Lithuanian Grammar

Edited by Vytautas Ambrazas
Supported by the Lithuanian Government,
the Lithuanian National Science Foundation,
the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language,
and the Soros Foundation

Designer Vida Kuraitė

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Rinko ir maketavo BALTOS LANKOS
Printed in Lithuania
ISBN 9986-813-22-0
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) 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*.

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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 Morphonology 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.

The authors and the editor express their deep appreciation and gratitude to Prof. William R. Schmalstieg for checking through the English text of this volume and for valuable suggestions and criticism. Of course, we assume responsibility for all the shortcomings and possible errors.
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I/Phonology

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1 SPELLING AND TRANSCRIPTION
Rašyba ir transkripčija

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: q, r, i and u (with a diacritic mark attached below) were introduced to represent the nasalized vowels [ã:], [æ:], [i:], and [ū:] respectively which lost their nasal resonance later and coincided with the respective long vowels; e came to stand for [e:], the digraphs sz and cz which had represented [ś] and [ć] respectively were replaced by the Czech letters š and č; the letters w and l 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 = [dצ], dž = [dצ]; also ie and uo, representing monophonemic diphthongs [ie] and [uo]. 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 = [ʧ], š = [ʃ], ž = [ʒ], q = [aː]; e = [æː], i = [iː], u and ū = [uː], ė = [eː].

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., visas ['yisas] '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.: storas ['sto:ras] 'thick' and doras ['do:ras] 'honest', kāulas ['ka:o:las] 'bone' and draugas ['drąo:gas] 'friend', kārštas ['ka:rJtas] 'hot' and kārštis ['ka:rJtis] '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.: guitti ['go:ti] 'to drive', pilnas ['pLnas] 'full', kūrmas ['k orc:mas] 'mole',
spòrtas ['spòrtas] ‘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.: gūitī ‘to drive’ and draūgas ‘friend’, kārštas ‘hot’ and kařṭis ‘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, â:], q [â:], e [ɛ, æ:], ė [ɛː], i [i], y and j [j]: o [o, ɔ], u [u], į and ų; monophonemic diphthongs [ie] and [uɔ] are represented by the above-mentioned digraphs ie and uo respectively.

The two pairs of letters – y and j, į and ų – represent the same vowel phonemes, /i:/ and /u:/ respectively. The letters a and q, e and ɛ mark different phonemes only in unstressed and final positions, cf.: gražù [gra'zɔ] ‘(it’s) nice’ and gražà [gra'za] ‘change’, nesì [nɛʃu] ‘(you) carry’ and tesi [tɛːsi] ‘(you) continue’, tâ [ˈta] ‘that (NOM. SG. FEM)’ and tq [ˈtaː] ‘that (ACC. SG)’. In stressed non-final positions, they represent long vowels /a:/ and /æː/. The difference in representing these vowels in writing was determined by historical and morphological reasons. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the letters q, ɛ, j, ų represented long nasalized vowels [äː], [æː], [iː], [ũː] derived from the sequences [a, ɛ, ɔ]+[n]. Now the diacritic below a letter in most cases indicates an alternation of a vowel with the sequences [a, ɛ, ɔ]+[n] (cf.: kāstī ‘to bite’ and kāndā ‘(he) bites’, siūstī ‘to send’ and siūnčia ‘(he) sends’) or performs the role of a mark differentiating one grammatical form from the other, cf.: klētį ‘storehouse (ACC. SG)’ and klēty ‘storehouse (LOC. SG)’.

The letters q, ɛ, ė, j, y, ų, į and ų (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 accented diphthongs and diphthongal combinations also half-long) sounds, whereas in stressed and unstressed syllables they correspond to short sounds (cf.: rāktas [ˈrɑːktas] ‘key’, mēdis [ˈmɛːdɪs] ‘tree’, kārštas [ˈkɑːrʃt̪as] ‘hot’, vērda [ˈvɛr̪da] ‘(it) boils’, but galvā [gaˈlva] ‘head’, miškė [miʃkė] ‘in the forest’, raktēlis [rakˈtæːl̪is] ‘small key’, vežimas [vɛz̪im̪as] ‘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.: kāstī [ˈkɑ̝ːst̪ɪ] ‘to dig’, mēsiu [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. poētas = [poˈet̪as] or [pɔˈet̪as].
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.: liūtis ['lʲuːtis] ‘to cease’, džius ['dʲuːs] ‘(it) will dry’. Before front vowels (represented by the letters e, ę, i, y, j) 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.: ievā [iē'va] ‘bird-cherry’, pāieškos ['pa:jēʃkos] ‘searching’, biologija [biologija] ‘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 q, 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.: mėsti < mėt-ti ‘to throw’, vėsti < vėd-ti ‘to lead’ and mėta ‘(he) throws’, vėda ‘(he) leads’; lūk < lūk-k ‘wait!’; dėk < dēg-k ‘burn, light!’ and lūkia ‘(he) waits’, dėga ‘(it) burns, (he) lights’; nėšiu < nėš-siū ‘(I) will carry’, vėšiu < vėž-siū ‘(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, grąžtas ‘drill’, nėšdamas ‘carrying’, kūščiau ‘(I) would dig’, daug ‘many, much’ (cf.: gręžia ‘(he) drills’, nėša ‘(he) carries’, kūsa ‘(he) digs’, daugelis ‘many’), but not *grąštas, *nėždamas, *kūščiau, *daūk. Spelling also ignores the alternation of the stressed short vowels [a] and [e] and their long correspondents [a:, æ:], e. g.: kastį ['kaʃt̪ʲ] ‘to dig’ : kūsa ['kɔ:sa] ‘(he) digs’, nėsti ['nɛʃt̪ʲi] ‘to carry’ : nėša ['næʃa] ‘(he) carries’.

1.5 In dictionaries and other lists of words arranged in alphabetical order, a and į, e and ė, i, y and į, u, ū and ų are treated as if they were identical letters, even though
Table 2. The approximate pronunciation of the Lithuanian letters

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Digraphs</th>
<th>Pronounced somewhat like the English (AmE or BrE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ch ch</strong></td>
<td><em>ch</em> in German <em>acht, echt</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dz dz</strong></td>
<td><em>ds</em> in <em>demands, mends</em> (may occur initially)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dž dž</strong></td>
<td><em>j</em> in <em>joke, jet</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Diphthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
<th>Pronounced somewhat like the English (AmE or BrE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ai</strong></td>
<td><em>ai</em> in <em>aisle, i in bite; ay in way</em> (if preceded by the letter <em>i</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>au</strong></td>
<td><em>ow</em> in <em>cow, ou in out; o in vogue</em> (if preceded by the letter <em>i</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ei</strong></td>
<td><em>ei</em> in <em>weight, ay in way</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ie</strong></td>
<td><em>eo</em> in <em>peony</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ui</strong></td>
<td><em>oøy</em> in <em>phooey</em> (when pronounced rapidly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uo</strong></td>
<td><em>o a in do a</em> (pronounced like the <em>o</em> in <em>do</em> and the <em>a</em> in the article <em>a</em> in rapid succession)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 dūrė '(he) did' from the word tūrė '(he) said', būdas 'famine' from būtas 'shoe'; whereas the difference between the prenasalized [nd] and the simple [d] which is possible in initial position is interesting only to pure phonetics, because, e.g. the words ['ndo] and ['do] 'two', ['nduːrə] and ['duːrə] '(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.: Karštą vėsara 'a hot summer' and Vėsara karštą 'summer is hot', sūka '(he) turns' and kasū '(I) dig', takūs Acc. Pl. 'paths' and atkūs '(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’, *kāsti* ‘to dig’ and *kāsti* ‘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 Allophones

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]gā* ‘wave’, *ra[ŋ]kā* ‘hand’ and *[n]āmas* ‘house’, *ba[n]dā* ‘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/, /oː/ etc.) perform a distinctive function (see 4.2, 3, 5), i.e. they are separate phonemes (cf.: *kiūrō* ‘(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. *švilėpti* ['ʃ'vil'iːpti] ‘to whistle’, but *švilėpt* ['ʃ'vil'iːpt] ‘(a clipped form) to whistle’), while hard (non-palatalized) consonants do not occur before soft consonants and front vowels (cf. *báltas* ['baːltas] ‘white’, but *baltėnis* [ba'lt'ėnis] ‘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, morphological 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.: *kōja* ‘foot’ → *pakōjė* ‘footboard’, *kālnas* ‘hill’ → *pakalnė* ‘hillside’, but *ląngas* ‘window’ → *palānge* ‘window-sill’, *tiltas* ‘bridge’ → *patiltė* ‘place under a bridge’); suffixed verbs
usually undergo the vowel change $e \rightarrow a$ (cf.: šėkšti ‘to narrate’ $\rightarrow$ sakšti ‘to say’, bėsti ‘to pierce’ $\rightarrow$ badšti ‘to prick’), but this rule has many exceptions (cf.: dėgšti ‘to light’ $\rightarrow$ degišti ‘to light often’, vėsti ‘to lead’ $\rightarrow$ vedžišti ‘to lead often’). Even in the identical environment, morphonological alternations may occur in some forms and may not occur in others (cf.: tu myšti ‘you (SG) love’ $\rightarrow$ myšle-si ‘you (SG) love each other’, but jie myšti ‘they love’ $\rightarrow$ myšli-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.
3 VOWELS, DIPHTHONGS, AND SEMIDIPHTHONGS

Balsiai, dvibalsiai, dvigarsiai

3.1 The following are 10 types of simple vowels (or monophthongs) – 6 long vowels and 4 short vowels – distinguished in Standard Lithuanian:

long (tense)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[i:]} \\
\text{[u:]} \\
\text{[e:]} \\
\text{[ø:]} \\
\text{[a:]} \\
\end{array}
\]

short (lax)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[u]} \\
\text{[o]} \\
\text{[ɛ]} \\
\text{[a]} \\
\end{array}
\]

Besides, two more short vowels [e] and [ɔ] sometimes occur in recent loanwords, or international words, cf.: metras = [ˈmetras] / [ˈmetras] ‘metre’, spòrtas [ˈspɔrtas] ‘sports’. Due to its low frequency of occurrence [ɔ] remains on the periphery of the system, whereas the vowel [e], which is used only by some speakers of Standard Lithuanian, is an optional phonological element.

The phonemic status of the Lithuanian monophthongs can be determined by the following minimal pairs:

(1) qualitative contrasts

(a) according to the horizontal movement of the tongue (front vs. back), cf.:

lūdi ‘(he) accompanies’ : liūdi ‘(he) is sad’
brölį ‘brother (ACC. SG)’ : brölį̄ (GEN.PL)
ēda ‘(it) eats’ : ōda ‘leather’
šėnė ‘old woman’ : sēnio ‘old man (GEN. SG)’
eisi ‘(you) will go’ : eisiu ‘(I) will go’
kišti ‘to push (into)’ : kiūžti ‘to break’
(b) according to the vertical movement of the tongue (high vs. mid vs. low):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{rįžtis} & \text{ ‘to make up one’s mind’} : \text{rėžtis} & \text{ ‘to get deep’} : \text{rėžtis} & \text{ ‘to strain oneself’} \\
\text{didelį} & \text{ ‘large (ACC. SG. MASC)’} : \text{didelė} & \text{ (NOM. SG. FEM)} : \text{didelę} & \text{ (ACC. SG. FEM)} \\
\text{šūkių} & \text{ ‘slogan (GEN. PL)’} : \text{šokių} & \text{ ‘dance (GEN. PL)’} : \text{šokių} & \text{ ‘forks (GEN. PL)’} \\
\text{ląpu} & \text{ ‘leaf (GEN. PL)’} & \text{ląpo} & \text{ (GEN. SG)} : \text{ląpa} & \text{ (ACC. SG)}
\end{align*}\]

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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{dydis} & \text{ ‘size’} & : \text{didis} & \text{ ‘great’} \\
\text{kłęty} & \text{ ‘storehouses’} & : \text{kletis} & \text{ ‘storehouse’} \\
\text{tręšti} & \text{ ‘to fertilize’} : \text{tręšti} & \text{ ‘to rot’} \\
\text{sëne} & \text{ ‘old woman (ACC. SG)’} & : \text{sëne} & \text{ (VOC. SG)} \\
\text{tölis} & \text{ ‘distance’} & : \text{tölis} & \text{ ‘tar paper’} \\
\text{pūsti} & \text{ ‘to blow’} & : \text{pūsti} & \text{ ‘to swell’} \\
\text{výru} & \text{ ‘husband (GEN. PL)’} & : \text{výru} & \text{ (INSTR. SG)} \\
\text{käs} & \text{ ‘(he) will bite’} : \text{käs} & \text{ ‘(he) will dig’} \\
\text{vásara} & \text{ ‘summer (ACC. SG)’} & : \text{vásara} & \text{ (NOM. SG)}
\end{align*}\]

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 ([aː]=/a+a/) or as combinations of short qualitatively ‘neutral’ vowels and the prosodeme of length ([aː]=/a/+ː/), because native words in standard Lithuanian have no short vowels corresponding to the long vowels [eː] and [oː].

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*) [ie] (= [ɛː]) and [ui] (= [ʊo]), which have no distinct components, e.g. *dieną ‘day’, duona ‘bread’*, and compound diphthongs (Lith. *sudėtiniai dvibalsiai*) [au], [ao], [ei], [oi], [ɛo], [ɔi], [ɔo]), in which we can easily distinguish an initial and final component, e.g.: *vaikas ‘child’, veikti ‘to do’, daug ‘many, much’, smuikas ‘violin’, neutralius ‘neutral’, boikotas ‘boycott’, klūnas ‘clown’.*
Semidiphthongs (Lith. mišrieji dvigarsiai) consist of the vowels + /l/, /r/, /m/, /n/:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{vowel} & \text{sonorant} \\
\hline
\text{/i/} & \text{/a/} \\
\text{(<e>)} & \text{(<o>)} \\
\text{/e/} & \text{(<o>)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{šilti} \text{ ‘to grow warm’} \\
\text{kiŗpti} \text{ ‘to cut’} \\
\text{iinti} \text{ ‘to take’} \\
\text{riņkti} \text{ ‘to gather’} \\
\text{vėlniš} \text{ ‘devil’} \\
\text{veŗkti} \text{ ‘to weep’} \\
\text{tenpti} \text{ ‘to pull’} \\
\text{leņkti} \text{ ‘to bend’} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{šilti} \text{ ‘to thrash’} \\
\text{kūrti} \text{ ‘to create’} \\
\text{stūmti} \text{ ‘to push’} \\
\text{sunkūs} \text{ ‘heavy’} \\
\text{kālti} \text{ ‘to hammer’} \\
\text{spaņnas} \text{ ‘wing’} \\
\text{skambētī} \text{ ‘to sound’} \\
\text{kraņtas} \text{ ‘shore’ (studeņtas ‘student’, fortas ‘fort’) }
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\text{pirmyn} \text{ ‘forward(s)’} \\
\text{jūrligė} \text{ ‘seasickness’} \\
\text{kodēl} \text{ ‘why’} \\
\text{ropōm} \text{ ‘on all fours’} \\
\text{rytāj} \text{ [ri:to:] ‘tomorrow’}
\]

Likewise, the gliding diphthongs [ie] and [uo] combine with sonorants and non-syllabic [t] and [w] to form triphthong-like sequences:

\[
\text{diēnraštis} \text{ ‘daily paper’} \\
\text{duonriekis} \text{ ‘bread knife’} \\
\text{sudiņu} \text{ ‘good-bye’} \\
\text{tuoj} \text{ [tuɔ] ‘soon’}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{šil-ti} \text{ ‘to grow warm’} \\
\text{kū-r-ti} \text{ ‘to create’} \\
\text{kāl-ti} \text{ ‘to hammer’} \\
\text{teņ ‘there’ (clipped form)} \\
\text{gāl ‘maybe’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{:šilo} \text{ ‘(it) grew warm’} \\
\text{:kū-ria} \text{ ‘(he) creates’} \\
\text{:ka-lū} \text{ ‘(I) hammer’} \\
\text{:te-naĩ ‘there’} \\
\text{:gā-li ‘(he) may’}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[1 (C#)]} & = /l+/l/, [o (C#)] = /o+/r/, [εn (C#)] = /e+/n/, [a (C#)] = /a+/m/, \text{ and so on.}
\end{align*}
\]
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.:

- guǐ-ti ‘to drive’ : gu-jà ‘(I) drive’
- saĩ-tas ‘tie’ : sása-ja ‘linkage’
- kariáu-ti ‘to fight’ : kariä-vo ‘(he) fought’
- gáu-ti ‘to receive’ : gā-vo ‘(he) received’
- táu ‘you (DAT. SG)’ : ta-ve (ACC. SG)
- dangùj [đan’gøy.] ‘in the sky’ (clipped form) : dan-gu-je ‘in the sky’

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

- laïkas ‘time’ : laïkas ‘field’
- aïbė ‘multitude’ : éibė ‘harm’
- kaïsti ‘to grow hot’ : kuïsti ‘to rummage’
- sëniui ‘old man (DAT. SG)’ : sënei ‘old woman (DAT. SG)’
- kuïnas ‘worn-out horse’ : kuïnas ‘heel’
- veïsti ‘to breed’ : veïsti ‘to turn’
- šaüti ‘to shoot’ : šälti ‘to grow cold’

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

**Gliding diphthongs** (polyphthongs) [ie] and [uo] 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:

- lieti ‘to water’ : lýti ‘to rain’
- riëkti ‘to slice (bread)’ : rëkti ‘to shout’
- púodas ‘pot’ : púdas ‘pood’
- kuïpti ‘to clean’ : köpti ‘to take honey combs out of a hive’

Unlike compound diphthongs, [ie] and [uo] 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 [ie] and [uo], 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):
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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) long (short)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(−)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>tense (lax)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) front (non-front)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>acute (grave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) low (non-low)</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>(−)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>compact (non-compact)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) high (non-high)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>(−)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(−)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>diffuse (non-diffuse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) gliding (pure)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>shifting (constant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [<-]) and /j/, all the back vowels are realized by their fronted (advanced) variants [u:+], [o:+], [o:+], <::>+>, cf.:

- žmonų [ʒmoːˈnuː] ‘wife (GEN. PL)’
- kūrči [ˈkɔrɕi] ‘to create’
- žalūsiošius [ʒaːˈtuːsɔ,s] ‘red-haired (ACC. PL. MASC) (about bulls or cows)’
- žalūdio [ʒaːˈtuːdjo] ‘red-haired (NOM. SG. FEM) (cow)’
- koksas [ˈkɔksas] ‘coke’

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

- giliq ‘deep (ACC. SG. FEM)’
- gilę ‘acorn (ACC. SG. FEM)’
gilias ‘deep (ACC. PL. FEM)’ = gilès ‘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:] ≈ [æː]), e.g.: neša ['neːʃa] ‘(he) carries’, gręžtu ['gr̩æːzuː] ‘(he) would drill’, whereas before soft (palatalized) consonants it is articulated as a somewhat closer sound, e.g. nēšė ['n̩æːʃə] ‘(he) carried’, gręžė ['gr̩æːʃə] ‘(he) drilled’; both articulations are quite often, by way of a generalization, pronounced as [æː].

(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 [−Rc#] and [−w(#), −l(#)]) are half long (or, optionally, even long), e.g.: veidas ['vẽːdas] ‘face’
kūlas ['k̩ɔːɭas] ‘bone’
kūnas ['k̩ɔːɭnas] ‘hill, mountain’
pėrniai ['p̩̞eːrniai] ‘last year’

It is recommended that the vowels [i] 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.: dirbti ['d̩iːrpt̩i] / ['d̩iːr̩pt̩i] ‘to work’
pūltī ['p̩̞u̱lt̩i] / ['p̩̞u̱lt̩i] ‘to attack’
gūtī ['g̩u̱t̩i] / ['g̩u̱t̩i] ‘to drive’
(also spūrtas ['sp̩̞u̱rt̩as] / ['sp̩̞u̱rt̩as] ‘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/ → [å], [ɔ], e.g.: peilis ['p̩̞eːlis] ‘knife’
laikas ['laːk̩as] ‘field’
laikas ['laːk̩as] ‘time’

The same is true about the vowels /ɛ/ and /a/ in unstressed diphthongal combinations, e.g.: peilai ['p̩̞eːl̩ai] ‘knives’
laikaɪ ['laːk̩ai] ‘times’
tauputį ['t̩aʊ̱put̩i] ‘(I) save’

The vowel /a/ is also slightly reduced in unstressed non-diphthongal syllables, especially in the final position, e.g., vaikas ['vaːk̩as] ‘child’.
(6) The gliding diphthongs /iə/ and /uə/ 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 [a] (quite often before hard consonants and an open juncture in slow speech), e.g.: tië ['tiə'] 'those', šuo ['ʃuo'] 'dog'. The contrast between long (tense) and short (lax) vowels is normally maintained both in stressed and unstressed positions, cf.:

- rūda ['ru:da:] 'ore (ACC. SG)' ≠ rūda ['roda:] 'brown (ACC. SG)'
- rūdos ['ro:do:s] 'ore (GEN. SG)' ≠ rūdos ['ro:do:s] 'brown (GEN. SG. FEM)'
- dúona ['duona:] 'bread (ACC. SG)' ≠ dúona ['duona] (NOM. SG)'
- vyrū ['yi:ru:] 'men (GEN. PL)' ≠ vyrū ['yi:ro] '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'
- teatras 'theatre'
- teorija 'theory'
- duetras 'duet'
- poetras 'poet'
- oazė 'oasis'

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

- bi[j]onika 'bionics'
- hi[j]acintas 'hyacinth'
- ši[j]itas 'Shiite'
- hero[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:

/ə+V/

- juodaakis 'black-eyed'
- paežerė 'lakeside'

- paësti 'to eat'
- pàima '(he) takes'
Such sequences of vowels are also often contracted, e.g.:

neyrą → nérą ‘isn’t, aren’t’
neĵo → nėjo ‘(he) didn’t go’
neesū → nesū ‘am not’
juodaūkis → juodąkis ‘black-eyed’

In dialects, they are eliminated by the insertion of the epenthetic consonants /j/ or /v/, e.g.: [j]eiti ‘to enter’, nu[v]eiti ‘to go (away)’. The sequences /V+iE/ are excluded, because they are pronounced as [Vj]: pa[j]ieškà ‘search’, ne[j]ieško ‘(he) doesn’t look for’, su[j]ieškòti ‘to find’. The consonant /j/ in these cases is
part of the root, as it always occurs before the initial /iɛ/, e.g. [j]ieško ‘(he) looks for’, [j]ęsta ‘thill’, [j]ietis ‘spear’, [j]ieva ‘bird-cherry’, though the letter /j/ represents it only in the words jie ‘they’, jiėdu ‘they both’, and some place-names, e.g. Jiesià, Jiėznaš.

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

1. Unlike the short vowels /i/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/, the long vowels /iː/, /iɛ/, /eː/, /æː/, /oː/, /uɔ/, /uː/ are equivalent to VR combinations (semidiphthongs). In semidiphthongs, long vowels are usually replaced by variants of short vowels, cf.:

   devynà ‘nine’ : deviñtas ‘ninth’
   aštuoni ‘eight’ : aštuñtas ‘eighth’

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

   mölduobè ‘loam-pit’
   tölsta ‘(he) moves away’
   žemyn ‘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) Vᵢ = /u:/, /o:, /uɔ/, /oː/, /iː/, /eː/, /æː/, /a:/, /ɛ/, i.e. vowel phonemes which occur after both soft and hard consonants;

(b) Vᵢ = /iː/, /uː/, /iɛ/, /eː/, /æː/, /e/, 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 Vᵢ vowels, whereas before Vᵢ vowels it is neutralized (see 2.16). Consequently, the Vᵢ type is marked, and the Vᵢ type is unmarked.

3. In many dialects and especially in Standard Lithuanian, the oppositions /aː/ : /æː/ and /a/ : /ɛ/ are neutralized after all consonants: in the position [Ç−] /aː/ and /a/ are usually pronounced as [æː] and [ɛ] respectively, whereas combinations of non-palatalized consonants and [æː] or [ɛ] are impossible. These oppositions exist in the absolute word initial position (cf.: āibè ‘multitude’ : ėibè ‘harm’) and after /t/ and /d/ (if the palatalized [t] and [d] are treated as allophones of /t/ and /d/: tāko gen. sing. ‘path’ : tēko ‘(I) had to’, darinys ‘composition’: derinys ‘cluster’). In other cases, [ɔː] or [a] occur after hard consonants, and [æː] or [ɛ] occur after soft consonants (which are separate phonemes):
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 (VU) are non-front vowels. Labialization which is common to all non-front vowels (except /a:/ and /a/) is an additional important feature noticeably distinguishing them from front vowels, e.g.: /i/ from /o/, /e/ from /o:/, etc. (it is very important in the position [C-] where the VU type vowels are fronted). Acoustically, front vowels are acute, and non-front vowels are grave.

(3) The members of the neutralisable oppositions /a:/ : /æ:/ = /a/ : /ε/ in contrast to all other vowels are low, though phonetically [æ:, ε] 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:, i/ 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 opposed to the non-diffuse vowels /iε, e:, (<e>/) and /uɔ, o;, <>/.
(5) The vowel oppositions /iə/ : /eː/ and /uɔ/ : /oː/ are differentiated by the features 'gliding vs. pure'. The formants of [iə, uɔ] detected on spectrograms move from diffuse to non-diffuse (even compact) values. Other vowels (especially [eː, oː]) 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

Príebalsiai

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{p} & \text{b} & \text{t} & \text{d} & \text{k} & \text{g} \\
\text{ts} & \text{dz} & \text{ʧ} & \text{ʤ} & \\
\text{ʃ} & \text{s} & \text{z} & \text{ʃ} & \text{ʒ} & <\text{x} > & <\text{ɣ} > \\
\text{v} & \text{j} & \\
\text{m} & \text{n} & \text{ŋ} & \\
\text{l} & \text{r} & \\
\end{array}
\]

The consonants \(<\text{x} >\) 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 (mediolingu al) \(j\), can contrast by being either soft (palatalized) or hard (non-palatalized, velar or velarised), cf.:

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

The soft \(<\text{f}, \text{x}, \text{ɣ}>\) are very rare, cf.:

- \(\text{fotogrāfu} \) (GEN. PL. MASC) : \(\text{fotogrāfiu} \) (GEN. PL. FEM) ‘photographer’
- \(\text{kazāchi} \) (GEN. PL. MASC) : \(\text{kazāchi} \) (GEN. PL. FEM) ‘Kazakh’
- \(\text{hūnai} \) ‘Huns’ : \(\text{Hiūstonas} \) ‘Houston’
In the production of soft consonants the non-front articulatory focus moves towards the middle part of the tongue (in the cases of [k, g, <χ γ>, [ŋ]) or the front (middle) of the tongue is additionally raised towards the hard palate (in all other cases). The hard (non-palatalized) consonants (especially [ʧ ʃ ʒ]) 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 [ʦ ʣ ʧ ʤ] 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.:

- cukrus 'sugar'
- dzūkas 'southeastern Lithuanian'
- gińcas 'argument'
- Džonas 'John'

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):

- pāsas 'passport'
- takaī 'paths'
- kalvā 'hill'
- dujotī 'to be foggy'
- gaidūkas 'cock'
- būda 'hunger (ACC. SG)'
- dāma 'lady (ACC. SG)'
- zujotī 'to run about'
- rankā 'hand'
- žeņgtī 'to step'
- žiaunos 'jaws'
- valdītī 'to govern'
- niūtis 'to squabble'
- nagaī 'nails'
- lēktī 'to fly'
- gijaū 'l(1) recovered'
- Įs įtī 'to squeal'
- Rādzio (a surname, GEN. SG)
- ėjiūptī 'to snatch'
- Džiūgautī 'to rejoice'

(b) local oppositions (based on a difference in the place of articulation):
4.4 The soft (palatalized) consonants occur in the following positions:

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

(a) \([-V]\) - before front vowels, e.g.:

\[\text{guli} \; [\text{go}ˈ\text{I}1] \; \text{'(you) lie (SG)'}\]
\[\text{neši} \; [\text{ne}ʃ′\text{I}1] \; \text{'(you) carry (SG)'}\]
\[\text{strele} \; [\text{striː:eˈI}1] \; \text{'arrow'}\]

(b) \([-V′]\) - before fronted back vowels (see the examples in 4.2), e.g.:

\[\text{guliū} \; [\text{go}ˈ\text{o}1] \; \text{'(I) lie'}\]
\[\text{nešiu} \; [\text{neʃ′jO}1] \; \text{'(I) will carry'}\]
\[\text{žaviūs} \; [3aˈyo,s1] \; \text{charming (ACC. PL. MASC)}\]

(c) \([-\text{C}\text{C}]\) - before palatalized or palatal consonants and [j], e.g.:

\[\text{gulIj} \; [\text{go}ˈ\text{jI}1] \; \text{'(I) will lie (down)'}\]
\[\text{nē[ʃ]1tI} \; \text{‘to carry'}\]
\[\text{[hj]aurūs} \; \text{‘ugly'}\]

The consonants [k g] before soft consonants are usually not palatalized, but they are ‘transparent’ for further palatalization, e.g. [ˈaʃkšnis] ‘alder’, [ˈyuröße:] ‘(he) made one weep’ (but cf. [ˈʒɛʃkτI] ‘to step’, [aŋˈlIs] ‘coal’ : [ʒɛŋˈgɔ] ‘(I) step’,
In some idiolects, the palatalization of [p b m] in the same position is hardly noticeable either, e.g. [ˈʃap] / [ʃap] 'to get wet', [ˈsta:bde] / [ˈsta:bde] '(he) tried to stop', [ˈstomde] / [ˈstomde] '(he) pushed (about)'.

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

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

- gulu '(I) lie (down)'
- nešu '(I) carry'
- žavuš 'charming';

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

- gušty '(he) would lie (down)'
- něšty '(he) would carry';

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

- guš 'to lie (down)'
- něšt 'to carry' (clipped infinitives)

(but [ˈgoĮ́tu], [ˈŋeĮ́tu] - full infinitive forms)

The only exception to this general rule is the consonant [I]: in some professional terms (borrowings) it is sometimes pronounced before hard consonants or a pause, e.g.:

- pālsas ['połsas] / ['połsas] 'pulse', sāltō mōr’ta[:e] 'somersault', sōl ['sōl] '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.:

> ['gaĮ́'] < *gali 'maybe, perhaps', ['soĮ́tha:Į́] < sušlapti 'to get wet', ['ma�'] < *mäni 'for me'.

4.5 The fronted back vowels [u:, O:, o:] and the non-fronted back vowels [u: o o:] often occur in the same morphemes (especially in endings):

- galiu '(I) can'
- kārio 'warrior (GEN. SG)'

Since from the grammatical point of view -[u:] / -[u:] = -[u:], -[o:] / -[o:] = -[o:], there is no doubt that [u:, O:, o:] are variants of /u: o o:/. 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 (Ç)CV" sequences (galiu [gaɼo], = /ga'lo/ where ~ is a suprasegmental sign to represent palatalization),

(b) an allophonic feature adopted by consonants from front and fronted vowel phonemes (galiu = /ga'lo/),

(c) the realization of Çj type sequences (galiu = /ga'ljo/). The application of the grammatical criterion, however, supports the traditional interpretation (galiu = /ga'lo/).
In native words the soft [t d] occur only in the positions [-V'] or [-C] in which their hard counterparts are excluded. Therefore in the main phonemic inventory [t d] 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 [f ç]. Before front vowels they are almost always replaced by [t d], cf.:

mėdis (NOM. SG) : mėdžių (GEN. PL) ‘tree’
svetūs (NOM. SG) : svečių (GEN. PL) ‘guest’
savaitė (NOM. SG) : savaičių (GEN. PL) ‘week’
(rc.: brūlis (NOM. SG) : brūlių (GEN. PL) ‘brother’
ūpė (NOM. SG) : ūpių (GEN. PL) ‘river’

In this position they occur only in loan words and onomatopoeic words, e.g. čirkšť ‘chirp’, džinas ‘gin’ (but cf. atsikėlė [ašč’ke:le:] ‘(he) rose’). Some native words may also contain hard affricates, e.g. giūnas ‘argument’, kivičas ‘quarrel’.

In comparison with <fx>, affricates occupy a firmer position in the consonant system, because they are closely related to such phonemes as /s z j:/ [f ç] are related to [t d] as /s z j/ to /f ç/, while the relationships between [ç] and [t d] on the one hand are the same as those between /s z j/ and /s z j/ on the other hand. This relationship and especially the position of affricates in consonant clusters (it is the same as that of plosives, cf.: ščiuti ‘to become quiet’, čmūkis ‘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 (<t f t x y y>) are peripheral:
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 [u w] at the end of a word and before consonants, cf.:

žolėjè : žolēj [3o:'le:i] ‘in the grass’
svačioti ‘to talk nonsense’ (← svajoti ‘to dream of’)  
sudiū ‘goodbye’ (← su Dievū ‘with God’)  

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

vičimas = [yi'jimas] / [yi'jimas] ‘chasing’
bugvo = ['bovo:] / ['bovo:] ‘(he) was’

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

balnas ['balt·nas] ‘saddle’
tempti ['tem·(p)ti] ‘to drag’
peñktas ['peŋ·ktas] ‘fifth’
pifštas ['pir·štas] ‘finger’

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

tūris ['t woo:ris] ‘volume’
kulti ['kwoo:lti] ‘to thresh’
rūdo ['ro:do:] ‘(he) shows’
skuńdo ['skwo:ndo:] ‘complaint (GEN. SG)’

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

kasmēt [kaš'mæ:tʰ] ‘annually’
bēk ['be:kʰ] ‘run!’
kaip ['kaipʰ] ‘how’

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

žemvaldys [ʒemvalɔdi:s] ‘landowner’
simfonija [siʃɔfɔnija] ‘symphony’

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

apmūtis [ap'mu:tʰ] ‘to cheat’
stambmēlys [stam'be:jis] ‘idolater’
pūtnagas [pɔtnagɔs] ‘quartz’
liūdnas ['liudnas] ‘sad’
putlūs  [po'tlous] ‘soft’
vedlys  [ve'dlis] ‘guide’

(h) the change of /t d/ into alveolars [t ɾ d ɾ] before /r r/:
tráukti  [tri'okstu] ‘to pull’
drōbė  [drobe:] ‘linen cloth’
trīs  [tri: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):

- sklaidyti ‘to scatter’
- skraidyti ‘to fly’
- skvarbūs ‘penetrating’
- spjauti ‘to spit’
- sprāgīlas ‘flail’
- straipsnis ‘article’
- stvērti ‘to seize’

(in dialectal words also śk-, škr-, škl-, špr-, štr-, zdr-, zgr-)

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

ST-:
- skabūti ‘to pluck’
- spalvā ‘colour’
- stālas ‘table’
- špagā ‘foil’
- štaī ‘here’
- ščīāti ‘to become quiet’

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

TR-:
- bjaurūs ‘ugly’
- blākē ‘bedbug’
- brangūs ‘dear’
- draūgās ‘friend’
- dvāras ‘manor’
- glmnymūti ‘to fondle’
- gnāibyti ‘to nip’

- gražūs ‘beautiful’
- gvaldūti ‘to shell’
- klaidā ‘mistake’
- kmūnai ‘caraway’
- knařkūti ‘to snore’
- kraūjas ‘blood’
- kvāpas ‘smell’
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 3/ which do not occur exclusively only directly before a vowel. O class can be further subdivided into: (a) S subclass containing /s f z 3/ 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):
In final position, there are, however, (V)RTS type clusters which in reversed order do not occur initially, e.g. -mps ('(he) will pull'), -nks ('(he) will bend'), -nkš ('(he) will cough').

For historic reasons šn- has no reversed counterpart (cf. dial. greiš and Stand. gręš 'he will drill').
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 $-RTS_k^T$, e.g.:

- **álksta** ‘(he) suffers hunger’
- **inskis** ‘alder’
- **lińksta** ‘(he) bends’
- **veńksmas** ‘weeping’
- **gańgźdas** ‘grit’
- **vingńšna** ‘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’ $-$ **vilktas** ‘dragged’
- **kalstas** ‘stake’
- **nikstas** ‘sprain’
- **vilks** ‘(you) will drag (2. SG);’
- **rąstas** ‘log’
- **kaltas** ‘chisel’
- **vilkas** ‘wolf’
- **skalsà** ‘slowness of consumption’
- **uoksas** ‘hollow of a tree’
- **raktas** ‘key’.

If a larger cluster is found, we should expect simpler groups to conform to the pattern: $-RTS_k^T \Rightarrow -TS_k^T \Rightarrow -S_k^T$, etc. ($\Rightarrow$ here indicates material implication, i.e. a logical relation “if ... then”). Cf.:

```
(a)-lkst-(a)    (li)-nkst-(a)    (a)-lpst-(a)    (si)-rpst-(a)
: (ni)-kst-(as) : (ra)-st-(as)    : (sla)-pst-(o)
```

Using the symbol $x$ to mark groups $-ST-$, $-SR-$ and (very rare!) $-STR-$, or separate consonants $-S-$, $-T-$, we get a simpler formula $-RTx- \Rightarrow -Tx- \& -Rx-$, e.g.:

- **(mu)-rks-(o)’(it) purrs with closed eyes’
- **(li)-nks-(i)’(he) nods’
- **(stū)-ks-(o)’(he) looms’
- **(vi)-s-(as)’whole’

- **(vi)-Zkt-(i)’to drag’
- **(pe)-nkt-(as)’fifth’
- **(ra)-kt-(as)’key’
- **(ra)-t-(as)’wheel’.

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:

- **dirba** ‘(he) works’ $: \text{dir[p]ti}’$ ‘to work’
- **keńpa** ‘(he) cuts’ $: \text{kiř[b]davo}’$ ‘(he) used to cut’
Resonants are neither devoiced, nor cause voicing of other consonants, e.g.:
sleĩkstis ‘threshold’, tvarkå ‘order’;
(b) hard (non-palatalized) vs. soft (palatalized) consonants at the end of a word, before consonants and front vowels (see 4.8): [ʼnefk] : [ʼneʃk] (full and clipped forms) ‘carry’ (2. SG. IMPERAT)’
[ʼyɛrt] : [yerft] (full and clipped forms) ‘to tighten’
[ʼulsta] : [ʼul sta] (he) grows tired
(c) dental sibilants vs. alveolar sibilants (/s ʃ z ʒ/ vs. /ʃ ʒ ʃ ʒ/) before affricates /ʃ ʒ/:
[ʼkaʃæo] : [kaʃæo] ‘(I) would dig’
[ʼzi ʒæ] : [zi ʃæ] ‘(I) would whine’
[ʼpoʃæ] : [poʃæ] ‘half’
(d) labial nasals vs. non-labial nasals before labials:
sán-dėlis ‘warehouse’, but sám-brūzdis ‘commotion’
kri-ń-ta ‘(he) falls’ (cf. krito ‘(he) fell’), but ki-ń-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:
sus ‘(he) will grow scabby’: sius ‘(he) will grow angry’: šus ‘(he) will swelter’: žus ‘(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’: čūs ‘(it) will get quiet’: dzūs ‘(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.:
kélti ‘to lift’
prastà ‘bad (NOM. SG. FEM)’
klóstyti ‘to spread’
: gélti ‘to sting’
: brastà ‘ford’
: glóstyti ‘to caress’
Lithuanian also provides us with grounds to speak about a sort of **zero neutralization**, i.e. the deletion of a phoneme before an identical or similar consonant, *cf.*: *pušseserė* = [ˈpoʃeʃerɛ] 'female cousin', *užsūkti* = [oˈsoktu] 'to turn off'. This phenomenon, however, is partly conditioned by its morphonological position (*cf.*: *už+siūto* = [oˈʃotɔ] '(he) became angry' and *vėž-siu* = [ˈyeʃju] '(I) will transport') and therefore is ascribable to morphonology. It is only appropriate to mention here that the geminates and clusters /gk, dt, kg, td, ʒs, sʒ, sf/ are not used (for /ʃs/ see II.1.22).

4.14 Taking into consideration their syntagmatic relations and the cases of neutralization, all the consonant phonemes can be described by the following hierarchically arranged sets of distinctive features (see Table 5):

(1) sonorant *vs.* non-sonorant: this set of features distinguishes R class consonants from all the other consonants (/j/, /v/ and /y/ also belong to R class);

(2) nasal *vs.* oral distinguishes /m/, /m̩/, /n/, /n̩/ (which do not occur in initial three-consonant clusters) from the other sonorants;

Table 5. **Lithuanian consonant matrix**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>/p/</th>
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<th>/b/</th>
<th>/b̪/</th>
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<th>/g̪/</th>
<th>/ts/</th>
<th>/t̪s/</th>
<th>/ʒ/</th>
<th>/ʒ̪/</th>
<th>/ʒ̩/</th>
<th>/ʒ̪̩/</th>
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(3) fricative vs. non-fricative enables to contrast S and T syntagmatic classes of obstruents, also /j/, /v/, /y/ and other non-nasal sonorants;

(4) affricate vs. non-affricate differentiates the composite /ʃ/, /ʒ/, / ç/, / ç/ from ‘simple’ T class consonants;

(5) labial vs. non-labial distinguishes between the marked phonemes of the type /p/, /f/, /m/, /n/ and the unmarked phonemes of the type /t/, /k/, /x/, /s/, /ʃ/, /n/, /j/;

(6) backlingual vs. non-backlingual (cf.: /x/ : /s/ /k/ : /t/ – the choice of this set of features is syntagmatically irrelevant);

(7) alveolar vs. non-alveolar distinguishes the marked consonants of the type /ʃ/, /ʃ/ from the unmarked consonants of the type /s/, /s/, also the trilled /r/, / r/ from the lateral /l/, / l/;

(8) voiced vs. voiceless serves as a contrast between marked and unmarked members of the neutralisable oppositions of obstruents;

|    | <f> | <x>| <ç> | <y>|<ç> | /s| /ʃ| /z| /ʒ| /ç| /ʒ| /ʒ| /s| /l| /t| /k| /x|<m>|<n>|<ŋ> |
|----|-----|----|----|----|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 |
| 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 |
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| 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 |
(9) palatalized vs. non-palatalized distinguishes one set of consonants (Ĉ) 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)

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Tree diagram of consonant phonemes

(numbers above branching lines correspond to the distinctive features in Table 5)
5 SYLLABLE
Skiemūo

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-kis ‘eye’, i-ė-jo ‘(he) entered’, skry-bė-lė ‘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.: āu-gau ‘(l) 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.: [ˈt̚r̚] ‘a command to halt horses’, [ˈts:] ‘pst’.

The minimum syllable consists of a single vowel (e.g.: a-vis ‘sheep’, o-a-žė ‘oasis’), and the maximum syllable contains a vowel and two three-consonant clusters, e.g., in the word springs /ˈspɜ̃ns/ ‘(he) will become choked’ /u/ is the nucleus of the syllable, /spɨ-/ is an initial clusters of consonants, and /-nks/ is a final clusters of consonants. Analysed into immediate constituents, this syllable would be divided into the initial cluster /spɨ-/ and the rhyme /-nks/; then the rhyme would be broken down further into the nucleus /-u-/ and the final cluster /-nks/.

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.:
li ųk-sta ‘(it) bends’
nýk-sta ‘(it) disappears’
rą-stas ‘log’ (cf. stąčias ‘steep’) 
veřk-smas ‘weeping’
klýk-smas ‘scream’
pō-smas ‘stanzas’ (cf. smagūs ‘cheerful’) 
garğ-ždas ‘grit’
kreg-ždē ‘swallow’
kū-žda ‘(he) whispers’
(\(/3d-/ \text{ and } /zd-/ \text{ are of the ST-type, cf. štaž 'here'})
ir-štva 'bear's den'
žieg-ždra 'gravel'
ži-zdras 'coarse sand'
(\(/jtv-/ , /3dr-/ , /zdr-/ \text{ are of STR-type, cf. strakseti '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:
mufk-so '(it) purrs with closed eyes'
stuk-so '(it) looms'
gaf-sas 'sound'
peik-tas 'fifth'
rak-tas 'key'
plén-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-ne-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: rāktas 'key', sla-pťaž '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-štūš '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-žitq 'drill (ACC. SG)', gy-vy-bė 'life', plau-kaž 'hair', pil-nām 'full (DAT. SG. MASC)', var-daž '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', žē-mēn 'to the ground', su-diēu '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/ \(\rightarrow\) ['ra:-ktas] 'key'. Only semidiphthongal and finalsyllables generally remain checked, but in rapid speech even final syllables are established according to the common rules of syllable division: tas tuftas 'that wealth' – [ta-‘stor-tas], jis vākar atējo 'he came yesterday' [jī-‘sva:-ka-ra-‘te:-jo:].
Table 7. Types of syllables and their frequency in texts

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of syllable</th>
<th>N of syllables</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>22,813</td>
<td>54.663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>7,346</td>
<td>17.602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV( ^w )</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>6.426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCV</td>
<td>2,661</td>
<td>6.376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>2,026</td>
<td>4.855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>1,434</td>
<td>3.436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>1.869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV( ^w )C</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>1.373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV( ^w )</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>1.184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>0.970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCC</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>0.331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V( ^w )</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>0.288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V( ^w )C</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV( ^w )C</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0.141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVCC</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCV</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCVC</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCV( ^w )</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV( ^w )CC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCCC</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCCVCC</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV( ^w )CC</td>
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<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCVCCC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6 PROSODIC (SUPRASEGMENTAL) FEATURES

Prozòdiniai póžymiai

Stress

Kirtis

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., nèší /'nè-ʃi/ ‘(you) will carry (SING)’, neši /nè-ʃi/ ‘(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.:

du jós ‘two of her’ ≠ düjos ‘gas’
ką rás ‘what (he) will find’ ≠ kāras ‘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.:
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_ate-jome prie_to_námo ‘and (we) came to that house’ (proclitics), tēvas_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., mōky, tojas ‘teacher’, pūske, palis ‘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) my,li ‘(you) love (SG)’ ≠ (jis) myli ‘(he) loves’, drō,bės ‘linen cloth (GEN. SG)’ ≠ drōbės ‘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 /ɛ/ (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**

*Prėgaidės*

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

- šąuk ‘shoot!’ ≠ šaūk ‘shout!’
- gįnti ‘to defend’ ≠ giņti ‘to drive (off)’
- klöstė ‘(he) spread out’ ≠ klōstė ‘frill’
- tūrė ‘(he) explored’ ≠ tūrė ‘mush’
- rū[k]ti ‘to turn sour’ ≠ rūkti ‘to smoke’

In identical phonetic conditions two contrastive tonemes are distinguished: the sharp falling (or acute) accent (Lith. tvirtapradė prėgaidė) and the smooth rising (or circumflex) accent (Lith. tvirtagalė prėgaidė). The diacritic mark ‘, or ‘ (for semi-diphthongs whose first element is one of the lax vowels /u/, /o/, <e>, (<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., skūsi ‘(you) will shave’ and skūsi ‘(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.:

- laūk ‘wait!’ : laūk ‘get out!’
- išvirsì ‘(you) will boil’ : išviirsì ‘(you) will fall out’
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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
gaília & \left[\text{gaɪ̯̆ːl̩a}\right] \text{‘it’s a pity’} \\
šauk & \left[\text{ʃaud̩k}\right] \text{‘shout!’} \\
gińti & \left[\text{giɲ̯̈ːt̩i}\right] \text{‘to drive off’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kuŗpē & \left[\text{koɾ̩̆ːp̩e}\right] \text{‘(he) made carelessly’} \\
kal̩tas & \left[\text{kaɭ̩tas}\right] \text{‘guilty’} \\
veńkti & \left[\text{veɾ̩̆ːkt̩i}\right] \text{‘to weep’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
šauk & \left[\text{ʃaʊ̯̆ːk}\right] \text{‘shoot!’} \\
kal̩tas & \left[\text{kaɭ̩tas}\right] \text{‘chisel’} \\
pavęrgti & \left[\text{paɭ̩r̩̆ːɡ̩ti}\right] \text{‘to enslave’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{u}], [\text{o}], <>< (<>e) \text{ tend to remain lax, e.g.:}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
gińti & \left[\text{giɲ̯̈ːt̩i}\right] \text{‘to defend’} \\
kūrpė & \left[\text{koɾ̩̆ːp̩e}\right] \text{‘(wooden) shoe’} \\
spɔrtas & \left[\text{spɔrtas}\right] \text{‘sport’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

varpą ‘ear (of a cereal) (ACC. SG)’

vartę ‘bell (ACC. SG)’

varpelių ‘small ear (of a cereal) (GEN. PL)’

vartę ‘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.:

sugauti ‘to catch’ → sugaūs ‘(he) will catch’

and

sugauti ‘to sound’ → sugaūs ‘(it) will sound’

paveikti ‘to enslave’ → paveikęs ‘(he) will enslave’

and

paveikti ‘to weep (for a while)’ → paveikęs ‘(he) will weep (for a while)’

There are also exceptions to this rule: the dative forms with -m(s) (tam ‘that (DAT. SG. MASC)’, geram ‘good (DAT. SG. MASC)’, laukams ‘field (DAT. PL)’, jauniems ‘young (DAT. PL. MASC)’, visöms ‘all (DAT. PL. FEM)’), certain adverbs (pusiau ‘half’, visai ‘completely’, velniop ‘to hell’), pronouns (joks ‘none’, tòks ‘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 (sakā · sakāi '(you) say' ≠ sakā · / sākā · sakāi 'resin'), and the sharp (acute) accent is the unmarked member of the opposition.
II/Morphophonology

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1 ALTERNATIONS OF PHONEMES

Fonėmy kačtos

Alter nation of vowels in endings
Bašių kaitos galėnėse

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

The following alternations are possible:

(1)
(a) -/a/ → -/oː/
gerà (INDEF) : geró-ji (DEF) ‘good (NOM. SG. FEM)’
(b) -/a/ → -/aː/ (-ą)
gerà (INDEF) : gerá-ja (DEF) ‘good (INSTR. SG. FEM)’
geràs (INDEF) : gerás-ias (DEF) ‘good (ACC. PL. FEM)’

(2) -/e/ → -/eː/ (-ė)
nėšame ‘(we) carry’ : nėšamė-s ‘(we) carry for ourselves’
nėšate ‘(you) carry’ : nėšatė-s ‘(you) carry for yourselves’

(3)
(a) -/i, / → /iɛ/
neši ‘(you) carry’ : nešie-s(i) ‘(you) carry for yourself’
gerī (INDEF) : gerie-ji (DEF) ‘good (NOM. PL. MASC)’
(b) -/i/ → -/iː/ (-y)
didis (INDEF) : didīs-is (DEF) ‘great (NOM. SG. MASC)’
paskutinis (INDEF) : paskutinys-is (DEF) ‘last (NOM. SG. MASC)’

(4) -/o/ → -/uo/
neši ‘(I) carry’ : nešūo-si ‘(I) carry for myself’
gerū (INDEF) : gerūo-ju (DEF) ‘good (INSTR. SG. MASC)’
gerūs (INDEF) : gerūs-ius (DEF) ‘good (ACC. PL. MASC)’

Alternative endings may have stress shifted from the penultimate short or cir-
cumflexed 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. didysis-is ‘great’).

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

*něša* ‘(he) carries’ : něša-s(i) ‘(he) carries for himself’
gėras (INDEF) : geràs-is (DEF) ‘good (NOM. SG. MASC)’
gražus (INDEF) : gražùs-is (DEF) ‘nice (NOM. SG. MASC)’

Consequently, in endings we can distinguish changeable and unchangeable vowel morphonememes. The former ones can be marked as -à (ð), -à (á), -e (ê), -i (í), -i (ĩ), -u (úo), and the latter are -a, -a (ã), -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 morphonological change, e.g.:

*kàs* ‘(he) will dig’ : k̩s-i-s ‘(he) will dig for himself’
néš ‘(he) will carry’ : nēš-i-s ‘(he) will carry for himself’
mokant ‘while teaching’ : mokant-i-s ‘while teaching oneself, learning’
mokymas ‘teaching’ : mokymas-i-s ‘learning’
slepęs ‘having hidden’ : slepþ-s-i-s ‘having hidden himself’

They may be treated as cases of metathesis conditioned by a morphonological (phono-morphonological) position: -si → -is / {C-}.

**Automatic quantitative changes of vowels**

*Automàtinës kiekýbinës balsii kaïtos*

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

*nešu* ‘(I) carry’ : něša ‘(he) carries’
vakaraĩ ‘evenings’ : vakāris ‘westerly wind’

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

(I) verbal prefixes, e.g.: ãt-neša ‘(he) brings’, nè-neša ‘(he) doesn’t carry’, tè-neša ‘may (he) carry’, pà-mečiau ‘(I) lost’, tebè-guli ‘(he) still lies’ (but cf. pàsakojaus ‘(I) told’ ← pàsaka ‘tale’);
(2) disyllabic (excluding prefixes) infinitives and forms derived from them:
(a) infinitives: nēšti ‘to carry’, dēgti ‘to burn’, kāsti ‘to dig’, šlāpti ‘to get wet’;
(b) forms of the frequentative past tense: nēšdavau ‘(I) used to carry’, dēgdavau ‘(I) used to burn’, kāsdavote ‘(you) used to dig’, šlāpdavo ‘(he) used to get wet’;
(c) forms of the future tense: nēšiu ‘(I) will carry’, dēgsi ‘(you) will burn’, kāsime ‘(we) will dig’, šlāpsite ‘(you) will get wet’;
(d) forms of the subjunctive mood: nēščiau ‘(I) would carry’, dēgtum(ei) ‘(you) would burn’, kāstumėte ‘(you all) would dig’, šlāptų ‘(he) would get wet’;
(e) imperative forms: nēškime ‘let’s carry’, dēkime ‘let’s burn’, kaskite ‘dig!’, šlapki ‘get wet!’;
(f) participles (and half-participles): nēšdamas ‘carrying’, nēšias ‘which will carry’;
(3) verbs formed from interjections: krēsteleiti ‘to give a jolt’, brākštel(e)i ‘to crack’;
(4) the comparative degree suffix of adjectives: aukštesnis masc. ‘higher’, jaunèsnė fem. ‘younger’, gerėlèsnis masc. ‘slightly better’, ilgėlèsnė fem. ‘slightly longer’;
(5) the nominative singular masculine endings of definite adjectives and other adjectival words: gerąsis ‘good’, pirmasis ‘the first one’, užmirštasis ‘the forgotten one’;
(6) the possessive genitive singular forms of personal pronouns mano ‘my’, tavo ‘your’, sāvo ‘one’s own’;
(7) compound adverb and prepositions: anapus ‘on the other side’, šiapus ‘on this side’.

Besides, /e/ (or optional <e>) remains short in international words, e.g.: poēzija ‘poetry’, tēkstas ‘text’.

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

tā ‘that (FEM)’
tās ‘that (MASC)’
nė ‘no’
šakās ‘branches (ACC. PL)’
akmeninēs ‘stony (ACC. PL. FEM)’

They are lengthened only in the pronoun mēs ‘we’ (cf. mēs ‘(he) will throw’) and the adverbs kasmēt ‘annually’, kasnākt ‘nightly’, pernākt ‘all night long’.

1.5 Long vowels (including /iː/ and /uː/) are systematically shortened, if they become the first element of diphthongs and semi-diphthongs (/iː/ → /i/, /uː/ and /uː/ → /o/, /eː/ → /e/), /oː/ → /a/, i.e. ṼR → ṼR /-C). E.g.:
(a) septynī ‘seven’
puolē ‘(he) attacked’

(b) dūrē ‘(he) pricked’
bērē ‘(he) poured (dry substances)’
körē ‘(he) hanged’
(c) rāšo ‘(he) writes’
vaiko ‘(he) chases’

Group (b) also includes the change of { o:v} into [ ao] = [lavl] in such cases as:
griovē ‘(he) demolished’
liovēsi ‘(it) ceased’
šovē ‘(he) shot’

There are some exceptional cases when long vowels before tautosyllabic /r, l, n, m/ remain long:
(a) in word final position: artyn ‘nearer’, kasdiēn ‘daily’, visōm(s) ‘all (DAT. PL. FEM)’, paskubōm ‘in a hurry’;
(b) before an internal open juncture in compound words: duon-milčiai ‘flour for bread’, žvyr-duobė ‘gravel-pit’;
(c) in verbs whose present tense is formed with the suffix -sta: mēlsta ‘to turn blue’ : mēlsta ‘(it) turns blue’, tōlsta ‘to move away’ : tōlsta ‘(he) moves away’;

1.6 A special case of automatic quantitative changes is the alternation of the type /i/-j/ (/ [-V] ) : /i:/ (/ [-C] ) and /o-v/ (/ [-V] ) : /u:/ (/ [-C] ), e.g.:
gijo ‘(he) got well’
rijo ‘(he) swallowed’
būvo ‘(he) was’
žūvo ‘(he) perished’

1.7 In third person future tense forms related to dissylabic (excluding prefix-es) infinitives whose acuted long vowel occurs directly before the suffix -ti (e.g.: ļyti ‘to rain’, griā-ti ‘to fall down’), the long vowels /i:/ and /u:/ are shortened, cf.:
lyti 'to rain' : līs '(it) will rain'
džiūti 'to dry' : džiūs '(it) will dry'
žūti 'to perish' : žūs '(he) will perish'

Exceptions: výti 'to chase' : vūs '(he) will chase', siūti '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 plūš 'by hook or by crook').

In polysyllabic forms, the length of a vowel is retained, e.g.:
laiky-ti 'to keep' : laikys '(he) will keep'
taisy-ti 'to repair' : taisys '(he) will repair'

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.:
gaidys 'cock', žaltys 'grass-snake' and brūlis 'brother', mēdis 'tree'
gaidy 'oh cock', žaltý 'oh grass-snake' and brūli 'oh brother', mēdi 'oh tree'

Otherwise /i:/ is also possible in unstressed endings, e.g.:
ākys ['a:kis] 'eyes'

danṭys ['danṭis] 'teeth'

Loss of tautosyllabic /n/ and compensatory lengthening of vowels

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 → Ū / [−R]. E.g.:

(a) sān-kaba 'clutch', but sā-statās 'composition', sā-junga 'union', sā-lytis 'contact', sā-rašas 'list';
(b) kāndo '(he) bit' : (kānd-snis → kānsnis →) kāsnis 'bit'
skleñdē '(door) bolt' : (skleūd-ti → skleūsti →) sklūsti 'to bolt'
liūdo '(he) went into' : (liūd-ti → liūsti →) liūsti 'to go into'
siuūtē '(he) sent' : (siuūt-ti → siuūsti →) siūūsti 'to send'

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

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

kilo ‘(he) rose’ : (ki-ń-la →) kylə ‘(he) rises’
spūro ‘(it) frayed out’ : (spu-ń-ra →) spūra ‘(it) frays out’

but

švito ‘(it) grew light’ : švi-ń-ta ‘(it) grows light’
būdo ‘(he) awoke’ : bu-ń-da ‘(he) awakes’

1.10 Exceptions to the aforementioned rule of denasalization:

(a) tense forms derived from the infititives in which /n/ stands directly before the suffix -ti, e.g.:
gyven-ti ‘to live’ : gyveņs ‘(he) will live’
sēn-ti ‘to grow old’ : seņs ‘(he) will grow old’
tin-ti ‘to swell’ : tinsta ‘(he) swells’, tiņs ‘(he) will swell’

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

(c) junctures of compound words, e.g.: skān-skoniai ‘titbits’, šūn-snukis ‘scoundrel’;

(d) -ns combination occurring in the genitive singular endings of some nouns, e.g.: akmeņs ‘of a stone’, šuņs ‘of a dog’.

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

āki [‘a:ki:] ‘eye (ACC. SG)’ < *ākin
žēme [‘ʒe:me:] ‘land, earth (ACC. SG)’ < *žēmen
vyrų [‘yi:ra:] ‘husband, man (ACC. SG)’ < *vīran
sūnu [‘su:nu:] ‘son (ACC. SG)’ < *sūnum

However, in Modern Lithuanian we simply have here long vowels represented in writing by special letters (ą, ė, į, ų) to perform a phonological (cf.: vārna ‘crow (ACC. SG)’ : vārna (NOM. SG), sēne ‘old woman (ACC. SG)’ : sēne (VOC. SG)) or even a purely morphological (cf.: smėli ‘sand (ACC. SG)’ : smėly (LOC. SG)) function.
Apophony

Apofonija, balisių kaita

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

- **plátis** ‘wide’ : **plótis** ‘width’
- **něša** ‘(he) carries’ : **nāščiai** ‘yoke’
- **skrido** ‘(he) flew’ : **skraide** ‘(he) flew about’
- **stvēria** ‘(he) seizes’ : **stvērė** ‘(he) seized’
- **ričia** ‘(he) bends’ : **raito** ‘(he) rolls’
- **leńda** ‘(he) crawls’ : **lińdo** ‘(he) crawled’
- **liěka** ‘(he) remains’ : **liko** ‘(he) remained’

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

\[
\text{\{}plat\text{-}\} + \text{\{-is\}} \rightarrow \text{\{}plátis\} \rightarrow \text{plótis}
\]

\[
\text{\{}stvēr\text{-}\} + \text{\{-ē\}} \rightarrow \text{\{}stvērė\} \rightarrow \text{stvērė}
\]

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 **kása** ‘(he) digs’ : **kasti** ‘to dig’, **něša** ‘(he) carries’ : **něšiu** ‘(l) will carry’).

Apophony only indirectly is related to the aforementioned alternations **au** : **ov**, **ą** : **uv**, **y** : **i** (1.5, 6), **an** : **a**, **en** : **e**, **in** : **i** (y), **un** : **y** (ą) (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. : **tikšt** : **tykšt** ‘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** : **ü** (sometimes also by **i** : **ai**, **u** : **au**, etc.), e.g.:

- **pila** ‘(he) pours’ : **pýlé** ‘(he) poured’
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müša ‘(he) beats’ : mūšis ‘battle’
misti ‘to feed on’ : maštas ‘food’
jūkti ‘to break up in disorder’ : jaūkti ‘to put into disorder’

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

giria ‘(he) praises’ : gýrė ‘(he) praised’
dūria ‘(he) pricks’ : dūrė ‘(he) pricked’
gēria ‘(he) drinks’ : gērė ‘(he) drank’
kāria ‘(he) hangs’ : körė ‘(he) hanged’

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

sēka ‘(he) tells (a tale)’ : pāsaka ‘tale’
sleņka ‘(he) slides’ : sliņko ‘(he) slid’
vieši ‘(he) stays as a guest’ : vāišēs ‘treat’
kešti ‘to change’ : kaitā ‘change’
žiedas ‘blossom’ : žydēti ‘to blossom’
laužti ‘to break’ : lūžti ‘to break’ (intransitive)
dūoda ‘(he) gives’ : dāvė ‘(he) gave’

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

plyšti ‘to burst’ : plėišėti ‘to crack’
malti ‘to grind’ : miltai ‘flour’
Diēvas ‘God’ : dešvė ‘goddess’
klaikti ‘to become foolish’ : klūika ‘fool’
sėdėti ‘to sit’ : sodinti ‘to seat’
brēžti ‘to draw’ : brūožas ‘stroke’
smogti ‘to strike a blow’ : smūgis ‘blow’
šokti ‘to jump’ : šuokoti ‘to hop’
loti ‘to bark’ : sulūtīti ‘to begin to bark’
srėbia ‘(he) sips’ : sriubė ‘soup’

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

ima ‘(he) takes’ : ėmé ‘(he) took’
rēkia ‘(he) shouts’ : suriko ‘(he) cried out

1 The letter R indicates that an alternation usually occurs before sonorants, e.g. vérda ‘(it) boils’ : virė ‘(it) boiled’, gēria ‘(he) drinks’ : girā ‘weak beer’.
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.:

- *platūs* ‘wide’ → *plōtis* ‘width’
- *nēša* ‘(he) carries’ → *nāščiai* ‘yoke’
- *pila* ‘(he) pours’ → *pýlė* ‘(he) poured’
- *sleņka* ‘(he) slides’ → *sliņko* ‘(he) slid’
- *viēši* ‘(he) stays as a guest’ → *vāišės* ‘treat’

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

- *svēria* ‘(he) weighs’ : *svērė* ‘(he) weighed’ : *sviro* ‘(he) swayed’ : *svyroja* ‘(it) hangs’
- *svarūs* ‘weighty’ : *svoris* ‘weight’ =

```plaintext
svēria : svērė
svēria : sviro
sviro : svyroja
svēria : svarūs
svarūs : svoris
```

- *snigas* ‘snow’ : *snaiģė* ‘snow-flake’ : *snigo* ‘(it) snowed’ : *snīgūriuojas* ‘(it) snows lightly’ : *snėgėja* ‘(it) snows slightly’ =

```plaintext
snigas : snaiģė
snigas : snigo
snigo : snīgūriavo
snīgti : snēgėti
dziąiūgtis ‘to rejoice’ : *(prasi)*dziūgtį ‘to become cheerful’ : dziūgauti ‘to exult’ =
```

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).
1.17 The microsystem of the \textit{a} (\textit{e}) series can be presented in the following diagram\textsuperscript{2}:

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{diagram.png}
\end{center}

The unmarked member of the microsystem in all respects is \textit{e}, e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{plėcia} '(he) widens' : \textit{plėtė} '(he) widened' : \textit{plito} '(it) spread' : \textit{plūti} '(it) expands' : \textit{platūs} 'wide' : \textit{plūtis} 'width' =
  \item \textit{plėcia} : \textit{plėtė}
  \item \textit{plėcia} : \textit{plito}
  \item \textit{plito} : \textit{plūti}
  \item \textit{plėcia} : \textit{platūs}
  \item \textit{platūs} : \textit{plūtis}
\end{itemize}

By the way, all these examples show all the regular and productive alternations of the series. The other alternations (see 1.14), except \textit{u} : \textit{ū} which would be ascribed rather to the \textit{u} (\textit{au}) series, are unproductive, cf.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ė} : \textit{o} (\textit{bėga} '(he) runs' : \textit{boginti} 'to carry quickly')
  \item \textit{o} : \textit{a} (\textit{skōbtī} 'to pluck' : \textit{skabytī} 'to pluck repeatedly')
  \item \textit{ė} : \textit{uo} (\textit{rėžia} '(he) cuts' : \textit{ruožas} 'tract of land')
  \item \textit{a} : \textit{u} (\textit{slānkioja} '(he) idles about' : \textit{slušķius} 'idler')
  \item \textit{o} : \textit{ū} (\textit{šōktī} 'to jump' : \textit{šūksnis} 'jump')
  \item \textit{ē} : \textit{o} (\textit{plēpa} '(he) chatters' : \textit{pliopa} 'chatterbox'), etc.
\end{itemize}

The alternants \textit{i}, \textit{y} (also \textit{u}, \textit{ū}) in this series usually occur only in the environment of sonorant consonants (see 1.14), but exceptions are also possible, e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{2} The arrows in the diagram are directed to marked alternants. The arrow \(\Rightarrow\) indicates the most productive alternations which exist both in word formation and in oppositions of verbal forms; the arrow \(\rightarrow\) shows productive alternations which occur only in word formation; the arrow \(\longrightarrow\) shows peripheral or less productive alternations. Completely unproductive alternants which occur in words whose derivational character is established only diachronically are given in brackets.
The apophonic series $i$ (ie) includes the following alternants:

$\text{šviečia ' (it) shines'} : \text{švito ' (it) grew light'} : \text{švyturys 'light-house'} : \text{šveičia ' (he) rubs until bright'} : \text{švaisto ' (he) holds a light for somebody'}$

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

$\text{šviečia ' (it) shines'} : \text{švito ' (it) grew light'} : \text{švyturys 'light-house'} : \text{šveičia ' (he) rubs until bright'} : \text{švaisto ' (he) holds a light for somebody'} =$

$\text{šviečia} : \text{švito}$

$\text{šviečia} : \text{šveičia}$

$\text{šveičia} : \text{švaisto}$

$\text{švito} : \text{švyturys}$

$\text{lieka ' (he) remains'} : \text{liko ' (he) remained'} : \text{lykija ' (he) makes it remain'} : \text{palaikaį ' (human) remains'} =$

$\text{lieka} : \text{liko}$

$\text{lieka} : \text{palaikaį}$

$\text{liko} : \text{lykija}$

(but cf. $\text{lipti ' to climb'} : \text{lięptas 'foot-bridge'}$, where $ie$ is marked).

Only rarely does the diphthong $ei$ appear in this role, cf.: $\text{skleidžia ' (it) spreads'} : \text{sklido ' (it) spread'}$ and $\text{skleidžia : sklaidà 'dispersion'}$. 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.: $\text{raïnas 'streaky'} : \text{Ruïnis 'name of a streaky cat'}$, $\text{râïšas 'lame'} : \text{rûïşis 'lame man'}$.

