in sentences of the pattern $N_n - V_{\text{cop}}\text{Inf} - N_d$, where the predicate is the infinitive of a verb of perception (*matyti* 'see', *regėti* 'see', *girdėti* 'hear', *jausti* 'feel', etc.), e.g.:

<i>Iš</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>jam</i>	<i>viskas</i>	<i>aiškiau</i>	<i>matyti.</i>
from	there	he: DAT	everything: NOM	clearer	see: INF

'He can see everything better from there.'

Cf. the corresponding sentence with a finite verb (without the modal meaning):

Jis v̄iską aiškiaū m̄ato. 'He sees everything better.'

These sentences often occur without the dative case of a human noun, e.g.:

Pro duris būvo girdėti balsai. 'One could hear voices behind the door.'

Visuř numanyti šveñtė. 'One could feel a festive mood (lit. 'a holiday') everywhere.'

- 3.85** The adjective *skolingas* 'indebted', when used predicatively, governs a direct and a dative object:

Jis m̄an skolingas dū litūs. 'He owes me two litas.'

Impersonal sentence patterns

- 3.86** Impersonal nominal sentences denote either a state that is not attributed to anything, or the state of a patient or an experiencer referred to by the dative case, or a qualitative characteristic of a thing referred to by the genitive case.

VIa. PREDICATE

- 3.87** V_f _{cop} N_n

Būvo žiemà.
was winter: NOM
'It was winter.'

Nouns denoting temporal concepts such as seasons, weekdays, parts of the day, etc., and also natural phenomena and states are typically used in this pattern:

Būvo v̄elūs žiemōs v̄akaras. 'It was a late winter evening.'
Rytój būs sekm̄adienis. 'Tomorrow will be Sunday.'
V̄akar būvo audrà. 'There was a storm yesterday.'
Kl̄asėje būvo mirtinà tylà. 'There was a dead silence in the classroom.'

The present tense form of the copula *būti* 'be' is usually omitted (zero copula):

Kárštas v̄asaros vidūrdienis. '(It is) a hot summer afternoon.'
Šiañdien pirm̄adienis. 'Today (is) Monday.'
V̄akaras. Visuř tylà. '(It is) evening. Silence everywhere.'

Sentences of this pattern without a copula can be used to inform about a thing or a phenomenon.

Gražūs paupjys. Kal̄vos. Lakštin̄galos. lit. 'Beautiful riverside. Hills. Nightingales.'
Štaī t̄au tr̄ys r̄ožēs. 'Here (are) three roses for you.'

Such sentences without a copula are often termed nominative sentences.

3.88 Vf_{cop}Adj_{neutr}/Adv

Bùvo *káršta.*
 was hot: NEUTR
 'It was hot.'

These sentences usually denote states, viz. (a) natural phenomena or states often related to a place or time, (b) psychological states or experiences, (c) descriptive assessments; cf. respectively:

- (1) *Gūdù būdavo miškè.* 'It used to be gloomy in the forest.'
Saulėta, šviesù. lit. '(It is) sunny, light (ADJ).'
Tylù vakaraĩs. '(It is) quiet in the evenings.'
- (2) *Dabař j̄o sieloj taĩp ramù, džiuğù.* lit. 'Now (it is) so quiet, joyful in his soul.'
Taĩp malonù pavėsy. '(It is) so pleasant in the shade.'
- (3) *O dabař vis prasčiaũ ir prasčiaũ.* 'And now (it is getting) worse and worse.'

Adverbs seldom occur predicatively, except those with the suffix *-yn* which are used with the desemanticized semi-link verb *eĩti* 'go, become':

Nuo pusiaũkelēs ėmē eĩti šviesj̄n. 'From midway it began growing lighter.'

VIIa. PREDICATE – OBJECT

The obligatory structural component of a nominal sentence is the dative or genitive case of an animate noun encoding a patient or experiencer. Four patterns are distinguished here.

3.89 Vf_{cop}Adj_{neutr}/Adv – Nd

Jám *bùvo* *pikta.*
 he: DAT be: 3. PAST angry: NEUTR
 'He felt anger.'

The predicate here denotes a psychological or physical state experienced by the object referent, sometimes its assessment by the speaker; cf.:

- Mergáit̄ei kasdiēn blogiaũ.* 'The girl's state is deteriorating each day'
 (lit. 'It is worse to the girl each day').
- Bùs arkliaĩms sunkù.* 'It will be hard on the horses.'
- Ar t̄au pas m̄us bùvo negeraĩ?* 'Didn't you feel well at our place?'

The dative object can be omitted if its referent is implied by the context or generalized:

Burnojè šleikštù. 'There is a bad taste in the mouth.'

Instead of a neuter adjective, the neuter form of a pronoun can be used as a predicate:

Mán víena, táu kíta. 'One (thing) (is) for me, (something) another for you.'

3.90 Vf_{cop}N_n – N_d

Vaĩkui tiktai mėtai. 'The child is only one year old' (lit. '(It is) only a year to the child').

Kokià táu garbė visamė káime. lit. 'What glory for you in the whole village.'

The predicate noun in these sentences denotes a state.

3.91 Vf_{cop}N_g – N_d

Vaĩkui nėra nè mėtu. 'The child is not even a year old.'

Sentences of this pattern are negative transforms of affirmative sentences with the nominative case of a predicate noun (see 3.90); cf.:

Mán tenai nebùvo gyvėnimo. lit. 'There wasn't any life for me there' (i.e. 'Life was hard for me there').

– *Mán teĩ tai bùvo gyvėnimas.* lit. 'It was life for me there' (i.e. 'Life was easy for me there').

3.92 N_g – Vf_{cop}AdvQuant

<i>Grĩbu</i>	<i>bùvo</i>	<i>daũg.</i>
mushroom: GEN. PL	was	many
'Mushrooms were plentiful.'		

In these sentences, the genitive of indefinite quantity is characterized by a predicate with a quantitative meaning. The predicate can be:

(1) an adverb of quantity, as in the above sentence and in:

Sniėgo bùvo daũg/menkaĩ. 'There was much/little snow' (lit. 'Snow (GEN) was much/little').

(2) a quantitative pronoun:

Vĩru bùvo tik kėletas. 'There were only a few men.'

If quantity is expressed by a cardinal numeral the genitive case can marginally alternate with the nominative:

Bróliu būvo penkì.
– *Bróliai būvo penkì.*

‘There were five brothers.’
lit. ‘The brothers were five.’

(3) a noun denoting quantity:

Žmoniū būvo daugybė.

‘There was a multitude of people (there).’

(4) a neuter adjective implying a quantitative characteristic:

Sniėgo gilù.

‘The snow is deep’ (lit. ‘(It is) deep of snow’).

Dabař dienòs ilga, naktiēs truņpa.

‘Now days are long, nights are short’ (lit. ‘Long of the day, short of the night’).

(5) prepositional phrase:

Vandėns čià iki kėliu.

‘There is water (GEN) up to the knees here.’

Vargū būvo be gālo.

‘There were troubles (GEN) without end.’

3.93 N_g – Vf_{cop}Adj_g/Num_g

Tėvo nebėrà gývo.
father: GEN not-be: 3. PRES alive: GEN
‘Father is dead.’

This pattern is encountered in negative transforms of affirmative personal sentences with the nominative case of a predicate adjective or ordinal numeral, cf.:

Nė viėno óbuolio nebūvo sveiko.

‘Not a single apple was sound.’

– *Visi óbuoliai būvo sveiki.*

‘All the apples were sound’ (cf. 3.78).

Niėko nėrà ámžino.

‘Nothing is eternal.’

Kriáušės teņ nė vienòs nėrà.

‘There is not a single pear-tree there.’

In this pattern the predicate expressed by any adjective substitute (e.g. a participle) is also in the genitive case; e.g.:

Tókió žòdžio nėrà išlikusio.

lit. ‘Such a word (GEN) is not retained (GEN).’

The predicate can also be an emphatic phrase consisting of the negation *nė* ‘not even’ and the genitive case of a noun:

Arkliū nebūvo nė pėdsako.

‘There was not the slightest sign (lit. ‘footprint’) of the horses.’

Sáulės nė spindulėlio.

‘There isn’t a ray of sun(light).’

VIIIa. PREDICATE – OBJECT – OBJECT

There are two patterns of this type.

3.94 Vf_{cop}Adv – Ng – Nd

<i>Mán</i>	<i>gaĩla</i>	<i>tavēs.</i>
I: DAT	pity	you: GEN
'I am sorry for you.'		

The adverbs *ganà* 'enough', *gaĩla* 'pity' and the nouns *stokà* 'lack, shortage', *gěda* 'shame' are used predicatively in this pattern. They express a state experienced by the human referent in the dative case:

Šeĩmai bìvo ganà sàvo rĩpesčiu. 'The family had enough of its own worries.'

Jám vis stokà dúonos. 'He is always short of bread.'

Just as in the other patterns the dative case of a human noun can be omitted:

Gaĩla ir tėvo, ir vaikų. 'One is sorry for both the father and the children.'

3.95 Vf_{cop}Inf – Ng – Nd

<i>Mán</i>	<i>nematýti</i>	<i>sáulės.</i>
I: DAT	not-see: INF	sun: GEN
'I can't see the sun.'		

Sentences of this pattern are negative transforms of personal sentences like

Mán matýti sáulė. 'I (can) see the sun' (3.84).

SENTENCES WITH AN INFINITIVE

3.96 In impersonal sentences a neuter adjective or an adverb denoting state when used predicatively (see 3.89) often takes an infinitive. These sentences express the state of an experiencer or a patient designated by the dative case:

<i>Mán nepatogù sėdėti.</i>	'It is awkward for me to sit.'
<i>Sunkù Pėtrui gyvėnti.</i>	lit. 'It is hard for Peter to live.'
<i>Jiems bìvo nepàkeliamà dirbti kartù.</i>	'It was intolerable for them to work together.'
<i>Bepìgu táu taĩp kalbėti.</i>	'It is all very well for you to say that.'
(Cf. also <i>Táu laĩkas išėiti.</i>)	'It is time for you to go.'

The dative is often omitted here:

<i>Paskuĩ bìs velù grĩžti.</i>	'After that it will be late to return.'
<i>Blōga/Blogaĩ turėti daũg pinigų.</i>	'It is bad to have much money.'

The infinitive is often interchangeable with a past gerund:

Gēra būty su juō susitīkus. 'It would be nice to meet (lit. 'meeting') him.'

- 3.97 The infinitive of a link verb is combined with (1) the dative case of an adjective or (2) the instrumental case of a noun, which agree with the dative case of the semantic subject in gender and number:

(1) *Gēra žmōgui būti sveikām.* 'It's good for a person (DAT. SG. MASC) to be healthy (DAT. SG. MASC).'

(2) *Kiekvienām malonū pasidaryti dīdvyrū.* lit. 'It's pleasant for everyone (DAT. SG. MASC) to become a hero (INSTR. SG. MASC).'

Variation of constituents in sentence patterns

- 3.98 The constituents of most sentence patterns (designated by the abbreviations used above) may have alternative means of expression.

The finite form of a verb (Vf) can alternate with a verbal group comprised of a phasal (*pradēti* 'begin', *iņti* 'begin, start', *baīgti* 'finish', *liāutis* 'stop', etc.) or a modal verb (*galēti* 'be able (to)', *pajēgti* 'be able', *turēti* 'have (to)', *privalēti* 'be obliged (to), have (to)') and an infinitive. A modal or phasal verb is semantically subordinated to the infinitive and modifies its meaning. The phasal meanings can also be expressed by prefixes, in which case a compound verbal phasal predicate can be interchangeable with a prefixed verb: *pradējo giedōti* = *pragydo* '(he) began to chant'; *baīgē vālgyti* = *pavālgē* '(he) finished eating'. The modal meaning 'be able (to)' can also be expressed by a prefix: *gāli eiti* = *paeina* '(he) can walk'.

Verbal groups with a phasal or modal verb like *pradējo rēkti/vāikščioti* '(he) began to shout/walk', *baīgē dīrbti/rašyti* '(he) finished working/writing', *pradējo/baīgē lýti/snīgti* 'it began/stopped raining/snowing'; *galiū vāikščioti/dīrbti* 'I can walk/work' are viewed here as variants of the simple predicates *rēkē* 'shouted', *vāikš-čiojo* 'walked', *dīrbo* 'worked', *rāšē* 'wrote', *lījo* '(it) rained', *snīgo* '(it) snowed', etc., respectively. For this reason, no special patterns are given for them.

A number of phasal verbs are used either with an infinitive or a past active participle:

liōvēsi rašyti/rāšēs, -iusi, -ę '(he, she, they) stopped writing'
nustōjo lýti/lījē '(it) stopped raining'

A phasal verb denoting beginning can be omitted in emphatic speech, an infinitive alone representing the predicate:

*Žandārai kósēt, čīaudēt,
ir iškurnējo kéikdamiesi.*

'The gendarmes (started) to cough,
sneeze, and hurried out cursing.'

3.99 Inflected nouns, prepositional phrases and adverbs can alternate with syntactically equivalent word groups. Thus, for instance, instead of the nominative or another case of a noun, word groups like *daūg žmontiū* 'many people', *dēšimt knygū* 'ten books', *tēvas su sūnumi* lit. 'father with son (INSTR)', *mēs su draugū* lit. 'we with the friend' (= 'my friend and I'), *miniū minios* 'crowds upon (lit. 'of') crowds', *auksas sidābras* lit. 'silver gold', *āš pāts* 'I myself', etc. can be used.

3.100 The accusative case of a direct object alternates with the genitive of indefinite quantity (see 2.12); e.g.:

*Mergà àtnešē dūonā.
– Mergà àtnešē dūonos.*

'The maid brought the bread (ACC).'

'The maid brought some bread (GEN).'

(On the use of the genitive of indefinite quantity determined by the verbal meaning see 2.11, 3.56, 60.)

The genitive of indefinite quantity can also be used instead of the nominative in subject position; cf.:

Atvažiāvo svečiaī/svečiū.

'The guests (NOM)/Some guests (GEN)
arrived.'

The genitive of the subject is in concord with the genitive of the predicate, cf.:

Viētos būs lāisvos.

'The seats will be vacant (NOM).'

– *Viētu būs lāisvū.*

'Some places will be vacant' (= 'There will
be some vacant seats').

3.101 With verbs of sense and mental perception and the like the object position can be filled by (1) a gerund, (2) a gerundial phrase or (3) a subordinate clause:

(1) *Išgirdaū griāūsma/griāudžiant.*

'I heard a clap of thunder (ACC)/
thundering (PRES. GER).'

Visi lāukē atšilimo/atšylant.

'Everybody was waiting for a thaw
(GEN)/ thawing (PRES. GER).'

(2) *Jaučiū vējā pūčiant.*

'I feel a wind (ACC) blowing (PRES. GER).'

(3) *Jiē suprāto, kad vāsara baīgēsi.*

'They realized that the summer was over.'

This alternation is often possible in the same sentence; cf.:

*Mačiaū, kaip jis grīžol/jī
grīžtant/jō sugrīžima.*

lit. 'I saw how he returned/him
returning (GER)/his return (ACC).'

3.102 A gerund or a gerundial clause occurs in object position after verbs denoting:**(1)** speech and related actions:

*Tařnas pranešė žmōgų
atėjus su reikalu.*

'The servant announced a man (ACC)
who had come (PAST. GER) on business.'

(2) perception:

*Kuř girdėjai gaidžiūs
lōjant, šunīs giedant?*

'Where have you heard roosters (ACC)
barking (PRES. GER), dogs (ACC)
crowing (PRES. GER)?'

Mačiaū brōlį ateinant.

'I saw my brother (ACC) coming (PRES.
GER).'

(3) mental processes:

Jis pramānė manė ilgai miėgant.

'He thought I (ACC) slept (PRES. GER)
(too) long.'

(4) hope, belief:

Reikia tikėti jį greitai grįšiant.

'One should believe he (ACC) would
return (FUT. GER) soon.'

(5) finding and leaving:

*Senėlė rādo/paliko manė
tūpint/tūpintį kampė.*

'Grandmother found/left me (ACC)
squatting (PRES. GER/PART) in the corner.'

The accusative (sometimes the genitive) here names the performer of the embedded gerundial action.

If the performer of the embedded action is coreferential with the subject of the sentence, a participle in the nominative case is used instead of a gerund; it occurs mostly with the corresponding reflexive verbs of the same lexical groups as above:

(1) *Jis gýrėsi daūg mātėš.*

'He boasted of having seen (PAST. PART)
much.'

Žmogūs pasiskūndė netėkėš dārbo.

'The man complained of having lost
(PAST. PART) his job.'

(2) *Ji ne(si)jaūčia klaīdą padārtusi.*

'She doesn't feel she has made (PAST.
PART) a mistake.'

Tėvaī mātė sūnaūs nepėrkalbėsiq.

'The parents saw they wouldn't talk (FUT.
PART) their son out of it.'

(3) *Kiti tāriasi viškq žinaq.*

'Some people think they know (PRES.
PART) everything.'

- Viñcas įsitikino gerai pirkęs.* 'Vincas was convinced he had made a good purchase (lit. 'having bought well') (PAST. PART).'
- (4) *Vylėsi turėsiąs gėrą žmoną.* 'He hoped he would have (FUT. PART) a good wife.'
- Dabař tikiúosi ištéisinamas.* 'Now I hope to be acquitted (PRES. PASS. PART).'
- (5) *Pasilikaũ begulįs lóvoje.* 'I remained lying (PRES. PART) in bed.'

In the following case, the present passive participle alone is possible:

- Katė láukia paglóstoma.* 'The cat is waiting to be stroked (PRES. PASS. PART).'

The nominative case of a participle is also used in object position after verbs such as *apsimėsti* 'pretend, feign', *susilaikyti* 'refrain (from)' and the like:

- Mažasis brólis dėjosi niėko nežinąs.* 'The little brother pretended he knew (PRES. PART) nothing.'
- Ĵis apsimeta sergąs.* 'He pretends to be ill (PRES. PART).'
- Kareĵvis vős susilaikė neiššovęs.* 'The soldier hardly refrained from shooting (PAST. PART).'

Present passive participles can also occur after verbs meaning 'ask', 'want', 'agree' (and with their antonyms); e.g.:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Kõ</i> | <i>norėsi</i> | <i>màno</i> | <i>dúodamas?</i> |
| what: GEN | want: 2. SG. FUT | I: GEN | give: PRES. PASS. PART. NOM. SG |
| 'What will you want me to give you?' | | | |

- Arklýs bįjo mùšamas.* 'The horse is afraid of being beaten (PRES. PASS. PART).'
- Ĵis léidosi įkalbamas.* 'He let himself be talked into it (PRES. PASS. PART).'

In most of these cases the participle (or participial clause) is interchangeable with a completive subordinate clause (see II.5.151) ; cf.:

- Ĵis jaútėsi negalįs dirbti.* 'He felt unable to work.'
- *Ĵis jaútė, kad negáli dirbti.* 'He felt that he couldn't work.'
- Džiaugiuóosi sugrįžęs.* 'I rejoice at having returned.'
- *Džiaugiuóosi, kad sugrįžaũ.* 'I rejoice that I have returned.'
- Sakeĩ ateĩsiąs* 'You said you would come.'
- (= *Sakeĩ, kad ateĩsi*).

- 3.103** A gerund takes the subject position (or functions as part of a complex subject) if the predicate is expressed by the infinitive of the verbs of perception *girdēti* 'hear', *matyti* 'see', *numanyti* 'guess', *jausti* 'feel' or by their reflexive derivatives:

Jaū matyti žąsys pařskrendant 'One can already see the geese (NOM)
return (PRES. GER/that the geese are returning).'

(cf.: *kad žąsys pařskrenda*).

Girdēti/Pasigirdo griáudžiant. 'One can hear/One could hear thundering
(Cf.: *Girdēti griáusmas/kad griáudžia*.) (GER)/thunder (NOM)/that it is thundering.'

- 3.104** The objective infinitive in some patterns is interchangeable with a completive subordinate clause:

Prařiaū tėvą sugrįžti. 'I asked father to return.'

– *Prařiaū tėvą, kad sugrįžtu.* 'I asked father that he return.'

Omission and interchangeability of constituents

- 3.105** A usually obligatory constituent of a sentence pattern can be omitted as a result of the context or speech situation. This yields a grammatically incomplete sentence variant the meaning of which, however, is clear.

The meaning of a sentence may change if an object or an adverbial is not expressed. For instance, a sentence may denote a temporary or permanent characteristic of the subject, instead of a concrete action, if the object is omitted:

Arkliá pasibaĩdė akmeĩs. 'The horses took fright at a stone.'

– *Arkliá baĩdosi.* 'The horses take fright (easily).'

Jis labaĩ didžiúojasi sàvo arkliáis. 'He is very proud of his horses.'

– *Jis labaĩ didžiúojasi* 'He is very proud (= is arrogant).'

(= *yrà labaĩ išdíidūs*).

Ji mąstė apie áteitį. 'She thought of the future.'

– *Ji sėdėjo ir mąstė.* 'She sat deep in thought (lit. 'sat and thought').'

This case is traditionally referred to as the absolute use of transitive verbs.

In other cases, an object is often omitted if it is unambiguously implied by the meaning of the verb (1), sometimes of the verb and other components (2):

(1) *Jis apsiavė* (bātais).
 he put-on-shoes (shoe: INSTR. PL)
 'He put on shoes.'

(2) *Móterys àpgaubė* 'The women veiled the bride (with a
jáunąjį (núometu). married woman's head-dress).'

A direct object may be sometimes omitted to imply an unspecified or generalized referent, e.g.:

Visi dabař tik pardúoda, 'Everyone is only selling now, no one is
niėkas nėperka. buying.'

An indirect object is more often omitted in such cases, e.g.:

Raudóna spalvà primena rožės. 'The red colour reminds (one) of roses'
 (implied DAT – generalized referent).

Jis žadėjo ateiti. 'He promised to come'
 (implied DAT – unspecified referent).

Už gėrą dárbę vyriausybė 'The government awarded him for good
jį apdovanójo. work' (implied INSTR – unspecified referent).

Kiaušinis vištą móko (kõ?). 'An egg teaches the hen' (implied GEN – generalized referent).

A prepositional phrase can also be omitted:

Màno dukterė išteka (už kõ?). 'My daughter is getting married (to whom?)' (unspecified referent).

Jis gávo láišką (iš kõ?). 'He received a letter (from whom?)' (unspecified referent).

Piktas šuõ namùs gina (nuo kõ?). 'A fierce dog protects home (from whom?)' (generalized referent).

Omission of two objects is also possible:

Ji amžinaĩ skúndžiasi (kám? kuõ?). 'She always complains (to whom? about what?).'

In these cases the objects are omitted because the information is irrelevant.

3.106 In impersonal sentences the dative or the accusative object is often omitted to express a generalized or an unspecified semantic subject or object, cf.:

Mán *gerai* *miėgasi.*
 I: DAT well sleep: 3. PRES. REFL
 'I (can) sleep well.'

by the genitive or it is omitted. The object of a transitive verb becomes the subject in the nominative case. The sentence structure changes as follows:

$$N_n^1 - Vf - N_a^2 \Rightarrow N_n^2 - Vf_p - N_g^1$$

In a passive construction, the passive participle assumes either the masculine or feminine (1) or (rarely) the neuter form (2):

Tėvas skaĩto laikraštį. 'Father is reading a newspaper.' \Rightarrow

(1) <i>Laikraštis</i>	<i>yrà</i>	<i>skaĩtomas</i>	<i>tėvo.</i>
newspaper:	is	read: PRES. PASS.	father: GEN. SG
NOM. SG. MASC		PART. MASC	

(2) <i>Laikraštis</i>	<i>yrà</i>	<i>skaĩtoma</i>	<i>tėvo.</i>
newspaper:	is	read: PRES. PASS.	father: GEN
MASC		PART. NEUTR	

'The newspaper is (being) read by father.'

In the sentences with the neuter form of the passive participle (without an agentive genitive) the object may retain its accusative case form:

<i>Rãšoma</i>	<i>láiškas /</i>	<i>láišką.</i>
write: PRES. PASS.	letter: NOM. SG	letter: ACC. SG
PART. NEUTR		

'A letter is (being) written.'

<i>Peřkama</i>	<i>grũdai /</i>	<i>grũdus.</i>
buy: PRES. PASS.	grain: NOM. PL	grain: ACC. PL
PART. NEUTR		

'Grain is (being) bought.'

Sentences with the neuter form of a passive participle may express special meanings (see II. 5.74, 77).

Sentences with the passive form of the transitive verbs *atstovãuti* 'represent', *vadovãuti* 'lead, guide' taking an object in the dative case and of verbs taking an object in the genitive case (*lãukti* 'wait (for)', *ieškãti* 'look (for)', etc.) can be transformed in two ways:

(a) The object acquires the nominative case form and the passive participle agrees with it in gender, e.g.:

<i>Jis atstovãuja kitai partijai.</i>	'He represents another party.' \Rightarrow
<i>Kità partija yrà (jõ) atstovãujama.</i>	'Another party is represented (by him).'
<i>Šeiminiñkė lãukia sveçtĩ.</i>	'The hostess is waiting for the guests.' \Rightarrow
<i>Sveçiaĩ yrà laukiami (šeiminiñkės).</i>	'The guests are expected (by the hostess).'

The sentence structure changes as follows:

$$N_n^1 - Vf - N_{g/d}^2 \Rightarrow N_n^2 - Vf_p - N_g^1$$

(b) The object retains its case form and the passive participle is neuter; thus the transform is an impersonal sentence:

<i>Pártijai yrà (jõ) atstováuujama.</i>	'The party (DAT) is represented (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR) (by him)' (or: 'There is a representation of the party').
<i>Svečiū yrà láukiama.</i>	'Guests (GEN. PL) are expected (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR).'

In this case the sentence undergoes the following change:

$$N_n^1 - Vf - N_{g/d}^2 \Rightarrow N_g^1 - Vf_p - N_{g/d}^2$$

The two passive transforms of an active sentence differ pragmatically in the distribution of emphasis: in (a) the object of the active sentence is made more prominent and raised to subject, whereas in (b) the verbal meaning is more prominent, the agentive genitive being usually omitted.

Personal sentences with intransitive verbs are also transformed into impersonal passive sentences, the participle assuming the neuter form:

<i>Tėvas miėga.</i>	'Father is asleep.' ⇒
<i>Tėvo miėgama.</i>	
father: GEN	sleep: PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR
'Father is asleep.'	

The structure here changes as follows: $N_n - Vf \Rightarrow Vf_p - N_g$.

3.109 A compound nominal predicate can also take the passive form, both the subject and the predicate acquiring the genitive case form, cf.:

<i>Jis būvo karėvis.</i>	'He was a soldier.' ⇒
<i>Jõ būta karėvio.</i>	
he: GEN	be: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR
	soldier: GEN. SG
'(They say) he was a soldier.'	

The agentive genitive is obligatory in these sentences, which distinguishes them from other passive constructions.

3.110 Passive transformation usually involves a change in the communicative sentence structure and deletion of the agent, therefore an active sentence and its passive transform are not always interchangeable. On the other hand, many passive sentences with a deleted agent cannot be replaced by the active counterpart.

Passive constructions with a deleted agent are widely used to express an action with an indefinite, or generalized, or unknown, or irrelevant agent, instead of so-called indefinite-personal sentences with a zero subject, whose usage is rather restricted in Lithuanian; e.g.:

Čià pardúodamos knýgos. 'Books are sold here.'

Cf. also impersonal sentences with the neuter passive form:

Laiškų negáuta. 'No letters are received.'

Taip nedároma. 'This (lit. 'so') is not done' ('One can't do so').

Sálėje šókama. 'There is dancing in the hall.'

PERSONAL AND IMPERSONAL SENTENCES

3.111 In many cases, a personal sentence alternates with an impersonal sentence without a change in the predicate. Less commonly, this change is marked in the verb. The nominative case of the subject of a personal sentence usually alternates with an oblique case or a prepositional phrase.

3.112 The predicate retains its grammatical form (except person) in the following cases.

(1) $N_n - N_a$. A number of relational verbs (of the lexical type *užtèkti* 'have/be enough', *trúkti* 'lack, be short (of)', etc.) and some others occur in two sentence patterns, either with the nominative or the dative case of the semantic subject (Possessor, Patient or Experiencer), cf.:

Mēs pritrúkome pinigų. 'We (NOM) ran short of money.'

– *Mums pritrúko pinigų.* 'We (DAT) ran short of money.'

Ligónis/ligóniui pagerėjo. 'The patient (NOM/DAT) improved.'

Jis/jám gailėjo šuňis. 'He (NOM/DAT) felt pity for the dog.'

(2) $N_n - N_a$. Verbs of physical sensations (like *skaudėti* 'ache', *gèlti* 'ache', *niežėti* 'itch', *peršėti* 'smart', etc.) are used interchangeably with the nominative or the accusative case of noun denoting a body part and the dative case of a human noun, thus forming a personal or an impersonal sentence:

Mán skauda galvà/gálvą. 'I have a headache' (lit. 'To me (the) head (NOM/ACC) aches').

Jám gerklė/gérklę peřši. 'His (DAT) throat (NOM/ACC) smarts' (i.e., 'He has a sore throat').

Mán gèlia šonas/šoną. 'I (DAT) have a stitch in the side (NOM/ACC)' (i.e., 'My side aches').

Impersonal sentences with the accusative case are more common in speech.

(3) $N_n - N_i$. The nominative case alternates with the instrumental in sentences with numerous verbs of the lexical types illustrated here:

- (a) *Vaiķa išbērē spuogaī/spuogaīs.* 'Pimples (NOM/INSTR) covered (lit. 'broke out') the child.'
- (b) *Kambaryjē kvēpia gēlēs/gēlēmīs.* lit. 'Flowers (NOM/INSTR) smell sweet in the room.' (Or: 'In the room flowers smell sweet/it smells of flowers.')
- (c) *Nuo ēzero pādvelkē vēsūmas/vēsūmū.* 'Cool air (NOM/INSTR) drifted up from the lake.'
- (d) *Daņģu užtrāukē dēbesys/debesimīs.* 'Clouds (NOM/INSTR) covered the sky.'

Impersonal sentences emphasize the spontaneous nature of a state or process.

(4) $N_n - N_i$ /PrepP. In sentences with a number of verbs of sensation the nominative of a body part alternates with the locative case, the Experiencer being denoted by the dative case:

- Mān ūžia galvā/galvojē.* 'There is a buzzing in my (DAT) head (NOM/LOC).'

A number of verbs take the nominative case of a noun with the meaning of location alternating with the locative case and/or a prepositional phrase denoting direction:

- (a) *Daržai/daržuosē/ po daržūs dar žaltūoja.* 'The gardens (NOM/LOC/prepACC) are green yet.'

This and similar verbs can also take a patient noun in subject position:

- Daržuosē dar žaltūoja žolē.* 'The grass is green yet in the garden.'
- (b) *Manē trāukia ēžeras/ prie ēžero.* 'The lake (NOM) attracts me (ACC) / 'I (ACC) feel like going to the lake (Prep GEN).'

In both cases impersonal sentences emphasize the spontaneous character of a state.

Verbs with the prefix *pri-* of the following type governing the genitive case of indefinite quantity display a similar alternation in the form of a noun with the meaning of location:

- Kiēmas / i kiēmā privažiāvo žmoniū.*
 courtyard: NOM to courtyard: ACC came people: GEN
 'A lot of people came into (filled) the courtyard.'

Trobà / trobojè / į tróba prisiriñko dūmu.
 cottage: NOM cottage: LOC into cottage: ACC gathered smoke: GEN. PL
 'The cottage filled with smoke.'

(5) N_n – Inf. In sentences with verbs taking the dative or accusative of a human noun, the nominative of a verbal noun in the semantic function of content alternates with an infinitive:

Jám sėkasi dárbas / dirbti.
 he: DAT goes well work: NOM work: INF
 'He works successfully.'

Vaikui nusibódo žaidimas/žaisti. lit. 'Playing/to play bored the child.'
Manè viltója keliðnės/keliáuti. lit. 'Travels/to travel lure(s) me.'

The infinitive denotes an action of the dative referent, whereas the referent of an action expressed by a verbal noun is not necessarily identical with that of the predicate, cf.:

Mán patiñka dainúoti. 'I like to sing.'
 – *Mán patiñka dainávimas.* 'I like singing' (my own or another person's).

(6) The subject of a personal sentence expressed by the nominative case may be omitted (N_n – ž) if it is tautological or can be recovered unambiguously from the verbal meaning:

Nuo stógo vařva lašai. 'Drops drip from the roof.'
 – *Nuo stógo vařva.* 'It is dripping from the roof.'

Impersonal sentences with causative verbs and the accusative of a human noun, such as

Manè kėlia į órą lit. '(It) is lifting me into the air'

may be considered to be variants of personal sentences with a lexically expressed indefinite non-human subject:

Manè kažkàs kėlia į órą. 'Something is lifting me into the air.'

3.113 Alternation of a personal sentence with an impersonal is encoded in the verb.

(1) An impersonal verb may be a reflexive derivative from a personal verb, the subject of the underlying verb being denoted by the dative object:

Àš nemiegù. 'I don't sleep.'

Mán nesimižga.
 I: DAT not-REFL-sleep: 3. PRES
 'I can't sleep.'

Infinitival sentences are similar in meaning to the respective imperative personal sentences (see 3.73).

(4) Impersonal sentences with the passive verb form are described above (see 3.108–110).

AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE SENTENCES

3.114 The principal means of expressing negation is the negative marker *ne* which has the status of prefix or a particle. Sentences in which the negative marker is attached to the predicate are termed negative. They can be regarded as negative counterparts of the respective affirmative sentences; cf.:

<i>Tēvas grīš rytój.</i>	'Father will return tomorrow.'
– <i>Tēvas negrīš rytój.</i>	'Father will not return tomorrow.'
<i>Mán reīkia ankstī kēltis.</i>	'I have to get up early.'
– <i>Mán nereīkia ankstī kēltis.</i>	'I don't have to get up early.'