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.:
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’
- šiūšia ‘(he) ruffles’ : šiūša ‘(he) rustles’
- stūgja ‘(he) howls’ : stūgauja ‘(he) makes howls’

The alternant o–v is included only with certain reservations, e.g. sraūtas ‘flow’ : srovė ‘stream’ : sruvo ‘(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.:

- melūoja ‘(he) lies’ : melāvo ‘(he) lied’
- šlūoja ‘(he) sweeps’ : šlavė ‘(he) swept’

Otherwise it is rare, e.g.:

- juokas ‘laughter’ : jūkinti ‘to make one laugh’
- daubė ‘hollow’ : dūbtį ‘to grow hollow’ : fūbis ‘hollow space’ : duobė ‘pit’
- guli ‘(he) lies’ : guolis ‘resting-place’

The alternations uo : o (duotis ‘to give’ : dosnis ‘generous’) and ū : ui (būti ‘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.:
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' : ėtkytis 'relapse' (a (e) series) and krāičioja '(he) frequently falls' (i (ie) series),

brenda '(he) wades' : brido '(he) waded': brastā 'ford' (a (e) series) and braido '(he) wades about' (i (ie) series),

brēžti 'to draw, to scratch': brīžes 'harrow': brūžis 'line, scratch': brūožas '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.:

pėsti ‘to pull, to pluck’ : pašioti ‘to pull, to pluck (repeatedly)’ → pešioti
vėsti ‘to lead’ : vadžioti ‘to lead (repeatedly)’ → vedžioti
meškoti ‘to soak’ : markyti ‘to soak thoroughly’ → mirkyti
juoktis ‘to laugh’ : jūkinti ‘to make laugh’ → juokinti
vysti ‘to wither’ : vaitinti ‘to cause withering’ → vytinti

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

Alternations of consonants

Priebalsiy kaitos

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, š, ž undergo these changes and are usually retained in this position in lento forms, e.g.: at-sūkti ‘to turn back’, at-šauti ‘to reply sharply’, pūo[t]-sakės ‘long-handled fork for lifting and moving pots in an oven’, a[d]-žygiūoti ‘to come marching’; in allegro forms,
they become affricates: a[t]ųkti, a[t]aũti, pūo[t]akės, a[t]u<ṛ̊i<ũi<ût̊i<û. Affricates are always pronounced at the boundary between a prefix and the reflexive affix, e.g.: atsisakû<ũt̊i<û 'to refuse', atsitrá<ûkû<ût̊i<û '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.:

pūs̊es̊erē ['p̊oːs̊e̊s̊erē] '(female) cousin' užs̊ukû<ût̊i<û 'to turn off'
iš<ûkû<ût̊i<û 'to jump out' užšâl̊til̊i<û 'to freeze over'
uuz̊ž<ûl̊t̊i<û 'to overgrow (with)' pū̊s̊žālis ['p̊oːz̊āl̊is] 'underdone'

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

užsieni<ûs 'foreign country' = ['oːz̊i<ûn̊s] || ['oːz̊i<ûn̊s] || ['o][:z̊i<ûn̊s]

Especially frequent and regular is the geminate [ṛ̊i<û<û] (and [ṛ̊]) in such cases, cf.: paritinti [pa<ûṛ̊i<ûnt̊i] 'to roll a little' ≠ parritinti [pa<ûṛ̊i<ûnt̊i] '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.:

met- + -ti (mēτα ' (he) throws') → mēsti 'to throw'
ved- + -ti (vēdα ' (he) leads') → vēsti 'to lead'
ved- + -damas → vē[û]damas 'while leading'
met- + -damas → med-damas → mē[û]damas 'while throwing'
kand- + -ti (kandα ' (he) bites') → kānt-ti → kānsti → kāsti 'to bite' (see 1.9)
žaid- + -da (žeidē ' (he) wounded') → žaizdā 'wound'

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

(2) Contraction of adjacent sibilants, i.e. ʂ, ź + s → ʂ, e.g.:

riş- + -sīu (riša ' (he) ties') → rišiu ' (I) will tie'
mēž- + -slas (mēžia ' (he) manures') → mē̊šlas 'manure'

(3) Elision (omission) of t and d before s, i.e. t, d → Ǿ /− s, e.g.:

mēt- + -s (mēτα ' (he) throws') → mēs ' (he) will throw'
jūo̊d- + -svas (jūo̊das 'black') → jūosvas 'blackish'
prat- + -smē (suprātō ' (he) understood', prōtas 'mind, sense') → prasmē 'sense, meaning'
kand- + -snis (kandα ' (he) bites') → kānsnis → kāsnis 'bit'
The sequences $t$, $d + š$, however, simply change into affricates, e.g.:

$gùd- + -šas$ \(\rightarrow\) $gùčas$ 'crafty man'

$snùd- + -šas$ \(\rightarrow\) $snùčas$ 'sleepy person'

Some other omissions of consonants are also possible, but they are less regular (cf. $smárd- + -vè → smárvè$ '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.:

- $drëšk- + -ti$ \(\rightarrow\) $drëksti$ 'to tear'
- $tišk- + -ti$ \(\rightarrow\) $tikšti$ 'to splash'
- $mèžg- + -damas$ \(\rightarrow\) $mègdamas$ 'while knitting'
- $čiršk- + -lys$ \(\rightarrow\) $čirkšlys$ 'chirper'
- $trýšk- + -sta$ \(\rightarrow\) $trýkš-sta → trýkšta$ 'it spouts'

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

- $geraï$ 'well' : $geriaū$ 'better'
- $velaï$ 'late' : $veliaū$ 'later'
- $blogaï$ 'badly' : $blogiaū$ 'worse'
- $žalias$ 'green' : $žalūmas$ 'greenness'

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

- $aukštaï$ 'high' : $aukščiaū$ 'higher' = $juodai$ 'black' : $juodžiaū$ 'blackest'

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.:

- $laisv- + -'au$ \(\rightarrow\) $laišviāu$ 'more freely'
- $maž- + -'ukas$ \(\rightarrow\) $mažiukas$ 'very small'

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

- $tuš{[t]- + -okas$ \(\rightarrow\) $tuštòkas$ 'somewhat empty'
- $ža{l}- + -umas$ \(\rightarrow\) $žalūmas$ 'greenness'

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

- $gēras$ 'good' \(\rightarrow\) $geriáusias$ 'best'
- $tiřštas$ 'thick' \(\rightarrow\) $tiřščiausias$ 'thickest'
Depalatalization is regular in the formation of nouns from adjectives with the suffix -uinas, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{didis} & \quad \text{‘great’ (Gen. Sg. didžio)} & \rightarrow & \text{didūmas} \quad \text{‘greatness’} \\
\text{plokščias} & \quad \text{‘flat’} & \rightarrow & \text{plokštūmas} \quad \text{‘flatness’}
\end{align*}
\]

Palatalization and depalatalization are to be considered as an additional feature of a suffix (or a derivational ending, cf.: kūbūlas ‘tub, barrel’ : kūbilius ‘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}, {-(‘)okē:} {-(i)ukas, -(i)ukē} respectively, cf.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kraštas} & \quad \text{‘edge’} & \rightarrow & \text{kraščiukas} \quad \text{(← kraš(t)ukas) ‘small edge’} \\
\text{šluota} & \quad \text{‘broom’} & \rightarrow & \text{šluočiukė} \quad \text{(← šluo(t)ukė) ‘small broom’} \\
\text{but: lāpas} & \quad \text{‘leaf’} & \rightarrow & \text{lapūkas} \quad \text{‘small leaf’} \\
\text{širdis} & \quad \text{‘heart’} & \rightarrow & \text{širdūkė} \quad \text{‘little heart’}
\end{align*}
\]
2 ACCENTUATION
Kirčiavimas

2.1 As it has been mentioned before (1.6.1), 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’ ≠ likimė ‘(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 disyllabic noun declension.

2.2 According to their accentual value, all stems of disyllabic 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. piev-(e) ‘meadow’, vięt-(e) ‘place’, višt-(e) ‘hen’;

(2) weak stems (a), i.e. stems receiving stress only before a weak ending (e), e.g.: Acc. Sg. skiedr-(e) ‘chip’, dien-(e) ‘day’, migl-(e) ‘mist’.

Besides, each type can be subdivided into acuted stems (Ā, e.g., Acc. Sg. piev-[e]; ā, e.g., skiedr-[e]) and non-acuted (i.e. short or circumflected) stems (Ā, e.g., Acc. Sg. višt-[e], vięt-[e]; ā, e.g., migl-[e], dien-[e]).

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.: piev-oms ‘(to the) meadows’, piev-u ‘(of the) meadows’ or vięt-oms ‘(to the) places’, vięt-u ‘(of the) places’ (strong stems; A) and skiedr-oms ‘(to the) chips’, skiedr-ū ‘(of the) chips’ or dien-ōms ‘(to the) days’, dien-ū ‘(of the) days’ (weak stems; a). The toneme (or syllable accent) of a long stem is usually determined through the accusative singular form, cf.: piev-ą (Ā); vięt-ą (Ā); skiedr-ą (ā); dien-ą (ā), or (for instance, in cases of pluralia
tantum) through any other form containing a stressed stem, cf.: Nom. Pl. žirkės ‘scissors’ (Ā) : kačiai ‘mane’ (Ā) : rūngčios ‘competition’ (ā) : 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-)-ą ‘(of the) mists’ : (višt-)-ų ‘(of the) hens’, Dat. Pl. (migl-)-oms ‘(to the) mists’ : (višt-)-oms, Loc. Pl. (migl-)-ose³ : (višt-)-ose ‘(in the) hens’;

(2) weak endings (ε) 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-)-ą ‘mist’, (višt-)-ą ‘hen’.

Each type has special attractive endings (Ē, Ė), 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-)-a (Ē), Instr. Sg. (višt-)-ą, Acc. Pl. (višt-)-as (Ė), but Voc. Sg. (višt-)-a (ε, 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-ą ‘hen’ : ger-ą-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):

\[\begin{align*}
\textbf{Ae → Ae:} & \quad \text{Dat. Sg.} \quad \text{PIEV-ai} & \rightarrow \text{pievai ‘(to the) meadow’} \\
& \quad \text{VIET-ai} & \rightarrow \text{viētai ‘(to the) place’} \\
& \quad \text{Acc. Sg.} \quad \text{PIEV-q} & \rightarrow \text{pievq, VIET-q → viētq;} \\
& \quad \text{Nom. Pl.} \quad \text{PIEV-os} & \rightarrow \text{pievos ‘meadows’} \\
& \quad \text{VIET-os} & \rightarrow \text{viētos ‘places’} \\
& \quad \text{VIŠT-os} & \rightarrow \text{vištos ‘hens’} \\
\textbf{AE → AE:} & \quad \text{Gen. Pl.} \quad \text{PIEV-U} & \rightarrow \text{pievų} \\
& \quad \text{VIET-U} & \rightarrow \text{viētų} \\
& \quad \text{Dat. Pl.} \quad \text{PIEV-OMS} & \rightarrow \text{pievoms} \\
& \quad \text{VIET-OMS} & \rightarrow \text{viētoms} \\
& \quad \text{Loc. Pl.} \quad \text{PIEV-OSE} & \rightarrow \text{pievose} \\
& \quad \text{VIET-OSE} & \rightarrow \text{viētose}
\end{align*}\]

³ In stressed dissyllabic inflexional endings, the stress always falls on the last syllable.
(b) the stress falls on strong endings following weak stems:

\[ aE \to aE: \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skiedr-Ū</td>
<td>skiedr-ŌMS</td>
<td>skiedr-OSÈ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diēn-Ū</td>
<td>diēn-ŌMS</td>
<td>diēn-OSÈ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{skfedr- } \] ‘(of the) chips’
\[ \text{dien- } \] ‘(of the) days’

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

\[ ae \to ae: \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Dat. Sg.</th>
<th>Acc. Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skfedr-ai</td>
<td>skfedr-ą</td>
<td>skfedr-ą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diēn-ai</td>
<td>diēn-ą</td>
<td>diēn-ą</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{skfedr- } \] ‘(of the) chips’
\[ \text{dien- } \] ‘(of the) days’

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

(a) \[ Āè \to Āe: \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Instr. Sg.</th>
<th>Acc. Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PĪEV-ā</td>
<td>PĪEV-ās</td>
<td>pīeva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{PiEV-a } \] ‘pieva’
\[ \text{PiEV-ās } \] ‘pievas’

(b) \[ āÈ \to āĒ: \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom. Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skiedr-Ą</td>
<td>skiedr-ą</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{skfedr- } \] ‘(of the) chips’
\[ \text{dien- } \] ‘(of the) days’

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

\[ Āè \to Aè: \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Instr. Sg.</th>
<th>Acc. Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIĒT-ā</td>
<td>VIĒT-ās</td>
<td>vieta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VlŠT-ā</td>
<td>VlŠT-ās</td>
<td>vištā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{VIET-a } \] ‘vietā’
\[ \text{VIET-ās } \] ‘vietās’

\[ ĀÈ \to AĒ: \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom. Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIĒT-Ā</td>
<td>VIĒT-ās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VlŠT-Ā</td>
<td>VlŠT-ās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{VIET- } \] ‘vietā’
\[ \text{VIET-ās } \] ‘vietās’

\[ aè \to aè: \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Instr. Sg.</th>
<th>Acc. Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diēn-ā</td>
<td>diēn-ās</td>
<td>diēnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migl-ā</td>
<td>migl-ās</td>
<td>miglā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{dien- } \] ‘dienā’
\[ \text{migl- } \] ‘miglā’

(c.f. also āÈ \to aÈ: Nom. Sg. diēn-Ā \to diēnā, migl-Ā \to miglā, 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 \[ \text{vārpa 'ear (of a cereal plant)'} , \]
\[ \text{rankā 'hand', galvā 'head' and kalvā 'hill'} : \]
### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>várpa (ÄÈ)</td>
<td>rankà (ÄÈ → ÄÈ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>várpos (ÄÈ)</td>
<td>rañkos (ÄÈ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>várpai (ÄÈ)</td>
<td>rañkai (ÄÈ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>várpq (Äè)</td>
<td>rañkà (Äè)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>várpa (Äè)</td>
<td>rankà (Äè → Äè)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>várpoje (ÄÈ)</td>
<td>rañkoje (ÄÈ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>várpa (Äè)</td>
<td>rañka (Äè)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nom.   | galvà (åÈ) | kalvà (åÈ) |
| Gen.   | galvòs (åÈ) | kalvòs (åÈ) |
| Dat.   | gálvai (åè) | kalvai (åè) |
| Acc.   | gálvàq (åè) | kalvàq (åè) |
| Instr. | gálva (åè) | kalvà (åè → øè) |
| Loc.   | galvojè (åÈ) | kalvojè (åÈ) |
| Voc.   | gálva (åè) | kalva (åè) |

### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom./Voc.</td>
<td>várpos (Äè)</td>
<td>rañkos (Äè)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>várpu (ÄÈ)</td>
<td>rañku (ÄÈ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>várpmos (ÄÈ)</td>
<td>rañkoms (ÄÈ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>várpas (Äè)</td>
<td>rañkàs (Äè → Äè)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>várpmis (ÄÈ)</td>
<td>rañkompis (ÄÈ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>várpose (ÄÈ)</td>
<td>rañkose (ÄÈ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nom./Voc. | gálvos (åè) | kalvòs (åè) |
| Gen.   | galvù (åÈ) | kalvù (åÈ) |
| Dat.   | galvòms (åÈ) | kalvòms (åÈ) |
| Acc.   | gáltvas (åè) | kalvàs (åè → øè) |
| Instr. | galvomis (åÈ) | kalvomis (åÈ) |
| Loc.   | galvosè (åÈ) | kalvosè (åÈ) |

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: várpmos, 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: galvòms, but
gālvās), and Paradigm 4 to nouns with a weak non-acuted stem (the ending is stressed both in the dative and accusative plural: kalvōms, kalvās). In dictionaries, the numbers of accentuation paradigms are usually provided for nouns and other declinable words, e.g.: piēva (1), vārpa (1), vištā (2), vietā (2), rankā (2), skiedrā (3), galvā (3), miglā (4), dienā (4), kalvā (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 Garliavā (4): Gen. Garliavōs, Acc. Garliāvāq).

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 circumflected. In such cases the intermediate syllable prevents the application of de Saussure and Fortunatov’s law, cf.:

Nom. Sg. šūpsena (1) ‘smile’: piēva (1) ‘meadow’, gilumā (3)4 ‘depth’: skiedrā (3) ‘chip’
Instr. Sg. šūpsena: piēva, giluma: skiedra
Acc. Pl. šūpsenas: piēvas, 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 → A2), e.g.: (a) žolē (4) ‘grass’ → žolīnas (1) ‘grass-plot’, (b) žmōnēs ‘people’, Gen. Pl. žmoniētis (3) → žmoniēškas (1) ‘humane’, (c) dārba ‘work’, Gen. Pl. dārbā (3) → darbininkas (2) ‘worker’, skolā ‘debt’, Gen. Sg. skolōs (4) → skoliniākas (2) ‘debtor’ (cf.: mōkslas (1) ‘science’ → mōkšlininkas (1) ‘scientist’, kopā ‘dune’, Nom. Pl. kōpos (2) → kōpininkas (1) ‘inhabitant of the sand-dune area’;

(2) weakening suffixes (s), i.e. those which convert strong stems into weak ones (A1+s → a2), e.g.: āmžius ‘century’, Gen. Pl. āmžių (1) → āmžinas (3a) ‘eternal’, stirna (1) ‘doe’ → stirnēnā (3a) ‘doeskin’, lāpē (2) ‘fox’ → lapenā (3b) ‘fox-fur’.

Among strengthening suffixes we can also distinguish:

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

43b 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 → aE (see 2.4).
(A+S → AS), cf.: úoga (1) ‘berry’ → uogiënė (2) ‘(berry) jam’, vaikas (4) ‘child’ → vaikėlis (2) ‘little child’;

(b) weak suffixes (X), i.e. those before which the underlying stem maintains or receives the stress (A+X → AX, a+X → aX), cf.: vyras (1) ‘man, male’ → vyriskas (1) ‘manly, masculine’, vaikas (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 → aS, A+S → AS), cf.: šakà ‘branch’, Gen. Sg. šakūs (4) → šakinis (2) ‘made of branches’, galvà ‘head’, Gen. Sg. galvūs (3) → galvinis (2) ‘(belonging to the) head’, but úoga (1) ‘berry’ → uoginis (1) ‘made of berries’, druskà ‘salt’, Gen. Sg. drūskos (2) → drūskinė (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 (Ås → Aš, cf.: laiko ‘(he) keeps’ : laikyti → laikyti ‘to keep’, but svaido ‘(he) throws’ : svaidyti → svaidytì ‘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. geležit → geležtė ‘blade (of the knife),

(b) kūbilas ‘tub’ → kubilius ‘cooper’, piemuō ‘shepherd’, Acc. Sg. piemenį → piemienė ‘shepherdess’ (a change in the position of the stress), puodas ‘pot’ → puodžius ‘potter’, storas ‘thick’ → stūris ‘thickness’ (circumflex metatony),

(c) plaikti ‘to swim’ → plaukioti ‘to swim to and fro’, padraikò ‘(he) scatters’ → padraikos ‘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 morphonological 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.:
The semantic influence is especially conspicuous in the accentuation of compound words, cf.:

- *daugiasienis* ‘polyhedron’ : *daugiasiēnis* ‘polyhedral’
- *dviratis* ‘bicycle’ : *dvirātis* ‘with two wheels’
- *trikampis* ‘triangle’ : *trikaŋpis* ‘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’ → *antiena* (1) ‘meat of duck’, *kiailē* (2) ‘pig’ → *kiaulēna* (1) ‘pork’), but in the word *jautiena* ‘beef’ it behaves as a weak suffix. A high degree of idiomaticness is especially characteristic of the derivatives with the suffix -tuvė (cf. *veltī* ‘to full’ : *veltuvė* ‘fulling-mill’, *mālīti* ‘to grind’ : *maltuvė* ‘room for a quern’, *krāuti* ‘to load’ : *krāutuvė* ‘shop, store’) and the prefix pa- (cf.: *tiltas* (1) ‘bridge’ : *patiltē* (1) ‘place under the bridge’, *jūosta* (1) ‘girdle’ : *pajuostē* (2) ‘place under the girdle’, *kālnas* (3) ‘hill’ : *pakaľnē* (2) ‘hillside’, *kraņtas* (4) ‘bank, shore’ : *pakraňtē* (1) ‘riverside, seaside’, *kēlias* (4) ‘road’ : *pakelē* (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).
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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 -aís in vaik-aís ‘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-i ‘daughter-in-law’, žol-ė ‘grass’, nakt-ės ‘night’); the instrumental plural of masculine nouns is marked by the endings -aís and -umis (cf. vaik-aís ‘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 sū 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 (bēg-ti 'to run',
gāu-ti 'to receive'), the suffix -nt is a marker of the present tense gerund (bēga-nt
'traveling'), gāuna-nt 'receiving'), the suffix -us marks the past gerund (bēg-us
'in traveling', gāu-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 bēg-si-u 'I will run', bēg-si-me 'we will run', bēg-si-te 'you
will run', bēg-s 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.: bēga-nt-is (žmo-
gūs) 'running (man) (PRES. ACT. PART. MASC. NOM. SG)', bēg-us-ią (mergaitę)
'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. keliū 'I raise' – kėliau
'(I) raised', dūdu 'I give' – daviaū 'I gave'), consonant alternation (cf. jaut-is
'bull (NOM)' – jauči-o (GEN), draūs-ti 'forbid' – draūži-a 'forbids' – draūd-ė 'for-
bade') or changes in stress and tone, cf. ein-u ' (I) go' – eιn-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 pro-
cesses.

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. aš 'I (NOM)' – mane 'me (ACC)'; mēs 'we (NOM)' – mūsų 'us
(REN)') and the various forms of the verb būti 'be' (esu '(I) am' – yrā '(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. esu būves 'I have been' (lit. 'I-am been'), buvai rāšęs
'I had written' (lit. 'I-was written'), esu mūšamas 'I am beaten' (lit. 'I-am being-
beaten’), *buvaū nėstas* ‘I was carried’, *būčiau atējęs* ‘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.

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.

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.
1.1 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:

- akmuō ‘stone’
- brōlis ‘brother’
- Žiema ‘winter’
- ūpē ‘river’
- žuvis ‘fish’
- šventė ‘holiday’
- ŽUVIŠ ‘fish’

Nouns may also refer to actions, states or qualities:

- kvėpavimas ‘breathing’
- lenktynės ‘race’
- liūdesys ‘sadness’
- lygėbė ‘equality’
- grōžis ‘beauty’
- gerumas ‘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.:

- “Aušra” ‘Dawn’ (the name of a journal)
- “Snaigė” ‘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: Ėgnė, Kėstutis (names); Mačēnis, Vaišnoras (surnames); Maironis, Žemaitė (aliases of Lithuanian writers);

2. names of animals: Bėris, Sąkalas (names of horses), Daṅgė, Žalė (names of cows), Brīstus, Saŗgis (names of dogs);

3. names of mythological beings: Perkūnas ‘God of thunder’, Žemyna (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.: Lietuva ‘Lithuania’, Krāžiai, Dūsetos (names of towns), Medvėgalis (name of a hill), Nėmunas, Šventojis (names of rivers);

2. names of celestial bodies: Aušrinė ‘Morning Star’, Mēnulis ‘Moon’, Satūnas ‘Saturn’;

3. titles of books, periodical publications, art objects: “Fonologija”, “Aušrė”, “Šaulys”;

4. names of associations, enterprises, organizations, institutions: “Sąntara” (party association), “Žalgiris” (a factory);

5. names of epochs, historic events, holidays: Renesānsas ‘Renaisance’, Kalėdos ‘Christmas’, Velėkos ‘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: Prūnai, Zarasaï (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.,

Šventojis (the name of a river)
Šveńtosios (two rivers bearing the same name)
Birutė (a feminine name)
Birutės (referring, for example, to two girls with the same name in a group)
Kalnius (a masculine surname)
Kalniai (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 – nāmų ‘house’
- gėlė – gėlės ‘flower’
- pavasaris – pavasario ‘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:

- dvejų marškiniai ‘two shirts’
- penkių žirklės ‘five scissors’

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’
- grietinė ‘cream’
- auksas ‘gold’
- plienas ‘steel’
- giūtaras ‘amber’
- smėlis ‘sand’

Others are used only in the plural:

- miltai ‘flour’
- taukai ‘fat’
- dujos ‘gas’
- klija ‘glue’

Mass nouns are not used with cardinal numbers, except in idioms, e.g.: Gardu kaip devyni medus 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):
litras pieno ‘a liter of milk’
mažas miltų ‘a bag of flour’
kilogrâmas sviesto ‘a kilo of butter’
būtelis klijū ‘a bottle of glue’

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

aukštuomenė ‘the higher walks of life’
profesūrè ‘professorial staff’
jaunimas ‘youth’
žmonijà ‘mankind’
moksleivijà ‘school children’
señimas ‘the elderly’
studentijà ‘students’

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.:

Susirinko daug/mažai jaunimo. ‘A lot of young people came.’
Pûsė žmonijos. ‘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:

esmë ‘essence’
bûklë ‘state, condition’
drasà ‘courage’
šalësis ‘the cold’
ramybë ‘quietude’
skubëjimas ‘hurry’

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

atostogos ‘holiday, leave’
vedybos ‘marriage’
laidotuvës ‘funeral’
muštynës ‘fight, brawl’

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

dëziaugmas – dëziaugsmai ‘joy’
rûpestis – rûpesčiai ‘worry’
skausmas – skausma ‘pain’

Morphological categories of the noun

GENDER

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 (*arklys* ‘horse’, *lāngas* ‘window’, *sūnu* ‘son’) or feminine (*aušra* ‘dawn’, *bitė* ‘bee’, *nōsis* ‘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:

- didelis laūkas ‘a big field’
- didelė pēva ‘a big meadow’
- dū stalaī ‘two tables’
- dvi kēdēs ‘two chairs’
- pirmas sūnu s ‘the first son’
- pirmoji dukte ‘the first daughter’

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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. *darbiniūkas* darbiniūkė ‘worker’
   *gūdytojas* gūdytoja ‘doctor’
   *vadōvas* vadōvė ‘guide’

2. *ántis* ‘duck’
   *aves* ‘ewe’
   *žāsis* ‘goose’
   *aňtinas* ‘drake’
   *āvisnas* ‘ram’
   *žāsinas* ‘gander’

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

- *vyras* ‘man’
- *vyras* ‘husband’
- *tēvas* ‘father’
- *sūnu* ‘son’
- *brōlis* ‘brother’
- *dēdė* ‘uncle’
- *berniūkas* ‘boy’
- *arklys* ‘horse’
- *jautis* ‘bull’
- *šuō* ‘dog’
- *gaidys* ‘cock’
- *mōteris* ‘woman’
- *žmonā* ‘wife’
- *mōtina* ‘mother’
- *duktē* ‘daughter’
- *sesuō* ‘sister’
- *tetā* ‘aunt’
- *mergāités* ‘girl’
- *kumēlē* ‘mare’
- *kārve* ‘cow’
- *kalē* ‘bitch’
- *vištā* ‘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.:

*Dūok, motūt, geriau katēms (fem.).* ‘You had better give it to the cats, mother.’

Tvartai šiamę kiemę didelė, pilnė galvijų (masc.) ir kiaulių (fem.), avių (fem.), arklų (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) banginis ‘whale’

(b) pelė ‘mouse’

ežys ‘hedgehog’

beždžionė ‘monkey’

erēlis ‘eagle’

gegūtė ‘cockoo’

varnėnas ‘starling’

lakštingala ‘nightingale’

žvirblis ‘sparrow’

zylė ‘titmouse’

úodas ‘gnat’

lydekš ‘pike’

žaltys ‘grass-snake’

valė ‘frog’

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

ériūkas ‘lamb’

šuniūkas ‘puppy’

kačiukas ‘kitten’

ančiūkas ‘duckling’

kumeliūkas ‘colt’

viščiūkas ‘chicken’

paršiukas ‘piglet’

žąsiukas ‘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

dárbas ‘work’

lietūvis ‘Lithuanian’

jaunimas ‘youth’

kiškis ‘hare’

kėliais ‘road’

arklys ‘horse’

vėjas ‘wind’

gaidys ‘cock’

This group is the largest among masculine nouns.
(2) Nom. Sg. -(i)us  
Gen. Sg. -(i)aus  

dangūs 'sky'  
lietus 'rain'  
medūs 'honey'

(3) Nom. Sg. -uo  
Gen. Sg. -s (after the stem in -n-)

akmuō – akmeišs 'stone'  
dubuō – dubeišs 'bowl'  
liemuō – liemeišs 'waist'

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. -is  
Dat. Sg. -iui  

danis– dantis – dańčiui 'tooth'  
vagis – vagišs – vagiui 'thief'  
žvėris – žvėrišs – žvėriui 'beast'

(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:

barzdylà 'bearded man'  
vaidilà 'heathen priest'  
viršilà 'warrant officer'

Here belong some masculine surnames:

Daukšà  Noreikà  Dirgêla  
Pôška  Daugēla  Skirgâila  
Jogâila  Šniukštà  Laučkà

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

Nom. Sg. -ē  
Gen. Sg. -ēs  

dailidè 'carpenter'  
đđēdè 'uncle'  
tētē 'father'

Surnames:

Breîvê  
Krêvê
MORPHOLOGY

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

(1) Nom. Sg. -(i)a
    Gen. Sg. -(i)os

algà 'salary'                  girià 'wood'
dainà 'song'                   galià 'might'
galvà 'head'                   kirpéja 'hair-dresser'
žiemà 'winter'                 valià 'will'

Here belong also:

Nom. marÈt – Gen. marciòs ‘daughter-in-law’
    pati –               pačiòs ‘wife’

(2) Nom. Sg. -è
    Gen. Sg. -ès

bitè ‘bee’                mergátè ‘girl’
dùlkè ‘dust’              sàulè ‘sun’
égì ‘fir’                žòlè ‘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. -iais

ànkštis – ànkštìes – ànkštìai ‘pod’
ákis – ákiès – ákìai ‘eye’
àusiis – àusièis – àusiïai ‘ear’
avìis – avièis – avìai ‘sheep’
dalis – dalìèis – dalìai ‘part’

mintis – mìntièis – mìntìai ‘thought’
puśis – puśìèis – puśìai ‘pine’
šàlis – šàlièis – šàliäi ‘country’
žàsis – žàsièis – žàsiïai ‘goose’

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

sesuò – seseìs ‘sister’
duktè – dukteìs ‘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:

nesuprañtamas argò ‘incomprehensible argot’
politinis kriedò ‘political credo’
geltônas taksà ‘yellow taxi’
svarbûs interviû ‘important interview’

Exceptions are nouns which refer to female persons:
graži lêdi ‘beautiful lady’

Indeclinable nouns of foreign origin ending in -ê are treated as feminine:
didelê fojê ‘big foyer’
pirmâ kupê ‘the first compartment’
gerà ateljê ‘good atelier’

Exceptions are nouns which refer to male persons:
karinis atašê ‘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 buvo tikras nepasëda, nenûorama. ‘He was such a fidget.’
Ji buvo tikrâ nepasëda, nenûorama. ‘She was such a fidget.’
Nuslëpiau viską nuo to kvâišos Vincûlio. ‘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.:

akipleša ‘impudent person’
dabità ‘dandy’
išgama ‘degenerate’
kerëpla ‘awkward, clumsy person’
kûtvela ‘dishevelled person’

naktibalda ‘night-owl’
neklûžada ‘disobedient person’
pikêûrna ‘spitfire’
vâlkata ‘tramp’

Some words ending in -ê, -as can be occasionally used in reference both to male and female persons, e.g.: pliauskûnë ‘chatterbox’, taûškalas ‘windbag, chatterbox’.

NUMBER
Skaïcius

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:

vaikas – vaikai ‘child, children’
pušis – pušys ‘pine, pines’
ranka – rankos ‘hand, hands’
sanus – sánus ‘son, sons’
duktė – duktės ‘daughter, daughters’
akmuo – akmenys ‘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 du, dv ‘two’ or the pronouns abu, abī, abidvi ‘both’.

Gebrė ir mylėjo jis abûdu Butkiû. ‘He esteemed and loved both Butkuses.’
O dvî martî, melždamî kârves gretimuosë kiemuosë, plûdo vienà ântraq.

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.:

ąžuolas – ąžuola ‘oak’
gatvė – gatvės ‘street’
mergaitė – mergaitės ‘girl’
mėnuo – mėnesiai ‘month’
mintis – mįstys ‘thought’

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.:

Šiaip jau lûšis tokia pât bailê, kaîp ir kiáuné.
Ndûga mûsû pušis tokiojè žêmëje. ‘Normally, the lynx is as timid as the marten.’
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:

- batai ‘shoes’
- kojinės ‘stockings’
- šlepetės ‘slippers’
- langinės ‘shutters’
- ūsai ‘moustache’
- pirštines ‘gloves’

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

- avižos ‘oats’
- javai ‘crops’
- kviečiai ‘wheat’
- rugiai ‘rye’
- garbanos ‘curls’
- mezginiai ‘lace’
- pinigaĩ ‘money’
- plaukaĩ ‘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:

- kantrýbė ‘patience’
- kūryba ‘creation’
- drąsa ‘courage’
- meilė ‘love’

(2) collective nouns:

- liáudis ‘people’
- aukštúomenė ‘nobility’
- profesūrą ‘professors’

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

- pienas ‘milk’
- auksas ‘gold’
- sidabrą ‘silver’
- betoną ‘concrete’

(4) many proper nouns:

Lietuva  Kaunas  Klaipėda  Vaižgantas

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.:

Kaimiūčiai nebūvo pripratę prie švelynùmų. ‘The village people were not used to amiabilities.’
Ir vež jai užima skausmai žàdaq. ‘The pains take her breath again.’

The plural of names of substances usually refers to different kinds or products of the substance:
mineràliniai vändenys ‘mineral waters’
jąvairios drùskos ‘various salts’
gintaraï ‘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.:

Devyni prakaitai išpylė, kol parnešiau. lit.’I was covered with nine sweats while bringing it.’
Grindys buvo kraujais papliudusios. ‘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:
akëčios ‘harrow’
akiniai ‘glasses’
grindys ‘floor’
kailiniai ‘fur coat’
kelnës ‘trousers’
marškiniai ‘shirt’
neštuvai ‘stretcher’
rögës ‘sledge’
vaštai ‘gate’
žirkës ‘scissors’

(2) nouns which refer to an accumulation or an amassment of certain things:
bûrtai ‘magic’
išlaidos ‘expenses’
lešos ‘funds’
pajamos ‘revenue’
råstai ‘writings’
såntaupos ‘savings’

(3) nouns denoting certain substances, dishes, waste or remnants:
barščiai ‘beet soup’
sakai ‘resin’
dažai ‘paint’
miltai ‘flour’
pełenaï ‘ashes’
rabalai ‘fat’
åtsios ‘siftings’
dëjos ‘gas’
åsrûgos ‘whey’
nûosëdos ‘sediment’
påsokus ‘butter milk’
pjûvenos ‘sawdust’

(4) nouns referring to actions, processes and states performed or experienced by several (or many) persons:
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derybős ‘talks’  rietenos ‘squabble’
eitynės ‘procession’  riaušės ‘riot’
imtynės ‘wrestling’  rinkimai ‘election’
jkurtūvės ‘house warming’  skyrybės ‘divorce’
kautynės ‘fight, battle’  vedėjos ‘marriage’
laidotuvės ‘funeral’  vestuves ‘wedding’

(5) nouns denoting a time span, names of festivals, rites and celebrations:
atostogos ‘vacation’  Kalėdos ‘Christmas’
išvakarės ‘eve’  Kūčios ‘Christmas Eve’
mėtai ‘year’  Sekminės ‘Whitsunday’
priėšpiečiai ‘forenoon’  Velėkos ‘Easter’

(6) names of some diseases:
niezai ‘scabies’  tymaĩ ‘measles’
raupaĩ ‘smallpox’  vėjaraupiai ‘chicken-pox’

(7) names of the cardinal points:
Piėtūs ‘the South’  Vakaraĩ ‘the West’
Rytai ‘the East’

(8) some proper nouns:
Kybartai  Šakiai  Šiauliai  Zarasaĩ

Some of the above groups of plural nouns denote countable things (kėlnės ‘trousers’, žirkles ‘scissors’, atostogos ‘vacation’, vestuves ‘wedding’), others denote uncountable things (klijaĩ ‘glue’, miltai ‘flour’).

Plural nouns which denote countable things can be used in reference to
(a) one thing:

Paduok mán žirkles.  ‘Give me the scissors.’
Jaū mėtai, kaĩ čià atvažiavaũ.  ‘It has been a year since I came here.’

(b) more than one thing:

Nusipirkaĩ dvejãs žirkles.  ‘I’ve bought two pairs of scissors.’
Daũg mėtų nebuvau gimičiam  ‘I haven’t visited my native village for many
kãime.’

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 mean-
ing of number.
CASE
Liūksnis

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:

miškė ‘in the forest’   miškuosė ‘in the forests’
pievoje ‘in the meadow’   pievose ‘in the meadows’

(2) the illative, denoting motion into something:

miškaiš ‘into the forest’   miškūosna ‘into the forests’
pievaiš ‘into the meadow’   pievoseno ‘into the meadows’

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

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

miškėp(i) ‘at the forest’
miškuosemp(i) ‘at the forests’

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

miškėp(i) ‘toward the forest’
miškuosemp(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, *dārbas* ‘work’, *vyras* ‘man’ have the *a*-stem because in the dative plural they have the vowel *a* before *-ms*: *dārbā-ms*, *výra-ms*. More examples:

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ia-stem nouns:</td>
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<tr>
<td>svēčias ‘guest’,</td>
<td>daļgis ‘scythe’,</td>
<td>gaidīs ‘cock’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat. Pl.: svečiā-ms</td>
<td>daļgīa-ms</td>
<td>gaidīa-ms</td>
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<td>u-stem nouns:</td>
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<tr>
<td>sūnūs ‘son’</td>
<td>viršūs ‘top’</td>
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<td>Dat. Pl.: sūnū-ms</td>
<td>viršū-ms</td>
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<td>o-stem nouns:</td>
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<tr>
<td>galvā ‘head’</td>
<td>jāra ‘sea’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat. Pl.: galvō-ms</td>
<td>jūro-ms</td>
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<td>io-stem nouns:</td>
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<tr>
<td>valdžiā ‘authority’</td>
<td>martī ‘daughter-in-law’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat. Pl.: valdžiō-ms</td>
<td>marčiō-ms</td>
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<tr>
<td>ē-stem nouns:</td>
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<tr>
<td>draūgē ‘girlfriend’</td>
<td>gēlē ‘flower’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat. Pl.: draūgē-ms</td>
<td>gēlē-ms</td>
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<tr>
<td>i-stem nouns:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ausis ‘ear’</td>
<td>dantis ‘tooth’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. Pl.: ausi-ms</td>
<td>danti-ms</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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.: vėjas ‘wind’  kója ‘foot, leg’  
Dat. Pl.: vėja-ms  kójo-ms

iu-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: vaisius ‘fruit’ – vaisiams, sūnus ‘village’ – sūnams, pavojus ‘danger’ – pavojams.

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.: akmuo ‘stone’  šuō ‘dog’  duktē ‘daughter’  
Gen. Sg.: akmei̇-s  šu̇-s  duktei̇-s  
Dat. Pl.: akmei̇-ms  šu̇ni̇-ms  duktei̇-ms

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.: sveč-ias, dalg-īs, gaid-īs; sūn-ūs, virš-ūs; galv-ā, jūr-ā; valdž-ia, marč-ia; draug-ė, gėl-ė; aus-iz, dant-iz; vėj-as, kój-a;  
Dat. Pl.: sveč-iams, dalg-iams, gaid-iams; sūn-ūms, virš-ūms; galv-ūms, jūr-ūms; valdž-iams, marč-iams; draug-ėms, gėl-ėms; aus-ims, dant-ims; 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) domėtis mūzika   ‘take interest in music’
(2) pjauti peiliu     ‘cut with a knife’
(3) važiuoti keliu     ‘to drive along a road’
(4) dirbti vakaraüs  ‘to work evenings’
(5) sūktis ratu       ‘turn in a circle’

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

Table 1. Noun declensions and paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending of Nom. Sg.</th>
<th>Ending of Dat. Pl.</th>
<th>Paradigm</th>
<th>Declension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-ams</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(i)a</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ias</td>
<td>-iams</td>
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<td>-is, -ys</td>
<td>-iams</td>
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<td>-us</td>
<td>-ums</td>
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<td>(i)u</td>
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<td>-ius</td>
<td>-iams</td>
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<td>-ims</td>
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<td>“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uo, -ė</td>
<td>-ims</td>
<td>12</td>
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</table>

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:
MORPHOLOGY

Dat. Pl.: -ams after a hard consonant: výrams, piřštams, langáms, miškáms
Acc. Sg.: -ą after a hard consonant: vyrą, piřšą, lángą, mišką

Paradigm 2:
Nom. Sg.: -as after a palatalized consonant, spelled as -ias/-j-as: ėlnias ‘deer’, kėlias ‘road’, vėjas ‘wind’, galvijas ‘head of cattle’
Dat. Pl.: -ams after a palatalized consonant, spelled as -iams/-j-ams: ėlniams, keliiams, vėjams, galvijams
Acc. Sg.: -ą after a palatalized consonant, spelled as -ių/-j-ą: ėlnią, kėlia, vėją, galviją

Paradigm 3:
Dat. Pl.: -ams after a palatalized consonant, spelled as -iams/-j-ams: bróliams, peiliams, arkliams, būriams
Acc. Sg.: -į: brólį, peilį, árkli, būrį

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 1

výras ‘man’, piřštas ‘finger’, lángas ‘window’, miškas ‘forest’

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<td>langai</td>
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<td>miško</td>
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<td>výruose</td>
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<td>miškaís</td>
<td>miškuosė</td>
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</table>
### Paradigm 2

**élbias** ‘deer’, **kélia** ‘way’, **véja** ‘wind’, **galvijas** ‘cattle’

#### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>élbias</th>
<th>kélia</th>
<th>véja</th>
<th>galvijas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>élbias</td>
<td>kélia</td>
<td>véja</td>
<td>galvijas</td>
</tr>
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<td>Gen.</td>
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<td>kéliai</td>
<td>véjai</td>
<td>galvijai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>élbiui</td>
<td>keliui</td>
<td>véjui</td>
<td>galvijui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>élbią</td>
<td>kelią</td>
<td>véją</td>
<td>galviją</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>élbių</td>
<td>kelių</td>
<td>véjų</td>
<td>galvijų</td>
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<td>Loc.</td>
<td>élbiję</td>
<td>kelięję</td>
<td>véjųję/véjyję</td>
<td>galvijęje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>élbi</td>
<td>keli</td>
<td>véją</td>
<td>galvijau</td>
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#### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>élbiasai</th>
<th>kéliai</th>
<th>véjai</th>
<th>galvijai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>kéliai</td>
<td>véjai</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
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<td>kélių</td>
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<td>galvijų</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>élbiams</td>
<td>keliams</td>
<td>véjams</td>
<td>galvijams</td>
</tr>
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<td>élbius</td>
<td>kelius</td>
<td>véjus</td>
<td>galvijus</td>
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<tr>
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<td>véjų</td>
<td>galvijų</td>
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<td>véjųję</td>
<td>galvijęsese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Paradigm 3

**brólis** ‘brother’, **peiliś** ‘knife’, **arklių** ‘horse’, **būrių** ‘detachment’

#### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>brólis</th>
<th>peiliś</th>
<th>arklių</th>
<th>būrių</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>peili</td>
<td>arkli</td>
<td>būri</td>
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#### Plural

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<th>arkliai</th>
<th>būriai</th>
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<td>arkliąs</td>
<td>būriąs</td>
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<td>arkliąs</td>
<td>būriąs</td>
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<td>arkliąs</td>
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<td>arkliąs</td>
<td>būriąs</td>
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</table>
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: Jōnai! Juōzai! 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 vābale!) 'bug', žėntai! (cf. žente!) 'son-in-law', tēvai! (cf. tēve!) 'father'. In colloquial Lithuanian the vocative of some personal names of this declension can also be formed without any ending: Adōm! Pōvil! Mūkol!

(2) The vocative of diminutive nouns with the suffix -(i)ukas has two alternative morphological forms: (a) the form without any ending (most frequent): Antanūk! broliūk! 'little brother', tėveliūk! 'daddy'; and (b) the form with the ending -ai, which is less frequent and slightly dialectal: Antanūkai! broliūkai! tėveliūkai!

(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): vaikelī! 'kid', kunigelī! 'Father (used to address a priest)', bernužēlī! 'laddie'; and (b) the form without any ending, which is colloquial: vaikelī! kunigelī! bernužēlī!

(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: mokytojau! 'teacher', kepėjau! 'baker', vėjau! 'wind'.

(5) The vocative of two nouns, brōlis 'brother', Dievūlis 'God', has two alternative forms ending in -i and -au: brūli/brolaū! Dievūli/Dievūliau!

Simple non-derived nouns of Paradigm 2 with -jas in the nominative singular have two alternative locative singular endings, viz. -uje and -yje: Nom. vējās 'wind', krauājas 'blood'; Loc. vējuje/vējūje, kraujuje/kraujuje. Nouns with a suffix ending in -jas have only one locative form ending in -uje: mokytojas 'teacher' – mokytojuje, 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

The (i)u-declension comprises nouns of the masculine gender with the following endings:
Within this declension it is possible to distinguish two paradigms (Paradigm 4 and Paradigm 5).

Paradigm 4:
Nom. Sg.: -us, -ius
Dat. Pl.: -ums, -iams
Nom. Sg.: -us after a hard consonant: tuřgus ‘market’, sūnus ‘son’, dangus ‘sky’
Dat. Pl.: -ums: tuřgums, sūnūms, dangūms

Paradigm 5:
Nom. Sg.: -ius/-jus: vašius ‘fruit’, koridorius ‘corridor’, sōdžius ‘village’, pavojus ‘danger’
Dat. Pl.: -iams/-jams: vašiams, koridoriams, sōdžiams, pavojams

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 4

 tuřgus ‘market’, sūnus ‘son’, dangus ‘sky’

Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>tuřgus</th>
<th>sūnus</th>
<th>dangus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
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<td>sūnaus</td>
<td>dangaus</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tuřgui</td>
<td>sūnui</td>
<td>daŋgui</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tuřgy</td>
<td>sūny</td>
<td>daŋy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>tuřgumi</td>
<td>sūnumī</td>
<td>dangumī</td>
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<td>sūnuje</td>
<td>danguē</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
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<td>sūnaū</td>
<td>daŋaū</td>
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Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>sūnūs</th>
<th>daŋgus</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>daŋy</td>
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<td>sūnuosè</td>
<td>danguosè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Paradigm 5

 koridorius 'corridor', sodžius 'village', pavojus 'danger'

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>koridorius</th>
<th>sodžius</th>
<th>pavojus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>koridoriaus</td>
<td>sodžiaus</td>
<td>pavojaus</td>
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<td>koridoriui</td>
<td>sodžiuai</td>
<td>pavojui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>koridorių</td>
<td>sodžių</td>
<td>pavojų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
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<td>sodžiumi</td>
<td>pavojumi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>koridoriuje</td>
<td>sodžiuje</td>
<td>pavojuje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>koridoriau</td>
<td>sodžiau</td>
<td>pavojau</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>sodžiai</th>
<th>pavojai</th>
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<td>Loc.</td>
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<td>sodžiuose</td>
<td>pavojuose</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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.: sūnūs/sūnaĩ | tuŗgūs/tuŗgai
Dat. Pl.: sūnūms/sūnāms | tuŗgūms/tuŗgams

Forms typical of (i)a-stems have become the norm in the nominative and dative plural of Paradigm 5: sodžiai, vaĩsiai, pavojai; sodžiams, vaĩsiams, pavojams; their ancient (now obsolete) forms were: sodžiūs, vaĩsiūs; sodžiums, vaĩsiums).

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:
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:
a few nouns referring to male persons which are masculine, e.g.: vaidilà ‘high heathen priest’, Veñclova (a masculine surname), Stūndžia (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 (iö-stem nouns)

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 6
jūra ‘sea’, ranka ‘hand’, galva ‘head’, aušra ‘dawn’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>žmonės</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen. žmogaus</td>
<td>žmonių</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat. žmogui</td>
<td>žmonėms</td>
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<td>Acc. žmogų</td>
<td>žmones</td>
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<td>Instr. žmogumi</td>
<td>žmonémis</td>
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<td>Loc. žmoguję</td>
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<td>Voc. žmogaū</td>
<td>žmonės</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Paradigm 7

sauja 'cupped hand', vyšnia 'cherry-tree', žinia ‘piece of news’, marti ‘daughter-in-law’

#### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
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<th>vyšnia</th>
<th>žinia</th>
<th>marti</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>žinia</td>
<td>marti</td>
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<td>žiniós</td>
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#### Plural

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<td>žiniomís</td>
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</tr>
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</table>
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. dēdē 'uncle', Krēvē (a masculine surname) and a few which are of the "common gender", e.g.: mēmē 'foolish/sluggish person', spirgēlē 'fussy person', all ė-stem nouns are feminine.

DECLENSION PATTERNS

Paradigm 8

gėrve 'crane', bītē 'bee', aikštē 'square', žolē 'grass'

Singular

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<th></th>
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Plural

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<td>aikščių</td>
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<td>žolēms</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. mergē! ‘lassie!’, martēl! ‘daughter-in-law!’, sesūt! ‘sister!’, Elenūt! (a female name), mamūt! ‘mummy!’ (cf. the vocative mōtin! ‘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. krōsnis ‘stove’, širdis ‘heart’, žuvis ‘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 -ų after a hard consonant (žuv-Ų), whereas others have this ending after a palatalized consonant (krōsn-ų). 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).

krōsnis ‘stove’, širdis ‘heart’, žuvis ‘fish’

Singular

<table>
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<th>širdis</th>
<th>žuvis</th>
</tr>
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<td>žuvis</td>
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<td>žuviēs</td>
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### NOUN

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<th>Instrumental</th>
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<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>širdy</td>
<td>žuvy</td>
<td>krósny</td>
<td>širdy</td>
<td>žuvy</td>
<td>krósny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>krósns</td>
<td>širdis</td>
<td>žuvis</td>
<td>krósns</td>
<td>širdis</td>
<td>žuvis</td>
<td>krósns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>krósnyse</td>
<td>širdysė</td>
<td>žuvysė</td>
<td>krósnyse</td>
<td>širdysė</td>
<td>žuvysė</td>
<td>krósnyse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Paradigm 10**

Paradigm 10 is typical of masculine nouns which have the nominative singular ending -is, e.g. žvėris ‘beast’, dantis ‘tooth’, debesis ‘cloud’. Differently from feminine nouns, in the dative singular the ending is -iui (cf. Paradigm 9). Variation in the endings of genitive plural (žvėr-ų, dant-ų) is the same in nature and origin as in Paradigm 9.

žvėris ‘beast’, dantis ‘tooth’, debesis ‘cloud’

### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>žvėris</th>
<th>dantis</th>
<th>debesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>žvėris</td>
<td>dantis</td>
<td>debesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>žvėrięs</td>
<td>dantięs</td>
<td>debesięs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>žvėriui</td>
<td>dańciui</td>
<td>debesiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>žvėri</td>
<td>dań</td>
<td>debesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>žvėrimi</td>
<td>dantimí</td>
<td>debesimí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>žvėryjė</td>
<td>dantyjė</td>
<td>debesyjė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>žvėrįė</td>
<td>dantiė</td>
<td>debesiė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>žvėrys</th>
<th>dantys</th>
<th>debesys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Voc.</td>
<td>žvėrys</td>
<td>dantys</td>
<td>debesys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>žvėrią</td>
<td>dantą</td>
<td>debesą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>žvėriams</td>
<td>dantims</td>
<td>debesims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>žvėris</td>
<td>dantis</td>
<td>debesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>žvėrimis</td>
<td>dantimís</td>
<td>debesimís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>žvėryšė</td>
<td>dantysė</td>
<td>debesysė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Paradigm 11

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

\[ \text{akmuō 'stone', vanduō 'water', šuō 'dog'} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>akmuō</td>
<td>vanduō</td>
<td>šuō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>akmenis</td>
<td>vandeņis</td>
<td>šuņis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>ākmeniui</td>
<td>vāndeniui</td>
<td>šūniui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>ākmenī</td>
<td>vāndenī</td>
<td>šūnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>ākmeniu</td>
<td>vāndeniui</td>
<td>šūniui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>akmenyjē</td>
<td>vāndenyjē</td>
<td>šūnyjē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>akmeniē</td>
<td>vāndeniē</td>
<td>šūniē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Voc.</td>
<td>ākmenys</td>
<td>vāndenys</td>
<td>šūnys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>akmenī</td>
<td>vāndenī</td>
<td>šūnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>akmenims</td>
<td>vāndenims</td>
<td>šūnims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>akmenīs</td>
<td>vāndenis</td>
<td>šūnis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>akmenimis</td>
<td>vāndenimis</td>
<td>šūnimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>akmenysē</td>
<td>vāndenysē</td>
<td>šūnysē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the nominative singular the noun šuō has an alternative form šuvā and in the genitive singular – šuniēs.

Paradigm 12

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

\[ \text{sesuō 'sister', duktē 'daughter'} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>sesuō</td>
<td>duktē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>seseņs</td>
<td>dukteņs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>sēseriai</td>
<td>dukteriai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>sēserī</td>
<td>dukterī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.  
**debesis/debesys** ‘cloud’

Gen. Sg.  
**dantiēs/dańčio** ‘tooth’
**debesiēs/dēbesio** ‘cloud’
**žvēriēs/žvėrio** ‘beast’
**piemenis/piemenio** ‘shepherd’
**rudeņs/rūdenio** ‘autumn’

Instr. Sg.  
**žvērimi/žvēriu** ‘beast’
**dantimi/dančiū** ‘tooth’
**debesimī/dėbesiu** ‘cloud’

The nouns **deguonis** ‘oxygen’, **grobuonis** ‘predatory animal’, **velionis** ‘the deceased’ can be declined either according to (i)a-declension or the i-declension.
### Table 2. Noun case endings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i)a-declension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Par. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>-ui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>-e</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Voc.</td>
<td>-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>-ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>-ams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>-ais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>-uose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *akmuō* ‘stone’, *vanduō* ‘water’, *piemuō* ‘shepherd’ are *akmeniū, vėdenui, piemeniū* instead of the older forms *akmenimi, vėdenui, piemenimi*. The paradigms of the nouns *petys* ‘shoulder’ (the older form is *petis*), *viėšpats* ‘lord’ contain only two forms typical of the *i*-declension – the genitive singular *petiš, viėšpaties* and the instrumental singular *petimi, viėšpatimi*, which are often replaced by *pečiū, viėšpačiu*. All their other forms coincide with those of the *(i)a*-declension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>petys</td>
<td>viėšpats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>petiš</td>
<td>viėšpaties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>pečiūi</td>
<td>viėšpačiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>pėti</td>
<td>viėšpači</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>petimi/pečiū</td>
<td>viėšpači/ viėšpatimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>petyje</td>
<td>viėšpatyje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>pety</td>
<td>viėšpatie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pečiai/viėšpači</td>
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<td></td>
<td>viėšpači</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viėšpačiams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viėšpačius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viėšpačiai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viėšpačiuose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viėšpačiai/viėšpatys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In spite of its ending -uo in the nominative singular the noun *mėnuo* 'month' is declined according to the (*i*)a-declension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>mėnuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>mėnesio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mėnesiui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>mėnesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>mėnesiui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>mėnesyje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>mėnesi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. *sesuō* 'sister', *duktē* 'daughter', which in the instrumental singular have two alternative forms – one typical of the *i*-declension, the other typical of the (*i*)o-declension – *seserim*/*sėseria*, *duktērim*/*dükteria*; and

2. *mōteris* 'woman', *obelis* 'apple tree', which in the genitive singular have two
alternative forms – *mötērs, obele* (the older forms of the consonantal stem) and *mötēries, obelēs* (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’, *mötēris* ‘woman’, *obelis* ‘apple tree’ may have two alternative forms in the instrumental singular – one of the *i*-declension: *širdimi, ugnimi, žuvimi, mōterimi, obelimi*, the other of the (*i*)o-declension *širdžia, ugniä, žuvia, mōteria, obele* (in the latter word the ending is of the ė-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 ė-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 ė-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.: *kelį, būrį, tuŗguj, jūroj,*
aikštēj, širdy, vandeny instead of kelyj, būryj, tuŗguje, jūroje, aikštēj, vandenyjē (but only výre, pirštē, langē, miškē);

the locative plural, particularly of the a-stem nouns, e.g.: languōs, miškuōs instead of languoσ, miškuoσ;

the instrumental singular of the i- and (i)u-stem nouns with the ending -mi, e.g., sūnu 更新, dangu 更新, širdi 更新, dantim, seserim instead of sūnum, dangu, širdim, dantim, seserim;

the instrumental plural of the (i)o-, é-, i-, u- and consonant-stem nouns with the ending -mis, e.g.: raŋkom, galvom, săujom, bitem, žolēm, žverim, širdiŋ, dantim, akmenim, dukterim, sūnu更新 instead of raŋkomis, galvomis, săujomis, bitemis, žolēmis, žverimis, širdimis, dantimis, akmenimis, dukterimis, sūnumis;

the dative plural ending often drops its final -s, except in the Low Lithuanian (Žemaitian) dialect, e.g.: kaimam, nāmam, raŋkom, ausim, sūnum, piemenim instead of kaimams, namams, raŋkomis, ausims, sūnumis, piemenims.

From dialects the shortened forms are penetrating into Standard colloquial Lithuanian, which phenomenon is reflected in fiction, e.g.:

Su kinejosi, trūpė šlapėj asloj, mindamas dår didēsnį pūrvą. ‘He kept turning and stamping on the wet floor, making it still muddier.’

Jā kišēnėj dår yrā kēletas skatiky. ‘In his pocket there are still a few coins.’

Kartą pavijom jā Ėinanči viēškeliu jaunimo būry. ‘Once we overtook her walking on the road in a group of young people.’

Miglōtuos gyvenimo vingiuos kiek karťų manė apgava. ‘In the hazy convolutions of life how many times have you deceived me.’

Ką parneši brōliam artōjam? ‘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 -ė, -i, -o, -u, e.g.:
    atelēj ‘atelier’
    domino
    fojē ‘foyer’
    taksi ‘taxi’
    ragū ‘ragout’
    tabū ‘taboo’

(2) a few nouns ending in unstressed -i, -o, -u, e.g.:
    lēdi ‘lady’
    maestro ‘maestro’
    spagēti ‘spaghetti’
    zēbu ‘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:

siena ‘wall’, ašara ‘tear’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>siena</td>
<td>sienos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>sienos</td>
<td>sienų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>sienai</td>
<td>sienoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>sieną</td>
<td>sienas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>siena</td>
<td>sienomis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>sienoje</td>
<td>sienose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>savaitė ‘week’</td>
<td>pušynas ‘pine forest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. Pl.</td>
<td>savaitėms</td>
<td>pušynams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. Pl.</td>
<td>savaitės</td>
<td>pušynus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See also the accentuation of the following words given to exemplify the declension patterns in 1.19, 25, 26, 28: vyras ‘man’, élnias ‘deer’, vėjas ‘wind’, brōlis ‘brother’, jūra ‘sea’, sāuja ‘handful’, gervė ‘crane’, krošnis ‘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:
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:

-āla: sapāla 'nonsense talker', strapāla 'fidget';
-ātis, -ē: gimāntītis 'relative', našlātītis 'orphan', vaikātītis 'grandchild'; eglātē 'little fir', kumelātē 'young mare', mergātē 'girl'; but aukštačtis 'High Lithuanian (Aukštaitian)', žemaitītis 'Low Lithuanian (Žemaitian)' are exceptions, they have the circumflex toneme and belong to the second accentuation class;
-ējas, -a: kirpējas 'barber', kirpēja 'hairdresser', pjovēja 'cutter (FEM), siuvējas 'tailor', siuvēja 'dressmaker (FEM)';
-ēnas, -ē: anykštēnas, anykštēné 'inhabitant of Anykščiai', kupiškēnas, kupiškēné 'inhabitant of Kupiškis';
-ēna: kvietēna 'wheat stubble', rugiēna 'rye stubble', naujēna 'news', avienā 'mutton', kiauliēna 'pork' (but: jautiēna);
-ēnē: Budriēnē, Kruopienē, Žemaitiēnē (female surnames), karaliēnē 'queen';
-ēba, -ēbos: mityba 'nutrition', sargyba 'guard', žvejyba 'fishing', dalībos 'sharing', lažybos 'wager', pāršībos 'matchmaking';
-ēbē: aukštybē 'height', didybē 'grandeur', gyvybē 'life', tuštībē 'vanity';
-ēnas: ažuolīnas 'oak grove', beržīnas 'birch grove', knygīnas 'book shop';
-ēna: lentīna 'shelf', šeimīna 'family';
-ētis, -ē: brolytīs 'little brother', paukštītīs 'birdie', sunītīs 'puppy', akūtē 'eyelet', mergūtē 'girlie', sesūtē 'little sister';
-ōjas: sienojās 'log', šilōjās 'heather';
-ōjus: vasarōjus 'summer crops', rytōjus 'tomorrow';
-ōnis, -ē: ligōnis 'he-patient', ligōnē 'she-patient';
-ōve: bendrōve 'company', daržōve 'vegetable', draugōve 'brigade';
-(i)ukštis, -ē: varliūkštis 'naughty child', velniūkštis 'little imp', mergiuākštē 'derog. little girl';
-uomenē: kariūomenē 'army', visuomenē 'society';

(2) nouns with a stressed root or a stressed suffix of the derivational base (having the stress on the third, forth or further syllable from the end):

-ana: liēkana 'remainder', ūkana 'mist';
-atis: jaunatis 'young moon', pilnatis 'full moon' (parallel with jaunatis, pilnatis 3°)
-iava: baūdžiava 'serfdom', gāniava 'pasturage', pāniava 'confusion';
-estis: galvestis 'pity', lākestis 'expectation', mōkestis 'tax', rūpestis 'worry';
-ēlis, -e: apkiautēlis, -e 'degraded person', atsiskyrēlis, -e 'hermit', išdīkēlis, -e '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: ardyamas 'disassembling', minkymas 'kneading', tardymas 'interrogation', valgymas 'eating';
-liava: rāšliava 'scribble', riņkliava 'levy';
-sena: eisena 'gait', galvōsena 'mentality', rasysena 'handwriting', varōsena 'usage';
-tojas, -a: gūdytojas, -a 'physician', mōkytojas, -a 'teacher', rašytojas, -a 'writer';
-(i)uviene: kefdžiuviene 'wife of a herdsman', Senkuvienė 'a married woman's surname, wife of Senkus';

(3) nouns with following stressed prefixes, derived from nouns:
aūt-: aūtkaklis 'collar', aūtkapis 'tombstone', aūtpetis 'shoulder strap';
apū-: apūkaklē 'collar', apūrankē 'bracelet', apūaušris 'pre-dawn';
at-, atō-: atgarsis 'echo', atspalvis 'hue', atōsmūgis 'recoil', atōveiksmis 'counter-action';
i-: ībrolis 'stepbrother', īsūnis 'stepson', īrankis 'tool';
iš-: išvakarēs 'eve', išdukterē 'foster-daughter';
nūo-: nūokalnē 'slope', nūošimties 'percent';
pō-: pōgrindis 'underground', pōžemis 'underground', pōklasis 'subclass';
priē-: prieangis 'porch', priēbalsis 'consonant', priēgalvis 'pillow', priēskonis 'spice';
priēš-: priēšaušris 'pre-dawn', priēškambaris 'anteroom', priēšnuodis 'antidote';
prō-: prōkalbē 'parent language', prótevis 'ancestor', prótarpsis 'interval';
už-, užūo-: užjūris 'overseas countries', užkrosnis 'area behind the stove', užkulinis 'counter', užūovėja 'lee'.

(4) nouns derived from prefixed verbs by means of derivative flexions, with the stress on the prefix: īnašas 'contribution', īvadas 'introduction', īžanga 'preamble', pōbūvis 'party', sājunga 'union', sāžinė 'conscience', sāndara 'structure', užūolaida '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', saulēgrāža 'sun flower', darbūmetis 'busy
season', *prekįstalis* 'counter', *dirvėžemis* 'soil', *galvősūkis* '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: *bendrąbutis* 'hostel', *daiktavardis* 'noun', *keliālapis* 'voucher', *ugnirvietė* 'fireplace';

(3) compound nouns with the stressed short linking vowels -i-, -u-: *akimirkKa* 'moment', *akiplėša* 'impudent person', *galulaukė* 'the end of a field', *vidūdienis* 'noon';

(4) compounds carrying the stress on their first syllable: *bādmetis* 'famine', *brāngakmenis* 'precious stone', *brólvakis* 'nephew', *raūkraštis* 'manuscript', *savātīgalis* '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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Sg.</th>
<th>galvijas</th>
<th>peilis</th>
<th>tuŗgus</th>
<th>rankā</th>
<th>bitē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'finger'</td>
<td>'neat'</td>
<td>'knife'</td>
<td>'market'</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
<td>'bee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. Pl.</td>
<td>galvijams</td>
<td>peiliams</td>
<td>tuŗgums</td>
<td>raņkoms</td>
<td>bitēms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. Pl.</td>
<td>galvijūs</td>
<td>peiliūs</td>
<td>turgūs</td>
<td>rankās</td>
<td>bitēs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:

- *-aĩnis, -ė*: *riestaĩnis* 'ring-shaped cracknel', *saldaĩnis* 'candy', *cukraĩnė* 'confectionery shop', *mišraĩnė* 'salad';
- *-alius, -ė*: *snaudalius, snauduĩlis* 'sleepy-head', *tauškalius, tauškalius* 'gasbag';
- *-ātvē*: *jaunātvē* 'youth', *senātvē* 'old age';
- *-elis, -ė*: *bernelis* 'laddie', *kalnēlis* 'little hill', *lovēlė* 'little bed', *mergelē* 'lassie';
- *-elis, -ė*: *dobilēlis* 'little clover', *vainikēlis* 'little wreath', *valandēle* 'moment';
- *-ēsis: degēsis* 'charred log', *džiuvēsis* 'piece of dry bread', *griuvėsiat* 'ruins';
- *-iënė*: *bulviënė* 'potato soup', *kiaušiminė* 'fried eggs', *uogiënė* 'jam', *vakariēnė* 'supper';
- *-iêlis, -ė*: *kaunīêtis* 'inhabitant of Kaunas', *miestīêtis* 'town dweller', *pietiētis* 'southerner';
-ikas, -ė: liejikas ‘smelter’, lupikas, -ė ‘usurer’;

(derivatives made from nouns of the third and fourth accentuation class);


-γklė: rodykla ‘pointer, arrow’, taupykla ‘money-box’, svarstyklė ‘scales’;


-γstė: draugystė ‘friendship’, jaunystė ‘youth’;

-(i)okas, -(i)okė: berniokas ‘chap’, naujokas, -ė ‘novice’, pirmokas, -ė ‘first-former’;

-(i)oklis, -ė: klasiklis, -ė ‘wanderer’, vijoklis ‘climbing plant’, medžioklė ‘hunt’;

-õnė: abejõnė ‘doubt’, svajonė ‘dream’;

-otis: qotis ‘pitcher’, gyslotis ‘plantain’, sakočis ‘branchy cake’;


-uoklis, -uoklė: girtuoklis, -ė ‘drunkard’, švyrutuokle ‘pendulum’;

-uolis, -ė: gražuolis, -ė ‘handsome man/woman’, jaunuolis, -ė ‘a youth’;

-ūtis,-ė: kiškutis ‘little hare’, langūtis ‘little window’, motūtė ‘mummy’;

-ūzis, -ė: bernužis ‘lad’, brolužis ‘dear brother’, draugužis ‘dear friend’;

-tynės: eitynės ‘paddle’, imtynės ‘wrestling’, kautynės ‘match’;


(2) nouns with the following prefixes:

be-: bedarbus, -ė ‘unemployed’, belaisvis, -ė ‘prisoner’, beprotis, -ė ‘madman, mad woman’, berąstis, -ė ‘illiterate person’ (but: begėdis, -ė ‘shameless person’, besotis, -ė ‘insatiable person’ belong to the first accentuation class);

(3) compound nouns with the stress on the root (in some cases, on the suffix) of the second component:


**Accentuation class 3**

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, 3a, 3b, 34a and 34b.

Nouns indicated as 3 have the acute toneme in the accusative plural on the penultimate syllable:

Nom. Sg.: ląngas   arklīs   sūnu s  galvā   aikštē   širdis
       ‘window’   ‘horse’   ‘son’   ‘head’   ‘square’   ‘heart’
Dat. Pl.: langāms  arklīams  sūnu ms  galvoms  aikštēms  širdīms
Acc. Pl.: ląngus   arklius   sūnus   gālvas   aikštes   širdis

(See the full paradigms in 1.19, 22, 25, 26, 28.)