If the negative marker is added to a constituent other than the predicate the sentence remains affirmative:

<i>Jis prāšē manē dār nevažiūoti.</i>	'He asked me not to leave yet.'
<i>Gyvėname nē dėl tuŗto.</i>	lit. 'We live not for riches.'

Affirmation has no specific markers, excepting the particle *taīp* 'yes' which can be used alone as a sentence substitute, or it can introduce an affirmative sentence, in response to a question (1) or in order to emphasize assertion (2). The particle *nē* is its negative counterpart. Cf.:

(1) <i>Ar pasakeī jām teisybė?</i> – <i>Taīp/Nē.</i>	'Did you tell him the truth? – Yes/No.'
<i>Tēvas jau grīžo?</i>	'Has father returned? – Yes, he has/No, he hasn't.'
– <i>Taīp, grīžo/Nē, negrīžo.</i>	
(2) <i>Taīp, dabaŗ aŗ suprantū/</i>	'Yes, now I understand it/No, now I don't
<i>Nē, dabaŗ aŗ nesuprantū.</i>	understand it.'

3.115 With regard to their formal relation to respective affirmative sentences, two types of negative sentences are distinguished: those in which negation entails formal changes in the syntactic structure and those which retain the syntactic pattern of the respective affirmative sentence.

The direct object of a negated transitive verb is in the genitive case (cf. 3.13):

<i>Studeņtai laņkė pāskaitas.</i>	'The students attended lectures (ACC).'
– <i>Studeņtai nelaņkė paskaitū.</i>	'The students did not attend lectures (GEN).'

Mótiņā radaū namiž.

'I found my mother (ACC) at home.'

– *Mótiņos neradaū namiž.*

'I did not find my mother (GEN) at home.'

- 3.116** Negative sentences with the predicates *būti* 'be', *likti* 'remain' either retain the nominative case of the subject or change it into the genitive depending on the scope of negation. If the subject is not within the scope of negation it retains its case form and syntactic status:

Vaikaī būvo/liko namiž.

'The children were/stayed at home.'

– *Vaikaī nebūvo/
neliko namiž.*

'The children were not/did not stay at home (i.e. they were elsewhere).'

If the subject comes within the scope of negation it is transformed into an object in the genitive case; thus the negation is extended over the entire statement:

Vaikū nebūvo/neliko namiž.

'There were no children at home/No children stayed at home.'

This rule also applies to sentences without an adverbial of place:

Yrā kitas kēlias.

'There is another way.'

– *Nērā kito kēlio.*

'There is no other (GEN) way (GEN).'

Liko išeitīs.

'There was yet (lit. 'remained') a way out.'

– *Neliko išeitīšs.*

'There remained no way out (GEN).'

In negative sentences with the copula *būti* 'be' the nominative case of the predicate as well as of the subject is also changed into the genitive:

Īs yrā gývas.

'He is alive.'

– *Jō nērā gývo.*

'(The state of things is such that) he (GEN) is not alive (GEN).'

The equivalent of the English sentence *He is dead* is *Īs negývas* 'He (is) not alive.' In other words, the predicate retains case agreement with the antecedent.

- 3.117** The negative infinitive of the verbs of perception, viz. *ne(be)matýti* 'not to see (any longer)', *ne(be)girdēti* 'not to hear (any longer)', *nejaūsti* 'not to feel' and the negative form of their reflexive derivatives require the genitive case of a noun instead of the nominative, which makes the sentences impersonal (cf. 3.113, 2), cf.:

<i>Čiā</i>	<i>matýti /</i>	<i>mātosī</i>	<i>kēlias.</i>
here	see: INF	see: 3. PRES. REFL	road: NOM
'One can see the road here.'			

– <i>Čiā</i>	<i>nematýti /</i>	<i>nesīmāto</i>	<i>kēlio.</i>
here	not-see: INF	not-REFL-see: 3. PRES	road: GEN
'One can't see the road here.'			

3.118 In sentences with an obligatory infinitive dependent on the predicate the negative marker can be prefixed either to the infinitive or to the predicate. In the former instance the accusative case form governed by the finite verb is retained since it does not fall within the scope of negation:

Tēvaī mūs mókē netingēti. 'The parents taught us (ACC) not to idle.'
Ĵis manē prīvertē negrīžti. 'He forced me (ACC) not to return.'

If the negation is prefixed to the predicate the genitive is used instead of the accusative:

Tēvaī mūsū nemókē tingēti. 'The parents did not teach us (GEN) to idle.'
Ĵis manēs neprīvertē grīžti. 'He did not succeed in forcing me (GEN) to return.'

The direct object of the infinitive dependent on a negated modal or phasal finite verb is in the genitive:

Ĵis mēgsta rašyti láiškus. 'He likes to write letters (ACC).'
 – *Ĵis nemēgsta rašyti laiškū.* 'He doesn't like to write letters (GEN).'
Šiañdien tūrime sodinti medžiū. 'We must plant trees (ACC) today.'
 – *Netūrime sodinti mēdžiū.* 'We don't have to plant (any) trees (GEN).'
Pradėjau skaityti tavo knygą. 'I have begun to read your book (ACC).'
 – *Dár nepradėjau skaityti tavo knygós.* 'I haven't begun to read your book (GEN) yet.'

The object of a negated modal or phasal verb is usually also in the genitive case when it is governed by the last in a string of infinitives:

Negaliū prisiruōšti parašyti láiško. 'I can't get myself (ready) to write a letter (GEN).'
Ĵiē nenóri léisti pradėti statyti mokýklos. lit. 'They don't want to allow to begin to build a school (GEN).'

The accusative case, however, may be retained in a negative sentence, especially if there are other words placed between the finite verb and the infinitive, e.g.:

Tik nepamiřšk mán kitą dieną parašyti láiška/láiško. lit. 'Only don't forget on the next day to write me a letter (ACC/GEN).'
Nedriřaū táu tadà atviraĩ pasakyti tiřsa/tiřsós. 'I didn't dare then to tell you the truth (ACC/GEN) frankly.'

3.119 In sentences with a compound adjectival predicate the negation can be prefixed either to the predicate or to the copula. In the former instance a sentence remains

affirmative (it assigns the negated feature to the subject) and in the latter instance it becomes negative (the assignment of the feature to the subject is negated):

- Duktē būvo/pasidārē graži.* 'The daughter was/became pretty.' ⇒
 (a) *Duktē būvo/pasidārē negraži.* lit. 'The daughter was/became not pretty.'
 (b) *Duktē nebūvo/nepasidārē graži.* 'The daughter wasn't/didn't become pretty.'

Similarly, the negative marker can be prefixed to either component of a periphrastic (active or passive) verb form:

- Mēdžiu lāpai jau būvo nuvýtē.* 'The tree leaves were already withered.' ⇒
 (a) *Mēdžiu lāpai būvo dār nenuvýtē.* 'The tree leaves were not-withered yet.'
 (b) *Mēdžiu lāpai dār nebūvo nuvýtē.* 'The tree leaves were not yet withered.'
Stālas būvo pādengtas. 'The table was laid (for a meal).' ⇒
 (a) *Stālas būvo nepādengtas.* 'The table was not-laid.'
 (b) *Stālas nebūvo pādengtas.* 'The table was-not laid.'

3.120 In sentences with a compound predicate (both verbal and nominal) and with periphrastic verb forms the negative prefix can be repeated with both components:

- Àš negalējau neateīti.* lit. 'I couldn't not come' (= 'I couldn't help coming').
Duktē nebūvo negraži. lit. 'The daughter was not not-pretty (= 'She was pretty').
Stālas nebūvo nepādengtas. lit. 'The table was not not-laid' (= 'It was laid').

These sentences are negative in form and affirmative in meaning, the two negations cancelling each other out. Double negation here is a variety of litotes and serves the stylistic purpose of deliberate understatement.

3.121 To intensify negation, the particle *nē* or (less commonly) *neī* is used. It can be placed either before the negative predicate (1) or before any other sentence constituent (2):

- (1) *Mókytoja nē/nei nepāžvelgē ī sásiuvinī.* 'The teacher did not even glance at the copybook.'
Tótkio džiaūgsmo jis nē/nei nebūvo sapnāvēs/nebūvo nē/nei sapnāvēs. 'He had not even dreamed of such joy.'

(2) *Jis nepàjègè daugiaū
nė/nei žodžio ištaŗti.*

*Nė/Nei vienas iš jų
nenūjautė savo likimo.*

‘He could not utter a single word’ (lit. ‘He could not utter not a word more’).

‘Not even a single one of them had (lit. ‘did not have’) a premonition of his fate.’

3.122 To express negation with coordinated predicates (1) or other parts of the sentence (2), or clauses (3), the reduplicated conjunction *neĩ ... neĩ* ‘neither ... nor’ is used. It has emphatic force and it is a negative counterpart of the emphatic conjunction *iŗ ... iŗ*, cf.:

(1) *Žmónės ir mātė, ir
girdėjo artėjančią aūdrą.*

– *Žmónės nei nemātė, nei
negirdėjo artėjančios audrės.*

‘People both saw and heard the approaching storm.’

‘People neither saw (lit. ‘not-saw’) nor heard (lit. ‘not-heard’) the approaching storm.’

(2) *Galiū pasakýti tiėsq ir
táu, ir kitiems.*

– *Negaliū pasakýti tiesės
nei táu, nei kitiems.*

‘I can tell the truth both to you and to other people.’

‘I can’t tell the truth either (lit. ‘neither’) to you or (lit. ‘nor’) to anyone else.’

(3) *Ir àš Jõną mačiaū, ir
tù galėjai jĩ sutikti.*

– *Nei àš Jõno nemačiaū,
nei tù negalėjai jõ sutikti.*

‘(And) I have seen Jonas (John), and you could have met him.’

‘Neither have I seen (lit. ‘not-saw’) Jonas (John) nor could (lit. ‘could not’) you have met him.’

When the conjunction *neĩ ... neĩ* coordinates predicates or clauses the negative prefix can sometimes be omitted in the predicates, the negative conjunction compensating for it, cf.:

*Žmónės nei mātė, nei
girdėjo artėjančios audrės.*

*Nei àš Jõną mačiaū, nei
tù galėjai jĩ sutikti.*

*Nei àš táu kã dúosiu, nei
tù manęš praşyk.*

‘People neither saw nor heard the approaching storm.’

‘Neither have I seen Jonas (John) nor could you have met him.’

lit. ‘Neither will I give you anything nor (you) ask (IMPER) me.’

In sentences with the conjunction *neĩ ... neĩ* or with the particle *nė* the present tense form of *bũti* ‘be’ with negation can also be omitted (in expressive speech):

*Aplińk (nėrà) nei mėdžio,
nei krūmėlio.*

*Miestėlyje (nėrà) nė
żiburėlio.*

lit. ‘Around (there is not) neither a tree nor a bush.’

‘In the town (there is) not a light.’

3.123 In negative sentences alternating with the affirmative ones the following pronouns are often replaced by their negative counterparts:

viskas 'everything', *kažkàs* 'somebody', 'something' – *niēkas* 'nothing, nobody';
visi, -os 'everybody', *kiekvienas, -à* 'everyone' – *niēkas* 'nobody', *nē vienas, -à* 'not (a single) one';

visòks, -ia 'any (kind of)' – *jòks, -ià* 'no (kind of)'; cf.:

Tadà mán viskas paaiškējo.

'Everything then became clear to me.'

– *Tadà mán niēkas / niēko*

lit. 'That time nothing (NOM/GEN) *nepaaiškējo*. became clear to me.'

Tēvas su kažkuō šnekējosi.

'Father was talking with somebody.'

– *Tēvas su niēkuo nesišnekējo.*

'Father was not talking with anyone (lit. 'with nobody').'

Jī teñ visi pažīsta.

'Everyone knows him there.'

– *Jō teñ niēkas nepažīsta.*

'Nobody knows him there.'

Kiekvienas vj́ras taiþ tūri eļgtis.

'Every man should behave so.'

– *Nē vienas / Jòks vj́ras taiþ netūri eļgtis.*

'Not one / no man should behave so.'

Dēdē vaikáms àtnešē visókiu dovanū.

'The uncle brought the children all kinds of presents.'

– *Dēdē vaikáms neàtnešē jokiū dovanū.*

'The uncle did not bring the children any (lit. 'no') presents.'

This rule also applies to the following adverbs:

visaip 'in all ways', *kažkaip* 'somehow' – *niēkaip* 'in no way, nowise'

visuř 'everywhere', *kažkuř* 'somewhere' – *niēkur* 'nowhere'

visadà/visadòs 'always' – *niekadà/niekadòs* 'never'

visuomèt 'always' – *niekuomèt* 'never'

šiek tíek 'somewhat, a little' – *nē kíek* 'not at all, not any'; cf.:

Sténgiausi visaip jám padēti.

'I tried to help him in all (possible) ways.'

– *Nesisténgiau jám niēkaip padēti.*

'I did not try to help him in any (lit. 'no') way.'

Visuř bũvo daũg žmoniū.

'There were many people everywhere.'

– *Niēkur nebũvo žmoniū.*

'There were no people anywhere (lit. 'nowhere').'

Mótina kažkuř iřvažiãvo.

'Mother has gone somewhere.'

– *Mótina niēkur neiřvažiãvo.*

'Mother has not gone anywhere (lit. 'nowhere').'

*Tās sēnis visadā / visuomēt
po pietū pamiēga.*

'That old man always has a nap after dinner.'

– *Tās sēnis niekadā /
niekuomēt po pietū nemiēga.*

'That old man never has a nap after dinner.'

Váistai mán šiek tíek padējo.

'The medicine has helped me a little.'

– *Váistai mán nē kíek nepadējo.*

'The medicine hasn't helped me at all.'

The negative pronouns and adverbs in question are used in negative sentences only. They do not cancel the negative meaning of the sentence (unlike the second negation in 3.120); instead, they intensify negation and stress its total character.

3.124 A sentence may contain several negative pronouns and/or adverbs, e.g.:

*Táu niēkas niekadā
nedāre jokiū priekaištu.*

'No one has ever reproached you for anything' (lit. 'No one never did not make you no reproaches').

*Niēko, niēkur ir niēkad
jíems neléidžiama.*

'They are never allowed anything anywhere' (lit. 'Nothing is not allowed them nowhere and never').

To limit the scope of negation, the pronouns and adverbs of the respective affirmative sentence can be retained, e.g.:

Jis visuī yrā būvēs, vīskā mātēs.

'He has been everywhere, seen everything.'

– *Jis visuī nērā būvēs, vīsko
nērā mātēs.*

'He hasn't been everywhere, hasn't seen everything' (i.e. 'He has been to some places only, has seen some things, but not everything').

Kiekvíenas tō neprívālo darýti.

lit. 'Everybody is not obliged to do it'
(= 'Not everybody is obliged to do it').

Sentences of the following type are ambiguous:

Sēnis visadā po pietū nemiēga.

'The old man does not always sleep after dinner' or 'The old man never sleeps after dinner.'

3.125 If the particle *dār* is used in a positive sentence, the particle *jaū* is used in the negative counterpart. If the particle *jaū* is used in a positive sentence, the particle *dār* is used in the negative counterpart:

Āš dār tavēs paláuksiu.

'I'll wait for you (for a while) yet.'

– *Āš jaū tavēs nebeláuksiu.*

'I won't wait for you any longer.'

Traukinýs jaū atvažiúoja.

'The train is already pulling in.'

– *Traukinýs dār neatvažiúoja.*

'The train is not arriving yet.'

4 EXPANDED SENTENCES

Išplėstiniai sakiniai

- 4.1 The sentence patterns composed of obligatory constituents can be expanded by various optional elements expressed by word forms and by word groups whose structure and meaning are outlined in 2.2–2.145.

Simple sentences can also be expanded or amplified by participial clauses, comparative phrases, non-restrictive appositions, direct address and parenthetical constructions.

PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES

- 4.2 This term is used here to refer to non-finite clauses in which the head is a participle (including half-participles in *-dam-* and gerunds).

Participial clauses are functionally close to finite subordinate clauses. A participial clause is embedded in a sentence to express a secondary action modifying the action of the finite main verb with respect to time, manner, etc.

Cf. the following example:

<i>Žmogùs stovėjo prie lango.</i>	'A man stood at the window.'
<i>Jis kalbėjosi su laiškanesčiu.</i>	'He was talking to the postman.'

In these sentences two actions are given equal syntactic status. The relation between them can be changed in two ways:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) <i>Stovėdamas prie lango,</i>
<i>žmogùs kalbėjosi su laiškanesčiu.</i> | 'Standing at the window the
man talked to the postman.' |
| (2) <i>Žmogùs stovėjo prie lango,</i>
<i>kalbėdamas su laiškanesčiu.</i> | 'The man stood at the window,
talking to the postman.' |

Both are simple sentences expanded by a participial phrase: in (1) the action of standing is made secondary by transforming the first sentence into an embedded participial clause, while in (2) the other action is made secondary in the same way.

- 4.3** Participial clauses formed with half-participles (participles in *-dam-*), past active participles, and present and past passive participles are used to denote a secondary action if their subject is co-referential with the subject of the finite main verb and therefore need not and can not be expressed in the participial phrase. The participle agrees with the sentence subject in case, number and gender, cf.:

Senēlis, žiūrēdamas į darbininkus, šypsójosì.

'Looking (HALF-PART) at the workers, grandfather smiled.'

Bėrnas, vidurý piřkios atsistójes, apsidairė apliřkui.

'The lad, having stopped (PAST. ACT. PART) in the middle of the room, looked around.'

Visų pėrsekiojamas, kareivis nùtare gìntis.

'Pursued (PRES. PASS. PART) by everybody, the soldier decided to defend himself.'

Paleistà iš nàrvo, kanarėlė išskrido pro lánq.

'Set free (PAST. PASS. PART) from the bird-cage, the canary flew out of the window.'

The semi-participle of the link verb *būti* 'be' with an adjective, participle or its substitute is also used in participial clauses to denote a simultaneous state:

Jurgėlis mirė penkiólikos mėtu būdamas.

lit. 'Jurgelis (Georgie) died being (HALF-PART) fifteen years of age.'

Būdamà pavařgusi, negalėjau apsiginti.

lit. 'Being (HALF-PART) tired I could not defend myself.'

- 4.4** Participial clauses with a present or past gerund denote a secondary action whose semantic subject is not identical with that of the finite predicate. The semantic subject can be in the dative case, thereby forming (with the gerund) the dative absolute construction (*dativus absolutus*):

<i>Mùms</i>	<i>besišnekant</i>	<i>atsidairė</i>	<i>dùrys.</i>
we: DAT	talk: PRES. GER	open: 3. PAST	door

'While we were talking the door opened.'

<i>Bróltui</i>	<i>grįžus</i>	<i>àš</i>	<i>atsiguliau.</i>
brother: DAT. SG	return: PAST. GER	I	lie (down): 1. SG. PAST

'When (my) brother returned I went to bed.'

The semantic subject is not expressed overtly in a gerundial clause if it is (1) implied by the context, (2) generalized or indefinite, or (3) if the gerund is impersonal:

- (1) *Draugai išvažiavo anksti.*
Važiuojant per mišką sulūžo rātas.
 'The friends left home early.
 While (they were) driving (PRES. GER)
 through the woods, the wheel broke.'
- (2) *Būlves kāsant dažnai prasideda*
šalnos.
 '(When) digging up (PRES. GER)
 potatoes, it often starts freezing.'
- (3) *Taip sparčiai sutėmus mēs*
nebegalėjome nė tako įžiūrėti.
 '(It) having grown dark (PAST. GER)
 so fast, we couldn't even see the path.'

The dative is redundant in the gerundial clause if it is named by an object or otherwise in the main clause:

- Grįžus namo mūs pasitiko tik šuo.*
 'On return (PAST. GER) home, the
 dog alone came out meet us.'
- Naktį bežygiuojant suņkvežimis*
jām pėrvažiavo kóją.
 'When he was walking (PRES. GEN)
 at night, a lorry (ran him over and)
 crushed his (lit. to him, DAT) leg.'
- Jō véidas paniūro išgirdus*
atsākymą.
 'His face fell on hearing (PAST. GER)
 the answer.'

- 4.5 The choice of a participle (and half-participle) or a gerund is determined by the identity/non-identity of the semantic subject of the secondary action with that of the main action. If they are identical a participle or a half-participle (for a simultaneous action) is used. If they are not identical, a gerund has to be used.

A gerund is also used if the semantic subjects of both actions are only partly identical:

- Iš pradžiū abū kaimynai ėjo*
tylomis. Ařtinantis prie dvāro,
vienas prašnėko.
 'At the beginning two neighbours walked
 in silence. On approaching (PRES. GER)
 the manor, one of them began to talk.'

The participle or half-participle of a participial clause is replaced by a gerund in the respective impersonal sentence:

- Taip suņkiai dirbdamas / dirbęs*
galì ir pailsėti.
 'Working (HALF-PART)/having worked
 (PAST. ACT. PART) so hard, you can
 afford a rest.'
- Taip suņkiai dirbant / dirbus*
gālima ir pailsėti.
 'Working (PRES. GER)/having worked
 (PAST. GER) so hard, one can (lit. it is
 allowed/possible to) have a rest.'

- 4.6 As a means of subordination, participial clauses differ from finite subordinate clauses in that they are more tightly integrated into the sentence structure and

their semantic relations with the main predicate in most cases are not formally expressed.

Most commonly, participial clauses, especially those with gerunds, indicate the relative time of the main action. To specify the temporal relation, the subordinators *iki* 'until, before', *priš* 'before', *vš* 'hardly, as soon as', *tik* 'just' are used to introduce a participial clause, e.g.:

<i>Prieš eidamas namo, Jurgis visada užsukdavo pas ją.</i>	'Before going home, Jurgis (George) used to look in on her.'
<i>Motina išskubėjo į miestelį vos rytui prašovitus.</i>	'Mother went to the town as soon as it dawned (lit. morning: DAT dawn: PAST. GER).'

Participial clauses may acquire a number of additional meanings superimposed upon the temporal meaning. In relation to the main clause, they may denote:

(1) cause:

<i>Per dienų dieną nieko nedirbdama, ji turi net per daug laiko.</i>	lit. 'Doing (HALF-PART) nothing all day long, she has too much spare time.'
<i>Nuolat visą persekiojamas jis priprato gintis.</i>	'Constantly persecuted (PRES. PASS. PART) by all he got used to defending himself.'
<i>Motinai čia esant, man nebaisu.</i>	lit. 'Mother being (PRES. GER) here, I am not afraid of anything.'

(2) condition:

<i>Pabūves pas manė metus, išmóktum ir laukus árti.</i>	'Having spent (PAST. ACT. PART) a year with me, you would even learn to plough the fields.'
<i>Tavimì dėtás aš búčiau kitaip pasielgęs.</i>	'If I were you (you: INSTR. SG put: PAST. PASS. PART. NOM. SG) I'd have behaved differently.'
<i>Dúodant vienám, reikia dúoti ir kitám.</i>	'If you give (PRES. GER) to one, you should (lit. 'it is necessary' to) give to another.'

(3) concession (sometimes emphasized by *ir, kad ir, nors (ir)*):

<i>Pàts varganai gyvëndamas, jis sténgesi kitiems padėti.</i>	'Being poor (lit. living poorly: HALF-PART) himself, he did his best to help others.'
<i>Čia gimęs ir užaugęs, gimtósios kalbós doraĩ neišmóko.</i>	'Having been born and grown up here, he hasn't learnt his native language properly.'
<i>Nors/kad ir saugomas draugų, jis neprarádo viltiės pabégti.</i>	'Though guarded (PRES. PASS. PART) by his friends, he did not lose hope of escaping.'

(4) manner:

*Besirúpindamas kitų láime ràsi
ir sàvąją.*

‘(While) being concerned (HALF-PART)
with other people’s happiness, you’ll find
your own.’

*Vaikai sėdėjo kambario kampė
prisiglaūde vienas prie kito.*

‘The children were sitting in a corner of
the room cuddling up (PAST. ACT.
PART) to each other.’

(5) purpose (with the *-dam-* participle or present gerund of verbs like *ieškóti* ‘look for’, *siekti* ‘seek, strive’, *norėti* ‘want’, mostly after verbs of motion):

*Visą dieną bėgiójau ieškódamas
mergáitės tėvų.*

lit. ‘I ran about all day looking
(HALF-PART) for the girl’s parents.’

*Jis užėjo į knygýną, tikėdamasis/
norėdamas nusipirkti žodýną.*

lit. ‘He dropped into a bookshop
hoping/wanting to buy a dictionary.’

These adverbial meanings of participial clauses are largely determined by the lexical meaning of sentence constituents and by context. In the majority of cases they are not distinctly differentiated and a participial clause may carry several shades of meaning. For instance, the participle clause in

*Vaikas suslāpo kójas braidýdamas
po balūs.*

‘The boy got his feet wet wading
(HALF-PART) in the puddles.’

conveys the time of the main action as well as cause and manner.

- 4.7 A participial clause may be separated by pauses (commas in written language) and/or uttered with a rising tone in order to give it more prominence. This is common if a participle clause is placed initially:

*Gyvėndamas toli nuo savo giminių,
Jõnas retai tegalėjo júos aplankyti.*

lit. ‘Living (HALF-PART) far from his rela-
tives, John could only seldom visit them.’

A single participle without dependent words can also be detached from the sentence:

*Paválge, medžiótojai tuojaũ
nuėjo atgál į mišką.*

‘Having eaten (PAST. ACT. PART) the
hunters at once went back into the woods.’

COMPARATIVE PHRASES

- 4.8 A comparative phrase consists of a word form (single or with dependent word forms) naming the standard of comparison and linked to the predicate or any

other part of the sentence by a comparative conjunction (*kaīp* 'like, as', *tařtum* 'as if', etc.). Comparative phrases subordinated to the predicate and performing an adverbial function are very close to comparative subordinate clauses (see 7.65–70), except that they contain no predicate; cf.:

Vargaī praeīs kaip naktīs.

lit. 'Troubles will pass like a night'
(comparative phrase).

Vargaī praeīs, kaip praeīna naktīs.

'Troubles will pass like a night passes'
(comparative clause).

Comparative phrases linked to other parts of the sentence and their modifiers cannot be replaced by a subordinate clause:

Nusipirkaū jūoda kaip anglīs kepūre. 'I bought a cap black as night.'

Comparative phrases can be subdivided into equational (qualitative and quantitative) and differentiating.

4.9 Qualitative comparative phrases denote similarity of qualitative characteristics and relate to verbs (1), nouns (2) and adjectives (3) or their substitutes. They are introduced by the neutral (with respect to modality) conjunction *kaīp* 'like', or by *it*, *līg*, *tařtum* / *tařsi* implying a shade of modal meaning.

(1) *Tēvas dīrba kaip visi.*

'Father works like everybody else.'

Merginā žydi līg / tařtum rōžē.

'The girl is blooming like a rose.'

(2) *Sáugojo jā trīs bróltai kaip ažuolaī.*

'She was guarded by three brothers like oak-trees.'

(3) *Jis grīžo namō piktas it/līg / tařtum žvērīs.*

'He returned home angry as a beast.'

If a comparative phrase modifies an adjective the standard of comparison is usually in the nominative case, whatever the case of the adjective (and its head noun):

Mēs ējome līgiu kaip stālas keliū.

'We walked along the road (INSTR) (which was) flat (INSTR) as a table (NOM).'

Sáulē pasislēpē už tamsaūs kaip naktīs šilo.

'The sun hid behind the pine forest (GEN) (which was as) dark (GEN) as the night (NOM).'

If a comparative phrase modifies a noun the standard of comparison assumes the case form of the head noun:

Nóriu miēgo kaip medaūs.

'I want sleep (GEN) like honey (GEN).'

Cf. *Nóriu miēgo saldaūs kaip medūs.*

lit. 'I want sleep (GEN) as sweet (GEN) as honey (NOM).'

The standard of comparison can also be denoted by an adjective, an adjectival word or by an adverb or its substitute:

<i>Bókštas žiba kaip stiklinis.</i>	'The tower glitters like (made of) glass (ADJ).'
<i>Jis lėidžia mano pinigų kaip savų.</i>	'He spends my money (ACC) like his own (PRON. ACC).'
<i>Dabar galim pasikalbėti kaip seniau.</i>	'Now we can have a chat as of old (ADV).'

A comparative phrase often is parallel in structure to the main clause (except for the absence of a predicate):

<i>Katrė rūmuose kankinasi lyg narvė paukštėle.</i>	'Katrė (Catherine) is suffering in the palace like a bird in a cage.'
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Adverbial comparative phrases can be preceded by the correlative words *taip* 'so', *taip pat* 'as':

<i>Jaū nebūs taip gerai kaip anksčiau.</i>	'It won't be as good (ADV) as earlier.'
<i>Išvažiuome taip pat anksčiau kaip visada.</i>	'We left as early as always.'

The correlative words cooccurring with modifying comparative phrases are *toks*, *-ià* 'such', *toks pat*, *tokià pat* 'the same', sometimes *taip* 'so' and *taip pat* 'as':

<i>Ar tu regėjai tokį dvārą kaip mano?</i>	'Have you seen such a manor as mine?'
<i>Ji tokià pat / taip pat graži kaip jaunystėje.</i>	'She is as beautiful as in her youth.'

4.10 Quantitative comparative phrases denote similarity with respect to quantitative characteristics. They are introduced by *kiek* 'how much/many', *kaip* 'how' and they are usually preceded by the correlatives *tiek* 'so (as) much' or *tiek pat* 'as much'.

<i>Šulinyje vandenį buvo tiek, kiek statinėje</i>	'In the well there was as much water as (lit. how much) in the barrel.'
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Comparative phrases preceded by *tiek* (*pat*) are most frequently introduced by *kaip*:

<i>Aš ne tiek pasikeitęs kaip jūs.</i>	'I haven't changed as much as you.'
<i>Niekam jis tiek neįkyrėdavo kaip man.</i>	'He didn't worry anyone as much as me.'
<i>Nusipirkaū tiek pat knygų kaip ir brólis.</i>	'I've bought as many books as (my) brother.'

The correlative *tiek* often co-occurs with the adverb *daug* 'much/many':

<i>Susiriūko tiek daug žmoniū kaip dar niekadà.</i>	lit. 'So many people gathered as never before.'
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4.11 Differentiating comparative phrases serve to express the difference between compared entities or actions. They are commonly introduced by the conjunction *negù* ‘than’, and sometimes by *nekaīp*, *neī*, *kaīp* with the same meaning. Differentiating phrases are used as postmodifiers and co-occur with the following head words only:

(1) the comparative form of adverbs:

<i>Tā diēnq jīs išējo ī dārbq anksčtaū kaīp / negu visadā.</i>	‘On that day he left for work earlier than usual (lit. ‘always’).’
<i>Geriaū miřti nekaīp svetimēms tarnāuti.</i>	‘It’s better to die than to serve the invaders (lit. ‘foreigners’).’

(2) the comparative form of adjectives:

<i>Jō gyvuliaī visadā menkesnī negu jō kaīmýnu.</i>	‘His cattle are always scraggier than his neighbours.’
<i>Čiā likēs āš tikraī būsiu laimingēsnis nei tū.</i>	‘Staying here, I will surely be happier than you.’

(3) the adverb *kitaīp* ‘differently’ and the adjective *kitóks*, *-iā* ‘different, another’:

<i>Žmónēs čia kitaīp gyvēna negu mūsų káime.</i>	lit. ‘The people here live otherwise (differently) than in our village.’
<i>Jīs yrā kitóks / kitókie būdo negu visī vaikaī.</i>	lit. ‘He is different / of a different nature than all (the other) children.’

Comparative phrases dependent on comparative adverbs and adjectives are interchangeable with the prepositional phrase *ūž* + ACC:

<i>Sūnūs žīno daugiaū negu tėvas / daugiaū už tėva.</i>	‘The son knows more than the father’ (see 2.120, 143).
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APPOSITION

4.12 Non-restrictive apposition modifies the head word by conveying additional information or explaining it. It follows the modified word and is detached from the sentence by a separate intonation (marked by commas or otherwise in writing). These features distinguish the non-restrictive apposition from restrictive apposition which serves to identify the head word (see 1.38).

Non-restrictive apposition can modify:

(1) nouns, in subject or object position:

*Būvo trys brėliai, didelė ir galingi
karaliai.*

'There were three brothers, great and
powerful kings.'

*Jis atnešė mums dovanų: žaislų,
knygų, saldainių.*

'He brought us gifts: toys, books,
sweets.'

(2) adverbs and other word forms used as adverbial modifiers:

Teñ, prie lėpšio, klėpo mėteris.

'There, by the cradle, a woman is kneeling.'

*Rytą, dār neišaušus, išėjome
grybauti.*

'In the morning, before dawn yet (lit.
'having not dawned yet'), we went
mushrooming.'

*Už namų, palei visą tvėrą, áugo
aviėtės.*

'At the back of the house, along the fence,
there grew raspberries.'

(3) adjectives and adjectival words:

*Tas kambarėlis buvo labai malonūs:
saulėtas, švarūs, baltomis sienomis.*

'That little room was very pleasant:
sunny, clean, with white walls.'

(4) personal pronouns, in various syntactic positions:

*Jai, (kaip) našlėitei, buvo labai
sunkū.*

'For her, (as) an orphan, it was very
hard.'

Dovanokite mán, sėniui.

'Please forgive me, an old man.'

An appositional construction is occasionally used with a verbal predicate:

*Mótina kambarijė balsu raudójo,
stačiaĩ šaukė.*

'In the room, mother was weeping
loudly, screaming even.'

4.13 Non-restrictive appositional constructions can modify the meaning of the head in a number of ways which are indicated by special conjunctives.

(1) An appositional construction identifies the head referent, the relation between the appositives being that of equivalence; the indicators are *būtent* 'namely', *arbà* 'or, otherwise', *tai yra* (abbreviated *t.y.*) 'that is':

*Tik vienas klausytojas, būtent
Viñcas, pasiliko sālėje.*

'Only one listener, namely Vincas (Vincent),
stayed in the hall.'

*Atžalýnas, arbà / t.y. jáunas
miškas, ganýti nelėdžiamas.*

'The undergrowth, or /i.e. a young
forest, is a forbidden place for grazing.'

(2) An appositional construction names the components or illustrates the head, in which case the relation between the appositives is that of inclusion which may be indicated by the conjunctive words *kaip antai* 'as for instance', *pāvyzdžiui* 'for example' (abbreviated *pvz.*), the adverbs *ypač* 'especially', *daugiausia* 'mostly', and the like.

*Namīnīai paūkšcīai, kaip antaī/
pāvuzdžīui, vīštos, āntys
ar žāšys, labaī naudīngī žmōgui.*

'Poultry, as for instance/for example
hens, ducks and geese, are very
useful to man.'

*Laukīnēs bītēs apdūlkina āugalus,
jpač/labīāusiai raudonūosius
dōbilus.*

'Wild bees pollinate plants,
especially/most of all red clover.'

(3) An appositional construction has an additive force, which is indicated by *kaip ir* 'as well as', *taip pat ir* 'and also':

Laukaī, kaip ir miškaī, ištuštėjo.

'The fields, as well as the woods, were
deserted.'

*Šīmet, kaip ir / taip pat ir pėrnai,
būvo labaī karštā vāsara.*

'This year, as well as/and also last
year, we had a very hot summer.'

(4) An appositional construction is explanatory if it specifies the relevant aspect of the head and can be introduced by *kaip*:

*Jōnas, (kaip) visū vaikū vyriāusias,
turėjo užkurti laužą.*

'Jonas (John) (as) the oldest of all
the children, was to light the bonfire.'

*Jūms, kaip mōtinai, reikėtų labiaū
rūpintis sūnaūs atėttimī.*

'You, as mother, should be more
concerned with your son's future.'

DIRECT ADDRESS

4.14 Direct address (*kreipinys*) expands a sentence by referring to the person(s) who is (are) addressed. Its basic function is to establish contact with the listener(s). Direct address is a detached constituent set off from the sentence by pauses and intonation (commas or exclamation marks in writing). It is usually expressed by the vocative case of (1) proper or (2) common (mostly human) nouns:

(1) *Pėtrai, parōdyk tām žmōgui kėlią.
Lietuva, pabūsk iš ilgo miėgo!*

'Peter, show that man the way.'

'Lithuania, awake from your long sleep!'

(2) *Tuojaū skubėkit namō, vaikaī!
Výrai, nesibárkite!
Visi manė, motūle, mylėjo.*

'Hurry home at once, children!'

'Gentlemen (lit. Men) don't quarrel!'

'Everybody loved me, mother.'

The nouns *pōnas* 'Mister, Sir', *poniā* 'Madam', *panėlė* 'Miss' are used for formal and polite address:

*Atlėskite, pōnia / panėle, āš
nenorėjau sutrukdyti.*

'Sorry, Madam/Miss, I didn't mean
to disturb you.'

The vocative of non-human nouns usually occurs in rhetorical speech:

Vai lēkite, daīnos! 'Oh fly, (my) songs!'

The noun in direct address can take all kinds of modifiers:

Kā pasakýsite, garbīngi ir nařsūs výrai? 'What will you say, honourable and valiant men?'

The position of direct address in the sentence is not fixed. It is frequently placed in initial position.

4.15 Direct address can also be expressed by the following noun substitutes:

(1) adjectives and passive participles (usually the definite form):

Nuqramīnk, mielāsis / māno mielas. 'Be quiet, dear / my dear.'

Tai apie kā mēs čīa kalbēsime, gerbiamēji? 'And what shall we talk about gentlemen (lit. 'honourable')?'

(2) the personal pronouns *tū* 'you: SG', *tāmsta, jūs* 'you':

Greičīaū, tu! 'You, be quick!'

Sakýk, tāmsta, kuriuō keliū reiķia eīti? 'Please tell me, sir, which way do I take?'

Ei, jūs, atnēškite mán vīno! 'Hey, you, bring (2. PL)me some wine!'

4.16 For emphasis an interjection by itself or with a pronoun may be added to a sequence denoting direct address:

Ak, Paūliau, dabař nebe tiř laikaī. 'Oh, Paul, the times have changed.'

Oi tu, mergēle jaunōji, kuř taip vaikřtinēji? 'Oh you, young maiden, where are you walking?'

But an interjection preceding direct address can also be separated from it by a pause (a comma in writing):

Èt, vyrēli, gerīaū tylētum! 'Well, old chap, you'd better keep silent!'

Éi, vaīke, prieķ arčīaū! 'Hey, child, come up nearer!'

4.17 Alongside the basic phatic function of establishing contact with the listener(s), direct address also serves to express the speaker's attitude towards the addressee and, even, to evaluate the latter. This emotive and evaluative function is especially prominent if direct address is expressed by a modified diminutive noun, e.g.:

Oi, bernēli māno mielas, jau negreīř pasimatýsim! 'Oh, my dearest sweetheart, we won't meet soon!'

A sentence may contain two occurrences of direct address: the first one, usually in sentence-initial position, has the phatic function and the other, placed finally, has an emotive-evaluative function:

Kaimýjne, kō taip skubì namō, brangùsis? 'Neighbour, why are you hurrying home so, dearest?'

INTERPOLATION

- 4.18** Interpolation (*ìterpinýs*) is a syntactic means of amplifying a sentence by a broad (practically unlimited) range of meanings, which is reflected in its formal and semantic variety. An interpolated remark may be semantically related to the whole sentence or to a constituent, while formally it is not linked to the latter. It is singled out by a specific intonation:

Ìs, žìnoma, niēko teñ nerādo. 'He, of course, didn't find anything there.'

The position of interpolation is not fixed, but it mostly appears in the initial or medial position.

- 4.19** Interpolated word forms either retain their morphological status or acquire specialized meanings losing, to a greater or lesser degree, their semantic relation with the respective original word.

The following word forms are commonly used in interpolation:

(1) the nominative case form of the evaluative nouns *bēdà* 'misfortune', *láimē* 'luck', *neláimē* 'misfortune', *teisybē* 'truth', *tiesà* 'truth', *vařgas* 'misery, grief' and the like (also the dative of *láimē* and *neláimē*):

Láimē / láimei, mótina bùvo netolíese. 'Luckily (NOM/DAT), mother was nearby.'

Teisybē, ìs niēko nežinójo. 'True (lit. Truth), he didn't know anything.'

(2) The instrumental form *žodžiu* 'in a word':

Mēs miegójome, žodžiu, niēko nemātēme. 'We were asleep, in a word, we didn't see anything.'

(3) The vocative case forms *Diēve* 'God', *Viēšpatie* 'Good Lord', *vařge* 'woe, grief' and the like which function as interjections:

Viēšpatie, kàs gi čià dēdasi? 'Good Lord, what's going on here?'

Vařge, kàs gi táu atsitiko? 'Woe, what has become of you?'

(4) Interjections:

Dejà, dabař jau gāli būti per vēlū. 'Alas, it may be too late now.'
Dievaži, ir kō jis iř manēš nōri? 'O dear, what does he want of me?'

(5) The neuter adjectives *āiřku* 'clear', *svarbiāusia* 'most important', the neuter passive participles *žinoma* 'of course', *supraņtama* 'of course', and also the neuter form of the numerals *viena* 'first(ly)', *aņtra* 'secondly', *pirma* 'first', *pirmiāusia* 'first of all' and the like:

Tū knygu, žinoma, niķkas neskaĩtē. 'No one read those books, of course.'
Viena, jis būvo pavařģes, aņtra, 'Firstly, he was tired, secondly, he
pāts negalējo apsisprēsti. 'couldn't make up his mind.'

(6) The synonymous adverbs *atvirķšciaĩ* and *prieřingai* 'on the contrary':

Tās jō tylējimas, atvirķšciaĩ/ 'That silence of his, on the contrary,
prieřingai, ķēlē dār didēsni nērimā. 'caused even greater uneasiness.'

(7) The adverbialized gerunds *atsiprāřant* '(by way of) apologizing', *nepērdedant* 'without exaggerating':

Vēskis iř čia tā, atsiprāřant, kvaiļi. 'Get this, beg your pardon, fool out of here.'
Māno duktē, nepērdedant, gerā 'My daughter is, without exaggeration,
virēja. 'a good cook.'

(8) The infinitives *matýt(i)* 'evidently (lit. 'see')', *girdēt(i)* 'they say (lit. 'hear')' and the finite verb forms *rōdos(i)* 'it seems', *rēģis(i)* 'it seems', *vađinasi* 'so, then, well then, consequently':

Vaiķas, matýt, būvo nekaļtas. 'The child was, obviously, innocent.'
Rōdos, čia niķkas negyvōna. 'It seems, no one lives here.'
Vađinasi, turēšime iřsikēlti kituř. 'Well then, we'll have to move elsewhere.'

(9) The particle *bejē* 'by the way':

Bejē, ar negalēsi mán padēti? 'By the way, could you help me?'

4.20 The following prepositional phrases are commonly used as interpolation:

(1) *anót/pasāk/pagaļ* 'according to + GEN', with human nouns:

Pasāk Jōno, jiē tik pasiteirāvo 'According to Jonas (John), they
apie kaimýnus. 'only inquired about the neighbours.'

(2) *bē* 'without, besides, except + GEN', especially set phrases like *be tō* 'besides', *be ābejo/be abejōnēs* 'without doubt':

Be smuĩkininko, teņ dar būvo 'Besides the violinist, there were a few
kēletas svečtū. 'more guests.'

Be ābejo, tu vēl pavelúosi ģ tráukini. 'Doubtless, you will miss your train again.'

(3) the preposition *põ* 'after' with the Genitive or Instrumental case in set phrases used as swear-words, e.g.:

Nejaūģi, po velniū, ģia nē vieno padoraūš žmogaūš neliko? 'What the deuce, is there not a single decent man (left) here?'

(4) the phrases *tarp kĭtko / tarp kĭta kõ* 'by the way (lit. 'among others')'
Āš, tarp kĭta kõ, turiū táu gerū nauģienū. 'By the way, I have good news for you.'

All the above mentioned word forms and phrases can also be optionally expanded to form interpolated word groups, e.g.:

<i>músu (ģū, visū, miēsto gyvėntoģu) láimei</i>	'luckily for us (them, everybody, the towns people (lit. to my/ their, etc. luck)'
<i>saváime áišku</i>	'of course'
<i>visū pirmiáusia</i>	'first of all'
<i>priešingai negū visi</i>	'contrary to everybody'
<i>nē kiek nepėrdedant</i>	'without exaggerating at all'
<i>aņtra veřtus</i>	'on the other hand'
<i>anót namū gyvėntoģu</i>	'according to the inhabitants of the house'
<i>pagaļ tūrimus šaltiniūs</i>	'according to the sources we have'
<i>be jokiõs abeģnēs</i>	'without any doubt', etc.

There are also a great many interpolations composed of two (very seldom more than two) word forms, their head word never being used singly as an interpolation; here belong:

<i>teisyģe pasákius</i>	'to tell (lit. 'having told') the truth'
<i>kitaģp / vienu žodģiū sákant</i>	'to put it (lit. 'putting it') otherwise/ in one word'
<i>atviraģ kaļbant</i>	'frankly speaking'
<i>išskýrus kitūs</i>	'excepting the others'
<i>áiškus / supraņtamas dalģkas</i>	'of course'
<i>turimaģs duomenimģs</i>	'according to the available information'
<i>áģtā Diģvui</i>	'thank God', etc.

A great many set phrases containing a pronoun or an adverb are habitually used in interpolation, e.g.:

*Ko gēro, vēl suláuksime
nekviestū svečtū.
Jōnas, šiaīp ar taīp, gēras
mokinys.*

'I am afraid (lit. 'what good: GEN'),
we shall have uninvited visitors gain.'
'Jōnas (John) in any case, is a good
pupil.'

- 4.21** A clause may be interpolated as well. The predicate of an interpolated clause is usually a verb denoting comprehension which can be used alone as an interpolation, e.g.:

*Mán ródos, jis mūs pamīřšo.
Tēvas, áiškiat matyti, dar
niēko nežino.*

'I think, he has forgotten us.'
'Father, to all appearance, doesn't know
anything yet.'

Interpolated clauses are often introduced by the conjunctions *kaīp* 'as' and *kīek* 'as':

*Jōs vīras, kaīp visiems žinoma,
būvo girtuōklis.
Kaīp jau būvo minēta, jis tuō
metū gyvēno káime.
Kīek prisimenu, jis čia nebūvo
apsilañķes.*

'Her husband, as everyone knows, was a
drunkard.'
'As it was mentioned, he lived in
the country at that time.'
'For all I remember, he hasn't ever been
here.'

- 4.22** The most prominent functions of interpolation are the following:

(1) expressing the speaker's attitude towards the content of the sentence, including all kinds of evaluation (modal, emotional, etc):

Tikiúosi, tu nepasēksi tėvo pėdomis.

'I hope, you won't follow in your father's
steps.'

Vilniuje, kaīp girdēti, jis nebegyvēna.

'He doesn't live in Vilnius any longer, (as)
one hears.'

(2) commenting or summarizing what is being said in the sentence:

*Atviraī sākant / pasākius, aš
tō geraī nežinaū.*

'Speaking honestly, I don't know much
about that.'

*Žodžiū, reīkia nedeīsti nē
valandēlēs.*

'In a word, we shouldn't waste a
moment.'

(3) appealing to the listener:

*Šito, žinote, aš jau nebegalēsiu
pakēsti.*

'This, you know, I won't put up with.'

(4) indicating the source of information:

*Antrāsīs sūnūs būvo, anót tėvo,
nevỹkėlis.*

'The second son was, according to (his)
father, a failure.'

(5) specifying the content of the sentence (by way of contrast, exception, comparison, enumeration etc.) or relating the sentence to the context:

*Visi būvo susiriņķe, išskýrus
tuos trīs.*

'Everybody was there, excepting
those three.'

*Palýgtinti su kitaīs, jīs atróde
profingas.*

'In comparison with the others, he looked
intelligent.'

Añtra vēftus, teñ galēsi mokytis.

'On the other hand, you'll be able to study
there.'

*Nepaklausē mào patarimo,
vadīnasi, pàts būsi kaļtas.*

'You didn't heed my advice, consequently,
you yourself will be to blame.'

4.23 The following modal (and similar) words, and phrases function very much like interpolated expressions but they are included in the sentence intonationally (in writing they are not set off by commas):

pirmiáusia 'first of all'
visū pirmà 'first of all'
tikriáusiai 'most probably, surely'
veikiáusiai 'most probably/likely'
apskritai 'in general, on the whole'
paprastai 'usually'
anaiptol 'by no means'
iš viso 'all in all'
iš pñncipo 'on principle'

iš tiesū 'really, indeed'
iš tikrūjū 'really, indeed'
galbūt 'maybe'
turbūt 'must be'
rasi/ràsīt 'maybe, perhaps'
berōds 'it seems'
atseīt 'that is'
antaī 'there'
taīgi 'now then, consequently'

4.24 An interpolation can also be inserted at will: the speaker is free to put into a sentence any remark as additional information or evaluation, or comment, etc., e.g.:

*Mótna, jīs jaūtē, būvo susirāpinus,
nōrs ir šypsójosī.*

'Mother, he felt, was worried,
though she was smiling.'

*Mūsū kaimýnas (o jīs, nōrs kaŗtais
mēgsta išgērti, bēt taīp žmogūs ne
melāgis) papāsakojó mūms keīstā
atsitikìmq.*

'Our neighbour (and he, though a
drinking man, is not a liar), told
us a strange story.'

5 WORD ORDER

Žodžių tvarka

- 5.1 Word order in Lithuanian is a means of signifying the functional (theme – rheme) sentence perspective and, to a much lesser degree, the syntactic relations between sentence constituents. Word order can be variable and structurally fixed.

Variable word order is not rigidly determined by the syntactic sentence structure and it may vary depending on the functional sentence perspective and on expressive and stylistic factors. Variable word order is characteristic of Lithuanian. This is due to a highly developed system of inflections which signal the syntactic functions of words in a sentence and their semantic roles. The sequential arrangement of words does not usually change their syntactic or semantic functions.

Variable word order may be **neutral** and **inverted**. Neutral word order does not depend on the context or special intention. Inversion of regular neutral word order is a means of changing the communicative content of a sentence and expressing emphasis. Thus, the neutral position of an adverbial of manner or an adjectival modifier is before a verb (*gerai žinau* lit. '(I) well know', *aiškiai pasakė* lit. '(he) clearly said') and a head noun (*brangióji tėvynė* 'dear homeland') respectively; in the case of inversion they are post-posed to the head word and thus receive emphasis: *žinau gerai* '(I) know well', *pasakė aiškiai* '(he) said clearly', and *tėvynė brangióji* 'homeland dear'.

A number of restrictions are imposed on word order variation by the tendency to juxtapose immediately related word forms (or word groups). Immediately related word groups and word forms can be distanced if the communicative intention or distribution of emphasis require it. This may result in a "closed-in" construction; for instance, the copula of a compound predicate may be separated from the predicative adjective and noun by positioning the subject or an adverbial between them:

<i>Buvo</i>	<i>tada</i>	<i>jis</i>	<i>dár</i>	<i>visái</i>	<i>jáunas</i>	<i>vaikinas.</i>
was	then	he	yet	quite	young	youth

'He was quite a young boy then.'

5.2 **Structurally fixed** word order cannot be changed for communicative or stylistic reasons. Instances of structurally fixed order are:

(1) place of prepositions before a noun, e.g.:

<i>(nāmas) be langū</i>	'(a house) without windows'
<i>(eīti) į mišką</i>	'(go) to the woods'

(2) pre-position of negation, e.g.:

<i>ne visi žmonės</i>	'not all people'
<i>ne jis atėjo</i>	lit. 'not he came' ('it wasn't he who came')

(3) the initial position of an interrogative particle, e.g.:

<i>Ar jis čia?</i>	'Is he here?'
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(4) post-position of attributive clauses to the head noun, e.g.:

<i>Išaušo diena, kuriós visi laukė.</i>	'The day dawned everyone had been waiting for.'
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There is no distinct border-line between instances of variable and structurally fixed word order, which results in a number of intermediate cases. Thus, a modifier expressed by the genitive case of a noun is usually placed before the head noun in Standard Lithuanian (especially in scientific and official style):

<i>tėvo kambarys</i>	'father's room'
<i>miško žvėrys</i>	'forest beasts'

However, in colloquial (especially dialectal) speech and in fiction (especially in poetry), their sequence may be reversed (see 5.21).

5.3 In the case of variable word order, sequence of words in a sentence is determined by the communicative intention. From this viewpoint, a sentence is assigned a communicative structure consisting of two parts, **the theme** and **the rheme**. The theme carries given information already supplied by the context and the rheme carries the new information which is the most important part from the viewpoint of the purpose of communication. The theme usually precedes the rheme and in the case of neutral word order and neutral intonation pattern it corresponds to the subject (or subject group), while the predicate or the predicate group is the rheme. However, the theme – rheme structure does not necessarily coincide with the syntactic structure: the content of the theme and rheme can be changed by changing the sequence of words. Thus, if the sentence *Pėtras atvežė málkų* 'Petras (Peter) brought some firewood' contains a reply to the question 'What did Peter do?', the theme coincides with the subject and the rheme is the verb with the object. The subject can be made the rheme

by moving it to clause final position, the object becoming the theme in clause initial position:

Málku àtvežē Pētras 'The firewood was brought by Peter.'

An alternative means of changing the theme – rheme structure is intonation: any part of a sentence can be rhematized by heavy stress and falling intonation.

Rhematization of the subject:

Kàs àtvežē málku? 'Who brought the firewood?' – *PĒTRAS àtvežē málku* 'PETER brought the firewood.'

Rhematization of the predicate:

Kā padārē Pētras? 'What did Peter do?' – *Pētras ÀTVEŽĒ málku* 'Peter BROUGHT the firewood.'

In written language, word order inversion (along with passivization) is the principal means of changing the theme – rheme content.

Word order sequences where the theme precedes the rheme, the theme corresponding to the subject and the rheme to the predicate or predicate group, being the most common cases, are regarded as the basic patterns.

It is not always easy to distinguish between theme and rheme or to determine the boundary between them. For instance, the opening sentence of a text usually contains no given information: it is rhematic and serves to introduce the theme for the subsequent sentences:

Gyvēno dū bróliai. Jīē būvo labaī neturīngi. 'There lived two brothers. They were very poor.'

Word order in introductory sentences is usually opposite to the regular word order in sentences with a distinct theme – rheme structure.

Word order in interrogative, exclamatory and also in complex sentences has specific characteristics briefly discussed in the relevant chapters. The sections below are concerned with the basic tendencies of word order in declarative simple sentences.

THE ORDER OF THE MAIN SENTENCE CONSTITUENTS

- 5.4 The kernel of most simple sentences comprises either the predicate (V), subject (S) and direct object (O), or the predicate and subject (V,S), or the predicate alone

(V). Therefore it is important to establish the sequential arrangement of these components and its relatedness to the functional (theme – rheme) sentence perspective.

- 5.5 In the **two-constituent sentences** with the kernel structure consisting of the predicate and subject their basic neutral sequence is **SV**. They are usually divisible into theme and rheme. The subject is then the theme and the predicate (alone or with dependent words) is the rheme; cf.:

Laukaĩ ištuštėjo. 'The fields grew empty.'

This word order is also characteristic of sentences with a compound predicate (verbal or nominal):

Žmónės pradėjo skirstytis. 'The people began to disperse.'

Ruduõ buvo ilgas. 'The autumn was long.'

In sentences with a zero copula and the genitive of a noun or an adjective in predicate position this sequence cannot be changed since the reversed word order is indicative of a noun with a preceding modifier:

<i>Švaĩkas</i>	<i>juodõs</i>	<i>spalvõs.</i>
jacket	black: GEN	colour: GEN

lit. 'The jacket is of black colour.'

Cf.: *juodõs spalvõs švaĩkas* lit. 'a jacket of black colour'

Dienà šiltà. 'The day is warm.'

Cf.: *šiltà dienà* 'a warm day' (see 5.22)

The rhematic predicate (V) preceding the subject (S) is usually marked by intonation:

<i>ATSISTÓJO</i>	<i>jis</i>	<i>kiẽmo</i>	<i>vidurỹ</i>	<i>(iř praviřko).</i>
stopped	he: NOM	yard: GEN	middle: LOC	(and cried)

'He stopped in the middle of the yard (and burst into tears).'

<i>NUOBÕDŽIOS</i>	<i>bũdavo</i>	<i>mũms</i>	<i>žiẽmos.</i>
tedious: NOM. PL. FEM	used-to-be	we: DAT	winter: NOM. PL. FEM

'Winters used to be tedious for us.'

If the rheme is the subject (S), the VS sequence is regular in sentences with the neutral intonation pattern, e.g.:

(Kàs teĩ stuksẽna? –) Teĩ dirba Pẽtras. '(Who is knocking there? –) (lit.) There works petras (Peter).'

Mìrẽ tã diẽnã tr vienas kareĩvis. 'On that day one soldier died too.'

The VS sequence is also common in authorial remarks following direct speech:

"Šalta," – pasākē Pētras.

"'It is cold,'" said Peter.'

- 5.6 In two-constituent rhematic sentences, where no theme is distinguished, the regular word order is **VS**:

Gyvėno kartą vargšas žmogėlis.

'There once lived a poor man.'

Sodė áuga didelė líepa.

lit. 'In the garden (there) grows a big lime-tree.'

Less common are rhematic sentences with a compound nominal predicate and the VS sequence, as in

Senì bũvo laikaĩ.

lit. 'Old were the times' (= 'It was a long time ago').

In SV sentences the rhematic character (communicative indivisibility) is made clear by intonation or context, if, for instance, they are juxtaposed with rhematic VS sentences:

Prasidėjo žiemà. Ûpės užšàlo.

lit. 'Began winter. The rivers froze.'

Since most sentences are divided into theme and rheme, the SV sequence is basic and the most common one in Lithuanian.

Sentences consisting of a predicate and object (VO), without an explicit subject, have the same word order as three-member sentences (SVO) (see 5.7–13).

- 5.7 In a compound predicate, the copula or the (semi-)auxiliary verb is usually placed before the notional component:

Dienà bũvo vėjúota.

'The day was windy.'

Pėtras atródė pavařges.

'Peter looked tired.'

Jis gãli pavėluoti.

'He may be late.'

The same rule applies to copulas with a neuter adjective:

Miestėlyje bũvo ramù.

'It was quiet in the town.'

Bùs vėlù grįžti.

'It will be late to return.'

But their sequence is inverted if the predicate is fronted and (usually) emphasized by intonation:

RAMÛ bũvo miestėlyje.

'It was QUIET in the town.'

VÈLÛ bùs grįžti.

'It will be LATE to return.'

- 5.8 The rhematic part of a **three-constituent sentence** may be either (1) the predicate

and object (VO) or the object alone, or (2) the subject and predicate (S, V) or (3) the subject alone.

Theme – S, Rheme – VO or O

- 5.9 Under these circumstances the neutral word order is SVO which is also the basic word order in Standard Lithuanian, e.g.:

Vaikai suvālgė visūs obuolius. 'The children have eaten all the apples.'

Corresponding sentences with an implied subject retain the VO word order:

Sužinójau naujieną. 'I have heard the news.'

The SVO sequence is prevalent in the official styles of Standard Lithuanian. If the object is placed before the verb (SOV) it sometimes receives more emphasis:

Vaikai visūs obuolius suvālgė. 'The children have eaten all the apples.'

Naujieną sužinójau. 'I've heard the news.'

However, the (S)OV sequence is not always stylistically marked: in many cases SVO and SOV alternate without any marked difference. Moreover, SOV is neutral and more common in a number of cases, especially if the object is a pronoun:

Visas miestas manė gerbė. 'The whole town respected me.'

Šiañdien aš niėko nesakýsiu. 'Today I won't say anything.'

The SOV sequence is also common in set phrases and general statements, e.g.:

Pirmì gaidžiaì vėlnià baìdo. 'Early roosters scare away the devil.'

Áitvaras pìnigus nėša. 'The house-spirit brings money.'

Dárbas dárba vėja. lit. 'Work chases work' (i.e. 'There is too much work').

In fact, SOV is more common in dialectal speech and in folklore than in Standard Lithuanian.

The position of an object is also dependent on the lexical meaning of the verbal predicate. For instance, the object mostly takes the final position after verbs of speech, perception and mental activities, e.g.:

Sesuõ pasākė naujieną. 'My sister told me the news.'

Pamačiaũ kiškį. 'I saw a rabbit.'

Mės nežinójome kėlio. 'We didn't know the way.'

- 5.10 In sentences with a thematic subject and rhematic predicate and/or object, any other sequence of the components is inverted. For instance, alongside sentences with the basic SVO sequence (e.g. *Tà žinià labai sujáudino mótiną* 'That news

excited mother very much') and SOV (*Tà žinià mótina labai sujáudino*) four inverted sequences are possible.

The pattern VSO is used to emphasize the predicate while VOS often emphasizes the predicate and subject:

(1) VSO: *Labaĩ sujáudino tà žinià mótina.*

(2) VOS: *Labaĩ sujáudino mótina tà žinià.*

The OSV pattern places emphasis on the object:

(3) *Mótina tà žinià labai sujáudino.*

OVS emphasizes both the object and the subject:

(4) *Mótina labai sujáudino tà žinià.* 'Mother was very excited by the news.'

The stressed component is usually in an atypical position: V is preposed to S, O precedes S, and S follows V.

Theme – O, Rheme – VS or S

- 5.11 In this type of communicative structure the neutral word order is **OVS**, sometimes **OSV**. It is characteristic of active sentences denoting the state of a human object or natural phenomena:

OVS: *Manè àpèmè báimė.* 'I (O) was gripped (3. PAST. ACT) by fear (S).'

Káima gaūbė naktis. 'The village (O) was engulfed (3. PAST. ACT) by night (S).'

OSV: *Manè báimė àpèmė.* 'I (O) was gripped by fear (S).'

Theme – SV, Rheme – O

- 5.12 In this case the common sequence is **SOV** alongside **SVO**. Thus, regular answers to the question *Kā tėvas nušovė?* 'What did father shoot?' may be:

SOV: *Tėvas lāpė nušovė.* 'Father shot a fox.'

SVO: *Tėvas nušovė lāpė.* 'Father shot a fox.'

In sentences without an overt subject the respective word order is **OV** and **VO**.

The OSV sequence is inverted, the rhematic object being emphasized by its initial position:

LĀPĖ tėvas nušovė. 'It was a fox that father shot.'

The OVS, VSO, VOS sequences are not typical of sentences with a rhematic object.

Theme – VO, Rheme – S

- 5.13 In this case the common word order is **OVS** and **OSV**. Thus, the answer to the question *Kàs nušovė lāpė?* 'Who shot the fox?' may be:

OVS: *Lāpe nušové tēvas.*

'It was father who shot the fox.'

OSV: *Lāpe tēvas nušové.*

(Same translation).

These sentences may be regarded as variants of those discussed in 5.10 above, with the rhematic S. This accounts for the identical common word order. The rhematic subject is indicated by its unusual position after the object. If the word order is SVO (*JĪS nušové lāpe* 'He shot a fox') or SOV (*JĪS lāpe nušové*) the subject can be rhematized by heavy stress.

Rhematic sentences

- 5.14 In rhematic sentences the regular word order is either VSO or OVS, with the predicate preceding the subject (cf. respective two-constituent sentences in 5.5).

VSO: (*Kaŗta*) *Nēšē vēlnias ākmenī.*

'(Once) a devil carried a stone.'

Turējo karālius grāžīq dūkterī.

'(There was) A king (who) had a beautiful daughter.'

OVS: *Pīevas deņģē miglā.*

'Meadows (O) were enveloped in mist (S).'

Sentences with the most common SVO and SOV order may have no theme distinguished either, but in this case their communicative indivisibility is not marked by word order: it can be made clear by the context and it is often indicated by an indefinite adverbial in the initial position:

Kaŗta žmogūs būlves kāšē/kāšē būlves. 'Once a man was digging potatoes.'

In this kind of sentence, if the subject is not expressed, the object is usually placed in final position after the predicate:

Laukuosē jau kāšē būlves.

'In the fields (the people) were already digging potatoes.'

THE POSITION OF OTHER SENTENCE CONSTITUENTS

Oblique objects

- 5.15 An oblique object usually precedes a direct object. This position is most typical of a dative (especially human) object, cf.:

Jis atlēido vaikāms visūs išdykāvimus.

'He forgave (his) children (DAT) all (their) pranks.'

Āš tāu pāčiq sāule atiduosiu.

'I will give you (DAT) the sun itself.'

Īis paródē rankà kaimýnu nāma. 'He pointed with his hand (INSTR) to the neighbours' house (ACC).'

However, the position of an oblique object may vary depending on its informative load. It can be shifted to the final position, as in (1), or to the initial position, as in (2):

(1) *Senēlē vaišīno Antanūka medumī.* 'Granny treated Anthony (ACC) to some honey (INSTR).'

(2) *Pētrui liēpē indūs suplāuti.* 'Peter (DAT) was ordered (lit. '(they) ordered') to wash up the dishes.'

Adverbials

5.16 There is no fixed position for all adverbials in a sentence: it is determined by the type of adverbial and/or its communicative function. If it is given no particular prominence, it is commonly placed between the predicate and a direct object:

Vaikaī riņko miškē úogas. 'Children picked berries in the woods.'

It may be given prominence by placing it either in the initial or in the final position, cf. respectively:

Miškē vaikaī riņko úogas. 'In the woods children picked berries.'

Vaikaī riņko úogas miškē. 'The children picked berries in the woods.'

An adverbial (of place or time) modifying the entire sentence is usually thematic and therefore fronted:

Válgomajame stalaī lúžo nuo vaīgtu. 'In the dining room, the tables were laden with food.'

Predicative complement

5.17 A complement related to the subject and predicate is commonly placed after both:

Mēnūlīs pakīlo raudónas ir grēsmīngas. 'The moon rose red and menacing.'

A complement related to the object and predicate is commonly put after the object:

Šiañdien pagaliaū pamātēme jī liñksma. 'Today, at last, we saw him merry.'

A complement can be placed before the subject and predicate or the object to give it communicative prominence; cf. respectively:

Skaistì ir linksmà, prašvìto
pavakarìnè sáulè.

Ir àtnešè gýva tã žvèrèlj.

'Bright and joyful, the evening sun came out.'

'And (they) brought that little animal
(ACC) alive (ACC).'

WORD ORDER IN SUBORDINATIVE GROUPS

- 5.18 There is a general tendency to place a dependent constituent before the head. This tendency is particularly marked in noun groups, although it is less prominent in verb groups where word order may vary considerably. The position of a word is also dependent on its categorial status, e.g. some adverbs and particles may have a specific position.

Verb groups

- 5.19 The neutral and common position of an **adverb** in a verb group is usually before the head (**AdvV**). Pre-posing is particularly characteristic of the following classes of adverbs:

(1) adverbs of manner (and also inflected nouns and prepositional phrases denoting manner of action), e.g.:

geraì dirbi

pèsčiòm váikšto

balsù veřké

be tìkslo kláidžiojo

'(you) work well'

'(he/she/they) walk on foot'

'(he/she/they) wept loudly (lit. 'in a voice: INSTR')

lit. '(he/she/they wandered without aim'

(2) adverbs of place, time and cause (unrelated to inflected nouns) such as *čìà* 'here', *teñ* 'there', *kituř* 'elsewhere', *niěkur* 'nowhere', *visuř* 'everywhere', *dabař* 'now', *niekadà* 'never', *paskuì* 'later', *tadà* 'then', *tuojau* 'at once', *todèl* 'therefore', *kažkodèl* 'for some reason', etc.; e.g.:

Visì teñ sugrĩštime.

Dabař visuř palìjo.

Traukinỹs tuõj pajudēs.

Vaĩkas kažkodèl sustĩgo.

'We shall all return there.'

'Now it has rained everywhere.'

'The train will start immediately' (= 'the train is leaving').

'The child has fallen ill for some reason.'