Nouns indicated as 3a have the acute toneme in the accusative plural on the third syllable from the end:

Nom. Sg.: audeklas   lygumā   dōbīlas
       ‘cloth’   ‘plain’   ‘clover’
Dat. Pl.: audeklams  lygumōms  dōbilāms
Acc. Pl.: audeklus   līgumas   dōbilus

Nouns indicated as 3b have the short stressed vowel or circumflex in the accusative plural on the third syllable from the end:

Nom. Sg.: rašinys   kēpalas   duburūs
          ‘composition’   ‘loaf’   ‘pit’
Dat. Pl.: rašiniams  kėpalams  duburiāms
Acc. Pl.: rašinius   kėpalus   dūburius

Nouns indicated as 34a have the acute toneme on the fourth syllable from the end:

Nom. Sg.: laiškanešys  nuožulnumā
        ‘postman’   ‘declivity’
Dat. Pl.: laiškanešiams  nuožulnumōms
Acc. Pl.: laiškanešius  nuožulnumas

Nouns indicated as 34b have the short stressed vowel or circumflex toneme on the fourth syllable from the end:

Nom. Sg.: āpmušalas   tēterinas   uždavinys
        ‘upholstery’   ‘black grouse’   ‘task’
Dat. Pl.: āpmušalams  tēterināms  uždavinīams
Acc. Pl.: āpmušalus   tēterinus   uždavinīus
Beside simple nouns the third accentuation class includes derived nouns with the following suffixes:

- *-alas: barškalas 'rattle', gaivūlas 'element', tipalas 'solution' (3b);
- *-atis: bjauratis 'nastiness', gaišatis 'delay', kamsatis 'squash', maišatis 'confusion' (3b);
- *-enā: arklenā 'horse hide', ožkenā 'goatskin' (3a), kiskenā 'hare-skin', meškenā 'bear-skin' (3b);
- *-esys: barškesys 'clatter', blizgesys 'glitter', čulbesys 'warble', liūdesys 'sadness' (3b);
- *-inas: āvinas 'ram', kātinas 'tomcat', lūpinas 'he-fox', žušinas 'gander' (3b);
- *-iņās: audinīs 'fabric', brēzinīs 'drawing', leidinīs 'publication', traunikīs 'train' (3b), mezginīs 'knitting', sukinīs 'pirouette' (3b);
- *-ulas: burbulas 'bubble', gniūtulas 'lump', gniūžulas 'tuft' (3b);
- *-ulys: čiaudułys 'sneeze', kosulys 'cough' (3a), nuobodulys 'boredom' (3a), šleikšulys 'nausea' (3b), iškyšulys 'cape' (3b);
- *-umā: aukštumā 'height', storumā 'thickness', tolumā 'distance' (3a), ankštumā 'toughness', dykumā 'desert' (3b), iškilumā 'prominence' (3b);
- *-uras: buñburas 'bulge', pulpuras 'bud' (3b);
- *-ūrās: duburys 'pit', sūkurys 'vortex', švyturys 'lighthouse', žiburys 'light' (3b).

The third accentuation class also includes compounds which in the nominative singular have the stressed endings *-ys, -e:

brolžudys, -ė 'fratricide', chorvedys, -ė 'choir master', darbdavys, -ė 'employer' (3a),
bat siuvys 'shoemaker', šienpjovys 'haymaker' (3b), jaunavedys 'bridegroom' (3a, 3b),
ingliakasys 'coal miner' (3a, 3b).

**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.: miškas 'forest', kėlias 'way', būris 'detachment', dangūs 'sky', aušrą 'dawn', žinią 'piece of news', žolę 'grass', dantis 'tooth'

Dat. Pl.: miškams, keliams, būriams, dangūms, aušrōms, žiniōms, žolėms, dantis

Acc. Pl.: miškūs, keliūs, būriūs, dangūs, aušrūs, žiniūs, žolės, dantis

(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 (Alytūs, Ašvijà, Sasnavà, Virvyčià) and a few derivatives with the prefix ne-: nedarnà ‘disharmony’, nedrąsà ‘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. ėukštas (MASC), ėukštà (FEM) ‘tall’, saldús (MASC), saldì (FEM) ‘sweet’, or through their relation to a basic word, e.g. medinis (MASC), medinè (FEM) ‘wooden’ (cf. mēdis ‘wood’).

Morphological categories of the adjective
GENDER, NUMBER AND CASE

Giminė, skačius, lińksnis

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gēras</td>
<td>gerà</td>
<td>gēra</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kärštas</td>
<td>karštà</td>
<td>kärsta</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žālitas</td>
<td>žalià</td>
<td>žālia</td>
<td>'green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gražūs</td>
<td>gražì</td>
<td>gražū</td>
<td>'beautiful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartūs</td>
<td>kartì</td>
<td>kartù</td>
<td>'bitter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puikūs</td>
<td>puiki</td>
<td>puikù</td>
<td>'fine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjectives, which end in -is, -ė (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. gēras tēvas (MASC) ‘good father’, gerà mótna (FEM) ‘good mother’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>gēras tēvas</td>
<td>gerà mótna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>gēro tēvo</td>
<td>gerōs mótnos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>gerām tēvui</td>
<td>gērai mótnai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>gērą tēvą</td>
<td>gērå mútnąq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>gerū tēvu</td>
<td>gerā mútna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>geramē tēvė</td>
<td>gerojē mútinoje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

Jis malonuĩs. ‘He is kind.’
Ji maloni. ‘She is kind.’
Tēvas būvo piktas. ‘Father was angry.’
Ji sėdėjo liūdną. ‘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, taĩ, visa taĩ, the predicative adjective is used in the neuter form, e.g.:

Viskas pigu. ‘Everything is inexpensive.’
Taĩ absurdiška. ‘It is absurd.’
Visa taĩ pasirōdė jām keĩsta. ‘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.:

Kambaryjė būvo tamsuĩ. ‘It was dark in the room.’
Taĩ pūdra iũ līuksma! ‘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:

\[ \text{Saldū – gardū.} \quad \text{‘Sweet is delicious.’} \\
\text{Raudōna – gražū.} \quad \text{‘Red is beautiful.’} \]

(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:

\[ \text{Siūloma prēkė nebrangū.} \quad \text{‘An offered commodity is not expensive.’} \\
\text{Pernyktės bulvės neskanū.} \quad \text{‘Last year’s potatoes don’t taste good.’} \]

The neuter forms in such sentences can be replaced by masculine or feminine forms, cf.:

\[ \text{Siūloma prēkė nebrangi.} \\
\text{Pernyktės bulvės neskaniūs.} \]

(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:

\[ \text{Gēra eina toli, blūga dār toliaū.} \quad \text{‘Good goes far, evil goes still farther.’} \\
\text{Esū jaū iš šīlta, iš šālta mātēs.} \quad \text{‘I’ve seen both warm and hot.’} \\
\text{Buva ū māžas iš negalejau atskirti gēra nuo pikta.} \quad \text{‘I was a small child and couldn’t tell good from evil.’} \\
\text{Nejuokauk iš tō, kā laikaš šveına.} \quad \text{‘Don’t mock what I consider to be sacred.’} \]

Masculine adjectives in the singular case form can also be sometimes used in a similar way, cf.:

\[ \text{Pikt/Pikta nepatyrēs, gēro/gēra nepažiins.} \quad \text{‘Having experienced no evil, you can not recognize good.’} \]

(5) Neuter adjectives in the nominal function very often go together with the pronoun *kas* and its combinations with other pronouns:

\[ \text{Su motulē atsitīko kažin kās baisū.} \quad \text{‘Something terrible happened to mother.’} \\
\text{Gāl jaūčia kā pikta?} \quad \text{‘Perhaps he feels some evil.’} \]

2.5 To sum up: masculine and feminine adjectives refer to a quality which is attributed to a thing:

\[ \text{Pirkiā tamī.} \quad \text{‘The house is dark.’} \\
\text{Šiaūdien šālta šūnas.} \quad \text{‘Today the weather is cold.’} \]
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:

Pirkioje tamsū. 'It is dark in the house.'
Šiaudien šalta. 'It’s cold today.'

Even when the neuter adjectives are correlated with the other neuter adjectives or pronouns (Saldū - gardū 'Sweet is delicious.' Visa taž gražū '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:

Adjectival gender forms

Concrete quality | Quality in general

Masculine gender | Feminine gender | Neuter gender

2.6 Masculine and feminine adjectives have two numbers – singular and plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áukštas stālas</td>
<td>aukšti stalaž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aukštā kēdē</td>
<td>āukštos kēdes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jis gražūs</td>
<td>jiē gražūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji gražī</td>
<td>jūs gražīs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neuter adjectives haven’t different forms for number or case. They can be used as predicatives with nouns both in the singular and plural.

Medūs skanū. 'Honey is delicious.'
Ilgi sijonai negražū. '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 medinis kind, see 2.27) have no vocative. The function of the vocative is performed by their nominative case, e.g. gēras tēvel! 'good father!'
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’, geriāusias ‘best’). Thus, the positive adjectival forms are the unmarked member of the opposition while the comparative and superlative forms constitute the marked member.

Masculine and feminine comparative forms are formed with the suffix -esn-(is/ė):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gēras, gerā</td>
<td>gerēsnis, gerēsnė</td>
<td>‘better’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gražūs, gražī</td>
<td>gražēsnis, gražēsnė</td>
<td>‘more beautiful’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ēl- and the comparative suffix -esn-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gēras, gerā</td>
<td>gerėlesnis, gerėlesnė</td>
<td>‘a little bit better’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gražūs, gražī</td>
<td>gražėlesnis, gražėlesnė</td>
<td>‘a little bit more beautiful’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are considered to be diminutive comparative forms since they indicate a slightly lesser degree of a quality than the basic comparative forms.

Masculine and feminine superlative forms are built with the suffix -iaus-(ias/ia):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gēras, gerā</td>
<td>geriāusias, geriāusia</td>
<td>‘best’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gražūs, gražī</td>
<td>gražiāusias, gražiāusia</td>
<td>‘most beautiful’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some grammars distinguish the so called intensified superlative degree, which is, in fact, a combination of a superlative adjective with the pronoun pāts/patī or with the plural genitive form of the pronoun visūs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pāts geriāusias</td>
<td>patī geriāusia</td>
<td>‘the very best’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visū geriāusias</td>
<td>visū geriāusia</td>
<td>‘the best of all’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 pāts, patī and visū:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pāts gerās</td>
<td>patī gerōji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visū gerāsis</td>
<td>visū gerōji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some comparative and superlative adjectives which do not possess the positive degree. They are most probably derived from nouns.
The comparative degree of neuter adjectives is formed with the derivational morpheme -iau:

- **gēra** 'good'
- **gražu** 'beautiful'

The diminutive comparative degree of neuter adjectives has the form-building element -ėliau:

- **gēra** gerėliau 'a little bit better'
- **gražu** gražėliau 'a little bit more beautiful'

The superlative degree of neuter adjectives is formed with the form-building element -iausia:

- **gēra** geriausia 'the best'
- **gražu** gražiausia '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 **visi**:

- **visų** geriausia 'best of all'
- **visų** gražiausia 'most beautiful of all'

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 **už** followed by a noun in the accusative, or by the conjunctions **kaip, nekaip, negu, nei** followed by a noun in the nominative.

- **Teisybė už auksą brangesnė.** 'The truth is dearer than gold.'
- **Gerėsnis tėvas, kad iš žiaurūs, nekaip/negu/nei patėvis.** 'A father is better, although cruel, 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 tárðymo Pečiūra pasidarė ramėsnis.** 'After the interrogation Pečiūra became quieter.'
- **Dabar jis gerėsnis negu anksčiau.** '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 motiną ‘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 per and a noun in the accusative.

Augustinas tik penkeriais metais buvo už manė vyrėsnis. ‘Augustinas was only five years older than I was.’
Sūnas per visą sprindį yra jaū aukštėsnis už tėvą. ‘The son is taller than his 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 iš, tarp with the plural accusative or genitive which may be modified by the pronoun visas, visi ‘all’:

aukščiausias iš visų brolių
aukščiausias tarp visų brolių
‘the tallest of all the brothers’

(2) a noun and the pronoun visi ‘all’ in the plural genitive:

visų brolių gražiausias
visų kalnų aukščiausias
‘the handsomest of the brothers’
‘the highest of the mountains’

(3) adverbs užvis, pervis ‘of all’:

užvis/pervis didžiausias
‘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 brangiūsias laikas pavasarį. ‘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.:

Sveikata už viskų/užvis meilėsne. ‘Health is dearest of all.’
Pranukas už visų 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 (kuo, kū, the plural genitive of the same adjective in the positive degree), and they are never accompanied by the qualifying phrases mentioned in 2.13.

Danguje nė mažiausio debesėlio. ‘There is not a smallest single cloud in the sky.’

(Idėkite, motinos vaikams Tėvynės mėilę kuodidžiausią. ‘Mothers, try to instill in your children love as great as possible for their homeland.’

Jai vaidėnosi baisių baisiausi vaizdai. ‘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.

Tėveli mano brangiáusias/ brangúsias, kuo įs tav taipt nusidėjau?! ‘My dearest father, what sin have I committed against you?!”

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.

Staklys ėmė lankytis pas Mörtą, kad tik būdavo laisvėsnis/apylaisvis/laisvokas/polaisvis malūnė. ‘Staklys began to visit Morta whenever he had some free time in the mill.’

2.15 Superlative and comparative adjectives may have definite forms:

Jū vaikai buvo perėję į aukštesniąsias klasės. ‘Their children had been transferred to senior forms.’

Māno tēvas laiko sāvo geriuāsiāji vīna moliniuose induose. ‘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, -é, e.g.:

apygeris vaikas ‘not a bad child’
medinis nāmas ‘a wooden house’
kvietinė duona ‘wheat bread’
mažytė mergaitė ‘a very small girl’

(dīdis, -ē, dīdelis, -ē ‘big’ and adjectives with the suffix -utinis are an exception, e.g. kraštutiniāusios priemonēs ‘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:

mažokas, -a  ‘somewhat too small’
mažiukas, -ė  ‘very small’

(3) adjectives with the suffix -iškas, which classify objects into different kinds:

pieniška sriuba  ‘milk soup’
výriški marškiniai  ‘men’s shirt’

(4) adjectives which are derived from nouns and describe objects as being covered with something:

pušvinas  ‘muddy’
miltuotas  ‘covered with flour’

(5) a large number of adjectives which refer to qualities the degree of which does not usually change:

būsas  ‘barefoot’
išvirkščias  ‘inside out’
pėščias  ‘on foot’
raūtas  ‘mounted’
prėšingas  ‘opposite’
paskiras  ‘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):

gėras + jis = geràs-is  gerà + ji = ger-òji
gražûs + jis = gražûs-is  gražû + ji = graž-òji

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:

- **Priėmė jį kunigáikštis didžiøjoe piliês mënëje.**
- **Sekmadienį jis reingdavosi geraïsiais drabužiais.**

  ‘The Duke received him in the big hall of the castle.’

  ‘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:

- **Në tik upélis, bët ië didžiøjji üpé jaï bëvo apsitráukusi ledë.**
- **Jis bijiøj senių dievų keãsto ir nepasitikëjo naujių galîye.**

  ‘Ice had covered not only the brook but also the big river.’

  ‘He was afraid of the vengeance of the old gods and didn’t trust the powers of the new ones.’

(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:

- **Nepraëjo ir valandële, kaip jis tarp krutanëjju skarëlij pamëtë melynaj ir tuoja jë pažino ir iëskyrë ir visi tokii ar beñt pa-naši.**

  ‘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:

- **Didžiøjji gëtvë**
- **Didësis kàras**
- **Mažojji Lietuva**
- **Žemojji pilis**
- **Juodojji jára**
- **Žaliàsùs tiltas**

  ‘Great Street’

  ‘The Great War’

  ‘Lithuania Minor’

  ‘The Lower Castle’

  ‘The Black Sea’

  ‘The Green Bridge’
(b) to indicate species and to form various terms:

ankstytvosios būvės  ‘the early potatoes’
juodasis gañdras  ‘the black stork’
saldieji pipirai  ‘the sweet pepper’
lengvoji pramonė  ‘the light industry’
juodieji serbėnai  ‘the black currants’
dėmėtoji šiltinė  ‘spotted fever’
trumpieji baisiai  ‘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.

Ant aukšto statoš kálno pasiródė stebuklingas žiburys... Bėt nė vieną jai mėtai aukų iš pasišventimo praėjo, o dar nė vienas iš lipančiųjų nepasilytėjo stebuklingojo žiburio. ‘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.’

As anaphoric determiners definite adjectives are often used with the demonstrative pronouns tás, tā ‘that’, šis, ši, šitas, šita, šitā ‘this’.

Iš staž̄i iš tankių mėdžių pasiródė trys puikios, báltos guibės. Ančiukas pažino tuos nuostabiūsios paukščius. ‘Suddenly three wonderful white swans appeared from behind the thick trees. The duckling recognized those wonderful birds.’

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:

Paskutiniai spinduliai švelniai  ‘The last sunrays caressed softly the tops of the taller pines and fir-trees.’
glóstė aukštesniųjų/aukšt̆esnių egšliaičių iš pušių viršunes.  ‘They would refer their cases to priests and the older men.’
Jiė sàvo bylą pavèsdavo kriviams iš seniesiems/senėms vyràms.  ‘The quiet pig always roots up a deeper root’ (i.e. Still waters run deep).

(2) in various generalizations, e.g. proverbs:

Tylióji/Tyli kiaûlė gilią šaknį knisa.  ‘The quiet pig always roots up a deeper root’ (i.e. Still waters run deep).

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 buvo nepaprastas kirvukas. Su tuod stebuklingu/stebuklinguoju kirvukai iš pagyde Vincę.*

‘It was not a simple axe. With that wonderful axe Vincė was cured.’

(2) in some terminological phrases:

**juoda ir balta duona**

‘brown and white bread’

**saldus ir rugštus pienas**

‘sweet and sour milk’

cf.:

**saldieji ir kartieji pipirai**

‘sweet and bitter pepper’

In terminological phrases definite adjectives sometimes may be replaced by derivative adjectives with -is, -ė:

**dryžosios kelnės**

‘striped trousers’

**jaunasis brolis**

‘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: **vyriaušias sūnus** ‘the eldest son’ is often used instead of **vyriaušiasis sūnus** even when the speaker uses it to distinguish from the other sons. The same can also be observed in terminological phrases: cf. **vyriaušias redaktorius, inžinierių** ‘chief editor, engineer’ instead of **vyriaušiasis redaktorius, inžinierių**.

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.

**Čia giliųjų ežerelių ir tyliųjų miško upelių pakrantėse augo kles tejo įvairių įvairių ausių medžių.**

‘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:

**Auga tavo merguželė pas senuostius tėvuželiūs. Pas senuostius tėvuželiūs tarp jaunųjų brolių.**

‘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:

**Pagaliau pamatėme sėnaji Vilnių.**

‘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. Tās kēliās tikrāsis ‘This road is the right one’).

Another syntactical peculiarity of definite adjectives is absence of complementation, c.f.: labai gēras ‘very good’ but *labai gerāsis.

2.22 The following adjectives have no definite forms:

(1) Adjectives with the ending -is, -ė, including those with the suffix -inis, -ė, e.g.:
   auksinis, auksinė ‘golden’
   geraširdis, geraširdė ‘kind-hearted’

Adjectives with the suffix -utinis, -ė form an exception, e.g.:
   paskutinis, paskutinė ‘last’
   paskutinysis, paskutinioji ‘the last’
   vidutinis, vidutinė ‘medium’
   vidutinysis, vidutinioji ‘the medium’

(2) Adjectives with suffixes or prefixes indicating the degree of a quality, e.g.:
   didokas, didoka ‘rather big’
   mažiukas, mažiukė ‘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, tā, tāsai, tāj).

   greitāsis traukinys → greitūkas traukinys ‘express train’
   didūsis pūštas → didžiūlis pūštas ‘the middle finger’
   jaunūji mokytoja → tōji jaunā mokytoja ‘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:

   Krāštā valdē nē galingieji, bēt žmoniū išrinktieji.
   ‘The country was governed not by the powerful, but by the elected.’
   Jōs nemēgo nei savieji, nei svetimieji.
   ‘She was disliked both by her own people and by the strangers.’

(2) masculine singular definite adjectives with generic reference:

   Akylāsis būtu seniai viskā suprātes.
   ‘A more observant man would have understood everything long ago.’
   Iř gundlejo 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:
Pirmiau̇ jis pas sveti̇ tū̇ muo si̇ us dirbav̇ o. ‘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.

geltonoji ‘the yellow one’ meaning ‘yellow fever’
piktoji ‘the evil one’ ‘a snake’
kruvinoji ‘the bloody one’ ‘dysentery’
šaltoji ‘the cold one’ ‘a prison’
nelabasis ‘the wicked one’ ‘the devil’

(4) feminine definite adjectives with abstract reference similar to that of neuter adjectives.

Jaù jàm atêjo paskutiniøjį. ‘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 ė-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.:
### Table 3. Adjective declensions and paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ending of Nom. Sg.</th>
<th>Ending of Nom. Pl.</th>
<th>Paradigm</th>
<th>Declension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(i)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ias</td>
<td>-i</td>
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<td>-is, -ys</td>
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<td>Feminine</td>
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<td>-os</td>
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#### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
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<th>Case</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>gėras</td>
<td>gražus</td>
<td>vyras</td>
<td>turgus</td>
<td>kitas</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>gėro</td>
<td>gražaūs</td>
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<tr>
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<td>gerąm</td>
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<td>turgui</td>
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<td>Acc.</td>
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<td>gražy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>gerų</td>
<td>gražiu</td>
<td>vyrš</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
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<td>gražiamę</td>
<td>vyre</td>
<td>turguje</td>
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#### Plural

<table>
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<th>Case</th>
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<tr>
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<td>vyrài</td>
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<td>turgums</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Instr.</td>
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<td>gražiaus</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>jünas</td>
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<td>laimingau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Paradigm 2**

Nom. Sg. -ias after a palatalized consonant or -as after į (ia-stem): žalius ‘green’, naūjas ‘new’. All adjectives of the superlative degree are declined according to this paradigm, e.g. geriūsias ‘the best’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>geriūsią</td>
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<td>geriūsiąm</td>
<td>geriūsiąu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Paradigm 3**

Nom. Sg. -is (rare -ys) (ia-stem): didelis ‘big’, kairys ‘left’, and all the adjectives of the comparative degree, which end in -esni: gerèsni ‘better’, didėsni ‘bigger’

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<tr>
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</table>

**Paradigm 4**

Nom. Sg. -is (ia-stem). These are derivative adjectives with suffixes and prefixes apy-, po-: medinis ‘wooden’, mažytis ‘little’, apymažis ‘rather small’, pūžalis ‘fairly raw’, and compound adjectives: geraiširdis ‘good-hearted’

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<tr>
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<tr>
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**DECLENSION PATTERNS**

**Paradigm 1**

ąukštas ‘tall, high’, gėras ‘good’, laimingas ‘happy’, įpskritas ‘round’

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### Paradigm 2

**žalias** ‘green’, **naūjas** ‘new’, **geriausias** ‘the best’

#### Singular

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### Paradigm 3

**didelis** ‘big’, **kairys** ‘left’, **gerėsnis** ‘better’

#### Singular

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</table>
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. pūsžalis 'not quite ripe' – pūsžaliams/pūsžaliems.
2.29 Diminutive adjectives with the suffix -(i)ukas (baltukas ‘white’, mažiukas ‘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.

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The (i)u-declension

2.30 The (i)u-declension comprises adjectives which have the ending -us in the nominative singular, e.g. gražus ‘beautiful’, lygus ‘smooth, equal’, mandagus ‘polite’, panašus ‘similar’. This ending is very typical of prefixed adjectives, e.g. nuolaidus ‘submissive, compliant’, apsukrūs ‘clever, bright’, nuokalnūs ‘slanting’.

### DECLENSION PATTERNS

**Paradigm 5**

gražus ‘beautiful’, lygus ‘smooth, equal’, mandagus ‘polite’, panašus ‘similar’

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</table>
DECLENSION OF FEMININE ADJECTIVES

Feminine adjectives are declined according to the (i)o- and ė-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. aukštā 'high', gerā 'good', laiminga 'happy', apskritā 'round', which are declined like feminine nouns of the o-stem, cf. siena 'wall', lentā 'board'.

Paradigm 7

Nom. Sg. the ending -ia (io-stem adjectives), e.g. žaliā 'green', naujā 'new', geriāusia 'the best', which are declined like feminine nouns of the io-stem, cf. giriā 'wood', valdžiā 'authority'.

Paradigm 8

Nom. Sg. the ending -i (io-stem adjectives), e.g. graziā 'beautiful', lygiā 'smooth, equal', mandagiā 'polite', panašiā 'similar', which are declined like feminine nouns of the io-stem, cf. marītā 'daughter-in-law', see 1.25.

Paradigm 6

aukštā 'high', gerā 'good', laiminga 'happy', apskritā 'round'

Singular

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Plural

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**Paradigm 7**

žalią ‘green’, naują ‘new’, geriausia ‘the best’

**Singular**

<table>
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</table>

**Paradigm 8**

graži ‘beautiful’, lygi ‘smooth, equal’, mandagi ‘polite’, panaši ‘similar’

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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 é-declension

2.32 This declension comprises feminine adjectives which in the nominative singular end in -ē (é-stem adjectives), e.g. medinė ‘wooden’, kairė ‘left’, gerėsnė ‘better’, apyмаžė ‘rather small’, geraširdé ‘good-hearted’. These adjectives are declined like the é-stem feminine nouns, e.g. žolė ‘grass’, bitė ‘bee’, see 1.27.

Paradigm 9

medinė ‘wooden’, gerėsnė ‘better’, apyмаžė ‘rather small’, geraširdé ‘kind-hearted’

Singular

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Correlation of masculine and feminine gender forms of adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Nom. Sg. Masc.</th>
<th>Nom. Sg. Fem</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i)a-declension</td>
<td>Par. 1</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Par. 2</td>
<td>-ias</td>
<td>-ia</td>
<td>(i)-declension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Par. 3-4</td>
<td>-is, -ys</td>
<td>-ė</td>
<td>Par. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)u-declension</td>
<td>Par. 5</td>
<td>-us</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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. | geramē – geram | gražiamē – gražiamē |
| Dat. Pl. | gerēms – gerēm | gražiems – gražiems |
| Loc. Pl. | geruosē – geruōs | gražiuosē – gražiuōs |

Feminine adjectives

| Loc. Sg. | gerojē – gerōj | gražojē – gražiōj |
| Dat. Pl. | gerōms – gerōm | gražiōms – gražiōm |
| Instr. Pl. | geromīs – gerōm | gražiomīs – gražiōm |

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.:
Definite forms cannot be formed from simple adjectives declined according to Paradigm 4 (e.g., medinis, pomažis, geraširdis), but they can be formed from comparative adjectives, e.g. gerėsnis – geresnysis.

### DECENSION PATTERNS

#### Masculine gender

*geras* ‘the good’, *žaliás* ‘the green’, *gerenejs* ‘the better’, *gražús* ‘the beautiful’

#### Singular

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gerásis</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>žaliājame</td>
<td>geresniājame</td>
<td>gražiājame</td>
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<td>gražiuosius</td>
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<td>geresniušiuose</td>
<td>gražiušiuose</td>
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</table>

### Feminine gender

#### Singular

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<tbody>
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<td>žaliójį</td>
<td>geresniojį</td>
<td>gražiojį</td>
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<td>žaliūsios</td>
<td>geresniūsios</td>
<td>gražioušios</td>
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<td>geraiai</td>
<td>žaliąja</td>
<td>geresnialąja</td>
<td>gražiają</td>
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<tr>
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<td>žaliąją</td>
<td>geresnialąją</td>
<td>gražiają</td>
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<tr>
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<td>žaliąja</td>
<td>geresniają</td>
<td>gražiąja</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerójioje</td>
<td>žaliōjoje</td>
<td>geresniōjoje</td>
<td>gražiōjoje</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td><em>gerąsis</em></td>
<td><em>geró ji</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td><em>gerojo</em></td>
<td><em>geròsios</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td><em>gerajam</em></td>
<td><em>gerajai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td><em>gerajį</em></td>
<td><em>gerają</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td><em>geruoju</em></td>
<td><em>geraja</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td><em>gerajame</em></td>
<td><em>gerojoje</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td><em>gerieji</em></td>
<td><em>gerosios</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td><em>gerųju</em></td>
<td><em>gerų į</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td><em>geresiems</em></td>
<td><em>geròsioms</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td><em>gerúosius</em></td>
<td><em>gerásias</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td><em>geraisiais</em></td>
<td><em>geròsiomis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td><em>geruosiuose</em></td>
<td><em>geròsiose</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

| Loc. Sg. | *gerajame* – *gerajam* |

**Feminine gender**

| Loc. Sg. | *gerojoje* – *gerojoj* |
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. geram, gražiam - stalui ‘table’, sūnui ‘son’

Adjectives with the ending -us, -i in the nominative singular usually bear the stress on the ending (gražius, graži ‘handsome’, gardius, gardi ‘delicious’; see 2.30). Exceptions are: įsiškus ‘clear’, lūgus ‘smooth’, raiškus ‘distinct’, smulkus ‘fine’, sód­rus ‘lush’, sotus ‘satiated’, svankus ‘decent’, tānikus ‘dense’, vaiskus ‘bright’, viekus ‘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

2.37 The adjectives belonging to this class have a constant stress. (Accentuation patterns are those of laimingas, laiminga, geriausias, geriausia, apymažis, apymažė – given in 2.27, 31, 32).

Accentuation class 1 includes polysyllabic adjectives with the following suffixes:

-ātis, -ė: girtutėlaitis ‘absolutely drunk’, karštutelaitis ‘absolutely hot’;
-ētus, -a: dulktētas ‘dusty’, gelētas ‘flowery’, pūslētas ‘blistered’;
-ētinus, -a: pusētinus ‘middling’, ganētinus ‘sufficient’;
**-iausias, -ia**: (superlative degree): aukščiausias ‘highest’, geriausias ‘best’, mokyčiausias ‘best educated’;

-\(\sim\)kštis, -\(\sim\)ė: vakarykštis ‘yesterday’s’, pernykštis ‘from last year’;

-\(\sim\)kščias, -\(\sim\)ia: vakarykščias ‘yesterday’s’;

-\(\sim\)las, -\(\sim\)a: akylas ‘sharp-sighted’, ausylas ‘having a keen ear’;

-\(\sim\)nas, -\(\sim\)a: laimingas ‘happy’, išmintingas ‘wise’, akmeningas ‘stony’;

-ištelis, -\(\sim\)ė: vieništelis ‘(the) only’, pilništelis ‘absolutely full’;

-iškas, -\(\sim\)a: (these adjectives have the same stress as the accusative singular of the nouns they are derived from): moteriškas ‘feminine’ (cf. moterį ‘woman’), vaikiškas ‘childlike’ (cf. vaika), senovėškas ‘old-fashioned’ (cf. senovę);

-\(\sim\)tas, -\(\sim\)a: akytas ‘porous’, dantytas ‘toothed’;

-\(\sim\)tis, -\(\sim\)ė: mažytis ‘very little’;

-\(\sim\)vas, -\(\sim\)a: ankstytvas ‘early’, velyvas ‘late’;

-\(\sim\)das, -\(\sim\)a: vienodas ‘uniform’;

-\(\sim\)kas, -\(\sim\)a: mažokas ‘rather small’;

-(\(\sim\)i)opas, -\(\sim\)a: dvejopas ‘of two kinds’, šimteriopas ‘hundredfold’;

-\(\sim\)tas, -\(\sim\)a: galvotas ‘intelligent’, gyslotas ‘sinewy’;

-\(\sim\)istas, -\(\sim\)a: ligūistas ‘sickly’, miegūistas ‘sleepy’;

-\(\sim\)itas, -\(\sim\)a: medūitas ‘smared with honey’, pienūitas ‘spattered with milk’;

-(\(\sim\)i)ūotas, -\(\sim\)a: kalnūotas ‘mountainous’, akiniūotas ‘bespectacled’;

-\(\sim\)otinės, -\(\sim\)ė: visuotinės ‘universal’.

Colour adjectives with the unstressed suffix -\(\sim\)nas, -\(\sim\)a and -\(\sim\)onas, -\(\sim\)a can follow two accentuation patterns:

that of Class 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Sg.</th>
<th>mėlynas</th>
<th>mėlyna</th>
<th>raudonas</th>
<th>raudóna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dat. Sg.</td>
<td>mėlynam</td>
<td>mėlynai</td>
<td>raudónam</td>
<td>raudónai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. Pl.</td>
<td>mėlyniems</td>
<td>mėlynoms</td>
<td>raudóniems</td>
<td>raudónoms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and Class 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Sg.</th>
<th>mėlynas</th>
<th>mėlyną</th>
<th>raudonas</th>
<th>raudoną</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dat. Sg.</td>
<td>mėlynám</td>
<td>mėlynai</td>
<td>raudonám</td>
<td>raudónai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. Pl.</td>
<td>mėlyniems</td>
<td>mėlynoms</td>
<td>raudóniems</td>
<td>raudónoms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Accentuation class 1 also includes:

(1) adjectives with the suffix -\(\sim\)inis, -\(\sim\)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):

køjinis, -\(\sim\)ė ‘pedal’ (cf. kójoms), rańkinis ‘manual’ (rańkoms), viētinis ‘local’ (viētoms),
adjective

aplincybinis 'adverbial' (aplinskybens), medzioklinis 'hunting' (medzioklemens), valstyninis 'state' (valstynybens). 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):

äkcinis,-ė 'stock' (äkcija), archeologinis,-ė 'archeological' (archeologija), analoginis, -ė 'analogous' (analогija), istorrisis, -ė 'historical' (istòrija);

(2) adjectives with the following prefixes:

apy-: apygeris 'fairly good', apymažis 'fairly small';
pó-: pómažis 'a little too small', póžalis 'a little too green';
prie-: priekurti sis 'hard of hearing', priekvailis 'a little silly';

(3) compound adjectives which bear the stress on the first component or on the linking vowel: vasarodrungis, -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, geraširdis, geraširdė presented in 2.27, 32.

Accentuation class 2 includes adjectives with the following stressed suffixes:

-ainis, -ė: dešimtais 'decimal', ketvirtais 'quadrangular';
-člis, -ė: jaunelis 'youngest', maželis 'smallest';
-ičnis, -ė: avičiinis 'oat(meal)', miečiinis 'barley';
-iklis, -ė: jauniklis (young);
-šlis, -ė: jaunulis 'youngest', mažulis 'little (one)';
-inis, -ė: (excluding those indicated in 2.37) vakarinis 'evening', rytinis 'morning', laukinis 'wild';
-iškis, -ė: kalníškis 'living in the mountains', kauniškis 'living in, pertaining to Kaunas';
-švis, -ė: ankštvis 'early', vėlvis 'late';
-ūnis, -ė: vilnūnis 'woolen', marškūnis 'cotton';
-ūtis, -ė: šakūtis 'branchy';
-(i)ukas, -ė: juodukas 'black', mažiukas 'little';
-(i)ulės, -ė: didžulėlis 'huge', mažulėlis 'tiny';
-utinis, -ė: kraštučinis 'extreme', paviršutinis 'superficial', žemutinis 'bottom';
-ūtis, -ė: baltūtis 'very white, clean', silpnūtis 'feeble', mažūtis 'tiny'.

11.92
Accentuation class 2 also includes:

(1) compound adjectives which bear the stress on the second component: *antraežlis, -ė* ‘of minor importance’, *lygiagretis, -ė* ‘parallel’. Adjectives which differ in their toneme and meaning are exceptions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accentuation class 1</th>
<th>Accentuation class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ilgakártis</em> ‘with long poles’</td>
<td><em>ilgakártis</em> ‘with a long mane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daugiavārpis</em> ‘with many ears’</td>
<td><em>daugiavārpis</em> ‘with many bells’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) adjectives with the prefix *-be*: *bevardis* ‘nameless’, *begiūklis* ‘defenceless’, *beveřtis* ‘worthless’;

(3) derived adjectives with the ending *-is*: *kasdiēnis* ‘ordinary’, *vasāris* ‘summer’, *palaikis* ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-anas, -ā:</td>
<td><em>alkanas</em> ‘hungry’, <em>räškanas</em> ‘gloomy’, <em>vařganas</em> ‘poor’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-imas, -ā:</td>
<td><em>ařtimas</em> ‘near, intimate’, <em>grētimas</em> ‘adjacent’, <em>svētimas</em> ‘somebody else’s’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-inas, -ā:</td>
<td><em>āmžinas</em> ‘eternal’, <em>kūpinas</em> ‘full’, <em>sklīdinas</em> ‘brimful’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-išas, -ā:</td>
<td><em>vienišas</em> ‘lonely’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-itas, -ā:</td>
<td><em>sāvitas</em> ‘distinctive’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zganas, -ā:</td>
<td><em>balžganas</em> ‘whitish’, <em>juožganas</em> ‘blackish’;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) prefixed adjectives with the endings -(i)as, -(i)a: *apskritas* ‘round’, *ātlapas* ‘wide open’, *atātuptas* ‘moving backwards’, *išdrikas* ‘incoherent’, *ištisas* ‘entire’, *nūo- savas* ‘one’s own’, *pādrikas* ‘scattered’, *pālgas* ‘elongated’, *pāprastas* ‘simple’, *prāviras* ‘ajar’, *uždaras* ‘closed’;

(3) some other adjectives, e.g. *didelis* ‘big’, *dešinys* ‘right’, *žābalas* ‘blind’.

### Accentuation class 4

2.40 Accentuation patterns are those of *gerēsnis, gerēsnė, mandagūs, mandagi, panašūs, panašī*, presented in 2.27, 30, 31, 32.
Accentuation class 4 includes:


2. Comparative adjectives with the suffixes -esnis, -ė, -ėlesnis, -ė: gerėsnis, mažesnis, gerelėsnis;

3. Adjectives with the suffix -ainas, -a: apvalaīnas ‘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.:

   laimėningasis  laimėningoji  ‘the happy’
   geriausiasis    geriausioji       ‘the best’
   draugiškasis    draugiškoji       ‘the friendly’

2. In all the other definite adjectives the stress alternates between the penultimate and pre-penultimate syllable, e.g.

   gerasis         gerėji          ‘the good’
   geresnysis      geresniøji      ‘the better’
   pažangūsis      pažangiøji      ‘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.:

   gēra               cf. gēra          ‘good’
   liñksma            liñksmaq       ‘merry’
   žalia             žaliq           ‘green’
   aiškiąsia           aiškiąsiąq ‘clearest’

Neuter adjectives with the ending -u bear the stress on the ending: gražū ‘beautiful’, malonū ‘nice’, saugū ‘safe’.
Exceptions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aišku</th>
<th>cf. Acc. Sg. Masc.</th>
<th>áišku</th>
<th>‘clear’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lýgu</td>
<td>lýgu</td>
<td>lýgu</td>
<td>‘smooth, equal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smūlku</td>
<td>smūlku</td>
<td>smūlku</td>
<td>‘fine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sótu</td>
<td>sótu</td>
<td>sótu</td>
<td>‘satiated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tánku</td>
<td>tánku</td>
<td>tánku</td>
<td>‘dense’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 NUMERAL

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 (dešimtis ‘ten’, cf. akis ‘eye’), others to adjectives (vienas, vieną ‘one’, cf. baltas, baltą ‘white’). Certain numerals are similar to adverbs, e.g., dėsint ‘ten’, dvidešimt ‘twenty’, cf., daug ‘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, dvi, trys...), plural numerals which are used with nouns that have only the plural form (pluralia tantum) (dveji, treji...), collective numerals (dvėjetas, trėjetas...) and fractions ( vieną antrąjį, trys dešimtios...).

Ordinal numerals indicate a specified order in a countable series (pirmas, pirmą ‘the first’, antrą ‘the second’, vienuoliktas, 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:

- -eji, -ejos: dvi : dvėjį, dvėjos
- -eri, -erios: penki : penkerį, peňkerios
- -etas: dvi : dvėjetas, penki : peňketas
- -tas: ketveri : kētvertas
- -tas, -ta: penki : peňktas, penktą.

Compound numerals contain two roots. Both roots may be those of numerals (dvodešimt ‘twenty’, cf. dvi dešimtys ‘two tens’), or one of the roots may belong to a word of another part of speech (trečiadis ‘one third’, cf. trečią dalį).

Composite (multiword) numerals may consist of several simple numerals (šimtas...
penki ‘a hundred and five’, tūkstantis šimtas keturi ‘a thousand one hundred four’) and a group of simple derived and compound numerals (dvi šimta aštuoniasdešimt aštrias ‘two hundred eighty second’, trys ketvičiosios ‘three fourths’).

**Cardinal Numerals**

*Kiekiniai skaitydami*

**PLAIN CARDINAL NUMERALS**

*Pagrindiniai skaitydami*

3.3 Numerals denoting numbers from one to ten are simple numerals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vienas</td>
<td>vieną</td>
<td>šeši</td>
<td>šešios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvi</td>
<td>dvì</td>
<td>septyni</td>
<td>septýnios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trys</td>
<td>kéturio</td>
<td>aštuonos</td>
<td>aštuonios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keturi</td>
<td>kéturios</td>
<td>devyni</td>
<td>devynios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penki</td>
<td>peñkiosas</td>
<td>dēšimt</td>
<td>dēšimtis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers from eleven to nineteen are denoted by compound numerals which are built by adding -likas (derived historically from the verb likti ‘remain’) to simple numerals from one to nine. They are not inflected for gender:

vieniolika ‘eleven’
dvylika ‘twelve’
trylika ‘thirteen’
keturiolika ‘fourteen’
penkiolika ‘fifteen’

šešiolika ‘sixteen’
septyniolika ‘seventeen’
aštuoniolika ‘eighteen’
devyniolika ‘nineteen’

Tens are indicated by compound numerals the first constituent of which coincides with the accusative form of simple feminine numerals (dvî-, trîs-, kéturias-) and the second constituent is the stem dešimt:

dvidešimt ‘twenty’
trisdešimt ‘thirty’
kéturiasdešimt ‘fourty’
peñkiasdešimt ‘fifty’

šešiasdešimt ‘sixty’
septýniasdešimt ‘seventy’
aštuoniasdešimt ‘eighty’
devyniasdešimt ‘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 – milijonas, milijardas, etc.
All the other numbers are designated by composite (multiword) numerals, which are in fact clusters of the numerals described above:

- dvidešimt vienas, dvidešimt vieną 21
- dvidešimt dvi, dvidešimt dvi 22
- dvidešimt devyni, dvidešimt devynios 29
- trisdešimt vienas, trisdešimt vieną 31
- devyniasdešimt devyni, devyniasdešimt devynios 99
- šimtas vienas, šiūnias vieną 101
- šiūnias dėžimt 110
- šiūnias dvidešimt 120
- šiūnias dvidešimt vienas, šiūnias dvidešimt vieną 121
- šiūnias devyniasdešimt vienas, šiūnias devyniasdešimt vieną 191
- dvi šimta vienas, dvi šimta vieną 201
- devyni šimta devyniasdešimt devyni 999
- devyni šimta devyniasdešimt devynios 999
- dėžimt tūkstančių dvi šimta didešimt vienas 10221
- dėžimt tūkstančių dvi šimta didešimt vieną 10221

Multiword numerals designating tens can be replaced by groups consisting of a numeral and the respective noun, e.g.: dvidešimt – dvı dėžimtys, trisdešimt – trys dėžimtys, etc.

### 3.4 Numerals from 1 to 9 are used as adjectives and agree with quantified nouns in gender, case and number, e.g.:

- vienas berniukas ‘one boy’
- vieną mergaitę ‘one girl’
- septyni stala ‘seven tables’
- devynios kėdės ‘nine chairs’

Numerals from 10 to 19, numerals indicating tens (20–90), also šiūnias, tūkstantis, milijonas, milijardas, bilijonas (and higher) are used as nouns and they require the genitive plural of any quantified noun, e.g.:

- dėžimt/dvidešimt vaikų ‘ten/twenty children’
- dvylisa kėdžių ‘twelve chairs’
- šiūnias/tūkstantis keleiviu ‘hundred/thousand of passengers’

Composite numerals are used as nouns or adjectives depending on the last word, cf.:

- šiūnias dvidešimt vaikų ‘one hundred and twenty children’
- šiūnias dvidešimt penki vaikai ‘one hundred and twenty five children’
CARDINAL PLURAL NUMERALS

Dauginiai skaityvardžiai

3.5 Traditionally there have always been eight numerals which are used with pluralia tantum:

- dveji, dvėjos ‘two’
- treji, trėjos ‘three’
- ketveri, kėtverios ‘four’
- penkери, penkerios ‘five’
- šešeri, šešerios ‘six’
- septyneri, septynerios ‘seven’
- aštuoneri, aštuonerios ‘eight’
- devyneri, devynerios ‘nine’

Then numeral vieneri, vienerios ‘one’ is a comparatively recent addition in Standard Lithuanian. Dialects continue to use the plural forms of the cardinal numeral vienas, viena instead of it. In Standard Lithuanian vieni – vieneri, vienos – vienerios are considered to be equivalent, e.g.:

- vienos/vienerios dūrys ‘one door’
- vieni/vieneri mėtai ‘one year’

Numerals of this group are formed by adding the suffixes -eji, -ejos or -eri, -erios to a simple cardinal numeral: dveji, dvėjos; penkери, penkerios. The numeral ketveri, 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:

- dveji mėtai ‘two years’
- trėjos žirklės ‘three pairs of scissors’
- ketveri marškiniai ‘four shirts’

2. sometimes – with the plural form of nouns indicating objects which come in pairs:

- dveji langai ‘two windows’
- dvėjos pilištinės ‘two pairs of gloves’
- dveji būtai ‘two pairs of shoes’

COLLECTIVE CARDINAL NUMERALS

Kūopiniai skaityvardžiai

3.6 There are eight collective numerals:

- dvėjetas šešetas
- trėjetas septynetas
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 ketvertas 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.:

\[ \text{Jis laiko penketą arklių.} \quad \text{‘He keeps five horses.’} \]
\[ \text{Prisiaiškino dár dvėjetas vyrų.} \quad \text{‘Two more men approached.’} \]

They can also indicate an approximate number:

\[ \text{Likę trėjetas kilometrų kėlio.} \quad \text{‘There are three more kilometres left to go.’} \]

### Ordinal Numerals

**Keliųtiniai skaityvardožiai**

3.7 Ordinal numerals are created by adding the suffix -tas, -ta to the roots of cardinal numerals, except for the ordinal numerals pirmas, pirmą ‘first’, antrā ‘second’ and trečias, trečią ‘third’ the formation of which differs from that of all the other ordinal numerals. The stem of the ordinal numerals ketvirtas, ketvirtą ‘fourth’; septintas, septintą ‘seventh’; aštuntas, aštuoną ‘eighth’; devintas, devintą ‘ninth’ is also slightly different from that of its cardinal counterpart:

- **pirmas, pirmą** (1) vienųoliktas, vienųolikta
- **antrā, antrā** (2) dvyliktas, dvylikta
- **trečias, trečią** (3) trylikta, trylikta
- **ketvirtas, ketvirtą** (4) keturioliktas, keturiolikta
- **penktas, penktą** (5) penkioliktas, penkiolikta
- **šeštas, šeštą** (6) šešioliktas, šešiolikta
- **septintas, septintą** (7) septynioliktas, septyniolikta
- **aštuntas, aštuoną** (8) aštuonioliktas, aštuoniolikta
- **devintas, devintą** (9) devynioliktas, devyniolikta
- **dešimtetas, dešimtą** (10) dvidešimtetas, dvidešimtą
If the stem of a cardinal numeral ends in -t, this final consonant merges with the ordinal suffix -tas, -ta:

dëšimt + -tas - dešiňtas
dvidešimt + -tas - dvidešiňtas
tūkstant-(is) + -tas - tūkstantas

Ordinal numerals milijonas, -à ‘million’ and šimtas, -à ‘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; milijonàsis, milijonoji; šimtàsis, šimtoji

The following ordinal numerals are also mostly used in their definite forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple ordinal numerals</th>
<th>Definite ordinal numerals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dušiňtas, dušimtà</td>
<td>dušimtàsis, dušimtoji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trišiňtas, trišimtà</td>
<td>trišimtàsis, trišimtoji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keturiašiňtas, -à</td>
<td>keturiašimtàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penkiašiňtas, -à</td>
<td>penkiašimtàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šešiašiňtas, -à</td>
<td>šešiašimtàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septyniašiňtas, -à</td>
<td>septyniašimtàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aštuoniošiňtas, -à</td>
<td>aštuoniošimtàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devyniašiňtas, -à</td>
<td>devyniašimtàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dutūkstantas, -à</td>
<td>dutūkstantàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tritūkstantas, -à</td>
<td>tritūkstantàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keturiatūkstantas, -à</td>
<td>keturiatūkstantàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penkiatūkstantas, -à</td>
<td>penkiatūkstantàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šešiatūkstantas, -à</td>
<td>šešiatūkstantàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septyniatūkstantas, -à</td>
<td>septyniatūkstantàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aštuoniatūkstantas, -à</td>
<td>aštuoniatūkstantàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devyniatūkstantas, -à</td>
<td>devyniatūkstantàsis, -oji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 pirmas, dvidešimt pirmà (21)
dvidešimt aňtras, dvidešimt antrà (22)
trisdešimt ketviňtas, trisdešimt ketvirtà (34)
3.8 Ordinal numerals are inflected for gender, number and case and, like adjectives, agree with the nouns they modify, e.g.:

Nom. antrasis pūslapis  pirmoji knyga
Gen. antruo pūslapiio  pirmosios knygos
Dat. antram puslapiui  pirmajai knygai, etc.

In multiword numerals it is only the last word which is inflected and stands in agreement with the noun, e.g.:

du šimtai dvidešimt antras puslapis  ‘two hundred twenty second page’
šimtasis keturiasdešimt penktasis eilutė  ‘one hundred forty fifth line’

Beside masculine and feminine forms ordinal numerals also have a neuter form, e.g., pirma, antra, trečia, ketvirta, penkta... dešimtasis, vienúoliktasis, etc., which is mostly used in enumerations:

Pirma, reikia sudaryti darbo plāna, antra, pažymėti terminus.  ‘First, it is necessary to draw up a working schedule, second, to mark the terms.’

Ordinal numerals possess definite forms the usage of which is similar to that of definite adjectives:

pirmasis, pirmoji (1)
antrasis, antroji (2)
dešimtasis, dešimtoji (10)
vienúoliktasis, vienúoliktoji (11)
dvidešimtasis, dvidešimtoji (20)
šimtasis, šimtoji (100)
dvidešimt ketvirtasis, dvidešimt ketvirtoji (24)
šimtas trisdešimt penktasis, šimtas trisdešimt penktoji (135)
dve tūkstančiai trys šimtai dvidešimt pirmasis (2321)
dve tūkstančiai trys šimtai dvidešimt pirmoji (2321)
Definite ordinal numerals are used to designate dates:

\[ \text{Taĩ įvyko tūkstantis septyni šimtaĩ dividėšimt antraĩiais mėtais.} \]

‘It happened in 1722.’

\[ \text{Prasidėjo tūkstantis devyni šimtaĩ devyniasdešimt penktieji mėtai.} \]

‘The year 1995 has started.’

Definite ordinal numerals are also used in designating fractions (see 3.9).

The ordinal numeral \textit{pirmas, pirmà} has two degrees of comparison:

Comparative degree: \textit{pirmèsnis, pirmèsne}

Superlative degree: \textit{pirmiáusias, pirmiáusia}

The neuter form \textit{pirma} has only the superlative degree \textit{pirmiáusia}.

These forms have developed certain adjectival meanings. Thus \textit{pirmèsnis} means not only ‘being ahead of something’, but also ‘earlier’; \textit{pirmiáusias} is often used in the meaning ‘most important.’

\section*{Fractions}

\textit{Trupmeniniai skaĩtvardžiai}

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.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{vienà antróji} (1/2)
  \item \textit{vienà trečiøjį} (1/3)
  \item \textit{dvì trèčiosios} (2/3)
  \item \textit{vienà ketvirtòji} (1/4)
  \item \textit{dvì ketvištòsios} (2/4)
  \item \textit{trëgs ketvištòsios} (3/4)
  \item \textit{vienà penktòji} (1/5)
  \item \textit{dvìdešimt vienà šeštòjoji} (21/6)
  \item \textit{trëgs šimtaĩ peñkios šeštòsios} (305/6)
  \item \textit{dvù šimtaĩ trisdešimt devynios dešimtòsios} (239/10)
  \item \textit{devyniõms dešimtòsioms} (DAT) (9/10)
  \item \textit{dvù šimtaĩ penkiùs dešimtòsias} (ACC) 205/10
  \item \textit{peñkiasdešimt devyniomis dešimtòsiomis} (INSTR) (59/10)
\end{itemize}
The feminine form of fractions is determined by agreement with the implied noun *dalis* ‘part’, which is a feminine noun, e.g.:

viênà antróji (dalis) ‘one second (part)’
dvi trēčiosios (dālys) ‘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 dvýliktųjų (10/12)
vienúolika šimtųjų (11/100)
trisdešimt penkioliktųjų (30/15)
du šimtaid dvýlika šnítas penktųjų (212/105)

### 3.10 Fractions

Fractions viênà antróji ‘one second (= one half)’ and viênà ketvirtóji ‘one fourth’ are often replaced by the feminine noun *pūsė* ‘half’ and the masculine noun *ketviirtis* ‘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 *dalis* ‘part’, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fraction</th>
<th>Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trečdalis (1/3)</td>
<td>septintădalis (1/7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketvirstdalis (1/4)</td>
<td>aštuntădalis (1/8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penktădalis (1/5)</td>
<td>devintădalis (1/9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šeštădalis (1/6)</td>
<td>deştintădalis (1/10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These compound fractions are sometimes replaced by corresponding phrases, e.g.:

- trečdalis = trečioji dalis
- penktădalis = penktoji dalis

Numbers including ‘a half’ can be indicated by compound indeclinable numerals the first component of which is the root of the noun *pūsė* and the second component of which is an ordinal numeral in the genitive, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pusañtro (1 1/2)</td>
<td>pusseptińto (6 1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pustrēčio (2 1/2)</td>
<td>pusaštūńto (7 1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusketvińto (3 1/2)</td>
<td>pusdevińto (8 1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puspeńkto (4 1/2)</td>
<td>pusdešińto (9 1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pussesģto (5 1/2)</td>
<td>pusvienūolikto (10 1/2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These numerals are used with a noun in the genitive singular and agree with the latter in gender, e.g.:

- Mōtina atnešę pusañtro kilogrāmo duonos.
- Jis pakėle pustrečiōs tōnos krōvinį.

‘Mother brought one and a half kilos of bread.’
‘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.:

\[
\text{mergaitė pustrečiū mėty}
\]

‘a two and a half year old girl’

### Declension and accentuation

### CARDINAL NUMERALS

#### 3.11

The masculine numeral *vienas* and the feminine numeral *viena* are declined like adjectives of the (i)a- and (i)o- declensions respectively (cf. *baltas, baltà* ‘white’). These numerals are accented according to accentuation class 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td><em>vienas, vienà</em></td>
<td><em>vienì, vienos</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td><em>vieno, vienos</em></td>
<td><em>vienų, vienų</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td><em>vienám, vienai</em></td>
<td><em>vienėms, vienóms</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td><em>viēnq, viēnq</em></td>
<td><em>viēnus, viēnas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td><em>viēnu, viēna</em></td>
<td><em>viēnais, viēnomis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td><em>vienamē, vienojē</em></td>
<td><em>vienuosē, vienosē</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numeral *du, dvì* is declined in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td><em>du</em></td>
<td><em>dvì</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td><em>dviejū</em></td>
<td><em>dviejū</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td><em>dvie&quot;m</em></td>
<td><em>dvie&quot;m</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td><em>du</em></td>
<td><em>dvì</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td><em>dvie&quot;m</em></td>
<td><em>dvie&quot;m</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td><em>dviejuosē</em></td>
<td><em>dviejosē</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.  *dvie"m akims* ‘for two eyes’
- *dvie"m vaikáms* ‘for two children’
- Instr. Pl.  *dvie"m akimis* ‘with two eyes’
- *dvie"m vaika"is* ‘with two children’

The numeral *trīs* is declined like an *i*-declension noun (cf. *ausis*), 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:
Numerals from *keturi*, *kėturios* ‘four’ to *devyni*, *devynios* ‘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*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>keturi, kėturios</td>
<td>septyni, septynios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>keturių, keturių</td>
<td>septynių, septynių</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>keturiems, keturiomis</td>
<td>septyniems, septyniōms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>kėturis, kėturias</td>
<td>septynis, septynias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>kėturiaiš, kėturiamis</td>
<td>septyniaiš, septyniomis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>kėturiuose, kėturiosė</td>
<td>septyniuose, septyniosė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aštuonii, aštuoniios are accented like septyni, septynios, whereas penki, penkios and šeši, šešios are accented according to accentuation class 4 (i.e., like the adjective žali, žaliōs ‘green’).

*Dešimt/dešimtis* 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dešimt/dešimtis</td>
<td>dešimtys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dešimtiš</td>
<td>dešimiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dešimciai</td>
<td>dešimmics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>dešimt/dešimtį</td>
<td>dešimtis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>dešimtiniš/dešimčia</td>
<td>dešimtimis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>dešimtyje</td>
<td>dešimtysė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numerals *dvidešimt* (20), *trisdešimt* (30) ... *devyniasdešimt* (90) are declined like *dešimt* in the singular. However, the inflected forms of these numerals are most often replaced by their uninflected short forms, e.g.:

*Mûms pritráko dešimt/dvidešimt litų.* ‘We were short by ten/twenty litas.’

*Sû dešimt/dvidešimt litų neišsiveši.* ‘You cannot make do with ten/twenty litas.’

The numerals *vienuoliaka, dvylika ... devynioliaka* 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:
The numerals šimtas, milijonas, milijardas are declined like (i)a-declension nouns of paradigm 1 (cf. miškas ‘wood’ in 1.19). Tūkstantis is declined like an (i)a-declension noun of paradigm 3 (cf. brolis ‘brother’).

Šimtas and milijonas are accented according to accentuation class 4 and 2 respectively. Tūkstantis and milijardas 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</th>
<th>šimto dvidešimt keturių</th>
<th>šimtui dvidešimt keturiems</th>
<th>šimtą dvidešimt kėturis</th>
<th>šimtų dvidešimt kėturiaiš</th>
<th>šimtė dvidešimt keturiuosė</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</td>
<td>šimto dvidešimt keturių</td>
<td>šimtui dvidešimt keturiems</td>
<td>šimtą dvidešimt kėturis</td>
<td>šimtų dvidešimt kėturiaiš</td>
<td>šimtė dvidešimt keturiuosė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</td>
<td>šimto dvidešimt keturių</td>
<td>šimtui dvidešimt keturiems</td>
<td>šimtą dvidešimt kėturis</td>
<td>šimtų dvidešimt kėturiaiš</td>
<td>šimtė dvidešimt keturiuosė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</td>
<td>šimto dvidešimt keturių</td>
<td>šimtui dvidešimt keturiems</td>
<td>šimtą dvidešimt kėturis</td>
<td>šimtų dvidešimt kėturiaiš</td>
<td>šimtė dvidešimt keturiuosė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</td>
<td>šimto dvidešimt keturių</td>
<td>šimtui dvidešimt keturiems</td>
<td>šimtą dvidešimt kėturis</td>
<td>šimtų dvidešimt kėturiaiš</td>
<td>šimtė dvidešimt keturiuosė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</td>
<td>šimto dvidešimt keturių</td>
<td>šimtui dvidešimt keturiems</td>
<td>šimtą dvidešimt kėturis</td>
<td>šimtų dvidešimt kėturiaiš</td>
<td>šimtė dvidešimt keturiuosė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</td>
<td>šimto dvidešimt keturių</td>
<td>šimtui dvidešimt keturiems</td>
<td>šimtą dvidešimt kėturis</td>
<td>šimtų dvidešimt kėturiaiš</td>
<td>šimtė dvidešimt keturiuosė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In colloquial speech, however, only the last component is often declined, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</th>
<th>trys tūkstančiai dū šimtaï penki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</td>
<td>trys tūkstančiai dū šimtaï penki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>šimtas dvidešimt keturi</td>
<td>trys tūkstančiai dū šimtaï penki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cardinal plural numerals

3.12 Numerals of this group are declined like the adjectives of (i)a- (masculine) and (i)o- (feminine) declensions (cf. žalią, žalià ‘green’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>dveji, dvėjos ‘two’</th>
<th>ketveri, ketverios ‘four’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dveji, dvėjos</td>
<td>ketveri, ketverios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dvejų, dvėjų</td>
<td>ketverių, ketverių</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\[ \text{trevius/penkerius/šešerius/septynerius metius (cardinal plural)} \]
\[ \text{tris/penkis/šešis/septynis mėnesius (plain cardinal).} \]

The numerals dveji, dvejos and treji, trejos 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dvėjetas</td>
<td>devynetas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dvėjeto</td>
<td>devyneto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dvėjetui</td>
<td>devynetui, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ORDINAL NUMERALS**

3.14 Ordinal numerals are declined like the adjectives of (i)a- (masculine) and (i)o- (feminine) declension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>pirmas ‘first’</td>
<td>trėčias ‘third’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>pirmo</td>
<td>trėčio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>pirmám</td>
<td>trėčiám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>pirmą</td>
<td>trėčią</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>pirmu</td>
<td>trėciū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>pirmamè</td>
<td>trėciamè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following ordinal numerals possess a stable accent (i.e., an accent which always falls on the same syllable):

(a) vienúoliktas, vienúolikta... devyniúoliktas, devyniúolikta;

(b) tūkstantas, tūkstanta;

(c) compound numerals including the second component -tūkstantas, -a
(e.g.: dutūkstantas, dutūkstanta).

Pirmas, pirmā 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, -šimta, are accented like the numeral šimtas, šimta, e.g. dušimtas, dušimta, keturiašimtas, keturiasimta.

Definite ordinal numerals are declined and accented exactly like definite adjectives (see 2.34, 41), e.g.:

Nom.  pirmasis, pirmoji
Gen.  pirmoji, pirmosios
Dat.  pirmajam, pirmaja, etc.

If the simple ordinal numeral has a fixed accent, the definite form has the same fixed accent, e.g.:

vienúoliktas – vienúoliktais, vienúoliktoji
tūkstantas – tūkstantasis, tūkstantoji

When declining multiword ordinal numerals, we decline only the last numeral, e.g.:

Nom.  trys šimtais septiñiasdešimt ketviñtas/ketvirtà
Gen.  trys šimtais septiñiasdešimt ketviñto/ketviñtòs
Dat.  trys šimtais septiñiasdešimt ketviñtám/ketviñtai
Acc.  trys šimtais septiñiasdešimt ketviñtą/ketviñtą, etc.
### 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Numerator</th>
<th>Denominator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>vieną antrąją (1/2)</td>
<td>penkių šimtųjų (5/100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>vienos antrrosios</td>
<td>penkių šimtųjų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>vieną antrąją</td>
<td>penkioms šimtosioms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>viena antrąja</td>
<td>penkiás šimtásias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>vienoje antrąjoje</td>
<td>penkiomis šimtosiomis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>vienoje antrąjoje</td>
<td>penkiosė šimtosiose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. also: dvidešimt keturių šimtųjų (GEN, 24/100)  
du šimtai trisdešimt keturioms šimtantojoms (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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Numerator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>trylika šimtųjų (13/100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>trylikos šimtųjų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>trylikai šimtųjų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>trylika šimtųjų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>trylikoje šimtųjų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>trylikoje šimtųjų</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. also: Nom. du šimtaį penkiolika šimtųjų (215/1000)  
Gen. dviejų šimtų penkiolikos šimtųjų, 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Numerator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ketvirtadalis (quarter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ketvirtadaliio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>ketvirtadaliui, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compound fractions containing the component pus- are accented like the respective ordinal numeral ańtras, antrą in the genitive: pusańtro, pusantrūs, pusantrū.
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.:

2. Adjectival pronouns, which have adjectival syntactic functions, e.g.:
   - tōks, tokiā ‘of this kind’, šiōks, šiokiā ‘of this kind’, mānas, manā, manāsis, manājī, maniškis, maniškē ‘my, mine’, abejā, abejos ‘both’, pāts tās, patī tā ‘just the kind’, tam tikras, tam tikrā ‘certain’;

3. Pronouns that can have both nominal and adjectival functions, e.g.:
   - tās, tā ‘this, that’, sīs, sī ‘this’, kurīs, kūri, katrās, katrā ‘which, whichever’, nē vienas, nē vienā ‘not a single one, nobody’, kitas, kitā ‘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. aš ‘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. taĩ ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Adjectival</th>
<th>Nominal-Adjectival</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
tòks žmogūs ‘such a man’
tòkio žmogūs ‘of such a man’
tokie žmönės ‘such people’
tokią moterį

The nominal pronoun jis, ji agree in gender and number (but not necessarily in case) with the antecedent noun:

Tėvo nebuvò namie. Jis buvo
darbè.

Mótinos nebuvò namie. Ji buvo
darbè.

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/štát ‘this’, tás, tà ‘this, that’, anàs, anà ‘that’. When they are used as adjectives, they agree with their head noun in gender, number and case:

tás výras ‘that man’
tò výro ‘of that man’
tie výrai ‘those men’

ta moteris

tas moterys ‘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 tēvą. Tas nįko
nesāko.

’She looks at her father. He does not say anything.’

Aš jo seserį pasitikiu.

’I trust his sister. She won’t do it.’

Ta taip nepadarës.

There are several forms of nominal pronouns which are classed as neuters: tā ‘it, this’, šita(i) ‘this’, viena ‘one’, kita ‘another’, visa, visa tā ‘everything’.

They are classed as neuters because of their formal, syntactic and semantic properties.

Syntactic properties:

(1) these forms agree with neuter adjectives:

Taï gražù. Visa kita
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 maniùn kãp sù
suąugusiu. Taï mán patiko.

‘He spoke with me as with a grown-up person. I liked it.’
Jām dāvē pasirinķti viena
iš dviejų: mifti arbā
paūostytı miltēlių.
‘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 tai geriaus negū tū galvoji.
Vienu reikia galvoti, kita kalbėti.
‘Everything is better than you think.’
‘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.:

jis tai mātē.
jis tō nemātē.
‘He saw it (NOM. ACC. NEUTR).’
‘He didn’t see it (GEN. SG. MASC).’
(see 4.21).

4.3 The pronoun viskas 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 čiā viskas gražū.
‘To me everything is beautiful here.’

The nominal pronoun kās ‘what, who’ and other compound and composite pronouns formed with kās (kažkās ‘somebody, something’, neiķas ‘nobody, nothing’, kai kās ‘something, somebody’, bet kās ‘anything, anybody’, kāsnórs ‘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 gražūs?
Kās gražā?
Kās gražū?
Who/what is handsome (MASC)?
Who/what is handsome (FEM)?
What is beautiful?

4.4 The personal pronouns āš ‘I’, mēs ‘we’, tū ‘you’, jūs ‘you’, tāmsta ‘you’ and the reflexive sauēs ‘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.

āš, tū, tāmstā liūkms/linksmā
‘I, you am/are merry’
mēs, jūs, tāmstos linksmī/lienksmos  
‘we, you are merry’

āš nematau savēs patiēs/pačūs  
‘I don’t see myself’

The other personal pronouns are inflected for gender:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mūdu</td>
<td>mūdvi</td>
<td>‘we two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jūdu</td>
<td>jūdvi</td>
<td>‘you two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jis</td>
<td>jī</td>
<td>‘he, she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jīē</td>
<td>jōs</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juōdu</td>
<td>juēdvi</td>
<td>‘they two’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominal pronouns ābejetas ‘both’, kēletas, keliōlika ‘how many, some’, kēlias-dešīmt ‘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 vyrū ‘some men (GEN. PL)’, kēletas moterū ‘some women (GEN. PL)’.

**NUMBER**

_Skaicius_

4.5 The majority of nominal and adjectival pronouns have two numbers – the singular and the plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tās</td>
<td>tiē</td>
<td>‘that, those’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuris</td>
<td>kuriē</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitas</td>
<td>kitī</td>
<td>‘another, others’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), juēdvi ‘they two’

**demonstrative pronouns (used much more rarely):**

tuōdu (tiēdu), tiēdvi ‘those two’

šiuōdu, šiēdvi ‘these two’

anuōdu, anuēdvi ‘those two’

šituōdu, šitiēdvi ‘these two’

**interrogative pronouns, which are also rarely used:**

katruōdu, katriēdvi ‘which two’

kuriuōdu, kuriēdvi ‘which two’
The pronouns abū (abudu), 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.

Mūdu verčiau paklausykim(e). 'We two had better listen.'
Koncertu abū juodu buvo 'Both of them were very much pleased with the concert.'

Distribution and oppositions of pronominal number forms

Number

One

More than one

more than two
two

aš mēs mūdu, mūdvi

tu jūs jūdvi

jis, ji jiē, jōs jūdvi, jiēdvi
tas, tā tiē, tōs tuōdu, tiēdvi

šis, ši šiē, šiōs šiēdu, šiēdvi

anās, anā aniē, anōs anuōdu, aniēdvi

štūtas, šīta/šītā šitie/šitiē, šitōs šitūodu, šitiedvi

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'.
Although the pronouns savęs ‘oneself’, kąs ‘what, who’, niękas ‘nothing, nobody’, kažkąs ‘somebody, something’, kas nors ‘somebody, something’ have only singular forms, in a sentence they can be used both with the singular and plural forms of other words:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jis savęs patiēs nekėničia.} & \quad \text{‘He hates himself.’} \\
\text{Jiē savęs pačiūs nekėničia.} & \quad \text{‘They hate themselves.’} \\
\text{Kąs tū esī?} & \quad \text{‘Who are you (NOM. SG)?’} \\
\text{Kąs jūs ėsate?} & \quad \text{‘Who are you (NOM. PL)?’} \\
\text{Kąs jis per vienas?} & \quad \text{‘Who is he after all?’} \\
\text{Kąs jiē per vieni?} & \quad \text{‘Who are they after all?’}
\end{align*}
\]

The plural forms of the pronouns kiekviēnas, -ā ‘each, every’, aliāt vienas, -ā ‘absolutely all’, nē vienas, -ā ‘not a single one’ are used only with invariable plural nouns (pluralia tantum):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kiekvienos dūrys} & \quad \text{‘every door’} \\
\text{kiekvieni mētai} & \quad \text{‘every year’} \\
\text{nē vienas žirkles} & \quad \text{‘not a single pair of scissors’} \\
\text{nē vieni mētai} & \quad \text{‘not a single year’}
\end{align*}
\]

There are some other pronouns which have no plural, e.g.:

nominal pronouns referring to a group: ābejetas ‘both’, kēletas ‘a few, some (between 3 and 9)’, keliolika ‘some (between 11 and 19)’; the indefinite pronoun šis tās ‘something (insignificant)’.