These adverbs are placed after the predicate if they are the rhematic focus:

<i>Mēs gyvēname geraī.</i>	'We live well.'
<i>Kalbēk ramiaī.</i>	'(Please) speak calmly.'
<i>Láuksime čīà.</i>	'We'll be waiting here.'
<i>Važiúosime ktuř.</i>	'We'll go elsewhere.'
<i>Padaryk taī dabař.</i>	'Do it now.'

The position of other types of adverbs, adverbial case forms and prepositional phrases is less fixed; if the predicate is stressed they usually precede it:

<i>Tēvas iš rýto dīrba, vakaraīs ilsisi.</i>	'In the morning father works, in the evening (he) rests.'
<i>Traukinýs pakeliuī sustójo.</i>	'The train stopped on the way.'

There is a tendency to place adverbs after the verb if it denotes motion or a change of state, e.g.:

<i>žeņgē atgaī</i>	'(he) stepped back'
<i>iřvažiāvo namō</i>	'(he) went home'

A predicative adverb also usually follows the copula:

<i>jám pasidāre negerai</i>	'he (suddenly) felt unwell'
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Adverbials of purpose are as a rule placed in final position:

<i>pàkvietē pietū</i>	'(he) invited for dinner'
<i>susēdom pusryčiāuti</i>	'we sat down to have breakfast'
<i>iřējo obuoliū rašķyti</i>	'(he) went to pick apples'

In the case of multiple adverbial modification, an adverb of manner is commonly placed immediately before the verb, the other adverbs preceding it, e.g.:

<i>Ķis visadā ramiaī miēga.</i>	'He always sleeps quietly.'
<i>Vakar týčia ilgaī láukēme.</i>	'Yesterday we waited a long time on purpose.'

5.20 An adverb modifying another adverb always precedes it (**Adv1 Adv**), e.g.:

<i>visai geraī dīrba</i>	'(he) works quite well'
<i>labai greītai skreņda</i>	'(it) is flying very fast'
<i>mataū daūg geriaū</i>	'(I) see much better'

5.21 **Comparative phrases** introduced by the conjunctions *kaīp* 'like', *lyg* 'as, like' and *tařtum/tařsi* 'as if/though' are usually placed after the predicate (**VComp**):

<i>Gieda kaīp gaidýs.</i>	'(He) Croaks like a rooster.'
<i>Miegójo lyg ūzmuřtas.</i>	'(He) Slept like a log' (lit. 'like dead').

A comparative phrase may be placed in initial position for emphasis:

Kaip vienà dienà prabēgo mētai. 'The year passed like a single day.'

5.22 The neutral position of a **particle** is before the head word (**PrtV**), e.g.:

<i>dār nemiēga</i>	'(they) are not asleep yet'
<i>jaū atējo</i>	'(he has) already come
<i>bevéik suprataū</i>	'I almost understood'
<i>nēt nežinaū</i>	'(I) don't even know'
<i>vōs jūda</i>	'(he) hardly moves'
<i>vēl ateīna</i>	'(she) is coming again'

The interrogative particles *aŗ* and *benē* (cf. 5.2, 6.14) are also always placed initially. The particle *gi* usually follows the verb, e.g.:

<i>Žinaī gi jō pāpročius.</i>	'You do know his habits, don't you.'
<i>Tū gi žinaī jō pāpročius.</i>	(Same translation)

Nominal groups

5.23 The neutral position of an **adjective** is before the head noun (**AdjN**):

<i>tamsūs debesīs</i>	'dark cloud'
<i>smarkūs vējas</i>	'strong wind'

The adjective is post-posed in case of inversion for emphasis:

Pirkaū trobēļē mažýtē ir sēnq. lit. 'I bought a hut small and old.'

Post-posing is characteristic of adjectives used as trite epithets (*rūtā žalióji* 'green rue'), and it is common in poetry, e.g.:

<i>Teñ už ūptū plačīū spiñdi mūsū pulkaī.</i>	'There, beyond wide rivers, our regiments are shining.'
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An adjective distanced from the head noun receives special emphasis:

Iš mažōs kibirkštiēs diðis kļla gaŗsras. 'From a small spark a great fire starts.'

An adjective usually follows the head for emphasis if it has dependent words, or an intensifier (*tōks*, *-iā* 'such', *nēt* 'even', *nōrs* 'though', etc.), or if it is coordinated with another adjective, cf.:

<i>Jis rādo óbele, pīlnq labaī gražiū obuoliū.</i>	'He found an apple-tree full of fine apples.'
<i>Atējo ruduō, liūdnas, nelaimīngas.</i>	'Autumn came, sad, unhappy.'
<i>Mán būvo gaŗla mergātēs, tokiōs jaunōs, tokiōs graziōs.</i>	'I was sorry for the girl, so young, so beautiful.'

Adjectives used with the relative pronoun *kuris* 'which', are also used as post-modifiers (very much like attributive clauses; see 7.24–27), e.g.:

<i>Grybūs kuriuōs geresniūs</i> (cf.	'Put (IMPER) the better mushrooms (lit.
<i>grybūs, kuriē (yrà) geresni) dēk ģ</i>	'the mushrooms (ACC) which better
<i>krēpšġ.</i>	(ACC)' into the basket'
	(sequence NRel).

The neutral position of participles, adjectival pronouns, and ordinal (and some cardinal) numerals when used attributively is also before the head noun (**PartN**, **PronN**, **NumN**):

<i>žaidžiantis vaġkas</i>	'a playing child'
<i>āriamas laūkas</i>	'a ploughed field'
<i>ķitas krāštas</i>	'another country'
<i>tokià dienà</i>	'such a day'
<i>vienas mēdis</i>	'one tree'
<i>pġrmas mēnuo</i>	'the first month'
<i>penķi vġrai</i>	'five men'

5.24 The genitive of a noun used attributively is placed before the head (**GenN**):

<i>tġvo švaġkas</i>	'father's jacket'
<i>āukso žiedas</i>	'gold ring'
<i>keltōnēs tiksġas</i>	'the purpose of the journey'
<i>nāmo statġba</i>	'building of a house'
<i>Vilniaus miēstas</i>	'the town of Vilnius'

Inverted sequence is rare and stylistically marked. It is used as a means of emphasis, especially in lofty poetic style (cf. *Kaġp puġkūs slġniai srauniōs Dubġsos* 'How magnificent are the vales of the swift Dubysa'). It is common if the genitive case of a noun has a subordinate attributive clause (*Sunkūs gyvġnimas žmogāūs, kuriuō niēķas nġtiki* lit. 'Hard is the life of a man whom nobody believes'). Post-position of the genitive of a pronoun is a means of emphasizing the head noun:

<i>Daġžas jġ māžas ir aplġistas.</i>	'Their garden (lit. 'garden of them') is small and neglected.'
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However, the genitive attribute usually follows head nouns of measure and quantity :

<i>būtelis alaūs</i>	'a bottle of beer'
<i>daġis linū</i>	'a part of the flax'
<i>būrġs žmoniū</i>	'a group of people'
<i>ķitras pġeno</i>	'a litre of milk'

These head nouns are akin to adverbs of measure which are also placed before the genitive, e.g.:

<i>daūg pieno</i>	'much milk'
<i>mažai pinigų</i>	'little money'
<i>pakaikamai laiko</i>	'enough time'

The sequence of components in noun groups with a dependent genitive can be a means of distinguishing between two meanings: a pre-posed head noun refers to quantity (*stiklinė pieno* 'a glass (full) of milk', *vežimas malkų* 'a cart (load) of firewood') and if the head noun is postposed the meaning may be that of purpose, property, as well as of quantity, e.g.: *pieno stiklinė* (1) 'a glass for milk', (2) 'a glass (full) of milk'; *šiėno vežimas* (1) 'a hay cart', (2) 'a cart (load) of hay'.

- 5.25 If a noun has two or more preceding modifiers, a pronoun and a numeral (in concord with the head) commonly precede an adjective:

<i>tās (tōks) gražūs pavasaris</i>	'that (such a) beautiful spring'
<i>kiekvienas dėras žmogus</i>	'every honest man'
<i>dū mažai vaikai</i>	'two little children'
<i>pirmoji šiltà dienà</i>	'the first warm day'

The genitive is also placed immediately before the head:

<i>kitas pasaulio krāštas</i>	'the other end of the world'
<i>kiekvienas māno žōdis</i>	lit. 'each my (GEN) word'

A limiting modifier is commonly placed between a descriptive modifier and the head noun. The former is often expressed by the genitive, and the latter by an adjective:

<i>bāltas obuļs žiedas</i>	'a white apple (GEN) blossom'
<i>sunkūs vārio vařpas</i>	'a heavy copper (GEN) bell'

A limiting modifier can also be an adjective and it may be preceded by the possessive genitive:

<i>mōtinos vestūvinė suknelė</i>	'mother's wedding (Adj) gown'
<i>ārklio priekinės kōjos</i>	'a horse's fore (Adj) legs'

- 5.26 A modifier expressed by the **instrumental** case of a noun (with a dependent modifier) is placed after the head (**NI**instr):

<i>Pamačiaū mergaitę ilgais plaukais.</i>	'I saw a girl with long hair.'
<i>Ar esī kuomēt mātęs žāltį devyniomis galvomis?</i>	'Have you ever seen a grass-snake with nine heads?'

The reversed sequence is also neutral but it is very rare; cf.:

Tai būvo aukštà, žemai paliñkustomis šakomis ėglė. 'It was a tall fir-tree with bowed branches.'

- 5.27 Modifiers expressed by any other case form of a noun or by a prepositional phrase also follow the head noun, as a rule:

Įvykis dvarė 'the incident in the manor'
žmogus be pastogės 'a person without a home'
puolimas iš piliės 'attack from the castle'

- 5.28 In **adjectival groups**, a modifying adverb usually precedes the head (**AdvAdj**):

nepaprastai tvankūs oras 'unusually sultry weather'
maloniai šiltas vanduo 'pleasantly warm water'
per daūg išdidūs (svėčias) 'too proud (guest)'
ganà graži merginà 'a rather pretty girl'

A qualitative prepositional group is also placed before the head adjective:

be gālo gėras 'very (lit. 'without end') good'
iš esmės klaidingas 'basically (lit. 'from essence') erroneous'

Similarly, the instrumental case of a noun precedes a verbal adjective in *-inas, -a*:

ėjo kibiraīs nešinà '(she) walked carrying buckets (INSTR)'
grįžo árklitu vėdinas '(he) returned leading a horse (INSTR)'

The position of other case forms and prepositional phrases with respect to the head adjective varies, both pre-modification and post-modification being neutral:

vandėns pilnas qšėttis/pilnas 'a jug full of water (GEN)'
vandėns qšėttis
tėvui reikalingas peilis/reikalingas lit. 'a knife necessary for father (DAT)'
tėvui peilis
į mótinq panašūs vaikas/panašūs į 'a child resembling (his) mother
mótinq vaikas (Prep + ACC)'

- 5.29 In **comparative phrases**, the prepositional phrase *už* + ACC denoting the standard (St) of comparison can either precede or follow the head adjective in the comparative form (**StComp** and **CompSt** respectively). Its pre-position is frequent in dialectal speech, folklore, and, to a certain degree, in fiction; cf.:

už árklį didėsnis 'bigger than a horse'
už mėdu saldėsnis 'sweeter than honey'

Its post-position is characteristic of official style, e.g.:

<i>sunkèsnis už gēležį</i>	'heavier than iron'
<i>greitèsnis už gařsq</i>	'faster than sound'

The prepositional phrase *peř* + ACC used in dialectal speech alternately with *už* + ACC also precedes the head:

<i>per visùs vertèsnis</i>	'worthier than all'
<i>per jã gražèsnis</i>	'handsomer than she'

The genitive plural *visũ* 'of all' of the pronoun *visas*, -à (with or without the genitive of a noun) and the adverbs *pervìs/užvìs* '(most) of all' also precede the superlative (sometimes the comparative) form of an adjective:

<i>visũ geriausias</i>	'the best of all'
<i>visũ kalnũ aukščiausias</i>	'the highest of all the mountains'
<i>pervìs didžiausias</i>	'the biggest of all'
<i>pervìs baltèsnis/balčiausias</i>	'whiter than all/the whitest of all'

The standard of comparison expressed by a noun with the conjunctions *negù/néi/(ne)kaip* 'than' usually follows the head adjective:

<i>kietèsnis negù (néi) geležis</i>	'harder than iron'
<i>baltèsnis kaip (nekaip) sniegas</i>	'whiter than snow'

The instrumental case expressing the compared characteristics precedes the head, as a rule:

<i>ũgiũ mažèsnis už brólį</i>	lit. 'in height smaller than (his) brother'
<i>dviẽm mẽtais vyrèsnis už brólį</i>	'two years older than (his) brother'

It is placed after the head for emphasis:

<i>pranašèsnis už kitùs išmintimì</i>	'superior to others in wisdom'
<i>už draugùs aukštèsnis visà gálva</i>	'a head taller than his friends'

5.30 In comparative phrases with the comparative degree of an adverb the sequence is either variable as with adjectives (cf. *už vėjã greičiaũ/greiciaũ už vėjã* 'faster than wind'), or fixed, as in *užvìs geriaũ* 'better than anything', *pervìs toliaũ* 'farther than anything', *anksčiaũ negù (nekaip, kaip) vãkar* 'earlier than yesterday'. The position of the criterion is also variable: *dviẽm minũtẽm už tavẽ greičiaũ/už tavẽ greičiaũ dviẽm minũtẽm* 'two minutes faster than you'.

5.31 To sum up, the dependent constituent commonly precedes the head in the neutral word order patterns AdvV (with adverbs of manner, place, time and cause), PartV, AdjN, PronN, NumN, GenN, Adv₁Adv and AdvAdj with the adverbs of manner.

The dependent constituent usually follows the head in the patterns NInstr, Adj/AdvN with a quantitative meaning and in comparative phrases with conjunctions (CompSt).

Variability in position of constituents is more characteristic of prepositional phrases with regard to the head verb and noun (VPrepN/PrepNV, NPrepN/PrepNN), and of the standard of comparison in comparative phrases with prepositions (StComp/CompSt).

The tendency to place a dependent constituent before the head word typologically parallels the basic (S)OV order which is quite frequent in dialects and in folklore besides the (S)VO order, predominant in Standard Lithuanian.

The functional (theme – rheme) structure determines the order of the main sentence constituents to a greater degree than that of the constituents within subordinative word groups.

6 THE COMMUNICATIVE TYPES OF SENTENCES

- 6.1 According to their communicative function, sentences are classified into declarative, or statements, volitional and interrogative, or questions. These communicative types of sentences differ in syntactic properties and, in oral speech, intonation.

A sentence of any of these types may become exclamatory (exclamation) if it receives an emotional load which thereby changes the intonation pattern. Thus exclamatory sentences are opposed to the three basic communicative sentence types.

DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

- 6.2 A declarative sentence states a fact (in the affirmative or negative form). By means of a declarative sentence the speaker conveys information to the listener(s). Statements are generally uttered with a falling intonation at the end, though a rise (rises) may occur before the final fall to give prominence to the key word(s).

The predicative centre of a declarative sentence may be any mood form of a verbal or a compound nominal predicate. The imperative mood is not characteristic of declarative sentences unless it acquires a function close to that of the indicative mood and expresses necessity, obligation, or surprise, etc. In these cases, typical of colloquial speech, an imperative mood form is often used with the pronouns *tù* 'you', *mán* 'to-me (DAT)', or with the emphatic clusters *tù mán* lit. 'you to me', *tù jám* 'you to him', *tù žmogùs* 'you man', or with the particles *iř*, *tik*, *taĩ*:

*Tàvo namuosè nuo rýto iki vākaro
tik đirbk ir đirbk.*

'At your house one has to work and work
(lit. 'only work (IMPER) and work
(IMPER)') from morning till night.'

Tù mán ir pridaryk tiek nētvarkos.

lit. 'Just make (IMPER) such a mess to me
(DAT).' 'It's surprising what a mess one
has made.'

Ir turėk mán žmogūs tókias akis.

'Just imagine a man having such eyes' (lit. 'Just have (IMPER) to me (DAT) a man (NOM) such eyes').

Dabař į rogės tik sėsk ir važiuok.

'Just get (IMPER) into the sledge and go (IMPER).'

VOLITIONAL SENTENCES

- 6.3** Volitional sentences express the speaker's will ranging from a categorical command to a polite request or humble entreaty. The principal means of expressing this variety of meanings is intonation. Thus the sentence *Atidaryk langą* 'Open the window' can be made to sound as an order, or a request, or a suggestion depending on the intonation contour. Alongside intonation, grammatical and lexical means and context also distinguish between the above meanings. For instance, various meanings can be explicated by the use of such appropriate verbs as *liėpti* 'order', *reikalauti* 'demand, insist', *norėti* 'want', *prašyti* 'ask', *pageidauti* 'desire, wish', *linkėti* 'wish (sb sth)', and the like combined with an infinitive.

Volitional sentences are further divided into imperative and hortative sentences. The speaker uses imperative sentences to induce the addressee(s) to do something, while optative sentences are not as a rule specifically addressed to anyone and express the speaker's wish that something should be done or happen.

IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

- 6.4** Imperative sentences express the speaker's command (in the broad sense) to perform an action.

Imperative sentences are usually uttered at a high pitch.

The imperative mood is a specialized grammatical means of expressing commands. The singular and plural 2nd person forms express a more categorical command than the 1st person plural form which includes both the addressee(s) and the speaker; cf.:

Ateik pas manè rytój!

'Come to see me tomorrow!'

Neklausykite jūš tokių šnekų!

'Don't you listen to such talk!'

Sėskimės čià, ant akmeňs.

'Let's sit down here, on the boulder.'

The meaning of an imperative mood form can be modified or specified by various lexical means (especially in colloquial speech), such as the imperative form of the verb *žiūrėti* 'look', forms of direct address, particles, etc. To intensify or tone

down a request, expressions like *būk gēras*, -à 'be kind', *susimildamas*, -a 'for goodness' sake', etc. are also used, e.g.:

<i>Žiūrēk/Būk gēras/Susimildamas neužmiřšk gražinti knygōs.</i>	'Look/Be good (and)/For goodness' sake, don't forget to return the book.'
<i>Tù mán sàvo sūnaūs neužtarinēk!</i>	'Don't you intercede for your son!'
<i>Šē, iřnk sàu tã àrklj.</i>	'Here, take that horse.'

The particle *tik*, the adverb *dár* 'yet', and the dative *mán* 'to me' (functionally similar to a particle) can be used to add threat to an imperative form, while the particle *gál* is used to tone down an order:

<i>Tik pamēgink išbēgti laukaņ! – grasina močiūtē.</i>	'Just you try to run outside! – threatened granny.'
<i>O tù mán tylēk!</i>	'And you just keep silent!'
<i>Dabař gál eĩk namō.</i>	'Now you (may) go home.'

- 6.5 The predicate of an imperative sentence can be also expressed by a present or future indicative:

<i>Prisēdam po tuō medžiū!</i>	'Let's sit down (lit. 'We sit down') under that tree!'
<i>Tai gál nesipjksim.</i>	lit. 'May be we shall not quarrel.'
<i>Tù láuksi manēs miřkē.</i>	'You'll wait for me in the woods.'
<i>O rytój užeĩsĩte pas manē, – pridáre dirēktorius.</i>	'And tomorrow you'll call on me, – added the director.'

- 6.6 The subjunctive mood (usually 2nd person) may express a milder command, but it can be strengthened by the particle *kād* (*mán*) or softened by *gál/gal būt*:

<i>Kad àř tokiū kalbū daugiaū negirdēčiau!</i>	'No more talk like this!' (lit. 'That I wouldn't hear any more talk like this!')
<i>Kad mán daugiaū čia kójōs nekēltumēt!</i>	'Don't you ever dare come here again! (lit. 'That you should never come here again!')
<i>Gal užsũktum pas mūs..?</i>	'Maybe you might drop in at our place..?'

- 6.7 In expressive speech categorical commands can be conveyed by an infinitive or an intensifying deverbial adverb in *-te*, e.g.:

<i>Tuojaū išvarjĩti pũblikā iš čĩà!</i>	'Turn out (INF) the people from here immediately!'
<i>Bēgtē mārš!</i>	'Quick march!' (lit. 'Running march!')
<i>Tylēt!</i>	'You be quiet (INF)!'

These commands are uttered with a particularly forceful intonation.

- 6.8 A sharp command can be also expressed by an interjection with an imperative meaning:

<i>Jùkš iš mào kiẽmo!</i>	'(Get) out of my yard!'
<i>Cìt, vaĩkai!</i>	'Hush, children!'
<i>Šè táu pìnigus!</i>	'Here, take this money!'

- 6.9 Imperative sentences can have no overt predicate. A command may be implied by words which denote an object or circumstances of the requested action:

<i>Rankàs aukštȳn!</i>	'Hands up!'
<i>Sesėle, vandeĩs!</i>	'Nurse, water!'
<i>Nė iš vižtos!..</i>	'Not a step (further)!'

OPTATIVE SENTENCES

- 6.10 Optative sentences express the speaker's wish or desire, or at least consent that something should be done or happen. They have a specific intonation contour with a low final fall.

Special means of rendering the optative meaning are the 3rd person imperative mood forms and also 3rd person indicative present and future tense forms with the prefix *te-* or with the particles *tè, tegù/teguĩ* 'let', e.g.:

<i>Tebũniẽ viskas pagaĩ tavè.</i>	'Let everything be as you wish.'
<i>Tegù Jokũbas greiçiaũ ateĩna.</i>	'Let Jacob come sooner.'
<i>Teguĩ visad̃ laisvà bũs mũsų žẽmè.</i>	'Let our land be always free.'

2nd person imperative forms are also used occasionally:

<i>Pasiĩkit sveikì...</i>	'Stay (2. PL) healthy...'
<i>Iĩk tavè velniaĩ!</i>	lit. 'Devils take (2. PL) you!'

Future and present tense forms of the indicative mood with the affix *te-* or particle *tegù/teguĩ*, and with the particle *tik* 'only, just' are sometimes used to express a threat:

<i>Teiĩdrĩsta tik jĩs paliẽsti mào dũkterĩ...</i>	'Let him just dare (3. PRES) touch my daughter...'
<i>Tegù tik aĩš sužinòsiu tũ vagiẽs vaĩdą.</i>	lit. 'Let me only find out (1. SG. FUT) the name of that thief.'

- 6.11 The subjunctive mood is widely used in optative sentences. Its meaning can be emphasized by the initially placed particle *kad̃* 'that', alone or in conjunction with the interjections *ai, àk, õ, oi* or with the particle *tik*, e.g.:

Ō, kad āš užmīgčīau nōrs valandēlē! 'Oh, if (only) I could fall asleep for even a little while!'

Kad tīk mamīytē greičīāū namō grīžtū... 'If only mummy returned (3. SUBJ) home sooner...'

This type of optative sentence is often used to wish somebody ill, e.g.:

Kad juōs perkūnas nutreñktū! 'Let thunder strike them!'

Ō, kad tū sudēgtum! 'Oh, may you burn!'

Sometimes in these sentences subjunctive mood is implied:

Kad beñt lašēlis vandeñs. 'If only (there were) at least a drop of water.'

Kad juōs kur gālas! 'To hell with them!' (lit. 'That them (ACC) where end (NOM)!')

- 6.12** To wish something for oneself or another person, optative sentences with an infinitive or a past gerund (with or without a particle or an interjection) are also employed:

Numīřti, užmīgti amžīnāī, niēkad nejaūsti skaūsmo! 'To die, to sleep forever, never to feel pain!'

Kad tīk ištrūkūš iš čīā! 'If only one could escape (PAST. GER) from here!'

The finite forms of verbs like *norēti* 'want', *pageidāuti* 'desire, wish', *linkēti* 'wish' with an infinitive or a noun are also used for the same purpose; e. g.:

Linktū pasveīkti. 'I wish you to get well.'

Linktū laimīngū Naujūjū Mētū/ gerōs sveikātos. 'I wish (you) a Happy New Year / good health.'

The finite verb form is often omitted in these formulaic sentences:

Į sveikāta! 'To your health!'

Linksmū Kalēdū! 'Merry Christmas!'

Laimīngai! 'Good luck!'

INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

- 6.13** Interrogative sentences are a way of asking the addressee(s) for new or more complete information, usually though not necessarily requiring a reply from the latter.

Sometimes interrogative sentences may supply information rather than ask for it.

In Lithuanian most of interrogative sentences are similar in structure to declarative sentences. They may be even syntactically identical with the latter, but they are characterized by distinctive intonation patterns. Interrogative sentences are usually uttered with a final rise or with a rise on the key word(s) depending on the type of question. Word order can be changed also: the key word(s) can be placed either in initial or final position; cf.:

Čià	<i>gyvénsiu</i>	<i>ilgaĩ.</i> –	<i>Ilgaĩ</i>	<i>čià</i>	<i>gyvénsi?</i>
here	live: FUT. 1. SG	long	long	here	live: FUT. 2. SG

'I'll stay here a long time.' 'Will you stay here a long time?'

<i>Àtnešiau</i>	<i>táu</i>	<i>gėltĩ.</i>	–
bring: PAST. 1. SG	you: DAT	flowers: GEN	

'I have brought you some flowers.'

<i>Gėlės</i>	<i>àtnešei</i>	<i>mán?</i>
flowers: ACC	bring: PAST. 2. SG	me: DAT

'Have you brought the flowers for me?'

Interrogative or dubitative particles, or interrogative pronouns and adverbs usually placed in the sentence-initial position are specialized markers of interrogative sentences, e.g.:

<i>Ar tù ateĩsi vakarè?</i> (or <i>Tù ateĩsi vakarè?</i>)	'Will you come in the evening?'
<i>Kadà tėvas parašys láiška?</i>	'When will father write a letter?'

Depending on the communicative purpose, interrogative sentences are classified into interrogative sentences proper, which require a reply, and rhetorical questions.

Interrogative sentences proper are further subcategorized into general (verifying) and special (particularizing) questions depending on the nature of the information the speaker seeks to obtain.

6.14 General questions are aimed at verifying the facts. They may be answered with *taĩp* 'yes' or *nè* 'no'.

General questions either (1) contain no interrogative marker and are distinguished from statements by intonation alone, and, sometimes, word order, or (2) they contain an interrogative or a dubitative particle, e.g.: *aĩ, aĩgi, benè, gál, kažĩn, nègi, nejaũ, nejaũgi*, etc.:

(1) <i>Tù jĩ geraĩ pažĩsti?</i>	'Do you know him well?'
<i>Gułti dar neĩni?</i>	'Aren't you going to bed yet?'
<i>Tàvo žmonà namiẽ?</i>	'Is your wife at home?'

(2) <i>Ar galėčiau tū kuo nōrs padėti?</i>	'Could I possibly help you?'
<i>Gal ir tū per daūg reikalūji?</i>	'Maybe you too want too much?'
<i>Benè tū įdomū?</i>	'Is it of interest to you?'

Most general questions can be either positive or negative (irrespective of the expected reply). A question containing negation may sound more polite, cf.:

<i>Tū reikia pinigū?</i> 'Do you need (any) money?'	–	<i>Tū nereikia pinigū?</i> 'Maybe you need some money?'
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Sometimes, negative questions with *aŗ* acquire the additional meaning of prohibition, restraint or threat, e.g.:

<i>Ar tū pagaliaū nenuĩlsi?</i>	'Won't you stop talking at last?'
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The particle *aŗ* is a specialized formal marker of general questions, though it is not syntactically obligatory and does not change the question in any way; cf.:

<i>Įs ateĩs? / Ar įs ateĩs?</i>	'Will he come?'
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The particle *aŗ* is especially characteristic of the written language which has few means of rendering the interrogative intonation.

6.15 The other particles may impart various modal meanings to the questions.

Sentences containing the particles *aŗgi*, *benè*, *nègi*, *nejaū*, *nejaūgi*, the cluster *ar tik* convey uncertainty about what is being asked. These questions presuppose a contrary reply:

<i>Aŗgi ūs jō nepaĩĩs?</i> 'Won't the dog recognize him?'	(expected response: <i>Taĩp, paĩĩs</i> . 'Yes, it will')
<i>Nègi tū nōri teĩ eĩti?</i> 'Do you really want to go there?'	(expected response: <i>Nè, nenōriu</i> . 'No, I don't.')
<i>Ar tik nemelūoji, sēni?</i>	'Are you really not lying, old chap?' (presupposition: the addressee is lying).

The particles *gāl*, *kaĩin* convey doubt with respect to what is being asked:

<i>Gal manè prisĩmeni?</i>	'Maybe you remember me?'
<i>Kaĩin ar vaĩkas nōri gėrti?</i>	'I wonder if the child is thirsty?'

6.16 Special questions seek to obtain particularizing additional information. They usually require a concrete answer. These sentences are formed (1) with various case forms of the interrogative pronouns *kās* 'who, what', *kuris* 'which', *kōks* 'what (kind of)', *kelĩ* 'how many', *kelĩntas* 'which (of the ordinal number)' and (2) with the interrogative adverbs *kuŗ* 'where', *kadà* 'when', *kaĩp* 'how', *kodėl* 'why', *kĩek* 'how many'. These markers are placed initially; cf. respectively:

(1) <i>Kàs teñ bėldžiasi?</i>	'Who (NOM) is knocking there?'
<i>Kuō tai padareī?</i>	'What (INSTR) did you do it with?'
<i>Kā mán dabař darýti?</i>	'What (ACC) shall I do now?'
<i>Kienō šitas šáutuvus?</i>	'Whose (GEN) rifle is this?'
<i>Kokių dažų táu reikia?</i>	'What (GEN. PL) paint (GEN. PL) do you need?'
<i>Kelintà dabař valandà?</i>	'What's the time now?' (lit. 'Which (NOM) hour (NOM) is now?')
(2) <i>Kuř rengiesi eiti?</i>	'Where are you going to go?'
<i>Kadà grįši namō?</i>	'When will you return home?'
<i>Kodėl taip gařsiai šaukiate?</i>	'Why are you shouting so loudly?'
<i>Kiek svečių tikiesi suláukti?</i>	'How many visitors do you expect?'

6.17 Interrogative sentences can be related to the preceding sentences by the conjunctions *bėt, iř, ō, tik* placed initially:

<i>Bet kodėl taip rūpintesi?</i>	'But why are you so concerned?'
<i>O ar pàts kařtais nebandoē jō paklausinēti?</i>	'But/And you by any chance didn't try to ask him a few questions?'
<i>Tik kuř jis gaūs tiek knygų?</i>	'But (lit. 'Only') where will he get so many books?'

In speech, an interrogative word alone can substitute for an interrogative sentence:

<i>(Nóriu jį aplankyti.) – Kodėl?</i>	'(I want to visit him.) – Why?'
<i>(Jis išvažiavo.) – Kuř?</i>	'(He's gone away.) – Where?'

The addressee is urged to respond by means of the interjection *nà* in the initial position or by the tags *taip, ar nē, (ar) kã*, which makes them disjunctive questions:

<i>Nà, ar àš ne karalienė?</i>	'Well, aren't I a queen?'
<i>Táu reikia pinigų, taip?/ar nē?</i>	'You need money, yes?/don't you?'
<i>Juk táu jis visái nepatinka, ar nē?</i>	'But you don't like him at all, do you?'
<i>Čià susirinkimas, ar kã?</i>	'Is this a meeting, or what?'

6.18 The following questions offer a choice between possible alternative replies:

<i>Ar pas mūs apsistosi, ar vieřbutyje?</i>	'Will you put up at our place, or at a hotel?'
<i>O katràs būvot kařtas: ar mamà, ar tú?</i>	'And which (of you) was to blame: mother or you?'

6.19 **Rhetorical questions** do not require a response. In fact, they are forceful and expressive assertions. Rhetorical questions share the syntactic properties and

intonation patterns with regular interrogative sentences, but functionally they are close to declarative sentences. They often have a generalized meaning.

A positive rhetorical question is in fact a negative assertion while a negative question is a positive assertion:

<i>Kàs nenorėtu sàvo jaunỹste sugrąžinti?</i>	'Who wouldn't like to recover one's youth?' (= Everyone would like to.)
<i>Kodėl mùms nepradėjus (PAST. GER) vìsko iš naujo?</i>	'Why don't we start everything anew?'
<i>Kàs gi galėjo tai numatýti?</i>	'Who could have foreseen it?' (= No one could have foreseen it.)

EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES

6.20 Exclamatory sentences differ from the other communicative sentence types in that their content is heavily underscored by emphatic intonation which may turn any declarative (1) or volitional (2) or interrogative (3) sentence into an exclamatory one.

(1) <i>Àš táu niėko nedúosiu! (riktelejò vaikas.)</i>	'I won't give you anything! (shouted the boy.)'
(2) <i>Diñk iš màno namų!</i>	'Get out of my house!'
(3) <i>Ką čia padareĩ?!</i>	'What have you done here?!'

Exclamatory sentences are uttered at a high pitch, the key word(s) bearing emphatic stress and a high fall.

Exclamatory sentences are often incomplete or they consist of a single word, e.g.:

<i>Atvažiãvo!</i>	'(They have) Arrived!'
<i>Netetsybė!</i>	'(That's) Not right!'
<i>Anaĩptòl!</i>	'Not at all!'

6.21 The emotional load of exclamatory sentences is often further reinforced by (1) interjections, (2) interrogative pronouns and pronominal adverbs, and (3) vocatives:

(1) <i>Àk, nerà tėvo!</i>	'Alas, Father is not with us!'
<i>Ói, gėlbėkit!</i>	'Oh, help!'
<i>Valiõ-o!</i>	'Hurray!'
(2) <i>Ir kàs per naktis!</i>	'Oh what a night!'
<i>Kokià ramybė!</i>	'What peace!'
<i>Kaĩp àš nepažĩnsiu sàvo vaĩko?!</i>	'Won't I recognize my child!'

(3) *Vaikai, greičiau!*

'Children, faster!'

Liāukitēs, niekataūškie!

'Stop it, chatterboxes!'

Ar neīsi šaliņ, kvailj?!'

'Won't you get out of the way, (you) fool?!'