The following pronominal quantifiers have no singular:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{keli, kēlios} & \quad \text{‘some, how many’} \\
\text{keleri, kēlerios} & \quad \text{‘some’} \\
\text{ābeji, ābejos} & \quad \text{‘both’}
\end{align*}
\]

**CASE**

*Liinksnis*

Pronouns are declined similarly to nouns or adjectives.

Pronouns have no vocative case because they are not used to address people.

Pronouns āš, tū, savęs, kās (and its derivatives, e.g. kažkās, niękas, etc.) have two genitive case forms which differ in their meaning: the possessive genitive mano, tavo, savo, kieno, kažkieno, niękieno and the non-possessive genitive manės, tavės, savės, kō, kažkō, nięko (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 aš ‘I’, tū ‘you (2. SG)’, jūs ‘you (2. PL)’, mēs ‘we’, jis ‘he’, ji ‘she’.

The 1st person pronoun aš 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 tū, tāmsta (the polite ‘you’) refers to the addressee of the message. The reference of the plural jūs, tāmstos 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), ji (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 tū 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper</th>
<th>ąš 'I', mės 'we', tū, jūs 'you', jis 'he', ji 'she', tāmsta 'you', pāts, -i 'you'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>savēs 'oneself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>manāsis, -ōjī 'my', tavāsis, -ōjī 'your', savāsis, -ōjī 'one's own', mūsāsis, -ōjī 'our', jūsāsis, -ōjī 'your'; mānas, -a 'my', tāvas, -a 'your', sāvas, -a 'one's own'; maniškis, -ė 'my', taviškis, -ė 'your', saviškis, -ė 'one's own', mūsiškis, -ė 'our', jūsiškis, -ė 'your'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>tās, tā 'this, that', ūs, ūš, ūtās, štā 'this', anās, -a 'that'; tōks, -iā 'of this kind', šiōks, -iā, šiōtkos, -iā 'of this kind', anōks, -iā 'of that kind'; tas pāts, ta pati 'the same', pāts tās, pati tā 'just the kind, just this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative-Relative</td>
<td>kās 'who, what', kōks, -iā 'what kind of', kuris, -i, katrās, -ā 'which', kēli, -ios, keleri, -ios 'how many', keliōtas, -ā 'which', keliōlika 'how many', kēletas 'how many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper</td>
<td>kās 'someone, something', kōks, -iā 'some kind of', kuris, -i, katrās, -ā 'which-ever, whoever', kēli, -ios, keleri, -ios 'a few, some', keliōtas, -ā 'some', kēletas 'a few, some (between 3 and 9)', keliōlika 'some (between 11 and 19)'; kažkās, kaži(n) kās 'someone, somebody, something', kažkōks, -iā, kaži(n) kōks, -iā 'of some kind', kažkūris, -i, kaži(n) kuris, -i, kažkatrās, -ā, kaži(n) katrās, -ā 'which ever (unknown)', kas nūrs 'someone, something', koks, -iā nūrs 'some kind of', kuris, -i nūrs, katrās, -ā nūrs 'some, anyone', bet kās 'anyone, anything', bet kōks, -iā 'of any kind', bet kuris, -i, bet katrās, -ā 'any', kai kās 'someone, some', kai kōks, -iā 'of one kind or another', kai kuris, -i, kai katrās, -ā 'some', kai nē kās 'a few, not many', kuris ne kuris, kuri ne kuri 'very few', vienas, -ā 'one, no matter which one', vienas kitas, vienā kitā 'a few', kitas, -ā 'some', tōks, -iā 'of some kind', ūs tās 'something insignificant', šiōks tōks, šiokū tokia 'something of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>vienas, -ā 'one', kitas, -ā 'another', vienōks, -iā 'of one kind', kitōks, -iā 'of another kind', tam tikras, -ā 'certain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differentiating</td>
<td>vienas, -ā 'one', kitas, -ā 'another', vienōks, -iā 'of one kind', kitōks, -iā 'of another kind', tam tikras, -ā 'certain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalizing</td>
<td>visas, -ā 'the whole', visi, -os 'all', visōks, -iā 'of all kinds', abejetas, abu (abidu), abi (abidi), abeji, -os 'both', kiekvienas, -ā 'every', kēs 'every', aildai vienas, -ā 'absolutely all', tūlas, -ā 'quite a few', daug kās 'quite a few'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>niēkas 'nobody, nothing, no one', ne vienas, -ā 'not a single one', jōks, -iā, ne kōks, -iā 'no one, none, of no kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic</td>
<td>pāts, -i 'oneself, the very, just one'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Imagine covering (lit. 'Cover you man') now this distance on foot.'

Personal pronouns ėš (mēs), tū (jūs) may refer to things or animals when the latter are personified for stylistic purposes.

You, my dear birdie, do not have lordly meals.'

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.

'I am going home.'

'You are going home.'

'He is going home.'

'We are going home.'

'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 jēs, jē, jēi, jōs 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.:

'Petras took the saddle to the barn, but found it locked.'

It may also be noted that etymologically the pronoun jēs, jī is also related to demonstrative pronouns.

4.10 The semantic relation between the singular ėš and the plural mēs is different from that which exists between a noun in the singular and in the plural in that mēs does not mean 'two or more ėš' as is the case with nouns.

The 1st person plural pronoun mēs may be used inclusively or exclusively depending on whether it includes reference to the addressee(s) or not.

The exclusive mēs may refer to:

(1) the speakers/writers of the message:
Mės, žemiau pasirūšiusieji  
(2) the speaker(s)/writer(s) + a third party:

Nors ir vaikams, ir män koncertas labai patiko, mēs turējome išeiti jām nepasibaigus.  
‘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, Jonuk, negalim pyktis.  
‘We can’t quarrel, Jonukas, (Johny).’

(2) the speaker(s)/writer(s) + the addressee(s) + a third party:

Tave, Onutę ir mane kviečia direktorius. Mēs turime tuoj pāt eiti.  
‘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 su and a noun (or pronoun) in the Instrumental case.

Mēs su tavim šito nesuprāsim.  
‘You and me (lit. ‘We with you’) won’t understand it.’

Mēs su tēvu šito nesuprāsim.  
‘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.:

Siekinio vietoje rūštuose paprastai, kaip jau mūsų pažymėta, beždratį dabar sākome.  
‘In writing, instead of a supine, now we usually use, as we have already noted, the infinitive.’

4.11 The plural jūs ‘you’ refers to more than one addressee or the addressee and a third party:

Laurynai, brolaui! Brōliene! Jūs myliu ir į vestuvės prašaui.  
‘Laurynas, my brother! My sister-in-law! I love you and ask you to come to my wedding.’

Tū ir Jonas liksite nami.  
Jūs niėkur neišite.  
‘You and Jonas will stay at home. You won’t go anywhere.’

The reference of the pronoun jūs is sometimes explicated by adding the prepositional phrase with the preposition su:
Jūs su Jūnu niekur neišite. '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.:

Pavelėvom mùdu. 'We two are late.'
Jūdu geri draugai. 'You two are good friends.'
Jiedvi abi dirba daržė. '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 jūs, tāmsta, pāts, pati. Jūs is used in polite reference both to one and more than one addressee. Tāmsta, pāts, pati 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 jūs 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.

Kaip jūs, tokš rištinas žmogūs, niekais užsiimate? 'How can you, such a serious man, concern yourself with nonsense?'
Aŗ jūs dabar laimingas, senēli? 'Are you happy now, grandad?'

As a means of polite reference, tāmsta is nowadays used much more rarely than jūs, 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:

Tāmsta baugini manē, ponia Liucija. 'You scare me, Mrs. 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:

Būkite tāmstos tokiē geri, ateikite. 'Please be so good and come.'

Pāts, pati are not as formal as jūs or tāmsta. They are usually used speaking to one’s equals when tū is felt to be too rude, while jūs and tāmsta are too cold or respectful. The use and grammatical concord of the singular pāts, pati and the plural pātys, pāčios is like that of tāmsta (tāmstos):
4.14 The reflexive savęs 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. savęs
Dat. sau
Acc. savę
Instr. savimën
Loc. savyjė

These forms are used both in the singular and plural meaning.

Rêtkarčiais aš ir sau
kai ką perkū.

Rêtkarčiais jiė ir sau
kai ką peťka.

Jis nekenčia savęs.

Jiė abūdu susitarė
tarp savęs.

'How’s life with you?'
'You come from these places, don’t you?’
'Didn’t you know anything?’

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 aš, tu, and the reflexive pronoun have separate possessive genitive singular forms mano, tavo, savę which differ from the genitive singular manęs, tavęs, savęs used in other functions, cf.:

Pérskaityk mano ląšką.
Drauga manęs ląkę.
Tava tėvų neradau namuose.

Tavęs neradau namuose.
Pasakyk savę tėvams.
Jis nežiūri savęs.

'Read my (POSS. GEN. SG) letter.'
'The friends waited for me (GEN. SG).'
'I didn’t find your (POSS. GEN. SG) parents at home.'
'I didn’t find you (GEN. SG) at home.'
'Tell it to your (POSS. GEN. SG) parents.'
'He doesn’t care for himself (GEN. SG).'

The possessive genitive savę refers to the subject of sentence regardless of its person and number, e.g.:

Aš nėtikiu savę ausimis.
Tū nėtiki savę ausimis.

'I don’t believe my ears.'
'You don’t believe your ears.'
Jis/Ji nėtiki savo ausimis. ‘He/She doesn’t believe his/her ears.’
Mės nėtikime savo ausimis. ‘We don’t believe our ears.’
Jūs nėtikite savo ausimis. ‘You don’t believe your ears.’
Jie/Jūs nėtikite savo ausimis. ‘They don’t believe their ears.’

The possessive genitive forms mano, tavo can also express the semantic subject in a passive construction (see 5.66), e.g.:

Laiškas buvo mano/tavo paliktas. ‘The letter was left by me/you (POSS. GEN. SG).’

Pronouns kąs ‘who’, kažkąs (kažin kąs) ‘somebody, something’, niękas ‘nobody, nothing’ have the separate possessive genitive singular forms as well: kieno, kažkieno (kažin kieno), niękieno, e.g.:

Kieno ta knyga? ‘Whose book is it?’
Čia niękieno žemė. ‘It is no man’s (lit. ‘nobody’s’) land.’

Cf. the non-possessive genitive singular forms kō, nięko in other functions:

Kō tū nori? ‘What do you want?’
Aš nięko nenóriu. ‘I don’t want anything.’

4.16 Beside the possessive genitive forms mentioned the special declined pronouns mānas, -ā ‘my’, tāvas, -ā ‘your’, sāvas, -ā are rarely used. More frequent in present day Lithuanian are the definite forms manasis, manoji; tavasis, tavoji; savasis, savoji (mostly with emphatic colour), e.g.:

Čia teviškė man/a manoji. ‘Here is my homeland.’
Tavoji siela nerami. ‘Your heart is troubled.’
Pašauk savus/savusiosius vaikus. ‘Call your children.’

Possessive pronouns with the suffix -iškas, -iškė: maniškas, -ė, taviškas, -ė, also mūsškas, -ė ‘our’, jūsškas, -ė ‘your’ are used with the corresponding meaning, e.g.:

Maniškas/Taviškas vyras gėras. ‘My/Your husband is good.’
Mūsškas/Jūsškas dirėktorius išvažiavęs. ‘Our/Your director has left.’

The substantivized plural forms maniškiai, taviškiai, saviškiai are also used to indicate relatives or friends of the respective person, e.g.:

Maniškiai sugrįž vakarė. ‘My relatives (My family) will return in the evening.’
Eik pas saviškius. ‘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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mūsu/Jūsu pienos jaū sužaliovo.} & \quad \text{‘Our/Your (GEN. PL) meadows are already green.’} \\
\text{Mūsu/Jūsu niėkas nelaukė.} & \quad \text{‘Nobody expected us/you (GEN. PL).’} \\
\text{Čià jō/jōs namaĩ.} & \quad \text{‘This is his/her (GEN. SG) home.’} \\
\text{Jūsų viešas būvo labai didelis.} & \quad \text{‘I didn’t find him/her (GEN. SG) at home.’} \\
\text{Vaika jū nemėgo.} & \quad \text{‘Their (GEN. PL) garden was very large.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Table 7. The relations of possessive pronominal forms to the participants of the speech act and third parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>The Speaker (Together with Other Persons)</th>
<th>The Interlocutor (Together with Other Persons)</th>
<th>Third Party (Parties)</th>
<th>Persons, Referred to by kās, niėkas, kažkās</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sava</td>
<td>mēs, mūs, mūsas, -ē</td>
<td>mēsās, -ēm, mēsās, -ēj, mēsās, -ēisi, -ē</td>
<td>jēs, jōs, jōs, -ēj</td>
<td>kās, kieno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savas, -ā</td>
<td>mūsas, -ēj, mūsās, -ēisi, -ēj</td>
<td>jīs, jīs, -į</td>
<td>niėkas, niėkieno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savis -</td>
<td>mūsās, -ēisi, -ēj</td>
<td>jēs, jō - jū, jōs</td>
<td>kažkās, kažkieno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Table 7. The relations of possessive pronominal forms to the participants of the speech act and third parties}
\end{align*}
\]
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

### 4.18 Demonstrative pronouns usually refer to:

1. **a definite thing (person, phenomenon):**
   - *tās, tā* ‘this’, *ši* ‘that’, *šitas, šitā* ‘this (one here)’, *anās, anā* ‘that (one)’, *tas pāts, ta patī* ‘the same’;

2. **a definite property of a thing (of a person or phenomenon):**
   - *tōks, tokiā* ‘of this kind’, *šiōks, šiōkiā* ‘of this kind’, *anōks, anōkiā* ‘of that kind’, *pāts tās, patī tā* ‘just the kind’;

3. **a situation:**
   - *taī* ‘it’, *šita(i)’it’, *tas pāts* ‘the same’.

### 4.19 Demonstrative pronouns also have a contrast between ‘near’ (šis, ši, šitas, šita/šitā, šitai, šitoks, šitokia, šiōks, šiōkiā) and ‘distant’ (anas, ana, anōks, anōkiā) reference. *Tās, tā, tōks, tokiā* are the neutral members of the near-distant opposition: they can be contrasted both to *šis, ši, šitas, šita/šitā* and *anas, ana*. They are also used when no contrast between near and distant reference is implied.

   - *Ar dar teber tā trobā, ku s seniaū gyvenom?* ‘Does the house where we lived earlier still exist?’
   - *Geriaū pūkšim šitā pavėikšla,*
     - *anas mān nepatiēka.* ‘Let’s better buy this picture, I don’t like that one.’
   - *Šiojē pūsēje pasistātē Vīkās,*
     - *anūj pūsēj 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, ši, šitas, šitā/šitā,* *tās, tā,* *anās, anā,* *tas pāts, ta patī* are used in the adjectival position, i.e. before a noun, they contribute definite status to that noun.

In the adjectival position pronouns *tās, tā,* however, sometimes lose their demonstrative meaning altogether.

   - *Sunkū, kad tie arkliaū vis užimti.* ‘It’s difficult because those horses are always busy.’
   - *Tiē daržai vis nebaigti ravēti.* ‘The weeding of those gardens is never finished.’

The same is true of *šitas, šita/šitā,* although to a much lesser degree.

   - *Nebērā ramybēs nuo šitu vaikū.* ‘There’s no peace because of these children.’

Pronouns *tas pāts, ta patī* ‘the same’ indicate the identity of things:
‘You look and look, all the time at the same spot.’

‘His clothes are always the same: dirty, shabby.’

‘The same day great joy came to everybody again.’

When tās, tā, šīs, šī, šitas, šita/šitā, anās, anā, tas pāts, ta patī 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 jīs, jī (see 4.9). By the frequency of their use as nominal demonstratives with anaphoric reference demonstratives could be arranged in the following sequence: tās, tā (most frequent), šīs, šī, šitas, šita/šitā (less frequent), anās, anā (rare), tas pāts, ta patī (retaining the meaning of identity), e.g.:

Iš tėvo jis gavo šiek tiek pinigų, tie jėm labai pravertė.

‘He got some money from his father, it came in very handy to him.’

Motina kalbina siūlų, šis tuod tarpu nieko neatsako.

‘Mother speaks to her son, the latter doesn’t say anything so far.’

Vieną siūlų teturių, tą pāti būtina nörī 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) tāi (tatai), rarely - šīta(i) (šītatai) 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 klasės draugais jis bendravo tik tiek, kiek taīšītais buvo būtina.

‘With his school friends he communicated only as much as it was necessary.’

Ar jis susīrīgs, ar liūdnas būs, ar nelaimingas – nēkam nēko nerūpes, nēkas apie taī/tatai nepagalvōs.

Whether he falls ill, or is sad, or unhappy – nobody will care, nobody will think about it.’

Nežinau, ar gāli žmogus savo lāmē atspēti. Negalvōjau apie taī.

‘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:
Taį labai gražū. Nežiūrėk į taį. ‘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 tás, šitas.

Nėra to pasáuly, kō neišdrįstu Āras. ‘There’s nothing in the world that Aras wouldn’t dare to do.’

Jūk šeiminiųkė namuose tám ir yrà, kad viskuo rūpintysi. ‘The housewife is at home exactly for the purpose of taking care of everything.’

Prisipažįstu, esù išdidūs ir šituo/tuò džiaugiuosi. ‘I admit I’m proud and I’m glad I am.’

Masculine demonstratives tás, šitas are sometimes used to replace taį, šitai even in the positions of the nominative and accusative cases.

Spalvos nubluko, bêt nièkas negalėjo pasakyti, ař tás/taï atsitiko keliönés metù, ař iš sèlevarto. Tá/taï numānė iř Péttras. ‘The colours faded out, but nobody could say whether this happened during the journey or due to heartbreak.’

Visi sténgesi pralobti, bêt mán mažaï šitas/šitai rūpejo. ‘Petras also understood that.’

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 pats.

Visi mìsime, visų tas pats laukia. ‘All of us are going to die, the same is awaiting everybody.’

Vilìus Karalìus smaikia nuo piìsto žiédą, Grètë dårò tą pài. ‘Vilius Karalius is slipping his ring from his finger, Grètë is doing the same.’

Situational demonstratives taì, šitai(i) are in concord with neuter adjectives.

Taï nuostabû! Šitai neleïgva. ‘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, anòks, anòkia for distant reference, tòks, tokìa being the neutral member of the near – distant opposition.
Jeigu jaū įšitoks patinkū mokytais
poniai, taĩ dár labiau patiksiu
su gūrgždančiais bėtais.
Anoks mán nepatįnka, tóks taĩ
ekas kita.
Dienà išaũšo apsiniàukusi, darganòta.
Tòkią diènà jòks dárbas nèsisèka.

‘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, tóks, tokià can also be used before adjectives as intensifiers.

Jì bûvo dár visàj visàj jaunûtè,
bet tokià sudžiàvûsi!
Šitoks ilgas kelias!
Paskaità bûvo tokià nuobòdà, kad
âš užmigaû.

‘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 tuûtas!
Tóks ãt paûkûstis, kàd sàvo lizdà
tèûòia.

‘Such fortune!’
‘The bird is not much good if
it fouls its nest.’

The pronoun anoks, anókia can function as an intensifier only before a noun and
in this function it always conveys the meaning of disapproval.

Anoks čìa tuûtas.

‘Not very much of a fortune.’

**INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS**

4.23 All interrogative and relative pronouns begin with the consonant *k*: *kàs* ‘what, who’, *kóks, kokìà* ‘what kind of’, *kurìs, kuri* ‘which’, *katràs, katrà* ‘which of two’, *kelì, kelìos* ‘how many’, *kelerì, kelèrios* ‘how many (used with pluralia tantum)’, *kelìntas, kelintà* ‘which (asking about the order or position in a series)’, *keliòlika* ‘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*.

*Kàs teû ñlûma?*   ‘What is rustling there?’
*Kokiòs knûgos tau reûkia?*   ‘What book do you need?’
‘Which is your key?’
‘Which of you two will help me?’
‘How many of you will be here tomorrow?’
‘How many years have passed since we last saw each other?’
‘Which is your flat?’
‘How many of them were there?’

Pronoun kās can refer to a human being as well as to an animate or inanimate thing, but its possessive genitive kieno ‘whose’ can refer only to human beings.

‘Who’s there?’
‘What have you brought me to eat?’
‘Whose book is it?’

Sometimes, particularly in fossilized phrases, kās is used to replace the pronoun kōks.

‘Which wind was blowing yesterday?’
‘What is your son’s name?’

Interrogative kōks, kokiā is equivalent to the English phrase ‘what kind of’ (or ‘what’ used in the adjectival position).

Interrogative kuris, kurī is used when asking somebody to specify one or more people or things from a group of two or any limited number.

‘Which of the boys is tallest?’

Interrogative katrās, katrā is mostly used when asking somebody to specify a person or thing from a group of two.

‘Which of you is taller, you or Jonas?’

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: keli, keliōs; kelerī, kelerios; keliūt̄as, keliūt̄; keliūlika. These pronouns never have an antecedent in the principal clause:
The second group of relative pronouns includes kās; koks, kokią; kuris, kuri; katrąs, katrą. They can introduce both a completive (1) and a relative clause (2):

1. Užmiršaū, koks tavo adresas.
   Nežinaū, kurf pasiririškite.
   Jis kláusia, ką daryti.
   Kās nörį, tās rańda.
   Kō ieškójo, tā ir rādo.
   Tači, kā tū saka, netiesa.

2. Jie vel atsi mena senelį tokį,
   koks jis dār buvo gyvas.
   Tuós, kurię lips, baidyş
   visų bjauriausios šmeiklos.

Relative pronouns introducing an attributive clause and the pronoun kās often have pronominal antecedents in the principal clause.

4.25 The pronouns kās, koks, kokią, kuris, kuri can also have an emphatic meaning.

Koks tū esi mokyta, Vincėli!
Kās tō vaiko gabim̄as!
Užtāt kōkio džiaugsmo buvo išjūs tēvui akėti!

‘Tell me how many of you will be here tomorrow.’
‘I don’t remember the number of your flat.’
‘I didn’t understand how many of them were there.’
‘I forgot your address.’
‘I don’t know which to choose.’
‘He is asking what he is to do.’
‘He who wants can find it.’
‘He found what he was looking for.’
‘What you are saying is not true.’
‘They remember grandad again as he was alive.’
‘Those who will try to climb it will be beset by the most horrible spectres.’

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:

- **kās** 'someone, somebody, something'
- **kokia** 'whatever, some kind of; some'
- **kuris, kuri** 'whichever, whoever, some'
- **katras, katra** 'whichever, whoever (of two)'
- **keli, keliōs** 'some'
- **keliitās, keliintā** 'whichever in a series, some'
- **kēletas** 'a few, some (between 3 and 9)'
- **kelioliika** 'some (between 11 and 19)'
- **kēliasdešimt** 'some (between 30 and 90)'
- **keleri, kelerios** 'a few, some (used with pluralia tantum)'
- **vienas, vienā** 'one, no matter which one'
- **kitas, kitā** 'some'
- **tōks, tokiā** 'of some kind', cf.:

  - *Gāl kōks paūkštis teī skreūda.*  
  - *Lyg veřkia, lyg vaitōja kās.*  
  - *Labāi seniai gyveno tōks pirklys.*  
  - *Jis mokēsi tik kēlerius metīs.*  
  - *Manē aplaņķē kēletas/kelioliika draugā.*

   ‘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)-: kažkās, kažkuris, kažkatrās, kažkōks, kažkeliitās. 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) kās, kaži(n) kuris, kaži(n) katrās, kaži(n) kōks:

- **Jām vaidēnasi, kād pirkios vidūrgā kāžkās/kažin kās stōvi.**
  - *He imagines there is somebody standing in the middle of the room.*
- **Antānas ūčiuopē kažkōkj kietā dāiktā.**
  - ‘Antanas touched something hard.’
- **Staigā pasīgiūdo kažkōks/kažin kōks cypimas.**
  - ‘Suddenly there was some kind of squeaking.’
A majority of other composite indefinite (proper) pronouns include one of the following elements: nórs, bêt, kai, 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.:

_Ar kas nórs bélžiasi į duris?_ ‘Is anybody knocking at the door?’
_Norėjau, kad bėnit kas nórs tai galėtų suprasti._ ‘I wished that at least somebody (no matter who) could understand it.’
_Pakvišk kurį nórs iš vaikų._ ‘Call someone (no matter which) of the children.’

_Grąžinsiu skolą katrai nórs iš tavo seserų._ ‘I’ll return my debt to one of your (two) sisters.’

(b) bet kās; bet koks, bet kokia; bet kuris, bet kuri; bet katras, bet katra share the common semantic element ‘any’, e.g.:

_Čia bet kās tāu kēlią parodys._ ‘Here anyone will show you the way.’
_Paduok mān bet kōki pāgalī._ ‘Give me any kind of stick.’
_Dirbsiu su bet kuriuōi iš jūsų._ ‘I’ll work with anyone of you.’

(c) kai kās; kai koks, kai kokia; kai kuris, kai kuri; their common semantic element is ‘part of the whole number, not every’, e.g.:

_Kai kās dār tikisi sugrīžti._ ‘Somebody still trust to return.’
_Kai kā suzinōjau iš vežējo._ ‘I learnt something from the driver.’
_Kai kuriē namaī jaū be stogū._ ‘Some homes no longer have roofs.’

(d) kās ne kās, kuris ne kuris ‘some, not many, very few’, e.g.:

_Kām ne kām, o mūms taī būs bēdā._ ‘Whoever suffers it’s us.’

The composite pronoun vienas kitsas, vienā kitā ‘very few’, šis tās ‘something (not very significant)’, šūks tōks, šūkiā tōkia ‘of an insignificant kind’ have the indefinite proper meaning as well, e.g.:

_Tik vienas kitsas sugrīžo iš kāro._ ‘Very few returned from the war.’
_Rētkarčiaiš iš mūms šis tās kliūdavo._ ‘Sometimes something (insignificant) would come our way as well.’
_Gāl iš tō būs šiokūds tokiōds naudūs._ ‘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, vienā ‘one’; kitsas, kitā ‘other, another’; vienūks, vienūkiā ‘of one kind’; kitōks, kitōkiā ‘of another kind’; tam tikras, tam tikrā ‘certain’.
The pronouns vienas, vieną, kitas kitą can be used both in nominal and adjectival positions; vienas, vieną refer to an indefinite thing meaning ‘only this one without the others’; kitas, kitą 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.

Mótery vënosal dar dairësi aplain̊ krosni̊, kitos jau së- de̊s ant sūolo ir ver̠pë.
Ar tâs, ar kitas méistras sîs, vis tas pâts.
Ant kito šâpa pamâto, o ant savâs – nê vežimo.
Bepigu sâkyti kitëms, bet nedaryti patëms.
Ji pàèmë puodêli rûgusio pïeno, mës kitûs reïkiamus dâktûs.

‘Some of the women were still looking around the stove, the others were a ready sitting on a bench spinning.’
‘It makes no difference if this or that tailor makes it.’
‘He sees a mote in another person’s eye, but cannot see a cartload in his own.’
‘It’s easy to order others about, and not to do a thing oneself.’
‘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.

Kaip galëjai manûti, kad mûstême viena, o sûkemë kita?
Viêna tik negëra: nûrâ grûby.

‘How could you think that we had in mind one thing and said another?’
‘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:

Viêno (= viena) betrûko: kokiu nûrs bûdu sûvo vûra pamatyti.

‘She longed only for one thing: to see her husband in one way or another.’

The fusions of the neuter form kita with the pronoun kàs – kas kita, kita kas, kitkas ‘another matter, other things’ – are also used to refer to phenomena in general:

Mûtinai skaûda sîrdî dël kita ko.

‘The mother’s heart aches for another reason.’

Pamiûûs sûvo anksûsenû miûû, jis jaû kalbêjo apie kû kita.

‘Having forgotten his former trend of thought, he was already speaking about another thing.’

Vienûks, vienûkia ‘of one kind’, kitûks, kitûkia ‘of another kind’, tam tikras ‘certain’ are adjectival pronouns:
Ne visų vienokių akys.
Šiaudien oras vienokų, o ryšoj kitoks.
Ūkininkai dali grūdų dėr iš rudeišs supildavo į tam tikras klėtis.

‘Not everybody has eyes of the same kind.’
‘Today the weather is of one kind, tomorrow of another kind.’
‘The farmers would pour some part of their grain into certain grain barns in autumn.’

In some contexts certain interrogative and demonstrative pronouns when coupled together acquire indefinite differentiating meaning as well, e.g.:

Kālvēje pilna žmoniū. Kās su reikalais, kās su tauškalaū.
Kaštis šį ar tą (= vieną ar kitą) reikėdavo gārbint.

‘The smithery is full of people. Some come on business, some with idle talk.’
‘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’; abû, abi ‘both’; abeji, ābejos ‘both (used with pluralia tantum)’; ābejetas ‘both’; kiekvienas, kiekviénā ‘every’; aliái vienas, aliái vienā ‘absolutely all’; túlas, tūlā, daug kās ‘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:

Vakarè visas kaimas susirinēko prie Ėžero.
Dabar jaū visą šinžtą tureiu.

‘In the evening all the village came to the lake.’
‘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:

Āš išdainavau visas dainelēs.
Tylus tylus buvo Mykoliukas, 
o visiem mātēs, jog fis šnēka.

‘I have sung all my songs.’
‘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) Visūs metūs ištarnavaū.

‘I served the whole year.’
(ii) Visūs savo gyvenimo metus
ištarnavaū.

'I served all the years of my
life.'

The neuter form visa as well as viskas, visa kās refer to all things and phenomena
in general.

Visa prapūlė.

'Everything has disappeared.'

Išmintingas nuolatūs moksli,
o kvailas dingos visa žinąs.

'A wise man is learning all the
time, a stupid one thinks he
knows everything.'

Tą stebuklingąją naktį viskas
yrą stebüklas.

'That miraculous night everything
is a miracle.'

Visa kū aslojė pristatytą.

'There's everything on the floor.'

Visūks, visūkia is used in adjectival positions only and means 'of all kinds':

Lūžo teūn arūdai nuo visūkio
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', túlas, -à 'quite a few', abù, abì 'both', abejì,
-os 'both' (only pluralia tantum) are used both in nominal and adjectival positions,
e.g.:

Susędę visi ėmė mėdų valgyti
ir kiekvienas bitelēs gārbinti.

'All sat down and started eating
the honey, each praising the bees.'

Kaimyñai aliái vienas išvažiavo
i miestelį.

'Every single family of the
neighbours left for town.'

Tūlas atsigrēždamas žvilgčiojo
i papievius.

'Not a single one turned back and cast
glances at the edge of the meadow.'

Abù sēniai susuirāpinę galvōjo.

'Both old people worried and thought.'

Māukis abejomis pištinēmis,
viemomis būs šalta.

'Put on both pairs of gloves,
you'll be cold with only one pair on.'

Pronouns daug kās 'quite a few' abejetas 'both (as a whole)' are used only in
nominal positions, e.g.:

Iki trečiadienia daug kās
tikējos pabaigti mēšlu vēži.

'Quite a few people expected to finish
taking the manure to the fields
by Wednesday.'

When used in adjectival positions the pronoun kās can also have generalizing
meaning similar to that of kiekvienas, -à 'every', indicating the sequence of each
thing or person referred to.
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Kas vālanda dārēsi tamsiaū.

‘Every hour it was getting darker and darker.’

Dabaī kas žingsnis atsiverina nematūti vaizdaū.

‘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 tiek nežinojo pāsakū,
kiek senāsis Lāpinas.

‘Nobody knew as many fairy tales as Old Lapins.’

Mēs nē vienas netikējom, kad ligōnis mirūt.

‘Nobody of us believed that the patient would die.’

Dangūs buvo giēdras, be jōkio debesēlio.

‘The sky was blue, without a single cloud.’

Nē kokiōs/jokiōs žymēs nēr,
ku pērējau rugjūs.

‘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 nežino.

‘Nobody knows.’

Visi/daug kās žino.

‘Everybody knows/quite a few know.’

Niēkas jām nerāpi.

‘Nothing worries him.’

Visa/viskas/daug kās jām rāpi.

‘Everything/quite a lot worries him.’

Nē vienas, nē vienā is opposed to kiekvienas, kiekvienā, aliai vienas, aliai vienā, visi, visos:

Nē vienas taip nepadarīgs
Kiekvienas/aliai vienas/
visi taip padarīgs

‘Not a single man can do it.’

Jōks, jokiā, nē kōks, nē kokiā are opposed to visōks, visōkia, visī, visos:

Jokiū/nē kokiū dainū nemokējau.

‘I didn’t know any songs.’

Visōkių dainū mokējau.

‘I knew all kinds of songs.’

Jokiū/nē kokiū dainū nedainavaū.

‘I didn’t sing any/any sort of songs.’

Išdainavaū 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.
Šiandien (àš) pati vakarienę gaminaū.

‘Today I myself (FEM) cooked the supper.’

When used in adjectival positions, pats, pati can have only an emphatic meaning.

Saulėlė stovėjo pačiamė dangaūs viduryjė.

‘The sun stood in the very middle of the sky.’

Note: In some investigations on the Lithuanian pronouns the words šioš tōks, šiotiokā tiokā ‘of an insignificant kind’, tam tikras, tam tikrā ‘certain’, tālas, tālā ‘quite a few’, visas, visā ‘the whole’, visōks, visōkia ‘of all kinds’, pats tās, pati tā ‘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 savës has no nominative and no plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>àš</td>
<td>jūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>manës/mano</td>
<td>mūsų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mān</td>
<td>mūms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>manė</td>
<td>mūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>manimë</td>
<td>mumis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>manyjë</td>
<td>mumysë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nom.  | mes                         |
| Gen.  | mūsų                        |
| Dat.  | mūms                        |
| Acc.  | mūs                         |
| Instr.| mumis                       |
| Loc.  | mumysë                      |
As is obvious from the paradigm, some case forms of the personal pronouns resemble those of nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>i</em>-declension:</td>
<td><em>manimë</em> (cf. <em>vagimë</em> ‘thief’)</td>
<td><em>manyjë</em> (cf. <em>vagyjë</em>)</td>
<td><em>mumysë</em> (cf. <em>vagysë</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different from nouns, personal pronouns have a short ending in the accusative singular: *manè*, *tavè*, *savè* (although in some dialects this ending is long: *manë*, *tavë*, *savë*, cf. *pêlë*).

The genitive singular ending -ės is etymologically derived from the accusative ending ę plus s, which has been added by analogy with nouns (cf. *pelēs*, *vagīēs*, *sūnaūs*).

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: *mēs* – *mūsų*, *jūs* – *jūsų*.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>-ám</em></td>
<td><em>-ām</em></td>
<td><em>-amē</em></td>
<td><em>-i</em></td>
<td><em>-iems</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*kitām* – *gerām*  
*kitamē* – *geramē*  
*kiti* – *geri*  
*kitiems* – *geriems*  

Masculine pronouns have two declension patterns: *(i)ₐ declension and i declension. Although *kās* 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Par. 1</th>
<th>Par. 2</th>
<th>Par. 3</th>
<th>Par. 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. Nom.</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Gen.</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-io</td>
<td>-io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Acc.</td>
<td>-q</td>
<td>-q</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Instr.</td>
<td>-uo</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-iu</td>
<td>-iuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Nom.</td>
<td>-ie</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ie</td>
<td>-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Acc.</td>
<td>-uos</td>
<td>-us</td>
<td>-ius</td>
<td>-ius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Paradigm 1**

tās, šitas, anās, katrās, kās

Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>tās</th>
<th>šitas</th>
<th>anās</th>
<th>katrās</th>
<th>kās</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>šito</td>
<td>anō</td>
<td>katrō</td>
<td>kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tām</td>
<td>šitām</td>
<td>anām</td>
<td>katrām</td>
<td>kām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>šītāq</td>
<td>anāq</td>
<td>katrāq</td>
<td>kāq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>tuō</td>
<td>šītuō</td>
<td>anuō</td>
<td>katruō</td>
<td>kuō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>tamē</td>
<td>šītamē</td>
<td>anamē</td>
<td>katramē</td>
<td>kamē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>tiē</th>
<th>šitiē</th>
<th>anīē</th>
<th>katriē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tū</td>
<td>šitūq</td>
<td>anūq</td>
<td>katruq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tiems</td>
<td>šitiems</td>
<td>aniem</td>
<td>katriems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tuōs</td>
<td>šituōs</td>
<td>anuōs</td>
<td>katruōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>taīs</td>
<td>šitaīs</td>
<td>anais</td>
<td>katraīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>tuosē</td>
<td>šituosē</td>
<td>anuos</td>
<td>katruos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Paradigm 3

toks, štoks, šitoks, anoks, koks, joks, visoks, vienoks, kitoks, kažkoks, kai koks, etc.

#### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokës</th>
<th>joks</th>
<th>visoks</th>
<th>kitoks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>tokië</td>
<td>jokië</td>
<td>visokie</td>
<td>kitokie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tokių</td>
<td>jokių</td>
<td>visokių</td>
<td>kitokių</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tokiams</td>
<td>jokiams</td>
<td>visokiams</td>
<td>kitokiams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tokį</td>
<td>joki</td>
<td>visoki</td>
<td>kitoki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>tokiu</td>
<td>jokiu</td>
<td>visokiu</td>
<td>kitokiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>tokiamę</td>
<td>jokiamę</td>
<td>visokiame</td>
<td>kitokiamę</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokiojès</th>
<th>jokiës</th>
<th>visokiës</th>
<th>kitokiës</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>tokiems</td>
<td>jokiams</td>
<td>visokiems</td>
<td>kitokiems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tokius</td>
<td>jokiais</td>
<td>visokius</td>
<td>kitokius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tokiamos</td>
<td>jokiamos</td>
<td>visokiamaos</td>
<td>kitokiamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tokia</td>
<td>jokia</td>
<td>visokia</td>
<td>kitokia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>tokiašs</td>
<td>jokiašs</td>
<td>visokiašs</td>
<td>kitokiašs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>tokiaus</td>
<td>jokiaus</td>
<td>visokiaus</td>
<td>kitokiaus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Paradigm 4

jis, šis, kuris

#### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>jis</th>
<th>šis</th>
<th>kuris</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>jis</td>
<td>šis</td>
<td>kuris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>jō</td>
<td>šiō</td>
<td>kuriō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The *i*-declension

4.34 The pronoun *pats* is the only pronoun which is declined according to this declension.

### Paradigm 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td><em>pats</em></td>
<td><em>pātys</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>patiēs/pāčio</td>
<td><em>pačiū</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>pačiām</td>
<td>patiems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>pātį</td>
<td><em>pačiūs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>pačiū/patim(i)</td>
<td><em>pačiaiš</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>pačiamē</td>
<td><em>pačiuosē</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In genitive singular and instrumental singular *pats* 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: tą, šita/šitą, kitą, a.o. (declined like aušra ‘dawn’)
Paradigm 2: tokia, kokia, visokia, a.o. (declined like žinią ‘piece of news’)
Paradigm 3: ji, ši, kuri, pati (declined like merti ‘daughter-in-law’).

**Paradigm 6**

*tą, šita/šitą, kitą, visą, aną, kartrą, vieną, kiekvieną, maną, tavą, savą etc.*

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>тą</th>
<th>šita/šitą</th>
<th>kitą</th>
<th>visą</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>тос</td>
<td>šitos/šitos</td>
<td>kitos</td>
<td>visos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>тай</td>
<td>šitai/šitai</td>
<td>kitai</td>
<td>visai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>та</td>
<td>šita</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>visą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>то</td>
<td>šitoje/šitøje</td>
<td>kitoje</td>
<td>visoję</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>toje</td>
<td>šitоje/šitоje</td>
<td>kitoje</td>
<td>visoję</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>тос</th>
<th>šitos</th>
<th>kitos</th>
<th>visos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>та</td>
<td>šitai/šitai</td>
<td>kitai</td>
<td>visai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ты</td>
<td>šitу/šitу</td>
<td>kitу</td>
<td>visу</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>том</td>
<td>šито/шито</td>
<td>кито</td>
<td>visо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>так</td>
<td>шито/шито</td>
<td>кито</td>
<td>visо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>томис</td>
<td>шитомис/шитомис</td>
<td>китомис</td>
<td>visомис</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>тосе</td>
<td>шито/шито</td>
<td>кито</td>
<td>visо</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Paradigm 7**

*tokia, kokia, visokia, šiokia, šitokia, anokia, vienokia, kitokia, kažkokia, jokia, etc.*

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>токиа</th>
<th>кокиа</th>
<th>visokia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>токиос</td>
<td>кокиос</td>
<td>visokios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>токиоя</td>
<td>кокиоя</td>
<td>visokioя</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>токкаи</td>
<td>коккаи</td>
<td>visokkaи</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>токиа</td>
<td>кокиа</td>
<td>visokia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>токиа</td>
<td>кокиа</td>
<td>visokia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>токиоje</td>
<td>кокиоje</td>
<td>visokioje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>токиос</th>
<th>кокиос</th>
<th>visokios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>токиы</td>
<td>кокиы</td>
<td>visokiу</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>токиу</td>
<td>кокиу</td>
<td>visokiу</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Paradigm 8

** ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri**

Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>ji, ši, pati, kuri, kažkuri</td>
<td>jis, šis, patys, kurys, kažkury</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Correspondence between the grammatical forms of feminine and masculine pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine forms</th>
<th>Feminine forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paradigm</td>
<td>Nom. Sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 5</td>
<td>-is, -s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, pats is
declined according to Paradigm 5. The feminine forms of the same pronouns ji, ši, pati are all declined according to Paradigm 8. Similarly, tás, šítas are declined according to Paradigm 1, kitas, visas – according to Paradigm 2. The feminine forms of all these pronouns – tā, šitā, kitā, visā – are declined according to Paradigm 6.

Pronouns with the nominal suffix -iškis, -ė (maniškis, -ė 'my', tavishkis, -ė 'your', saviškis, -ė 'one's', mūsiškis, -ė 'our', jūsiškis, -ė 'your') are declined and accented like the noun namiškis, namiške '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, šešios; kelintas, kelintą like peňkas, penktas; kėletas like kėtvertas; keleri, kelerios like ketveri, kėtverios; keliolika like keturiolika; abejetas like dvėjetas; abej, abejo like dveji, dvėjos.

4.37 Composite pronouns fall into two declensional groups:

(1) those that consist of one declinable and one indeclinable component: kažin kās (declined like kās), koksnórs (declined like kōks), kokianórs (declined like kokiā); tam tikras (declined like the adjective tikras), etc., e.g.:

| Nom.     | kažin kās, koksnórs |
| Gen.     | kažin kienō, kokio nórs |
| Dat.     | kažin kām, kokiam nórs, etc. |

(2) those that consist of two declinable components:

| Nom.     | kās ne kās, šióks tóks |
| Gen.     | kō ne kō, šiókio tókio |
| Dat.     | kām ne kām, šiókiám tókiám, 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: anóks, anókia; kitóks, kitókia; šitoks, šitokia; vienóks, vienókia; visóks, visókia. Pronoun šítas, šitā/šitā is accented according to two patterns: 1 and 5 (see Paradigm 6 in 4.35).

Pattern 2. Like nominal accentuation pattern 2: niēkas like piēštas.

Pattern 3. Like adjectival accentuation pattern 3: jóks, jokiā; kóks, kokiā; šióks, šiokiā; tóks, tokiā; vienas, vienā; tūlas, tūlā; kažkóks, kažkokiā; kiekvienas, kiekvienā.
Pattern 4. Like adjectival accentuation pattern 4: kītas, kītā; pāts, patī; vīsas, visā; šītas, šūtā; mānas, manā; tāvas, tavā; sāvas, savā.

Pattern 5. This pattern is specific to gendered pronouns. It includes one syllable pronouns jīs, jī; šīs, šū; tās, tā; kās and the pronouns anās, anā; katrās, katrā; kuris, kuri; kažkās; kažkuris, kažkuri bearing the stress consistently on the last syllable (cf. also kienā; jamē, jojē; jomis, juosē, josē).

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 kās; bet kōks, bet kokiā; bet kurīs, bet kuri; bet katrās, bet katrā; kai kās; kai kōks, kai kokiā; kai kurīs, kai kuri; kai katrās, kai katrā; kas nōrs; koks nōrs, kokia nōrs; kurīs nōrs, kuri nōrs; katrās nōrs, katra nōrs; kažīn kās; kažīn kōks, kažīn kokiā; kažīn kurīs, kažīn kuri; kažīn katrās, kažīn katrā; nē kōks, nē kokiā; nē vienas, nē vienā; tam tiktras, tam tikrā; tas pāts, ta pātī; tōks patiā pāt(i). The pronoun daug kās can bear the stress on the first or on the second component: daug kās, daug ko, daug kam... or daug kās, daug kō, daug kām... Some composite pronouns can be stressed on both components, e.g.: aliai vienas, aliai vienā; šīoks tōks, šiokiā tokīā; vienas kītas, vienā kītā; kās ne kās; kurīs ne kurīs, kuri ne kuri.

DUAL NUMBER

4.40 Pronominal dual forms are derived from the corresponding pronominal root and the numeral dū, dvī. They are declined according to two patterns.

Pattern 1

mūdu, mūdvi, jūdu, jūdvi, abū (abūdu), abi (abīdvi)

Masculine gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>mūdu</th>
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<td>jūdviem</td>
<td>abiēm</td>
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<td>Instr.</td>
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Feminine gender

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<th>abī (abīdvi)</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
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### MORPHOLOGY

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#### Pattern 2

juōdu (jiēdu), jiēdvę, tuōdu, tiēdvę, šiuōdu, šiēdvę, anuōdu, aniēdvę, šituōdu, šitiēdvę, katruōdu, katriēdvę, kuriuōdu, kuriēdvę

#### 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:**

*manim, tavim, savim* instead of: *manimi, tavimi, savimi;*

**locative singular:**

*many, tavę, savę* instead of: *manyje, tavęje, savęje*

*taš, kitas, jaš* instead of: *tamė, kitanė, jamė*

*tōj, kitōj, jōj* instead of: *tojė, kitojė, jojė;
dative plural:

tīem, kitīem, jīem instead of: tīems, kitīems, jīems
tīm, kitīm, jīm instead of: tīms, kitōms, jōms;

locative plural:

tuōs, kituōs, juōs instead of: tuosē, kituosē, juosē.

**DECLENSION AND ACCENTUATION OF DEFINITE PRONOUNS**

4.42 The following pronouns have definite forms:

tās, tā – tasaĩ, tōji
šīs, šī – šīsaĩ, šīōji
anās, anā – anasaĩ, anōji
jīs, jī – jīsaĩ, jōji
mānas, manā – manāsīs, manōji
tāvas, tavā – tavāsīs, tavōji
sāvas, savā – savāsīs, savōji

**Masculine gender**

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### Feminine gender

#### Singular

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#### 4.43

In the nominative singular, masculine definite pronouns (except for definite possessive pronouns with the ending -asis) 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:

- **toksai** cf. **tōks** — ‘of this kind’
- **koksaĩ** **kōks** — ‘what kind of; some kind of’
- **štiksai** **štōks** — ‘of this kind’
- **štōksai** **štōks** — ‘of this kind’
- **anoksai** **anōks** — ‘of that kind’
- **joksai** **jōks** — ‘of no kind’
- **visoksai** **visōks** — ‘of all kinds’
- **vienoksai** **vienōks** — ‘of one kind’
- **kitoksai** **kitōks** — ‘of another kind’
- **patsai** **pāts** — ‘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.  tūoju  cf. tuō
   tája  tà
Acc. Pl.  tuosius  tuōs
tāsias  tās
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. ein-ù ‘I go’, einame ‘we go’, ein-ì ‘you (SG) go’, eína-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.: jis / ji / jie eína, ējo, eïs, eïtų ‘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 bûti ‘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. -ė-ti, -y-ti, -o-ti, -uo-ti) coincide with derivational suffixes, cf. the inflexional suffix in gul-ė-ti ‘to lie’, gulį (PRES), gul-ė-jo (PAST) and derivational suffix in ėukl-ė-ti ‘to educate’, ėuklė-ja (PRES), ėuklė-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’, dūrbi ‘work’) or directed at an object (e.g. nėštį (vaiką) ‘carry (a child)’, statyti (namūs) ‘build (a house)’, vėlgyti (kūšę) ‘eat (porridge)’), and (2) social and mental activities (e.g. pirkšti ‘buy’, susitikti ‘meet’, skaityti ‘read’, galvoti ‘think (about)’).

Stative verbs denote (1) physical states of things and persons (gulėti ‘lie’, blizgėti ‘glitter’, sūrgti ‘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’, atrūdyti ‘seem’, etc.).


Some verbs may have dual class membership. For instance, a verb may denote an action and a process in different contexts, cf. respectively: věrdy sriubą ‘I am cooking soup’ – sriubą věrda ‘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, -(i)en-ti, -(i)ė-ti, -(i)nė-ti, -(i)n-ti, -(i)y-ti, -(i)o-ti, -(i)uo-ti, -(tel(e)-ti/-ter(e))-ti.
Verbs with the same suffix may have different meanings, depending on the grammatical class and semantic type of the underlying word, e.g.: *grybas* 'mushroom': *gryb-áuti* 'pick mushrooms', *našlys/našlë* 'widower/widow': *našl-áuti* 'be a widower/widow', *šaūkti* 'shout': *šuk-áuti* '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. *i-* – *i* 'in', *iš-* – *iš* 'from', *pér-* – *pér* 'over, across', *su-* – *sū* 'with', *už-* – *iūž* 'over; for; by') or with apophonic vowel alternation, cf. *ap(i)-* – *apiė* 'round; about', *pa-* – *pō* 'under; after', *nu-* – *nuo* '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 *par* is attested, cf. *par-eiti* 'come back', and *par mumì* '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/through', *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-degti* 'burn out') or its beginning (*su-gaūsti* 'begin to drone'), a small degree (ap-gydyti 'cure a little', *i-leńkti* 'bend somewhat, a little'), ability to perform an action (*iš-dainuoti* 'be able to sing', *pa-nešti* '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 unprefixed 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', *kėlėsî* '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 unprefixed verbs, e.g.: *keliq-si, keliančio(s)-si* 'getting up'; *kėlę-si, kėlu-sio(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.: \(\text{kėliamė-s} \) ‘we get up’, \(\text{kėliatė-s} \) ‘you get up’, \(\text{kėltumė-s} \) ‘we would get up’, \(\text{kėlkimė-s} \) ‘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: \(\text{kėls-is} \) ‘he will get up’, in the nominative singular masculine of active participles: \(\text{keliąs-is, kėlęs-is, kelįsiąs-is, kėldamas-is} \) and gerunds: \(\text{kėliant-is, kėlus-is, kėldavus-is, kėlsiant-is} \).

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.: \(\text{keliuo-s} \) ‘I get up’, \(\text{kelię-s} \) ‘you (SG) get up’, \(\text{kėliau-s} \) ‘I got up’, etc.

### TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

#### 5.6 Transitive and intransitive verbs

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. \(\text{darytį klasęs} \) ‘make mistakes’, \(\text{skaitytį knygą} \) ‘read a book’) or by the genitive (\(\text{laukti draugą} \) ‘wait for a friend’, \(\text{noreti obuoli} \) ‘want an apple’). Intransitive verbs take no direct object, e.g. \(\text{miegotį} \) ‘sleep’, \(\text{vaikščioti} \) ‘walk’, \(\text{bėgti} \) ‘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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sėnis dār māto gera} & . & \text{The old man sees well yet} \text{ (intransitive).} \\
\text{Matau miškā} & . & \text{‘I see a forest’ (transitive).}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(\text{kilti} \) ‘rise’ – \(\text{kėlti} \) ‘raise’;
2. pairs comprised of an intransitive verb and its transitive derivative with the causative suffixes \(-(d)in-ti; - (d)y-ti\), cf. \(\text{pyktį} \) ‘be angry’ – \(\text{pykdyti} \) ‘make angry’;
3. pairs with a prefixed transitive derivative, cf. \(\text{veiktį} \) ‘cry’ – \(\text{praveiktį akis} \) ‘cry one’s eyes out’;
4. pairs comprising a transitive verb and its reflexive derivative, cf. \(\text{kėsti} \) ‘change, make different’ (tr.) – \(\text{kėstis} \) ‘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:

- **drëksti** ‘tear, become torn’ – **driksti** ‘tear, make torn’
- **kisti** ‘change, become different’ – **keisti** ‘change, make different’
- **lińkti** ‘bend, become bent’ – **leńkti** ‘bend, make bent’
- **lūžti** ‘break, become broken’ – **laužti** ‘break, make broken’
- **tīsti** ‘become longer, stretch’ – **tēsti** ‘make longer, pull, stretch’
- **vištī** ‘overturn, be overturned’ – **veštī** ‘overturn (something)’
- **žīrtī** ‘spill, be spilled’ – **žeštī/žerti** ‘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.:

- **Šakā palińko.** ‘The branch bent.’
- **Vaķas/Vējas pālenkē šākā.** ‘The boy/the wind bent the branch.’

This means of derivation is unproductive in Modern Lithuanian.

A few verbs, namely **dēgtī** ‘burn’, **kēptī** ‘bake, fry’ and **virtī** ‘boil, cook’, are grammatical indeterminates: they are used both transitively as causatives and intransitively without any change of form:

- **Dūona kēpa.** ‘The bread is baking.’
- **Māmā kēpa dūoņa.** ‘Mother is baking bread.’

Semantically, they are identical with the **lūžti – laužti** 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 transitivizing 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{augti} & \quad \text{‘grow’ (intr.)} & : & \quad \text{auginti} & \quad \text{‘grow’ (trans.)} \\
\text{aug} & \quad & & \quad \text{augina} \\
\text{dėgti} & \quad \text{‘burn’ (intr.)} & : & \quad \text{dėginti} & \quad \text{‘burn, fry’ (trans.)} \\
\text{dėga} & \quad & & \quad \text{dėgina}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) verbs with an infix -n- or -st- in the present:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{blūkti} & \quad \text{‘fade, lose colour’} & : & \quad \text{blūkinti} & \quad \text{‘bleach’ (trans.)} \\
\text{blūnka} & \quad & & \quad \text{blūkina} \\
\text{smīkti} & \quad \text{‘smoulder, fume’} & : & \quad \text{smīkūti} & \quad \text{‘fumigate’} \\
\text{smīlsta} & \quad & & \quad \text{smīko}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) The suffix is added in conjunction with vowel alternation in the root which usually has an infix in the present tense, cf.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dygti} & \quad \text{‘sprout, begin to grow’} & : & \quad \text{daiginti} & \quad \text{‘cause to grow’} \\
\text{dygsta} & \quad & & \quad \text{daigina} \\
\text{gėsti} & \quad \text{‘spoil, go bad’} & : & \quad \text{gadinti} & \quad \text{‘spoil (sth)’} \\
\text{gėnda} & \quad & & \quad \text{gadina}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) The causative suffix alternates with the suffix -ė-ti of an intransitive verb, cf.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kabėti} & \quad \text{‘be hanging’} & : & \quad \text{kabinti} & \quad \text{‘make hang’} \\
\text{kaleti} & \quad \text{‘be imprisoned’} & : & \quad \text{kālinti} & \quad \text{‘keep in prison’} \\
\text{klūpėti} & \quad \text{‘kneel’} & : & \quad \text{klupdūti} & \quad \text{‘make kneel’} \\
\text{varvėti} & \quad \text{‘drip, fall in drops’} & : & \quad \text{vaţvinti} & \quad \text{‘drip, let fall in drops’}
\end{align*}
\]

The suffixes -(d)in-ti, -(d)y-ti are also used to derive causative verbs from a few transitives:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{valgyti} & \quad \text{‘eat’} & : & \quad \text{valgydinti} & \quad \text{‘feed, give to eat’} \\
\text{gerti} & \quad \text{‘drink’} & : & \quad \text{girdyti} & \quad \text{‘give (sb) to drink water (animals)’} \\
\text{lėsti} & \quad \text{‘peck’} & : & \quad \text{lėsinti} & \quad \text{‘feed (birds, poultry)’}
\end{align*}
\]

The object of the underlying verb is usually deleted in the causative construction, the subject being demoted to direct object:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vaikas valgė kūšę.} & \quad \text{‘The child ate gruel.’} \\
\text{Auklė valgydino vaiką .} & \quad \text{‘The nurse fed the child.’}
\end{align*}
\]
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:

- **statyti nāma** 'build a house'
- **statydinti nāma** 'build a house by inviting builders to do the actual work'
- **kālti monetās** 'mint coins'
- **kaldinti monetās** 'mint coins by ordering the mint to make them'
- **siūti sijoną** 'make (lit. sew) a skirt'
- **sīdinti sijoną** 'have a skirt made by a dress-maker'

**Prefixation**

5.10 Derivation by prefixation sometimes involves transitivization of intransitive verbs without ever involving semantic causativization, cf.:

- **skristi** 'fly' → **apskristi namūs** 'fly round the house'
- **veŗkti** 'cry' → **praverkti akis** 'cry one’s eyes out'
- **augti** 'grow' → **išaugti švarką** '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.:

- **eiti** 'go' → **pereiti gatvę** 'cross (go across) the street'
- **keliauti** 'travel' → **apkeliauti pasaulį** 'travel round the world'
- **važiuoti** 'go (by car), drive' → **pervaziuoti kaimą** 'go (drive) through a village'

Sometimes the derivative verb requires a tautological (dummy) object:

- **gyvėnti** 'live' → **pragyvęnti gyvenimą** 'live (through) one’s life'

Prefixed 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.:

rengti ‘dress (smb), prepare (sth)’ : rengtis ‘dress oneself, prepare for (oneself)’
ginti ‘defend, protect’ : gintis ‘defend oneself, protect oneself’
mokyti ‘teach’ : mokytis ‘learn, study’
maitinti ‘feed, nourish’ : maitintis ‘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.:

Ąprengiau vaiką. ‘I dressed the child.’
- Apsirengiau. ‘I dressed myself.’

In some verbs, the direct object is demoted to an oblique object:

Vaikai svaido akmenis. ‘The children throw stones (ACC).’
- Vaikai svaidosi akmenimis. ‘The children throw stones (INSTR).’

These reflexives are rather heterogenous 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:

Jiė viską pakeitė. ‘They changed everything.’
- Viskas pasikeitė. ‘Everything (NOM) changed.’

or it is demoted to an oblique object:
Visūs žai vaikai. 'The children (NOM) charm everybody (ACC).'
- Visi žāvisi 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 sūnui kepûrę. 'I bought (my) son a cap.'
- Nusipirkaũ kepurę. '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.:

bijotis bijotis 'be afraid'
įskvęptis įiskvęptis (óró) 'inhale (some air)'
pasiklausti pasiklausti 'ask'
užsitarnauti užsitarnauti 'deserve, earn for oneself'
apzižėršti apzižėršti 'straddle'
sėtis sėtis '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 unprefixed verb, e.g.:

draugauti 'be friends'
: susidraugauti 'become friends'
liesnötis 'flame, blaze'
: užsiliesnötis 'flame up, flare up'
lūtis 'rain'
: įsiliūtis '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.:

svečias 'guest'
: svečiūtis 'be a guest'
dárbas 'work'
: darbūtis 'work, be engaged in work'
šakà 'branch'
: šakótis 'branch out'
kuklûs 'modest'
: kuklintis 'be over-modest'
bjaurûs 'nasty'
: bjaurētis 'loath (regard as nasty)'
skaidrûs 'clear'
: skaïdrytis 'clear up/away'
A number of reflexive verbs are unrelated to any underlying verbs (or other words), i.e. reflexiva tantum, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{juoktis} \; '\text{laugh}' & \text{dairytis} \; '\text{look around}' \\
&\text{elgtis} \; '\text{behave}' & \text{stëngtis} \; '\text{try, strive}' \\
&\text{bastytis} \; '\text{wander, roam}' & \text{teirautis} \; '\text{inquire}'
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{mazgotis} \; '\text{wash oneself}' & \text{ginkluotis} \; '\text{arm oneself}' \\
&\text{aukotis} \; '\text{sacrifice oneself}' & \text{gintis} \; '\text{defend oneself}'
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{skiistis} \; '\text{shave oneself}' & : \text{skiistis} \; '\text{shave one's beard}' \\
&\text{užsimerkti} \; '\text{close one's eyes}' & : \text{užmërkti} \; '\text{close one's eyes}' \\
&\text{išsižergti} \; '\text{spread one's legs}' & : \text{išžergti} \; '\text{spread one's legs}' \\
&\text{valdytis} \; '\text{control oneself}' & : \text{valdytis} \; '\text{control one's feelings}' \\
&\text{užsisegti} \; '\text{button up one's clothes}' & : \text{užsegti} \; '\text{button up one's shirt}'
\end{align*}
\]

A number of reflexives allow two interpretations, either as semantic reflexives or as partitive-reflexive verbs, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{praūstis} \; '\text{wash oneself/one's face}' & \text{praūstis} \; '\text{wash oneself/one's face}' \\
&\text{susižėisti} \; '\text{hurt oneself/a body part}' & \text{susižėisti} \; '\text{hurt oneself/a body part}'
\end{align*}
\]

(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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{valkas mūšasi} \; '\text{the boy fights (is pugnacious)}' & \text{valkas mūšasi} \; '\text{the boy fights (is pugnacious)}' \\
&\text{arklys spardosi} \; '\text{the horse kicks (is in the habit of kicking)}' & \text{arklys spardosi} \; '\text{the horse kicks (is in the habit of kicking)}'
\end{align*}
\]

Here belong:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{kéiktis} \; '\text{swear}' & \text{kibintis} \; '\text{pester}' \\
&\text{bártis} \; '\text{curse}' & \text{stümýtis} \; '\text{jostle, push}' \\
&\text{mégdžiotis} \; '\text{tease}' & \text{badýtis} \; '\text{butt (of horned animals)}' \\
\end{align*}
\]
(4) **Self-moving, or autocausative reflexives** mostly denoting motion or change of posture of the semantic subject:

*kėltis* 'rise, get up' (cf. *kėlti* 'raise (sth.)')  
leiki *ts* 'bend (down)'  
spraus *ts* 'squeeze oneself (into)'  
suk *ts* 'whirl, turn'  
aštin *ts* 'approach, come nearer'  
verstis 'turn (from side to side), roll down'  
mėstis 'throw oneself'  
sleptis 'hide (oneself)'  
išsitėsti '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', *šokti* 'jump'.

(5) **Reciprocal reflexives**, with the derivational meaning 'each other':

*bučiuo* *ts* 'kiss each other'  
sveikin *ts* 'greet each other'  
bartis 'quarrel'  
apsikabinti 'embrace each other'  
miištis 'fight, beat each other'  
spardytis '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.:

Vaikai miišasi.  
– Vaikas miišasi.  
Mės visadą sveikinamės.  
– Jis visadą sveikinasi.  

‘The boys are fighting.’

‘The boy is pugnacious.’

‘We always say hello to each other.’

‘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. *augti* 'grow' : *auginti* 'grow (sth)') and verbs with apophonic vowel alternation (e.g. *lūžti* 'break' : *laužti* 'break (sth)'), cf.:

Uždegiau šviesą.  
– Šviesą užsidegė.  

‘I turned on the lights.’

‘The lights came on.’
Here the transitive verb *uzdėgti* ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>atsidaryti</em> ‘open (intr.)’</td>
<td><em>baidytis</em> ‘get frightened’</td>
<td><em>baidytis</em> ‘get frightened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kartotis</em> ‘repeat itself’</td>
<td><em>jaudintis</em> ‘worry’</td>
<td><em>jaudintis</em> ‘worry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>keistis</em> ‘change’</td>
<td><em>isizëistis</em> ‘be offended’</td>
<td><em>isizëistis</em> ‘be offended’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kūrentis</em> ‘burn (of a stove)’</td>
<td><em>rūstintis</em> ‘be angry’</td>
<td><em>rūstintis</em> ‘be angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lietis</em> ‘pour, flow’</td>
<td><em>nusivilti</em> ‘be disappointed’</td>
<td><em>nusivilti</em> ‘be disappointed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pildytis</em> ‘come true’</td>
<td><em>ramintis</em> ‘calm down’</td>
<td><em>ramintis</em> ‘calm down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>plëstis</em> ‘dilate, spread’</td>
<td><em>užsigaiti</em> ‘take offence’</td>
<td><em>užsigaiti</em> ‘take offence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taisytis</em> ‘improve’</td>
<td><em>kankintis</em> ‘suffer’</td>
<td><em>kankintis</em> ‘suffer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaūptis</em> ‘accumulate’</td>
<td><em>nusivartys</em> ‘get tired out’</td>
<td><em>nusivartys</em> ‘get tired out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vystytis</em> ‘develop’</td>
<td><em>rikaustys</em> ‘line up’</td>
<td><em>rikaustys</em> ‘line up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ristis</em> ‘roll’</td>
<td><em>riŋktys</em> ‘come together’</td>
<td><em>riŋktys</em> ‘come together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sklaidytis</em> ‘clear away, lift (of fog, etc.)’</td>
<td><em>įsižerti</em> ‘be offended’</td>
<td><em>įsižerti</em> ‘be offended’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tëstis</em> ‘continue, last’</td>
<td><em>spiestis</em> ‘gather, come together’</td>
<td><em>spiestis</em> ‘gather, come together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sūktis</em> ‘rotate, turn’</td>
<td><em>skirstytys</em> ‘disperse’, etc.</td>
<td><em>skirstytys</em> ‘disperse’, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quite a number of reflexive decausatives enter into triads like *kisti* ‘change’ (intr.) – *keisti* ‘change’ (tr.) – *keistis* ‘change’ (intr.), *liktis* ‘bend’ (intr.) – *lenktis* ‘bend’ (tr.) – *lenktis* ‘bend’ (intr.), *mažeti* ‘become small(er)’ – *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. *plisti* ‘spread’ – *plëstis* ‘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.:

Mėdžiai liŋko nuo sniego.  
– Lenktiuiosi jūms ligi žemės.  
jaū kyla rūkas.  
– Duktė dår tik kėliasi.  

‘The trees bent under the snow.’  
‘I bow low before you.’  
‘A mist is rising already.’  
‘My daughter is getting up yet.’

However, sometimes the reflexive verbs are very similar in meaning to their non-reflexive intransitive counterparts, e.g.:

Viskas kiňta /kečias.  

‘Everything changes.’
(2) **Quasi-passive reflexives** enter into specific semantic relations with the underlying verbs:

(a) *Užrakink duris!*  
- *Dūrys lengvai rakinasi.*  

(b) *Išeikvójau daug pinigų.*  
- *Daug pinigų išsieikvójo.*

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 krautuvės užsidarė išdaubavo uždarytos.*

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’, *sunkiai* ‘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:

*Nosinės greitai tėpasi.*  

*Peškelis gerai dėvisi.*  

*Tą vielą nesilaňksto.*  

*Mušlas greiš susimušlio.*  

*Batai nušiavėjo.*

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.:

*Ežeras atspindi daňgu.*  
- *Dangus atsispindi ežerė.*  

*Girdžiû mûziką.*  
- *Man girdisi/girdëti mûzika.*

Converse reflexives are rather heterogeneous lexically; here also belong:
vainikúotis ‘be crowned with (fig.)’
sapnúotis ‘appear in a dream’
nusivilčti ‘be disappointed’

(2) Reflexive-causative verbs are related to the underlying verb in the following way:

Sėnis samdė darbininkus. ‘The old man (NOM) hired labourers (ACC).’
- Darbininkai pasimaždė pas sėnį. ‘Labourers (NOM) hired themselves out to a farmer (Prep – ACC).’

Kirpėja manė apkirpo. ‘The barber (NOM) gave me (ACC) a haircut.’
- Aš apsikirpaui pas kirpėją. ‘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:

ski’tis tis ‘get a shave’
gydytis ‘undergo treatment’
registrúotis ‘register oneself’
fotografuoti s ‘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: nusipirkti = nusirkti 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 kepūre lit. ‘put on a cap (ACC) to the child (DAT)’:

užsivilkti paltą ‘put on a coat’
aūtis ‘put on (shoes)’
nusiaūti ‘take off (shoes)’
nusivilkti ‘take off (a coat and the like)’
užsimauti ‘put on (gloves, etc.)’
nusimauti ‘take off (gloves, etc.)’