6.22 Exclamatory intonation can be superimposed upon rhetorical questions (mostly those with negation):

Kās nenorētj sàvo jaunjstj sugražinti! 'Who wouldn't like to recover his youth!'

Exclamatory sentences formally identical with declarative sentences can imply the opposite assumption:

Padēs jīs táu!

lit. 'He'll help you!' (meaning 'He won't help you.')

Neimīs jīs táu pinigū!

lit. 'Won't he take you (DAT. SG) the money!' (= 'He will certainly take the money!').

7 THE COMPOSITE SENTENCE

Sudētīnis sakījys

7.1 A composite sentence is a syntactic unit comprised of two or more clauses each with a predicate of its own and structurally similar to a simple sentence.

The clauses within a composite sentence are linked syntactically and semantically, and also prosodically by intonation. For instance, the sentence *Óras būvo gražūs ir mēs išējome pasiváikščioti* 'The weather was fine and we went out for a walk' is composed of two clauses each containing a separate predicate as well as a separate subject. But these clauses are not grammatically independent: they are linked by the conjunction *īř* 'and' indicating coordination, they also form a single intonation pattern and thus they constitute a larger syntactic unit.

Composite sentences are termed **syndetic** (conjunctive) if the constituent clauses are linked both by intonation and a conjunctive word and **asyndetic** (conjunctionless) if the only means of linking the clauses is intonation.

The link between clauses within a composite sentence can be reinforced by correlative words, sequence of clauses, the grammatical form and lexical meaning of the predicates, ellipsis of constituents and by other means. If the clauses are joined asyndetically or by an asemanic conjunction, these secondary means may acquire a distinctive function. Thus, for instance, the following example is a conditional sentence:

<i>Kad</i>	<i>suiēškótumei</i>	<i>màno</i>	<i>dùkteris,</i>	<i>àř</i>	<i>táu</i>
that	find: SUBJ. 2. SG	my	daughter: ACC. PL	I: NOM	thou: DAT
<i>dúočiau</i>		<i>pùșę</i>	<i>sàvo</i>	<i>tuřto.</i>	
give: SUBJ. 1. SG		half: ACC	my	wealth: GEN. SG	

'If you found my daughters, I'd give you half of my riches.'

If the subjunctive form *dúočiau* '(I) would give' is changed into the indicative future tense form, the subordinate clause acquires the meaning of purpose:

<i>Kad</i>	<i>suiēškótumei</i>	<i>màno</i>	<i>dùkteris,</i>	<i>àř</i>	<i>dúosiu</i>	<i>táu</i>	<i>pùșę</i>	<i>sàvo</i>	<i>tuřto.</i>
that	find: SUBJ. 2. SG	my	daughters	I	give: FUT. 1. SG	thee	half	my	wealth

'I'll give you half of my riches so that you could find my daughters.'

7.2 In Lithuanian, composite syndetic sentences are classified into **compound** (coordinative) and **complex** (subordinative). Coordination and subordination of clauses are marked by different sets of connectors.

In asyndetic sentences, the contrast between coordination and subordination is not marked by means of connectors.

Coordination of clauses differs from word coordination in that clauses are more independent and they are not related to any superordinate unit.

7.3 Clauses within a composite sentence usually realize the same syntactic patterns as simple sentences. However, they are more frequently incomplete, because a co-referential constituent expressed in one clause is often omitted in another. Thus the clauses often share a subject (1), an object (2), or an adverbial (3):

(1) *Jōnas pamiřšo, kad řadėjo padėti.* 'Jonas (John) forgot that (he had) promised to help.'

In the case of a 3rd person subject its absence in the subsequent clause indicates co-reference with the subject of the first clause; the following sentence is ambiguous:

Jōnas pamiřšo, kad jis řadėjo padėti. 'Jonas (John) forgot that he (John himself or another person) had promised to help.'

(2) *Výras pìnigus uždirba, o řmonà išlėidžia.* 'The husband earns money and the wife spends (it).'

(3) *Vākar bũvo řalta ir vaikai bũvo namiē.* 'Yesterday it was cold and the children were at home.'

Repetition of a co-referential object or adverbial is redundant and a shared constituent serves to reinforce the bond between the clauses. In the case of initial position of an adverbial its scope is often extended to subsequent clauses.

Sentences with two or more coordinated predicates and one subject, such as

Jis bũvo didiko pōno sũnũs, bet áugo vargė. 'He was the son of noble parents, but grew up in poverty.'

should also be classed as composite sentences, but in accordance with the Lithuanian grammatical tradition, they are discussed in the section on coordinative collocations (see 2.144–156).

7.4 The clauses of a composite sentence can be separated from each other by a pause (marked by a full stop in writing), without any change in grammatical structure:

Āš niēkur neīsiu. Ir tāu nepātariu. 'I won't go anywhere. And (I) don't advise you (to do so).'

Āš viskq padarīsiu. Nōrs ir labaī sunkū. 'I'll do everything. Though it is very hard.'

This kind of separation of clauses is determined by pragmatic and/or stylistic factors. They are not regarded as special structural types of sentences.

Complex sentence

Prijungiamāsis sakinījs

7.5 A complex sentence is comprised of two (or more) clauses of which one is the main (or superordinate) clause and the other is a subordinate (or dependent) clause linked to the main clause by a subordinating conjunction (1), a relative pronoun (2) or an adverb (3) collectively referred to as subordinators:

(1) *Praītiaū tėvužēlio, kad manē aplankītu.* 'I begged my dear father to visit me (lit. 'that (he) visit me').'

Sužinōjau, kad jis dār negrīžēs. 'I learnt that he hadn't returned yet.'

(2) *Tās ne vīyras, kurīs taiīp ēlgiasi.* 'He is not a man who behaves so.'

(3) *Kuī žemā tvorā, teī visī gyvuliaī šōka.* 'Where the fence is low, (there) all the cattle jump over.'

A subordinator (or the first component of a complex conjunction) is included in the structure of the subordinate clause. It indicates the dependent status of the latter. As a rule, the predicate of a subordinate clause has a relative rather than an absolute temporal meaning.

The main clause is in its turn correlated with the subordinate. It may also be incomplete, the clauses supplementing each other to form a complete sentence. Typically, a subordinate clause modifies the main clause, but sometimes it is the more important constituent semantically, and the main clause modifies it by lending modality or subjective evaluation, or introducing it; cf.:

Mānoma, kad jis slāpstosi. '(It is) believed that he is in hiding.'

Ir rōdos šiandiēnq, kad būvo taiī sāpnas. 'And it seems today that it was but a dream.'

7.6 A subordinate clause can be related to the main clause in two ways. According to the character of relatedness, integrated and non-integrated subordinate clauses are distinguished.

An **integrated** subordinate clause is related to a constituent of the main clause (termed the antecedent), and its dependence is determined by the grammatical and semantic properties of the antecedent. A subordinate clause may be often integrated in the main clause as its part. The relation between a subordinate clause and its antecedent is similar to that between the components of a subordinative word group, e.g.:

Mēdis, kuris gīrgžda, nelūžta. 'A tree that creaks never breaks.'

The subordinate clause in this sentence modifies the head word *mēdis* 'tree' very much like an adjective (or its equivalent, in this case a participle) and has the same syntactic function as an attribute, cf.:

Gīrgždantis mēdis nelūžta. 'A creaking tree never breaks.'

In the following sentence the subordinate clause is equivalent to an object, cf.:

Vienas žmogūs norėjo išgirsti, ką šnėka jō arkliai. 'One man wanted to hear what his horses talk about.'

Vienas žmogūs norėjo išgirsti savo arklīų šnėką. 'One man wanted to hear his horses talk (ACC).'

Thus, an integrated clause is often interchangeable with a participle, an infinitive or a verbal noun. It functions as a subject, object, adverbial or an attribute. The antecedent of a subordinate clause may be a verb, a noun, an adjective, etc.

A **non-integrated** subordinate clause, as a rule, is related to the main clause as a whole or to the predicate group. Its structure is not determined by the properties of any constituent of the main clause, e.g.:

Žibuōklių kvāpas orē plaūko, nors pīvojoj jū ir nematūt. 'The fragrance of violets drifts in the air, though one cannot see them in the meadow.'

In this sentence the connection between the clauses is determined by the meaning of the conjunction *nors* 'though' and by the content of the constituents. The connection between the clauses is less rigid than in the case of integrated subordinate clauses and in some respects it is more like coordination in a compound sentence.

For each type of subordination there are special markers of which the principal ones are conjunctive and correlative words.

7.7 A subordinating conjunction is contained in the subordinate clause but it does not enter into any constituent phrase and has no syntactic function of its own. Subordinating conjunctions are divided into asemantic and semantic conjunctions.

The **asemantic** (polyfunctional) **conjunctions** *kād* 'that' and *jōg* 'that' indicate subordination without expressing the semantic relation between clauses. The

latter is explicated by the structure of the clauses and the grammatical and semantic properties of the antecedent and other components, e.g.:

Jis pajùto, kad pasidãrë šãlta. lit. 'He felt that it became cold.'

In this sentence the conjunction *kad* subordinates a completive clause in object position to the transitive predicate verb *pajùto* 'felt'. The same conjunction is used in the following sentence, with an intransitive predicate and the subjunctive mood in the subordinate clause indicating the relation of purpose:

Jis sténgiasi, kad gyvënimas gerëtų. lit. 'He strives that life should improve.'

Semantic conjunctions indicate subordination and at the same time they express the semantic relation between clauses. They can express temporal (*kaĩ* 'as, when', *ikì/lìgi* 'until', *kõl* 'while', etc.), causal (*kadãngi* 'because', *nës* 'as'), and conditional (*jéi/jéigu* 'if', *nebeñt* 'unless') relations, and also the relations of concession (*nõrs* 'though', *kad iř* 'even though', *tegùl* 'though'), purpose (*idañt* 'in order that'), and comparison (*kaĩp* 'like', *lýg* 'like, as if', *negù* 'than', etc.) (see III.9.6).

If a semantic conjunction is replaced by another (on condition the sentence permits it), the meaning changes too; cf.:

Paũkščiai prãdeda čiulbëti,
'Birds begin to sing

}	<i>kai óras atšýla.</i> when the weather grows warm' (time).
	<i>nes óras atšýla.</i> because the weather grows warm' (cause).
	<i>jei óras atšýla.</i> if the weather grows warm' (condition).

Conjunctions are often used with the intensifying postpositive particles *kad, iř, dár, tik, nèt, nõrs*, etc. Some of these combinations have become complex conjunctions, e.g. *kad iř* '(al)though', *kai tik* 'as soon as', *võs tik* 'as soon as', etc. (see III.9.2).

If a conjunction comprises two components, the first one is placed in the subordinate clause, and the second in the main clause, e.g.:

Nors ir vëlù, bet netrùkus atëisiu. lit. 'Even though it is late but I'll come soon.'

Jeì atësim anksčiaũ, tai užitmsim geriãusias vietàs. lit. 'If we come earlier then we'll take the best seats.'

Since all the two-place subordinating conjunctions, excepting *juõ... juõ, kuõ... tuõ, juõ... tuõ*, are comprised of simple conjunctions and retain the meaning of their first component, sentences with single and two-place conjunctions are treated together below.

7.8 The **relative pronouns** *kàs* 'what, who', *kòks*, *-ià* 'what', *kurìs*, *-ì* 'which', *katràs*, *-à* 'which (of the two)', *kelì*, *kēlios* and *kelerì*, *kēlerios* 'how many (of several)' and *keliñtas*, *-à* 'which (in number)' are included in the structure of the subordinate clause and have a syntactic function. They can function as:

(1) the subject of a subordinate clause:

Jis žino, kàs teñ atsitiko. 'He knows what (NOM) happened there.'

(2) an object:

Jis žino, kò mán reikia. 'He knows what (GEN) I need.'

(3) a predicative:

Niėkas nežino, kòks būs ruduò. 'No one knows what the autumn will be like.'

(4) an attribute:

Jiė svařstė, kurį projektą pasiriñks komisija. 'They discussed which project the committee would choose.'

Senėlė kláusia, kėlios mergáitės eĩs į vakarėljį. 'Granny asks how many girls are going to the party.'

7.9 The **relative adverbs** *kadà* 'when', *kuomèt* 'when', *kaĩp* 'how', *kiek* 'how much', *kur* 'where', *kodėl* 'why', used to subordinate clauses in the form of an indirect question, function as adverbials within subordinate clauses:

Nekañtriai láukiau, kadà lit. 'I waited impatiently when I would grow up.'

Nežinaũ, kurį jis išvažiávo. 'I don't know where he has gone.'

Sometimes the syntactic function of relative adverbs is weakened and they approach the status of semantic conjunctions, cf.:

Jaũ buvo sutėmė, kadà (cf. *kaĩ*) 'It was already dark when (cf. 'as') the children returned home.'

7.10 Subordinators (or the first components of the complex conjunctions) commonly occur in the initial position of a subordinate clause, but they may be moved to a middle position if the subject or another constituent is fronted for communicative prominence, cf.:

Tetũšis kadà mirė, buvaũ dar mážas. 'When father died I was small yet.'

Šitą kepurėį jei kàs užsideda, tai niėkas jò nemáto. 'When anyone puts on this cap, then nobody can see him.'

7.11 **Correlative words** are pronouns and adverbs with generalized meanings used in the main clause and correlated with the conjunctives in the dependent clause.

They serve to stress and reinforce the link between the clauses. In a way, they represent the subordinate clause in the structure of the main clause. Therefore they have a syntactic function in the main clause, which distinguishes them from the second component of complex conjunctions:

Eĩsiu teñ, kur paliẽpsi. lit. 'I'll go there where you tell me.'

The most commonly used correlatives are the demonstrative pronouns *tàs, -à, taĩ* 'that', *tóks, -ià* 'such' and the adverbs *taĩp* 'so', *tíek* 'so much', *tadà* 'then', *tuomèt* 'then', *tól* 'until, till', *teñ* 'there', *tođěl/děl tō* 'therefore'. The choice of a correlative word is determined by the semantic relation (spatial, temporal, causal, etc.) between the clauses. Thus, *taĩp* 'so' correlates with *kàd* 'that'; *tíek* 'so much/many' with *kíek* 'how much/many' and *kàd* 'that'; *tadà* 'then' may correlate with *kadà* 'when', *kaĩ* 'as, when'; *tàs* 'that' with *kàs* 'who, what' and *kuris* 'which'; *teñ* 'there' with *kuř* 'where', etc.

Optional correlatives are used for reinforcing the link between clauses. In sentences with correlative clauses and with pronominal attributive clauses, a correlative word is obligatory as an essential feature of the structure of a complex sentence and, as a rule, it cannot be omitted; e.g.:

Mergáttè bũvo tokià pavařgusi, 'The girl was so (lit. 'such') tired that
kad mùms jōs pagaĩlo. we felt sorry for her.'

Correlative words are not used in sentences with the conjunction *jéi/jéigu* 'if'.

7.12 The order of clauses in a complex sentence is either variable or fixed.

Variable order is characteristic of sentences with simple (one-component) semantic conjunctions (excepting *nès* 'as', *negũ, neĩ* 'than'), asemantic conjunctions used without correlative words and in most sentences with subordinating relative pronouns and adverbs.

In sentences with variable order a subordinate clause may either precede or follow the main clause, or it may be interposed in the latter; cf. respectively:

Kai pradějo lýti, minià iřsiskirstè. 'When it started raining the crowd dispersed.'

Minià iřsiskirstè, kai pradějo lýti. 'The crowd dispersed when it started raining.'

Minià, kai pradějo lýti, iřsiskirstè. lit. 'The crowd, when it started raining, dispersed.'

Fixed order of clauses holds in the following types of sentences:

(1) In sentences with two-place conjunctions a subordinate clause is preposed to the main clause:

*Jei ateīsi iš rjto, tai manē dar
rāsi namiē.*

'If you come in the morning, (so) you'll
find me in.'

(2) A subordinate clause is postposed to the main clause in sentences with the semantic conjunctions *nēs, negū, neī*, asemantic conjunctions used with correlative words and with complex conjunctions such as *kaīp kad, kad nēt*, etc.:

Mēs turējom eīti namō, nes būvo vēlū. 'We had to go home, for it was late.'

*Mēs taīp džiaūgēmēs, kad visāi
pamišōme pavōjū.*

lit. 'We so rejoiced that we quite forgot
about the danger.'

*Mīškas būvo didēsnis, negu
vaikāms iš pradžiū atrōdē.*

'The forest was bigger than it had first
seemed to the children.'

In sentences with the relative pronouns *kuris, -ī* 'which', *kōks, -iā* 'what (kind of)', a subordinate clause commonly follows the antecedent, e.g.:

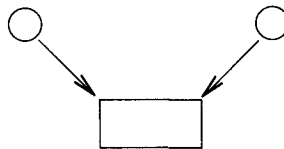
*Pamatysi žmōgu, kōkio niekuomēt
nesi dār užtikēs.*

'You'll see a man whose like you have
never met before.'

7.13 Some types of subordinate clauses function as a part of the main clause, taking the position of the subject, an object, an attribute, etc. However, numerous subordinate clauses do not have any equivalents among parts of the sentence or their modifiers. Moreover, if clauses are classified by the syntactic function, a great many structurally identical clauses are ascribed to different functional types; on the other hand, structurally different clauses are attributed to the same functional type. Therefore, in this grammar subordinate clauses are classified according to their structural properties, their functional relationship with the main clause being specified for each type separately.

7.14 **Complex sentences with more than one dependent clauses** display two basic types of organisation:

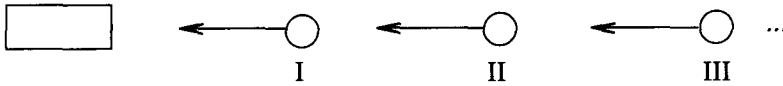
(1) **Co-subordination**; two or more clauses are subordinated to the same superordinate clause:



*Kai sutēmo, mēs pagalvōjom, kad
jaū laīkas eīti namō.*

'When it grew dark we thought it was
time to go home.'

(2) Chain subordination: a subordinate clause is superordinate to another which in its turn may be superordinate to another dependent clause:



*Mán pāsakojo, kad teņ gyvēna daūg
žmontiņ, kuriems reīkia pagālbos.*

'They told me that many people lived
there who needed help.'

Two types of subordination can be combined in various ways to form sentences of great complexity.

7.15 Subordinate clauses are classified here as follows:

A. Integrated clauses:

- (1) completive clauses (subjects and objects);
- (2) relative clauses:
 - (a) related to a noun antecedent,
 - (b) related to a pronoun antecedent;
- (3) correlative clauses.

B. Non-integrated clauses denoting:

- (1) time,
- (2) cause,
- (3) condition,
- (4) concession,
- (5) purpose,
- (6) place,
- (7) comparison.

A special type of non-integrated clauses are additive clauses.

INTEGRATED CLAUSES

Completive Clauses

7.16 Completive clauses (*āiškinamteji sakiniai*) are connected with the main clause by asemantic conjunctions and relative pronouns and adverbs. They are subordinated to a verb, a verbal noun or a neuter adjective or an adverb. They function as subjects or objects, or explicate the correlative word in the subject or object

position. The antecedent of a completive clause commonly refers to speech, a mental process, perception, emotions or appraisal.

A completive clause can be related to the antecedent noun in the same way as to a verb; cf.:

<i>Jis bijójo, kad jiē nesugrīžtu.</i>	'He was afraid lest they should return.'
<i>Jám nērà báimēs, kad jiē sugrīž.</i>	'He has no fear (lit. 'to him is no fear') that they will return.'

CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY CONJUNCTIONS

- 7.17** When used in completive clauses, the conjunctions *kād* 'that' and *jóg* 'that' are often interchangeable. If a sentence contains two hierarchically subordinated completive clauses, both conjunctions are used in order to avoid monotonous repetition:

<i>Jis visā laikā kalbējo, kad gaīla, jog abū sūnūs išvīķe.</i>	'He said all the time that it was a pity that both his sons were away.'
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Generally, the conjunction *kād* is more common than *jóg* (the latter is nearly out of use in dialects). Only the former conjunction is used after the verbs *bijóti* 'fear', *láukti* 'wait', *mókyti* 'teach', *norēti* 'want', *prašyti* 'ask', *reikaláuti* 'demand', *reikėti* 'be necessary', *sáugotis* 'beware', etc., to introduce clauses with the subjunctive mood in the predicate:

<i>Prašiaū, kad (*jog) manē išlėistų.</i>	lit. 'I asked that (they) should let me out.'
<i>Nórtu, kad (*jog) jis ateitų.</i>	'I want him to come (lit. 'that he should come').'

Completive clauses are introduced by the conjunctions *lyg* 'as if' and *tartum/tařsi* 'as if' if an unreal, imaginary, or possible action is referred to:

<i>Jám pastvaiddėno, lyg vilkas būtų.</i>	'He fancied he saw something like a wolf.'
<i>Iš tólo girdėjosi, tartum jis kę datnúotų.</i>	'One could hear from afar what sounded like his singing something.'

Sometimes, the conjunction *kāi* 'when' is used in completive clauses. This adds a temporal meaning:

<i>Àš mėgstu, kai pas manē svečiai.</i>	'I like (it) when I have visitors.'
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CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY RELATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS (EMBEDDED QUESTIONS)

7.18 Completive clauses can have the form of interrogative clauses, in which case subordination is marked by the following means:

(1) various case forms of the relative pronouns *kàs* 'what, who', *kóks*, *-ià* 'what (kind of)', *kuris*, *-ì* 'which', *katràs*, *-à* 'which (of the two)', *keliñtas*, *-à* 'which (in number)', *keli*, *kēlios* 'how many'; e.g.:

Nežinaū, kàs ten būvo.

'I don't know who was there.'

Dabař mataĩ, kokiū neláitmių gálima susiláukti.

'Now you see what misfortunes may happen.'

Jis žino, kurĩ/katrą vaiką reiktia pabárti.

'He knows which/which of the two children should be scolded.'

Pasakyk, varnėle, keli tavo vaikaĩ.

'Tell me, dear crow, how many children you have.'

(2) The relative adverbs *kadà* 'when', *kuomèt* 'when', *kuř* 'where', *kaĩp* 'how', *kíek* 'how many', *kodėl* 'why', etc., and also the case forms *kō* 'why' (GEN of *kàs* 'what'), *kám* 'what for' (DAT of *kàs* 'what'), *kamè* 'where, in what' (LOC of *kàs*):

Láuķem, kadà/kuomèt pradės lýti.

lit. 'We were waiting for it to start raining.'

Ar tū žinaĩ, kaĩp/kamè tavo tėvai gyvėna?

'Do you know how/where your parents live?'

Visiems papāsakok, kíek/kodėl jis mums padėjo.

'Tell everybody how much/why he has helped us.'

(3) The above mentioned pronouns and some adverbs with the prepositions *ĩ* 'to', *iš* 'out of', *nuō* 'from', *už* 'for', etc.:

Jis taĩp tr nesužinójo, už ką būvo baūstas.

'He never learnt what he had been punished for.'

Pasakyk atviraĩ, iš kuř atkeltavaĩ.

'Tell us frankly where you have arrived from.'

(4) The particles *ař*, *benè*, *gál*:

Sakyk, ar gálime juō pasikliáuti.

'Tell me whether we can rely on him.'

Tikėjausi, bene pàts susipràs atsiprašýti.

'I hoped maybe he would remember to apologize.'

Bėk pasižiūrėti, gal jis jau šoka.

'Go and see, maybe he is already dancing.'

7.19 Infinitival phrases after the verb *búti* 'be' can be used with the same subordinators as completive clauses:

Jíems *nebùvo* *kàs* *veikti.*
 they: DAT not-be: PAST what do: INF
 'They had nothing to do.'

Kai *jìs* *kaĩba,* *tai* *yrà* *kõ* *pasiklausyti.*
 when he speaks then is what listen: INF
 'When he speaks it is worthwhile listening to him.'

Váistu *nèrà* *kuř* *gáuti.*
 medicine not-be: PRES where get: INF
 'One can't get any medicine anywhere.'

Bùs *kuř* *laikyti* *karvùte.*
 will be where keep: INF cow
 'We'll have somewhere to keep the cow.'

Infinitival phrases with subordinating relative pronouns and adverbs are also used after the verbs *turėti* 'have', *gáuti* 'get', *ràsti* 'find', etc.:

Ar turì *kuõ rařyti?* lit. 'Do you have something to write with?'
Mùms atsiràdo *kuř žiopsóti.* 'We found something (lit. 'where') to gape at.'

Participles and 3rd person verb forms can also be used in subordinate clauses with the same subordinator (they have a dialectal colouring):

Nèrà *kàs* *ãria.*
 not-is who ploughs
 'There is no one to do the ploughing.'

Nèrà *kám* *tuřgun* *važiúoja.*
 not-is who: DAT to market go: 3. PRES
 'There's no one who could go to the market.'

Nèrà *kàs* *dãraq* *su* *tókiu* *karãliumi.*
 not-is what: ACC do: ACT. PRES. with such king: INSTR. SG
 PART. NEUTR

'There is nothing one can do with such a king.'

In some sentences, the nominative form of the relative pronoun *kàs* 'who, what' may function either as subject or object; thus the following sentence is ambiguous:

Nèrà *kàs* *kùlia.*
 not-is who/what thrash: 3. PRES
 'There is no one to do the thrashing/There is nothing (no grain) to thrash.'

SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF COMPLETIVE CLAUSES

The subject function

7.20 Completive subordinate clauses can take the subject position in a superordinate clause with a predicate expressed by the following:

(1) the 3rd person form of verbs denoting being, happening (real or ostensible), seeming, attitudes, etc. (e.g. *atródyti* 'seem', *atsítikti* 'happen', *báti* 'be', *dìngtelėti* 'cross one's mind', *matýtis* 'be seen', *paaiškėti* 'become clear', *ródytis* 'show itself', *rūpėti* 'be concerned', *patikti* 'like'):

Mán atródè, jog jaũ vèlù.

'It seemed to me that it was already late.'

*Bũdavo, kad ištisq mėnesį lįja
be pèrtraukos.*

'It sometimes happened (lit. 'it used to be')
that it would rain for a month without
stopping.'

*Jám patiñka, kad viskas bũtu
padaryta laikũ.*

'He likes (it) when (lit. 'that') everything
is (lit. 'should be') done in time.'

(2) The infinitive of the verbs *girdėti* 'hear', *matýti* 'see', *jaũsti*, *jũsti* 'feel':

Matýt, kad jám galvà sũkas.

'One can guess (lit. 'To see') that his head
is swimming.'

*Dabař bũvo girdėti, kaip
skañba varpaĩ.*

'Now one could hear the bells ringing' (lit.
'Now was to hear how the bells ring').

(3) The neuter adjectives and passive participles of verbs denoting emotions, sensations, comprehension and speech:

Net keĩsta, kad jã taĩp visi gĩria.

'It is even strange that all (the people)
praise her so.'

Žinoma, kaip bũs.

'(It is) known how it will be.'

*Bũvo pasakýta, kad jiẽ turi
padėti kaimýnams.*

lit. '(It) was said that they must help the
neighbours.'

(4) Adverbs of state:

Geraĩ, kad viskq mán pasakeĩ.

'(It is) good that you have told me
everything.'

Nežinià, kã jis bũtu padãres.

'There is no knowing what he might have
done.'

(5) The nominative case form of nouns denoting emotions and states (e.g. *džiaũgsmas* 'joy', *garbẽ* 'honour', *gẽda* 'shame', *laimẽ* 'luck', *kaltẽ* 'fault, guilt', *teisybẽ* 'truth', etc.):

*Ařgi mào kaltě, kad jis niěko
netùri.*

'Is it my fault that he has nothing.'

*Táu džiaũgsmas, kad vaikai
sveiki.*

'It's a joy for you that your children are healthy.'

The object function

7.21 Completive clauses can take the object position in the superordinate clause interchangeably with oblique case forms (the genitive (1), accusative (2) or instrumental (3)) or with a prepositional phrase (4):

(1) *Jis kláusė, kã jis turėtu daryti*
(cf. *kláusė patarimo*).

'He asked what he should do' (cf. 'asked for advice').

(2) *Pasakyk, kaip mán pabėgti* (cf.
pasakyk teisybę).

'Tell me how I could escape' (cf. 'tell the truth').

(3) *Tėvas patikėjo, kad sėnis sãko*
teisybę (cf. *patikėjo seniũ*).

'Father believed that the old man was telling the truth' (cf. 'believed the old man').

(4) *Nepỹk ant manęs, kad àš nóriu*
šitai žinóti (cf. *nepỹk už mào*
kláusimã).

'Don't be angry with me that I want to know it' (cf. 'don't be angry at my question').

THE ORDER OF CLAUSES

7.22 A completive subordinate clause commonly follows the main clause. Inverted arrangement serves to emphasize the subordinate clause or to make it the theme of a sentence:

Kuomèt išsirengiau važiuóti,
negaliũ tikrai pasakyti.

'When I got ready to go, I can't really say.'

Kuř laiřkomi degtũkai, žinójo tik
tėvas.

'Where the matches were kept, father alone knew.'

CORRELATIVE WORDS

7.23 Correlative words are not often used in sentences with completive clauses. They are in fact dummy substitutes representing the subordinate clause in the main clause, which distinguishes them from the respective antecedents of attributive clauses (cf. 7.29–32). The most common words used as dummy substitutes are *tai* 'that, it' and the case forms of *tãs* 'that':

Ar tai blõga, kad jis žmonėms
gėra dãro.

lit. 'Is it bad that he does good to people.'

A correlative dummy word is obligatory in sentences with a few verbs only; cf.:

Jūs gerūmas rēiškēsi tuō, kad jī visiems padēdavo. 'Her goodness expressed itself in that she used to help everyone.'

Completive subordinate clauses can be represented by generalized pronouns (*viena* 'one', *viskas* 'everything', *niēko* 'nothing'), sometimes by abstract nouns, very much like the dummy *taī, tās*:

Jīs viskq žīno, kās teñ dārosi. 'He knows everything that goes on there.'

Pasakjē mán visq teisybē, kāp tai atsitiko. 'Tell me all the truth how it happened.'

Relative clauses

- 7.24** Relative clauses (*pažymimieji sakiniai*) are typically introduced by the relative pronouns *kuris*, -i 'which, that', *kōks*, -ià 'what (kind of)', *katrās*, -à 'which (of the two)', *kās* 'what'. Their head words are nouns or pronouns.

CLAUSES WITH NOUN ANTECEDENTS

- 7.25** If the antecedent of an relative clause is a noun, or its substitute, it is introduced by the relative pronouns *kuris*, -i 'which, what', *kōks*, -ià 'what (kind of)', and, sometimes, by the adverbs *kadà* 'when', *kāi* 'as', *kodēl* 'why', *kuŗ* 'where', etc. (see 7.28). The antecedent nouns vary in lexical meaning and syntactic function; cf.:

Šuō, kuris lōja, nekānda. 'A dog that barks does not bite.'

Vaikāi sužiūro į tākā, kuriuō būvo atējē. 'The children stared at the path by which they had come.'

The main clause may contain the pronoun *tās, tà* 'that' or *tōks*, -ià 'such' as an optional correlative word which serves to single out the antecedent noun and to reinforce the link between the clauses; e.g.:

Paimk tāk knygā, kuri ant stālo. lit. 'Take that book which is on the table.'

- 7.26** An relative clause usually follows immediately after the antecedent, unless a post-posed attribute is placed between them:

Mergaitē juodaīs plaukaīs, kuriā mateī vākar, yrà mào dukterēčia. 'The girl with black hair whom you saw yesterday is my niece.'

A relative clause may also be distanced from the antecedent if the latter is a preposed genitive attribute itself, cf.:

Piņigas nemēgsta tō žmogaūs ‘Money doesn’t like the hands of the man
raņķu, kuris nemōka jō vērtinti. who doesn’t value it.’

7.27 Relative clauses are divided into restrictive and non-restrictive, or continuative.

(1) **Restrictive clauses** serve to specify the meaning of the antecedent. They are essential for identifying its referent and cannot be omitted without impairing the meaning of the sentence:

Nemēgstu žmoniū, kuriē nemōka ‘I don’t like people who can’t hold their
laikyti liežuvio už dantū. tongues’.
Cf. *Nemēgstu žmoniū.* ‘I don’t like people.’

They are introduced by the relative pronoun *kuris, -i* ‘which’. The pronouns *tās, tā* ‘that’, *tas pāts, ta pati* ‘that same’ can be used as correlative words:

Tai tas pāts žmogūs, kuris ‘It is the (very) same man who had helped
padējo jiems pabēgti. them to escape.’

Restrictive clauses specifying the quality of the antecedent are introduced by the pronouns *kuris, -i* or *kōks, -iā*, with the correlative pronoun *tōks, -iā* ‘such’ used optionally:

*Pamatysi (tōki/*tā) sōda,* ‘You’ll see a garden (whose like) you have
kōkio niekuomēt nesī dar mātes. never seen yet.’
*Jis trōško (tōkiōs/*tōs) audrōs,* ‘He longed for (such) a storm that would
kurī išblaškytu nērimā. dispel his worries.’

(2) **Continuative clauses** serve to provide additional information about the antecedent. They are introduced by the pronoun *kuris, -i* ‘which’ and never occur with a correlative word; e.g.:

Gyvēno kaŗtā sēnas žmogūs, ‘There lived an old man whose (lit. ‘to
kuriām mīrē žmonā. whom’) wife had died.’
Po dārbo manē aplaņķē sēnas ‘An old friend came to see me after work
bičūlis, kurį pākviečiau and (lit. ‘whom’) I invited him to supper.’
vakariēnti.

7.28 Relative clauses can also be introduced by invariable words.

(1) If the antecedent is a locative noun in subject or object position, the relative adverb *kuŗ* can be used:

Mēs aplaņķēme nāma, kuŗ / kuriamē kadāise gyvēno rašytojas. 'We visited the house where the writer had once lived.'

(2) If the antecedent is a temporal noun (*laīkas* 'time', *dienā* 'day', etc.) the markers of subordination are the relative adverbs *kadā* 'when' and *kaī* 'as':

Prisimintiau dienās, kadā / kaī visāi dar jāunas buvaū. 'I remembered the days when I was quite young yet.'