(2) reflexive-possessive verbs like:

praūstisvéidą ‘wash one’s face’
valytis dantis ‘clean one’s teeth’
susitępti rankās ‘dirty one’s hands’
įsipjauti pirštą ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nusipirkti} & \quad \text{‘buy for oneself’} \\
\text{pasidaryti} & \quad \text{‘make for oneself’} \\
\text{statyti} & \quad \text{‘build for oneself’} \\
\text{užsirašyti} & \quad \text{‘write down (for oneself, one’s own sake)’} \\
\text{megztis} & \quad \text{‘knit for oneself’} \\
\text{prašytis} & \quad \text{‘beg for oneself’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 (eigos 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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rašiau} & \quad \text{‘I was writing’} & \text{parašiau} & \quad \text{‘I wrote/have written’} \\
\text{stačiau} & \quad \text{‘I was building’} & \text{pastačiau} & \quad \text{‘I built/have built’} \\
\text{baudžiau} & \quad \text{‘I was punishing’} & \text{nūbaudžiau} & \quad \text{‘I punished’} \\
\text{gelbėjau} & \quad \text{‘I was rescuing’} & \text{išgelbėjau} & \quad \text{‘I rescued/have rescued’} \\
\text{vykdžiau} & \quad \text{‘I was accomplishing’} & \text{išvykdžiau} & \quad \text{‘I accomplished/have accomplished’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.: **laužti** ‘break’: **atlaužti** ‘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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{balti} & \quad \text{‘be growing white’} & \text{išbalti} & \quad \text{‘become white’} \\
\text{nokti} & \quad \text{‘be ripening’} & \text{prinokti} & \quad \text{‘become ripe’}
\end{align*}
\]
**skęsti** 'be drowning' : **nuskęsti/paskęsti** 'be drowned'
**mažeti** 'be growing small(er) : **sumažėti** '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.: **dainiuoti** 'sing': **uždainiuoti** 'begin to sing', **siūgti** 'be ill': **susirgti** 'fall ill'), the single event (**bučiuoti** 'kiss': **pabučiuoti** 'give a kiss', **žvelgti** 'look': **pažvelgti** 'cast a glance'), the renewing (repeating) of an action (**kūrūti** 'create': **atkūrūti** 'recreate, renew'; **rašyti** 'write': **pėrrašyti** '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.:

- **ateinū** 'I am coming' : **atéjaū** 'I came)'
- **išnešu** 'I am bringing in' : **įnešiau** 'I brought in'
- **apžiūrėiu** 'I am inspecting' : **apžiūrėjau** 'I inspected'
- **uždaraū** 'I am closing' : **uždariau** 'I closed'

There is also a group of unprefixed verbs of dual aspectual character, e.g. **mirti** 'die', **gimti** 'be born', **dūrūti** 'thrust, prick', **rūsti** 'find', **laimėti** 'win', **baūgti** '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.:

- **Jis miršta.** 'He dies, is dying (IMPF).'
- **Mer gaitė mirė vėkar.** 'The girl died (PF) yesterday.'
- **Žmūnės mirė kasdien.** 'People died (IMPF) every day.'
The imperfective meaning is most characteristic of unprefixed verbs, e.g.: árti 'plough', dirbtį 'work', lętį 'rain', laukti 'wait', nėšti 'carry', pilti 'pour', pinti 'weave', traukti 'pull', švilpti 'whistle', vęžti 'carry, drive', žiūrėti 'look', žaisti '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 -ell(ė)-ti/-er(ė)-ti) have imperfectivizing force, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
braukytį & \text{ 'wipe, brush away (repeatedly)' (: braukti 'wipe, brush away') } \\
nėšioti & \text{ 'carry (repeatedly), wear' (: nėšti 'carry, bear') } \\
\vswielpauti & \text{ 'whistle (repeatedly, slightly)' (: švilpti 'whistle') } \\
\vswiakauti & \text{ 'shout (repeatedly, for some time)' (: šaukti 'shout') } \\
mętyti & \text{ 'throw, fling (repeatedly)' (: mėsti 'throw (once)') } \\
sūpūoti & \text{ 'rock (gently; for some time)' (: sūpti 'rock, swing') } \\
šokinėti & \text{ 'jump (repeatedly), hop' (: šokti 'jump, leap (once or repeatedly)') } \\
žvilgčioti & \text{ 'glance (repeatedly), look (from time to time)' (: žvelgti 'glance, cast a glance') } \\
laukiuoti & \text{ 'wait patiently, tarry' (: laukti 'wait') }
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šūktelėti} & \text{ 'utter a cry'} \\
\text{trinktelėti} & \text{ 'bang, slam (once)'} \\
\text{žvilgčiotelėti} & \text{ 'cast a glance'}
\end{align*}
\]

Among prefixed verbs, the imperfective aspect is characteristic of those which do not occur without a prefix (e.g.: pāsakoti 'tell (about), narrate', priestarauti 'object', užgaulioti 'offend, insult', uždarbiauti 'earn a living') or whose lexical meaning is quite different from that of the unprefixed counterpart, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
padėti & \text{ 'help' (: dėti 'put, place') } \\
priklausyti & \text{ 'depend' (: klausyti 'listen') } \\
apsiėti & \text{ 'manage (without)' (: eiti 'walk, go') } \\
atsidūoti & \text{ 'smell (of)' (: dūoti 'give') } \\
užjausti & \text{ 'sympathize (with)' (: jausti 'feel') } \\
sutafti & \text{ 'get on (with smb)' (cf. tafti 'say') }
\end{align*}
\]

The prefixed verbs denoting the ability to perform the action are imperfective in all the tense forms, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
paeiti & \text{ 'be able to walk'} \\
paskaityti & \text{ 'be able to read'} \\
nusėdėti & \text{ 'be able to keep one's seat', etc. }
\end{align*}
\]
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.:

- atidavinėti 'give back, return repeatedly' (: atidūoti 'give back, return')
- atleidinėti 'dismiss repeatedly' (: atlėisti 'dismiss')
- pažeidinėti 'violate repeatedly' (: pažeisti 'violate')
- supirkinėti 'buy up repeatedly' (: supirkti 'buy up')
- užpuldinėti 'attack repeatedly' (: užpūlti '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: dirba 'works'
- Past: dirbo 'worked'
- Past frequentative: dirbdavo 'used to work'
- Future: dirbs '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: yrą dirbęs, dirbusi 'has worked'
- Past perfect: buvo dirbęs, dirbusi 'had worked'
- Past perfect frequentative: būdavo dirbęs, dirbusi 'used to have worked'
- Future perfect: būs dirbęs, dirbusi 'will have worked'

(2) the continuative tenses:

- Past continuative: buvo bedirbęs, bedirbanti 'had been working'
Past continuative frequentative: *budavo bedirbąs, bedirbanti* ‘used to have been working’

Future continuative: *bus bedirbąs, bedirbanti* ‘will have been working’

The compound passive tenses are also divided into two groups:

(1) the imperfect tenses:

- Present imperfect: *yra dāromas, dāroma* ‘is (being) done’
- Past imperfect: *buvo dāromas, dāroma* ‘was (being) done’
- Past imperfect frequentative: *budavo dāromas, dāroma* ‘used to be done’
- Future imperfect: *bus dāromas, dāroma* ‘will be done’

(2) the perfect tenses:

- Present perfect: *yra padarytas, padaryta* ‘is done’, ‘has been done’
- Past perfect: *buvo padarytas, padaryta* ‘was done’, ‘had been done’
- Past perfect frequentative: *budavo padarytas, padaryta* ‘used to be done’, ‘used to have been done’
- Future perfect: *bus 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 *dirbtī* ‘work’:

Tense forms of active participles:

- Present: *dirbąs* (m), *dirbanti* (f); *dirbdamas* (m), *dirbdamā* (f)
- Past: *dirbęs* (m), *dirbusi* (f)
- Past frequentative: *dirbdavęs* (m), *dirbdavusi* (f)
- Future: *dirbsiąs* (m), *dirbsianti* (f)

Tense forms of passive participles:

- Present: *dirbamąs, dirbamà*
- Past: *dirbtaš, dirbta*

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 abso-
lute 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.

Išnyksiu kaip dūmas, neblūškomas
vejo, ir niekas manės neminės.

‘I’ll vanish like smoke without
being scattered by the wind, and
nobody will ever mention me again.’

Tiek tūkstančių įmžiais gyveno,
kentėjo, o ką jū bent vardaq
atspės?

‘So many thousand have lived and
suffered through ages, whoever
can guess as much as their names?’

Kaip baigos ant mario, kaip
mištys žmogaus, taip mainos
pasaulio darbai!

‘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:

Vakare sužinėjau, kad atva-
žiuoja nekviesti svečiai.

‘In the evening I learnt that
uninvited guests were coming.’

Rytų pamatysì, kad jau lęja.

‘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 tadai man paaiškėjo, kodėl
jis taip elgėsi.

‘Only then did it become clear
to me why he had behaved like that.’

Motina niekadai neklausdavo, kur
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:

Niekadai netikėjau, kad tu manė
išduosi.

‘I never believed you were
going to betray me.’
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.

\[
\begin{align*}
Jis \text{ valgo, kā yra atsinešęs iš namų}. & \quad \text{‘He eats what he has brought from home.’} \\
Jis \text{ valgė, ką buvo atsinešęs iš namų}. & \quad \text{‘He ate what he had brought from home.’} \\
Jis \text{ valgydavo, ką būdavo atsinešęs iš namų}. & \quad \text{‘He used to eat what he had brought from home.’} \\
Jis \text{ valgys, ką bus atsinešęs iš namų}. & \quad \text{‘He will eat what he will have brought from home.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
Aš žinojau, kad jis yra jaū pasirengęs važiuoti. & \quad \text{‘I knew he was ready to go.’} \\
Kai kareiviai apsūpo namus, jis jaū buvo išvažiavo. & \quad \text{‘By the time the soldiers surrounded the house, he had already gone.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
Kai mēs atējome, jis buvo už stālo besēdis. & \quad \text{‘When we came he had already been sitting at the table.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
Ilga ījau pāmiške. Staigā ziūri – tūpi kiskis ant kēlmo ir daīrosi. & \quad \text{‘For a long time I was following the edge of the forest. Suddenly I see a hare sitting on a tree stump, looking around.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The simple future tense can be used to indicate a repetitive (frequentative) action (1) in the present, or (2) in the past:
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VERB} & \quad 243 \\
\text{5.27} & \quad \text{There are two main uses of the present tense: the generalized present and the concrete present.}
\end{align*}
\]

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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ar tū sergi, kad tāp dejūoji?} & \quad '\text{Are you ill that you are moaning like this?}' \\
\text{Ar tū sergi, kad tāp dejūoji?} & \quad '\text{Are you ill that you are moaning like this?}'
\end{align*}
\]

(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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ar tū sergi, kad tāp dejūoji?} & \quad '\text{Are you ill that you are moaning like this?}' \\
\text{Te, dovanoju tāu ir āuksu bei sidābro kiņvi.} & \quad '\text{Here, I give you a gold and silver axe as a present.}'
\end{align*}
\]
(b) Užšiimu ausis, matai!

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:


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:

Kaip čia patekai? – Tevo stųspatas ateinę... Nešu iš jø láišką.

‘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 savaitès aš išteku...

‘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.

Lékiam, lékiam greičiau, mieloji!

Let’s dash, dear, quick!’

Atsiminkite: šiáalgakt jás 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.

Ima ji 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.

Tepasidžiaugia sūneliù pati!

‘Let her enjoy her sonny!’

Tegu jis nemāno, kad mēs nusilēsime.

‘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 køjų žemaí stebuklingai graži žydi rōžemis Álpų salis.

‘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.
Paveiksle jauna moteris žvelgia į mus didelėmis, liūdnomis akimis. Ant jos rankų miega 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:

Vėliau mokslininkai įrodė, kad iš tikrųjų Žemė sūkasi apie savo ašį ir kartu skrieja aplink Saulę. ‘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:

Antanukas ir mięga su senelė vienoj lóvoj. Kadá ji gula ir kéliai, Antanukas retai tejuńta. ‘Antanukas also sleeps with his granny in the same bed. Antanukas rarely feels, when she goes to bed or gets up.’

PAST

Būtasis kartinis laikas

5.29 The past tense is used to describe both single (1) and regularly repeated (2) events:

(1) Moterims besikalbant, kiemë pasigirdo žingsniai, prasi verė durys ir ant slenksčio pasirodė kaimynas. ‘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 atliekamo pieno moterys sūko sviestą, spaudė sūri ir vėže į miestą parduoti. ‘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:

Plevas ir ezerelį suipo aukšti kranta. ‘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 vėjotas rudeñs vakaras. Visà šeimynà triúsesi pūkioje. ‘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):

\[\text{Staiga kieme suljo šudo, ir j} \]
\[\text{pirkia išveržė kėletas vyrų.} \]

'Suddenly the dog barked in the yard and several men burst into the house.'

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) \[\text{Ma} \\text{n} \text{o gerk}lė \text{visai išdžiuvo (cf. yra išdžiuvusi), dūkite gerti.} \]

'My throat is absolutely dry (cf. has become dry), give me something to drink.'

(2) \[\text{Šeštadienio vakarą jis rado neti} \text{kėtą svečią: atvažiavo (cf. buvo atvažiavęs) brolis.} \]

'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:

\[\text{Valandėle norėjau tąmstą sutrukdyti.} \]

lit. 'I wanted to bother you a little' (i.e. 'I wondered if I could bother you a little. ')

PAST FREQUENTATIVE

Būtasis 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.

\[\text{Visaip atsitikdavo Kaukazo kalnuoses: kariaudavo kaimyninės tautos, susipėsdavo giminės.} \]

'All kinds of things used to happen in the Caucasian mountains: neighbouring nations would war, related families would quarrel.'

\[\text{Kasdiën eїdavau tavęs pasitikti, lūkdaulau ilgas vėlandas.} \]

'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:
Tris/kelis kartus jau vežė ji (not *vežėdavo), būdamą vieną. ‘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 senovėje, kaip paskakoj mūsų tėvai, dar geriau 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.

Motučė sutikdavo sakėti tą pasaką tik tadà, kadà aš prisizadėdavau (cf. būdavau prisizadėjęs) neraudoti. ‘Mummy would agree to tell me this fairy-tale only after I had promised not to cry.’

**FUTURE**

*Būsimasis laikas*

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 ateis pavasaris, sužaliuods mėdžiai, o tavęs nebus. ‘Spring will come soon, the trees will become green, but you will not be here any more.’

(2) Pasaulis platūs – vietas užtėks vifiesms. ‘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.

Namą pradėsi už mėnesio, kai leidimą gausiu (cf. būsiu gavęs). ‘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) Perduosi (cf. perduok) sukileliams šitokį įsakymą. ‘To the insurgents you will pass the following order.’
(2) Kad širdį parodyčiau, ir taip sakys (cf. sakytum), kad mėsos gabalas.

‘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 to laiko jau bus keturi tūkstančius metų su viršūnė.

‘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 tu čia ilgai sėdėsi be dárbo?

‘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) Kažkis namie yra nakvymės – lōva nepaklotā.

‘Somebody must have slept at home, the bed has not been made.’
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 pamiršęs, brólis priėjo tau perduoti šį laišką. '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 mėnes tą nėko nesakytį, bet dabar pasakysiu. 'I had intended not to tell you anything, but now I'm going to tell you.'

Ar buvaū užėjęs pas Jōną? '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 būsi (cf. esi) girdėjusi, kad jis tuodam nusipirko. 'You must (lit. will) have heard that he has bought that house.'

Ar nebūs tik vaika lango išmušę? '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.

- Dabar būsiu ir vilką matęs, - tārė Jōnas, eiddamas iš žvėryno. '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
the compound perfect tenses (see 5.31–33), but the expression of this meaning is not the principal function of the simple tenses and it depends entirely upon the context.

A permanently existing state, however, is denoted exclusively by the compound tenses.

\[
\text{Vis} \text{ą at} \text{ôm} \text{o m} \text{ä} \text{s} \text{ë \b e} \text{v} \text{ë} \text{k i} \text{št} \text{i} \text{s} \text{â} \text{î \r} \text{y} \text{r} \text{à s} \text{u} \text{i} \text{t} \text{é} \text{l} \text{k} \text{u} \text{s} \text{i} \text{ (n} \text{o} \text{t} \text{,*s} \text{u} \text{t} \text{é} \text{l} \text{k} \text{ë) b} \text{r} \text{a} \text{n} \text{d} \text{u} \text{oly} \text{j} \text{ë}.}
\]

‘Almost the entire mass of the atom is concentrated in its nucleus.’

The compound continuative tenses

\[
\text{Sud} \text{ë} \text{t} \text{ë} \text{ni} \text{i} \text{ai pr} \text{a} \text{d} \text{ë} \text{t} \text{ë} \text{ni} \text{i} \text{ai lai} \text{k} \text{ài} \text{à}
\]

5.37 The system of compound continuative tenses includes three forms: the past continuative, the past continuative frequentative and the future continuative tense, but it is only the past continuative tense which has a wider use in present-day Lithuanian, the others being found almost exclusively in the Low Lithuanian (Samogitian) dialect.

The compound continuative tenses indicate an action which started some time before another action and is still continuing at the time when that other action starts or is taking place. The longer duration of the action is emphasized by the prefix be-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kai} \text{jë} \text{jo} \text{s} \text{ê} \text{m} \text{i} \text{n} \text{i} \text{n} \text{k} \text{às}, \text{v} \text{i} \text{s} \text{i} \text{j} \text{au} \\
\text{b} \text{û} \text{v} \text{o} \text{b} \text{ë} \text{s} \text{ë} \text{û} \text{j} \text{û} \text{ u} \text{ž} \text{st} \text{â} \text{l} \text{o}.
\end{align*}
\]

‘When the master came in, everybody was already sitting at the table.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{M} \text{â} \text{t} \text{û} \text{s} \text{i}, \text{à} \text{s} \text{b} \text{û} \text{s} \text{i} \text{u} \text{b} \text{ë} \text{m} \text{ë} \text{g} \text{à} \text{s}, \text{k} \text{ai} \\
\text{a} \text{t} \text{ë} \text{i} \text{s} \text{ï} \text{m} \text{ë} \text{s} \text{g} \text{û} \text{l} \text{û} \text{û} \text{t} \text{i}.
\end{align*}
\]

‘You’ll see, I’ll be sleeping, when you come to put me to bed.’

The past continuative tense most often indicates an action which was begun or intended but not finished.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jûr} \text{s} \text{j} \text{au} \text{ bû} \text{v} \text{o} \text{b} \text{ë} \text{k} \text{ë} \text{k} \text{â} \text{i} \text{s} \text{û} \text{t} \text{i} \text{ë} \text{s} \text{a} \text{t} \text{â} \text{k} \text{st} \text{à} \text{û} \text{s}, \text{b} \text{ë} \text{t} \text{v} \text{ë} \text{l} \text{ju} \text{û}s \text{pr} \text{i} \text{v} \text{û} \text{r} \text{ë} \text{r}.
\end{align*}
\]

‘Juras was about to open the gate for the visitors, but closed it again.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bû} \text{v} \text{o} \text{j} \text{au} \text{ i} \text{r} \text{ b} \text{û} \text{l} \text{n} \text{û}s \text{b} \text{ë} \text{k} \text{ë} \text{p} \text{a} \text{n} \text{t} \text{i} \text{ï}, \text{t} \text{i} \text{k} \\
\text{s} \text{t} \text{a} \text{i} \text{g} \text{à} \text{j} \text{à} \text{i} \text{s} \text{û} \text{m} \text{û} \text{û} \text{s} \text{p} \text{r} \text{û} \text{k} \text{a} \text{k} \text{i} \text{t} \text{à} \text{s} \text{i} \text{r} \\
\text{p} \text{a} \text{s} \text{i} \text{d} \text{â} \text{r} \text{ë} \text{t} \text{à} \text{ï} \text{p} \text{n} \text{e} \text{g} \text{û} \text{r} \text{à}.
\end{align*}
\]

‘She was on the point of making pancakes when suddenly she broke into sweat and felt so faint.’

The future continuative tense is most often used in a modal meaning: it indicates an action which is supposed to have taken place (1) in the future, (2) sometimes in present:

(1) \[
\text{Kam} \text{i} \text{në kà} \text{z} \text{i n kà s v} \text{à} \text{t} \text{ô} \text{j} \text{à} \text{.} \text{--} \text{U} \text{l} \text{û} \text{s} \text{i} \text{âm} \text{û} \text{b} \text{ë} \text{k} \text{ë} \text{b} \text{i} \text{s} \text{i} \text{b} \text{rà} \text{û} \text{n} \text{à} \text{s} \text{j} \text{i} \text{v} \text{û} \text{d} \text{û}.
\]

‘Somebody is moaning in the chimney. – Just put on the light and
mąsto sau vaikai.

he will break into the house,—

the children think to themselves.’

(2) Jis jau trečią pācią būs beturīs.

‘(I think) he has a third wife already.’

PASSIVE VOICE
Neveikiamajī ērūs

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 perfect 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Tense</th>
<th>Passive Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yra rašomas 'is (being) written'</td>
<td>rāšo 'writes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buvo rašomas 'was (being) written'</td>
<td>rāšė 'wrote'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būdavo rašomas 'used to be written'</td>
<td>rašyda vas 'used to write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būs rašomas 'will be written'</td>
<td>rašys 'will write'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Laukuose daba (yra) kūsamos buvės.

‘Potatoes are being dug in the fields now.’

(2) Jis yra visių mylimas.

‘He is loved by everyone.’

Laikraščiai man (yra) pristatomis kiekvieną dieną.

‘The newspapers are delivered to me every day.’

Past imperfect:

(1) Tame posėdyje buvo sprėjamos įmonės likimas.

‘The fate of the enterprise was being discussed at the meeting.’

(2) Sąskaitos buvo tikrinamos kiekvieną mėnesį.

‘The accounts were (being) checked every month.’

Past imperfect frequentative:

Į voką būdavo įdedamas tūščias pūpieriaus lapas.

‘A blank sheet of paper used to be enclosed in the envelope.’
Future imperfect:

(1) Vestuvės bus švenčiamos linksmai.

(2) Tu visada busi kviečiamas į Vyriausybės posėdžius.

‘The wedding will be celebrated merrily.’

‘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.:

yrą parašytas ‘is written, has been written’ — yrą parāšēs ‘has written’
buvo parašytas ‘was written, had been written’ — buvo parāšēs ‘had written’, etc.

Present perfect:

Ant voko (yrą) užrašyta tavo pavardė.

‘Your name is written on the envelope.’

Aš ne kartą esu tēvo išbartytas.

‘l have been scolded by father more than once.’

Past perfect:

Sienos jau buvo uždarytos ir mēs negalėjome išvykti į užsienį.

‘The frontiers were closed already and we could not go abroad.’

Āš nusipirkai knygą, kuri buvo išleista prieš kārā.

‘I bought a book which had been published before the war.’

Past perfect frequentative:

Kalnų gyventojai per ziema buvo atskirti nuo viso pasaulio.

‘In winter the mountain dwellers used to be separated from the whole world.’

Future perfect:

Kaip tu įeisi, jeigu durys buvų užrakintos?

‘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’ – parāže ‘wrote’
būs parašytas ‘will be written’ – parašys ‘will write’, etc.

Past perfect:

KITą dieną nusikaltėlis būvo suimtas
ir pasodintas į kalėjimą.

‘The following day the criminal was arrested and put into prison.’

Past perfect frequentative:

Ji siūdavo tūl, kūl drabužis būdavo pasiūtėtas.

‘She used to sew until the garment was made (lit. ‘used to be made’).’

Future perfect:

Rytų būs parodytas 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) Naktįlova būvo atitraukta nuo sienos.

‘For (this) night the bed was moved away from the wall.’

(b) Kiekvieną naktį lova būvo atitraukiamā 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
(būvo vytas ‘has been chased’)  Perfect passive tenses of verbs in the perfective aspect
(būvo pavytas ‘has been chased’, ‘was chased’)  Imperfect passive tenses of verbs in the imperfective aspect
(būvo vėjamas ‘was (being) chased’)  Imperfect passive tenses of verbs in the perfective aspect
(būvo pāvejamas ‘was (being) chased’)
MOOD

*Nušosaka*

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 relativus*), 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.

![Mood diagram](image)
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.: brōlis dirba 'brother works': brōlis dirbs '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 (Einam namō! 'Let's go home!'; Eitume dabar 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 (Dirbk ir toliaū taip! '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 irreality: 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).

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(e)- (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**
*Tiesioginė nūosaka*

5.44 The indicative mood mostly expresses actions which the speaker considers to be real and attributes either to the present, past or future:

\[\text{Žiėmą mės visi draugė dirbame/dirbome/dirbdavome/dirbsime.}\]

‘In the winter we work/worked/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. *kalbėti* ‘speak’, *sakyti* ‘say’, *pasakoti* ‘tell’, *pranešti* ‘inform’, *rašyti* ‘write’, *jausti* ‘feel’, *girdėti* ‘hear’, *žinoti* ‘know’, *manėti* ‘think’, etc.), also with modal words (*gal* ‘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.

\[\text{Tėvas sako, kad Kazys tik paryčiu grįžo (cf. grįžęs).}\]

‘Father said that Kazys had returned only in early morning.’

\[\text{Turbūt čia dar neseniai žmonės gyveno (cf. gyvenę).}\]

‘Obviously it hasn’t been long since people lived here.’

\[\text{Rytą jis gal ir sugrįš (cf. sugrįšęs).}\]

‘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:

\[\text{Rytą eini ir atneši mán dažū.}\]

‘Tomorrow you go and bring me some paint.’

\[\text{Tū lauksi manęs miške.}\]

‘You’ll wait for me in the forest.’
2nd person plural:

Atsiminkite: rytój pràdedate dirbti pirmojë pamainojë.

Po pietų užeisite pas manè.

‘Remember: tomorrow you start work in the first shift.’

‘After lunch you come to see me.’

1st person plural (verbs of motion in particular, such as eîti ‘go’, lëkti ‘fly’, lëpti ‘climb’):

Einam dabař į laukûs!
Važiûojam!
Žinañ, brolëli, gëriaû nekalbëûsim apie tañ.

‘Let’s go now to the fields!’
‘Let’s go!’
‘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 eîti ‘go’ – eivå and eimè, respectively – nowadays are used exclusively in persuasive meaning:

Eimè visi kartû!
Eivå, sëni, piûkion.

‘Let’s go all together!’
‘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.

Tepasidžiaûgia sûneliû patû!
Pagaliaû tebûna (tebûs), kaàp tû nûri.
Tegûl jì kartû su mûno vaikaûs gyvëûs, kartû vûlgûs, iû vienû knûgyû mûkûsis.

‘Let her enjoy her sonny herself!’
‘After all, let it be as you wish.’
‘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:

Gëriaû teûûsiu aû vienû!

‘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 šitû kaûbarû ne vienûs, o trûs stalaû lengûnî telûpa/tilûty.

‘This room can easily accomodate three tables rather than one.’
Subjunctive mood
*Tariamoji nuosaka*

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.

- **Jeigu galičiau, dabar kitaip gyvenčiau.** ‘If I could, I would live differently now.’
- **Ô kad daugiau tį žodžių nebėtažtum!** ‘(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.

- **Ko jis laukė šio laiko nevedęs, būtų beturis šeiminininkę!** ‘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.

- **Būciau žinojęs, būciau ir kojos iš namų nekėlęs.** ‘If I had known, I wouldn’t have set my foot outside my home.’
- **Ô, kad jis būtumėtė mate, kaip jis 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.:

- **Jei tavę būtų ištikusi/ištiktų kokią nelaimę, ką dabar 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. *būtų būvęs, būvusi*
Such compound subjunctive forms are nowadays more and more often replaced by forms containing the simple forms of the auxiliary būti (cf. taštum būtų kuodu prasikaltes).

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active forms</th>
<th>Passive forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mėsciau ‘I would throw’</td>
<td>būčiau mėtamas ‘I would be thrown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būčiau bemetęs ‘I would be throwing’</td>
<td>‘būčiau mėstas ‘I would be thrown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būčiau mėtęs ‘I would have thrown’</td>
<td>būčiau būvęs mėtamas ‘I would have been thrown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>būčiau būvęs mėstas ‘I would have been thrown’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jina taip pėt norėtų, kad jos išėjimas iš šių namų būtų baigiamas maldą. 'She would also like it that her departure from this house should end in a prayer.'

Kad būtų taip gerbiamas būves, ar gi būtų galėjęs taip visiems įkrytę? 'If he had been so respected, could he have become such a bore to everybody?'

Mān liepta, kad visi darbai per valandą būtų pabaigtī. '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:

Kās įspētu tā pāslaptī? 'Who could guess that secret?'

Tōkiā grāziā diēnā būtume visus dārbus pabaigē. 'On such a nice day we could have finished all chores.'
(2) Condition:

Jei tās ašaras surūktum, pasidarytų sraunį įpė.

‘If you gathered all the tears, they would make a mighty river.’

Kad bučiau tą dieną atsišėlęs vėlana veliau, būtume ir šiandien gerūoju gyvenę.

‘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’, beīt ‘at least’, the interjections ū ‘oh’, ak ‘oh’, etc.):

O kad turėčiau nôrs motinėle!

‘Oh I wish I had at least my mother!’

Beīt vâkar būtom palâukeš.

‘You should have waited at least until evening.’

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 käd:

Kad män laikü sugrižtum! ‘Be sure to come back in time!’

**Imperative mood**

*Liepiamöji nüosaka*

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, vaikė! ‘Hurry home, child!’*) while the 2nd person plural is directed toward several addressees (*Taïp gvyenkit, kaip mēs gyvenom. ‘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 (*Kaired výrai be baimles mēs stökįm j kōv. ‘Like men let’s join the struggle without fear’*).

The 3rd person forms with the prefix te- and the endings -ie and -i (*teiin-ie ‘let him go’, teraša-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’: teišė (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.

Tesižiain ir teiinė visi, kūr panorėję. ‘Let them all do what they want and go wherever they wish.’

Tebūniė taïp, kaïp pasakys. ‘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 tegūl: teeina, tegū fall eina; teeis, tegū fall eis ‘let him/her/it/them go’; terašo, tegū fall rašo; tesašys, tegū fall rašys ‘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.

\[ \text{Imkt (cf. teimi}́) \text{ tav}́ \text{ velnia}́! \]  
\[ \text{Dei}́vui buk (cf. tebūni}́) \text{ garb}́è. \]

‘Let the devils take you!’

‘Let it be to the greater honour of God.’

The imperative mood also possesses compound (periphrastic) forms, which include continuative, perfect and passive forms.

The compound continuative forms (2. Sg. būk bedirbq, bedirbanti ‘be working’; 2. Pl. būkite bedirbq, bedirbančios ‘be working’; 1. Pl. būkime bedirbq, bedirbančios ‘let’s be working’) are almost extinct now. The compound perfect forms (see 5.109) convey persuasion to achieve a certain resultant state.

\[ \text{Àš tuoja}́ū atvažiu}́osiu, \text{ tik tū būk paval}́gės ir apsire}́ngės. \]

‘I’m coming immediately, you 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.:

\[ \text{Tu}́s vaik}́s tik gany}́k ir gany}́k per dien}́s, nēr kad}́d ne d}́rbo nusitvēr}́tī. \]

‘You have to shepherd and shepherd those children from morning till night, there’s no time to do any work.’

\[ \text{Ant tōkio ārk}́lio tik sē}́k ir jōk. \]

‘On a horse like this you just mount and ride.’

When used with the set phrase tū mān (lit. ‘you for me’), the 2nd person singular of the imperative mood expresses surprise or threat:

\[ \text{Ir tur}́e}́k tū mān tiek drāsōs. \]
\[ \text{Tū mān netingē}́k! \]

‘That he/she should have so much courage.’

‘Just don’t be lazy!’

**Oblique mood**

*Netiesiógine núosaka*

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 būti 'be' (ēsąs, ėsanti; būvęs, būvusi; būdavęs, būdavusi; būsiaŋ, būsięnti). 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oblique mood</th>
<th>Indicative mood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mėtęs (Past)</td>
<td>(yrą) mėtęs (Present perfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būvęs mėtamas (Past imperfect passive)</td>
<td>(yrą) būvęs mėtamas (Present imperfect passive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būvęs mėstas (Past perfect passive)</td>
<td>(yrą) būvęs mėstas (Present perfect passive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. mėtęs would be replaced by ėsąs mėtęs) while the compound passive forms of the oblique mood are replaced by forms including a compound participial form of the verb būti (e.g. būvęs mėtamas is replaced by ėsąs būvęs mėtamas; būvęs mėstas by ėsąs būvęs mėstas). In this way the difference in meaning between indirect experience and doubt is made more distinct.

Svęčias ėsąs kileš iš kaimięčių
ir tė nesigina.

Jis jau kašta ėsąs būvęs baūstas.

‘The guest is said to be descended from the peasants and he doesn’t deny it.’

‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Simple forms</th>
<th>Compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obl. m.</td>
<td>Ind. m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>metąs</td>
<td>mėta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>mėtęs</td>
<td>mėtę</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past frequentative</td>
<td>mēsdavęs</td>
<td>mēsdavo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>mēsiąs</td>
<td>mēs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Girdėjau, jis gyvenąs miestė.  
Čia, sako, miškai buvę.  
Būdavo, inis paskoti, prie kokių darbų jis buvęs stūmdomas.  
Sužinójau, kad per mūsų sūdą būsiąs tiešiamas kēlias.

‘I heard he lives in town.’  
‘They say forests grew here once.’  
‘Sometimes he would start telling us what kind of jobs he had been made to do.’  
‘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 pinių degą.  
Jie mat būk tai lenktynių ėję.  
Jis mēgdavo svajotį apie veikalas, kuriuos jis parašytais ir kaip dėl tų pakilsiąs baroniénės akyse.  
Bene nūo žmonos jis atsiskyręs ėsąs.

‘The buried money is said to burn.’  
‘They are believed to have been racing.’  
‘He liked to daydream about the books he was going to write and the esteem they would gain him in the duchess’ eyes.’  
‘Perhaps he is separated from his wife.’

(3) An action implied by its results:

Akh, žiūrėk, tāmsta jau besupraňtas lietuviškai.  
Jaū tie vaika pūpose būvę: didžiuosios brūdės paliktos.

‘Oh, look, you seem to understand Lithuanian already.’  
‘Those children must have been in the beans again, wide tracks were left.’

(4) An unexpected or surprising action:

Po trijų dienų tėvai žiūrė – visas žalčių puķas bešliaužių į jų kiémą.

‘In three days the parents saw a whole pack of grass-snakes crawling into their yard.’
### active forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obl. m.</td>
<td>Ind. m.</td>
<td>Obl. m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ėsąs mėtęs</td>
<td>yrą mėtęs</td>
<td>ėsąs mėtas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būvęs mėtęs</td>
<td>būvo mėtęs</td>
<td>būvęs mėtas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būdavęs mėtęs</td>
<td>būdavo mėtęs</td>
<td>būdavęs mėtas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būsiąs mėtęs</td>
<td>būs mėtęs</td>
<td>būsiąs mėtas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Jis atsiğrężęs žiūri – stovis vėlnias. | ‘He looked back and there a devil was standing.’ |
| Žiūrėk, koks didelis lazdynas išaugęs. | ‘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 tačtum ‘as if’, lỳg ‘as if’, gāl ‘perhaps’, galbāt ‘maybe’, turbāt ‘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 pāsakojo, kad aš sergās. | ‘He said I was ill.’ |
| Tu tik sugaīšias tenaī nuvaizīāves. | ‘You’ll probably just lose time by going there.’ |

The oblique mood is often used in tales and legends, e.g.:

| Vieno pono mirusi pati ir palikusi dvylīka sunū ir dār vieną dukterētē. Po kiek laiko tēvas pamilyē kitā merginā, rāganā. Ta sākantī: „Duktē tiešē, bet sāgo sūnus sudēgink…” | ‘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…”’ |
| Vēlāv māstēs šiaip, māstēs taip, nebežīnas, kās ćia bebūs daryti. | The father thought one way and another |
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 (Sąko, jiš gyvena kaimė ‘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**

*Asmuo*

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.

![Diagram of Person Distinctions](image-url)
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 bėga 'run(s)', nėša 'carry(ies)', the past tense 3rd person forms bėgo 'ran', nėšė '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 tenešie 'let him/her/it/them carry', terašai '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. aš, tu, jis rāšas '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.:

Šuo/akmuo guli krūžkelėje.  
Jūroje pakilo baigos.  
‘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 aš 'I', mēs 'we'; 2nd person pronouns tu 'thou', tāmsta 'you', pats 'you', jūs 'you'; 3rd person pronouns jis 'he', ji '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.

Viską gerai prisimenu.  
Ar manęs nepažisti?  
leškōjome tavęs ilga.  
‘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.:

_Dabar āš eīsiu, o tū palāuksi\_ \_manēš čia._

‘Now I’ll go, and you will wait for me here.’

While addressing someone:

_Ar jūs, vaikaē, vieni pabūvat namiē?_  
_Ar jus, vaikāi, vieni pabūvat namiē?_

‘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:

_Visuē šaūkē, klūkē, spiēgē, daūžē, traūkē dūrimis._

‘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.

_Daūg norēsi, mažaē turēsi._

‘If you want much, you’ll get little.’

_Eidamē eīti, dirbdamē dirbti mokoēs._

‘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.

_Kaip moku, taip šoku._

lit. ‘I dance as I know how’ (i.e. ‘I work as I can’).

_Kur tik pažvelgsit, visuē geltonūoja rugiaē._

‘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.:
'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:

'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:

'However it may be, we advise one to read this piece in connection 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:

'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.

'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:

'And you are my father.'

'Are you coming from far away?'

With the pronoun *tāmsta* 'you' the 2nd person singular form of the verb is commonly used:

'Do you know, mister, where my Petriukas is?'

**IMPERSONAL USE OF FINITE FORMS OF THE VERB**

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.


Vaikai, kelkitės, jau aūsta/švinata!  ‘Children, get up, day is breaking!’
Vōs tik prādeda dienotī, jaū jis ir ritasi iš lūvos.  ‘As soon as day breaks, he rolls out of bed.’
Sniēgū, lūja, dar ganōja, negiedrā dienēlē.  ‘It’s snowing, raining, sleet, the day is nasty.’
Per visa diēnā duķē.  ‘It was drizzling all day long.’
Kėliai užpūstytas ir dār pūsto.  ‘There are snow drifts on the road, and the blizzard doesn’t stop.’

The verb brēkšti has two opposite meanings: ‘to dawn’ and ‘to be getting dark’.


Mān taip gālvi skauda/gēli!  ‘I have such a headache!’
Liežūrē jāi niežēti.  ‘Her tongue (ACC) itches.’
Gērklē perstēti nuo dūmu.  ‘The smoke makes my throat smart.’
Tārpaus knietēti pasakūti, kad jīsa melūoja.  ‘Sometimes I itch to say he is lying.’
Māno āmžeiu viso užtēks.  ‘It’ll be enough for me all my life.’
Mān svētimo tušto 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) blaustytīs ‘grow cloudy’, giēdytīs ‘be clearing up’, niāuktīs ‘grow cloudy’:
Po lietaūs nusigiedrijo.  ‘After the rain it cleared up.’
Šiau dēn lietaūs būs – blaustosī.  ‘It’s going to rain today – it’s getting cloudy.’

(2) matītīs ‘be seen’, norētīs ‘experience a wish’, regētīs ‘seem’, rōdytīs ‘seem’, sēktīs ‘go well; be lucky’, atsitiktī ‘happen’:
Mán nörisi mięgo. ‘I’m sleepy’ lit. ‘I (DAT. SG) want (3. PRES. REFL) to sleep (GEN. SG).’

Kodel jám taip sėkasi? ‘Why is he (DAT. SG) so lucky (3. PRES. REFL)?’

The corresponding verbs without the reflexive suffix are most often used as personal verbs:

Kas dainuojá, tás vaťgo nejaüčia. ‘He who sings, doesn’t feel his troubles.’
Cf.: Ligós nesijaüčia. ‘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.:

snigti ‘snow’
- sáníga, snígo, snigdavo, snígs;
- būvo/būdavo/būs besnángą, snige; snigty;
- sáníga, sníge, snigdave, snígsią; snigta

reikëti ‘need’
- reikia, reikëjo, reikëdavo, reikës;
- būvo/būdavo/būs bereikia; reikëty; reikia;
- reikia, reikëdave, reikësia; reikëta

But reflexive verbs which possess a complete morphological paradigm, i.e. all the forms indicated above, are rare. For example, the verbs pabaïso ‘became frightened’, pagailo ‘became sorry’, pagaïdo ‘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 darýtis ‘become’ are mostly used:

Present: (darosi) baisù ‘it’s becoming frightening’ (darosi) gaila ‘I’m becoming sorry’
Past: pabaïso/pasidarë baisù
pagaïlo/pasidarë gaila
Past frequentative: pagaïldavo/pasidarýdavo baisù
gaila
Future: pasidarës baisù
gaila

In the present the verb verëti ‘be worth’ is replaced by the neuter adjectival form veïta with a link verb:

Present: (yrà) veïta ‘it’s worth’
Past: vertëjo/bûvo veïta ‘was worth’
Past
frequentative: *vertėdavo/būdavo verta* ‘used to be worth’
Future: *vertės/būs verta* ‘will be worth’

In certain contexts the 3rd person forms of other verbs can also be used impersonally when they denote natural processes: *kaistina* ‘it’s hot’, *kvēpia* ‘it smells nice’, *šīla* ‘it’s freezing’, *atšyla* ‘it’s getting warmer’, *baltūoja* ‘it appears (is) white’, *palengvėjo* ‘it has become easier’, etc.

*Laukuose jau gera kaitino.*
*Šiaidi en staiga atšilo/atšfilo.*

‘It was already rather hot in the fields.’
‘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.:

*Kaistinu pieną.*
*Rinkās atšalši.*

‘I’m warming up the milk.’
‘Your hands will get cold.’

**NUMBER**

*Skaičius*

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. *einu* ‘I go’, *einu* ‘you go’ (singular); *einame* ‘we go’, *einate* ‘you go’ (plural). The 3rd person forms contain no grammatical indicators of number, e.g.:

*jis/ji eina* ‘he, she goes’ – *jiel/jos eina* ‘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.:

*(aš) esu ėjēs* ‘I have walked (SG)’ – *(mēs) ėsame ėję* ‘we have walked (PL)’;
*(tu) buvaĩ nēšamas* ‘you were/had been carried (SG)’ – *jūs būvote nešami* ‘you were/had been carried (PL)’.

Number is also distinguished by the endings of the oblique mood participles, e.g.:

*āš/jis nešaĩs* ‘I am/He is said to be carrying (SG)’ – *mēs/jiē nešaĩ* ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gyveni ir mokaisi.} & \quad \text{‘You live and you learn.’} \\
\text{Kaip pasiklósi, taip išmiegósi.} & \quad \text{lit. ‘As you make your bed, so you will sleep on it’ (i.e. one gets what one deserves).}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Eišiva namö.} & \quad \text{‘We two will go home.’} \\
\text{Eivà namö.} & \quad \text{‘Let’s we two go home.’}
\end{align*}
\]

### VOICE

**Rūsis**

**5.64** The category of voice comprises two voices, active (veikiamoji rūsis) and passive (neveikiamoji rūsis). 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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nešęs ‘carrying (ACT. PRES)’} & \quad - \quad \text{nešamas ‘being carried (PASS. PRES)’} \\
\text{nešęs ‘carried (ACT. PAST)’} & \quad - \quad \text{neštas ‘carried (PASS. PAST)’}
\end{align*}
\]

The present and past passive participles and the auxiliary būti ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nešū ‘(I) carry’} & \quad \text{nešęs, -anti, nešamas, - à, nešant ‘carrying’} \\
\text{nešiau ‘(I) carried’} & \quad \text{nešęs, -usi, nešus ‘carried’}
\end{align*}
\]
Table 10. The correspondences between active and passive forms šaūkti ‘call’, eiti ‘walk’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of active forms</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Indicative</td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
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<td>Active</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Active</td>
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<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>šaūkta</td>
<td>yrą šaūkiamas, -â/</td>
<td>šaūktû</td>
<td>bûtû šaūkiamas, -â/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>eîna</td>
<td>yrą eînama</td>
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<td>bûtû šaūkiami</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>šaûkè</td>
<td>bûvo šaûkiamas, -â/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>êjo</td>
<td>bûvo eînama</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past freq.</td>
<td>šaûkdavo</td>
<td>bûdavo šaûkiamas, -â/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>eîdavo</td>
<td>bûdavo eînama</td>
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<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>šaûks</td>
<td>bûs šaûkiamas, -â/</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eîs</td>
<td>bûs eînama</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>yrą šaûkës, -usi</td>
<td>yrą šaûktas, -â/</td>
<td>bûtû šaûkës, -usi</td>
<td>bûtû šaûktas, -â/</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yrą eîjes, -usi</td>
<td>yrą eîta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>bûvo šaûkës, -usi</td>
<td>bûvo šaûktas, -â/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>bûvo eîjes, -usi</td>
<td>bûvo eîta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past freq.</td>
<td>bûdavo šaûkës, -usi</td>
<td>bûdavo šaûktas, -â/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>bûdavo eîjes, -usi</td>
<td>bûdavo eîta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>bûs šaûkës, -usi</td>
<td>bûs šaûktas, -â/</td>
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<td>bûs eîjes, -usi</td>
<td>bûs eîta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
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<td>Active</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Passive</td>
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<tr>
<td>tešaukię</td>
<td>tebūnię šaūkiamas,-à/šaūkiama</td>
<td>šaūkis,-ianti</td>
<td>esąs šaūkiamas,-ianti</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tebūnię eĩnama</td>
<td>eĩns,-anti</td>
<td>esą eĩnama</td>
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<tr>
<td>teeinię</td>
<td></td>
<td>šaūkęs,-usi</td>
<td>būvęs šaūkiamas,-usi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>šaūkiam,-ai</td>
<td>šauktamä/būvę šaūkiama</td>
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<td>ėjęs,-usi</td>
<td>būvę eĩnama</td>
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<td></td>
<td>šaūkdaves,-usi</td>
<td>būdavęs šaūkiamas,-usi</td>
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<td>eĩdaves,-usi</td>
<td>šauktamä/būdavę šaūkiama</td>
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<td>šaūksiqs,-ianti</td>
<td>būsiqs šaūkiamas,-ianti</td>
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<td>eĩsiqs,-ianti</td>
<td>būsiq eĩnama</td>
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<tr>
<td>tebūnię šaūkęs,-usi</td>
<td>tebūnię šaūktas,-à/šaūkta</td>
<td>šaūkęs,-usų</td>
<td>esąs šaūktas,-usų</td>
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<tr>
<td>tebūnię ėjęs,-usi</td>
<td>tebūnię eĩta</td>
<td>ėjęs,-usų</td>
<td>esą eĩta</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>būvęs šaūkęs,-usų</td>
<td>būvęs šaūktas,-usų</td>
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<td>būvęsi šaūkusi</td>
<td>šauktä/būvę šaūkta</td>
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<td>būvęs ėjęs,-usų</td>
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<td>būdavęs šaūkęs,-usų</td>
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<td>būdavųši šaūkusi</td>
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<td>būsiqs šaūkęs,-usų</td>
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<td>būsiantsišaūkusi</td>
<td>būsiantsi šauktä/būsiq šaūkta</td>
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<td>būsiqs ėjęs,-usų</td>
<td>būsiq eĩta</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The passive voice is represented by passive participles and the periphrastic finite forms with the present and past passive participles, e.g.:

- **nėšama s, -à 'being carried'**
- **nėštas, -à 'carried'**
- **nėšimas 'carried (FUT)'**
- **esū/buvaū/būsdavau/būsiu nėšes, nėšus **

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. *laiškas yra atneštas kaimyno * 'a letter is brought by the neighbour') corresponds in the temporal and aspectual meaning both to the active periphrastic past (*kaimynas yra atnešęs laišką * 'the neighbour has brought a letter') and to the simple past with the perfective meaning (*kaimynas atnešė laišką * 'the neighbour (has) brought a letter').

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 dukterį.** 'Mother loved her daughter.'
- **Duktė buvo (mótinos) mylimą.** '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 *aš* 'I' or *tu* 'you: SG', in the corresponding passive construction it acquires the possessive genitive form *mąno* 'my', *tavo* 'your' instead of *manęs, tavęs*:

- **Aš paskviečiau draugą.** 'I invited a friend.'
- **Draugas buvo mano (**manęs**) **
- **paskviestas.** 'The friend was invited by me.'
Tu pâmetei râktâ. ‘You lost the key.’
Râktas bûvo tâvo (*tavës) pâmestâs. ‘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:

(1) Svečiâ yrà (tëvo) kviečiami. ‘Guests (NOM. PL. MASC) are invited (NOM. PL. MASC) (by father).’
(2) Svečiâ yrà (tëvo) 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.:

Mergâtës bûvo tëvo kviečiostos. ‘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.:

peâkasi ‘(he) buys for himself’ → yrà peâkamasi ‘(it is) bought for oneself’
mûûšësì ‘(they) fought’ → yrà mûûštasi ‘(it was) being fought (by them)’

The prefixed reflexives have passive forms of both types:

bûvo nusipirkta ‘(it was) bought for oneself’

bûvo nusipirkës, -â ‘(it) has been bought for oneself’

nusipirko ‘(he) bought for himself’
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 object:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Visi\ men\ skria\ d\ jia.} & \rightarrow \quad \text{Everybody (lit. All) offends me.} \\
\text{A\ ek\ visi\ skria\ d\ jiamas.} & \quad \text{I am (being) offended (NOM. SG) by everybody (GEN. PL).} \\
\text{Jis yr\ pirk\\j\ sita\ z\me\ e.} & \rightarrow \quad \text{He has bought this land.} \\
\text{Sit\ z\me\ e yra\ jo\ pirkta.} & \quad \text{This land has been bought by him.}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{noret\i} & \quad \text{‘want',} \\
\text{ge\\d\j\i} & \quad \text{‘desire, long',} \\
\text{(pa)ge\\d\j\i} & \quad \text{‘wish, desire',} \\
\text{ie\sk\i} & \quad \text{‘look (for)',} \\
\text{la\uk\i} & \quad \text{‘wait',} \\
\text{sie\kt\i} & \quad \text{‘strive (for), seek',} \\
\text{v\ng\i} & \quad \text{‘avoid',} \\
\text{bijo\i} & \quad \text{‘be afraid (of)'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mot\ina\ ie\sk\o\ dukte\r\s.} & \rightarrow \quad \text{‘Mother is looking for her daughter (GEN).'} \\
\text{Dukt\ e yr\\a\ moti\n\\o\ ie\sk\o\ma.} & \quad \text{‘The daughter (NOM) is being looked for by her mother (GEN).'} \\
\text{Vis\ la\uk\ e sve\ci\u.} & \rightarrow \quad \text{‘Everybody (NOM) was waiting for the guests (GEN).'} \\
\text{Sve\ci\\a\ b\u\vo\ visi\u\ lau\k\i\ma.} & \quad \text{‘The guests (NOM) were awaited by everybody (GEN).'}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) Some verbs taking the dative object, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atstov\\a\v\a\m\e\ darbini\n\a\k.} & \rightarrow \quad \text{‘We represented the workers (DAT).'} \\
\text{Darbini\n\a\kai\ \b\u\vo\ m\\u\s\y\ \atstov\\a\v\a\j.} & \quad \text{‘The workers (NOM) were represented by us.'} \\
\text{T\e\v\a\ liep\ e\ j\\a\m\ d\ir\b\t.} & \rightarrow \quad \text{‘(His) parents ordered him (DAT) to work.'} \\
\text{Jis\ \b\u\vo\ t\e\v\u\ lie\pt\as\ d\ir\b\t.} & \quad \text{‘He (NOM) was ordered to work by his parents (GEN).'}
\end{align*}
\]

The obligatory locative required by the verb \text{gyv\\e\n\i\} \ ‘inhabit, live (in)’ may also be converted into the nominative subject:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\v\e\r\y\s\ g\y\v\e\n\a\ ur\v\u\o\s.} & \rightarrow \quad \text{‘Beasts live in burrows (LOC).'} \\
\text{Ur\va\i\ \yr\ \v\e\r\i\u\ g\y\v\e\n\a\ma.} & \quad \text{‘The burrows (NOM) are inhabited by beasts (GEN).'}
\end{align*}
\]

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:
The verb *prašyti* ‘ask’ governing two objects (accusative and dative) may form two passive constructions, since either object can be converted into subject:

(a) *Mokytojas būvo (berniuko) prašomas knygos.*  
‘The teacher (NOM) was asked (by the boy) for a book (GEN).’

(b) *Knygą būvo (berniuko) prašoma.*  
‘The book (NOM) was requested (by the boy).’

The dative of addressee governed by the verb *duoti* ‘give’ sometimes (very rarely) can also be converted into the subject of a passive construction, e.g.

*Tevas dāve vaikui obuolį.*  
‘Father gave the child an apple (ACC).’

*Cf. the regular passive:*

*Obuolys būvo dūotas vaikui.*  
‘The apple (NOM) was given to the child (DAT).’

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.:

*Tas ligonis yra gydomas seniai.*  
‘This patient is being treated for a long time.’

*Jūm būvo pastūlytas gerėsnis dārbas.*  
‘He (DAT) was offered a better job (NOM).’

The agentive genitive is also omitted if the Agent is indefinite or generalized, e.g.:

*Šiaišdien vaisiai parduodami visur.*  
‘Today fruit is sold everywhere.’

*Netrūkus visi darbai būs baigtai.*  
‘Shortly all work will be finished.’

*Jis būvo labai gerbiamas.*  
‘He was highly esteemed.’

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: kas 'who, what', kai kas 'somebody, anybody, something', kas nōrs 'anybody, anything', kaktōs 'somebody, something', nīkas 'nobody, nothing', viskas 'everything', etc., and by adverbs or word groups with the genitive of quantity, e.g.: daug 'many, much', maža 'few, little': daug vandeņs 'much water', kēletas vaiķu 'several children', tūkstančiai žmonių 'thousands of people', etc.:

Kas buvo liępta, tūri būti ātlikta. 'What was ordered must be carried out.'
Viskas gera dārīma. 'Everything is being done well.'
Niēkas nēra pardošota. 'Nothing is sold.'
Išleista šimtais knygų. 'Hundreds of books are published.'

(2) In impersonal (subjectless) sentences with the genitive of indefinite quantity (a) or with an infinitive (b):

(a) Prie paminklo buvo padetā gėlē. '(Some) flowers (GEN) were laid (NEUTR) at the monument.'
(cf.: Gēlēs būvo padetos prie paminklo.)
Vakare lаukiama/tikimasi gerų naujienų. 'Good news (GEN. PL) was expected (NEUTR) in the evening.'

(b) Paskui buvo atnešta valgyti ir gerīti. 'Food and drinks were brought (NEUTR) later (lit. Then it was brought to eat and drink).' Čia draudžiama rūkyti. 'It is forbidden (NEUTR) to smoke.'
Jām būvo liēpta išeiti. '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.:
Pavasarį rugiā būvo sējama/sējami. 'In spring, rye (MASC) was sown (NEUTR/MASC).'
Būvės jaū būvo nūkasta/nūkastos. 'The potatoes (FEM) were already dug up (NEUTR/FEM).'

The passive voice of some verbs governing the accusative object of quantity (kainuoti 'cost', sverti/svērti 'weigh', trūkti 'last', sukākti 'turn (about age)' is formed with neuter passive participles only, e.g.:

Vištā svēria dū kilogramus.
hen: NOM. SG weigh: 3. PRES two kilograms (ACC. PL)

'The chicken weighs two kilograms.'
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:

Girdėjau, jū miestė nūmas stātoma.
he: GEN town: LOC house: NOM build: PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR

'I hear, he is building a house in the town.'

Gāl Jonuko tiē ė바i ātnėsta.
maybe Jonukas: GEN this: NOM. PL mushroom: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR

'Maybe it is Jonukas (Johnny) who has brought those mushrooms.'

Senū miškai mylėta, tūloń giesmēn dēta.
old: forest: NOM love: PAST. many: song: put: PAST. GEN. PL PL. MASC PASS. PART. ILLAT. ILLAT. PASS. PART. NEUTR SG SG 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

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:
Some impersonal verbs (e.g. įtyti ‘rain’, snigti ‘snow’, pustyt ‘drift (of snow)’) also have passive forms with the neuter past participle, cf.:

Šįnakt palijo, yrą/buvo palijo. → ‘It rained (lit. it has/had rained) last night.’

Šįnakt (buvo) palýta. → ‘It had rained (lit. it was rained) last night.’

Rytój pasnigs, bus pasnigę. → lit. ‘It will snow /will have snowed tomorrow.’

Rýtoj bús pásnigta. → lit. ‘Tomorrow will be snowed.’

### 5.76 Passive constructions with the agentive genitive correspond to active constructions as follows:

Tėvas suňkiai seŗga. → ‘Father is seriously ill.’

Tėvo suňkiai seŗgama. → ‘Father (GEN) is seriously ill (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR).’

Vaika miégójo sodë. → ‘The children slept in the garden.’

Vaikų būvo miégama sodë. → lit. ‘By the children (GEN) was being slept (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR) in the garden.’

Jis jaũ būvo išeite. → ‘He was already gone.’

Jö jaũ būvo išeita. → 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.:

Čià turbiit ir grūby ėsama. here maybe: PTCL and mushroom: GEN. PL be: PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR

‘There must be mushrooms here.’
'A dog must have run here (there are foot-marks).'

'I drop in, but she (it turns out, to my surprise) is gone to the woods.'

'There a rabbit has been lying, here a fox has been digging, - I see everything.'

The evidential passive with the neuter participle of intransitive verbs is more common than that of transitive verbs.

A sentence with a nominal (mostly adjectival) predicate can also be transformed into the passive voice having evidential meaning. In this case the copula *būti* 'be' assumes the neuter form of a passive participle while the predicative assumes the genitive case form:

jis tebėra gyvas. 'He is still alive.' →

jo tebėsama gyvo.

'He is still alive.'

pušys būvo stūros. 'The pinetrees were thick.' →

pušų būta storū.

'The pinetrees turned out to be thick.'

jo tévas būvo medžiojojas. 'His father was a hunter.' →

jo tévo būta medžiojojo.

'(I heard) his father was a hunter.'

If an active periphrastic verb form undergoes passivization (to express evidential
meaning explicitly), both the auxiliary and the main verb assume the form of the passive neuter participle, e.g.:

\[ \text{Jis buvo išėjęs.} \rightarrow \text{He was gone out.} \]

\[ \text{Jū būta} \]

he: GEN be: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR

\[ \text{išėta.} \]

\[ \text{go-out: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR} \]

\[ \text{(They say/Evidently) he was gone out.'} \]

\[ \text{Tadà mēs jaũ buvome atsigulę.} \rightarrow \text{We had gone to bed then.'} \]

\[ \text{Tadà mūsų jaũ būvome atsigulę.} \]

then we: GEN already be: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR

\[ \text{atsigulta.} \]

\[ \text{lie-down: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR} \]

\[ \text{(Maybe/Evidently) we had already gone to bed then.'} \]

The active form of the auxiliary can be retained, but in this case the evidential meaning is less clear, cf.: Jū buvo išėta. Mūsų buvo atsigulę.

**Finite forms of the verb**

*Veiksmąžodžių asmeniuojamosios formos*

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. *sūpa* ‘surrounds’, *kėlia* ‘raises’, *lydė* ‘accompanies’, *rašo* ‘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. *sūpo* ‘surrounded’, *kėlė* ‘raised’, *lydėjo* ‘accompanied’, *rāšė* ‘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. *sūp-ti* ‘to surround’, *kėl-ti* ‘to raise’, *lydė-ti* ‘to accompany’, *rašy-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.:

*bėga, bėgo, bėg-ti* 'run'

*spru-n-ka, spruko, spruk-ti* 'take to one's heels'

*pūk-st-a, pūko, pūk-ti* 'to be angry'

Among the stems of the mixed verbs we find both simple and suffixal stems, e.g.:

*mēga, mieg-ōj-o, mieg-ō-ti* 'sleep'

*braižo, braižė, braiž-y-ti* 'scratch'

All the stems of the suffixal verbs contain a suffix, e.g.:

*dūd-in-a, dūd-in-o, dūd-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):

āug-a – āug-o 'grow'

atbēg-a – atbēg-o 'come running'

jūdin-a – jūdin-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. skūn-a, skūn-ė, skūn-ti 'pluck', slaŋp-a, slaŋp-o, slaŋp-ti 'become wet' (see Table 11). There are several primary verbs which show irregular stem formation, e.g. dūod-a, dūv-ė, dūo-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:
MORPHOLOGY

(1) Before -a and -u the soft consonants d, t [ç, ʃ] become soft affricates dž, č [achment, čušenj] cf.: áudė – áudžia 'weave' (3 PRES) keičė – keičiu 'change' (1 PRES)

The consonants d, t become s between a vowel and the consonant t (that means also before the infinitival suffix -ti):

sėda, sėdo, sėsti (< sėd-ti) 'sit down'
mėta, mėtė, mėsti (< mėt-ti) 'throw'

The consonants d, t disappear between the sibilants s, š, z, ž and the infinitival suffix -ti:

brūzdo, brūzti (< brūzd-ti) 'bustle about'
beŗgždė, beŗgžti (< beŗgžd-ti) 'become barren'
druņštė, druņšti (< druņst-ti) 'stir up'
pruņkštė, pruņkštiti (< pruņkšt-ti) 'snort'

In the present stem the consonants d, t disappear also before -st-:

klýdo, klýsta (< klýd-st-a) 'err'
kaĩto, kaĩsta (< kaĩt-st-a) 'be getting hot'

(2) In the present tense stem after the sibilants s, š, z, ž the formant -st- loses s:

išso, išsta (< išs-t-a) 'become tired'
aūšo, aūšta (< aūš-t-a) 'dawn'
iřzo, iřzta (< iřz-t-a) 'get annoyed'
dūžo, dūžta (< dūž-t-a) 'break'

(3) Before consonants the sound clusters sk, šk, zg, žg become ks, kš, gz, gž:

drūaska – drisko – driksti 'grow worn out, tear'
brēško – brēkštā – brēkštiti 'dawn'
mėzga – mēžgė – mēžgti 'knit'
džeŗžgia – džeŗžgė – džeŗgtiti 'jingle, clang'

(4) Changes of the consonant j which

(a) becomes i between the vowel u and a consonant:
gūja, gūjo, guįti 'drive out; maltreat'
(b) disappears after i and before a consonant by making the latter vowel longer:
dalija, dalijo, dalįti 'divide'
(c) disappears after all the other vowels and before a consonant without a trace:
sēja, sējo, sēti 'sow, plant'
jōja, jōjo, jōti 'ride'
(5) Between the vowel u and a consonant, the consonant v disappears, thereby lengthening the preceding vowel:

\[ \text{siūva, siūvo, siūti} \] 'sew'

After all the other vowels the consonant v becomes u:

\[ \text{gāvo, gāuna, gāuti} \] '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:

\[ \text{būra (< biūra, cf. biro)} \] 'trickle'

\[ \text{spūra (< spūra, cf. spūro)} \] 'fray'

\[ \text{būla (< baūla, cf. būlo)} \] 'become white'

\[ \text{keišite, keišti (< keiš-ti < keiš-ti)} \] 'suffer'

\[ \text{skūndë, skūsti (< skūns-ti < skūnd-ti)} \] '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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The root contains</td>
<td>The root contains</td>
<td>The root contains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, e, u:</td>
<td>o, ė, ė:</td>
<td>o, ė, ė:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vāgia</td>
<td>vōgē</td>
<td>vōgti 'steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēkia</td>
<td>lēkē</td>
<td>lēkti 'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūpia</td>
<td>tūpē</td>
<td>tūpti 'alight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The root contains</td>
<td>The root contains</td>
<td>The root contains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, e, i, u:</td>
<td>o, ė, y, ė:</td>
<td>a, e, i, u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūria</td>
<td>kūrē</td>
<td>kūrti 'hang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēlia</td>
<td>kēlē</td>
<td>kēlti 'raise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giria</td>
<td>gyrē</td>
<td>girti 'praise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūmia</td>
<td>dūmē</td>
<td>dūmti 'dash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The root contains</td>
<td>The root contains</td>
<td>The root contains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y, ė (after dropping the -n-):</td>
<td>i, u:</td>
<td>y, ė:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūja</td>
<td>gūjo</td>
<td>gūti 'heal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūuva</td>
<td>gūuvo</td>
<td>gūûti 'fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>u, e:</em></td>
<td><em>u, i:</em></td>
<td><em>u, y:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siuva</td>
<td>siuvo</td>
<td>siati 'sew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veja</td>
<td>vijo</td>
<td>vyti 'chase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>e:</em></td>
<td><em>i:</em></td>
<td><em>i:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veľka</td>
<td>vīlkо</td>
<td>vīlkti 'drag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keňša</td>
<td>kiņšо</td>
<td>kiņšti 'stuff'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reňka</td>
<td>riņko</td>
<td>riņkti 'choose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peřka</td>
<td>piņko</td>
<td>piņkti 'buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gēna</td>
<td>ginė</td>
<td>gniñti 'drive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>au</em> and the infix</td>
<td><em>ov</em> and no infix:</td>
<td><em>au</em> and no infix:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n- or -j- before the thematic vowel:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ďđiuna</td>
<td>ďđidovе</td>
<td>ďđiduti 'hang to dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liđuja</td>
<td>liđovе</td>
<td>liđuti 'stop doing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the infix -n-</td>
<td>no infix:</td>
<td>no infix:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-m- before b, p):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anka</td>
<td>āko</td>
<td>ākti 'go blind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seňka</td>
<td>sēko</td>
<td>sēkti 'sink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stiňga</td>
<td>stiņgo</td>
<td>stiņgti 'be not enough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spruňka</td>
<td>sprūko</td>
<td>sprūkti 'take to his/her heels'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šlańpa</td>
<td>šląpo</td>
<td>šląpti 'get wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gleńba</td>
<td>glebо</td>
<td>glebtı 'become flabby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drinba</td>
<td>drībo</td>
<td>drībti 'tumble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěruńpa</td>
<td>ěrupо</td>
<td>ěrupti 'grab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bąla (&lt; baľla)</td>
<td>bālo</td>
<td>bálti 'pale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šyła (&lt; šińla)</td>
<td>šilo</td>
<td>šilti 'become warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spuńra (&lt; spuńra)</td>
<td>spūro</td>
<td>spūrti 'fray'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
<td><strong>The root contains</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the formant -st-</td>
<td>no formant:</td>
<td>no formant:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ělpsta</td>
<td>ělpo</td>
<td>ěńpti 'faint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ělsta (&lt; ělıs-st-a)</td>
<td>ělo</td>
<td>ěństi 'get tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aũštä (&lt; aũš-st-a)</td>
<td>aũšo</td>
<td>aũšti 'dawn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěřzta (&lt; ěřž-st-a)</td>
<td>ěžo</td>
<td>ěřžti 'get irritated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ląšta (&lt; ląž-st-a)</td>
<td>ląžo</td>
<td>ląžti 'break'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular stems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td><strong>Infinitive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aūna</td>
<td>āvė</td>
<td>aūti ‘put on or take off shoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yrą, ėsame</td>
<td>būvo</td>
<td>būti ‘be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēda</td>
<td>dējo</td>
<td>dēti ‘put’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dioda</td>
<td>dāvė</td>
<td>dūoti ‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eĩna</td>
<td>ėjo</td>
<td>eiti ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāuna</td>
<td>gāvo</td>
<td>gāuti ‘get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ima</td>
<td>ėmė</td>
<td>initi ‘take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liėka</td>
<td>liko</td>
<td>likti ‘remain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirlšta</td>
<td>mirė</td>
<td>mīti ‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūola</td>
<td>pūolė</td>
<td>pūlti ‘attack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šluoja</td>
<td>šluvė</td>
<td>šluoti ‘sweep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vėrda</td>
<td>virė</td>
<td>virti ‘boil’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The simple stem ends in a:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gieda</td>
<td>giedojo</td>
<td>giedoti ‘chant; crow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mięga</td>
<td>miegojo</td>
<td>miegoti ‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāuda</td>
<td>raudojo</td>
<td>raudoti ‘weep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The simple stem ends in o:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijo</td>
<td>bijojo</td>
<td>bijoti ‘be afraid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ieško</td>
<td>ieškojo</td>
<td>ieškoti ‘look for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāpsa</td>
<td>pāpsajo</td>
<td>pāpsoti ‘lie puffed up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telkšo</td>
<td>telkšajo</td>
<td>telkšoti ‘lie (about water)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The simple stem ends in a:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>býra</td>
<td>byrėjo</td>
<td>byrėti ‘trickle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūlka</td>
<td>dūlkėjo</td>
<td>dūlkėti ‘get dusty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žiba</td>
<td>žibėjo</td>
<td>žibeti ‘sparkle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The simple stem ends in ia:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keňčia</td>
<td>kenėjo</td>
<td>kenėti ‘suffer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Continuation of Table 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kvėpia</td>
<td>kvėpėjo</td>
<td>kvėpėti 'smell good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reikia</td>
<td>reikėjo</td>
<td>reikėti 'be necessary'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The simple stem ends in 

| gūli         | gūlėjo     | gūlėti 'lie'                |
| kriūksi      | kriūkėjo   | kriūkėti 'grunt'            |
| bārkši       | bārkšėjo   | bārkšėti 'rattle'           |

Simple stem ends in -o:

| rašo         | rašė       | rašyti 'write'              |
| gāno         | gānė       | ganyti 'shepherd'           |
| girdo        | girdė      | girdytę 'give water'        |
| lāisto       | lāistė     | lāistyti 'water'            |

Simple stem ends in -ė:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix -yti:</th>
<th>Suffix -yti:</th>
<th>Suffix -yti:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rašo</td>
<td>rašė</td>
<td>rašyti 'write'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
gāno         |gānė        |ganyti 'shepherd'|
girdo        |girdė       |girdytę 'give water'|
lāisto       |lāistė      |lāistyti '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 – dalytī ‘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. bangūoja, bangāvo, bangūoti ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffix -(i)uoja:</td>
<td>Suffix -(i)avo:</td>
<td>Suffix -(i)uoti:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dainūoja</td>
<td>dainavo</td>
<td>dainūoti 'sing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>važiuoja</td>
<td>važiavo</td>
<td>važiuoti 'go (by a vehicle)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lākuriuoja</td>
<td>lākuriavo</td>
<td>lākuriuoti 'linger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix -(i)auja:</td>
<td>Suffix -(i)auti:</td>
<td>Suffix -(i)auti:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uogāuja</td>
<td>uogāvo</td>
<td>uogāuti 'pick berries'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelīduuja</td>
<td>kelīduvo</td>
<td>kelīduiti 'travel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rēkauja</td>
<td>rēkavo</td>
<td>rēkauti 'shout (repeatedly)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix -iļa:</td>
<td>Suffix -iļo:</td>
<td>Suffix -yti:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalija</td>
<td>dalījo</td>
<td>dalīti 'distribute'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūdija</td>
<td>rūdījo</td>
<td>rūdīti 'rust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viššija</td>
<td>viššījo</td>
<td>viššyti 'exceed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 \( ia \):

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.:
   - \( kr\text{\={i}}ta, krito, kristi \) ‘fall’
   - \( b\text{\={y}}ra, biro, birti \) ‘trickle’
   - \( g\text{\={e}}sta, g\text{\={e}}so, g\text{\={e}}sti \) ‘get low (about fire, lights)’
   - \( \text{s\={a}}una, \text{s\={o}}v\text{\={e}}, \text{s\={a}}uti \) ‘shoot’
   - \( j\text{o}ja, j\text{o}jo, j\text{o}ti \) ‘ride’
   - \( gri\text{\={u}}va, gri\text{\={u}}vo, gri\text{\={u}}ti \) ‘crumble; fall’

2. they retain the root vowels \( a, e, i, u \) in all their stems, e.g.:
   - \( k\text{\={a}}la, k\text{\={a}}l\text{\={e}}, k\text{\={a}lti} \) ‘hammer’
   - \( l\text{\={i}}pa, l\text{\={i}}po, l\text{\={i}}pti \) ‘climb’
   - \( n\text{\={e}}\text{s}a, n\text{\={e}}\text{s}\text{\={e}}, n\text{\={e}}\text{s}ti \) ‘carry’
   - \( l\text{\={u}}pa, l\text{\={u}}po, l\text{\={u}}pti \) ‘peel’

3. \( i \) and \( y \) alternate before \( n \), e.g.:
   - \( p\text{\={i}}na, p\text{\={i}}n\text{\={e}}, p\text{\={i}}nti \) ‘braid’

4. \( e \) interchanges with \( i \), e.g.:
   - \( ke\text{\={m}}\text{s}a, ki\text{\={m}}\text{s}o, ki\text{\={m}}\text{s}ti \) ‘stuff’
   - \( g\text{\={e}}\text{n}a, g\text{\={i}}n\text{\={e}}, g\text{\={i}}nti \) ‘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 \( \acute{e} \). 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.:
   - \( kr\text{\={i}}\text{\={n}}ta, krito, kristi \) ‘fall’
   - \( g\text{\={e}}\text{\={s}}a, g\text{\={e}}so, g\text{\={e}}sti \) ‘get low (about fire, lights)’
   - \( j\text{o}ja, j\text{o}jo, j\text{o}ti \) ‘ride’

2. have the short vowels \( i, u \), in all their stems and no infixes or formants, e.g.:
   - \( l\text{\={i}}pa, l\text{\={i}}po, l\text{\={i}}pti \) ‘climb’
   - \( s\text{\={u}}ka, s\text{\={u}}ko, s\text{\={u}}kti \) ‘rotate’
(3) have semidiphthongs with alternating e and i, e.g.:

*teľpa, tiľpo, tiţi ti* ‘accommodate’

The past stem of all other primary verbs ends in ė (with a few exceptions) (see Table 14).

**Table 14. Correlation of the present and past stems of primary verbs and the thematic vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of the stem</th>
<th>Present thematic vowel</th>
<th>Past thematic vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aňka ‘goes blind’</td>
<td>āko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The actual or lost</td>
<td>geňda ‘gets bad’</td>
<td>gēdo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infix -n- (before</td>
<td>kiňta ‘changes’</td>
<td>kito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b, p: -m-) in the</td>
<td>juňta ‘feels’</td>
<td>ĵutō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present stem</td>
<td>šlaňpa ‘gets wet’</td>
<td>šlāpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>duņba ‘caves in’</td>
<td>dūbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bāla ‘pales’</td>
<td>bālo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guvra ‘gets rickety’</td>
<td>guvēro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>būra ‘trickles’</td>
<td>bīro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spūra ‘frays’</td>
<td>spūro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infix -st- (following</td>
<td>ālksta ‘gets hungry’</td>
<td>āko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wing s, š, z, ž: -t-) in the</td>
<td>mēgsta ‘likes’</td>
<td>mēgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present stem</td>
<td>aūšta ‘dawns’</td>
<td>aūšo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tūžta ‘gets furious’</td>
<td>tūžo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mūžta ‘diminishes’</td>
<td>mūžo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gūžta ‘gets sour’</td>
<td>gižo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gimsta ‘is born’</td>
<td>gimē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v, j preceding the</td>
<td>grūva ‘falls’</td>
<td>grūvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thematic vowel in</td>
<td>siūva ‘sews’</td>
<td>siūvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the present and</td>
<td>gūja ‘heals’</td>
<td>giļo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past stems</td>
<td>jōja ‘rides’</td>
<td>jōjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vēja ‘pursues’</td>
<td>vījo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zūja ‘zooms’</td>
<td>zūjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of the stem</td>
<td>Present thematic vowel</td>
<td>Past thematic vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, u in the stems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kiša 'stuffs'</td>
<td>kišo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lipa 'climbs'</td>
<td>lipo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lūpa 'peels'</td>
<td>lūpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sūka 'rotates'</td>
<td>sūko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guila 'lies down'</td>
<td>guile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mūša 'beats'</td>
<td>mūše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exceptions:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apophonic change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e : i (in semidiphthongs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kemša 'stuffs'</td>
<td>kiemšo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lešda 'gets into'</td>
<td>liedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tēla 'is accommodated'</td>
<td>tišpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perka 'buys'</td>
<td>piško</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apophonic change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e : i (not in semidiphthongs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gēna 'drives'</td>
<td>ginė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mēna 'remembers'</td>
<td>minė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apophonic change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i : y (preceding n)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gina 'defends'</td>
<td>gynė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mina 'treads'</td>
<td>mynė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>skina 'plucks'</td>
<td>skynė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(i)auna, -(i)auja : -(i)ovė</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bliuna 'brays'</td>
<td>bliovė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ráuna 'uproots'</td>
<td>róvė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liauja 'desists'</td>
<td>liovė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, e in the stems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bāra 'scolds'</td>
<td>bārė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kāla 'hammers'</td>
<td>kālė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dēga 'burns'</td>
<td>dēgé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nēša 'carries'</td>
<td>nēšė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exceptions:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>āria 'ploughs'</td>
<td>ārė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tāria 'pronounces'</td>
<td>tārė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>žāgia 'steals'</td>
<td>žūgė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Characteristics of the stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of the stem</th>
<th>Present thematic vowel</th>
<th>Past thematic vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ė, y, o, a, ė in the stems</strong></td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>ė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grėbia 'rakes'</td>
<td></td>
<td>grėbė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krūkščia 'exults'</td>
<td></td>
<td>krūkštė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drōžia 'planes'</td>
<td></td>
<td>drōžė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plūkia 'rams'</td>
<td></td>
<td>plūkė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēsia 'continues'</td>
<td></td>
<td>tēsė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exceptions:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Exceptions:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūda 'eats'</td>
<td></td>
<td>ūde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bėga 'runs'</td>
<td></td>
<td>bėgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēda 'sits down'</td>
<td></td>
<td>sēdo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šōka 'dances'</td>
<td></td>
<td>šōko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grūda 'staffs'</td>
<td></td>
<td>grūdo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Diphthongs in the stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ia</th>
<th>Present thematic vowel</th>
<th>Past thematic vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bařgia 'finishes'</td>
<td></td>
<td>bařgė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braūkia 'brushes'</td>
<td></td>
<td>braūkė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēkia 'curses'</td>
<td></td>
<td>kēkė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diegia 'implements'</td>
<td></td>
<td>diegė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puūšia 'decorates'</td>
<td></td>
<td>puūštė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuččia 'rummages'</td>
<td></td>
<td>kuččė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēidžia 'permits'</td>
<td></td>
<td>lēido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exceptions:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Exceptions:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áuga 'grows'</td>
<td></td>
<td>áugo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Semidiphthongs in the stems (without apophonic change e : i)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ia</th>
<th>Present thematic vowel</th>
<th>Past thematic vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skalbia 'washes'</td>
<td></td>
<td>skalbė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kařšia 'cards'</td>
<td></td>
<td>kařšė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deŋgia 'covers'</td>
<td></td>
<td>deŋgė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tempia 'drags'</td>
<td></td>
<td>tempė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>švilpia 'whistles'</td>
<td></td>
<td>švilpė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>griñdžia 'grounds'</td>
<td></td>
<td>griñdė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>druñsčia 'makes turbid'</td>
<td></td>
<td>druñstė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muřkia 'purrs'</td>
<td></td>
<td>muřkė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exceptions:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Exceptions:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galánda 'sharpens'</td>
<td></td>
<td>galándo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kánda 'bites'</td>
<td></td>
<td>kándo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirba 'works'</td>
<td></td>
<td>dirbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žīnda 'sucks'</td>
<td></td>
<td>žīndo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Continuation of Table 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of the stem</th>
<th>Present thematic vowel</th>
<th>Past thematic vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apophonic changes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$a: o, e: ė, u: ė$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{ia}$</td>
<td>$\textit{kārīa} \ '\text{hangs}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{körē}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{vāgīa} \ '\text{steals}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{vōgē}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{bērīa} \ '\text{pours}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{bērē}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{slēpīa} \ '\text{hides}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{slēpē}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{kūlīa} \ '\text{threshes}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{kālē}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{tūpīa} \ '\text{alights}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{tūpē}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apophonic change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$i: y$ (preceding $l, r$)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{ia}$</td>
<td>$\textit{gilīa} \ '\text{stings}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{gylē}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{vīlīa} \ '\text{gives hope}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{vylē}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{gīrīa} \ '\text{praises}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{gylē}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{tīrīa} \ '\text{investigates}'$</td>
<td>$\textit{tyrē}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exception:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{pīla} \ '\text{pours}'$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$\textit{pylē}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $ē$ 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 $ē$ respectively, e.g., $\textit{rāsō} – \textit{rāsē} \ '\text{write'}$.

If the past stem of mixed verbs contains the suffix $-ojo$ and if the infinitive contains the suffix $-otī$, the present tense stem also ends in $o$, e.g.:

$\textit{ieško}, \textit{ieškōjo}, \textit{ieškōtī} \ '\text{look for'}$
$\textit{riōgso}, \textit{riogsōjo}, \textit{riogsōtī} \ '\text{stand, stick'}$

The following three verbs with the present tense stem ending in $a$ constitute an exception to the above rule:

$\textit{gīeda}, \textit{giedōjo}, \textit{giedōtī} \ '\text{chant; crow'}$
$\textit{miēga}, \textit{miegōjo}, \textit{miegōtī} \ '\text{sleep'}$
$\textit{rāuda}, \textit{raudōjo}, \textit{raudōtī} \ '\text{weep'}$

If the past stem of mixed verbs contains the suffix $-ējo$ and the infinitival stem contains the suffix $-ēti$, the present tense stem ends in $a$ or $i$: 
býra, byrējo, byrēti ‘trickel’
gūli, gulējo, gulēti ‘lie’

The following three verbs with the present stem ending in ia constitute an exception to the above rule:

kenčia, kentējo, kentēti ‘suffer’
kvēpia, kvēpējo, kvēpēti ‘smell well’
reikia, reikējo, reikēti ‘be necessary’

Endings indicating person and number

5.86 Person is indicated by adding the following endings to the verbal stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

sūpa-me ‘we rock’
myli-me ‘we love’
rāsō-me ‘we write’
nēšē-me ‘we carried’

Before vowel endings, the long thematic vowels o, ė become a and e respectively, whereas the short thematic vowels a, i disappear altogether, e.g.:

Pres. 2. Sg. raša-i (cf. rāsō) ‘you write’
Past. 2. Sg. nēšē-ī (cf. nēšē) ‘you carried’
Pres. 1. Sg. sup-ū (< sūpa+u) ‘I rock’
Pres. 2. Sg. sup-i (< sūpa+i) ‘you rock’
Pres. 1. Sg. myli-u (< myli+u) ‘I love’
Pres. 2. Sg. myl-i (< myli+i) ‘you love’

(In myliu 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.:

- **bėgam** ‘we run’  
- **bėgat** ‘you run’
- **bėgom** ‘we ran’  
- **bėgot** ‘you ran’
- **bėgdavom** ‘we used to run’  
- **bėgdavot** ‘you used to run’
- **bėgsim** ‘we’ll run’  
- **bėgsit** ‘you’ll run’
- **bėgtumėm** ‘we would run’  
- **bėgtumėt** ‘you would run’
- **bėkim** ‘let’s run’  
- **bėkit** ‘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.:

- **ēsti** ‘is, are’  
- **sniegti** ‘snows’
- **kostì** ‘coughs’  
- **peršti** ‘smarts’
- **niežti** ‘itches’

The verb **būti** ‘be’ has several 3rd person forms in the present tense: ės-ti, būn-a, būv-a, yr. The latter is the most frequently used form in present-day Lithuanian. The present 3rd person forms **kósēja** ‘coughs’, **sniţg‘a** ‘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.:

- **tegul-ie** ‘let him/her/it/them lie’
- **teraša-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a-stem and i-stem reflexive verbs)</td>
<td>(all the reflexive verbs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person: -uo-si</td>
<td>-mē-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person: -ie-si</td>
<td>-tē-s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. the non-reflexive and reflexive present forms of the verb **sūkti/sūktīs** ‘turn’: 1st Sg. **suk-ū** – **suk-ūo-si**, 2nd **suk-ī** – **suk-ie-si**, 1st Pl. **sūka-me** – **sūka-mēs**, 2nd **sūka-te** – **sūka-tēs**.
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-ū : gerū-o-ju ‘good’
Nom. Pl.: ger-i : gerie-ji

In the 3rd person form the reflexive formant -s(i) is preceded by a pure thematic vowel, e.g.:

sūka-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.:

sūkamės ‘we turn’
sūkomės ‘we turned’
sūkdavomės ‘we used to turn’
sūksimės ‘we’ll turn’
sūksės ‘he/she/it/they will turn’
sūkis ‘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.:

sukūos ‘I turn’ sukies ‘you turn’ sukas ‘turns’
sukaus ‘I turned’ sukaus ‘you turned’ sūkos ‘he/she/it/they turned’
sūkdavaus ‘I used to turn’ sukdavais ‘you used to turn’ sūkdavos ‘he/she/it/they used to turn’
sūksiuous ‘I’ll turn’ suksies ‘you’ll turn’
sūkčiaus ‘I would turn’ suktumeis ‘you would turn’ sūktus ‘they would turn’

CONJUGATIONS

5.89 There are three conjugations which are distinguished according to the thematic vowels in the present tense.
The present stems of the 1st conjugation verbs end in \((i)a\):

- *kāla* ‘hammers’
- *kēlia* ‘raises’

The stems of the 2nd conjugation verbs end in *i*:

- *myli* ‘loves’
- *tiksi* ‘ticks’

The stems of the 3rd conjugation verbs end in *o*:

- *kāso* ‘scratches’
- *klāpo* ‘kneels’

According to additional peculiarities of the present and past tense stems and their mutual relationships, verbs belonging to the 1st and 3rd conjugations are divided into several distinct groups.

**Conjugation 1**

5.90 Conjugation 1 comprises verbs the present tense stems of which end in *a* after a hard or soft consonant (in the latter case it is spelled as *ia*) and their past tense stems end in *o* or *ē*. Among the verbs which belong to Conjugation 1 we can find primary, mixed and suffixal verbs. They fall into four major groups.

**GROUP 1**

5.91 Group 1 comprises primary, mixed and suffixal verbs the present tense stems of which end in *a*, and the past stems of which end in *o*. Here belong:

1. Primary verbs with:
   - the infix *-n-* (*-m- before *b, p*) in the present stems (the infix *-n-* has disappeared before *l, m, r, s, š, z, ž* causing the lengthening of the preceding vowel; see II.3.9), e.g.:
     - *rānda* ‘finds’
     - *seňka* ‘gets lower’
     - *stiņga* ‘lacks’
     - *trūnika* ‘lasts’
     - *dūmba* ‘caves in’
     - *šlampa* ‘gets wet’
     - *šāla* ‘freezes’
     - *svyšla* ‘burns a little’
     - *giša* ‘crumbles’
     - *pliška* ‘sags’
     - *rādo* ‘found’
     - *šeko* ‘got lower (of water)’
     - *stigo* ‘lacked’
     - *trūko* ‘lasted’
     - *dūbo* ‘caved in’
     - *šlāpo* ‘got wet’
     - *šālo* ‘froze’
     - *svilo* ‘burnt a little’
     - *giro* ‘crumbled’
     - *pliško* ‘sagged’
(b) the formant -st- (or -t- following s, š, z, ž) in the present stem, e.g.:

- alpsta ‘faints’
- leipsta ‘swoons’
- pįksta ‘is angry’
- sprūgsta ‘explodes’
- gėsta ‘becomes yellow’
- klysta ‘errs’
- gažsta ‘tarries’
- grįžta ‘returns’

Exception - the verb gimsta – gimė ‘is / was born’ which belongs to Group 2.

(c) v or j preceding the thematic vowels in the present and the past, e.g.:

- griūva ‘crumbles’
- pilva ‘rots’
- siūva ‘sews’
- lyja ‘rains’
- vėja ‘chases’
- plėja ‘claps’
- lieja ‘pours’
- ūja ‘nags’

Exceptions: verbs like liūuja – liūvė ‘stop, cease’, which belong to Group 2.

(d) the short vowel i or u in present and past stems, e.g.:

- knisa ‘roots’
- riša ‘ties’
- rīta ‘rolls’
- brūk a ‘thrusts’
- lūpa ‘peels’
- supa ‘surrounds’

Exceptions are the following verbs, which belong to Group 2:

- gūla ‘lies down’
- mūša ‘beats’

(e) semidiphthongs with alternating e and i in present and past stems, e.g.:

- kep a ‘cuts’
- krenšta ‘bites’
- reņka ‘gathers’
- velka ‘drags’
(f) irregular stems, e.g.:

yrà ‘is/are’
dëda ‘puts’
eîna ‘goes’
gâuna ‘gets’
liëka ‘remains’

bûvo ‘was/were’
dëjo ‘put’
ëjo ‘went’
gâvo ‘got’
liko ‘remained’

(2) Mixed verbs with:

(a) the suffix -êjo in their past stem, e.g.:

drëba ‘trembles’
jûda ‘moves’
krûta ‘stirs’
mirga ‘shimmers’
môka ‘knows how to’
sôpa ‘hurts’
stëna ‘groans’
drebëjo ‘trembled’
judëjo ‘moved’
krutëjo ‘stirred’
mirgëjo ‘shimmered’
mokëjo ‘knew how to’
sopëjo ‘hurt’
stênëjo ‘groaned’

(b) the suffix -ojo in their past stem. Here belong only three verbs:

gieda ‘chants, crows’
miëga ‘sleeps’
râuda ‘weeps’
giedojo ‘chanted, crowed’
miegójo ‘slept’
raudójo ‘wept’

(3) All the derived verbs with the following seven suffixes:

(a) -(i)au-ti (draugâuti, keliâuti, etc.)

draugâuja ‘are friends’
keliâuja ‘travels’
riešutâuja ‘picks nuts’
studentâuja ‘is a student’
draugâvo ‘were friends’
keliâvo ‘travelled’
riešutâvo ‘picked nuts’
studentâvo ‘was a student’

(b) -(i)uo-ti (dainûoti, eiliûoti, etc.)

dainûoja ‘sings’
eiliûoja ‘creates rhymes’
miltûoja ‘covers with flour’
važiûoja ‘drives’
dainâvo ‘sang’
eiliâvo ‘created rhymes’
miltâvo ‘covered with flour’
važiâvo ‘drove’

(c) -(i)o-ti (galvîti, medžîti, etc.)

galvîoja ‘thinks’
medžîoja ‘hunts’
plûkioja ‘swims’
putîoja ‘foams’
galvîvo ‘thought’
medžîvo ‘hunted’
plûkiojo ‘swam’
putîojo ‘foamed’
žiemója ‘winters’
vedžiōja ‘leads’

(d) -ė-ti (auklėti, akmenėti, etc.)
áuklėja ‘educates’
akmenėja ‘petrifies’
gražėja ‘becomes more beautiful’,
pavasarėja ‘comes (of spring)’
siūléja ‘hems’
vaikėja ‘becomes infantile’

(e) -y-ti (akyti, dalytž, etc.)
akija ‘becomes porous’
dailja ‘distributes’
nuodija ‘poisons’
rūdija ‘rusts’
skiępia ‘innoculates’
vilnija ‘ripples’

(f) -in-ti (bårškinti, lėsinti, etc.)
bårškina ‘knocks’
lėsina ‘feeds birds’
pratinja ‘habituates’
sodina ‘plants’
šnekina ‘talks to’
šlapina ‘wets’

(g) -en-ti (gyventi, kedent, etc.)
gyvena ‘lives’
kedėna ‘picks’
kūrena ‘heats’
purena ‘loosens’
ridėna ‘rolls’

Additional derivative formants can make the suffixes longer, but the conjugation of the verb remains the same, e.g.:  
mirguliūoja ‘shimmers’
lakuriūoja ‘lingers’

cf. dainiuoja ‘sings’

linkčiojo ‘nods’
vartaliój ‘keeps turning’

cf. kartój ‘repeats’
šokinėja ‘jumps up and down’

cf. auklėja ‘educates’  
mirguliavo ‘shimmered’
lakuriavo ‘lingered’
dainav ‘sang’

linkčioji ‘noded’
vartaliavo ‘kept turning’
kartav ‘repeated’
šokinėjo ‘jumped up and down’

auklėjo ‘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 é. Here belong primary verbs with:

(1) the vowels a or e in their stems, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bàra</td>
<td>'scolds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàsa</td>
<td>'digs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làka</td>
<td>'drinks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màla</td>
<td>'mills'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bëda</td>
<td>'stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëta</td>
<td>'throws'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pësa</td>
<td>'pluck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëga</td>
<td>'fastens'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tëpa</td>
<td>'smears'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vëža</td>
<td>'carry by a vehicle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exceptions (belonging to Group 3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ària</td>
<td>'ploughs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tària</td>
<td>'pronounces'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žàgia</td>
<td>'pollutes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) i preceding n in the present stem changing to y in the past stem, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pìna</td>
<td>'weaves, twines'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skìna</td>
<td>'plucks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trìna</td>
<td>'rubs'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) e in the present stem, changing to i in the past (this group includes only two verbs):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gëna</td>
<td>'drives'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëna</td>
<td>'remembers'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) -(i)auna or -(i)auja in the present stem changing into -(i)ové in the past, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bliáuna</td>
<td>'brays'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>džìáuna</td>
<td>'hangs out to dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>griáuna</td>
<td>'destroys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kráuna</td>
<td>'loads'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjáuna</td>
<td>'cuts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liáuja</td>
<td>'desists'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) irregular present and past stems, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aùna</td>
<td>'puts on shoes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àvë</td>
<td>'put on shoes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GROUP 3

5.93 This group includes primary verbs the present stem of which ends in *ia* and the past stem ends in *ė*. It is a group of verbs characterized by the presence of the following stem vowels or diphthongs:

(1) the long vowels *ė*, *y*, *o*, *ū*, *ę*, *e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Stem</th>
<th>Past Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glė'bia</td>
<td>glė'bė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plešia</td>
<td>plešė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trypia</td>
<td>trypė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žnybia</td>
<td>žnybė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóžia</td>
<td>vóžė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>triūsia</td>
<td>triūsė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ažia</td>
<td>ažė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gręžia</td>
<td>gręžė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exceptions (which fall under Group 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Stem</th>
<th>Past Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bėga</td>
<td>bėgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sėda</td>
<td>sėdo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šoka</td>
<td>šoko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grūda</td>
<td>grūdo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) diphthongs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Stem</th>
<th>Past Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baigžia</td>
<td>baigė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žaiddžia</td>
<td>žaiddė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spaudžia</td>
<td>spaudė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaukia</td>
<td>šaukė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keičia</td>
<td>keičė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steigžia</td>
<td>steigė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diegžia</td>
<td>diegė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liėpia</td>
<td>liėpė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuopžia</td>
<td>kuopė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sliuögia</td>
<td>sliuögė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Exceptions:

- áuga 'grows'
- pūola 'attacks'
- lėidžia 'permits'

(3) semidiphthongs (without the apophonic change e : i):

- deņgia 'covers'
- reņgia 'prepares'
- kašia 'cards'
- čiņpia 'chirps'
- iņkščia 'whines'
- duķia 'drizzles'
- skūndžia 'reports on'

Exceptions (which fall under Group 1):

- kanda 'bites'
- galanda 'sharpens'
- dzrba 'works'
- žznda 'suck'

(4) apophonic changes a : o, e : ė, u : ū, i : y (the latter takes place only before l and r), e.g.:

- karia 'hangs'
- vāgia 'steals'
- gėlia 'stings'

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:

- keńcia 'suffers'
- kvęopia 'smells good'
- kentėjo 'suffered'
- kvępėjo 'smelled good'
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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gali 'can'</td>
<td>galėjo 'could'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girdi 'hears'</td>
<td>girdejo 'heard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lýdi 'accompanies'</td>
<td>lydėjo 'accompanied'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ravi 'weeds'</td>
<td>ravėjo 'weeded'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēdi 'sits'</td>
<td>sėdėjo 'sat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žydi 'blossoms'</td>
<td>žydėjo 'blossomed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čepsi 'smacks his/her lips'</td>
<td>čepsėjo 'smacked his/her lips'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōkšti 'bangs'</td>
<td>pokšėjo 'banged'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>įdo 'butts'</td>
<td>bėdė 'butted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daūžo 'breaks'</td>
<td>daūžė 'broke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāno 'shepherds'</td>
<td>gānė 'shepherded'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāso 'scratches'</td>
<td>kāsė 'scratched'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāužo 'breaks'</td>
<td>lāužė 'broke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēto 'throws'</td>
<td>mētė 'threw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāso 'writes'</td>
<td>rāšė 'wrote'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>važo 'restricts'</td>
<td>važė 'restricted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ardo 'dismantles'</td>
<td>arėdė 'dismantled'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migdo 'puts to sleep'</td>
<td>migdę 'put to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spārdo 'kicks'</td>
<td>spārdė 'kicked'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GROUP 2

The past stem of the verbs in this group contains the suffix -ojo (i.e., they end in o), e.g.:

- bijo 'is afraid'
- ieško 'looks for'
- kābo 'hangs'
- klūpo 'kneels'
- sāugo 'guards'
- tūko 'stalks'
- žino 'knows'
- dukso 'looms'
- spūkso 'gapes'
- telkšo 'lies'

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

- mokėti 'know', sūpti 'rock'
- nėsti 'carry', šukūoti 'comb'
- traukti 'pull', kentėti 'suffer'

Relexive verbs

- sūptis 'rock oneself', nėštis 'bring for oneself'
- šukūoti 'comb oneself'
- trauktis 'retreat'

Singular

1. moku, supū, nešū
2. móki, supi, neši
3. móka, sūpa, nēša

supūosi, nešūosi
supiši, nešiši
supas, nešasi
1. šukúoju, tráukiu, keńciu
2. šukúoji, tráuki, keńti
3. šukúoja, tráukia, keńčia

Plural

1. mókame, sūpame, nēšame
2. mókate, sūpate, nēšate
3. móka, sūpa, nēša

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 2

(i-stem)

Non-reflexive verbs

sédëti ‘sit’, tikëti ‘believe’,
trinksëti ‘bang’

Reflexive verbs

tikëtis ‘hope’

Singular

1. sédžiu, tikiu, trinksiu
tikiuosi
2. sédì, tikì, trinksi
tikìesi
tikìsi

Plural

1. sédime, tikime, trinksime
tikimës
tikites
tikisi

Paradigm 3

(o-stem)

Non-reflexive verbs

mókyti ‘teach’, bijótì ‘fear’,
žiopsóti ‘gape’

Reflexive verbs

mókytis ‘learn’, bijótis ‘fear’

Singular

1. móka, bijaũ, žiopsaũ
mókausi, bijaūsi
2. mókaĩ, bijaĩ, žiopsaĩ
mókaisi, bijaūsi
3. móko, bijo, žiopso
mókosi, bijosi
Plural

1. mokome, bijome, žiopsome
2. mokote, bijote, žiopsote
3. móko, bijo, žiopso

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šoka</td>
<td>šokame, mylime, važiūojame, kilščiojame, pratiname, snūduriuojame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myli</td>
<td>mylime, važiūojame, kilščiojame, pratiname, snūduriuojame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>važiuoja</td>
<td>važiuojame, kilščiojame, pratiname, snūduriuojame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilščioja</td>
<td>kilščiojame, pratiname, snūduriuojame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pratinu</td>
<td>pratiname, snūduriuojame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snu duriuoju</td>
<td>pratiname, snūduriuojame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šoku, myliu, važiuoju, kilščioju, pratinu, snūduriuoju</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šoki, myli, važiuoji, kilščioji, pratinė, snūduriuoję</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>neša</td>
<td>nešame, skutame, žinome, gyvename, gaiviname</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry</td>
<td>carry, live(s), peel(s), resuscitate(s), know(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyvena</td>
<td>live(s), peel(s), resuscitate(s), know(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skuta</td>
<td>live(s), peel(s), resuscitate(s), know(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaivina</td>
<td>live(s), peel(s), resuscitate(s), know(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žino</td>
<td>know(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ė-stem are conjugated according to Paradigm 4, which is typical only of the past tense.
Paradigm 3
(o-stem)

Non-reflexive verbs

Reflexive verbs
sūptis ‘swing oneself’, šukūtis ‘comb one’s hair’, tikėtis ‘hope’, sāugotis ‘be careful’

Singular
1. supaū, kentė’jau, šukavaū
2. supai, kentė’jai, šukavai
3. sūpo, kentė’jo, šukāvo

Plural
1. supome, kentė’jome, šukavome
2. supote, kentė’jote, šukavote
3. sūpo, kentė’jo, šukāvo

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
(ē-stem)

Non-reflexive verbs
mokyti ‘teach’, nešti ‘carry’, keisti ‘change’

Reflexive verbs
mokytis ‘learn’, neštis ‘dash’, keistis ‘change oneself’

Singular
1. mókiau, nešiaū, keičiaū
2. mókei, nešėi, keitei
3. mókė, nėšė, keitė

Plural
1. mókėme, nėšėme, keitėme
2. mókėte, nėštėte, keitėte
3. mókė, nėšė, keitė
In verbs conjugated according to Paradigm 4 the thematic vowel Ė is shortened and changes into Ė 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:


1. Sg.: kėliau, bėgau, rāvėjau, kāltinau, skiēpijau
2. Sg.: kėlei, bėgai, rāvėjai, kāltinai, skiēpijai
1. Pl.: kėlėme, bėgome, rāvėjome, kāltinome, skiēpijome
2. Pl.: kėlėte, bėgote, rāvėjote, kāltinote, skiēpijote

Examples of shifting accentuation:


1. Sg.: keičiau, supaú, kūrenaú, važiavaú
2. Sg.: keitei, supai, kūrenai, važiavai
1. Pl.: keičėme, sūpome, kūrenome, važiavome
2. Pl.: keičėte, sūpote, kūrenote, 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

| 1. sūpdavau, sēdēdavau, mōkydavau |
| 2. sūpdavai, sēdēdavai, mōkydavai |
| 3. sūpdavo, sēdēdavo, mōkydavo |

Reflexive verbs

| 1. sūpdavaus, mōkydavaus |
| 2. sūpdavais, mōkydavais |
| 3. sūpdavos, mōkydavos |
### Plural

1. **sūpdavome, sēdēdavome, mókydavome**  
   **sūpdavomės, mókydavomės**  
2. **sūpdavote, sēdēdavote, mókydavote**  
   **sūpdavotės, mókydavotės**  
3. **sūpdavo, sēdēdavo, mókydavo**  
   **sūpdavosi, mókydavosi**

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(i)** and personal endings to the infinitival stem. The future tense of all verbs has the same conjugation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-reflexive verbs</th>
<th>Reflexive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. sūpsiu, sēdesiu, móksiu</td>
<td>sūpsiuos i, móksiuosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sūpsi, sēdesi, mókysi</td>
<td>sūpsiesi, mókysiesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sūps, sēdes, mókys</td>
<td>sūpsis, mókysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. sūpsime, sēdēsime, mókysime</td>
<td>sūpsimės, mókysimės</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sūpsite, sēdēsite, mókysite</td>
<td>sūpsitės, mókysitės</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sūps, sēdes, mókys</td>
<td>sūpsis, mókysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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., **sūps** ‘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 (**sūps-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.: **sūps** – **sūps-i-s**; **néš** – **néš-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.:

| mēsiu < mēs-s-iu | nēšiu < nēš-s-iu |
| mēsti < mēs-s-i | nēši < nēš-s-i |
| mēs < mēs-s | nēš < nēš-s |
The 3rd person future of the primary verbs with the long vowels \( y \) and \( u \) 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd person present</th>
<th>3rd person past</th>
<th>3rd person future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gyti 'heal'</td>
<td>gija</td>
<td>gijo</td>
<td>gis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>griáti 'fall'</td>
<td>gríáva</td>
<td>gríuvo</td>
<td>gríus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púti 'rot'</td>
<td>púva</td>
<td>púvo</td>
<td>pús</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žáti 'perish'</td>
<td>žáva</td>
<td>žuvo</td>
<td>žús</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. verbs which do not contain long \( y \) or \( u \) in the present tense:

- siáti 'sew'
- výti 'chase'

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, aimanuós

### 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 -tų.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -čia-u</td>
<td>-tu(mė)-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -tum(e-i)</td>
<td>-tumė-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -tų</td>
<td>-tų</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-i (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-reflexive verbs</th>
<th>Reflexive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūpčiau, sūdėčiau, mokyčiau</td>
<td>sūpčiausi, mokyčiausi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūptum, sūdėtum, mokytum</td>
<td>sūptumeist, mokytumeisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūptų, sūdėtų, mokytų</td>
<td>sūptysi, mokytysi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sūptum(me)me, sūdėtum(me)me, mokytu(me)me</td>
<td>sūptu(mė)mės, mokytu(mė)mės</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūptumėte, sūdėtumėte, mokytumėte</td>
<td>sūptumėtės, mokytumėtės</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūptų, sūdėtų, mokytų</td>
<td>sūptysi, mokytysi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1st person plural forms (e.g., sūptumėme, sūptumėmės) are rather often shortened by omitting the -mė- part of the suffix: sūptume, sūptumės. The 2nd person plural forms can also be shortened in the same way (sūptumėte > sūptute, sūptumėtės > sūptutės), 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: āugti ‘grow’, pūsti ‘blow’, didinti ‘increase’

Sg. 1. āugčiau, pūsčiau, didinčiau
2. āugtum, pūstum, didintum
3. āugty, pūsty, didinty

Pl. 1. āugtu(me)me, pūstu(me)me, didintu(me)me
2. āugtumėte, pūstumėte, didintumėte
3. āugty, pūsty, didinty

**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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sūp-k} & \quad \text{‘rock’} \\
\text{sēdė-k} & \quad \text{‘sit’} \\
\text{moky-k} & \quad \text{‘teach’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eĩ-ki} & \quad \text{‘go’} \\
\text{bū-ki} & \quad \text{‘be’} \\
\text{nēš-ki} & \quad \text{‘carry’}
\end{align*}
\]

The longer variant -ki- of the suffix is retained in the 2nd person singular of reflexive verbs (nēš-kis ‘take for yourself’, praūs-ki-s ‘wash yourself’, moky-ki-s ‘learn’) and the 1st and 2nd person plural forms of both reflexive and non-reflexive verbs (sūp-ki-me, sūp-ki-mės, sūp-ki-te, sūp-ki-tės).

Before the suffix -k(i) the final consonants g and k of the infinitival stem disappear, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āuk} & \quad < \text{āug-k} \quad \text{‘grow’} \\
\text{sūk} & \quad < \text{sūk-k} \quad \text{‘turn’}
\end{align*}
\]

Non-reflexive verbs

Reflexive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. sūpk, sēdėk, mokyk</td>
<td>1. sūpkime, sēdėkime, mokykime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sūpkimės, mokykimės</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. sūpkite, sēdėkite, mokykite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sūpkitės, mokykitės</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative forms with the suffix -k(i) retain the place and kind of accentuation which is encountered in the infinitive, e.g.:

Infinitive: sūpti ‘rock’ rašyti ‘write’

| Sg. 2. sūpk, rašyk | Pl. 1. sūpkime, rašykime | 2. sūpkite, rašykite |

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
te-\text{sup-iē} & \quad te-\text{praus-iē} \\
te-\text{sēd-iē} & \quad te-\text{si-sup-iē}
\end{align*}
\]
The ending -i is added to the o-stem verbs, e.g.:

\[ \text{te-moka-i, te-sauga-i, te-dara-i} \]
\[ \text{te-si-moka-i, te-si-sauga-i} \]

The only verb whose 3rd person form of the imperative is fairly often used in Standard Lithuanian is the verb \( \text{buti} \) 'be': \( \text{tees-iē, tebūn-iē} \).

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.:

\[ \text{tesuksiē 'let him turn'} \]
\[ \text{telydiē 'let him accompany'} \]
\[ \text{teprausiē 'let him wash'} \]

If the present tense stem contains a suffix, the imperative forms with the ending -ie retain the stress on the stem, e.g.:

\[ \text{tevāikščiojie 'let him walk'} \]
\[ \text{tevažiūojojīe 'let him drive'} \]
\[ \text{tegyvēnije 'let him live'} \]
\[ \text{teskūbinie 'let him hurry'} \]

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.:

\[ \text{teskaštai 'let him read'} \]
\[ \text{terāšai 'let him write'} \]
\[ \text{temōkai 'let him teach'} \]

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 tegū/tegul, e.g.:

\[ \text{tēsupa, tegū/tegul sūpa 'let him rock'} \]
\[ \text{tesisupa, tegū/tegul sūpasī 'let him rock himself'} \]
\[ \text{tesēdi, tegū/tegul sēdi 'let him sit'} \]
\[ \text{temōko, tegū/tegul mōko 'let him teach'} \]
\[ \text{tesimōko, tegū/tegul mōkosī 'let him learn'} \]
\[ \text{tebūs, tegū/tegul būs 'let it be'} \]

**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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-reflexive verbs</th>
<th>Reflexive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. masc.</td>
<td>supąs sédęs mókąs</td>
<td>supąsis mókąsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>supanti sédinti mókanti</td>
<td>supantis mókantis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. masc.</td>
<td>supą sédį móką</td>
<td>supąsi mókąsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>supančios sédinčios mókančios</td>
<td>supančiosi mókančiosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. masc.</td>
<td>supęs sédęs mókęs</td>
<td>supęsis mókęsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>supusi sédęsų mókiusi</td>
<td>supusis mókiusis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. masc.</td>
<td>supę sédęje mókę</td>
<td>supęsi mókęsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>supustos sédęjusios mókiusios</td>
<td>supusios mókiusiosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past freq.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. masc.</td>
<td>supdaves sédędaues mókydaues</td>
<td>supdavesis mókydauesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>supdavusi sédędausės mókydavusė</td>
<td>supdavusis mókydavusis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. masc.</td>
<td>supdave sédędaue mókydave</td>
<td>supdavesi mókydavesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>supdavusios sédędausės mókydavusios</td>
<td>supdavusiosi mókydavusiosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. masc.</td>
<td>supsiąs sédęsiąs móksiąsiąs</td>
<td>supsiąsis móksiąsiąsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>supsianti sédęsianti móksianti</td>
<td>supsiantis móksiantis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. masc.</td>
<td>supsią sédęsią móksią</td>
<td>supsiąsi móksiąsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>supsianties sédęsianties móksianties</td>
<td>supsiantiesi móksiantiesi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 yrā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16 Forms of the verb būti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mood</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past</td>
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<td>Indicative</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. būnū, būvū</td>
<td>būname, būvame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. būnū, būvū</td>
<td>būnate, būvate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. būna, būva</td>
<td>būna, būva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a slight semantic difference between the forms in the table esū, esi, etc. and the forms created from the infinitival stem bū- (būnū, būvū, būnū, būvī, 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 tebūniē and teesiē ‘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 bāti ‘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 bāti 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.:

`yra būves atējes` ‘has been here’ (lit. ‘has been come’)
`bāty būves padarytas` ‘would have been done’

In present the auxiliary can be omitted, e.g.:

`Aš jau pavalges.` ‘I have eaten already.’

Not every sequence consisting of the verb bāti 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 sūnus, išbūgė.* ‘The child was weak, pale’; *Tėvai savo vaikais buvo patenkinti.* ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. esu (at)nėšęs</td>
<td>esu (at)nėšusi</td>
<td>esame (at)nėšęs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. esi (at)nėšęs</td>
<td>esi (at)nėšusi</td>
<td>esate (at)nėšęs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. yra (at)nėšęs</td>
<td>yra (at)nėšusi</td>
<td>yra (at)nėšęs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yra (at)nėšusios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. buvai (at)nėšęs</td>
<td>buvai (at)nėšusi</td>
<td>būvome (at)nėšęs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. buvai (at)nėšęs</td>
<td>buvai (at)nėšusi</td>
<td>būvome (at)nėšusios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. buvo (at)nėšęs</td>
<td>buvo (at)nėšusi</td>
<td>būvome (at)nėšusios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past freq.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. būdavai (at)nėšęs</td>
<td>būdavai (at)nėšusi</td>
<td>būdavome (at)nėšęs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. būdavai (at)nėšęs</td>
<td>būdavai (at)nėšusios</td>
<td>būdavote (at)nėšęs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Compound Continuative Tenses

5.110 Compound continuative tenses are formed with the help of the finite forms of the auxiliary *būti* ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. buvai be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>buvome be(at)nešą</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buvome bė(at)nešančios</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. buvai be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>buvote be(at)nešą</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buvote bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. būvo be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būvo be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būvo bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past freq.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. būdavau be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būdavome be(at)nešą</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būdavome bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. būdavai be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būdavote be(at)nešą</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būdavote bė(at)nešančios</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. būdavo be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būdavo be(at)nešą</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būdavo bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. būsiu be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būsime be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būsime bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. būsi be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būsite be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būsite bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. bus be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>bus be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bus bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjunctive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. būčiau be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būtu(me)me be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būtu(me)me bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. būtum be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būtumėte be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būtumėte bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. būty be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būty be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būty bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. ————</td>
<td>būkime be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būkime bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. būk be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>būkite be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būkite bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. tebūnė be(at)nešąs</td>
<td>tebūnė be(at)nešą</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tebūnė bė(at)nešančios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>1. esu (at)nėšamas, esu (at)nėšamą</td>
<td>ėsame (at)nėšamų, ėsame (at)nėšamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. esi (at)nėšamas, esi (at)nėšamą</td>
<td>ėsate (at)nėšamų, ėsate (at)nėšamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. yra (at)nėšamas, yra (at)nėšamą</td>
<td>yra (at)nėšamą, yra (at)nėšamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>1. buva (at)nėšamas, buva (at)nėšamą</td>
<td>buvome (at)nėšamų, buvome (at)nėšamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. buvai (at)nėšamas, buvai (at)nėšamą</td>
<td>buvote (at)nėšamų, buvote (at)nėšamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. buvo (at)nėšamas, buvo (at)nėšamą</td>
<td>buvo (at)nėšamų, buvo (at)nėšamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past freq.</td>
<td>1. búdau (at)nėšamas, búdau (at)nėšamą</td>
<td>búdavome (at)nėšamų, búdavome (at)nėšamos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. búdavai (at)nėšamas, búdavai (at)nėšamą</td>
<td>búdavote (at)nėšamų, búdavote (at)nėšamos</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. búdavo (at)nėšamas, búdavo (at)nėšamą</td>
<td>búdavo (at)nėšamų, búdavo (at)nėšamos</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 20. PERFECT PASSIVE TENSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. būsiu (at)nešamas</td>
<td>būsime (at)nešamī</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>būsiu (at)nešamā</td>
<td>būsime (at)nešamos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. būsi (at)nešamas</td>
<td>būsite (at)nešamī</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>būsi (at)nešamā</td>
<td>būsite (at)nešamos</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3. būs (at)nešamas</td>
<td>būs (at)nešamī</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būs (at)nešamā</td>
<td>būs (at)nešamos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. būčiau (at)nešamas</td>
<td>būtum(mė)me (at)nešamī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būčiau (at)nešamā</td>
<td>būtum(mė)me (at)nešamos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>2. būtum (at)nešamas</td>
<td>būtumėte (at)nešamī</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>būtum (at)nešamā</td>
<td>būtumėte (at)nešamos</td>
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<td>3. būty (at)nešamas</td>
<td>būty (at)nešamī</td>
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<td>būty (at)nešamā</td>
<td>būty (at)nešamos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. būkime (at)nešamī</td>
<td>būkime (at)nešamos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būk (at)nešamas</td>
<td>būkite (at)nešamī</td>
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<td></td>
<td>būk (at)nešamā</td>
<td>būkite (at)nešamos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. tebuntė (at)nešamas</td>
<td>tebuntė (at)nešamī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tebuntė (at)nešamā</td>
<td>tebuntė (at)nešamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ėsqs (at)nešamis</td>
<td>ėsqa (at)nešamī</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ėsančios (at)nešamos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Past</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būves (at)nešamas</td>
<td>būvė (at)nešamī</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būvesi (at)nešamā</td>
<td>būvėsios (at)nešamos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Past freq.</td>
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<td>būdavesi (at)nešamā</td>
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<td>būsiqs (at)nešamis</td>
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<td>būsianti (at)nešamā</td>
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Continuation of Table 19

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<td>Present</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>Tense</td>
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<td>Plural</td>
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<td>*esi (at)*neštà</td>
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<td>*yrą (at)*neštas</td>
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<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td>1. *buvaū (at)*neštas</td>
<td>*būvome (at)*nešti</td>
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<td>*buvaū (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būvome (at)*neštos</td>
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<td>2. *buvaž (at)*neštas</td>
<td>*būvote (at)*nešti</td>
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<td>*buvaž (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būvote (at)*neštos</td>
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<td>3. *buvo (at)*neštas</td>
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<td>*buvo (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būvo (at)*neštos</td>
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<td><strong>Past freq.</strong></td>
<td>1. *būdavau (at)*neštas</td>
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<td>2. *būdavai (at)*neštas</td>
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<td>*būdavai (at)*neštà</td>
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<td>3. *būdavo (at)*neštas</td>
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<td>*būdavo (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būdavo (at)*neštos</td>
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<td><strong>Future</strong></td>
<td>1. *būsiu (at)*neštas</td>
<td>*būsime (at)*nešti</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>*būsiu (at)*neštà</td>
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<td>2. *būsi (at)*neštas</td>
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<td>*būsi (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būsite (at)*neštos</td>
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<td>3. *būs (at)*neštas</td>
<td>*būs (at)*nešti</td>
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<td>*būs (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būs (at)*neštos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subjunctive</strong></td>
<td>1. *būčiau (at)*neštas</td>
<td>*būtum(mė)me (at)*nešti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*būčiau (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būtum(mė)me (at)*neštos</td>
</tr>
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<td>2. *būtum (at)*neštas</td>
<td>*būtumė (at)*nešti</td>
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<td>*būtum (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būtumė (at)*neštos</td>
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<td>3. *būty (at)*neštas</td>
<td>*būty (at)*nešti</td>
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<td>*būty (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būty (at)*neštos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>*būkime (at)*nešti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>*būkime (at)*neštos</td>
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<td>2. *būk (at)*neštas</td>
<td>*būkite (at)*nešti</td>
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<td>*būk (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*būkite (at)*neštos</td>
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<td>3. *tebėnię (at)*neštas</td>
<td>*tebėnię (at)*nešti</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>*tebėnię (at)*neštà</td>
<td>*tebėnię (at)*neštos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Oblique mood</strong></td>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td>*ēsas (at)*neštas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*ēsant (at)*neštà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Non-finite forms of the verb

PARTICIPLES

Dalýviai

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.:

- sukās
- sukės
- sukėdavęs
- sukėsiąs
  ‘rotating’
  ‘which rotated’
  ‘which used to rotate’
  ‘which will rotate’

In the sentence, active participles retain the valency typical of the finite forms of the respective verb, e.g.:

Vaikas neša o'buolius. ‘The child is carrying apples.’
Nėšantis o’buolius vaikas. ‘A child carrying apples.’

The valency of passive participles changes according to the regularities of the passive transformation, e.g.:

Tevas nėša vaiką. ‘The father is carrying a child.’
Tevo nėšamas vaikas. ‘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.:

*tēkanti upē*  
‘flowing river’

*prinokė vašiai*  
‘ripe fruit’

*nulaužtas mēdis*  
‘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.:

*stovinčioji mōteris*  
‘the standing woman’

*praėjusieji mētai*  
‘last year’

*šnekamoji kalba*  
‘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. *pusdalyviai*). These forms are created with the suffix *-dam-* and are inflected for gender and number, e.g.:

*eidamas – eidama – eidami – eidamos* ‘while going’

*nėšdamas – nėšdamā – nėšdamī – 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 classified into two groups – active and passive participles.

**Active participles** have four tense forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present participle:</td>
<td><em>nešās, nešdamā</em></td>
<td><em>nešanti, nešdamā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past participle:</td>
<td><em>nēšēs</em></td>
<td><em>nēšusi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past frequentative participle:</td>
<td><em>nēšdavēs</em></td>
<td><em>nēšdavusi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future participle:</td>
<td><em>nēšiās</em></td>
<td><em>nēšlanti</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles can be formed both from transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g.:
According to their formal properties and verbal voice all gerunds can be grouped together with active participles:

**Present gerund:**
- nešant ‘while carrying’

**Past gerund:**
- nešus ‘having carried’

**Past frequentative gerund:**
- nešdavus ‘after (somebody) used to carry’

**Future gerund:**
- nešiant ‘while (somebody) carries in the future’

**Passive participles** have three tense forms:

**Present participle:**
- nešamas ‘being carried’

**Past participle:**
- neštas ‘which was carried’

**Future participle:**
- nešimas ‘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., *skaitomos knygos* ‘books being read’, *atneštas kirvis* ‘an axe which has been brought’) including verbs governing the objective genitive case (e.g., *laukimą šventė* ‘an anticipated holiday’, *nėkviestas svečias* ‘uninvited guest’).

Formally passive participles lacking passive meaning are formed both from transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g.: *kepamoji krosnis* ‘baking oven’, *miegamasis kambarys* ‘bedroom’, *gimtasis kraštas* ‘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:

- nešti: neštinás neištinà ‘which should be carried’
- minėti: minėtinās minėtina ‘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.: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dirbtinas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dirbtino</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Necessity forms denote qualities associated with an action which is supposed to be carried out, e.g.:

- *pjautinia rugiai* 'rye which should be harvested'
- *atmintin as pavasaris* '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.:

- *abejotinas pūsakojimas* 'doubtful story'
- *būtinas reikalus* 'urgent matter'
- *įtaftinas žmogus* 'suspected man'
- *mištinas pavojus* 'deadly danger'
- *pageidautinas svečias* 'desirable guest'
- *stebėtinas dalykas* 'surprising thing'

**Active participles**

*Veikiamieji dalūviai*

**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.:

- *dirba* - *dirba-nt-is, dirba-nt-i* 'working'
- *tūli* - *tūli-nt-is, tūli-nt-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-*:

- *rūso* - *rūsa-nt-is, rūsa-nt-i* 'writing'

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*, *-is* (nominative singular) and *-q*, *-i* (nominative plural). The endings *-qs*, *-q* appear in participles formed from verbs belonging to Conjugations 1 and 3. The endings *-is*, *-i* appear in participles formed from verbs belonging to Conjugation 2, e.g.:
In the nominative plural the long forms of masculine present participles have the ending -ys, which is typical of i-stem nouns:

\[ \text{dirbantys, tyliintys, räšantys} \]

\[ \text{cf.: ántys 'ducks', plénys 'flake ashes'} \]

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.:

\[ \text{tekantis vanduo} \]
\[ \text{'flowing water'} \]

\[ \text{blizgantis pôpiërius} \]
\[ \text{'shining paper'} \]

\[ \text{žydintys mëdžiai} \]
\[ \text{'blossoming trees'} \]

The short forms are used to indicate the main or attending action, process or state in the sentence, e.g.:

\[ \text{Girdëjau, jis sergës.} \]
\[ \text{‘I hear he is ill.’} \]

\[ \text{Tëvas buvo beeënas pro duris.} \]
\[ \text{‘Father was on the point of stepping out through the door.’} \]

\[ \text{Niëkas jö darbštũmo nepasirõdë mëta.} \]
\[ \text{‘Nobody let it be known that they saw his diligence.’} \]

In the nominative plural, the short forms of masculine participles (the original neuter forms) are sometimes used to replace feminine participles, e.g.:

\[ \text{Mòterys sëkësi eënançios/eëna} \]
\[ \text{‘The women said they were going to pick mushrooms.’} \]

The present participle of the verb bòti 'be' is formed from the present tense stem es- (cf.: es-û, es-ï, ės-ti), although the other 3rd person form yrà is more frequently used in present-day Lithuanian:

\[ \text{ēs-ti – ėsqû/esqû, ėsatûs, ėsatû} \]
\[ \text{ēsqû/esqû, ėsatûs, ėsançû} \]

5.115 With the exception of certain short forms ending in -qs, -js in the nominative singular and in -q, -î 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’ – tikšs, tikš
mini ‘remembers’ – nèmini ‘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:

dirba ‘works’ – nedirba ‘doesn’t work’ – dirbąs, dirbą/dirbąs, dirbą
eiša ‘goes’ – ateina ‘comes’ – einąs, einąs, einąs, einą
bėga ‘runs’ – atbėga ‘comes running’ – bėgąs, bėgąs, bėgąs, bėgą
tyli ‘is silent’ – patyli ‘is silent for a while’ – tylįs, tylįs/tylįs, tylį
myli ‘loves’ – nemylį ‘doesn’t love’ – mylišs, mylišs, myliš

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’ – válgas/válgas, vágąs/válgą
rāšo ‘writes’ – rāšąs/rāšąs, rāšąas/rāšą
migdo ‘puts to sleep’ – migdąs/migdąs, migdą/migdą

Short form participles formed from polysyllabic verbs usually keep their stress on the root, e.g.:

kartója ‘repeats’ – kartojąs, kartóją
gāsdina ‘frightens’ – gāsdinos, gāsdina
eršija ‘takes revenge’ – eršijąs, eršiją

The accentuation of prefixed short form participles follows the same rules as described above, e.g.:

išmeta ‘throws out’ – išmetąs, išmetą
nemylį ‘doesn’t love’ – nemylįs, nemylįs, nemylįs, nemylį
atrešija ‘takes revenge’ – atrešijąs, atrešiją

DECLENSION OF PRESENT ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

Masculine gender (ia-stem)

Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>dirbąs</th>
<th>tikšs</th>
<th>válgas</th>
<th>kartojąs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirbantis</td>
<td>tikintis</td>
<td>válgantis</td>
<td>kartójantis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 skaitydamas užmigo.  The child fell asleep while reading.
Moterys 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirb- ti 'work'</td>
<td>Masc. dirb-dam-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fem. dirb-dam-à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mylė- ti 'love'</td>
<td>Masc. mylė-dam-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fem. mylė-dam-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartō- ti 'repeat'</td>
<td>Masc. kartō-dam-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fem. kartō-dam-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Half-participles formed from infinitives containing suffixes retain the same accentuation as the infinitive, e.g.:

sąugoti 'guard'  sąugodamas  sąugodami
sąugodami  sąugodamos

žadėti 'promise' žadėdamas  žadėdami
žadėdama  žadėdamos

skaitėti 'read'  skaitėdamas  skaitėdami
skaitėdama  skaitėdamos

Half-participles formed from simple (underived) infinitives retain the stress of the infinitive in the masculine singular form and the feminine plural, e.g.:

grėbti 'rake'  grėbdamas  grėbdamos
nėšti 'carry'  nėšdamas  nėšdamos

The plural masculine forms and the singular feminine forms of the above half-participles are stressed on the ending:

grėbdamì  grėbdamà
nėšdamì  nėšdamà

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 ė of the stem are dropped, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Sg.</th>
<th>Gen. Sg.</th>
<th>Dat. Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirbo 'worked'</td>
<td>dirb-us-io</td>
<td>dirb-us-iam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirb-us-i</td>
<td>dirb-us-ios</td>
<td>dirb-us-iai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gėrė 'drank'</td>
<td>gėr-us-io</td>
<td>gėr-us-iam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gėr-us-i</td>
<td>gėr-us-ios</td>
<td>gėr-us-iai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daināvo 'sang'</td>
<td>dainūv-us-io</td>
<td>dainūv-us-iam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dainūv-us-i</td>
<td>dainūv-us-ios</td>
<td>dainūv-us-iai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ė at the end of their past stem, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Sg.</th>
<th>Gen. Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rašyti 'write' – rāšė</td>
<td>raš-ius-io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raš-ius-i</td>
<td>raš-ius-ios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laikyti 'hold' – laikė</td>
<td>laik-ius-io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laik-ius-i</td>
<td>laik-ius-ios</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before the suffix -ius- the consonants t, d change into č and dž, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Sg.</th>
<th>Gen. Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skaityti 'read' – skaštė</td>
<td>skač-ius-io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skač-ius-i</td>
<td>skač-ius-ios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sklaidyti 'disperse' – sklaidaðė</td>
<td>sklaidž-ius-io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sklaidž-ius-i</td>
<td>sklaidž-ius-ios</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The short forms of the nominative case of masculine past participles are formed by adding the endings -ęs (singular) and -ę (plural) to the past stem of the verbs after dropping the final vowel, e.g.:

| dirb-o – | dirb-ęs | dirb-ę |
| gėr-e – | gėr-ęs | gėr-ę |
| bėg-o – | bėg-ęs | bėg-ę |
| daināv-o – | daināv-ęs | daināv-ę |

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.:

\[ \text{dirb-o} - \text{dirb-us-is} \quad \text{dirb-us-ys} \]
\[ \text{rāš-ē} - \text{rāš-ius-is} \quad \text{rāš-ius-ys} \]

These long forms have a dialectal colour and are used only as preposed attributes to indicate a quality, e.g.:

\[ \text{par grīžusis pōnas} \quad \text{‘the gentleman who has come back’} \]
\[ \text{diṅgusis brōlis} \quad \text{‘the brother who has disappeared’} \]
\[ \text{praėjusys mētai} \quad \text{‘bygone years’} \]

The short form of the nominative plural of masculine past participles is originally neuter and can fulfill the functions of the neuter forms, cf. \( \text{Buvo jaū sutēmę/tamsū}. \) ‘It was already dark’ (see 5.124). It is also used instead of the nominative plural of feminine participles, e.g.:

\[ \text{nušālusios/nušāle raṅkos} \quad \text{‘frost-bitten hands’} \]
\[ \text{supūvusios/supūve būlves} \quad \text{‘rotten potatoes’} \]

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 \( \text{per-} \)), all prefixed participles are stressed like non-prefixed participles.

### DECLENSION OF PAST ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

**Masculine gender (ia-stem)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dirbęs</td>
<td>tikėjęs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dirbusių</td>
<td>tikėjis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dirbusiųms</td>
<td>tikėjis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>dirbusiųs</td>
<td>tikėjus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>dirbusiaiši</td>
<td>tikėjusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>dirbusiaiuse</td>
<td>tikėjusiuse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dirbę</td>
<td>tikėję</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dirbusių</td>
<td>tikėjįs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dirbusiųms</td>
<td>tikėjįs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>dirbusiųs</td>
<td>tikėjius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>dirbusiaiši</td>
<td>tikėjiaišs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>dirbusiaiuse</td>
<td>tikėjiaiuse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Feminine gender (io-stem)

#### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirbusi</td>
<td>tikėjusi</td>
<td>vālgiusi</td>
<td>atnēšusi</td>
<td>dirbusios</td>
<td>tikėjusios</td>
<td>vālgiusios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikejusio</td>
<td>vālgiusios</td>
<td>atnēšusios</td>
<td>tikėjusiai</td>
<td>vālgiusiai</td>
<td>atnēšusiai</td>
<td>tikėjusiaoje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirbusioje</td>
<td>tikėjusioje</td>
<td>vālgiusioje</td>
<td>atnēšusioje</td>
<td>dirbusi</td>
<td>tikėjusio</td>
<td>vālgiusio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikejusios</td>
<td>vālgiusios</td>
<td>atnēšusios</td>
<td>tikėjusia</td>
<td>vālgiusia</td>
<td>atnēšusia</td>
<td>tikėjusiaos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirbusios</td>
<td>tikėjusios</td>
<td>vālgiusios</td>
<td>atnēšusios</td>
<td>dirbusiai</td>
<td>tikėjusiai</td>
<td>vālgiusiai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikėjusias</td>
<td>vālgiusias</td>
<td>atnēšusias</td>
<td>dirbusiomis</td>
<td>tikėjusiomis</td>
<td>vālgiusiomis</td>
<td>atnēšusiomis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikėjusiose</td>
<td>vālgiusiose</td>
<td>atnēšusiose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirbusios</td>
<td>tikėjusios</td>
<td>vālgiusios</td>
<td>atnēšusios</td>
<td>dirbusių</td>
<td>tikėjusiu</td>
<td>vālgiusiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikejusios</td>
<td>vālgiusios</td>
<td>atnēšusios</td>
<td>tikėjusiu</td>
<td>vālgiusiu</td>
<td>atnēšusiu</td>
<td>tikėjusiai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikėjusiam</td>
<td>vālgiusi</td>
<td>atnēšusia</td>
<td>tikėjusiai</td>
<td>vālgiusiai</td>
<td>atnēšusiai</td>
<td>tikėjusioje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikėjusiose</td>
<td>vālgiusiose</td>
<td>atnēšusiose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirb-ti 'work'</td>
<td>dirb-dav-us-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gėr-ti 'drink'</td>
<td>gėr-dav-us-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartó-ti 'repeat'</td>
<td>kartó-dav-us-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirb-dav-ęs</td>
<td>dirb-dav-ę</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gėr-dav-ęs</td>
<td>gėr-dav-ę</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartó-dav-ęs</td>
<td>kartó-dav-ę</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. *Vakarais palýdavę* ‘In the evening it used to rain.’ (See 5.153). It may replace the corresponding feminine form, e.g.:

*Mót erys teň dirbdavusios/dirbdavę.*

*Mót erys teň dirbdavusios/dirbdavę.*

‘(They say) Women used to work there.’

‘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.:

*diiŋ-gi ‘disappear’ – diiŋ-si-ant-is, diiŋ-si-ant-i*

*válgy-gi ‘eat’ – válgys-i-ant-is, válgys-i-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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitival Stem</th>
<th>Future Active Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dirb-</em></td>
<td><em>dirb-si-qs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>diŋg-</em></td>
<td><em>diŋg-si-qs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>válgy-</em></td>
<td><em>válgy-si-qs</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s} + \text{s} & \Rightarrow \text{s} \\
\text{z} + \text{s} & \Rightarrow \text{ž} \\
\text{š} + \text{s} & \Rightarrow \text{š} \\
\text{ž} + \text{s} & \Rightarrow \text{ž}
\end{align*}
\]

*vēs-gi ‘lead’ – vēsiqs/vēsiantis, vēsianti*

*mēgz-gi ‘knit’ – mēgsiqs/mēgsiantis, mēgsianti*

*nēš-gi ‘carry’ – nēšiqs/nēšiantis, nēšianti*

*vēž-gi ‘transport by a vehicle’ – vēsiqs/vēsiantis, vēsianti*

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.:

*dirb-si-ant-ys*

*diŋg-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.:

*Dabar grąžios dienos būsiančios/būsią.* ‘Now (maybe) the days will be beautiful.’
*Aūys ištrūksiančios/ištrūksią.* ‘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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dirbsiąs</td>
<td>dirbsiantys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dirbsiančio</td>
<td>dirbsiančius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dirbsiančiam</td>
<td>dirbsiančius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>dirbsiantį</td>
<td>dirbsiančius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>dirbsiančiu</td>
<td>dirbsiančius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>dirbsiančiame</td>
<td>dirbsiančiuose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysiąs</td>
<td>rašysiantys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysiančio</td>
<td>rašysiančiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysiančiam</td>
<td>rašysiančius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysianči</td>
<td>rašysiančius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysiančiame</td>
<td>rašysiančiuose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Feminine gender (io-stem)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dirbsianti</td>
<td>dirbsiančios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dirbsiančios</td>
<td>dirbsiančiai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dirbsiančiai</td>
<td>dirbsiančiai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>dirbsiančią</td>
<td>dirbsiančia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>dirbsiančiai</td>
<td>dirbsiančio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>dirbsiančioje</td>
<td>dirbsiančioje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysianti</td>
<td>rašysiančios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysiančiai</td>
<td>rašysiančiai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysiančią</td>
<td>rašysiančia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysiančio</td>
<td>rašysiančio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rašysiančioje</td>
<td>rašysiančioje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

- **dirba** ‘works’ → *dirbant*
- **laukia** ‘waits’ → *laukiant*
- **tiki** ‘believes’ → *tikint*

(2) **Past gerunds** are formed by dropping the final vowel of the preterit stem and adding the suffix *(i)us-*:

- **dirb-o** ‘worked’ → *dirb-us*
- **rāš-e** ‘wrote’ → *rāš-ius*
- **tikėj-o** ‘believed’ → *tikėj-us*

(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*:

- **dirb-ti** ‘work’ → *dirb-dav-us*
- **lauk-ti** ‘wait’ → *lauk-dav-us*
- **tikė-ti** ‘believe’ → *tikė-dav-us*
- **rašy-ti** ‘write’ → *rašy-dav-us*

(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*:
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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
    s + s & \Rightarrow s \\
    z + s & \Rightarrow ź \\
    vės-ti & \Rightarrow vėsiant \\
    nėš-ti & \Rightarrow nėšiant \\
    mėgz-ti & \Rightarrow mėgsiant \\
    vėž-ti & \Rightarrow vėšiant
\end{align*}
\]

Gerunds retain the infinitive accentuation.

The formation of gerunds can be described in another way. One may derive them by dropping the ending -į from the accusative singular of the respective active participle:

\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{dirbant-į} & \Rightarrow \text{dirbant} \\
    \text{dirbus-į} & \Rightarrow \text{dirbus}
\end{align*}
\]

Historically, however, gerunds evolved from the old dative masculine forms with a consonantal stem which have lost the ending -i.

**Passive participles**

*Neveikiamieji dalīvai*

**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.

\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{dirb-a ‘works’} & \Rightarrow \text{dirba-m-ą, dirba-m-ą} \\
    \text{myl-i ‘loves’} & \Rightarrow \text{myli-m-ą, myli-m-ą} \\
    \text{rāš-o ‘writes’} & \Rightarrow \text{rāšo-m-ą, rāšo-m-ą}
\end{align*}
\]

The passive participle of the verb bāti ‘be’ is formed from the stem es- (cf., es-ū, es-i, ės-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:

\[
\begin{align*}
    ės-a-m-ą, es-a-m-ą
\end{align*}
\]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>skaīto ‘reads’</strong></td>
<td><strong>skaūtomas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>skaūtomo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>skaūtomam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>skaūtomo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>nēša ‘carries’</strong></td>
<td><strong>nēšamas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>nēšamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>nēšamām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>nēšamām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lāukia ‘waits’</strong></td>
<td><strong>laukiamas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>laukiamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>laukiamām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>laukiamām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. mylimas, mylima; lāukiamas, lāukiamā.