(3) If the antecedent is a "causal" noun like *priežastis* 'cause, reason' or *dingstis* 'pretext', the adverb *kođēl* 'why' can be used:

Būvo ir kitā priežastis, kođēl / dēl kuriōs jis nenorējo eīti su mumīs. 'There was another reason why he didn't want to go with us.'

Note: Subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinators *kadā*, *kaī*, *kuŗ* and dependent on nouns which function as adverbials are classed as adverbial clauses of time and place respectively and therefore are considered in the corresponding sections (see 7.38, 64).

CLAUSES WITH PRONOUN ANTECEDENTS

7.29 The relative pronouns *kās* 'who, what', *kuris*, *-ī* 'which', *katrās*, *-ā* 'which (of the two)', *kōks*, *-iā* 'what (kind of)', introducing the subordinate clause can be related to the demonstrative pronouns *tās*, *tā* 'that', *tōks*, *-iā* 'such', included or implied in the principal clause. They agree with the antecedent in number and gender and refer to the same entity; cf.:

Kās per daūg nōri, tās mažaī gāuna. 'Whoever wants too much, (that one) gains little.'

The antecedent pronoun is sometimes omitted, but it is easily recoverable from the sentence structure:

Kās daūg kalba, (tās) mažaī dārba. lit. 'Whoever talks much, (that one) works little.'

Both the main and the subordinate clause usually have identical structure and both are semantically incomplete, due to the indefinite meaning of both pronouns.

In these sentences, the subordinate clause usually precedes the superordinate clause and each pronoun is placed initially in its respective clause. If the arrangement of the clauses is inverted, then the antecedent is placed either initially, or finally, cf. respectively:

Tās laimēs, kās būs pīrmas. 'That (one) will win who will be the first.'
Būsiu gēras ir tōks, kōks esū. 'I'll be good / suitable enough the way I am' (lit. 'I'll be good such as I am').

- 7.30** Subordinate clauses introduced by the relative pronouns *kàs* ‘who, what’, *kurìs*, *-ì* ‘which, that’ describe the entity (thing or person) referred to by the demonstrative pronoun *tàs*, *tà*, *taĩ* (explicit or implicit) in the main clause.

The most common pairs of pronouns in sentences of the type under consideration are *kàs... tàs*, *taĩ*. The case form of the relative pronoun and of its antecedent is determined by the syntactic function of each, therefore it may be the same or it may differ, cf.:

Kàs lengvaĩ žāda, tās suñkiai dūoda/tám sunkù dúoti.

‘Whoever (NOM) is quick to promise that one (NOM) is slow to give/for that one (DAT) it is hard to give.’

Kā lengvaĩ žadėsi, tā suñkiai dúosi/tās būs sunkù dúoti.

lit. ‘What (ACC) you easily promise, that (ACC) you will give with difficulty/that (NOM) will be hard to give.’

Kám lengvaĩ žadėsi, tám suñkiai dúosi.

‘Whom (DAT) you promise easily, to that one (DAT) you will give with difficulty,’ etc.

The relative pronoun *kurìs*, *-ì* ‘which’ is less commonly used; sentence structure and relations between clauses correspond to sentences with *kàs*, e.g.:

Āš ne iš tū, kuriuōs galì apgāuti.

‘I am not one of those whom (lit. ‘which’) one can cheat.’

A relative clause can also be dependent on the pronouns *kažkàs* ‘somebody, something’, *kiekvìenas* ‘everybody’, *niėkas* ‘nobody’, *vìsas*, *-à* ‘all, the whole’, *vìskas* ‘everything’:

Jis tūri savyjė kažkā, kàs trāukia.

lit. ‘He has something in himself that attracts.’

Kviėsk į vīdų kiekvìena, kàs pasibėls.

lit. ‘Invite inside everyone who will knock at the door.’

Jis pasiėmė vīska, kàs būvo ant stālo.

‘He took everything that was on the table.’

- 7.31** Clauses introduced by the relative pronoun *kóks*, *-ià* ‘what (kind of)’ refer to the property indicated by the antecedent pronoun *tóks*, *-ià* in the main clause:

Kóks tėvas, tóks ir sūnūs.

‘Like father, like son.’ (lit. ‘What (kind of) man is the father, such is the son.’)

Kókió norėsi, tókį gāusi.

‘What (kind of) man/husband you will want, such (kind) you will get.’

Similar relations hold in sentences with the pronouns *tóks*, *-ià ... kurìs*, *-ì*:

*Bùvo ir tokiū, kuriē skýrēsi
nuo kitū.*

'There were also such (people) who (lit. 'which') stood out among the others.'

7.32 The demonstrative pronoun in the main clause can function as

(1) the subject:

Kàs daūg žāda, tàs mažaī dāro.

'Whoever promises much, (that one) does little.'

(2) an object:

Negirk tō, kō nemateī.

'Don't praise that which (lit. 'what: GEN') you haven't seen.'

Vėsi (tā), kuriā liėpsiu.

'You'll marry (that (one)), whom (lit. 'which') I tell you.'

(3) a predicative:

Ar esī tàs, kuriō láukiame?

'Are you the one (whom) we are waiting for?'

The demonstrative pronoun in the superordinate clause is related to the relative pronoun of the subordinate clause only; it does not represent the subordinate clause. This distinguishes relative clauses from completive clauses introduced by the same relative pronouns *kàs* 'who, what', *kuris, -i* 'which', *kóks, -ià* 'what (kind of)' (cf. 7.18).

Correlative clauses

7.33 Subordinate clauses of this type are introduced by the conjunctions *kād* 'that' and *jóg* 'that', while the demonstrative pronouns *tàs, tà* 'that', *tóks, -ià* 'such' and the adverbs *taīp* 'so', *tiek* 'so (much)' serve as correlative words within the main clause. These clauses are termed correlative due to the obligatory use of a correlative word which stands in a specific relationship to the subordinate clause.

A correlative word functions as antecedent or it modifies a noun, an adjective or an adverb; e. g.:

*Griaustinis būvęs tóks (baisūs),
kad nāmo sienos drebėjusios.*

'The thunder was such (so terrible) that the walls of the house shook.'

Sentences with a correlative clause commonly express cause and effect relations.

Subordinate clauses (taken without a conjunctive word) are usually structurally identical with simple sentences. The main clause containing a correlative word is semantically incomplete. It always precedes the subordinate clause.

In sentences of this type the synonymous conjunctions *kàd* 'that' and *jóg* 'that' are not always interchangeable. The conjunction *kàd* alone is used to introduce clauses with the subjunctive mood of the predicate expressing purpose, aim, e.g.:

*Kàs tùri tókia pìktq širdi, kad (*jog)* 'Who has such an evil heart that he could
galētu taip padaryti? do so?'

- 7.34 Both conjunctions (*kàd* and *jóg*) are often used with the emphatic particle *nèt* 'even', less frequently with *nórs* 'though, even' (the latter usually with the imperative):

Àš tiek apie jį girdėjau, kad / 'I've heard so much about him that I even
jog net sapnavau kartą. dreamed about him once.'
Jis kalbėjo taip piktaĩ, kad lit. 'He spoke in such an angry way that
nors apsisúk ir išeĩk. one felt like turning and leaving (lit.: 'that
(2.IMPER)') and leave
(2.IMPER)'.'

These conjunctions are sometimes omitted, especially in dialectal speech and in fiction, and the particles *nèt* and *nórs* introduce a subordinate clause:

Čià taip skaniaĩ kvèpia, net lit. 'It smells so nice here, even one's
séilès vařva. mouth waters.'
Vandèns pribègo tiek, nors 'There was so much water, one might
kìbiru sémk. scoop it up (lit. 'even scoop it up
(2. IMPER)') with a bucket.'

If a subordinate clause follows the main clause, the conjunctions in question and the correlative word *taip* 'so' function as a complex conjunction, e.g.:

Vaikaĩ jũ mĩrè vienas po kito, 'Their children died one after another, so
taip kad pagaliaũ neturèjo nè that finally they had none.'
vieno.

- 7.35 The antecedent of a subordinate clause can perform any syntactic function in the superordinate clause:

(1) The predicative:

Reĩkalas tóks, kad nebèrà lit. 'The matter is such that there is no trust
pasitikèjimo. any longer.'
Skirtumas tàs, kad esì už jã 'The difference is (that) that you are ten
dèšimt mètu vyrèsnis. years older than she is.'
Dienà bũvo tokià graži, kad/jog 'The day was so nice that we didn't want
nenorèjom grĩžti namõ. to return home.'

In this case the adverbs *taĩp* 'so' and *tiek* 'so much' are sometimes used instead of the correlative *tóks*, *-ià*, to stress the degree of the quality denoted by an adjective:

*Senēlè bũvo taĩp senà, kad
nebegalējo ir paeĩti.*

'Granny was so old that she could not even walk.'

*ĩs dārosi tiek drašũs, kad
vĩskq pàts ima.*

'He is growing so (much) bold that he takes everything himself.'

The relative adverb *taĩp* is the principal correlative word used with the neuter form of adjectives and participles in predicative position:

*Teñ bũvo taĩp gēra/liñksma,
kad niēkas nenorējo išeĩti.*

'It was so nice/merry there that no one wanted to leave.'

(2) The subject:

*Prasidējo tokià áudra, kad
net stógus kilnójo.*

'Such a storm began that it even tore at the roofs.'

(3) An object:

*ĩs pajũto tókĩ skaũsma, kad
nenoromis sudejāvo.*

'He felt such a pain that he moaned against his will.'

(4) An adverbial of manner:

*Tiek/taĩp dirbi, kad galējai
ir praturtēti.*

'You work so much/so that you could get rich.'

*Dainúoja taĩp gražiaĩ, kad
veĩkt nórisi.*

'They are singing so beautifully that one feels like crying.'

NON-INTEGRATED CLAUSES

Clauses of time

- 7.36 Clauses of time are commonly introduced by semantic temporal conjunctions *kaĩ* 'as', *kadà* 'when', *kõl* 'while, till', *iki* 'until', *ĩgi* 'until', *võs* 'as soon as', *tik* 'only, but', etc. and corresponding complex conjunctions. Correlative words (*tadà* 'then', *tuomèt* 'then', *po tõ* 'after that', *tõl* 'until, till', etc.), also temporal in meaning, can be used optionally. The order of clauses is usually variable.

In sentences with the conjunctions *kaĩ* and *kadà* the temporal relationship between the clauses is unspecified and it is dependent on the meaning of the predicates and the properties of the correlative word and other structural features. The other

conjunctions indicate specific temporal relations: the limit of the verbal action, priority of action, etc. In accordance with these distinctions, three subtypes of temporal clauses are distinguished.

Clauses with *kaĩ*, *kadà*

- 7.37** These conjunctions are the least specified semantically. The most neutral and common conjunction is *kaĩ* 'as, when'. Its synonym *kadà* 'when' is less frequently used and it cannot always substitute for *kaĩ* (see 7.39). The two-place conjunctions *kaĩ... taĩ* 'as... then', *kadà... taĩ* reinforce the formal link between the clauses.

In sentences with clauses of time, both predicates are as a rule used in the same tense form, their aspectual value determining the temporal relation of simultaneity or succession of actions expressed by the predicates.

The actions are simultaneous if one or both of the related predicates are imperfective; cf. respectively:

*Tadà tavè atlankýsiu, kadà
mėdžítai žaliuōs.*

'I'll come (PERF) to see you when the trees
are green (IMPF).'

*Kai saulėlė tekėjo, mūsų linai
žydėjo.*

lit. 'As the sun was rising (IMPF), our flax
was blossoming (IMPF).'

In the case of succession of actions, both verbs are perfective:

*Kai/kada/kai tik saulė nusėdo
už girių, àtlėkė pelėda.*

'As/when/as soon as the sun set (PERF)
beyond the woods, an owl came flying
(PERF).'

If both verbs are perfective and denote momentary actions, their duration may be of no importance to the speaker and the sentence may convey simultaneity, e.g.:

*Àš net nusigandaũ, kai jis
mùs prakálbino.*

'I even got startled as he addressed us.'

- 7.38** The correlative words co-occurring with the conjunctions in question are *tadà* 'then' and, less commonly, *tuomèt* 'then, at that time'; they emphasize the temporal relationship between the clauses:

*Kalbėsiu tíēsą ir tuomèt/
tadà, kai pavojinga.*

'I will speak the truth even at the time/
then when it is dangerous.'

The phrases *tuō metù* 'at that time', *tuō tárpù* 'in the meanwhile' are functionally similar to these correlative words and stress simultaneity of actions:

*Tuō metù, kai jis kalbėjosi su
kaimýnu, mergáttė žaĩdė netolėse.*

'At the time when he was talking to the
neighbour, the girl was playing nearby.'

On the other hand, the temporal meaning of succession may be emphasized by the correlative *po tō* 'after (that)':

Āš grīžaū jau po tō, kai jis užmigo. 'I returned already after [that as] he had fallen asleep.'

Temporal clauses can be dependent on nouns and other words with a temporal meaning in the function of an adverbial of time:

Dabař / Nāktį, kai jau šōkiai pasi-baigia, jaunimas išsiskirsto namō. 'Now / At night as the dances are over, the young people are leaving for home.'

The subordinate clause has a restrictive force in this case.

- 7.39** A temporal clause commonly denotes the relative time of the action expressed by the main predicate. However, the temporal relation may be reversed, in which case it is the main clause that denotes the time of the subordinate action:

Dienà jau sliņko vakaróp, kai jiēdu grįžo namō. 'The day was drawing to a close as/when they returned home.'

The main clause, if it is a nominal sentence comprising a temporal noun (single or with dependent words), may denote a stretch of time that has passed since the action of the subordinate clause, or the duration of the latter, owing to the perfective or imperfective aspect of the subordinate predicate; cf. respectively:

Jaū valandà, kai / kaip sáulė nusilėido. 'It is an hour since (lit. 'as') the sun has set.'

Jaū valandà, kai / kaip jis miēga. 'It is an hour that he has been asleep.'

The particles *dār* 'yet', *jaū* 'already', *vōs* 'hardly', *tik* 'just, only', when used in the main clause, specify the temporal relation:

Vōs (tik) spėjau užmigtį, kai suskañbo telefonas. 'I had hardly (just) fallen asleep when the telephone rang.'

(Cf. semantically similar sentences without *kaĩ* in which *vōs* serves as a conjunction, in 7.43.)

A subordinate clause beginning with *kaĩ* may denote an action which had begun or taken place before the action of a negative main clause denoting the time of an action:

Nepraējo ir valandà, kai pradėjo lýti. lit. 'An hour wasn't over yet when it started to rain.'

In sentences with a reversed temporal relation, the main clause always precedes the subordinate clause. The conjunctive *kadà* is not used in these sentences.

- 7.40 Subordinate clauses of time with the conjunction *kaī* can also have a secondary causal meaning determined by context; e.g.:

Kai dabař keliaī prastī, tai ir svečiai neatvažiuoja. 'As the roads are poor now, there are few visitors.'

Clauses with *kōl*, *ikī/līgi*

- 7.41 In this case, the action of the main clause is limited to the time or period indicated by the subordinate action. As well as in sentences with *kaī* and *kadā*, the relation of simultaneity or succession is dependent on the predicates of both clauses. A subordinate clause with an imperfective verb, usually introduced by *kōl*, indicates a simultaneous action whose duration sets limits to the duration of the main action:

Ĵis dirbo, kol sáulė šviėtė. 'He worked while (lit. 'till') the sun shone.'

A subordinate clause with a perfective verb usually introduced by *kōl(ei)* (less commonly by *ikī*, *līgi*) denotes the successive event limiting the duration of the main action:

Ĵis dirbo, kol/ikī patekėjo mėnūlis. 'He worked until the moon rose.'

The predicate of a subordinate clause is used with negation in order to refer to an event that is not taking place yet, e.g.:

Tráukimės namō, kol neužlijo / nelįja. 'Let's go home before it starts raining (PAST)/rains (PRES) (lit. 'till it did not start raining/does not rain').'

If the subordinate predicate denotes an event taking place and limiting duration of the main action, negation is not used, cf.:

*Mūšė, kol užmušė (kol *neūžmušė).* '(They) beat him until (they) killed (him).'

- 7.42 The most common **correlative word** in the main clause is the adverb *tōl* 'so long':

Kol gyvenī, tōl ir mōkatsi. 'You learn as long as you live' (lit. 'While you live so long you learn').

A subordinate clause (like clauses introduced by *kaī* 'as') can have an antecedent that functions as an adverbial of time:

Po lietaūs, kol būvo šlāpia, sėdėjome namiė. 'After the rain, while it was wet, we stayed at home.'

Clauses with *võs, tik*

- 7.43 These conjunctions (homonymous with the particles *võs* 'hardly' and *tik* 'only, just') denote an immediate succession of actions, the main action beginning or taking place immediately after the subordinate action is over. The latter action is always expressed by a perfective verb.

The conjunction *võs* and the complex conjunction *võs tik* are the most common subordinators used in this case, *tik* and the complex conjunction *līg tik(tai)* occurring in everyday speech and in fiction. Cf. respectively:

<i>Vos (tik) nusilėido saulė, jis parbėgo namō.</i>	'As soon as the sun set, he came running home.'
<i>Tik (līg tik) manė pamāto, tuōj veřkia.</i>	'As soon as (he) sees me, he at once starts crying (lit. 'cries').'

Clauses of cause

- 7.44 Subordinate clauses of cause are introduced by the semantic conjunctions *kadangi* 'as, since, because', *nės* 'for, as, because' and by the asemantic *kād* 'that, as' which is commonly paired with the correlative words *dėl tō (todėl)* 'therefore, so', *už tai/užtāt* 'therefore'. These clauses denote the cause of the main action or the foundation of the assertion expressed by the main clause.

Three types of clauses of cause are distinguished according to the conjunction and structural properties.

Clauses with *nės*

- 7.45 This type is the most common in Standard Lithuanian. A subordinate clause is always postposed to the main clause. The relationship between the clauses is usually that of cause and effect.

<i>Jis netrukus užmigo, nes buvo labai pavařęs.</i>	'He fell asleep at once, for he was very tired.'
---	--

Such sentences are close in meaning to compound sentences with the coordinators *todėl/dėl tō* 'therefore' denoting consequence:

<i>Ōbuolius pasitmu, nes namiė neturiu.</i>	'I'm taking the apples, because I have none at home.'
<i>Namiė obuolių neturiu, todėl juōs pasitmu.</i>	'I have no apples at home, therefore I am taking these.'

- 7.46 The conjunction *nès* is also used to connect clauses related as assertion and its foundation (premise), the latter being expressed by the subordinate clause:

Rytój būs vējūota dienā, nes dangūs raudónas. 'It will be a windy day tomorrow, as the sky is red.'

Such sentences correspond to compound sentences with the conjunction *taīgi*:

Dangūs raudónas, taīgi rytój būs vējūota. 'The sky is red, so it will be a windy day tomorrow.'

Clauses with *kadāngi*

- 7.47 This conjunction is less common in everyday speech than *nès*; it is characteristic of formal styles. The order of clauses varies, but the subordinate clause tends to precede the main clause.

The conjunction *kadāngi* mostly expresses cause and effect relations:

Kadāngi pelēdos gāudo pelēs, jōs žmōgui naudīngos. 'As owls hunt mice, they are useful to man.'

This conjunction is often paired with *taī* 'then', both comprising a two-place conjunction:

Kadāngi knīgos brāngios, tai pirkējū mažai. lit. 'Since books are expensive, (then) there are few buyers.'

A sentence containing this conjunction can also denote relation between the assertion and its premise, in which case the subordinate clause follows the main clause:

Jiē, matýt, būvo miestiēčiai, kadāngi nešiōjo júodus ākinius. 'They were not villagers, obviously, because they were wearing dark glasses.'

Clauses with *kād*

- 7.48 The conjunction *kād* is commonly used with the correlative *dēl tō* 'that is why, therefore'. The subordinate clause immediately follows the correlative, therefore its usual position is after the main clause or in the middle of it. This conjunction expresses cause and effect relations:

Mán jì patìko tik dēl tō, kad turējo grāžu bal̄sa. 'I liked her only because she had a beautiful voice.'

The correlative and the conjunction sometimes (especially in everyday speech) merge into a complex conjunction; e.g.:

Neatējaū, dēl tō kad sirgaū. 'I didn't come because I was ill.'

A less common correlative is the adverb *todēl* 'therefore':

Atējaū tik todēl, kad mán pasidārē gaīla tào sūnaūs. 'I have come only because I felt sorry for your son.'

The conjunction *kād* in clauses of this type is rarely used without a correlative, this usage occurring in everyday speech:

Kad tēvas prāšē, turiū eīt. 'Because father asked, I have to go.'

More common are sentences with the two-place conjunctions *kād... taī* 'because... then' and *kād... tād* 'because... therefore'; e.g.:

Kad vaikaī māži, tai/tad reikēs sēdēti namiē. lit. 'Because the children are small, therefore I'll have to stay at home.'

- 7.49** The conjunction *kād* is commonly used without a correlative word if the main clause expresses a question or doubt, and the subordinate clause the reason for the inquiry or doubt:

Kās čia būs, kad žmoniū taip māža? lit. 'What's going to happen, as/since there are so few people?'

Gal jis seřga, kad neatvažiāvo. 'Maybe he is ill, since he hasn't come.'

In this case the conjunction *kād* cannot be replaced by *nēs* or *kadāngi*.

- 7.50** Clauses of cause are sometimes introduced by the adverbialized case forms *kám* 'why, for what (DAT)' and *kō* 'why, for what (GEN)' of the pronoun *kās* 'what':

Tēvas supỹko, kám ji ģinasi. lit. 'Father got angry, because she was defending herself.'

Mamā bārēsi, kō taip vēlaī parējaū. 'Mother scolded me because I had returned so late.'

Clauses of condition

- 7.51** To introduce clauses of condition, the semantic conjunctions *jéigu/jéi* 'if', less commonly *nebeñt* 'if only', the asemantic conjunction *kād* 'that', and the two-place conjunctions (*jéi... taī* 'if... then', *kād... taī* 'if... that') are used. The basic meaning of a conditional clause often implies a secondary meaning (of cause, time, contrast, etc.).

The order of clauses is variable, though a subordinate clause tends to assume initial position. An important feature (especially in sentences with the conjunction *kād*) is the relationship between the mood/tense forms of the predicates.

Three subtypes of conditional clauses are distinguished according to the conjunction used.

Clauses with *jéigu, jéi*

- 7.52 Sentences with the **subjunctive mood** in both clauses (less commonly, the subordinate clause only) express an unreal condition. Simple inflexional mood forms refer to the present and future (1) and periphrastic forms refer to the past (2):

(1) *Jei pamirštume sąvo kalbą ir praeitį, diengtų ir Lietuvą.*

'If we forgot our language and past, Lithuania would perish.'

(2) *Jei būtų rimtai kalbėjęs, gal būčiau tekėjusi.*

'If you had spoken seriously, perhaps I would have married you.'

The main predicate can be used in the imperative form or in the indicative future tense form:

Jeigu kąs tau ką blōga norėtu padaryti, šaukis manęs.

'If anyone would want to mistreat you, call me.'

Jeigu dar sįkį tū man šitaip padarytum, tai būsi nužudytas.

'If you would do it to me once more you will be killed.'

- 7.53 A subordinate clause with an **indicative** or **imperative** verb form may denote a real condition. The choice of tense forms is determined by the temporal relationship between predicates:

Jei turėsi / turį pinigų, gausi viską.

'If you have (FUT/PRES) money you will get everything.'

Jeigu gegužės mėnesį nebūna lietaus, gėro deřliaus nelauk.

'If it does not rain (PRES) in May, don't expect a good harvest.'

The conjunction is often coupled with the particles *tik* and *iř*:

Jei tik geraį sutařsime, niėkas mūsų neiřskiřs.

'If only we get on well no one will separate us.'

Jeigu ir niėkas maniř nepatikės, negaliu tylėti.

'Even if nobody believes me I can't keep silent.'

- 7.54 The two-place conjunction *jéi(gu)... tai* is used in the same way as *jéi(gu)*:

Jeigu rytój ateitum/ateįsi, tai gal daugiaų sužinótum/sužinósi.

'If you came/come tomorrow then probably you would/will learn more.'

Sometimes the main clause (usually incomplete) has a restrictive meaning; e.g.:

*Jeį grįždavo kàs iš kariúomenės,
tai jaũ sėnas, palėges.* lit. 'If anyone ever returned from the
army, then (he was) already old and ailing.'

7.55 The conjunction *jėt(gu)... tai* is also used to express **contrastive relations**:

*Jeį tũ ir nustovėjėi, tai àš tik
apsidžiaugiau.* 'Even if you got disappointed, then
I was only glad.'

*Jeįgu tãu su manim blõga, tai
vienai bũs dũr blogiaũ.* 'If you don't like being with me, (then)
you'll be worse off alone.'

Sentences such as these can be replaced by compound sentences with the conjunctions *õ* 'but', *tačiaũ* 'however', but they differ from the latter sentences in that both clauses are more closely related.

Clauses with *kàd*

7.56 Conditional sentences with this conjunction are more common in colloquial speech, folklore and fiction. The conditional meaning is unambiguous if both the main and the subordinate predicate are used in the subjunctive form:

*Kad búčiau norėjęs, (tai)
búčiau tavè pralėkęs.* 'Had I wished I would have outstripped
you.'

*Kã àš darýčiau, kad tavęs
neturėčiau.* 'Whatever should I do if I did not have
you.'

If the predicates are used in other than the subjunctive mood forms (viz. imperative or indicative future tense) the conditional meaning can be implied by the lexical meaning of the clause components and by the context:

Kad nedirbsi, tai niẽko ir neturėsi. 'If you don't work then you'll have nothing.'

Clauses with *nebeĩt*

7.57 The conjunction *nebeĩt* 'unless' is used to express negative condition. It has the exclusive meaning 'only... if... not' or 'except on condition that'. The subordinate predicate has mostly a subjunctive mood form:

Sėdėk namiẽ, nebeĩt pakviẽsčiau. lit. 'Stay at home, unless I should invite
you.'

*Daũg peĩno iš tõ nebũs, nebeĩt
iĩntumei sukčiauti.* 'There will be little profit out of it, unless
you should start cheating.'

Clauses of concession

- 7.58 Concessive clauses are introduced by the conjunctions *nórs* 'though, although', *kàd iř* 'even if', *tegù(l)* 'though, even if'. They imply contrast, the subordinate clause denoting the factor unfavourable or opposite to the content of the main clause.

Most concessive sentences are similar in meaning to compound sentences with the conjunctions *bèt* 'but', *õ* 'but', *tačiaũ* 'but, however', *vis dèltõ* 'nevertheless' (see 7.90, 95, 98, 100) which are also used as part of complex concessive conjunctions, e.g.: *nórs/kàd iř... bèt* 'although... but', *nórs/kàd iř... tačiaũ* 'although... but', *nórs/kàd iř... õ/vis dèltõ/õ vis dèltõ* 'even though... but/nevertheless'.

There are no restrictions on the use and combinations of various mood and tense forms in both clauses. The order of the clauses is not fixed, excepting sentences with two-place conjunctions.

The most common conjunction of concession in Standard Lithuanian is *nórs (iř)*.

The contrast expressed in sentences with this conjunction is stressed if the subordinate clause precedes the main clause:

Nors *veřkia štrdīs, linksmāi juõktīs galiũ.*

'Although my heart is weeping, I can laugh merrily.'

Nors *tvirtõvės sienos griũvo, tačiaũ /bet kariaĩ nũtarẽ gyvĩ nepasidũoti.*

'Although the walls of the fortress were torn down, the defenders decided not to surrender alive.'

- 7.59 Sentences with the conjunction *kàd iř* (and respective two-place conjunctions) do not differ from those with *nórs (iř)* either structurally or semantically, but they are more common in informal speech and in fiction, e.g.:

Kad ir *labaĩ norẽtum, neĩsiu į girią.*

'However much you ask me, I won't go to the woods.'

Kad *ãš ir išgyĩsiu, bet/tačiaũ tavo nebũsiu.*

'Even if I recover, (but) I won't be yours.'

- 7.60 Subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *tegù(l) (iř)* may denote (1) supposition or (2) a real fact, both contrasted to the content of the main clause:

(1) *Tegù(l) ĩs nors ir atsiklaũpẽs prařys/prarãytũ, niẽko jām nedũosiu.*

'Even if he begs (FUT/SUBJ) me on his knees, I won't give him anything.'

(2) *Tegù(l) (iř) niẽkas to nemãtẽ, (bet) ãš vis vien negalẽsiu jām melũoti.*

'Even if no one has seen it, (but) I won't be able to tell him a lie.'

Clauses of purpose

- 7.61 Clauses of purpose are introduced by the conjunction *kād* and, very seldom, by the specialized semantic conjunction of purpose *idañt* 'in order that'. Since *kād* is an asemantic conjunction, the meaning of purpose is determined by the relationship between the predicates: the predicate of the subordinate clause has to be a simple form of the subjunctive mood. The predicate of the principal clause denotes an active, purposeful action. The order of clauses varies, though the subordinate clause tends to be postposed to the main clause; cf.:

*Padēk rankās ant stālo, kād visi
matýtu.*

'Put your hands on the table so that
everyone can see.'

*Kād lengviaū būtu atsiginti
nuo priešu, lietūviai stātēsi pils.*

'In order that it might be easier to defend
themselves from the enemy, Lithuanians
used to build fortresses.'

*Išėjome anksti, kād
nepavēlūotume ģ trāukinj.*

'We left home early in order not to miss
the train.'

The conjunction *kād* can be used with the correlatives *tām* (which is the adverbialised dative case form of the pronoun *tās* 'that') and the prepositional phrase *dēl tō* 'for that', in which case the main clause precedes the subordinate clause:

*Āš ne tām suñkiai dīrbau, kād tū
galētum dykinēti.*

'I didn't work hard so that you could idle.'

Dēl tō atējaū, kād tāu padēčiau.

'I have come in order that I might help you.'

A correlative word is obligatory if the predicate of the main clause is used with negation:

*Ne dēl tō (tām) dainūoju,
kād žmónēs girdētu.*

'I don't sing in order that people should
hear me' (lit. 'I sing not in order that...').

- Note:** Subordinate clauses dependent on the verbs *bijóti* 'fear', *gailētis* 'be sorry', *norēti* 'want, wish', *láukti* 'wait', *prašýti* 'ask', etc., which substitute for the object of these verbs, are classed as completive clauses (see 7.17; 21).

- 7.62 Clauses of purpose with the conjunction *idañt* are somewhat archaic and formal. Structurally, they are identical with *kād*-clauses:

*Atvýkome ģ šġ krāštā, idañt geriaū
pažīntume jo gamītā ģ žmónēs.*

'We have come to this land in order that
we might get better acquainted with its
nature and people.'

Clauses of place

- 7.63** Adverbial clauses of place are commonly introduced by the relative adverb *kuř* 'where' which is functionally close to a conjunction. They denote place or direction of the main action. There are no special restrictions on tense forms of the predicates in both clauses. The order of clauses is variable.

Jis nuějo, kuř kójos něša. 'He went where his feet took him.'

For emphasis, the subordinator *kuř tik* 'wherever' is used:

Kuř tik ji eđdavo, kátinás sěké iš paskōs. 'Wherever she went, the cat followed in her steps.'

As a rule, clauses of place co-occur with a correlative word, viz. the adverb *teň* 'there'; in this case a subordinate clause is usually preposed to the main clause, or it follows the correlative word:

Kuř paūkštis lėkia, teň plunksna kreňta. lit. 'Where a bird flies, there a feather falls.'

Niěko neberadaū teň, kuř kadátise stovėjo tėvų namaĩ. lit. 'I found nothing there where my parents' house had been.'

Both the subordinator *kuř* and the correlative *teň* can be used with the prepositions of direction *iš* 'out of', *nuō* 'from', *peř* 'through, across', etc.:

Namō grįřite, per kuř norėsite. 'You'll return home by any road (lit. 'by where') you want.'

Nuo teň, kuř ji tadà gyvėno, atskambėjo dainōs áidas. lit. 'From (there) where she lived then the echo of a song came.'

- 7.64** Clauses of place sometimes have an antecedent which functions as an adverbial of place in the main clause:

Jis nùplaukė ganà toli, kuř bùvo negilì vietà. 'He swam rather far, where there was a shallow place.'

Sėnis stėngdavosi búti tarp žmonių, kuř daugiaū triūkřmo, kalbų. 'The old man strove to be among people, where there was more noise and talk.'

In everyday speech and in folklore, the locative case form *kamė* 'in what' is sometimes used as a subordinator instead of *kuř*:

Kamė lósi, tenáti ir ląksi. 'Where you bark (there) you will lap.'

Comparative clauses

Comparative clauses are subdivided into equational and differentiating clauses.

EQUATIONAL CLAUSES

Three types of equational clauses are distinguished.

Qualitative comparative clauses

7.65 They are introduced by the subordinators *kaīp* 'as, like', *līj* 'as if', *it* 'as if, like', *tařtum/tařsi* 'as if' and denote a comparison of quality or manner. If no correlative word is used the main clause precedes the subordinate clause (which is often incomplete).

7.66 Sentences with the subordinator *kaīp* denote comparison without implying any modal meaning:

Viskas būvo padaryta, kaīp sūtarta. 'Everything was done according to agreement (lit. 'as agreed').'

In sentences with verbal predicates the correlative *taīp* 'so' can be used:

Jis vīskq taīp padarīs, kaīp nōriu. 'He will do everything the way (lit. 'so as') I want it.'

In sentences with a compound nominal predicate in the main clause the pronoun *tōks, -iā* 'such' is used:

Jis būvo tōks, kaīp mán pāsakojo. lit. 'He was such as they told me.'

7.67 Sentences with the subordinators *līj, it, tařtum/tarjatum* and *tařsi* which usually require a subjunctive mood form in the subordinate clause, denote comparison with a possible or unreal or imaginary event:

Vaikinas dirbo toliaū, līj/tarsi/it būtu niēko nepastebējes. 'The boy went on working as if he hadn't noticed anything.'