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.:

- nemylī ‘doesn’t love’ nemylimas nemylimā cf. mylimas, -ā
- sulaṅksto ‘folds’ sulaṅkstomas sulaṅkstoma cf. laṅkstomas, -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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom.</strong></td>
<td>dirbamas</td>
<td>dirbami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gālimas</td>
<td>galimà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rāšomas</td>
<td>rāšoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>įžiūrimas</td>
<td>įžiūrimà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nūgalimas</td>
<td>nugalimà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen.</strong></td>
<td>dirbamo</td>
<td>dirbamū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gālimo</td>
<td>galimòs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rāšomo</td>
<td>rāšomo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>įžiūrimo</td>
<td>įžiūrimòs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nūgalimo</td>
<td>nugalimòs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dat.</strong></td>
<td>dirbamám</td>
<td>dirbamai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>galimám</td>
<td>gālimai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rāšomam</td>
<td>rāšomai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>įžiūrimam</td>
<td>įžiūrimai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nugalimám</td>
<td>nugalimai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.</strong></td>
<td>dirbamaq</td>
<td>dirbamai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gālimq</td>
<td>gālimas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rāšomaq</td>
<td>rāšomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>įžiūrimq</td>
<td>įžiūrimais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nūgalimq</td>
<td>nugalimąs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instr.</strong></td>
<td>dirbamu</td>
<td>dirbama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gālimu</td>
<td>galimai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rāšomu</td>
<td>rāšomai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>įžiūrimu</td>
<td>įžiūrimai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nūgalimu</td>
<td>nugalima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Loc.</strong></td>
<td>dirbamamè</td>
<td>dirbamoje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>galimamè</td>
<td>galimojè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rāšomame</td>
<td>rāšomoje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>įžiūrimamè</td>
<td>įžiūrimojè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nugalimamè</td>
<td>nugalimojè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.:

- dirb-ti ‘work’ – dirb-t-as, dirb-t-à
- eî-ti ‘go’ – eî-t-as, eî-t-à
- mylè-ti ‘love’ – mylè-t-as, mylè-t-à
- kartó-ti ‘repeat’ – kartó-t-as, kartó-t-à

Participles formed from infinitival stems containing suffixes retain the stress pattern of the infinitive, i.e., they belong to Accentuation Class 1, e.g.:

- girdèti ‘hear’ – girdètas, girdèta
- rašyti ‘write’ – rašytas, rašyta

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.:

- dirbtì ‘work’ – dirbtas, dirbtà (like báltas, baltà ‘white’)

Due to dialectal influences, however, these participles may sometimes have fixed stress on the same syllable in all forms, e.g.:

- láuktì ‘wait’ – láuktas, lauktà/láukta
- leístì ‘permit’ – léistas, leistà/léista

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.:

- mùštì ‘beat’ – mùštas, muštà
- eîtì ‘go’ – eítas, eità (cf. géras, gerà ‘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.:

- mèstì ‘throw’ – mèstas, mestà
- nèštì ‘carry’ – nèštas, neštà
- ràstì ‘find’ – ràstas, rastà
- kàstì ‘dig’ – kàstas, kastà

In colloquial speech, however, these participles now tend to retain the short vowel of the infinitive, cf.:

- mèstas, nèstas, ràstas, kàstas
Prefixed participles formed from infinitival stems containing suffixes retain the stress pattern of the infinitive in all their forms, e.g.:

aprašyti ‘describe’ – aprašytas, aprašyta
įžiūrėti ‘discern’ – įžiūrėtas, įžiūrėta
pakartoti ‘repeat’ – pakartotás, pakartotā

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.:

išrauti ‘uproot’ – išrautas, išrautā
pralėisti ‘omit’ – pralėtās, pralēistā

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 3b), e.g.:

nu kirpti ‘cut off’ – nūkirptas, nūkirptā
atnėsti ‘bring’ – ātnėštās, ātnēštā
atrāsti ‘find’ – āttrāstās, ātrāstā

**DECLENSION OF PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLES**

**Masculine gender (a-stem)**

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>dirbtas</th>
<th>muštas</th>
<th>rašytas</th>
<th>nūkirptas</th>
<th>ātnēštās</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dirbto</td>
<td>mūsto</td>
<td>rašyto</td>
<td>nūkirpto</td>
<td>ātnēsto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dirbtam</td>
<td>muštām</td>
<td>rašytam</td>
<td>nūkirptam</td>
<td>ātnēstām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>dirbtq</td>
<td>mūstaq</td>
<td>rašytaq</td>
<td>nūkirptaq</td>
<td>ātnēstāq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>dirbtu</td>
<td>muštū</td>
<td>rašytu</td>
<td>nūkirptu</td>
<td>ātnēstu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>dirbtamē</td>
<td>muštamē</td>
<td>rašytame</td>
<td>nūkirptamē</td>
<td>ātnēstamē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>dirbtī</th>
<th>muštī</th>
<th>rašytī</th>
<th>nūkirptī</th>
<th>atnēštī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dirbtū</td>
<td>mūstū</td>
<td>rašytyū</td>
<td>nūkirptū</td>
<td>atnēstū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dirbtīems</td>
<td>mūstīems</td>
<td>rašytyīems</td>
<td>nūkirptīems</td>
<td>atnēstīems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>dirbtus</td>
<td>mūstūs</td>
<td>rašytyus</td>
<td>nūkirptus</td>
<td>atnēstus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>dirbtās</td>
<td>mūstaś</td>
<td>rašytaś</td>
<td>nūkirptaś</td>
<td>atnēstaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>dirbtuosē</td>
<td>mūstuosē</td>
<td>rašytuose</td>
<td>nūkirptuosē</td>
<td>atnēstuosē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Feminine gender (o-stem)

Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dirbtā muštā rašyta nukirptā atneštā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dirbtōs muštōs rašytoš nukirptōs atneštōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dirbtai muštai rašytai nukirptai atneštai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>dirbtą muštą rašytą nukirptą atneštą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>dirbta muštā rašyta nukirpta atnešta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>dirbtojė muštojė rašytoje nukirptojė atneštojė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>dirbtos muštos rašytos nukirptos atneštos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dirbtū dirbtū rašytū nukirptū atneštū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dirbtōms muštōms rašytōms nukirptōms atneštōms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>dirbtas muštas rašytas nukirptas atneštas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>dirbtomis muštomis rašytomis nukirptomis atneštomis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>dirbtosė muštosė rašytose nukirptosė atneštose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

dirbtī 'work' — dirb-si-m-as, dirb-si-m-ā
būtī 'be' — bū-si-m-as, bū-si-m-ā

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.:

\[
egin{align*}
  s + s & \Rightarrow s \\
  z + s & \Rightarrow s \\
  š + s & \Rightarrow š \\
  ž + s & \Rightarrow š
\end{align*}
\]

vēstī 'lead' — vēsīmas, vēsimā
mēgzītī 'knit' — megsīmas, megsimā

Except for the participle būsīmas, būsimā, 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.:

rašyti 'write' – rašyšimas, rašyšima

(2) participles formed from simple infinitival stems which contain no suffix follow the stress pattern of adjectives of Accentuation Class 3, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>būsimas būsimā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>būsimo būsimōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>būsimám būsimai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>būsimq būsimq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>būsimu būsimu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>būsimamē būsimojē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, tai 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.:

Viskas sušlapė. 'Everything has got wet.'
Naktį palydavę. 'At night it used to rain.'
Kiiek daug prisnigė. 'How much snow there is.'
Buvo jaũ sutēmę. 'It was already dark.'
Visuũ priplekė. 'There's mold everywhere.'

The neuter forms of passive participles have the ending -a, which is never stressed, e.g.:

Taip nedaroma. 'This is not done.'
Nūtarta visiems eiti drauge. 'It has been decided that all should go together.'
Sūkoma, kad štuose namuosė vaidēnasi. 'They say this is a haunted house.'
Kās čia parašyta? '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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>( \text{dirbas}-i-s )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbanti}-s )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>( \text{dirbės}-i-s )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbusi}-s )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past freq.</td>
<td>( \text{dirbdavęs}-is )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbdavusi}-s )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>( \text{dirbsiaq}-is )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbsianti}-s )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the plural the reflexive formant in its full form \(-si\) is added. It undergoes contraction with the final \(-s\) in feminine forms (\( \text{dirbančios}-si \rightarrow \text{dirbančiosi} \)), e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>( \text{dirbq}-si )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbančiosi} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>( \text{dirbę}-si )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbusiosi} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past freq.</td>
<td>( \text{dirbdavę}-si )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbdavusiosi} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>( \text{dirbsiaq}-si )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbsiančiosi} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same contraction is observed in the feminine plural forms of the reflexive half-participles (\( \text{dirbdamos}-si \rightarrow \text{dirbdamosi} \)). The reflexive half-participles retain the nominative plural ending \(-ie-\) before the reflexive formant, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>( \text{dirbdamas}-i-s )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbdama}-si )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>( \text{dirbdamie}-si )</td>
<td>( \text{dirbdamosi} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.: \( \text{dirbdamosi}, \text{nėšdamosi} \).

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Past freq.</th>
<th></th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>( \text{dirbant}-i-s )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{dirbdavus}-i-s )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>( \text{dirbus}-i-s )</td>
<td></td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>( \text{dirbsiant}-i-s )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-prefixed reflexive active participles (including gerunds) retain the stress and toneme of the corresponding simple (non-reflexive) participles.
In the sentence the nominative forms of non-prefixed reflexive participles usually function as predicates denoting indirect experience, e.g.:

Pirklys gulęs savo vežimė ir juožas, kad po lągu laumės šnekantčiosi.
‘The merchant (the say) is lying in his cart and he hears the fairies talking under the window.’

Tai toks miškas traukęsis per Lietuvos žemę.
‘So such were (according to hearsay) the woods that extended across the Lithuanian land.’

Girdėjau, rytų jię rengiasi į keliönę.
‘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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present participle</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>juokiąsis, juokiantis</td>
<td>juokiąsi, juokiančiosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>besijuokiančio, besijuokiančios</td>
<td>besijuokiančių</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>besijuokiančiam, besijuokiančiai</td>
<td>besijuokiantiems, besijuokiančioms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>besijuokiantį, besijuokiančią</td>
<td>besijuokiančius, besijuokiančias, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past participle</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>juokęsis, juokusis</td>
<td>juokęsi, juokusiosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>besijuokusio, besijuokusios</td>
<td>besijuokusių</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>besijuokusiam, besijuokusiai</td>
<td>besijuokusiems, besijuokusioms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>besijuokusi, besijuokusią</td>
<td>besijuokusius, besijuokusias, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>apsidairytį</th>
<th>nesitikėti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘look around’</td>
<td>‘not to expect’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>ap-si-dairantis</th>
<th>ne-si-tikintis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ap-si-dairanti</td>
<td>ne-si-tikinti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th>ap-si-dairęs</th>
<th>ne-si-tikėjęs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ap-si-dairiusi</td>
<td>ne-si-tikėjusi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past freq.</th>
<th>ap-si-dairydavęs</th>
<th>ne-si-tikėdavęs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ap-si-dairydavusi</td>
<td>ne-si-tikėdavusı</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>ap-si-dairyśiqs</th>
<th>ne-si-tikēśiqs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ap-si-dairyśianti</td>
<td>ne-si-tikēśianti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-participle</td>
<td>ap-si-dairydamas</td>
<td>ne-si-tikēdamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present gerund</td>
<td>ap-si-dairydamas</td>
<td>ne-si-tikēdamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past gerund</td>
<td>ap-si-dairiant</td>
<td>ne-si-tikint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past freq. gerund</td>
<td>ap-si-dairydamas</td>
<td>ne-si-tikēdamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future gerund</td>
<td>ap-si-dairyśiant</td>
<td>ne-si-tikēśiant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Passive</th>
<th>Past Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-si-dirbamas</td>
<td>pa-si-dirbamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-si-dirbtas</td>
<td>pa-si-dirbtas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-si-rašomas</td>
<td>nu-si-rašoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-si-rašytas</td>
<td>nu-si-rašytas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-si-vežamas</td>
<td>nu-si-vežama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-si-vežtas</td>
<td>nu-si-vežtas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Passive</th>
<th>Past Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atnešamas</td>
<td>atnešamą –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atneštas</td>
<td>atneštą –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atsinešamas</td>
<td>atsinešamą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atsineštas</td>
<td>atsineštą</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

| juokščia-si | praūšiama-si |
| juokšta-si | praūsta-si |

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pa-si-dāroma} & \quad \text{nu-si-rāšoma} & \quad \text{ne-sī-vežama} \\
\text{pa-si-darīta} & \quad \text{nu-si-rašīta} & \quad \text{ne-sī-vežta}
\end{align*}
\]

### 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 geresnūs, geresniōji ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple form</th>
<th>Definite form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirbantis</td>
<td>dirbantysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūlintis</td>
<td>tūlintysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāšantis</td>
<td>rāšantysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirbusis</td>
<td>dirbusysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tylėjusis</td>
<td>tylėjusysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāšiusis</td>
<td>rāšiusysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirbsiantis</td>
<td>dirbsiantysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tylėsiantis</td>
<td>tylėsiantysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rašysiantis</td>
<td>rašysiantysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the nominative plural, masculine forms retain the diphthong ie in their endings, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirbantieji</td>
<td>dirbusieji</td>
<td>dirbsiantieji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūlintieji</td>
<td>tylėjusieji</td>
<td>tylėsiantieji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāšantieji</td>
<td>rāšiusieji</td>
<td>rašysiantieji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominative singular feminine definite participles are formed like feminine definite adjectives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirbanč-io-ji</td>
<td>dirbus-io-ji</td>
<td>dirbsianč-io-ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūlinč-io-ji</td>
<td>tylėjus-io-ji</td>
<td>tylėsianč-io-ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāšanč-io-ji</td>
<td>rāšius-io-ji</td>
<td>rašysianč-io-ji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Definite Participles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nešąs</td>
<td>nešantýsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikšs</td>
<td>tikintýsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slenkšs</td>
<td>slenkantýsis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

- dirbamąsis   | dirbamóji                  |
- dirbtąsis    | dirbtóji                   |
- cf.: geltonąsis | geltonóji               |
- gerąsis      | geróji (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.:

- vartójama      | vartójamosis, vartójamoji |
- vartótas       | vartótasis, vartótasi  |
- ródomas        | ródomasis, ródomoji    |
- ródytas        | ródytasis, ródytoji    |

Definite passive participles formed from simple verbs belonging to Conjugation 1 or 2 are accented like definite adjectives with a shifting stress, e.g., nešamąsis, nešamóji, gulimąsis, gulimoji are accented like geltonąsis, geltonóji; neštasis, neštòji, dirbtąsis, dirbtóji are accented like baltąsis, 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.:

- rašomąsis     | rašomóji 'writing' (e.g. table) |
- gyvenamąsis   | gyvenamóji 'living' (e.g. room) |
### DECLENSION OF DEFINITE ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

**Masculine gender (ia-stem)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>dîrbantysis</td>
<td>dîrbančiojo</td>
<td>dîrbantiajam</td>
<td>dîrbantįjį</td>
<td>dîrbančiųju</td>
<td>dîrbančiajam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>dîrbantiesiems</td>
<td>dîrbančiosios</td>
<td>dîrbantiajai</td>
<td>dîrbantiają</td>
<td>dîrbančiosioms</td>
<td>dîrbančiojoje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Feminine gender (o-stem)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>dîrbantieji</td>
<td>dîrbusioji</td>
<td>dîrbsiantieji</td>
<td>dîrbsiantiesiems</td>
<td>dîrbsiantiojo</td>
<td>dîrbsiantiojoje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>dîrbantiesiems</td>
<td>dîrbusiosios</td>
<td>dîrbsiantiesiems</td>
<td>dîrbsiantiojoje</td>
<td>dîrbsiantiosims</td>
<td>dîrbsiantiosims</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passivity</th>
<th>Anteriority</th>
<th>Posteriority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Visi gera mātē artējantį trāukinį. 'Everybody could see well the approaching train.'

(2) Tēkantis vanduō švarēsnis už stōvintį. '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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ligás gydantis vanduo} & \quad \text{‘water curing diseases’} \\
\text{dárbus išmānantis ākininkas} & \quad \text{‘a farmer knowledgeable about various jobs’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Móters žvilgnsi patrāukē tolmēj} & \quad \text{‘The woman’s eye was attracted by the man who had appeared in the distance.’} \\
pastrūdēs žmogūs & \\
\text{Vaikas ilgā trīnē sušālūsias} & \quad \text{‘The child rubbed his frozen hands for a long time.’} \\
\text{rankās}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
pasiūtēs šūō & \quad \text{‘rabid dog’} \\
išdūkēs vaikas & \quad \text{‘naughty child’} \\
suāugusi merginā & \quad \text{‘grown up girl’}
\end{align*}
\]

Perfective meaning is also typical of a great number of participles which are made from non-prefixed verbs, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
vēdēs jaunikātītis & \quad \text{‘married young man’} \\
rūgūsis pīnas & \quad \text{‘sour milk’} \\
mirusi sesūō & \quad \text{‘dead sister’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sārgas, stovējēs už dūrų, ījo} & \quad \text{‘The watchman, who had been standing behind the door, entered the room.’} \\
i \text{kaṃbarī}
\end{align*}
\]

5.135 Future active participles indicate properties associated with a foreseen (posterior) action. These participles are rarely used as attributes.
Laūmės pradėjo leisti gimsiančiam kūdikiui ateitišęs gyvenimą. ‘The fairies began to foretell the future life of the baby who was to be born.’

Ateisiančios žiemos ilgumo nežinom. ‘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.:

- mūlimas draugas
- pažįstamas žmogus
- žinomas kelias
- laukiamas svečias

‘beloved friend’
‘an acquaintance’ (lit. ‘acquainted man’)
‘(well-)known way’
‘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.:

- suprantamà kalbà
- sūkalbamas žmogus
- pàkeliamas važgas
- įskaitomas raštis

‘comprehensible speech’
‘compliant man’
‘endurable misery’
‘legible handwriting’

This is particularly true of negative participles, e.g.:

- neapsakoma galia
- neišbrendami uoginëjai
- nepasiekiamas tikslas
- nepàkeliamas akmuo

‘indescribable might’
‘berry-plants which are impossible to wade through’
‘unattainable goal’
‘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.:

- Ne kiekvienam priešnamas skanëstas.
- Kitiems neregiamas būdas.
- Dūrys viesiems atviros.

‘A delicacy which is not affordable by everyone.’
‘A method invisible to others.’
‘A door everybody can walk through.’

(Cf.: Dūrys viesiems 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.:

- dirbama žēmė ‘tilled land’
- ariami laukai ‘arable fields’
- gyvēnamas nāmas ‘dwelling house’

Similarly to classifying adjectives, these participles are often used in the definite form and can form terminological collocations, e.g.:

- geriamasis vanduo ‘drinking water’
- melžiamoji kārve ‘milking cow’
- pučiamasis instrumeņtas ‘wind instrument’
- mušamasis instrumeņtas ‘percussion instrument’

The meaning of necessity is not very typical of these participles and it mostly occurs in dialects, e.g.:

- Keliamos kārves bloga varške. ‘The milk of a puny (lit. ‘to be lifted’) cow is bad for curd.’

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.

- valgomasis šaukštas ‘eating spoon’
- jojamas arklīgs ‘riding horse’
- gēriamas puodēlis ‘drinking cup’

In their definite form such participles are often used to designate tools and implements, e.g.:

- kuliamōji mašīna ‘threshing machine’
- siuvamōji mašīna ‘sowing machine’
- pjaunamōji mašīna ‘cutting machine’
- šaunamūsis giņklas ‘fire arm’
- braižomoji/braižomōji lentā ‘drawing board’
- rāšomoji/rashomōji mašīnelē ‘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) miegamāsis kambarī ‘bedroom’ (lit. ‘sleeping room’)
- vālgomāsis/vālgomāsis kambarī ‘dining room’
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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Participle Formed From Transitive Verb</th>
<th>Genitive of Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alaūs</td>
<td>make: PART. PRES. PASS</td>
<td>tub: NOM. SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūbilas</td>
<td>tub for making beer</td>
<td>'tub for making beer', cf. also:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aukių keŗpamos žirklės</td>
<td>'shears for cutting sheep'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būvčio sodinamas laūkas</td>
<td>'field for planting potatoes'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Participle Formed From Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skaudamà nûgara</td>
<td>aching back</td>
<td>'aching back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tînkanas dâiktas</td>
<td>suitable thing</td>
<td>'suitable thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limpamà ligà</td>
<td>contagious disease</td>
<td>'contagious disease'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atliekamì pinigaï</td>
<td>extra (lit. 'remaining') money</td>
<td>'extra (lit. 'remaining') money'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) participles built from transitive verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Participle Formed From Transitive Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gydomas vanduô</td>
<td>healing water</td>
<td>'healing water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viliôjamas pavêikslas</td>
<td>enticing picture</td>
<td>'enticing picture'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In their relations with the modified noun these participles are similar to present active participles (cf.: skaûdanti nûgara, gydantis vanduô, viliôjantis pavêikslas). 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Participle Formed From Transitive Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grižtamòji šîltinë</td>
<td>relapsing fever</td>
<td>'relapsing fever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atsûkomasis/atsakomàsis redàktorius</td>
<td>chief (lit. 'responsible') editor</td>
<td>'chief (lit. 'responsible') editor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vykdomoji/vykdomîji valdžia</td>
<td>executive power</td>
<td>'executive power'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nejudamàsis tuûtas</td>
<td>real (lit. 'non-movable') estate</td>
<td>'real (lit. 'non-movable') estate'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.:
mirštama ligą

MORPHOLOGY

'lethal (lit. 'dying') illness'

gulimą dúona

lit.'lying bread' (bread that can be earned simply by being in a lying position)

priverčiamieji darbai

'forced labour'

baigiamoji kalba

'closing speech'

Some linguistic terms belong here, e.g.:

gleidžiamoji nūsaka

'optative mood'

liepiamoji nūsaka

'imperative mood'

tarismoji nūsaka

'subjunctive mood'

veikiamoji rūšis

'active (lit. 'doing') voice'

esamasis laikas

'present tense'

rūšomoji kalba

'written language'

šnekamoji kalba

'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.:

pradėtas dārbas

'work which has been started'

užbaigtas dārbas

'finished work'

pamirštata dainà

'forgotten song'

išmuštasis lángas

'broken window'

The resultative meaning is sometimes carried by participles which are formed from non-prefixed and non-perfective verbs, e.g.:

keptà dúona 'baked bread'

sūdyta mėsà 'salted meat'

virtà žuvis 'cooked fish'

rauginti agurkai 'pickled cucumbers'

grįstas kėlias 'paved road'

mokytas žmogus 'learned man'

tašytas akmuo 'hewn stone'

These participles often indicate constant properties of things or persons, particularly when these are based on their figurative or peripheral meaning:

atmestas dārbas

cf.: atmestas prạšymas

'careless work'

'rejected petition'

paténtkintas žmogus

cf.: paténtkintas prạšymas

'pleased man'

'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.:
A great number of such forms derived from intransitive verbs are also considered to be verbal adjectives, e.g.:

baltas, baltà 'white' (balti 'to pale')
riëtas, rimità 'serious' (rimti 'become quiet')
prastas, prastià 'bad' (prasti 'become accustomed')
skystas, skystà 'thin' (skysti 'become thinner' (about liquid))

But forms which constitute tense oppositions to other participial forms are considered to be participles, e.g.:

mirtà dienà 'dying day' (in the past)
cf.: mirštamà dienà 'dying day'
mirštami nuodaí 'lethal poison'
bütà vietà 'past place'
cf.: esamà vietà 'present place'
eïtas këlias 'road which has been travelled'
cf.: eïnamas këlias 'road which is being travelled, which can be travelled'
gyventas nàmas 'house which was inhabited'
cf.: gyvenamas nàmas 'house which is inhabited, a dwelling house'

5.138 Future passive participles indicate properties associated with a posterior (foreseen) action, e.g.:

'Ve discussed our present and future work.'

'He is counting money which he is going to have.'

These participles are rarely used in present-day Lithuanian, except for the participle básimas, básimà '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.:
mylimas, mylimà ‘beloved’
mylimèsnis, mylimèsnè
mylimiáusias, mylimiáusia

tikimas, tikimà ‘credible’
tikimèsnis, tikimèsnè
tikimiáusias, tikimiáusia

Only singular past passive and past active participles possess degrees of comparison, e.g.:
mokyta, mokyta ‘learned’
mokytesnis, mokytesnè
mokyčiausias, mokyčiausia

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 suaugęs, suaugusi ‘grown-up’), e.g.:
miegamàsis
kuliamòji
pažįstamas, pažįstamà/pažįstama

In colloquial speech some feminine forms of past passive participles can be used in a peculiar substantivized meaning, e.g.:
Kaip sakoma, praeitoji –
užmirštòji.

‘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-predicative 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 inter-twined 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passivity</th>
<th>Anteriority</th>
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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.:

Gailiai veikia dukružėle nuo močiutės eidamą. ‘The daughter cries bitterly leaving her mother.’

Tėvas visą kelią važiuodamas dairei. ‘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.:

Užmigdamą palika, nubusdamą nerada ant galvūs vainikūžio. ‘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 that is posterior to the main action, e.g.:

Langas atsidarė, ūlesdamas gailaūs oro. ‘The window opened letting in some fresh air.’
Half-participles can also indicate:

(1) a secondary action which predetermines the main action, e.g.:

Vōgdamas nepraturtēsī. ‘You cannot get rich by stealing.’

(2) the content of the main action, e.g.:

Kazīs mēgdo pavāskdāuti gāsdindamas mergiošēs. ‘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.:

Dirbk dirbdamā, nežīūrēkā, kās kur šūkā. ‘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.

Vaikās pabūdes apsausage. ‘Waking up the child looked around.’

Kīšis išsigaūdes nukūrē ī mūšā. ‘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.:

Eidamā mūškū, Veronīka išgāsdino kažin kūkā žvėrēlį. ‘Walking in the forest, Veronika scared some animal.’

Išējusi iš mūsāko, ji net stūbtelejo. ‘Having left the forest, she (suddenly) stopped.’

Non-prefix past active participles can sometimes denote a process which continued for some time in the past, e.g.:

Tris dienas ējēs priējo trobēle. ‘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.:

Lakstūk belāksčiusi. ‘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.:

Galvok negalvojęs, vis tas pats. ‘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.:

Nutilk neraudojięs. ‘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.:

Vaikai grįždamì dainavo. ‘The children sang while coming back.’
Vaikai sugrįžę dainavo. ‘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.

Vaikams grįžtant, pragydo lakštingala. ‘When the children were coming back, a nightingale burst into song.’
Vaikams sugrįžus, pragydo lakštingala. ‘After the children came back, a nightingale burst into song.’

**Relations between adverbial active participles and gerunds**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simultaneity</th>
<th>Anteriority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The agents are the same</td>
<td>half-participle</td>
<td>past active participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The agents are different</td>
<td>present gerund</td>
<td>past gerund</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly to half-particiles, 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.:

Sąulei tėkant pąsiekėme krūžkelę.
‘We reached the crossroads when the sun was rising.’

Sąulei patekėjus pąsiekėme krūžkelę.
‘We reached the crossroads after the sun rose.’

Gerunds are also formed from impersonal verbs.

Lyjant geraĩ dýgsta grūbai.
‘When it rains, mushrooms grow well.’

Palijus geraĩ dýgsta grūbai.
‘Mushrooms grow well after it has rained.’

Prireikus jis ir mūrininką pavadūoja.
‘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, bērēgint mean not only ‘while somebody is seeing’, but also ‘immediately’;

verkiant means (1) ‘while (somebody) is crying’, and (2) ‘necessarily, by all means’;

netrūkus means ‘soon, immediately’.

The gerunds nepaisant ‘notwithstanding’, neskaĩtant, išskyrus ‘except for’ are functionally very similar to the preposition be ‘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 kad (used to express a wish), past gerunds bear a semantic resemblance to the infinitive, e.g.:

Gal geriaũ būtu namo gržus (cf. gržti)?
‘Wouldn’t it be better to go home?’

Kad taip įsigijus žąselę!
‘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.:

Lapė vejamà dar paspėjus pėrlišt pro vartus. Šuvà gi výdamas įkliuves.
‘The fox being chased managed to get through the gate. The dog chasing the fox got stuck.’

Ugnis gėsinama pýksta.
‘When fire is being extinguished, it gets angry.’
Ir katė glūstoma nūgarą riečia. ‘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.

Vilkas, geraĩ išpėrtas, nutrūkęs uodegą pabėgo. ‘After a good hiding, the wolf ran away breaking off his tail.’

Akmuo palėistas nūbinė per stogą. 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 kiek, kur, kadą, the relative pronoun ką, the particle kaip, and similar words, participles enter into syntactical constructions which are synonymous to subordinate clauses introduced by the same conjunctive words, e.g.:

Half-participles:

Sakyk ką išmanydamas. ‘Say what you can think of.’

Cf.: Sakyk, ką išmanai.

Laukūs arinėja kadą atsiminėdamas. ‘He ploughs the fields when he remembers.’

Cf.: Laukūs arinėja, kadą atsimena.

Bóbos išsigaňdo, skūba kiek begalėdamos. ‘The women got scared and are hurrying away as fast as they can.’

Cf.: Bóbos išsigaňdo, skūba, kiek begali.

Kiūraľa nakti kaip galėdami dirbo. ‘All night through they worked as much as they could.’

Cf.: Kiūraľa nakti dirbo, kiek galėjo.

Past active participles:

Visi pajutó kō netėkę. ‘Everybody felt whom/what they had lost.’

Cf.: Visi pajutó, kō netėko.
Einu kur panorėjės.
Cf.: Einu, kur nörui.
Ko vaikštinėji užuot dirbės?
Cf.: Kō vaikštinėji, o nedirbi?

Present passive participles:
Vaikai dūko ir neklaūsė ką lieptami.
Cf.: Vaikai dūko ir neklaūsė, ką jieems liėpe.
Dabar visko turėsi kiek tiňkamas.
Cf.: Dabar visko turėsi, kiek norėsi.

Past passive participles:
Viską padariai kaip palięptas.
Cf.: Viską padariau, kaip män liepę.
Taipt tas šuod kur pastožtas nešiojo pyragūs, dúoną, mēą.
Cf.: Taipt tas šuod, kur tik jį siuštė, nešiojo pyragūs, dúoną, mēą.

Present and past gerunds:
Reikia kiek/kaip galioti paskubėti.
Cf.: Reikia paskubėti, kiek/kaip galiama.
Nežinau, ką čia män padarius.
Cf.: Nežinau, ką čia män darėti.
Jām patirinka vaikštinėti užuot dirbus.
Cf.: Jām patirinka vaikštinėti, bėt ne dirbti.

'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.'

'Dirbk ką galių/
Dirbk ką galėdamas/
Dirbk, ką gali.'

'Su šienu darykit kaip išmänantys/
Su šienu darykit kaip išmanydamų/
Su šienu darykit, kaip išmānot.'
Note should be made of the syntactical construction nebūti ‘not be’ (3rd person, any tense) + kas + present active participle (masculine):

Nėra kas duodas.  
Nebuvo kas dirbąs.  
‘There’s nobody (here) who might give.’  
‘There was nobody who would work.’

This construction is synonymous to the following clauses:

(1) nebūti ‘not be’ (3rd person, any tense) + kās + finite verb (3rd person, present):

Nebuvo kās dirba;

(2) nebūti ‘not be’ (3rd person, any tense) + kām + infinitive:

Nebuvo kām dirbti.

In combination with the pronoun kās the neuter form of present active participles can replace the infinitive:

Nėra kas dārā/darytī.  
Nėra kās pjauną/pjautī.  
‘There’s nothing to be done.’  
‘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.:

Tēvas sākēsi geraī gyvenās.  
‘Father said he lived well.’

Tēvas sākēsi geraī gyvenēs.  
‘Father said he had lived well.’

Tēvas sākēsi geraī gyvenēsiās.  
‘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 tēvā geraī gyvenant.  
‘I said father lived well.’

Sakiaū tēvā geraī gyvenūn.  
‘I said father had lived well.’

Sakiaū tēvā geraī gyveniānt.  
‘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 nematei tévo pareíanant?* 'Did you see father coming?'

In combination with the infinitives *matyti, girdeti* the performer of the secondary action indicated by a gerund may also be expressed by a nominative.

*Tolumojè matyti laïvas plaŭkiant.* '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**

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<tr>
<th>Passivity</th>
<th>Anteriority</th>
<th>Posteriority</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Examples of completive participial usage:

(1) **Participles in the nominative case.**

(a) Present active participles:
Vincas thought he could substitute for his brother.

'Granny complained to me she was ill.'

In combination with verbs denoting termination of a process the past active participle is synonymous with the infinitive:

'It has stopped raining.'

'The wind will stop breaking tree branches.'

He said he always used to go along that road.

'They say they worked a lot in America.'

I hoped I would hear some news in town.

'The cock bragged he would catch the hawk.'

I hope I will be acquitted.

'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.:
(2) Gerunds

(a) Present gerunds:

Maniau ji gyvenant mieste. 'I thought he lived in town.'
Visi sako ji ėsant labai mokytą. 'Everybody says he is very learned.'

(b) Past gerunds:

Eik ir pranešk svēciq atvažiāvus. 'Go and announce the arrival of the visitor.'
Radau visus sumīgus. 'I found everybody asleep.'

(c) Past frequentative gerunds (very rare):

Sāko kaľtai užeidavus tōkiq liūtīj. 'They say such torrential rains would sometimes come.'
Girdējau ji priišdavus tenāj. 'I hear he used to get very tired.'

(d) Future gerunds:

Kaip jauti tēva pasielgsiant? 'What's your feeling about father's future behaviour?'
Tikiu ji netrūkus sugrīšant. 'I believe he will soon come back.'

The absence of passive gerunds is compensated for by combining gerunds of the verb 'be' with passive participles.

Girdējau ji ėsant múšamaq. 'I heard they beat him.'
Girdējau ji būvus múšamaq. 'I heard they used to beat him.'
Cf.: Jis sākēsi múšamas. '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.:

Girdējau, tū ėsas mokytaq žmogus. 'I heard you are a learned man.'
Tai tōks mūkas traukēs per Lietuvōs žemę. 'That was the kind of forest that extended (according to hearsay) across the Lithuanian land.'
‘(I heard) People didn’t lock their doors in olden times.’

‘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 dárbo rankas sukā. ‘(She said) Her arms ache from work.’

Past active participle:
Čia daug grūbų buvė. ‘(I heard) There used to be a lot of mushrooms here.’

Frequentative past active participle:
Kaip gražu būdavė! ‘How beautiful it used to be!’

Future active participle:
Kitą met busią ir žąsų. ‘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 mokama visa pinti į vieną visumą! ‘How well nature can weave everything into one unified whole!’
O gandaž skelbė, kad ėsama ir užmuštį. ‘Rumour had it there were casualties as well.’

Past passive participle:
Matyt, jö žinōta apiė sukaktuves. ‘He must have known about the anniversary.’
Keliu tik vienos vėžės – mano 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.:
THE INFINITIVE

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Lithuanian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to go</td>
<td>eĩ-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to throw</td>
<td>mës-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to see</td>
<td>matų-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to look for</td>
<td>ieškō-ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In colloquial speech the infinitive is widely used in its short form (with the shortened suffix -t), e.g.:

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>to look for</td>
<td>ieškō-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’, rās-ti ‘find’), a long vowel (jō-ti ‘ride a horse’, dē-ti ‘place’, vū-ti ‘chase’), a diphthong
The infinitival stem often differs from present and past stems in its stem vowel (due to morphophonological vowel gradation), cf.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dė-ti} & \quad \text{dėda} & \quad \text{dėjo} & \quad \text{‘place’} \\
\text{vý-ti} & \quad \text{vēja} & \quad \text{vijo} & \quad \text{‘chase’} \\
\text{vög-ti} & \quad \text{vągia} & \quad \text{vögė} & \quad \text{‘steal’}
\end{align*}
\]

The infinitival stem of mixed and suffixal verbs may end in one of the following long vowels: y, o, ė (rašy-ti ‘write’, miego-ti ‘sleep’, turė-ti ‘have’, kartō-ti ‘repeat’, akē-ti ‘harrow’); one of the two diphthongs au, uo (rēkau-ti ‘shout’, dainūo-ti ‘sing’), or in one of the following semidiphthongs: en, el, er, in (gyvēn-ti ‘live’, mēgin-ti ‘try’, trinktel-ti ‘make a bang’, žvūgter-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(i), 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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{praūsti} \text{ ‘wash’} & \quad \text{praūstis} \text{ ‘wash oneself’} \\
\text{rūdyti} \text{ ‘show’} & \quad \text{rūdytis} \text{ ‘show oneself’} \\
\text{kartōti} \text{ ‘repeat’} & \quad \text{kartōtis} \text{ ‘repeat oneself’} \\
\text{nu praūsti} & \quad \text{nu-si-praūsti} \\
\text{parūdyti} & \quad \text{pa-si-rūdyti} \\
\text{ne kartōti} & \quad \text{ne-si-kartōti}
\end{align*}
\]

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’, išti ‘start’, baigti ‘finish’, liūtis ‘stop’, nustoti ‘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.:
prcaseda dirbtį ‘begins to work’
gali váikščioti ‘can walk’
norėjo išvykti ‘wanted to leave’
ketino grįžti ‘intended to return’
bandysiu užmigtį ‘I’ll try to fall asleep’

The infinitive can also combine with the respective verbal nouns, e.g.:
noras grįžti ‘desire to come back’
bandymas pabėgti ‘attempt to escape’
egėjimas skaityti ‘ability to read’

In expressive speech the finite form of an ingressive verb can sometimes be omitted, e.g.:
Ji – bėgti, jis – vytis. ‘She started running, he chased her.’

The infinitive also combines with impersonal verbs, such as reikėti ‘be necessary’,
tękti ‘have to’, with neuter adjectives and other words denoting states. The patient of the state is then designated by a dative, e.g.:
Man reikia grįžti. ‘I have to go back.’
Ligoniui sunkū váikščioti. ‘It is difficult for the patient to walk.’
Ar tāu ne gėda melioti? ‘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.:
Tāu pačiām reikės rugiūs/
rugiaū pjauti. ‘You’ll have to cut the rye yourself’ lit. ‘For you (DAT) it will be necessary the rye (ACC/NOM) to cut.’

The infinitive can sometimes carry the meaning of obligation even when it stands alone, i.e., without a modal verb, e.g.:
Jūm tik juoda dúona krimsti. ‘You should be given only brown bread’ lit. ‘For you (DAT) only brown bread (NOM) to nibble.’

In combination with the auxiliary verb būti (which is usually omitted in the present tense) the infinitives matyti ‘see’, girdėti ‘hear’, jūsti ‘feel’, jaūsti ‘feel’ are used with a nominative denoting the content of perception, e.g.:
Jaū namaĩ matyti. ‘The house (NOM) is already visible (INF).’
Iš toli bus matyti dāmai. ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ji priėsi manę s valdyti tavę.} & \quad \text{‘She asks me to manage you.’} \\
&Sąrgas rėkė män grįžti. & \quad \text{‘The watchman shouted for me to come back.’} \\
&\text{Uždraūskite dūkteriai su juodo matytis.} & \quad \text{‘Forbid your daughter to meet him.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In expressive speech the infinitive can indicate order, stimulation, or surprise even when it is used alone without a finite verb, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&Tuojaū visiems išeiti! & \quad \text{‘Everybody (DAT) is to leave immediately!’} \\
&\text{Tą visiems išeiti!} & \quad \text{‘You don’t even know him well.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The infinitive can collocate with a finite verb of the same root. Such collocations are used for emphasis sake.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ir pažinti támsta jø gera nepažįsti.} & \quad \text{‘You don’t even know him well.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{O pinigų aš jāi palikaū ne tik gyventi.} & \quad \text{‘I left money for her not only for subsistance (INF).’} \\
&\text{Atvažiauvaū dirbti, o nē ilsėtis.} & \quad \text{‘I’ve come here to work, not to rest.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ir atjója bernužėlis bėro žirgo pagirdyti.} & \quad \text{‘Here comes a young laddie to water his bay steed (GEN).’}
\end{align*}
\]

In eastern Lithuanian dialects and sometimes in fiction the special verb form with a suffix -ų termed supine (siekinys) replaces the infinitive in combination with verbs of motion, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Vaikai išėjo grybautų.} & \quad \text{‘The children went out to gather mushrooms.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In combination with other verbs the object as well as the semantic subject of the infinitive is expressed by a dative, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Nieko nerūškite mán priimti.} & \quad \text{‘Don’t prepare anything for my reception (lit. ‘for me to receive’).’} \\
&\text{Atnešė knygą vaikams pasiskaityt.} & \quad \text{‘They brough a book for the children to read.’}
\end{align*}
\]
When the infinitive, alone or with a dative, denotes purpose, it often collocates with:

(a) a noun:

peilis dúonai riekšti 'a knife for cutting (INF) bread (DAT)'
lemtýna indams sudėti 'a shelf to put the dishes (DAT) on'
vietā apsistoti nākčiai 'a place to put up for the night'

(b) an adjective:

gražūs pažiūrėti 'nice to look at'
siaurūs nešioti 'tight to wear'

Some infinitives (e.g., válgyti 'eat', rūkyti 'smoke', praūstis 'wash oneself', gérti 'drink', dėvišti 'wear') can also be used to indicate an object, e.g.:

Pasiėmė válgyti ir gérti. 'They took (something) to eat and drink.'
Katrė įnesė praūstis. 'Katrė 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:

Ūkininkauti – taĩ ne tvörq tverčti. 'To be a farmer is not making a fence.'

The infinitive matyti is very widely used as a parenthetical word, e.g.:

Tū, matyťt, maněs nelaukei. 'You seem (lit. ‘to see’) not to have expected me.'

The infinitive (ne)palyginti is often used as a modal adverb, e.g.:

Jis dar palyginti jáunas žmogús. 'He is a comparatively (INF) young man.'
Tēvas nepalýginti didēsns už sūnų. '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.
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:

- *gražiai dainuojā*  
  '(he) sings well'
- *daug skaitytē*  
  '(he) read much'
- *parvažiūvome namō*  
  '(we) returned home'
- *vėkar lijo*  
  'it rained yesterday'

A number of adverbs typically serve as modifiers of adjectives and adverbs:

- *laba gėras/gerai*  
  'very good/well'
- *pakažkamai auksčias/aukštais*  
  'sufficiently tall/high (ADV)'

Less commonly, adverbs modify nouns:

- *gyvenimas vėkar*  
  'the life yesterday'

A number of qualitative adverbs can be used as predicatives, e.g.:

- *Mān čią gerai.*  
  lit. 'It’s good for me here'

or as sentence modifiers, e.g.:

- *Tikriaušiai grūšime kitais metais.*  
  'We’ll probably return next year.'

The class of adverbs overlaps with particles and prepositions. For instance, words like *dār, vēl, jaū* 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:

- *Dūok mān dār dūonos.*  
  'Give me some more bread (ADV).'</n- *Tēvās dār negrāžo.*  
  'Father has not returned yet (PRTCL).'</n
Some adverbs are pressed into service as prepositions when they govern a noun, cf.:
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Nuėjome netoli. lit. ‘We didn’t walk far (ADV).’
Sėdėjau netoli motinos. ‘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 galbūt ‘maybe’ and turbūt ‘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.:

dar ‘more; yet’
tei ‘there’
dabař ‘now’
vel ‘again’
čia ‘here’
daug ‘much’

dabar ‘now’

dabar ‘now’

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’ (: ret-as, -a ‘sparse; rare’)
žem-ai ‘lowly’ (: žem-as, -a ‘low’)

Adverbs derived from ia, u-stem. (MASC) and io, ė-stem (FEM) adjectives take the allomorph -iai, e.g.:
sunk-iai ‘heavily; with difficulty’ (: sunk-ūs, -i ‘heavy; difficult’)
apyger-iai ‘rather well’ (: apyger-ūs, -ē ‘rather good’)

Before the suffix -iai, the consonants t and d alternate with the affricates č and dž, e.g.:
stač-iai ‘straight; upright’ (: stat-ūs, -i ‘straight; upright’)
gardž-iai ‘tastefully’ (: gard-ūs, -i ‘tasty’)

6.4 Adverbs with the suffix -(i)ai display two basic stress patterns.
In adverbs formed from two-syllable (i)a stem adjectives, the last syllable is stressed:

- aukštaĩ (: aukštas)
- doraĩ (: dōras)
- but: greiĩtaĩ (: greištas)

Short stem adverbs formed from two-syllable u stem adjectives are also finally stressed, e.g.:

- aštriaĩ (: aštrus)
- budriaĩ (: buδrus)

Those with a long stem retain as a rule the stress of the Acc. Sg. form of the respective adjective:

- baĩšiaĩ (: baĩsūs, Acc. Sg. baĩsų)
- meĩliai (: meĩlus, Acc. Sg. meĩlu)
- sóčiai (: sótus, Acc. Sg. sótu)

Exceptions:

- gardžiaĩ (: gardūs, Acc. Sg. gardų)
- rūgščiaĩ (: rūgštūs, Acc. Sg. rūgštų)
- karčiaĩ (: kartūs, Acc. Sg. kartų)
- saldźiaĩ (: saldūs, Acc. Sg. sāldų)
- riebiaĩ (: riebūs, Acc. Sg. riebu)
- sąriaĩ 'saltily' (: sūrūs, Acc. Sg. sūrų 'salty')

Adverbs formed from polysyllabic adjectives with permanent stress retain its position, e.g.:

- laimėgaiĩ ‘happily’ (: laimėgas ‘happy’)
- mažokaiĩ ‘somewhat little’ (: mažokas ‘somewhat small’)
- lietūviškaiĩ ‘in Lithuanian manner’ (: lietūviškas ‘Lithuanian’)
- apytikriaiĩ ‘approximately’ (: apytikris ‘approximate’)

Adverbs are usually stressed on the final syllable if the base adjective has mobile stress, e.g.:

- atidžiaĩĩ ‘attentively’ (: atidūs, Acc. Sg. atidū ‘attentive’)
- mandagiaĩĩ ‘politely’ (: mandagūs, Acc. Sg. mandāgū ‘polite’)
- prabangiaĩĩ ‘luxuriously’ (: prabangūs, Acc. Sg. prabangū ‘luxurious’)
- but: malōniaĩĩ ‘amiably’ (: malonūs, Acc. Sg. malonū ‘amiable, pleasant’)
- patogiaĩĩ ‘comfortably’ (: patogūs, Acc. Sg. patogū ‘comfortable’)
- padoriaiĩ ‘decently’ (: padorūs, Acc. Sg. padorū ‘decent’)

The suffix -(i)ai is also used to derive adverbs from participles with an adjectival meaning.

Adverbs formed from present active and simple past participles retain the stress of the participle:

- ākinančiaiĩ ‘blindingly’ (: ākinant-is, -i ‘blinding’)
vykusiai ‘successfully’ (: výk-ės, -usi ‘successful’)
priderančiai ‘becomingly’ (: príderant-is, -i ‘becoming’)
užsipyrusiai ‘obstinately’ (: užsipyr-ės, -usi ‘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.:
mātomai ‘visibly’ (: mātom-as, -a ‘visible’)
supraūtamasai ‘intelligibly’ (: supraūt-amas, -à ‘intelligible’)

Those derived from participles with mobile stress are mostly stressed on the final syllable:
girdimaï ‘audibly’ (: giřdim-as, -à ‘audible’)
patikimaï ‘reliably’ (: pātikim-as, -à ‘reliable’)

Adverbs related to past passive participles with fixed stress retain its position and tone, e.g.:
neigirdėtai ‘unprecedently’ (: neigirdėt-as, -a ‘unheard-of, unprecedented’)
apgalvotai ‘deliberately’ (: apgalvot-as, -a ‘deliberate’)

They are stressed on the final syllable if the base participle has mobile stress:
nelaukta ‘unexpectedly’ (: neláukt-as, -à ‘unexpected’)
įtemptai ‘strenuously’ (: įtempt-as, -à ‘strained, strenuous’)

The suffix -(i)ai does nor 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.:
abejótin-ai ‘doubtfully’ (: abejótin-as, -a ‘doubtful’)
pakartótin-ai ‘repeatedly’ (: pakartótin-as, -a ‘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:
būtin-ai ‘necessarily’ (: būtin-as, -à ‘necessary’)
atmintin-ai ‘memorably; by heart’ (: atmintin-as, -à ‘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.:
žem-yn ‘down’ (: žem-as, -à ‘low’)

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The suffix -(i)ai does nor derive adverbs from past frequentative and future participles.
raudon-ųn ‘(growing) redder’  (: raudon- as, -ą ‘red’)
tobul-ųn ‘(growing) more perfect’  (: tóbul-as, -ą ‘perfect’)

This suffix is occasionally used to derive adverbs from nouns, participles and, even, adverbs, e.g.:
krašt-ųn ‘edge-wards’  (: krašt- as ‘edge’)
dūgn-ųn ‘bottom-wards’ (: dūgn-as ‘bottom’)
ištovirk-ųn ‘to depravity’  (: ištovirk-ęs ‘depraved’)
daug-ųn ‘increasingly’  (: daūg ‘much’)
tol-ųn ‘farther, into the distance’ (: toli ‘far’)

The adverb pirm-ųn ‘forward’ is a recent derivative from the ordinal numeral pirm-as, -ą ‘first’. As is clear from the examples, in these adverbs the suffix carries the stress.

6.8 The adverbs kuĩ ‘where’, kadà ‘when’, tadà ‘then’ and kaĩp ‘how’, taĩp ‘so, this way’ comprise a separate group. Historically, they are related to the pronouns kās ‘who, what’, tās, tā ‘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-uĩ ‘elsewhere’  (: kit-as, -ą ‘other, another’)
viem-uĩ ‘in one place’  (: vien-as, -ą ‘one’) (cf. vienuĩ kituĩ ‘here and there’)
vis-uĩ ‘everywhere’  (: vis-as, -ą ‘all’)
svet-uĩ ‘in a strange place/land’  (: svet-ęs ‘guest’, cf. svėtim-as, -ą ‘strange, foreign’)

kita-dà ‘sometime’  (: kit-as, -ą ‘other, another’)
visa-dà ‘always’  (: vis-as, -ą ‘all, whole’)
an-aĩp ‘that way’  (: an-ąs, -ą ‘that (one)’)
ši-aĩp ‘this way’  (: šis, -i ‘this’)
tav-aĩp ‘in your way’  (: tāv-as, -ą ‘thine, your’)
antr-aĩp ‘otherwise’  (: antr-as, -ą ‘second’)
nauj-aĩp ‘in a new way’  (: nauj-as, -ą ‘new’)

In these adverbs, the suffixes -(i)uĩ, -dà and -(i)aĩp can be distinguished. They are nearly always stressed, with the exception of niękur ‘nowhere’, niękaĩp ‘(in) no way’, and šitaĩp ‘this way’.

The suffix -dà often alternates with its allomorph -dōs, e.g.: visadà / visados ‘always’, kitadà / kitados ‘some other time, sometime’, niekadà / niekadōs ‘never’; it also has an abbreviated variant -d, cf.: niękad ‘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’, *valìà* ‘(it) is allowed, one may’, *nevalìà* ‘(it) is not allowed, one can’t’, *žinià* ‘of course’; *nežinià* ‘(it) is not known’;

(2) genitive: *kò* ‘why’ (: *kàs* ‘what’), *kàlio* ‘upside down’, *šúolio* ‘by jumps’;

(3) dative: *kàm* ‘why, what for’ (: *kàs* ‘what’), *ilgàm* ‘for long’, *trumpàm* ‘for a short while’;

(4) accusative: *trùputij* ‘a little’, *màžumq* ‘a little’, *truputèij* ‘just a little’, *mažumèîq* ‘just a little’;


(6) locative: *šalyjè* ‘side by side’, *tarpùsavyije* ‘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: *dvìese* ‘the two together’, *trïse* ‘the three together’, *kéturiëse* ‘the four together’ ... *devynìeše* ‘the nine together’, as in *Jïè dvìëse taï paddàrë* ‘They did it the two of them together’. Likewise, the adverb *kèlesai* ‘how many together’ is formed from the pronoun *kèlì*, *këlios* ‘how many’. The adverbs *namië* ‘at home’, *arti* ‘near(by)’, *toli* ‘far(away)’ retain the archaic locative case form of the respective noun and adjectives.

In Modern Lithuanian, a number of archaic post positional locative forms, viz. the allative and the illative, with the fused postpositions -n and -p, are used as adverbs, e.g.: *laukaĩ* ‘outside’ (as in *Eïk laukaĩ* ‘Get out’), *šalià* ‘away, off’, *viduï* ‘inside’, *viršuï* ‘up’; *galõp* ‘to the end, finally’, *vakarõp* ‘towards evening’, *velniõp* ‘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.:

*veltui* ‘in vain’

*ilgainiui* ‘afterwards, eventually’

*aïlinkui* ‘around’

*pàdieniui* ‘by the day, every other day’  
(cf. *dienà* ‘day’)

*pæliüiui* ‘in turn, by turns’  
(cf. *eilë* ‘turn, queue’)

*pakeliui* ‘on the way, the same way’  
(cf. *kèlias* ‘way’)

*paryètiui* ‘early in the morning’  
(cf. *rýtas* ‘morning’)


pavėjui ‘with/ before the wind’ (cf. vėjas ‘wind’)
pavieniuui ‘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:  
lygiomis/lygiom ‘in equal parts, equally’ (cf. lygus ‘equal’)  
noromis/norom ‘willingly’ (cf. norūs ‘willing’)
slaptomis/slaptom ‘secretly’ (cf. slaptas ‘secret’, ADJ)  
(pat)tylomis/patylom ‘silently, on the quiet’ (cf. tylus ‘silent’)  
negirdomis/negirdom ‘without hearing’  
pakaitomis/pakaitom ‘by turns’ (cf. pakaita ‘change’)  
paskubomis ‘in a hurry’ (cf. skubà ‘hurry’)  

-ais:  
priešais ‘in front, opposite’ (cf. dial. priešas ‘front, fore-part’)  
patylitikais ‘silently, on the sly’ (cf. tylus ‘silent’)  
rētkarčiais ‘now and then’ (cf. rētas kartas ‘rare case’)  
šalimais ‘close by, side by side’ (cf. šalimas ‘near, close’)  

Numerous adverbs are formed by analogy with other adverbalized case forms; cf. the following adverbs with affixes traced back to the genitive: tolydižio ‘continuously, constantly’ (cf. tolydus ‘continuous’), nuolatūs ‘constantly’ (cf. nuolat ‘constantly’), atgaliūs ‘back(wards)’ (cf. atgal ‘back(wards)’).

On the other hand, there are case forms of nouns of that retain their status despite their frequent adverbial use, e.g.: ratu ‘in a circle’ (Instr. of ratas ‘circle’), būriu ‘in a crowd’ (Instr. of būrys ‘crowd, group’), žaibu ‘like lightning’ (Instr. of žaibas ‘lightning’), etc.

6.12 A great many prepositional phrases used as adverbial modifiers have acquired adverbial meanings; here belong:

(1) genitive with the prepositions dėl ‘because of’, is ‘from, out of’, bė ‘without, except’, iki(ik)/ligi(lig) ‘until, up to’, nuo ‘from’, pō ‘after’, e.g. dėl ką ‘why’ (lit. ‘because of what’), dėl tō ‘therefore’ (lit. ‘for that’), is kačto ‘at once’, is tikrų ‘indeed’, be gālo ‘extremely’ (lit. ‘without end’), lig laiko ‘in advance’ (lit. ‘before the time’), po laiko ‘too late’ (lit. ‘after the time’), nuo mažeinš ‘since childhood’;

(2) dative with the prepositions pō ‘after’ and iki(ik)/ligi(lig) ‘until, up to’ (mostly in colloquial speech; iki/ligi valiųai ‘to one’s heart’s content’, po draugei ‘together’, po senovei ‘as of old, still’, po visām ‘after all (is over)’);

(3) accusative with the prepositions į ‘to, in’, per ‘over, in’, prō ‘through, by’; e.g. į valią/valias ‘sufficiently’, per vieną ‘together’, pro tańska ‘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.:  

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iškart 'at once' (: iš karto)

išsūk 'at once' (: iš sykio)

išvis 'altogether, on the whole' (: iš viso)

ištiès 'really, indeed' (: iš tiesių)

išvfen 'together' (: iš vefeno)

perdien 'all the day (long)' (: per dieną)

pernakt 'overnight' (: per naktį)

priešpiet 'before lunch' (: prieš pietus)

A variety of adverbs have developed in the same way from nonprepositional word groups, e.g.:

kasvakar 'every night' (: kas vakaras

or kas vakaraq)

šilįnakt 'tonight' (: šilį naktį)

šiamsyk 'for this occasion' (: šiam sykiui)

anųkart 'that time' (: anų kaštą)

6.13 In Lithuanian, there is a productive class of adverbs derived from verbs by means of the suffix -te or -tinai:

neš-ti 'carry' : neš-te, neš-tinai

žiūrė-ti 'look' : žiūrė-te, žiūrė-tinai

These adverbs are traditionally classed as non-finite verb forms termed būdinys. 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.: džiaugtis 'rejoice': džiaug-te, as in džiaugtė džiaugiasi '(he) rejoices greatly' (lit. 'rejoices rejoicing'). With prefixed verbs, a derivative from the respective non-prefixed verb is used, e.g. bėg-te (: bėg-ti 'run') at-bėgo '(he) came running'.

When formed from infinitival stems without a prefix these adverbs carry final stress:

bėg-ti 'run' – bėg-te, bėg-tinai 'on a run'

ei-ti 'go, walk' – ei-te, ei-tinai 'walking'

Those derived from suffixed stems retain the stress and accent of the infinitive:

maty-ti 'see' – maty-te, maty-tinai

kartó-ti 'repeat' – kartó-te, kartó-tinai

válgy-ti 'eat' – válgy-te, válgy-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.:
Žmönės grūs-tė grūdosi prie vařų. ‘People jostled and tussled (lit. ‘jostled jostling’) at the gate.’

Jis grūs-tė pra-si-grūdo prie vařų. ‘He forced his way by force to the gate.’

Sometimes these adverbs express the manner of action, e.g.:

Jei valgyte neprivalgysi, laižyte neprilaįžysi. ‘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:

Tėvas nė girdėte (= girdėti) negirdėjo. ‘Father didn’t hear it at all.’

Deverbal intensifying adverbs with the suffix -tinaį are formally identical with other adverbs in -tinaį (e.g. Pirkaū nāma išsimokėtinaį ‘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.:

Grėtė nusigando ir bėgtinaį pabėgo nuo Vilius. ‘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 kadà ‘sometimes’, kol kàs ‘so far, so long’, kada nòrs ‘some day, ever’, bet kaip ‘somehow, anyhow’, bet kuè ‘anywhere’, kai kuè ‘here and there’, kuè ne kuè ‘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)aį derived from adjectives and some participles with adjectival meanings, such as aukšta ‘high(ly)’, laimingai ‘happily’; suprañ-tamaį ‘understandably’;

(2) the adverbs daug ‘much, many’, anksti ‘early’, tolì ‘far’, artì ‘near(by)’, šalià ‘near(by), next to’, paskutì ‘afterwards’ and the like.
6.17 The **comparative** degree is formed by adding the suffix -\textit{i}aū (identical with the comparative degree marker in neuter adjectives) to the stem of the positive form of an adverb. The suffix is always stressed, e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ger-\textit{aū} ‘well’
  \item aukš\textit{t}-\textit{aū} ‘high(ly)’
\end{itemize}

The **superlative** degree is marked with the suffix -\textit{i}aus\textit{i}ai or -\textit{i}aus\textit{ia}. The former allomorph is used in -(\textit{i})ai adverbs:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ger-\textit{aū} ‘well’
  \item aukš\textit{tai} ‘high(ly)’
\end{itemize}

With other adverbs the latter allomorph is more common, though the former one is also possible, cf.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item daug ‘much, many’
  \item tol ‘far’
\end{itemize}

The suffix -\textit{i}aus\textit{i}ai/-\textit{i}aus\textit{ia} is a complex marker incorporating the formant -\textit{i}aus- which marks the superlative degree of adjectives, cf.: tol-\textit{ūs} ‘far’ – tol-\textit{i}aus\textit{-ias ‘farthest’. Therefore it is analysable into the superlative degree marker -\textit{i}aus- and the adverbial suffix -\textit{i}ai or -\textit{i}a: tol-\textit{i}aus\textit{-iai/-ia. The suffix is always stressed.}

The comparative and superlative forms of adverbs are identical with those of the respective neuter adjectives, cf.: (buvo) graž\textit{u} – (it was) nice’ – graž-\textit{i}aū ‘nicer’, graž-\textit{i}aus\textit{ia} ‘nicest’.

The same morphonological rules apply here as in the formation of adverbs by means of the suffix -\textit{iai} (see 6.3), cf.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item aukš\textit{t}-\textit{ai} – aukšč\textit{-iaū}, aukšč\textit{-i}aus\textit{iai}
  \item juod\textit{-ai} – juodž\textit{-iaū}, juodž\textit{-i}aus\textit{iai}
\end{itemize}

In a number of cases, the degrees of comparison are related to an adverbially used case form of a noun, e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item apač-\textit{i}aū ‘lower’, apač-\textit{i}aus\textit{i}ai ‘lowest’ (: apač-\textit{ioj}ė ‘at the bottom’)
  \item šiaur-\textit{i}aū ‘more to the north’, (: šiaur-\textit{ėje ‘in the north’)
  \item šiaur-\textit{i}aus\textit{i}ai ‘farthest to the north’
  \item kair-\textit{i}aū ‘more to the left’, (: kairė\textit{j}ė/\textit{j} kairė ‘on the left’)
  \item kair-\textit{i}aus\textit{i}ai ‘farthest to the left’
  \item gal-\textit{i}aū ‘closer to the end’, (: gal-\textit{ė ‘in the end’)
  \item gal-\textit{i}aus\textit{i}ai ‘at the very end’
\end{itemize}

6.18. There is a variant of the comparative degree of adverbs formed by means of the
complex stressed suffix -ėliaū comprised of the diminutive suffix -ėl- and the comparative degree marker -iau, e.g.:

ger-ėliaū ‘a little better’
aukšť-ėliaū ‘a little higher’
daug-ėliaū ‘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.:

Šiandien jis grįžo namo anksčiau negu vėkar.
Jis grįžo namo anksčiau / anksteliau už sėserį.
Paaškink taė suprantamiau.
Laužas labiau įsidegė.

‘Today he returned home earlier than yesterday.’
‘He returned home earlier / a little earlier than his sister.’
‘(Please) explain it more clearly.’
‘The bonfire started burning more brightly.’

The comparative form of adverbs is often used with a noun with the preposition už ‘than’ or with the conjunctions negu/nei ‘than’ and kaip ‘as’ (see the above examples). The basis of comparison can also be expressed by the genitive case of a noun, e.g.:

Vandens buvo aukščiau juostos.
Neik toliau sąvo kiėmo.

‘The water reached above (lit. higher) waist.’
‘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.:

Miškas tęsėsi toliau į vakarus.
Atrasėdau arčiau prie dūry.

‘The woods stretched farther to the west.’
‘I took a seat nearer to the door.’

6.20 When used with the adverb užvis’(most) of all’ and synonymous prepositional phrases už visūs (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.:

Skraidė užvis greičiau (cf. greičiausiai). '(He) was flying faster than everybody else (cf. the fastest).'

Atsikėliau už visus anksčiau (cf. anksčiausiai). 'I got up earlier than everybody else (cf. the earliest).'

Grįžkite namo kuod/kod greičiau (cf. greičiausiai). '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.:

pirmiau – pirmà 'first, earlier (than)'
paskiau – paskuì 'afterwards, later'
iš anksčiau – iš anksto 'from the time before / earlier'
nuo seniau – nuo seno '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.:

Tà knygà ji labiausiai sudomino. 'That book caused his interest most (of all).'
Ji dainuoja gražiausiai. 'She sings the best.'
Jis yrà blogiausiai pasirenges. '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 kuod, kod, e.g.:

Gyvenàsim (kuod/kod) puikiusiai. 'We shall live very well (lit. quite the best).'

The superlative form may be used with the adverbs užvis, pervis 'most of all' and prepositional phrases už visus, -as 'of all' už viskà/visà 'of everything', which emphasize its meaning, e.g.:

Užvis labiausiai mylijau senèle. 'I loved my grandmother best of all.'
Jis mokèsi už visus gériusiai. lit. 'He studied best of all.'

A favoured means of emphasis is the genitive plural visû from the pronoun visû, visos 'all, everybody', cf.:

Sugrižom visû véliausiai. 'We returned the latest (latest of all).'
Mûsû kàime vaikû visû daugiûsiai. '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.: senų seniūnai ‘very, very long ago’, ramių ramiūnai ‘quietly as possible’. To emphasize the superlative degree of the adverb daugų ‘much, many’, the form daugiau is used which is derived by analogy with the genitive of adjectives, cf.:

Prisiriško daugiau daugiausiai šeimtas Žmonių. ‘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’ (*labiau, labiausiai šaltas; *labiau, labiausiai gražus). However, labiau and labiausiai are used with those participles which do not have the degrees of comparison: labiau, labiausiai pavargęs ‘more / (the) most tired’.

6.22 The comparative and the superlative forms of a number of adverbs, e.g. verčiau ‘rather, better’, veikiau, 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 nėko nesuprato. ‘He probably didn’t understand anything.’

Aš verčiau palauksiu jų čia. ‘I’d rather wait for him here.’

Jis greičiausiai pavėlšė. ‘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 miegotti ‘sleep quietly’
žiauriai nubaišti ‘punish severely’
blogai dirbti ‘work poorly’
priderančiai elgtis ‘behave properly’

Depending on their lexical meaning, some adverbs may also modify adjectives (cf. juokingai liūdnas ‘funnily sad’, tamsiai žalius lit. ‘darkly green’) and in exceptional cases, adverbs, cf.: nudažyti tamsiai raudonai ‘paint dark (lit. ‘darkly’) red’ (ADV) (: tamsiai raudonas 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:

- *apgraibomis* ‘groping(ly)’
- *vogčiomis* ‘surreptitiously’
- *veltui* ‘in vain’
- *kitaip* ‘otherwise’
- *iškařt* ‘at once’
- *gerūojų* ‘in a friendly way’

**Quantity** is expressed mostly by adverbs related to numerals, e.g.:

- *dvigubai* (atlįginti) ‘(pay) double’
- *dviese* (dirbti) ‘(work) two-together’
- *aňtrąsyk* (pabarščiai) ‘(repeat) a second time’
- *dvigubai* (ilgėsnis) ‘twice (as long)’

Other adverbs have a generalized meaning of quantity: *daug* ‘much, many’, *gaūsiai* ‘abundantly’, *trūputį* ‘a little’, *galutinais* ‘finally’. A number of adverbs of quantity can modify the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives and adverbs, e.g.:

- *dvigubai* didėsnis ‘twice as large (lit. twice larger)’
- *dvigubai* daugiau ‘two as much/many (lit. twice more)’
- *trūputį* stiprėsnis ‘a little stronger’
- *trūputį* stipriaus ‘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 / piktai ‘very angry / angrily’. It is also used as a verbal intensifier, e.g.: *labai* pūkščiai / džiaugtis ‘be angry / rejoice very much’, *labai* juoktis ‘laugh hard’; but there are lexical restrictions on its co-occurrence with verbs, cf.: *labai* miegoti / sėdėti ‘sleep / sit very’. Other intensifying adverbs are:

- *ypatingai* / *ýpač* ‘especially’
- *smačiai* ‘hard, very heavily’
- *nuostabiai* ‘wonderfully, remarkably’
- *gerokai* ‘pretty (hard)’
- *puikiai* ‘perfectly’
- *stipriai* ‘strongly’
- *considerably’*, etc.

Here also belong deverbal adverbs in -te/-tina which are in fact specified intensifiers (see 6.13), e.g.:

- *bėgtė* bėgti lit. ‘run running’
- *verktinai* vežkti ‘cry very hard’

To express an increasing degree of quality, quantity or intensity, adverbs with the suffix -yn are used, mostly in collocation with the verb eiti ‘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 -eti, cf.:
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:

- **aukštai** 'high above'
- **žemai** 'below'
- **namię** 'at home'
- **visur** 'everywhere'
- **čia** 'here'
- **teži** 'there'
- **arti** 'nearly'
- **tolii** 'far (away)'
- **šalimaüs** 'side by side'
- **aplūkai** '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) (kilti) **aukšt-yn** '(rise) upwards'
    (léistis) **žemyn** '(go) downwards'
    (eiti) **pirm-yn** '(go) forwards'

(2) (pasukti) **dešin-én** ' (turn) to the right'
    (užlipti) **virš-uñ** ' (ascend) to the top'
    (eiti) **lauk-añ** '(go) outside'

(3) (plaūkti) **pavėjui/pasrovini/pavandeniui** '(swim) with the wind / downstream'
    (skubėti) **namo** '(hurry) home (ward)'

(4) (grižti) **atgal/atgaliös** ' (return) back'
    (važiuoti) **tiesiog** '(go) straight forward'
    (atbėgti) **priešpriešiais** ' (come running) from the opposite direction'

The starting point of motion is usually expressed by place adverbs with the prepositions iš 'from', nuo 'from' (1), and the final point by place adverbs with the prepositions iki / ligi 'to, as far as' (2):

(1) iš kur keliaujate? iš aukštai nukriisti pradėti nuo čia
    'Where are you coming from?' 'fall from high above'
    'begin from here'

(2) iki čia ligi kurį
    'as far as here'
    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:

*eĩsim kitur* ‘we’ll go elsewhere’ – *gyvenu kitur* ‘I live elsewhere’
*skubėkim teņ* ‘let’s hurry there’ – *teņ užáugau* ‘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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dabař pailsėsim</td>
<td>‘we’ll have a rest now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paskuĩ dirbsim</td>
<td>‘we’ll work afterwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seniaĩ nesimätėme</td>
<td>‘we haven’t met for a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niekada nebegřįšiu</td>
<td>‘I’ll never return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anksti / vėlaĩ sutėmo</td>
<td>‘it grew dark early / late’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They can also express an indefinite period of time, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilgai / laikinaĩ gyvėno</td>
<td>‘(he) stayed for a long time / temporarily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greiTai apsirengė</td>
<td>‘(he) dressed quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilgainiu apsiprātome</td>
<td>‘we got used in due course’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuojaĩ ateĩšiu</td>
<td>‘I’ll come immediately’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An approximate time period is usually rendered by adverbialized dative case forms, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilgáu atvažiävo</td>
<td>‘he’s come for a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trumpáu išējo</td>
<td>‘he’s left for a short while’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following adverbs refer to (1) days and (2) time of the day and (3) year relative to the moment of utterance:

1. **(1) šiaňdien ‘today’**
   - *ūžvakan ‘the day before yesterday’*
2. **(2) šiānakt ‘tonight’**
   - *porýt ‘the day after tomorrow’*
3. **(3) šiēmet ‘this year’**
   - *kitańdien ‘some other day’*
   - *poriēt ‘after lunch’*
   - *priešpiēt ‘before lunch’*
   - *pérnaĩ ‘last year’*
   - *ūžpérnaĩ ‘the year before last’*

**Repetition** and **frequency** of action are also rendered by specialized adverbs such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dažnaĩ ‘often’</td>
<td>vēl ‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retaĩ ‘seldom’</td>
<td>kai kadà ‘sometimes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rėtkarčiais ‘now and then’ visadà ‘always’
kažtai ‘sometimes’ visuomet ‘always’ etc.