The subordinators here are interchangeable though they differ slightly in modality. However, they cannot be replaced by *kaīp*.

In these sentences the correlative word *taīp* 'so' is also used:

Jis ēlgēsi taīp, līj tikrai niēko negirdētu ir nematjtu. 'He behaved so as if he really didn't hear and see anything.'

If the standard of comparison is a quality, the correlative *tōks*, sometimes *tiek*, can be used:

Eglutē jaūtē tōkī sōpulī, tařtum būtu kas širdī jāi rāižēs. 'Eglutē felt such pain as if her heart were being stabbed.'

A clause of comparison can also have an adverbial antecedent in the main clause, e.g.:

*Visì dabař sèdējom tȳliai, lýg
klaūsème kō.*

'We were all sitting quietly, as if we were listening to something.'

Quantitative comparative clauses

- 7.68** These clauses are formed with the subordinator *kíek* 'how much' and the correlative *tíek* 'so much'. They denote a comparison of quantity or extent. The order of clauses is not fixed and there are no special restrictions on tenses and their combinations.

Kíek atsiriēksi, tíek ir suvālgysi.

'You'll eat as much as you will cut off for yourself' (lit. 'How much you will cut off so much you will eat').

*Senēlis jái dāvē tíek obuoliū, kíek
jì galējo panēšti.*

'Grandfather gave her as many apples as (lit. 'so many... how many') she could carry.'

A comparative clause can be related to the pronoun *visas* 'all' or to the adverb *visuř* 'everywhere' implying quantity:

Kíek mūsū bŭvome, visì apsīřgome.

lit. 'As many of us were there, all fell ill.'

*Kíek tik ākys užmāto, visuř
juodúoja dēbesys.*

'As far as (lit. 'how much') the eye can see everywhere the clouds appear black.'

The correlative word is sometimes omitted:

Kíek žiedā regēsi, manē atsimiņsi.

'As long as (lit. 'how much') you see the ring, you will remember me.'

Comparative clauses of proportion

- 7.69** Sentences with a clause of proportion are formed with the two-place conjunctions *kuō... tuō, juō... tuō* and *juō... juō* all of them meaning 'the... the'. They denote comparison of the degree of intensity. Both clauses are usually structurally parallel and may contain the comparative form of an adjective or an adverb (1), though not necessarily (2). A subordinate clause usually precedes the main clause (therefore, in sentences with *juō... juō* the initially placed clause is regarded as the subordinate one):

(1) *Kuō (juō) jì mīškā toliaū, tuō
mēdžiū daugiaū.*

lit. 'The farther into the woods the more trees.'

Kuð <i>daugiau</i> jis dirbo, tuð <i>mažiau</i> gāvo.	'The more he worked the less he got.'
Juð <i>senėsnis</i> jis dārosi, juð <i>raukšlīū</i> daugėja.	'The older he grows the more wrinkles appear.'
Juð <i>gyvėnimas</i> <i>Sevėrjā</i> bāilino, juð <i>jī stvėrės tō pakuūpusio sėnio</i> .	'The (more) life scared Severja, the (more) she stuck to that bent old man.'

DIFFERENTIATING CLAUSES

- 7.70 These clauses are most commonly introduced by the conjunction *negū* 'than', and they are used to express a difference between compared entities. They are usually preceded by an antecedent which is either an adjective or an adverb in the comparative form, or a pronoun like *kitas*, -à 'other, different', *kitòks*, -ia 'different, not such', or an adverb like *kitaip*, *kitóniškai* 'in a different way'.

<i>Dabartiniū laikū</i> vaikai gudresni, <i>negu</i> <i>kadaise būvo suāuge vėrai</i> .	'Children these days are cleverer than adult men used to be before.'
<i>Susitikimas būvo visai</i> kitòks, <i>negu</i> <i>mēs tikėjomės</i> .	'The meeting was quite different from what (lit. 'than') we had expected.'

Differentiating clauses are also introduced by the conjunctions *nekaip*, *neī*, *kaip*. They do not differ from those with *negū* either structurally or in meaning, but they occur mostly in colloquial speech, cf.:

<i>Negaliū suteikti jai</i> daugiau <i>laisvės</i> , <i>kaip</i> / <i>nekaip</i> / <i>nei jī</i> <i>dabar turi</i> .	'I can't give her more freedom than she has now.'
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Occasionally in colloquial speech differentiating clauses are introduced by the pronoun form *kā* 'what (ACC)' turned conjunction, in which case they may be placed initially as well:

<i>Kā</i> <i>mān prašyt, tai</i> geriau <i>visai</i> <i>neturėsiu</i> .	'I'd rather not have it at all than beg for it.'
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Additive clauses

- 7.71 This term is used here to refer to subordinate clauses which have as their antecedent the whole main clause. They are commonly introduced by the case forms of the relative pronoun *kās* and by the relative adverb *kaip*. These subordinators have a syntactic function in the subordinate clause, which distinguishes additive clauses from other types of non-integrated clauses.

The main clause is structured like a simple sentence and contains no correlative words. The subordinate clause, usually placed after the main clause, contains

additional information and expresses a kind of evaluative statement concerning the content of the main clause:

*Jiē neatējo, kàs manè labaī
nuliāđino.*

'They did not come, which worried me very much.'

*Mergāitē miegódavo iki
pusiáudienio, už kā nuolāt
gāudavo bārti nuo mótinós.*

'The girl used to sleep till noon, for which her mother always scolded her.'

*Jám skaudējo kójas, kaip paprastaī
ēsti po ilgós keliōnēs.*

'His feet were aching, as it usually happens after a long walk.'

With respect to the relationship between the clauses, these sentences are close to compound sentences with the conjunctions *iŗ* 'and', *ō* 'and', *nēs* 'as' followed by a demonstrative pronoun (*tàs, tà, tai* 'that', *tóks* 'such') or the adverb *taīp* 'so'; cf.:

Jiē neatējo, ir tai mán kēlē nērima.

'They did not come, and that worried me.'

Additive clauses are characteristic of formal style.

Compound sentence

Sujungiamàsis sakiniŗs

- 7.72 A compound (coordinative) sentence is composed of two or more clauses of equal syntactic status (termed conjuncts) linked by co-ordinating conjunctive words (coordinators) and by intonation, e.g.:

*Būvo vāsara, bet laukuosē žmónēs
niēko nedirbo.*

'It was summer, but people did not work in the fields.'

*Žēmē čià derlinga, todēl kviečiaī
geraī áuga.*

'The soil is fertile here, therefore wheat grows well.'

A coordinator is placed between the clauses and it expresses the semantic relationship between them. Single coordinators are used to form sentences with a closed structure and reduplicated coordinators form open structure sentences.

- 7.73 **Closed-structure sentences** are formed with the single coordinators *iŗ* 'and', *ō* 'and', *bèt* 'but', *bètgi* 'but', *aŗ* 'or', *arbà* 'or', *tačiaū* 'but', *tàd* 'so, thus', *taī* 'so', *tiktaī* 'only', *vis dėlto* 'still; however', *vis tiek* 'nevertheless', *uŗtaī/uŗtāt* 'therefore', *nēī* 'nor', and also with *todēl/dėl tō* 'therefore', *per taī* 'therefore'.

The constituent clauses of a structurally closed sentence can also be joined by complex conjunctions such as *o tačiaū* 'but', *o bèt(gi)* 'but', etc., e.g.:

*Tėvas būvo labaī įpýkęs, bètgi/
o bètgi nepasākē nē žōdžio.*

'Father was very angry, but all the same he didn't say a word.'

In compound sentences, a conjunction is sometimes correlated with a particle or a modal word placed initially in the preceding clause: *tik/võs... ir vēl* lit. 'just... and again', *dár/võs... o jaũ* 'yet/just... and already', *neganà... bet dár* 'not only... but even', etc. This correlation serves to reinforce and specify the connection between the clauses, cf.:

*Tik/võs spējau pareīti namõ,
ir vēl pradējo lýti.*

'Hardly had I returned home, and it started raining again.'

*Dár neprasadējo pavāsarīs, o
jaũ laukaĩ zaliuoja.*

'Spring has not come yet, but the fields are already green.'

*Neganà mán sàvo darbũ, bet
dár turiũ svetimaĩs rūpintis.*

'As if I didn't have enough work (lit. 'not enough work of my own'), but I have to take care of other people's work as well.'

7.74 Open-structure sentences are formed with the reduplicated conjunctions (see III. 9.3): *iř... iř* 'and... and', *ař... ař* 'whether... or', *arbà... arbà* 'either... or', *neĩ... neĩ* 'neither... nor', *taĩ... taĩ* 'now... now', *čidà... čidà* 'now... now'. The number of clauses is practically unlimited though two or three-constituent sentences are the commonest.

*Ir gyvuliaĩ bìvo pašertĩ, ir
pūsryčiai paruošti, ir namaĩ
sutvarkyti.*

'(And) the animals were fed, and breakfast was ready, and the rooms were cleaned.'

*Nei àš teĩ buvaũ, nei galiũ táu kã
pasakyti.*

'Neither have I been there, nor can I tell you anything.'

If the clauses of an open-structure sentence share a constituent it may be placed initially in the first clause, in which case the conjunction takes the second position:

*Šfryt ir sàulē šviesēsne, ir
paukštēliai linksmiaũ čiũlba.*

'Today both (lit. 'and') the sun is brighter and the birds sing more merrily.'

7.75 In both structural types of compound sentences ("open" and "closed") the clauses are often parallel in structure and have identical word order; e.g.:

*Iř rytũ šalēlēs saulēlē tekējo, o iř
vakarēliũ debesēliai ējo.*

'From the east the sun was rising, and from the west the clouds were coming.'

An identical predicate or subject, or any other part of the sentence can be either repeated in both clauses (1), or it may be omitted in one of the clauses (2):

(1) *Àš jũms dúosiu bandēlē, o jũs
mán dúokite avinēli.*

'I'll give you a cake, and you'll give me a lamb.'

*Nei tũ jõ pabársi, nei tũ jõ
pamókysi.*

'Neither will you scold him nor will you teach him a lesson.'

(2) *Màno sesùtè plonaĩ kaĩba, o
tù storaĩ.*

*Motùšè verkdamà, o Bènis
šokinėdamas išvažiàvo.*

‘My sister speaks in a high voice, and you
in a low voice.’

‘Mother left crying and Benis jumping
with joy’ (lit. ‘Mother crying and Benis
jumping with joy left’).

- 7.76 According to the syntactic relationship between clauses, five types of coordination are distinguished: (1) copulative, (2) juxtapositive and adversative, (3) disjunctive, (4) consecutive, and (5) continuative.

Each of the types is characterized by specific coordinators. Thus, in the case of copulative coordination the conjunction *iř* ‘and’ and reduplicated conjunctions *iř... iř*, *neĩ... neĩ*, *taĩ... taĩ*, *čìà... čìà* are used. Juxtapositive and adversative relations are expressed by the conjunctions *ò* ‘and/but’, *bèt*, *tačìaiũ*, *tik(taĩ)*, and *vis dèlto, vis tìek, užtàt*. Disjunctive coordination is designated by the single conjunctions *ař*, *arbà* and reduplicated *ař... ař*, *arbà... arbà*. Consecutive coordination is expressed by the coordinators *tàd*, *taĩgi*, *taĩ*, *dèl tò*, *per taĩ*, *todèl*, and continuative coordination by *iř*, *ò* and *bèt*.

The five types of compound sentences are further classified into subtypes by the additional semantic relationship between the clauses and their syntactic peculiarities.

COPULATIVE COORDINATION

Sentences with *iř*

- 7.77 Clauses joined by the conjunction *iř* can express either simultaneous or successive events. The temporal relationship between the clauses is primarily determined by the tense-mood form and aspect of the predicates.

Simultaneity of events is usually rendered by identical tense-mood forms of the predicates. The time of the events may coincide entirely or partly, at a given period or moment. In the former instance imperfective verbs are usually used in both clauses:

*Mènùlis šviėčia kaip šviėtęs, ir šuò
liũdnaĩ ktemė kaũkia.*

‘The moon shines as before, and the dog
barks sadly in the yard.’

In the latter case, the first clause usually contains an imperfective verb, and the following clause a perfective verb:

*Kařta vaikaĩ válgè miškè dúona
ir vienas trupiniùkas nutrupėjo
žemèn.*

'Once children were eating bread in the forest, and one crumb fell to the ground.'

Successive events are usually rendered by the following means:

(1) perfective verbs in the same tense-mood form in both clauses:

Lāpai sušlāmo, ir vėl viskas nutilo.

'The leaves rustled (once) and everything became quiet again.'

(2) a perfective verb in the first clause and an imperfective verb in the second, both in the same or in different tense-mood forms:

*Jõs vȳras netrùkus mirè, ir ji
šeimininkāju / šeimininkāvo šiojè
sodȳboje.*

'Her husband died soon, and she manages / managed this farmstead.'

In sentences denoting a succession of events one of the predicates can be a nominal or adjectival predicate:

*Rėtkarčiais prabėga kažkokià
žmogystà – ir vėl viskas ramù /
visuř tylà.*

'From time to time a man passes by running, and all is quiet again / it is silence everywhere.'

Alongside temporal relations clauses linked by *iř* may express causal, conditional, contrastive and other relations depending mostly on the structural properties of the clauses and on context.

CAUSAL RELATIONS

7.78 In this case the second clause denotes the consequence of what is denoted by the preceding clause.

The predicates of both clauses may be formally expressed in a variety of ways, of which the following seem to be the more common ones:

(1) One or both clauses contain nominal or adjectival predicates, or periphrastic tense forms (usually denoting state):

*Tiė dokumeñtai bũvo riebaluoti
ir pėlės juõs sudrāskè.*

'Those documents were greasy and mice gnawed them to shreds.'

*Jis bũvo nusišukęs į sieną
ir aš mačiaũ jõ žilą pakáušį.*

'His face was turned (lit. 'He was turned') to the wall, and I saw the grey back of his head.'

(2) One or both clauses contain a compound predicate with a modal verb:

*Ežȳs susirietē ģ kām̄uolġ, ir
šuō niēko negāli padarġti.
Tū nekaltāi nukentējai, ir aš
turiū atlġginti.*

'The hedgehog has rolled itself into a ball,
and the dog can't do anything to it.'

'You have suffered without being guilty
and I must compensate (for it).'

(3) Both predicates are simple finite verb forms usually denoting actions of unlimited duration, or repeated actions, or states:

*Dabař tū manēš nebēplaki ir
aš nebeverkiū.*

'Now you don't beat me any longer and I
do not cry.'

*Dūrys geraī neužsidārē ir
pro plyšiūs veřtēsi ģ vidu šaltis.*

'The door did not close tight, and cold air
was coming through the cracks into the
room.'

Such sentences are close in meaning to those with the conjunctions *taī, taīgi, tād*, denoting causal relations (see 7.103–105).

7.79 The conjunction *iř* may be reinforced by the adverbs *dēl tō/todēl* 'therefore' and the like, which express the cause-and-consequence relationship explicitly:

*Ařtinosi jau priētēmis, ir todēl
Juōzas paskubējo išeiti.*

'Dusk was approaching, and therefore
Juozas was in a hurry to leave.'

These sentences are naturally close in meaning to compound sentences with the relative adverbs *dēl tō/todēl* without *iř* (see 7.105). Compare also complex sentences with the conjunction *kadāngi* 'because' (see 7.47).

CONDITIONAL RELATIONS

7.80 In a number of cases, the first clause may acquire the meaning of condition with respect to the subsequent clause. The predicate of the first clause is usually in initial position and carries logical stress. The predicates tend to be formally related in the following ways:

(1) The 2nd person (singular) verb form is used in the first clause and the 3rd person in the second:

*ġeinī žmogūs tankumġnan, ir
kūnas tik eina pagaugaīs.*

'You enter (lit. 'Enter (PRES. 2. SG) (a)
man') the thicket and your body trembles
all over.'

*Móstelēsi rankelē, ir iširo
visā tvarkā.*

'You wave (FUT. 2. SG) your hand, and
all order is gone (PAST) to pieces.'

(2) The future tense is used in the first or in both clauses:

*Sulōs šuō kiemē, ir pākerta
Elžbiētai kójas.*

'A dog will bark in the yard, and
Elizabeth's knees shake (with fright).'

*Tēvas tik tašs žodį, ir viskas
būs aišku.*

'Father will just say a word and
everything will be clear.'

(3) The imperative mood is used in one of the clauses and the indicative in the other:

*Neláidyk liežuvio – ir būs
gerai.*

'Don't wag your tongue – and it will be
all right.'

(4) The subjunctive mood is used in the first or in both clauses:

*Eĩgtumeis kaip pridera, ir
visi tavè geĩbtu.*

'If you behaved properly everyone would
respect you.'

(5) The predicate of the first clause is the impersonal verb *užtèkti* 'be enough' or *reikèti/bereikti* 'be necessary' with an infinitive often emphasized by the particles *tik* 'only', *dár* 'yet':

*Užteĩka mán tik užmérkt akis, ir
tuojaũ kĩla prièš manè vaizdaĩ.*

'It is just enough for me to shut my eyes,
and at once images start coming to me.'

Sentences implying condition are close in meaning to complex sentences with the conjunction *jéi(gu)* 'if' (see 7.53–54).

CONTRASTIVE RELATIONS

7.81 In this case the conjunction *iš* links two clauses contrasting in meaning. One of the clauses is usually affirmative and the other is negative, or the clauses contain antonyms:

*Ieškóju dukteĩs visą dièną
ir nièkas neatèjo mán padèti.*

'I was looking for my daughter all day
long, and nobody came to help me.'

*Kóks mãžas šitas kambareĩlis, ir
kóks platùs pasáulis!*

'How small this room is, and how great
the world!'

These sentences are close in meaning to sentences with the conjunctions *ò*, *bèt*, *taèiaũ* which bring out the contrastive meaning.

The contrastive relationship in sentences with the conjunction *iš* may connote the additional meaning of concession, as in

*Visą vāsaraį láisèciau túos daržùs,
ir nièkas neužáugo.*

'I had been watering those vegetable
gardens all the summer, and nothing
grew up.'

This meaning is intensified by *vis dèlto* or *taĩ* postposed to *iš*:

*Sáulè spindèjo grynaĩ baltà šviesà,
ir vis dèlto nebũvo taĩp káršta.*

'The sun glowed white-hot, and still
nevertheless it wasn't so hot.'

(Cf. complex sentences of concession with the conjunction *nórs* 'though', 7.58.)

RELATIONS OF PARALLELISM

- 7.82 In this case the predicates of both sentences are either identical or close in meaning:

<i>Visì jà bùvo paténkinti, ir jì bùvo paténkinta.</i>	'Everyone was pleased with her, and she was pleased.'
<i>Àš jōs privēngiu, ir jūs pasisērgēkite!</i>	'I avoid her, and you (should) be on guard!'

SUMMATIVE RELATIONS

- 7.83 The second clause introduced by *iř* is related to the preceding clause as a conclusion or a generalization over it. It often contains a generalizing pronoun (*viskas* 'everything', *visas*, -à 'all', *niėkas* 'nobody, nothing', etc.):

<i>Jì rūpinasi tik savimi – ir viskas.</i>	'She takes care of herself only – and that's all.'
<i>Sukišaũ visũs pinigũs į ūkį, ir niėko nematýti.</i>	'I laid out all my money on the farm, and (there is) nothing to be seen.'

Sentences with *iř... iř*

- 7.84 The basic meaning and syntactic properties of sentences with the reduplicated conjunction *iř... iř* are similar to those of respective sentences with the single *iř*, but they are less commonly used and have fewer additional meanings. The conjunction emphasizes the cumulation or the parallelism of the clauses. These sentences usually denote simultaneous events, and identical tense forms are used as predicates in the coordinated clauses; cf.:

<i>Čià ir ežerè galėsime pasimáudyti, ir vaikai miškè pagrybaũs.</i>	'Here we shall be able (both) to swim in the lake, and the children will pick mushrooms in the woods.'
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In the case of parallelism the predicates of both clauses are usually close in meaning, as in respective sentences with the single *iř*:

<i>Ir dúonos tikraĩ mãža, ir viėtos tikraĩ nērà.</i>	lit. '(And) there is really little bread, and there is really no room.'
<i>Ir mės būsime paténkinti, ir kaimýnai džiaũgsis.</i>	'(lit. And) we shall be both happy and the neighbours will rejoice.'

Sentences with *neĩ ... neĩ*

7.85 This conjunction is a negative counterpart of *iĩ... iĩ*. Cf.:

*Ir vējas pūl̄tē, ir giriā ūžē, ir lelijā
līngāvo.*

'The wind was blowing, and the woods
were murmuring, and the lily was swaying.'

*Nei vējas pūl̄tē, nei giriā ūžē, nei
lelijā līngāvo.*

'Neither was the wind blowing, nor were
the woods murmuring, nor was the lily
swaying.'

The predicates of clauses conjoined by *neĩ... neĩ* can be used either with or without the negative prefix; cf.:

*Nei dārbas sēkasi/nesiseka, nei
vaļģis leņģda/nēlenda.*

'Neither is the work going well, nor does
the food go down easily.'

Sometimes, sentences expressing parallelism are used with the single *neĩ*:

*Grīžti āš niēkam nežadējau, nei
mān kās būvo liēpeš.*

'I didn't promise anyone to return, nor
did anyone tell me to.'

Sentences with *taĩ ... taĩ, čia ... čia*

7.86 These sentences refer to alternating events, e.g.:

*Tai būlvēs supūvo, tai rugiaĩ
prapūolē.*

'Now the potatoes rotted, now the rye got
ruined.'

*Čia māt liēpē tylēti, čia pati
pirmóji pasisākē.*

'Now she told me to keep silent, now she
herself confessed (it).'

JUXTAPOSITIVE AND ADVERSATIVE COORDINATION

7.87 The most common conjunctions of juxtapositive and adversative coordination are *ō* 'and/but' and *bēt* 'but'. Less commonly, the coordinators *tačiaū* 'however', *tik* 'only', *vis dēltō* 'nevertheless', *vis tīek* 'all the same', *užtāt* 'but, but then' are used.

Sentences with *ō*

In sentences with the conjunction *ō* a number of semantic relations between the clauses may be distinguished.

RELATIONS OF PARALLELISM

7.88 In this case a parallel is drawn between the constituents of both clauses performing the same syntactic function:

(1) the subjects:

Tėvas būvo kažkuŗ išėjėš į káimą, o mótina đirbo laukuosė. 'Father was gone to the village, and mother was working in the fields.'

(2) objects (usually identical in form):

Su melagystė netolì teešì, o su teisybe visuŗ gėra. lit. 'With a lie you won't get far, and with the truth it is good everywhere.'

(3) adverbial modifiers (also identical in form as a rule):

Eĩk, sesùte, víenu keliù, o àš eĩsiu kitù keliù. 'Take, sister, one road (INSTR) and I'll take another road (INSTR).'

If the predicate is the same in both clauses it is commonly omitted in the second clause:

Senėlis turėjo šuniùką, o bobùtė kačiùką. 'Grandfather had a little dog, and grandmother a kitten.'

Paũkštì plũnksnos grãžina, o žmógų – prđtas. 'A bird (ACC) is adorned (ACT. PRES) by its feathers (NOM) and a man (ACC) by his intellect (NOM).'

The relation between the clauses may be similar to that in copulative coordination:

Praėjo šveñtės, o mės vėl į dárbus pasinėreme. 'The holidays passed, and we again got absorbed in our work.'

Papãsakojø mergáitė savo neláime, o laũmės jã gúodžia. 'The girl told (them) about her misfortune, and the witches consoled her.'

Occasionally, the parallelism is drawn between syntactically different constituents (e.g. the subject and an object, the subject and an adverbial modifier, etc.):

Kità užmùšti jis mokėjo, o pàts miŗti bijo. 'He could kill another (man), but he himself is afraid to die.'

Jøs véidas būvo labaĩ draũgiškas, o akysė žybciojølìepsnėlės. 'Her face was very friendly, and in her eyes there twinkled a smile.'

CONTRASTIVE RELATIONS

7.89 In sentences with the conjunction *o* expressing the contrastive relations one of the clauses is usually affirmative and the other negative. The predicates may have either the same or different stems; cf. respectively:

(1) *Tù mán patinkì, o kìtos meřgos nepatiřka.* 'I like you, and I don't like other girls.'

(2) *Bùvo tamsùs vākaras, o kareřvis neturējo kuō žvākēs nusipīřkti.* 'It was a dark night, and /but the soldier had no money to buy a candle.'

The predicates of two clauses may be antonymous words:

Jì kaupē pìnigus, o léido vjras. 'She saved money and her husband spent it.'

Jūs likite namiē, o aš eišiu girion. 'You stay at home, and I'll go to the woods.'

In sentences with the conjunction *ō* the content of one clause may be contrasted to that of the other as unexpected or contradicting it.

Ródos, visái nebùvo debesū, o staigà pradējo lýti. 'It seems, there were no clouds at all, and suddenly it started to rain.'

Reikia pradėti pāmoka, o vaiko nėra. 'It is time (lit. 'It is necessary') to begin the lesson, and /but the child is not here.'

Netrukus bus vākaras, o dárbas stóvi. 'It will be evening soon, but /and the work is not begun yet.'

The clauses sometimes contain paired particles or adverbs, such as *tik/dár/vōs... jaũ; tuōj... dár*, etc. which are placed initially and stress the contrast:

Dár vištà kiaušinio nesudėjo, o jaũ martì pautiēnēs panorėjo. lit. 'The hen has not laid an egg yet, and already the daughter-in-law wants chicken- broth.'

Tik išējaũ iš namų, o jaũ šaũkia grįžti. 'I have just left the house, and they already tell me to return.'

Tuōj grįš vaikai, o dár piētūs nepradėti. 'The children will be back in no time, and I haven't started (cooking) dinner yet.'

CONCESSIVE RELATIONS

7.90 In this case sentences are also typically characterized by a contrast between a positive and a negative clause. The predicate of the first clause is often (1) a verb with the prefix *te-* or the particle *tegù/tegùl* or (2) a subjunctive or imperative mood form, or (3) the same verb repeated with negation:

(1) *Tegù manē áuksu apiberia, o už nemýlimo ir sēnio neįstu.* 'Let them shower me with gold, but (all the same) I shall not marry a man I don't love or an old man.'

(2) *Atidúočiau jám vīską
vėltui, o jis neišs.*

'I would give him everything for nothing,
but he won't take (anything).'

(3) *Šakei nesakei, o reikalas
turi būti sutvarkytas.*

'You may say it or not (lit. 'You said didn't
say'), but the matter must be settled.'

The concessive relation may be emphasized by the complex conjunction *o vis dėlto* 'and still':

*Visi sėdėjo nejudėdami tylūs, o vis
dėlto akysė buvo matyti nėrimas.*

'All (of them) sat motionless and quiet, but
still one could see anxiety in their eyes.'

CAUSAL RELATIONS

7.91 The conjunction *o* sometimes links clauses of which the first refers to cause and the following to its consequence. These sentences are syntactically similar to sentences with the conjunction *ir* expressing the same relation (cf. 7.78):

*Čia mūsų namai, o kokia ten šleivio
vilko nebijósim!*

'Here is our home, and we won't be scared
of any bandy-legged wolf!'

*Žiemą reikia vėrpti, áusti, o tám
mókslui nė valandėlės neliėka.*

'In winter spinning and weaving (linen) are
to be done, and there is not a minute for
school.'

Visi pónai, o kàs kiaulės ganys.

'Everyone is a boss, but who will tend the
pigs?'

RELATIONS OF EXCLUSION

7.92 In this case the clause introduced by *o* denotes an event or entity singled out from a totality of such events or entities referred to by the first clause which often contains the plural form of the pronouns *visas*, *-à* 'all', *kitas*, *-à* 'other' (cf. the explicit expression of this relation by *tik*, see 7.99).

Visi turi vaikų, o mės vienì.

'All people have children, and we are
alone.'

*Kitos mergáitės puóšiasi, o áš ir
suknėlės neturiu.*

'Other girls dress smartly, and I don't even
have a dress.'

Sentences with *bèt*

Sentences with the conjunction *bèt* commonly express relations of contrast and non-correspondence, sometimes concession, exclusion and parallelism. The relation of contrast is undercurrent even if some other meaning is prevalent.

CONTRASTIVE RELATIONS

7.93 As in sentences with the conjunction *ð*, either (1) a positive and a negative clause or (2) clauses containing antonyms are contrasted:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) <i>Pievos ir dabaŕ teberà
grāžios, bet miškū seniaī nebèrà.</i> | 'The meadows are still beautiful, but the woods are long gone.' |
| <i>Geraī lēkti, bet negeraiŕ nutūpti.</i> | 'It's good to fly, but it's not good to land.' |
| (2) <i>Leñgva yrà pasakýti, bet
sunkū padaryti.</i> | 'It is easy to say but it is hard to do.' |
| <i>Dárbo šaknys kárčios, bet
jō vaīsiai sáldūs.</i> | lit. 'The roots of work are bitter but its fruits are sweet.' |

(Compare the respective sentences with the conjunctions *ð*, *tačiaū*; see 7.89; 98.)

7.94 The content of the second clause introduced by *bèt* frequently does not correspond to the content of the preceding clause, it is unexpected or unforeseen. One of the clauses is also often negative, the other being positive. These sentences are similar to those with *ð*, but the conjunction *bèt* is a more explicit means of expressing contrast.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>Mėgau skaitýti, bet pas mūs
nebūvo knýgų.</i> | 'I liked to read, but we had no books.' |
|--|---|

(See also the examples in 7.93.)

In sentences expressing contrast, pairs of antonymous particles or adverbs (*dár... jaū* and the like, see 7.89) are often used, e.g.:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>Sáulè dár nebūvo patekėjusi, bet
laukè jaū būvo šviesù.</i> | 'The sun had not risen yet but it was already light outside.' |
|--|---|

CONCESSIVE RELATIONS

7.95 Sentences with *bèt* expressing concession do not differ from respective *ð* sentences with regard to their syntactic properties and types of predicates (cf. 7.90), but they are more widely used. The relation of concession is superimposed upon the relation of contrast between clauses, e.g.:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Žòdžitių mažaī tesuprañta, bet
gaidà jám vėria širdį.</i> | 'He doesn't quite understand the words, but the tune rends his heart.' |
| <i>Būvo dar žiemòs laikas, bet
atòdrėkis pranašàvo ankstývą
pavāsariį.</i> | 'It was wintertime yet, but the thaw promised an early spring.' |

The meaning of concession is emphasized by the units *vis tíek* 'all the same', *vis dëlto* 'still', *užtāt* 'but then':

*Senēlē dár kažkā áiškina, bet
anūkēlis vis tíek niēko suprāsti
negāli.*

'Granny is still explaining something, but the little boy all the same cannot understand anything.'

RELATIONS OF EXCLUSION

- 7.96 These sentences are synonymous to respective sentences with *tík(taī)* 'only' (see 7.99) and *ō* 'and/but' (see 7.92), but in sentences with *bèt* the contrast between the content of the clauses is more explicit, e.g.:

Visì atsìgulè, bet jì neužmiēganti.

'Everyone has gone to bed, but she can't fall asleep.'

*Svečiaī vālgē dár ir gērè, bet
Drūktēnis kažin kō liko nōsī
nulēidēs.*

'The guests were still eating and drinking, but Drūktenis remained crestfallen for some reason.'

RELATIONS OF PARALLELISM

- 7.97 This relationship is less common in sentences with *bèt* than in those with *ō*.

The clauses connected by *bèt* often contain different forms of comparison:

*Gēra toli girdēti, bet pikta – dár
toliaū.*

'Good words carry far, but evil words carry farther.'

*Taīp praējo jám pirmóji dienà, bet
toliaū dar prasčiaū būvo.*

'This is how his first day passed, but later it was even worse.'

Parallelism can be reinforced by the paired particles and adverbs *ne tik(tai)... (bet) iř* 'not only... (but) also', *ne vien tik... (bet) iř* 'not only... (but) also', *neganà... bet dár* lit. 'not enough... but even', and the like.

*Mūsū šeimojē ne tik tėvaī
dīrba, bet ir vaikaī pàdēda.*

lit. 'In our family not only the parents work, but also the children help.'

*Neganà namūs prarādom, bet
dár ir sūnū iřtrēmē.*

'It is not enough (that) we have lost our home, but moreover our son is exiled.'

Sentences with *tačiaū*

- 7.98 With respect to meanings and syntactic properties, sentences with the conjunction *tačiaū* 'but', are similar to those with *bèt*, but their usage is more restricted. Their most common meaning is that of non-correspondence.

*Šaūkē ģi ilgāi, tačtau niēkas
neatsiliepē.*

'She shouted for a long time, but nobody
ever answered.'

These sentences can also express the following related meanings:

(1) the contrastive relations:

*Žēmē, rēģis, būvo ta pati..., tačtau
daug kās pasikettē.*

'The land was apparently the same, but so
much was changed.'

(2) the concessive relations:

*Kambarjys būvo tamsūs, tačtau
kampē pamačtaū kažkā jūdant.*

'The room was dark, but I saw something
moving in the corner.'

Sentences with *tik*(*taī*)

7.99 The most characteristic relationship in these sentences is that of exclusion, a part being singled out of a whole, e.g.:

*Visās jau raidēs ģis žīno, tik
vienā tokiā sunki.*

lit. 'He knows all the letters already, only
one of them is so hard (to remember).'

*Visi kaip būvę, tik
Petriukas pasikettē.*

lit. 'All (of them) are as before, only Petriukas
(little Peter) has changed.'

Sentences with *tik* can also express the following:

(1) contrast and unexpected event:

Kótas gēras, tik kiŗvis netikēs.

'The helve is good, only the ax does not fit it.'

*Pilni pašaliaiŗ visa kō būvo, tik
nebūvo kām vālgyti.*

'The larder was full of good things, only
there was nobody to eat all that.'

*Iŗējaū ģ kiŗmaŗ, tik staigā šóko ant
manŗs ŗuō.*

'I went out into the yard, and /only
suddenly a dog jumped at me.'

(2) concession:

*Jaū ir kója nebeskaūda, tik
atsikēlti negālima.*

'The (My) foot does not ache any longer,
only I can't stand up.'

(3) condition:

*Viskas būs geraŗ, tik neŗnekēk tiŗk
daūg.*

'Everything will be all right, only don't
talk so much.'

Sentences with *uŗtaŗ/uŗtāt*, *vis dēlto*, *vis tiēk*

7.100 These coordinators are comparatively infrequent. They usually denote concession, e.g.:

*Jaunikis būvo nusimīņes, uždāt
nūotaka nēkreipē ģ tāi nē
mažiāusio dēmesio.*

*Galī teñ nueīti, vis tiek niēko
nelaimēsi.*

*Sāule jāū nusilēidusi, vīs dēlto
kambaryjē tvankū.*

‘The bridegroom was dejected,
nevertheless the bride did not pay the
slightest attention to it.’

‘You can go there, all the same you won’t
gain anything.’

‘The sun has already set, but (lit. ‘all the
same’) it is stuffy in the room.’

DISJUNCTIVE COORDINATION

7.101 In the case of disjunctive coordination, a choice is offered between the statements expressed in the conjoined clauses. Disjunctive coordination is expressed by *aŗ/arbà* ‘or’, *aŗ... aŗ* ‘either... or’, *arbà... arbà* ‘either... or’. The conjunctions *arbà* and *arbà... arbà* are used to link clauses within an affirmative sentence, while *aŗ* and correlative *aŗ... aŗ* can link clauses within both affirmative and interrogative sentences. In the latter case, the conjunction *aŗ* functionally corresponds to the interrogative particle *aŗ*.

In sentences with the reduplicated conjunctions *arbà... arbà* and *aŗ... aŗ* the disjunctive relationship is emphasized due to the repetition of the conjunction:

*Arba tū, bróli, liáuķis, arba aŗ einū
šaltiņ.*

*Arba tō žōdžio niēķas jō nemōķē,
arba jisāi užmiŗšo jī.*

*Ar mēs gyvėnsime kartū, ar mán
išsikēlti?*

‘Either you, brother, stop it, or I take
myself off.’

‘Either no one taught him that word, or
he forgot it.’

‘Shall we live together or shall I move
out?’

Sentences with the single conjunctions *arbà* and *aŗ* typically express a disjunctive relationship as well:

*Gal vaiķas pāts paklydo, arba/ar
jī kas nōrs sukļaidīno.*

*Uŗ ģirios sugriāudē, ar gāl mūms
tik pasīródē.*

‘Maybe the boy himself lost his way, or
somebody told him the wrong way.’

‘It thundered beyond the forest, or maybe
we just imagined it.’

Sentences with the conjunctions *aŗ*, *arbà* can also express:

(1) parallelism (cf. respective sentences with the conjunction *ō* in 7.88), e.g.:

*Kaimýno namaĩ net blizga, arba
štāi ir sōdas naujaĩ aptvėrtas.*

‘The neighbour’s house (is in such perfect
order that it) even shines, look, the garden
has a new fence.’

(2) enumeration (as in the respective sentences with the reduplicated conjunction *taī... taī*; see 7.86):

*Kaŗtais ĉià apsilaņķo ġiminēs, arba
ŗiāŗ kóks praeŗvis uŗķlŗsta.*

'Sometimes the relatives pay a visit here,
or just a passerby drops in.'

CONSECUTIVE COORDINATION

7.102 In the case of consecutive coordination the second clause denotes the consequence or result of what is designated by the preceding clause. The coordinators are: *taī* 'so', *taŗġi* 'thus', *tàd* 'therefore', and also *todēl/dēl tō* 'therefore', *uŗtaŗ* 'that's why'.

Sentences with *taī*

7.103 Sentences with *taī* usually express the relation of cause to its consequence.

*Vaiķas paāũgo, tai tēvas vēdasi ġŗ
namō.*

'The child has grown older, so his father
is taking him home.'

*Pāts ŗeiminiņķas... ĉiā būvo rētas
svēĉiās, tai nē ķeliŗ niēķas netaŗsē.*

'The owner himself seldom came here, so
no one even repaired the roads.'

Sentences with *taī* can also express the conditional relations, in which case the predicate of the first clause usually has a future tense form or an imperative or subjunctive mood form; cf.:

*Atvaŗiũosi/Atvaŗiũok
namō, tai pasitĩksim tavē ķaip
brangiāusiq svēĉiq.*

'Should you come (FUT/IMPER) home,
then we shall greet you as the dearest
guest.'

*Bũtum manŗs paklaũŗes,
tai dabaŗ bũtum turtĩngas.*

'Had you taken my advice (SUBJ), then
you would be rich now.'

The relationship of condition also holds between clauses with identical predicates, e.g.:

ŗāлта, tai ŗāлта.

'If it's cold, it's cold.'

Lŗja, tai lŗja.

'If it rains, it rains.'

Sentences with *taŗġi*, *tàd*

7.104 These sentences express the meaning of consequence more explicitly than those with *taī* (cf. 7.103).

*Bũvo pietŗ ļaķas, taŗġi pāķvieĉiau
juōs prie stālo.*

'It was dinner time, so I invited them to
the table.'

Jis visas juodas, tad jø tamsojè nè nematýti. 'He is all black, so he is invisible in the dark.'

Sentences with *todēl, dēl tō*

7.105 The first clause of these sentences refers to cause, and the following clause to consequence. These sentences differ from those with the above conjunctions *taī, taīgi, tàd* in that they have a stronger implication of cause; e.g.:

Žēmè teñ derlinga, todēl vīskas geraī áuga. 'The soil is fertile there, therefore everything grows well.'

Výras mažaī uždīrba, dēl tō gyvėname suñkiai. 'My husband earns little, therefore we are hard-up.'

CONTINUATIVE COORDINATION

7.106 This type of coordination holds between clauses linked by the conjunctions *tī, ō, bėt* if the second clause serves as an amplification of the entire preceding clause, or of its constituent. The second clause begins with an anaphoric thematic component which immediately follows the conjunction and can be formally expressed in the following ways:

(1) by a noun of the first clause repeated with the demonstrative pronoun *tàs, tà* 'that':

Apliñk káitma dunksójo tañsūs miškaī, o tuosè miškuosè būvo daugýbė pėlkių. 'Around the village there stretched dark forests, and in those forests there were numerous bogs.'

(2) by the pronouns *jis* 'he', *jì* 'she', *tàs, tà* 'that (one)', *šis, šì* 'this (one)' referring anaphorically to a noun in the first clause:

Sutikaū pažįstama žmōgu, ir tàs/jis manè sutiko parvėžti. Sėnis paprašė Pėtra gražinti skōlą, bet jis/šis tik nusijuokė. 'I met an acquaintance of mine, and (that one)/he agreed to give me a lift.'
'The old man asked Petras (Peter) to pay back the debt, but he/this (one) only laughed.'

(3) by a deverbal noun derived from the verb of the first clause, with the demonstrative pronoun *tàs, tà* 'that', *tóks, -ià* 'such':

Vaikas staigà nutilo, bet tà tylà viena minute tesitráukė. 'The child suddenly fell silent, but that silence lasted only a minute.'

(4) by the neuter demonstrative pronouns *taī* 'that', *tataī* 'that' (sometimes *tàs* 'that') referring to the content of the first clause:

*Pētras ilgāi kalbējosi su maniņ, ir
taī / tàs mán bũvo labaī malonũ.*

'Petras (Peter) talked to me for a long time,
and that was a great pleasure.'

Type (1) and (2) sentences are close in meaning to subordinate sentences with a continuative attributive clause introduced by the relative pronoun *kuris, -i* 'which, what', cf.:

*Apliņk káimā dunksójo taīnsũs
miškaī, kuriuosè bũvo daugybè
pēlkiũ.*

'Around the village there stretched dark
forests where (lit. 'in which') there were
numerous bogs' (see 7.26, 2).

Type (4) sentences correspond to complex sentences with a subordinate additive clause introduced by the relative pronoun *kàs* 'which'; cf.:

*Pētras ilgāi kalbējosi sũ maniņ,
kàs mán bũvo labaī malonũ.*

'Peter talked to me for a long time, which
was a great pleasure' (see 7.71).

Asyndetic sentence

Bejungtũkis sakinỹs

7.107 Clauses can be combined into a sentence asyndetically, i.e. without a conjunction. The clauses in an asyndetic sentence are linked by intonation and their semantic relationship can be indicated by a correlation between the grammatical form of predicates, and by the specific structural features of the clauses.

The clauses within an asyndetic sentence can be related in the same way as in syndetic sentences. In fact, asyndetic sentences may be close in meaning either to compound or to complex sentences. An exception is a small specific group of asyndetic sentences which have no exact counterparts among compound and complex sentences (see 7.122).

Asyndetic sentences (like syndetic sentences) can be structurally open or closed.

Open structure is mostly characteristic of asyndetic sentences corresponding to the compound sentences with copulative and juxtapositive coordination (cf. 7.77 ff., 7.86 ff.). Open-structure sentences can comprise two or more clauses of equal syntactic status; they may be parallel in syntactic structure and their sequence can be reversed, as a rule. This is especially characteristic of asyndetic copulative sentences.

Closed-structure asyndetic sentences are comprised of two clauses only, the content of one clause being dependent on the content of the other. The sequential order of the clauses is fixed and it cannot be reversed without violating the relationship between the clauses. Closed structure is characteristic of three groups of asyndetic sentences:

(1) sentences expressing temporal, conditional, concessive, contrastive and causal relations between the clauses: in this respect they correspond to non-integrated complex sentences (cf. 7.12);

(2) sentences expressing completive relations between the clauses and corresponding to integrated complex sentences (see 7.16 ff.; on sentences expressing correlative relations with the omitted conjunction *kād* see 7.34);

(3) sentences expressing complementary relations which have no syndetic counterparts; e.g.:

*Po kĕk laĭko mergáitĕ pažiŭrĕĵo ĭ
mótinós véidq: móтина veřkĕ.*

'After a while the girl looked at her
mother's face: her mother was crying.'

With regard to meaning, sometimes to intonation and grammatical features, closed-structure asyndetic sentences may correspond both to complex and to compound syndetic sentences with the respective additional meanings (e.g. of condition, cause, etc.); cf.:

Atĕĵo laĭkas sumokĕti – sumokĕĵau.

lit. 'The time came to pay – I paid.'

*Atĕĵo laĭkas sumokĕti, tai /
taigi ir sumokĕĵau.*

'The time came to pay – so I paid.'
(Coordination)

*Kadángi atĕĵo laĭkas sumokĕti,
tai ir sumokĕĵau.*

'Since the time came to pay, so I paid.'
(Subordination)

Atkĕlk vartŭs – nesibĕlsiu.

'Open the gate – I won't knock.'

Atkĕlk vartŭs, tai ir nesibĕlsiu.

'Open the gate, and then I won't knock.'
(Coordination)

Jeĭ atkĕlsi vartŭs, nesibĕlsiu.

'If you open the gate I won't knock.'
(Subordination).

The relations between the clauses within an asyndetic sentence are largely dependent on intonation and there is no distinct border-line between the types. The principal sphere of the use of asyndetic sentences is colloquial speech, fiction and folklore.

OPEN-STRUCTURE SENTENCES

COPULATIVE RELATIONS

7.108 These asyndetic sentences have additive force. Each clause (excepting the very last one) has a final rise which is particularly distinct in the case of syntactic parallelism.

The copulative relationship within a sentence is often reinforced (1) by a repetition of the same word or word group in all or in some of the clauses, or (2) by an adverbial modifier shared by all the clauses and placed, as a rule, in the sentence-initial position; cf.:

(1) *Mán priklaūso pušýnai,
mán priklaūso ežeraĩ.*

'The pine-woods belong to me, the lakes belong to me.'

(2) *Miēsto pakraštyjè jau
švytėjšo langai, trinksėjšo
vārstomos dūrys, gātvėmīs
nūūžè pirmieji troleibūsai.*

'In the suburbs there was already light in the windows, the doors were banged open, the early trolleybuses passed noisily in the streets.'

A characteristic feature of many copulative sentences is syntactic parallelism, i.e. the same word order in the clauses, identical grammatical form of the main (and often secondary) parts of the clauses, identical position of logical stress.

7.109 In sentences denoting **simultaneous** events all the predicates, or at least one predicate, are usually of the imperfective aspect; cf. respectively:

*Spiėgė vaikai, šaukė
móterys, rėkė vórai.*

'The children were shrieking, the women were shouting, the men were bawling.'

*Artėjšo naktīs, suspindėjšo
pirmosios žvaĩgždės.*

'Night was falling (IMPF), the first stars appeared (PF) in the sky.'

In sentences with perfective predicates, the simultaneity may be clarified by an adverbial of time; e.g.:

*Tā pačia minūtė suskambo
varpai, užsidėgė šviėšos, minià
staigà nuščitūvo.*

'At that moment the bells pealed, the lights went up, the crowd suddenly hushed.'

7.110 A **succession** of events is usually rendered by identical tense-mood forms of perfective verbs; e.g.:

*Pasibaigė mišios, žmónės
išsiskirstė.*

'The mass was over, the congregation broke up.'

Imperfective verbs may occur in the last clause, e.g.:

*Studeĩtas tuđj priėjšo prie jōs,
abūdu daūg kalbėjosi ir
juđkėsi.*

'The student came up to her at once, they talked a lot and laughed.'

If an imperfective verb occurs in the preceding clause, a succession of actions is necessarily indicated by a temporal adverbial:

*Tolì kátme lójo šuō, paskuī
sužvīngo arklījs.*

'Far away in the village a dog was
barking, later on a horse neighed (PF).'

In an asyndetic sentence denoting successive events, the sequence of clauses cannot be reversed.

JUXTAPOSITIVE RELATIONS

7.111 In this case the constituent clauses are usually parallel in structure and word order, tense-mood forms of the predicates being also identical, as a rule. The first clause is uttered with a final rise, and the last clause with a final fall, with a distinct pause between the clauses. Logical stress is distributed symmetrically: it falls on the juxtaposed words of both clauses, which may have identical or different syntactic functions (as a rule, there are two juxtaposed pairs, viz. the thematic and rhematic components of each clause); cf. respectively:

*Tēvas króvė prakaitúodamas,
sūnūs léido besijuōkdamas.*

'The father made his fortune sweating, the
son spent (it) laughing.'

*Gēras ir žōdžio klaūso, pikto ir
lazdà neatitaīso.*

'A good man heeds a word, a bad man
does not heed a stick.'

Juxtapositive sentences comprising more than two clauses are rare, though marginally possible; e.g.:

*Galvà žmōgų vedžioja, ākys
klaidīna, pilvas gaišīna.*

'The head leads the man, the eyes deceive,
the stomach wastes (his) time.'

In most of these sentences, omission of a part of the subsequent clause(s) is common as a means of avoiding repetition:

*Dárbas dúonaį pėno, tinginỹstė –
vařga.*

'Work earns bread, idleness poverty.'

These asyndetic sentences acquire the meaning of comparison if the clauses express similarity or common properties. The comparative form of an adjective or an adverb is used in the subsequent clause:

*Gamtà graži, mergėlė dár
gražėsnė.*

'Nature is beautiful, the girl is even more
beautiful.'

*Daūg vařgo su vaikaīs, dár
daugiaū – be vaikū.*

'(One has) a lot of trouble with the
children, more trouble yet without
children.'

If the parallelism is drawn between opposite concepts antonyms are used in both clauses, or negation with a repeated word in the second clause:

Dárbas – ne vařgas, tinginỹstė – ne láimė.

'Work is not hardship, idleness is not happiness.'

Mũlkis dúoda, išmintingas ìma.

'A fool gives, a clever man takes.'

Keñčia kaĩtas, keñčia nekaĩtas.

'The guilty suffers, the innocent (lit. 'not guilty') suffers too.'

CLOSED-STRUCTURE SENTENCES

Asyndetic sentences corresponding to non-integrated complex sentences

7.112 Two varieties of these sentences are distinguished with regard to clause relationship and intonation.

In sentences expressing temporal, conditional, concessive and contrastive relations, the content of the second clause is determined by the content of the preceding clause. The first clause is often uttered with a final rise, and the second with a fall and with a pause between the clauses. Each clause has one logical stress (symmetrical distribution of logical stress is uncharacteristic of these sentences). The word order in the first clause is usually inverted, the predicate preceding the subject: as a rule it is placed in the clause-initial position. The sequence of clauses is fixed and cannot be reversed.

In sentences expressing causal relations the structure of the clauses is relatively free and their sequence can be sometimes reversed, cf.:

Laukė lỹja, reĩkia pasiĩmĩti skėtĩ.

'It is raining outside, I must take an umbrella.'

Reĩkia pasiĩmĩti skėtĩ – laukė lỹja.

'I must take an umbrella – it is raining outside.'

The second clause usually amplifies or specifies the content of the preceding clause, which makes these sentences close in meaning to asyndetic sentences expressing complementary relations. These sentences are characterized by a specific intonation pattern: the pitch slightly falls at the end of the first clause and after an emphatic pause the second clause begins at a higher pitch which falls gradually.

TEMPORAL RELATIONS

7.113 In sentences expressing temporal relations, the same tense forms of the indicative mood are mostly used in both clauses. To express simultaneity, an imperfective

verb is commonly used in the first clause, and a perfective verb in the first clause is used to express successive events; cf. respectively:

<i>Šviėčia sáulė – visiems malonù dirbti.</i>	'The sun shines (IMPF) – everyone enjoys working.'
<i>Atsipūs arkliaĩ – vėl važiuosim.</i>	'The horses will get rested (PF) – we'll continue our journey.'

The temporal relationship between clauses is often combined with the conditional relationship:

<i>Išeini rytą į mišką grybáuti, gali visą dieną praváikščioti.</i>	lit. 'You go to the woods to pick mushrooms in the morning, you can spend the whole day walking there.'
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CONDITIONAL RELATIONS

7.114 In this case the first clause is related to the second as condition to consequence or result:

<i>Rápinies tik pàts savimi, niėkas táu gyvėnime nepadės.</i>	'(If) you take (FUT) care only of yourself, no one will ever help (FUT) you.'
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Conditional sentences are subject to a number of restrictions on the use of tense-mood verbal forms.

7.115 The relationship of condition is most prominent if **subjunctive mood forms** occur in both clauses; e.g.:

<i>Búčiau žinójes, búčiau ir kójos iš namų nekėles.</i>	'Had I known, I'd have stayed at home.'
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If the imperative mood is used in the first clause, the second usually contains a future tense form of the indicative mood, less commonly a subjunctive mood form; e.g.:

<i>Neveršk jō dirbti – sámanom apaūgs.</i>	'(If) you don't force (IMPER) him to work – he'll get overgrown (FUT) with moss.'
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In generalised sentences, the present tense and imperative mood forms are also possible in the second clause:

<i>Neprižiūrėk vaikų, paskuĩ jiė táu visą gyvėnimą nuōdija.</i>	'(If) you don't look (IMPER) after the children, later they poison (PRES) all your life.'
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<i>Su juō prasiđėk, niėko gėro neláuk.</i>	'(Once) you get mixed up (IMPER) with him, you are (IMPER) in for trouble.'
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The use of the imperative mood in the first clause is a distinctive feature of asyn-

detic conditional sentences (as well as syndetic compound sentences implying condition, see 7.80, 3), which is uncharacteristic of complex conditional sentences.

7.116 To express real condition, **indicative mood forms** (especially future tense) are also used in the first clause. In this case the meaning of condition carries a strong implication of temporal relationship. The condition expressed by the first clause may refer to the future, present, or past; cf. the respective use of tense forms:

(1) The future tense in the first clause:

<i>Visī veřksi – akiī netēksi.</i>	'(If) you bemoan (FUT) everybody, you'll lose (FUT) your eyesight.'
<i>Paliēsi mygtūka pirstū – skaība visi namaī.</i>	'(If) you touch (FUT) the button with your finger, the whole house rings (PRES).'
<i>Vīnas nepakēsi dēžēs – pasikviēsk manē.</i>	'(If) you can't lift (FUT) the box alone, call (IMPER) me.'

(2) The present tense in the first clause:

<i>Nelēdi mán vēsti Verūtēs, āš niēko vēsti nenóriu.</i>	'(If) you don't allow (PRES) me to marry Verutē, I don't want (PRES) to marry anyone.'
<i>Šiaīdien juokīes – rytój veřksi.</i>	'(If) you laugh (PRES) today – you'll cry (FUT) tomorrow.'
<i>Bijaī vilko – neīk ī miška.</i>	'(If) you are afraid (PRES) of the wolf – don't go (IMPER) to the forest.'

(3) The past tense in the first clause:

<i>Núogas gimeī, núogas ir miřsi.</i>	'(If) you were born (PAST) naked (= poor), naked you will die (FUT).'
<i>Pàvogē árklī – pridēk ir baīnq.</i>	'(If) they have stolen (PAST) your horse, give (IMPER) them the saddle too.'

CONCESSIVE AND CONTRASTIVE RELATIONS

7.117 In the case of concessive relationship, the imperative mood or the 3rd person present tense form with the particles *tē, tegūl* 'let' or with the prefix *te-* is mainly used in the first clause (cf. (1) below). Moreover, the predicate of the first clause is often comprised of two verb forms the second of which is repeated with the negative prefix, as in (2). The second clause contains a predicate in the present or future tense form, less commonly in the imperative mood:

(1) <i>Tegūl mūs vēl trēmia, kankina – láisvēs neatsižadēsīm.</i>	'Let them deport, torment us again – we will not give up our freedom.'
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(2) *Nóri nenóri, reĭkia eĭti.*

Prašýk neprašýk – sŭrio negáusi.

‘Whether you want it or not (lit. ‘you want or not want’), it is necessary to go.’

‘You may beg or not (IMPER) you won’t get any cheese.’

The first clause of a concessive sentence may begin with a relative pronoun or adverb, the predicate containing the prefix *be-*:

Kā besakýtu kaimýnai, sàvo dárba àš baĭgsiu.

‘Whatever my neighbours might say (SUBJ), I will finish my work.’

7.118 The second clause often expresses an unexpected result (1) or unforeseen event (2). The predicates of both clauses usually have the same tense form:

(1) *Skùndèmès aukščiaũ – teisybès viẽton rýkščiu susiláukem.*

‘We complained to the authorities – instead of justice we got punished.’

(2) *Iš rýto kaip visadà ateinũ į pãmoka – klãse tuščia.*

‘In the morning I come to a lesson as usual – the classroom is empty.’

But not necessarily:

Nespėjai įkópti kalvutèn – jau riedi pakalnèn.

‘Hardly have you reached the top, when you start to slide (PRES) downhill.’

Some sentences with a subjunctive mood form in the second clause are close in meaning and intonation to complementary sentences:

Nebèrà tevėlio, jis tavè pamókytu.

‘Father is dead, (otherwise) he would teach you a lesson.’

Mán gaĩla kãtino, šiaĩp juoĭčiausi.

‘I am sorry for the cat, (otherwise) I’d laugh.’

CAUSAL RELATIONS

7.119 Cause can be referred to by the first (1) as well as by the subsequent (2) clause.

The clause expressing cause is always formally affirmative, while the other clause may be either affirmative or imperative or interrogative. Compare:

(1) *Àš vėlniui tarnáuju – neturiũ laĩko váikščioti.*

‘I serve the devil – I’ve no time for walking.’

Ĭi atvažiãvo čia linksmintis – negadĩnk jái núotaikos.

‘She has come here to have a good time – don’t spoil her pleasure.’

(2) *Tã pãčią akimirkã nýktelėjo Tòmo širdis: jis prisiminė vaikũs.*

‘At that very moment Tom’s heart gave a jump: he remembered his children.’

*Nešūkauk dabaŗ kamarj –
senēlē miēga.*

*Aŗgi veŗta sielottis, visko jūms
ganā.*

'Don't shout in the room – granny is
asleep.'

lit. 'Is it worthwhile grieving, you have all
you need.'

The meaning of cause may be combined with that of purpose, in which case the imperative mood or future tense forms are common in both clauses:

*Pardúok tŗ ōbuolj mán – āš
suvālgysiu.*

*Mēskit ginčūs, eŗkim geriaū
uŗkŗsti.*

'Sell (IMPER) that apple to me – I'll eat
(FUT) it.'

'Stop (IMPER) quarrelling, let's better
have (IMPER) a snack.'

Asyndetic sentences corresponding to integrated sentences

In these sentences one clause amplifies, explains or specifies the content of the other clause.

COMPLETIVE RELATIONS

7.120 In these sentences one of the clauses (usually the first one) is syntactically incomplete or deficient without the other clause which is integrated into its structure as a syntactic object or subject. Two subtypes can be distinguished.

(1) The integrated clause occupies the object position after verbs of sense perception, speech and mental processes:

*Taŗp āiŗkiai girdŗziū: jŗ vālg
dúonos ir net píeno gēria.*

*Tiek kaŗtu jaū tavē praŗiaū: neŗk
vakarē iŗ namj.*

'I hear so clearly: they are eating bread
and even drinking milk.'

'I have asked you ever so many times:
don't go out in the evenings.'

The integrated object clause may occasionally take the sentence-initial position:

Mēs nugalēsim – āš ŷinaū.

'We shall win – I know (it).'

Very close to these sentences are those in which the predicate of the first clause denotes an action aimed at obtaining information:

*Pētras dirstelējo j laŗkrodj – būvo
jau dvjlikta valandā.*

'Petras (Peter) glanced at his watch – it
was already twelve o'clock.'

(2) The second integrated clause takes the subject position:

*Visiems buvo aišku: tėvai negalėjo
pasirūpinti vaikais.
Mán pasiródė – tū juokias.*

'It was clear to everyone: the parents
couldn't take care of their children.'
'I (DAT) thought (lit. 'It seemed to me')
you were laughing.'

- 7.121** The first clause of an asyndetic sentence may contain a correlative dummy word (pronoun or adverb) of generalized semantics which is specified and clarified by the integrated clause:

*Geriáusias būdas atkėšyti būs
štai kóks: aš nekalbėsiu su jaīs.
Àš su támsta tik tiek sutinkū:
pagrindinė mintis nē mán neátiški.
Taī visái neabėjótina: táu reīkia
iš čià išvỹkti.*

'The best way to revenge will be this: I will
not talk to them.'
'I agree with you only so far: the main idea
is not clear even to me.'
'There is no doubt about it (lit. 'This is
quite doubtless'): you must leave this
place.'

An integrated completive clause may precede the clause with a correlative word:

*Tū ne eļģeta, taī mēs puīkiai
žinome.*

'You are not a beggar, we know that very
well.'

Sentences of the latter kind are close in meaning to complementary sentences (see 7.122).

Asyndetic complementary sentences

- 7.122** This is a specific type of asyndetic sentences which has no syndetic counterpart. Both clauses can be grammatically independent and they are not subjected to any lexical or structural restrictions.

The second clause amplifies or limits the content of the preceding clause:

*Taī bent istòrija – kitòs tokiòs dar
negirdėjau!
Abipus kėlio mēdžiai stovėjo tylūs,
nē vienà šakėlė nejudėjo.*

'That's quite a story – I never heard
anything like it!'
'On both sides of the road the trees stood
still, not a single twig stirred.'

The subsequent clause may convey additional information or comment; e.g.:

*Pérduok linkėjimus žmónai – mán
tėko su ją susipažinti žiēmą.*

'Give my best regards to your wife – I had
an opportunity to meet her in winter.'

Asyndetic sentences of complex structure

7.123 In an asyndetic sentence, either one or both immediate constituents can in their own turn comprise two or more asyndetically linked clauses, cf.:

*Ángelas apleĩs, vélñias ateĩs – // –
vienas nebũsi.*

'The angel will leave, the devil will come
// you won't be alone.'

*Lazdà tũri dù galũ: // vienas mán,
kitas táu.*

'A stick has two ends: // one (is) for me,
the other (is) for you.'

*Jũodos raĩkos – baltà dúona, //
báltos raĩkos – juodà dúona.*

lit. 'The hands (are) black – the bread (is)
white, // the hands (are) white – the bread
(is) black.'

An asyndetic sentence may comprise three compound constituents, each composed of two asyndetically linked clauses:

*Muzikántai rėžia – net langaĩ
biřbia, // šokėjai treĩkia – net žėmė
dũnda, // senėji gėria – net akys
bãla...*

'The band is playing – the windows are
even jingling, // the dancers are stamping
– the ground is even rumbling,
// the old (people) drink – their eyes even
grow white...'

The constituents of an asyndetic sentence can in their turn correspond to asyndetic sentences of complex structure:

*Bet àš nuõlat sakýdavau: // miėstas
didelis, daũg jamė piktũ žmoniũ
gyvėna, sáugok mán Jokũbq!*

'But I constantly repeated: // the town is
large, many bad people live there, please
look after Jokũbas (Jacob)!'

Mixed complex sentence

7.124 The clauses within a mixed sentence may be linked both syndetically by coordination and subordination, and asyndetically.

A mixed complex sentence is a multiple clause structure comprising at least three clauses either of equal (1) or of different (2) syntactic status. In the latter instance, a sentence contains clauses which structurally correspond either to compound, or complex, or asyndetic sentences. Compare the following examples:

(1) *Keleīvinis traukinys pralēkė pro šālį, // valandėlę dar buvo matyti paskutiniojo vagono raudonas signalas, // bet ir tās diņgo tamsojė.*

'The passenger train rushed by, // only the red lights of the last carriage could be seen for a while, // but they soon disappeared in the dark.'

(2) *Draugaī susėdo po medžiū, // ir Jonas sužinėjo viską, ką buvo atsitikę.*

'The friends sat down under a tree, // and Jonas (John) learned all that had happened.'

In mixed sentences, syndetic coordination and subordination and asyndetic connection may combine in a variety of ways, depending on the communicative needs. This may result in sentences of great complexity.

Below, a number of most common combinations are illustrated.

7.125 Sentences with the **principal syndetic coordination** are most commonly comprised of two constituents each in its turn corresponding either to a complex, or compound, or asyndetic sentence; e.g.:

Kā jīe teņ kalbėjo, kā dārė, niėkas nežiņo, // tik namō grįžęs vaikinās pasākė, kad jām reikia išvažtiuoti.

'No one knows what they had been talking about, what they had been doing, // only on (his) return home the boy announced that he had to leave.'

Žmōnės seniaī kalba, kad Jōnas sugrįš, // bet sleņka mėtai, o mōtina jō vis nesulaukia.

'People keep talking that John will return, but the years pass by and his mother is still waiting for him.'

A sentence may comprise three or more coordinated constituents:

Kai sutėmo, rengiaūsi gułti, // bet staigā gātvejė pasigirdo riksmās, // ir kažkās ėmė bėlstis į duris, kuriās buvoū pamiršęs užrakinti.

'As it grew dark, I was getting ready for bed, // but suddenly screams were heard in the street // and somebody started banging on the door which I had forgotten to lock.'

7.126 In sentences with the **principal syndetic subordination**, one or both constituents may correspond to compound or asyndetic sentences:

Niėkaip negaliū suprasti, // iš kuŗ jis atsibastė ir kodėl aš turiū juō rūpintis.

'I can't understand // where he has turned up from and why I have to look after him.'

Jėigu imsi giņčytis, // draūgui tikraī nepadėsi, bet pačiām būs blogiaū.

'If you start arguing, // you won't help your friend at all, but you will make things worse for yourself.'

*Nors dienā būvo graži, saulē jau
aukštaī palypējusi, // bet visū namū
langaī būvo uzdarīti ir gātvēje
nesimātē nē vieno praeīvio.*

'Though it was a fine day, the sun was high in the sky, // all the windows were shuttered and there was not a single passer-by in the street.'

7.127 The **principal asyndetic connection** may join two constituents each of which may correspond to any type of composite sentences; e.g.:

*Prašyk, bičiūli, kō širdis geīdžia –
// viską padarysiu.*

'Ask, my friend, whatever your heart craves for – // I'll do anything for you.'

*Atsiminiau, kad žmōgū užmušiau,
// šiuŕpas manē visą pāmē,
plaukaī ant galvōs atsistōjo.*

'I remembered that I had killed a man; // I was struck with terror, my hair stood on end.'

A mixed sentence may comprise more than two asyndetically connected compound constituents (especially in a stylistically marked text):

*Narsūs būvo Šarūnas, bet Šviedrys
dār narsēsnis, // šveitrūs būvo
Šarūno kalavijas, bet Šviēdrio dār
šveitrēsnis; // ristas būvo Šarūno
žirgas, bet Šviēdrio dār ristēsnis.*

'Šarūnas was courageous, but Šviedrys was even more courageous; // Šarūnas' sword shone, but Šviedrys' sword shone even brighter, // Šarūnas' steed was fast, but Šviedrys' steed was faster.'

7.128 A mixed sentence may consist of three or more immediate constituents connected by different syntactic means. All the constituents excepting the very last one usually are connected asyndetically and the last one is linked to them by a coordinating conjunction, e.g. *ir* 'and' or *o* 'and/but':

*Pōnas miršta badū, // kūnigas –
šalčiū, // o vargdienis – gārdžiu
vālgymu.*

'A rich man dies of hunger, // a priest (dies) of cold, // and a poor man of rich food.'

*Tuō tārpu saulē jaū pasislēpē už
mēdžiu, // šešēlis pāsiekē súolus,
kuŕ sēdējo svečiaī, // ir vēsōs srovē
pūstelējo iš laūko.*

'Meanwhile the sun hid behind the trees, // the shadow reached the benches where the guests were sitting, // and a stream of cool air flowed from the fields.'

7.129 The main constituent of a mixed sentence may subordinate two or more clauses related to different antecedents in the superordinate clause; cf.:

*Àš viską žinaū, tėvai, kās pōno
rūmuose dārosi, ir sakaū táu:
nevaryk dukteŕs į dvārą.*

'Father, I know all that goes on in the mansion, and I tell you: don't send your daughter to the manor.'

A mixed sentence may in its turn enter as a constituent part into a more complicated sentence.

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