They modify mostly verbs and sometimes, adjectives and adverbs, e.g.:

jis visadà juokiasi ‘he is always laughing’ – visadà linškmas ‘always merry’ – (gyven-sim) visadà linksma ‘(we’ll live) always merrily’
vel pýksta ‘he is in a bad temper again’ – vel piktas ‘angry again’ – vel piktaĩ ‘angrily again’

The starting and the final temporal points of action are mostly signified by adverbs with the prepositions nuo ‘from, since’, iki/ligi ‘until’, which may be merged into a single adverb: iki šioli /ligi šioli ‘until now’, ikipiē ‘until lunch’, cf.: iki dabaĩ ‘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 ko ‘why’ kām ‘why’
dėl tō ‘therefore’ todėl ‘therefore’
kodėl ‘why’ užtāt ‘that’s why’
kō ‘what for’

There is no distinct border-line between the two meanings in these adverbs, cf.: Dėl kō/kodėl/kō tū taip suņkiai dirbi? ‘Why do you work so hard?’ – Dėl vaikā ‘For the children’ (purpose); Dėl netuerto ‘Out of poverty’ (cause). The adverbs týčia (týčiomis) ‘on purpose, intentionally’, netýčia (netýčiomis) ‘inadvertently, unintentionally’, šiaip sau ‘without particular purpose’, vēltui ‘in vain, to no purpose’ are semantically contiguous to adverbs of purpose; cf.: jis týčia melūoja ‘he is lying on purpose’, vēltui stēngēsi ‘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.:

tikraĩ ‘surely, certainly’ tikriáusiai ‘probably’
greičiusiai ‘doubtless’ veikidua(siai) ‘very likely, probably’
būtinaĩ ‘by all means’ verčiaũ ‘rather, better’
neišvęngiamai ‘inevitably’

A few adverbs express neutral assessment, e.g.:

apskritaĩ ‘in general, generally’
paprastaĩ ‘usually, commonly’
pirmiausiai ‘in the first place’
The adverb *verčiau* can express advice:

*Tū verčiau patylėk.* ‘You’d better keep silence.’

The modal adverbs usually precede a verb: *jis tikra̱i/greičiausiai ateis* ‘He will surely/doubtless come’, though most of them can be used in the initial position as sentence modifiers, cf.: *Tikriausiai/veikiusiai jis vėluoja* ‘Probably/very likely he is late’. All of them, with the exception of *neišvęgiamai, verčiau* and adverbs of neutral assessment, may be used in response to a question, e.g.:

*Ar tū ateisi?* ‘Will you come?’ – *Tikra̱i/tikriausiai/veikiusiai.* ‘Of course/most probably/probably.’

A number of other word forms (the infinitive *matyt* ‘probably’, lit. ‘see’, the nominative case *laimė* ‘luck’ and its dative case forms *laimei* ‘luckily’ and *nelai̱mei* ‘unluckily’, the present passive participles *žinoma* ‘of course’ (lit. ‘known’) and *suprańtama* ‘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 matyt/žinoma/tikriausiai vėluoja.* ‘He is probably/of course/most likely late.’
Particles

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 (ar 'if, whether', ī ‘and’, kad ‘that’, nōrs ‘though’), adverbs (kaip ‘how’, taip ‘thus, so’, ciă ‘here’), pronouns (kō ‘what’ (GEN), kuō ‘what’ (INSTR). The particles beveik ‘almost’, dār ‘yet’, jaū ‘already’, vēl ‘again’, vōs vōs ‘hardly’, etc. are semantically close to adverbs; nei ‘neither, nor’, tik ‘only’, vos tik ‘as soon as’, nebešt ‘if only’, are very similar to conjunctions in certain contexts, without losing their meaning and their limiting or specifying function; the particles ōgi ‘surely’, vā ‘there, here’, vai ‘oh’ border on interjections.

7.2 Particles are usually preposed to the subordinating word or phrase:

Jis beveik pasveiko. ‘He (has) almost recovered.’

The particles gi and pāt which are used in post-position are exceptions:

Ateisiu tuojaū pāt. ‘I’ll come right now’.

Gēros gi tavo ākys! ‘Aren’t your eyes good!’

When used with a prepositional noun phrase, pāt is placed between the preposition and noun: nuo pāt rytō ‘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(?)’, vōs ne vōs ‘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.: ar, bē, dār, gī, jaū, nē, nē, nēt, pāt, vis, vēl.

Compound particles usually comprise two (rarely three) fused components and most of them contain either the negative particle nē ‘not’ or the intensifying gī:

- nēbe ‘not any longer’
- nebeš ‘if only’
- benē (emphatic)
- konē ‘almost’
- māžnē ‘almost’

A few particles contain other components:

- nēmāž ‘not at all’ (= nē+māž)
- tikš ‘only’ (= tik+tā)
- begū (bē+gū) (interrogative)

The compound particle kažin ‘hardly’ is a contraction of the phrase kās žino ‘who knows’, galbūt ‘perhaps’ derives from gāli būti ‘(it) may be’.

Complex particles comprised of two separate components can be semantically indivisible, cf. vōs tik (as in Šēnis vōs tik pājuda ‘The old man is hardly capable of moving’) and vōs ‘hardly’ and tik ‘only’; here also belong kō tik, tik tik ‘just’. Most of the complex particles, however, are free combinations of simple particles retaining their own meaning, e.g. ar nē ‘isn’t it’, kad iř ‘even’, lūg tai ‘(it) seems’, vien tik ‘just only’; cf. Taī beňt vyras! ‘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 ar, beňt, gī, jaū, nē, tē, tik, 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:

- anā ‘there’
- vis ‘still’
- štař

- anās, anā ‘that’
- visas, visā ‘(the) whole’, ‘entire’, also the adverb visāi ‘entirely’
- šitas, šītā/shītā ‘this’
adjectives and/or adverbs:

ýpač 'especially'
lyg 'like, as'
lygtai 'smoothly, evenly'
beimąž 'almost, nearly'

Verbs:
gal 'maybe'
galbūt 'maybe'
rasi 'maybe'
taftum 'like'

gali 'you can (2. SG. PRES)'
gali būti 'it may be'
rasi 'you will find (2. SG. FUT)'
taftum '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 kās 'anyone', kažin kās 'somebody, something', koks nōrs 'any, some') and adverbs (kažin kaip 'somehow', kaip nōrs 'somehow', tiek pāt 'as much/many'). The prefixes ne- 'not', nebe- 'not any more', te- 'yet', tebe- 'yet' originate from respective particles (cf. lāimē 'happiness' - nelāimē 'misfortune', dirba 'he works' - nebedirba 'he does not work any more', gyvēna 'he lives' - tebegyvēna 'he goes on living'). The components -gi and -gu in taigi 'now then, then', negū '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) beveik 'almost', beimąž, maždaug, konė and mažnė 'nearly, almost', pei 'too', vōs 'hardly', etc. are used to specify quantity or degree, and (2) dār 'yet', jaū 'already', pāt 'right', vēl 'again', vis 'still', vōs 'hardly', etc. specify the mode of action or state; cf. respectively:
The particle *pats* specifies spatial or temporal limits expressed by other words, cf.:

*Prie pats trobėlės buvo šulinys.* ‘There was a well right by the hut.’

The particles *bežt* ‘at least’, *tik* ‘only’, *tiktaĩ* ‘only’, *nėt* ‘even’, *ypač* ‘especially’, *kad iř* ‘even’, *nebežt* ‘if only’, *nôrs* ‘though’, *viên* ‘at least’, *viên tik* ‘even only’, usually serve to single out a thing or to limit the meaning of a word.

The particles *tik*, *tiktaĩ*, *viên*, *viên tik* have no additional connotations, whereas *nėt*, *nêti*, *nėt ir*, *nė* imply wonder, surprise; cf. respectively:

*Mės râdome tik/ tiktaĩ jûdû kirius.* ‘We found only his glasses.’

**Jis nêti nežinojo jôs âdresu.** ‘He didn’t even know her address.’

**Nêt jis atêjo.** ‘Even he turned up.’

The limiting particles *bežt* ‘at least’, *nôrs* ‘though’, *kad iř*, *nebežt* imply concession, e.g.:

*Pasiimk bent/ nôrs lâzda šunûs atsigûnti.* ‘Take at least a stick to defend yourself against the dogs.’

*Tà merginû nebežt âgiû panašû jû Ônû.* ‘That girl is at least as tall as Ona (Ann).’

The particle *ypač* has a very strong specifying and limiting force, e.g.:

*Ýpač âš nemêgstu bailiû.* ‘Especially I don’t like cowards.’

There is no distinct borderline between specifying and limiting particles.

### 7.7 Demonstrative particles.

The particles *anâ* ‘there’, *antaĩ* ‘there’, *aurè* ‘there’, *staĩ* ‘here’, *šit* ‘here’, *va* ‘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 bêga lâpé.** ‘There is a fox running.’

**Štaĩ sêdžiu âš prie lângô.** ‘Here I am sitting by the window.’

**Štaĩ tâvo knygû.** ‘Here (is) your book.’

### 7.8 Affirmative particles.

In Standard Lithuanian the only affirmative particle in use is *taîp* ‘yes’; in colloquial Lithuanian the particles *taîgi* ‘yes’ and *ahà* ‘yea’ sometimes are used instead. The particle *taîp* 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 tev nebuvo? – 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 žinai, kad jis grįžo? – Taip?

Nežinojau.

‘Do you know he is back? – Really? No, I didn’t.’

It is emphatic in contexts like Čia taip gražu. ‘It is so nice here’, and with adverbs, cf. taip gražiai ‘so nicely’.

7.9 Negative particles. In Standard Lithuanian, four negative particles are in use: the principal particles ne ‘no, not’ and nebe ‘not (any more/longer)’, and also nė and nei ‘not (a), ‘not even’.

The particle nebe differs from nė in that it is used to negate continuation of an action or state that has gone on for some time; cf.:

Mano sūnus ne toks geras.

‘My son is not so good.’

Mano sūnus (jaū) nebe toks geras.

‘My son is not so good any longer.’

The particles nė and nebe also double as negative prefixes:

Jis buvo negėras.

‘He was not good.’

Jis neberašo.

‘He does not write any more.’

In fact, they are spelt together with verbs, adjectives, etc., in accordance with Lithuanian orthography.

The particle nė 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:

Nėmatei jō? – Nė.

‘You didn’t see him? – No.’

Ar grįši šiaudien? – Nė.

‘Will you return today? – No.’

In response to the question Juk jūs tev nebuvo? ‘You weren’t there, were you?’ one can say Nė, 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.:

Aš jō nepastebėjau.

‘I didn’t notice him.’

Aš jō nė nepastebėjau.

‘I didn’t even notice him.’
If two or more coordinated words (or clauses) are negated, the reduplicated negative conjunction *nei* ... *nei* ‘neither ... nor’, identical in meaning with the particle *nei*, is often used if the predicate has the negative prefix:

*Nedžiūgino jos nei šviesi saulutė, nei giedras dangūs.*

‘Neither the bright sun nor the clear sky gave her joy.’

### 7.10 Interrogative and dubitative particles.

The most common interrogative particle used to introduce general questions is *ar*:

*Ar teisybę jis sako?*  
‘Does he tell the truth?’

Its functional equivalent is *be*, which is rarely used; cf.:

*Bet pati, be viską padarei?*  
‘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 vėl būs kąs atsitikė?*  
‘Has anything again happened (I wonder)?’

The interrogative particles *nėgi/nejaū/nejaūgi* ‘really(?), argi ‘indeed(?), really(?)’ strongly imply the speaker’s surprise, disbelief or doubt:

*Nėjaūgi/nejaū/negi tū skirsies su manimi?*  
‘Will you really divorce me (= I can’t believe it)?’

*Argi tū viską padarei?*  
‘Have you really done everything?’

When used in rhetorical questions, these particles express doubt.

Doubt or uncertainty are explicitly rendered by the particles *gāl* ‘probably’, *galbūt* ‘maybe’, *kažin* ‘I doubt/wonder’, *rāsi* ‘perhaps, maybe’, *turbūt* ‘probably’; cf.:

*jis gāl/galbūt pavėluōs.*  
‘He will be probably late.’

*Kažin ar jis grįžo.*  
‘I doubt if he is back.’

The modal words *gāl* ‘probably’, *galbūt* ‘maybe’, *turbūt* ‘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 *nevā* ‘ostensibly, as if’, *tači*/*tačtum*/*tarįtum* ‘as if, as though’ which are used to express ostensible comparison and uncertainty, doubt at the same time; cf.:

*Lyg debesis, lyg miglą kokią nusilėido iš viršaūs.*  
‘It seemed as if a cloud, a kind of mist came from above.’
Dabar jām tarātum pasidārē lengviaū. ‘Now he, it seemed, felt better.’
Jis taŗsi atjaunējo. ‘He kind of grew younger.’

These particles may introduce comparative phrases and clauses, in which case they function as conjunctions; cf.:

Jis gyvena lyg/taŗsi atsiskyrēlis. ‘He lives like a hermit.’

7.12 Optative particles serve to convey the speaker’s will, wishes, and the like. The particles tegū(l) and tē ‘let’ are often used with the present or (less commonly) future tense 3rd person form to render the imperative mood 3rd person meaning; cf.:

Jeigu nōrī, tegū skraido (PRES). ‘If he feels like it, let (him) fly.’
Te kiekvienas parašys (FUT). ‘Let everyone write.’

These particles may also occur with the future or present tense 1st person or with the subjunctive mood:

Geriaū tegū āš mīrsiu, negū ji išdūosiu. ‘Better let me (I’d rather) die (FUT) than betray him.’

In dialects and sometimes in written Standard Lithuanian, the particle lai is used to render the optative meaning; e.g.:

Lai tās būs karālius. ‘Let that one be the king.’

To express request, order, wish, threat the particle kad can be used with the subjunctive mood of verbs:
Kad tū sudēgtum (SUBJ)! ‘May you burn! (I wish you would burn!’
Kad turēčiau (SUBJ) šia knygą! ‘I wish I had this book!’

The particles še, tē, nā which express inducement are used (mostly in colloquial Lithuanian since they sound familiar) when offering or giving something:
Še tāu maŗša pinigū. ‘Here, take this bag of money’ (lit. Here a bag of money for you).’

The particles šekit and tėkit which are contiguous to interjections are formed from the particles še, tē with the imperative suffix and 2. PL ending:
Šekit, imkite viską. ‘Here, take everything.’

7.13 Intensifying-emphatic particles are used to emphasize a word or a clause. The most common intensifiers are the particles gi, jūk and iŗ:

Jis gi kvailas. ‘He is just stupid.’
Žinaĩ gi jō pāpročius. ‘You do know his ways (or: You know his ways, don’t you).’
Jūk ir āš tavo dukš. 'I am your daughter, too, aren’t I.’
Jis ir ypâ tûs ēzogûs, apiē kûrj kâbâme. ‘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 žinaï, kô jâm reîkia. ‘You do know what he wants.’

The particles kâd, kâdgi ‘simply’, taî ‘that’, tik ‘only’, nêt ‘even’, jaû kad ‘simply’ are also used as emphasizers:

O tûs gaidûs ant tvorûs kad giêda. ‘That rooster on the fence is simply bursting with crowing (lit. just crows).’
Jis nêt praviêko. ‘He even burst into tears.’
O ji tik veîkia! ‘And she is crying and crying!’
Taî bûs juôko! ‘That’ll be a good laugh, won’t it!’

The particles kuô, kô are used with the superlative (sometimes comparative) degree of adjectives and adverbs:
kuô geriaùsias/geriaùsiai ‘the best possible/in the best possible way’
kô geriaû ‘as well as possible’

7.14 Connecting particles. The particles irgi ‘also, too’ and taip pât ‘also, too’ are used as connectors between clauses and sentences to achieve logical coherence:

Pêtras pradêjo juôkis, kîtî taip pât nusîjuokë. ‘Peter burst out laughing, the others laughed too.’
Às kû tik suteikaû Jôna. – Às irgi/taip pât jî suteikaû. ‘I’ve just met John. – I have also met him.’

The intensifying particle ir, which is identical in form with the conjunction ir ‘and’, is also used a connector:

Nevûlgyk pyrûgo. – Às ir nenôriu. ‘Don’t eat the cake. – [But] I don’t even want it.’

The particle dûr has an additive force, usually when used with interrogative pronouns:
Kûs dûr nóri arbûtûs? ‘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. *tiesiog* 'straight, right', *stačiai* 'straight', *ganà* 'enough, rather', used as intensifiers; cf.:

   *Tie kalnaï tiesiog pąsakiški.*
   *Jis grįžo ganà greit.*

   'Those mountains are just fabulous.'
   'He returned quite soon.'

2. The dative case form *mán* 'to me', *täu* 'to you', *säu* 'to oneself' of the respective personal and reflexive pronouns, used as intensifiers, cf.:

   *Tù mán nejuokáuk!*
   *Gyvensi säu kaip ponìà.*

   'Don’t you dare to joke!'
   'You’ll live just like a lady.'

3. The pronoun *vienas* 'one', used as an intensifier:

   *Vienì vargaï su tavìm.*

   'What a lot of trouble you cause.'

4. Verbal forms like *nelýginant* 'without comparing', *sakýtum(ei)* 'you’d say';

   *Mes čia nelyginant/sakytumei visái svetimi.*

   'We are here just like strangers.'

5. In exclamatory sentences and rhetorical questions, word clusters like *kàs per* 'what(a)', *tai täu, šè tau, kà tik* 'just', *tai štaï* 'so' are used very much like particles to emphasize surprise:

   *Vièšpatie, kàs per gražûmas!*
   *Tai štaï kuû tû buvaï pasislëpes.*

   'Oh dear, what a wonderful sight!'
   'Ah, so that’s where you were hiding.'
8 PREPOSITIONS

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. knygą ant stalo 'a book on the table', eiti 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. liūn(ūi) 'towards', dėlei 'because of' and vietoj '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| iš ‘into, to’ | – i-, as in į-vesti ‘lead in(to), introduce’
iš ‘out of’ | – iš-, as in iš-vesti ‘lead out(of)’
su ‘with’ | – su-, as in su-eiti ‘come together’
ūž ‘on, over’ | – už-, as in už-dėti ‘put on’

Sometimes they differ due to vowel alternation, e.g.:

apiė ‘about’ | – ap(i)-, as in ap-eiti ‘go round’
nuod ‘from’ | – nu-, as in nu-eiti ‘go away’
prū ‘by’ | – pra-, as in praeiti ‘pass by’

The prepositions ašt ‘on’, anot ‘according to’, dėl ‘because of’, įki ‘to, till’, lig(i) ‘till’, pas ‘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.:

- abīpus ‘on both sides of’
- anāapus and kitapus ‘on the other side of’
- šiāpus ‘this side of’
- aplīnku ‘(a)round’
- pāskuī/pāskum ‘behind, after’
- gretā ‘next to’
- šaliā ‘by, next to’
- artīkarčiai ‘near, by’
- artīn ‘nearer to’
- netoli ‘not far from’
- pirmā/pirmiaū ‘before’

They may be referred to as adverbial prepositions. Most of them, except liānku, tiēs, viŗs, viĎuū and pasāk ‘according to’, pagāl ‘along, according to’, taľp ‘between’, dékā ‘thanks to’ are also used as adverbs, cf.:

Gyvenu artī ķepēs.    ‘I live near the river.’
Jīs ķvyvēna artī.     ‘He lives nearby.’

These adverbs are in their turn mostly derived either from adjectives (e.g. ilg-as ‘long’: iš-ilg-ā ‘along’, ĵstriž-as ‘slanting’: ĵstriž-ā ‘slantwise, across’), or nouns (e.g. vietoj ‘instead of’ (lit. ‘in place of’), viĎuū ‘inside’), a numeral (pirm-as ‘first’ : pirm-ā ‘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.:

- galē lauķo    ‘at the end of the field’
- šāne kēlio    ‘on the side of the road’
- krašte māriņ    ‘by (lit. ‘at the edge’) lagoon’
- prieķy/priešakų veţimo ‘in front of the cart’
- užpakalų kolonas ‘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 po ‘from under’ and iš už ‘from behind’) or a primary and a secondary (i anāapus ‘to the other side of’, iš taľp ‘from among’) prepositions. In Standard Lithuanian only two of them, viz. iš po and iš už, 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 *pykti ant draugo* ‘to be angry with a friend’. They may express a variety of semantic relations within a word group, e.g.:

- *ateiti iš miško*  
  ‘to come from the woods’ (spatial relation)
- *ateiti iš rūto*  
  to come in the morning’ (temporal relation)
- *nāmas iš plūtų*  
  ‘a house (built) of bricks’ (relation between a thing and material)
- *šokinėti iš dziaugsmo*  
  ‘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.:

- *ap-eiti apie nāmą*  
  ‘go around the house’
- *i-eiti į nāmą*  
  ‘go into the house’
- *iš-eiti iš nāmo*  
  ‘go out of the house’
- *nu-mėsti nuo stalo*  
  ‘throw from the table’
- *pėr-bėgti per kėlia*  
  ‘run across the road’
- *pri-eiti prie upės*  
  ‘to come up to the river’

8.5 A preposition may have a distinct lexical meaning, especially if it denotes direction, cf.:

- *i miesto*  
  ‘to the town’
- *iš miesto*  
  ‘from the town’
- *pro miesto*  
  ‘past the town’
- *už miesto*  
  ‘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 po 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, aūt, bè, dē(ei), iki, lig(i), iš, nuō, priē;

(b) the derivative prepositions arti (arciaū, artyn), aukščiaū, dekā, gretā, ūkandin, liūk(uui), netoli, pasak, pirmā (pirmiaū, pirm), pusūau, šaliā, taūp, toliaū, vidūj, vidurū (viduū), viėtoj, viūš (viršūj, viršūm), žemiaū; anāpus, abipus, antrāpus, siūpas, abīšal, anāšal;

(c) the complex prepositions iš ūž, iš po, iš taūp, iš anāpus, i anāpus, už anāpus.

With išilgaū, ĭstrižaū, skersaū, kiauraū, 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 aūt denotes the following:

(1) position on top, or on the surface, e.g.:

\[
gulēti ant grindū \quad \text{‘lie on the floor’}
\]
\[
būti ant kālno \quad \text{‘be on the hill’}
\]

(2) the final point of movement:

\[
padēti ant stālo \quad \text{‘put (sth) on the table’}
\]
\[
atsigulēti ant suolo \quad \text{‘lie down on the bench’}
\]

(3) manner or means, depending on the lexical meanings of the complement noun and head verb, cf.:

\[
gulēti ant nūgaros \quad \text{‘lie on (one’s) back’}
\]
\[
jočī ant žīrgo \quad \text{‘ride on horseback’}
\]
\[
plaukti ant lentūs \quad \text{‘swim on a board’}
\]
\[
pakelēti ant šākių \quad \text{‘raise (sth) on a pitchfork’}
\]

(4) stimulus or target, with verbs expressing negative emotions or their manifestation, cf.:

\[
pūkti ant kō \quad \text{‘be angry at sb’}
\]
\[
rēkauti/bārtis ant kō \quad \text{‘shout/swear at sb’}
\]
8.9 The preposition anót ‘according to’ and its synonym pasàk refer to the source of information; they are used in introductory parenthetic phrases:

Jis, anót tévo, kvàillas. ‘As his father says, he is stupid.’
Pasàk laïkraščìu, bus kársta. ‘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.:

siàti be àdots ‘sew without a needle’
gràžti be kepùrés ‘return without a cap’
ateiti be žmonòs ‘come without (one’s) wife’
dirbti be póìlsio ‘work without a rest’
gyvënti be dźiaùgsmo ‘live without joy’

(2) absence of a property or a part, when subordinated to a noun:

nàìmas be stògo ‘the house without a roof’
žmògùs be sùžinèùs ‘a man without conscience’

(3) being short of some quantity:

litas be ceñòtò lit. ‘a litas without a cent’ (= 99 cents)
šìntas be viëno ‘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):

Atsìkèliau be šviesòs. ‘I got up before daylight.’
Be pavàsario nègrìù. ‘I won’t return before (lit. ‘without’) spring.’

(5) it has an additive sense in cases like Be bròlio, àš turiù dìvì sèserìs ‘Besides a brother, I have two sisters’; it denotes exception when used after negated verbs:

Be bròlio, àš daugiàì niëko neturiù ‘Except for a brother, I have no relatives.’

8.11 The preposition dël(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):

Žvaìgùùs atròodo màžos dël dideliù atstùmu. ‘Stars look small because of the great distances.’
Su pykai dėl nięky. 'You got angry because of nothing.'
Jis skundėsi dėl nesėkmiių. 'He complained of failures.'

(2) purpose or goal, mostly with verbs of volitional actions especially those of motion:
kovoti dėl laisvės 'fight for freedom'
isgerti dėl drąsos 'take a drink for courage'
ateiti dėl mergėlės 'come to see (lit. 'because of') the fair girl'

(3) concession:
Dėl tokio lietauš gali eiti 'With this rain, you can go out without an umbrella.'
be skėcio 'As far as I am concerned, you can go hang yourself.'

(4) content, with verbs of speech and mental processes:
tartis dėl paliaubų 'negotiate a truce'
suabejoti dėl tų žodžių 'doubt the statement'
susirūpinėti dėl sveikatos 'get worried about (one's) health'

8.12 The synonymous prepositions iki and lig(i) 'as far as, until' specify:

(1) the final limit of movement, or extent of a thing in space:
nueiti iki/ligi miško 'go as far as the woods'
pakilti iki debesų 'rise up to the clouds'
(miškas) tęsiasi iki jūros 'as far as the sea'
lai jūs toli 'it is far to the station'

(2) the temporal limit of an action:
dirbti iki nakties 'work till/until night'
grįžti iki šeštadienio 'return before Saturday'

(3) the upper limit of quantity:
suskaiciuoti iki dešimt 'count to ten'
susiriškoti lig šimto žmonių 'as many as a hundred people gathered'

(4) the highest degree of a state or an action:
(geležis) įkaito iki baltumo 'as white as (lit. 'until whiteness')
juokti iki 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
išęti \ iš \ kaňbario & \quad \text{‘go out of the room’} \\
išimti \ iš \ spintos & \quad \text{‘take (sth) out of a cupboard’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) from a place, which can be denoted metonymically by a human noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
grįžti \ iš \ miesto \ / \ iš \ sesės & \quad \text{‘return from the town / from one’s sister’} \\
parsinėsti \ paltą \ iš \ siuvėjo & \quad \text{‘fetch the coat from the tailor’}
\end{align*}
\]

(c) from the place of activity, the complement denoting an action or process:

\[
\begin{align*}
grįžti \ iš \ karo & \quad \text{‘return from a war’} \\
pareiti \ iš \ medžioklės & \quad \text{‘come back from hunting’}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) the initial state, with verbs denoting a change of state:

\[
\begin{align*}
pabusti \ iš \ miego & \quad \text{‘awake from sleep’} \\
atsipeikėti \ iš \ išgąsčio & \quad \text{‘recover from fright’} \\
išęti \ iš \ pusiausvyros & \quad \text{‘lose (lit. ‘go out of’) composure’}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) material or ingredients of the whole:

\[
\begin{align*}
Pastatė \ namą \ iš \ plytų. & \quad \text{‘(He) built a house from bricks.’} \\
Kalba \ susideda \ iš \ žodžių. & \quad \text{‘A language is composed of words.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(4) a thing which changes into something else:

\[
\begin{align*}
Iš \ nāmo \ liko \ pelenaī. & \quad \text{‘Ashes was all that remained of the house.’} \\
Iš \ erelio \ pavirto \ žmogus. & \quad \text{‘An eagle turned into a man.’ (lit. ‘A man became out of a eagle.’)}
\end{align*}
\]

(5) the source, especially of information:

\[
\begin{align*}
sužinoti \ iš \ laikraščių & \quad \text{‘learn from newspapers’} \\
pažinti \ iš \ ešenos & \quad \text{‘recognize by (lit. ‘from’) the gait’} \\
suprasti \ iš \ akių & \quad \text{‘understand from the eyes’} \\
piškti \ iš \ kaimyno & \quad \text{‘buy from a neighbour’}
\end{align*}
\]

(6) origin with respect to place, social class or family:

\[
\begin{align*}
Jis \ (kilo) \ iš \ Kauno \ / \ iš \ vals- \ tičių \ / \ iš \ Radvilų. & \quad \text{‘He is (comes) from Kaunas / from peasants / from the Radvila family.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(7) a class or a whole from which a part or component is distinguished:

\[
\begin{align*}
išsiskirti \ iš \ visų & \quad \text{‘stand out among all’} \\
vienas \ iš \ mokinių & \quad \text{‘one of the students’} \\
jauniausia \ iš \ seserų & \quad \text{‘the youngest of the sisters’}
\end{align*}
\]
(8) the object of verbs denoting manifestation of negative emotions:

\[ \text{tyčiotis} / \text{juoktis iš žmoniū} \quad \text{‘jeer/laugh at people’} \]

(9) the cause of negative emotions, states, etc.:

\[ \text{pabalti iš pūkčio} \quad \text{‘grow pale with anger’} \]
\[ \text{virpėti iš báimès} \quad \text{‘shake with fear’} \]
\[ \text{mišti iš (nuo) bādo} \quad \text{‘die of hunger’} \]

(10) the initial time limit of an action (with temporal nouns):

\[ \text{skaudėti iš (nuo) rýto} \quad \text{‘ache since morning’} \]
\[ \text{sīgti iš (nuo) pavasario} \quad \text{‘be ill since spring’} \]

(11) the manner of action (in set phrases):

\[ \text{suprąsti iš kačto} \quad \text{‘understand at once’} \]
\[ \text{paldėti iš širdiūs} \quad \text{‘help sincerely’ (lit. ‘from heart’)} \]
\[ \text{iš petiūs} \quad \text{‘with all one’s might’} \]
\[ \text{iš esmūs} \quad \text{‘in essence’} \]

8.14 The preposition \text{nuo} ‘from, off’ specifies:

(1) negative direction, viz.

(a) from the initial point downward or upward:

\[ \text{nukristi nuo stalo} \quad \text{‘fall from the table’} \]
\[ \text{nusilėisti nuo kálno} \quad \text{‘descend from the hill’} \]
\[ \text{pakelti nuo žemūs} \quad \text{‘pick up from the ground’} \]

(b) away from the initial point:

\[ \text{ateiti nuo miško} \quad \text{‘come from the direction of the woods’} \]
\[ \text{atsitrūkšti nuo sienos} \quad \text{‘pull away from the wall’ (antonymous with išlik ‘towards’, see 8.16, 2)} \]

(c) an entity from which a part is taken or another entity detached (with verbs of respective lexical meanings):

\[ \text{atrishti žirgą nuo tvorūs} \quad \text{‘untie a horse from the fence’} \]
\[ \text{nusivalytī sniegu nuo bātu} \quad \text{‘brush snow from (one’s) shoes’} \]

(2) relative static position:

\[ \text{Mēdis (ágūa) netoli nuo nāmo.} \quad \text{‘The tree (grows) not far from the house.’} \]

(3) limits of space or distance:

\[ \text{eiti nuo miēsto iki ėžero} \quad \text{‘go from the town to the lake’} \]
(4) the initial time limit of an action (with temporal nouns):

\[ \text{lýti nuo rýto} \]  
'rain since morning'

(5) cause, either external or internal (with verbs of physical and psychological states):

\[ \text{susvyruóti nuo smágio} \]  
'stagger from (under) the blow'

\[ \text{užsnústi nuo (iš) núovargio} \]  
'fall asleep from fatigue'

(iš is more common in the latter case)

(6) the person(s) as the initiator(s) in collocations like:

\[ \text{Pérdouok linkéjimų nuo manęs.} \]  
'Give my best regards to ...' (lit. 'from me')

\[ \text{Pasintinýs atvýko nuo karáliaus.} \]  
'The envoy has arrived from the king.'

(7) purpose, when modifying a noun:

\[ \text{váistai nuo gripo} \]  
'medicine against the flu'

\[ \text{pastógë nuo lietaús} \]  
'shelter from rain'

8.15 The preposition \text{prië} 'at, by, to' specifies mostly spatial relations:

(1) position next to a place or a thing:

\[ \text{stovëti prie vařtu} \]  
'stand at the gate'

\[ \text{gyvëntí prie ùpës} \]  
'live by the river'

(2) final point of movement (with or without coming into contact):

\[ \text{nueïti prie ëžero} \]  
'go to the lake'

\[ \text{prisiglaústi prie sìenos} \]  
'press to the wall'

\[ \text{séstí prie stálo} \]  
'sit down at the table'

(3) the person(s) in whose presence the action takes place:

\[ \text{kalbëti prie vaikí} \]  
'speak in children's presence'

(4) relation of subordination to an institution:

\[ \text{komisíja prie universitétò} \]  
'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 (\text{arti} 'near to', \text{gretà} 'next to', \text{šalìà} 'next to, on the side of', \text{netolì} 'not far from', \text{pirmà} 'in front of', \text{vidurý} 'in the middle of', \text{viðš} 'above', \text{žemiaù} 'under, below', \text{taþp} 'between, among', \text{abìpu} 'on both sides of', \text{abišal} 'on both sides of', \text{anàpu} / \text{kitapu} 'on the other side of') cf.:
Few of the secondary (including adverbial) prepositions express other than spatial relations. The following prepositions are used to identify:

1. Temporal relations:
   a. *pirma* expresses precedence in time:
      
      atėjo pirmą mūsų/pūsryčių  
      '(he) came before us/breakfast'
   b. *tarp* indicates temporal limits:
      
      atėjo tarp pirmos ir antros valandos  
      '(he) came between one and two o’clock'
   c. *vidur* and rarely *vidūj* express the middle of a period of time:
      
      vidur/vidūr y/vidūj naktės  
      'in the middle of the night'
   d. *arti* indicates approximate time:
      
      buvo arti vidūrnakcio  
      'it was close to midnight'

2. *arti* is also used to specify the approximate time or quantity:

   arti kilogramo/kilometro  
   'near to (almost) a kilogram/a kilometre'

   *tarp* is used to indicate the limits of quantity:

   kainuojy tarp penkii ir dešimties lityų  
   'it costs between five and ten litas'

3. *dekà* ‘due to, thanks to’, which has no locative meaning, denotes (positive) cause:

   jū dārbo dekà  
   'thanks to his work'

   daug pasiekti gabūmy dekà  
   'achieve much due to talents'
(4) viėtoj ‘in place of’ specifies the relations of substitution:

- gėrėti pieną vietoj vandens
- vietoj tėvo atėjo sūnus

(5) šalia ‘along with, next to’ is used figuratively to express oppositeness:

- šalia pilnų formų vartojamos ir sutrunčpintos

8.18 The complex preposition iš po ‘from under’ can specify spatial and temporal relations:

- iš po stalo
- iš po žiemos

The prepositions iš už ‘from behind’, iš anapus ‘from the other side’, iš anapus ‘from the other side’ and others specify spatial relations exclusively:

- iš už miško
- iš anapus upės

Prepositions with the accusative case

8.19 The prepositions that require the accusative case of the complement are:

- apië/apliūk(u) ‘about, around’
- i ‘to, in, into’
- pagai ‘by, according to, along’
- palei ‘by, near, along’
- pās ‘by, to, with’
- paskui/pāskum ‘after, behind’
- per ‘through, over, in, by’
- priēš ‘against, before’
- prō ‘through, by’

Most of these prepositions are polysemous.

8.20 The prepositions apië ‘about, around’ and apiūk ‘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:

- stovëti apië/apliūk lauža
- trišsti apië namus

(2) the route of movement (after verbs of motion):

- (api)bëgti apië/apliūk nāma
(3) approximate time (with temporal nouns):

apië vidūrdienį
'at about midday'

apië penktą valandą
'at about five o'clock'

(4) approximate quantity:

sveiti (svėrti)/nupirkti apië
du kilogramus
'weigh/buy about two kilograms'

(5) content (after verbs of speech and mental processes):

kalbėti apië kelionės
'speak about travels'
pasakoti apië kelionę
'tell about the trip'
(but pasakoti naujinės, įspūdžius
'tell the news, impressions')
galvoti apië vaikus
'think about (the) children'

8.21 The preposition į ‘in, to, into’ denotes:

(1) direction of movement into, inside a place:

eiti į miestą
'go to the town'
padėti į stálčių
'put into the drawer'
jeiti į kambarį
'come into the room'

The meaning ‘inside’ is neutralised after verbs of other semantic types:

pasukti į dėsinę
'turn to the right'
atširemti į mėdi
'lean against a tree'
bėlstis į duris
'knock at the door'

(2) when used metaphorically, destination of movement (with nouns denoting activities, events):

išvykti į karą
'go to war'
nueiti į susirinkimą, į šokių, į paskaitą
'go to a meeting, to dance, to a lecture'

(3) the target of an action (with certain verbs):

žiūrėti į saulę
'look at the sun'
taikytis į žmogų
'aim at a man'

(4) the result of process (after verbs of change):

Žmūnės paviño į akmenis.
'People turned into stones.'
Sūnus išaugo į vyrą.
'The son has grown into a man.'
Stiklinė sudužo į šukės.
'The glass broke into pieces.'

(5) the approximate time of action:

Atėjo į vakarą.
'He came when it was almost evening.'
(6) the standard of comparison:

Sužišus panašus į 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 ūpe

'walk along the river'

(2) location next to an object (usually long, or of large dimensions):

gulėti pagal/palei tvora

gyventi palei ėžera

'lie under (along) the fence'

'live next to/by the lake'

(3) the standard or basis of action:

veikti pagal plana

rengtis pagal madą

'act according to plan'

'dress in accordance with fashion'

(4) the criterion of comparison:

aukštas pagal ėmžiu

'tall for (his) age'

(5) the source of information (in parenthetical phrases):

Pagal laikraščius, tėfi šaudoma.

'According to newspapers, shooting goes on there.'

8.23 The preposition pas 'by, at; with' has spatial meanings only; it identifies:

(1) location referred to by a human (or animate) noun:

gyventi pas tėvus

pas mūs gražù

'live with one’s parents (at their place)'

'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:

suėiti pas drauga

nuvesti pas daktarą

'go together to a friend'

'take (sb) to a doctor'

(3) with inanimate nouns it is used as a synonym of priė in colloquial speech:

stovėti pas ląga/priė lągo

nueiti pas ūpe/priė ūpes

'stand at/by the window'

'go to the river'

8.24 The preposition paskui/paskum ‘after, behind’ differs from all the others (except its antonym pirmą ‘in front of’) in that it denotes a spatial relation between two moving objects:
jis bėgo paskui/paskum manė  ‘he was running behind me’

Cf. pirmà manęs  ‘in front of me’

šalià manęs  ‘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:
   
   eiti per mišką  ‘go through the forest’
   
   išeiti per duris  ‘go out through the door’
   
   žeũgti per sleũkstį  ‘step across the threshold’
   
   šokti per tvōrą  ‘jump over the fence’
   
   važiuoti į Londoną per Parýžiu  ‘go to London via Paris’
   
   the path of movement from one place to another, covering many:
   
   eiti per kráutuves  ‘go shopping’ (lit. ‘through shops’)
   
2. the target (usually a body part) at which a blow is aimed:
   
   mūšti per gâlvą  ‘beat on the head’
   
   a part (a body part, as a rule) of the whole to which an action or state is related:
   
   bâtaia siauri per pirštus  ‘the shoes are narrow at the toes’
   
   lûžo rankâ per riešą  ‘the hand broke at the wrist’
   
3. the distance relative to an object:
   
   stovėti per žiňgsnį nuo dûrų  ‘stand a step away from the door’
   
4. period of time during which an action takes place, or duration of an action:
   
   atėiti per pietùs  ‘come during dinner’
   
   per (visq) diëna  ‘all day long’
   
   padarytìti per doi dienàs  ‘do (sth) in (within) two days’
   
5. the cause of a (negative) event:
   
   nukentëti per draugùs  ‘suffer because of (through the fault of) friends’
   
   cf. nukentëti nuo draugû  ‘suffer from friends’
   
6. the mediator or means:
   
   kalbëti per vertéjà  ‘speak through an interpreter’
   
   pranešti per spaüdą  ‘announce through the press’
   
7. exceeding the quantity:
   
   sumokëti per dû Šimtûs  ‘pay more than (over) two hundred’
   
   jài per trisdešimt  ‘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):

\[ \text{Gyvenu priešparduo tuvę.} \]
\[ \text{I live opposite a shop.'} \]
\[ \text{Kėde stovi prieš stālą.} \]
\[ \text{‘A chair is before (in front of) the table.'} \]

(2) the opposite direction of motion:

\[ \text{Plaukiau prieš srūvę.} \]
\[ \text{‘I swam against the current.’} \]
\[ \text{Vaikai bėga priešais mōtiną.} \]
\[ \text{‘The children are running to meet (their) mother.’} \]

(3) position in front of a moving object (pirmā is more frequent in this case, see 8.16, 1):

\[ \text{Prieš vežimą bėgo šuo.} \]
\[ \text{‘In front of the cart a dog ran.’} \]

(4) precedence in time, viz.:

(a) the period of time before which an action takes place:

\[ \text{ateiti prieš rytą} \]
\[ \text{‘come before morning’} \]
\[ \text{susitikti prieš kārą} \]
\[ \text{‘meet before the war’} \]

(b) the period of time that separates the action from the moment of utterance:

\[ \text{Grįžiau prieš mėnesį.} \]
\[ \text{‘I returned a month ago.’} \]

(5) opposition to the person:

(a) at whom hostile action is directed:

\[ \text{kovoti prieš engėjus} \]
\[ \text{‘fight against oppressors’} \]
\[ \text{šiauštis prieš tēvą} \]
\[ \text{‘stand against (one’s) father’} \]

(b) with respect to whom a psychological state or its manifestation takes place:

\[ \text{žeminėtis prieš viršininką} \]
\[ \text{‘abase oneself with one’s superior’} \]
\[ \text{raudonūoti prieš žmones} \]
\[ \text{‘blush in the presence of people’} \]

(6) the standard of comparison:

\[ \text{Sūnus prieš tēvą negražus.} \]
\[ \text{‘The son is not handsome in comparison (lit. ‘against’) with father.’} \]

8.27 The preposition pro ‘past, through’ is used to denote spatial relations:

(1) the route of movement past an object or place:

\[ \text{važiuoti pro mišką} \]
\[ \text{‘ride past a forest’} \]
\[ \text{jūs praėjo pro manę} \]
\[ \text{‘he passed by me’} \]

(2) the route of movement through an object, obstruction:
Prepositions

with the instrumental case

8.28 The prepositions su 'with', sulig 'up to' and tiës 'by, at, against, opposite, over' are used with the instrumental case exclusively. The most frequent and polysemous of them is su which has no spatial meanings.

8.29 The preposition su 'with' renders a broad variety of comitative and sociative and other relations. It may identify:

(1) the object of verbs denoting reciprocal actions:

giënytis/draugauti su mokytoju 'argue/be friends with the teacher'
kovoti su priësu 'struggle with the enemy'

(2) the accompanying person(s) or thing(s), cf. respectively:

(a) Tëvas su vaikaës buvo namië. 'The father and children (lit. 'father with children') were at home.'
pakviësti tëvo su vaikaës 'invite the father and his children'
gyventi su tëvaës 'live with one's parents'
(b) žmogës (atëjo) su kirviëu 'the man (came) with an ax'
vålgyti diuonë su sviesstu 'eat bread with (= and) butter'

(3) an ingredient, or a feature, or the content of a whole:

nëmas su balkonë 'a house with a balcony'
zëmogës su charakteriü 'a man with (= of) character'
maïsas su mïltais (= mïltu: GEN) 'a bag with (= of) flour'

(4) the time of action (simultaneity with an event, usually a natural phenomenon):

këltis su sâule 'rise with the sun (= at dawn)'
grëzëti su šviesa 'return with light (= while it is light yet)'

(5) the standard of comparison after expressions of similarity and identity:

tapatës su kuò nórs 'identical with sb/sth'
(6) the state of the subject during an action:

- kalbėti su užsidegimu
  - ‘speak with enthusiasm’
- laukti su nekantrumu
  - ‘wait with impatience’
- klausyti/skalbėti su šypseną
  - ‘listen/speak with a smile’

(7) the instrument:

- rašyti su pieštuku
  - ‘write with a pencil’

(synonymous with the instrumental case without a preposition: rašyti pieštuku)

8.30 The secondary preposition sulig ‘up to’ (= ‘equally’) indicates:

(1) the spatial limits of an action on the vertical axis:

- vanduo pakilo sulig tiltu
  - ‘water rose up to the bridge’
- nusileiškite sulig žemė
  - ‘bow down to the ground’

(2) the standard of comparison in expressions of equivalence:

- mėdis sulig namu
  - ‘a tree as tall as the house’
- sulig tėvuo storūmo
  - ‘as fat as (his) father’

(3) simultaneity with another event or time:

- atsikėlėti sulig saulės tekėjimu
  - ‘get up at (= at the same time as) sunrise’

8.31 The secondary preposition tiēs specifies position relative to an object:

- sustočti ties vaštais
  - ‘stop at the gate’
- augti ties takeliū
  - ‘grow by the path’

It is also synonymous with viřš ‘over, above’:

- lempa kabo ties stalū
  - ‘a lamp hangs over the table’

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:

- būti/augti už nāmo
  - ‘be/grow behind the house’
- gyventi už miesto
  - ‘live out of town’
- sėsti(s) už stalo
  - ‘sit down at the table’
(2) distance relative to a place:

\textit{gyventi / nuvėžti už dviejų kilomètrų nuo namų} ‘live/take (sb) two kilometers away from home’

(3) the time period after which an action took or will take place:

\textit{atejo / ateis už valandos} ‘(he) came/will come in an hour’

\textit{(pò + GEN is more common in this sense, see 8.33, 1b)}

(4) part of a whole of which hold is taken:

\textit{vėsti / paimti už rankos} ‘lead/take by the hand’

\textit{laikytis už turėklo} ‘hold onto the rail’

When used with the \textit{accusative} case, \textit{už} identifies:

(5) the goal or beneficiary:

\textit{kovoti už tėvynę / laisvę} ‘struggle/fight for the homeland/ freedom’

\textit{balsuoti už prezidente} ‘vote for the president’

(6) the motive of actions like paying, rewarding, punishing, etc.:

\textit{apdovanoti / mokoti / baūsti už ką nors} ‘award/pay/punish for sth’

(7) the sum of money for which a thing is sold or bought:

\textit{pirkti / parduoti už dēsimt dòlerių} ‘buy/sell for ten dollars’

(8) the motive or stimulus of an emotion or its manifestation:

\textit{mylëti / girti / nekësti / barti už ką nors} ‘love/praise/hate/scold for sth’

(9) (interchangeably with \textit{viëtoj ‘instead of’) the person instead of whom an action is performed:

\textit{dirbti už kolègą} ‘stand in for a colleague’

\textit{pasirašyti už sùnų} ‘sign in one’s son’s name’

(10) the status (social, professional, etc.) or function of the subject (in colloquial speech):

\textit{dirbti už sekretorių} ‘work as a secretary’

(11) the standard of comparison, with the comparative (rarely superlative) degree of adjectives and adverbs:

\textit{sunkësnis už akmenį} ‘heavier than stone’

8.33 The preposition \textit{pò ‘about, around, after’ is used with all the three cases. When used with the \textit{genitive} case, it specifies:
(1) temporal sequence, viz.:

(a) the period of time which precedes an action:

Po nakties pateka sąulė.  
Grįžau po pamokų.  
‘The sun rises after the night.’  
‘I returned after the classes.’

(b) the period of time separating an action from the preceding point of reference:

Grįžau po valandos.  
cf. also dešimt (minučių) po šešių  
‘I returned in an hour.’  
‘ten (minutes) past six’

It is also used in sequences like dieną po dienąs ‘day after day’

(2) (in colloquial speech) the object which is destroyed or disappears as a result of the action, as in the pattern:

Ištekėjai, ir po gražumo.  
‘You marry, and your beauty is gone’ (lit. ‘and after beauty’).

When used with the **accusative** case, po identifies:

(3) the place within the limits of which an iterative action takes place:

vaiškšioti po kašorj/laukūs  
ieškoti po kišenės  
keliauti po kraštą  
‘walk about the room (pace the room)/in the fields’  
‘search in all the pockets’  
‘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:

vaiškšioti po parduotuves  
vaiškšioti po susirinkimūs/draugūs  
‘go shopping (visit many shops)’  
‘attend meetings/visit friends’

(5) the places over which an action or state of a thing is distributed (pervasive static meaning):

Manno gimines gyvena po visą pasaulį.  
‘My relatives live all over the world.’

(6) distributive quantity:

dūoti vaikams po dū obuolių  
vaiškšioti po dū  
‘give children two apples apiece’  
‘walk in pairs (= in twos)’

When used with the **instrumental** case, po indicates:

(7) relative position or place of an action under a thing or in proximity to the lower part of it (spatial proximity):
gulēti/palīsti po stalū
sēdēti po lángū
āugti po kālnu

‘lie/creep under the table’
‘sit at the window’
‘grow at the bottom of the hill’
9 CONJUNCTIONS

Jungtūkai

9.1 Conjunctions are a class of invariable words which serve to connect notional words, word groups and/or clauses collectively termed conjuncts, cf.:

\[\text{Jis gražūs, bet māžas.}' \quad \text{`He is handsome but small.'}\]
\[\text{Āš žinaū, kad jis čiūa.}' \quad \text{`I know that he is here.'}\]

Conjunctions differ from prepositions in that they do not determine the grammatical form of nouns, cf.:

\[\text{mōtin-a ir vaik-ãi `mother (NOM) and children (NOM)'}\]
\[\text{and mōtin-a su vaik-ãī lit. `mother (NOM) with (the) children (INSTR)'}\]

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.:

\[\text{ā `and, but'}\]
\[\text{if `and'}\]
\[\text{ã `or'}\]
\[\text{bēt `but'}\]
\[\text{nēs `as'}\]
\[\text{kād `that'}\]
\[\text{jōg `that'}\]
\[\text{nōrs `though'}\]

A number of simple conjunctions consist of two or more syllables. Some of them are descended from two- (or more) word clusters, e.g. bētgi `but' (bēt + gi), užtāt/ užtãī `therefore' (už + tāt/ už + tā ī); but in Standard Lithuanian most of them are unanalysable into segments. Here belong:

\[\text{arba `for'}\]
\[\text{jēigu `if'}\]
\[\text{negu `than'}\]
\[\text{nekaip `than'}\]
\[\text{nebeńt `unless'}\]
\[\text{benę `perhaps'}\]
\[\text{ōgi `but'}\]
\[\text{taįgi `so'}\]
\[\text{kadāngi `because'}\]
\[\text{tiktaį `only'}\]

A few conjunctions have retained their derivative relations with other words and word forms, thus tār̃t̄un/ tar̃yt̄um/ tār̃si `as if' are descended from tense and mood forms of the verb tārt̄i `say', nėlyginant `like' is originally a gerund of (ne)-lýginti `(not) compare').
Simple conjunctions either function as conjunctions exclusively (e.g. *jög* ‘that’, *nès* ‘as’, *kadângi* ‘because’, *beĩ’and’, *tačiaū* ‘but, though’), or they double as particles (*ař* ‘or’, *nei* ‘than’, *tařsi/tarţum/tarţyum* ‘as if’, *tegūl* ‘(even) though’, *tik* ‘but’, *vōs*, *vōs tik* ‘hardly [ever]’; *bēt* ‘but’, *iř* ‘and’, *kâd* ‘that’, *lỳg* ‘as if’, *nōrs* ‘though’), adverbs (*kadâ* ‘when’, *kōl* ‘while’, *kaĩp* ‘how’, *kuř* ‘where’), or prepositions (*iki* ‘until’, *ligi* ‘until, till’), or interjections (*ō* ‘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:

- *ō tačiaū* ‘but however’
- *ō betgi* ‘but however’
- *ō vōs dēltō* ‘but still’
- *iki kōl(ei)* ‘until’

(2) a (subordinating) conjunction or adverb and the particle *tik* ‘only’:

- *kaĩp tik* ‘as soon as’
- *vōs tik* ‘as soon as’
- *jēi tik* ‘if only’

(3) a (comparative) conjunction and the particle *kâd*:

- *kaĩp kâd* ‘as, like’
- *lỳg kâd* ‘as, if’

(4) a conjunction such as *kâd* ‘that’ or *nōrs* ‘though’, etc., and the particle *iř*:

- *kâd iř* ‘though’
- *tegūl iř* ‘though’

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.:

- *Malonû aplankỳti svētimas* ‘It is a pleasure to visit foreign countries, but even there one keeps thinking about home.’

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. *brōlis ir sesuð* ‘brother and sister’; *Ateĩsiu, jēigu nelis* ‘I’ll come if it does not rain’) or they precede the first one (e.g. *Jēigu nelis, ateĩsiu* ‘If it doesn’t rain I’ll come’).
Multi-place conjunctions consist of two, rarely more elements each introducing a conjunct, e.g.: *Kuo giliau į mišką, tuod daugiau medžių* ‘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:
   - *kad ir* ... *bėt*  ‘however ... but’
   - *kad ir* ... *o/taičiau*  ‘though ... but’
   - *nors (iř)* ... *bėt/o/taičiau*  ‘though ... but’
   - *tegū* ... *bėt*  ‘even if ... but’
   - *Nors/ Kad ir labai stengėmės, bet nėko negalėjome padaryti.*  ‘However hard we tried (but) we couldn’t do anything.’
   - *Nors naktis buvo tamsi ir šaltą, taičiau vaikai laimingai pasiekė namus.*  ‘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 *taĩ*, sometimes *taĩp*; here belong:
   - *kai* ... *taĩ/taĩp* ‘if/when ... then’, *kadà* ... *taĩ* ‘when ... then’, *kõl* ... *taĩ* ‘while ... then’, *iki* ... *taĩ* ‘until ... then’, *kadángi* ... *taĩ/tàd* ‘because ... then’, *jéí(gu)* ... *taĩ* ‘if ... then’, *kàd (iř)* ... *taĩ* ‘even if ... then’, *tegūl (ir)* ... *taĩ* ‘even if ... then’; e.g.:
     - *Kai às kur nórs iškeliauju, tai vaikai galvomė išna.*  ‘As soon as I go away, the children start romping.’
     - *Kadangi labai kárstà buvo, tai dūrys buvo ikì galò atidaros.*  ‘As it was very hot, the door was wide open.’
     - *Jei beñt kiek pavélùosi, tai tikrañ nėko namiè neràsi.*  ‘If you are even a little late, you are sure to find no one at home.’

There is a special group of conjunctions *kuò* ... *tuò* ‘the ... the’, *juò* ... *tuò, juò* ... *juò* with the same meaning, comprised of components which are never used as simple conjunctions; cf.:

   - *Kuò/Juò daugiau skaitýsi, tuò daugiau sužinòsi.*  ‘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’, *nei ... nei* ‘neither ... nor’, *taĩ ... taĩ* ‘now ... now’; and *čìa ... čìa* ‘now ... now’, *tíeκ ... tíeκ* ‘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 *af* is polyfunctional: it is used to denote both coordination and subordination, cf. respectively:

\[ \text{Jis buvo jūs gimintis ar nėt brūlis.} \]
\[ \text{Pažiūrėk, ar jis čià.} \]

*‘He was her relative or even brother.’*

*‘See if he is here.’*

## COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

9.5 The coordinators *ber* ‘and’ and *nei* ‘nor’ are used to connect words and word groups exclusively, whereas *tai* ‘so’, *taigi* ‘so’, *tàd* ‘so, thus’, *vis dēlō* ‘still, however’, *vis tiēk* ‘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: *if* ‘and’, *if* ‘both ... and’, *bei* ‘and’, *čia* ‘now ... now’, *nei* ‘nor’, *nei* ‘neither ... nor’, *tai* ... *tai* ‘now ... now’, *tiēk* ... *tiēk* ‘both ... and’; they have additive force, e.g.:

   \[ \text{Sodė siūpo obuoliai ir vūšnios.} \]
   \[ \text{‘In the garden apples and cherries were ripening.’} \]

   \[ \text{Rūdenį daug dārbo ir namiè, ir laukuosè.} \]
   \[ \text{‘In autumn there is much work both at home and in the fields.’} \]

   \[ \text{Laužas tai¬/čià suliepsnódavo, tai¬/čià vēl gēsdavo.} \]
   \[ \text{‘Now the bonfire flared up up now it died out.’} \]

   \[ \text{Mergaitė neturējo tēvo nei mōtinos.} \]
   \[ \text{lit. ‘The girl had neither father nor mother.’} \]

   \[ \text{Jis tāu nei patārs, nei padēs.} \]
   \[ \text{‘He will neither give you advice nor help you.’} \]

The conjunction *beï* 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 *if*:
Pavāsaris beī vāsara iŗ ruduō
beī ziemā skirī metūs ļ ķīveļu
iŗ taņūsuī mētā.

‘Spring and summer, and autumn
and winter constitute the light
and the dark periods of the year.’

(2) Adversative conjunctions: bet(gi) ‘but’, ő(gi) ‘but’, tačiau ‘but, while, whereas’,
tik(tai) ‘only, but’, vis dēltō ‘still, however’, vis tik ‘still’, (bet) užtāt ‘but, but then’,
o bet gi ‘and nevertheless’, o tačiau ‘but, whereas’, o vis dēltō ‘and still’, bet vis dēltō ‘but still’; they express contrast between conjuncts; e.g.:

Mókslo šāknys kārēčios, bet jō
vaīsiai sāldūs.

‘The roots of learning are bitter,
but its fruit is sweet.’

Sēserys liko namiē, ő brōlis
išējo apsižvalgūti.

‘The sisters stayed at home, and the brother
went out to have a look around.’

Šaūkē ji ilga, (ō) tačiau niėkas
neatsiliepē.

‘She shouted for a long time but
no one answered.’

Visi dēirbo līgī vākaro, tik
Pētrās vākštīnējo švilpauđamas.

lit. ‘Everybody worked until evening
only Peter loitered about whistling.’

Ēsame dabā neturtingi, (bēt)
užtāt laisvi.

‘We are poor now, but (we are)
free.’

Netikējāu jō pāgyromīs, (ō) vis
dēltō klausūtis būvo malonū.

‘I didn’t believe his praise, but
all the same it was pleasant to listen.’

(3) Disjunctive (alternative) conjunctions: ar ‘or’, őr ‘... or’, arba ‘or’,
arbā ... arba ‘either ... or’; they offer a choice between conjuncts; e.g.:

Šiaūdien őr rytōj grūši?
A őr ū šaukši, ar nēšauksi, niėkas
čiā neišgiūs.
Daba ar reikējo (arbā) nugalēti
arbā mīfūti.

‘Will you return today or tomorrow?’

‘Whether you shout or not
(shout). – nobody will hear you here.’

‘Now we had (either) to win or to die.’

(4) Consecutive (inertential) conjunctions: tai/taiņi ‘so, thus, therefore’, tād ‘so,
therefore’, they denote consequence or result; e.g.:

Mergātē pasiņūto blogāt, tād
(tai/taiņi) paprāšē brōļi vāstū
padūoti.

‘The girl felt unwell, therefore
she asked her brother to give her
some medicine.’

A number of adverbs, e.g. tōdēl ‘therefore’, per tai ‘for that’, are also used to
express consecutive relations. The explanatory relation can be expressed by
words like būtēnt ‘namely’, dēstis ‘depending on’, nelūgu ‘unlike’, tai yra ‘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 asemantic 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 *jòg* ‘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: *kài* ‘while, as’, *kadà* ‘when’, *iki*/*lig(i)* ‘until’, *kòl* ‘while, till’, *vòs* ‘as soon as’, *tik* ‘as soon as’, *kadà tik* ‘just when’, *kài tik* ‘as soon as’, *lig(i) tik* ‘only until’, *vòs tik* ‘as soon as’, *kòl tik* ‘only while/till’, *iki kòl(ei)* ‘until’, *kài ... taì* ‘when ... then’, *kài tik ... taì iř* ‘as soon as ... then’, *kadà ... taì* ‘when ... then’, *kòl ... taì* ‘while ... then’, *iki ... taì* ‘until ... then’; e.g.:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Kaìsàulé tekëjo, músy lianaž žydëjo.}
\end{quote}

‘When the sun rose our flax was blossoming.’

\begin{quote}
\textit{Pasìlik čìà, kòl /iki tavë pašaûkìsu.}
\end{quote}

‘Stay here until I call you.’

\begin{quote}
\textit{Vòs (tik) nuaidëjo pirmieji šùvìai, iš visì pûsì subëgo daugybë žmoniû.}
\end{quote}

‘As soon as the first shots sounded, many people came running from everywhere.’

\begin{quote}
\textit{Kaì tik aš išvažùoju, taì vis kàs nòrs atsitiûka.}
\end{quote}

‘As soon as I leave, (then) something always happens.’

(2) subordinators of **cause**: *nès* ‘as’, *kadàngi* ‘because’, *kadàngi ... taì* ‘as ... then’, *kadàngi ... tòd* ‘as ... therefore’; e.g.:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Negalëjau túa parašûti láiško, nès nežinójau âðreso.}
\end{quote}

‘I couldn’t write you a letter as I didn’t know your address.’

\begin{quote}
\textit{Kadàngi biùvo jaì velûs vûkaras, (taì) reikëjo kur nòrs apsistòti pailsëti.}
\end{quote}

‘As it was late night, we had to stop for a rest.’
(3) subordinators of condition: jei ‘if’, jėigu ‘if’, jėi(gu) ... taĩ (iŷ) ‘if ... then’; e.g.:

Jėigu ką nuveiki au gėra, pasakŷs kitį.  
If have done any good, others will say (about it).’

Jėi per daũg norėsi, taĩ niẽko neturėsi.  
‘If you want too much you will have nothing.’

(4) the subordinator of purpose idaũt ‘in order that’; it is rarely used in Standard Lithuanian; the asemantic conjunction kãd ‘that’ is more common in this function; e.g.:

Užėjome į šį namous, idaũt/kãd pamatytum vieną idomišius reginĩų.  
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: nórs (iŷ) ‘though’, kãd iŷ ‘even though’, tegûl (iŷ) ‘even if’; nórs (iŷ) ... tačiaũ ‘though ... but’, nórs (iŷ) ... ŏ ‘though ... but’, nórs (iŷ) ... bët (vis deltû)/vis deltû/vis tik ‘though ... but/all the same’, kãd iŷ ... tačiaû/ô/ bët (vis deltû)/vis deltû/taĩ ‘even if ... but/all the same’, tegûl (iŷ) ... bët (vis deltû)/vis (deltû)/taĩ ‘even if ... but/all the same’; e.g.:

Nórs (iŷ) labaĩ stëngëmės, (bêt) niẽko negalėjome pamatûtį.  
‘Though we tried hard, we couldn’t see anything.’

Tegûl jis iŷ blûgos žmogûs, tačiaû/vis deltû/vienã kaštą mán pagélbêjo.  
‘Even if he is a bad man (but)/all the same he helped me once.’

Kãd iŷ ūiškiai sakaĩ, nesuprantû.  
‘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’, lŷg ‘as if’, taʻrûm/taʻrûm/taŷsi ‘as if, as though’, it ‘as if, like’, nelûgûnant ‘like’; lŷg taʻrûm ‘as if/though’, lŷg kaĩp ‘like’, lŷg kãd ‘like, as if’, kaĩp kãd ‘like’, nelûgûnant kaĩp ‘like’; e.g.:

Čiã gyvënû kaĩp poniû.  
‘You will live here like a lady.’

Visas gyvûnûmas praĕjo lŷg/taʻrûm sunkûs sâpnas.  
‘All life has passed like a nightmare.’

Ramiaû sëdek, lŷg kãd niẽko nebûtûm mâtes.  
‘Stay quiet, as if you have not seen anything.’

(b) subordinators of proportion: juô ... juô and juô ... tuô ‘the ... the’, kuô ... tuô ‘the ... the’; e.g.:

Juô/Kuô auksûciaû kûpsi, juô/ tuô daugiûsû pamatûtû.  
‘The higher you will climb the more you will see.’
(c) subordinators of difference: negū ‘than’, nekaip ‘than’, nei ‘than’ (rarely used),
kaip ‘than’, negū kad ‘than’; e.g.:

Kálnas būvo aukštesnis, negū 
(kad) iš pradžių atrodė.
Ji visada rengėsi puošniau
nei/nekaip kitos.

‘The mountain was higher than it 
had seemed at first.’
‘She was always better dressed 
than the others.’
10 INTERJECTIONS

Jautėkai

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. ąk ‘oh’, ţi ‘ouch’, nà ‘well’, ėi ‘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 ā, ąk, ė, ėi, āi, ţi, ojè, bfr, ėt and a great many others.

Imperative interjections express the speaker’s will, commands, encouragement or appeal to the listener, e.g. ėi ‘hey’, őpa! ‘hop’, šū (šû) ‘hush’, šš, tič, tš(š), tšs ‘sh-sh’, mårš! ‘march!’, etc. There are other exclamatory words which function very much like interjections, viz. formulaic words required by speech etiquette, such as ačiū and dēkui ‘thanks’, sudīē ‘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. Įi, skaūda! ‘Ouch, it hurts!’) or as sentence equivalents like ačiū ‘thank you’ and sudīē ‘goodbye’.

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. ė, ė, ė, ė, ė, ė, ė, ė) or a diphthong (ai, ai, ai, ai), or a cluster of two or more phonemes (ojē, ovā). The vowel in an interjection may be lengthened or reduplicated: Āā!, Ėē! Ōō(ō)!, e.g.:

Oō, kiek žmoniū!  
‘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 (ahā, ohā, ohohā; ajā, ajajā) and sometimes between different vowels (ojē, ajē, ajā).

Diphthongs may be reduplicated: ai āi, ai āi āi. The consonant j may be inserted here, too (in other words, the second component of the diphthong changes into j): ai + ai = ajāi, ajajāi.

A number of primary conjunctions have variants with the initial consonant v:

vái, voi, vuī, vajāi.

Quite a number of primary interjections consist of a vowel and a consonant: āk, āt, ēg, ēt, ēch, ēk, ēt, ēpa, nā, šā, tē. Some of them are usually reduplicated in speech (ta tā, te tē, tiū tiū), often with an added initial vowel, e.g. ātata, ētete, ētiti (ūtiti), ēpapa, ēčiačia, ēliālia, ēpapa, ēpapa, 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, labaū skanū...  
‘Mm, (it) tastes good...’
M-h-m, nežinaū...  
‘Mm, I don’t know...’

A number of primary interjections are of onomatopoeic origin. For instance, the interjections viaū, ēu and the like imitate sounds caused by disgust or retching. The interjections tfū, tfūi, pfū, pfūi, pfū, fū, fē, fī imitate spitting; bēr and ātiti are used when shivering with cold or fright. Cf.:

Pfūi, vēl apsirikaū!  
‘Darn it, I’m wrong again!’
Bēr... visāi sustiraū 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 diē, brōl are abbreviated desemanticized forms of the vocatives Diēve! ‘God!’, Brōli!, Brolaū! ‘Brother!’, e.g.:

Diē, Petriūlī, neminēk tū jō nakčiā.  
‘Gosh, Peter, never mention him at night.’
Taip jaū, brōl, yrā, niēko nepadarysi.  
‘That’s how it is, dear, nothing doing.’
The full vocative forms of these nouns (Dievē ‘God’, brōli ‘brother’), also with a diminutive suffix and the ending of a different stem (Dievulēliau (= Dievuli) and Dievulēliau (= Dievulēli) ‘Dearest God’, brolaū (= brōli) ‘brother’, motinēliau (= motinēle) ‘dearest mother’) are also used as interjections, usually in conjunction with a primary interjection, cf.:

Ui, Dievulēliau, ar iki pietiū miegősite! ‘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; velniop ‘to hell’, expressing disgust or anger, is the archaic allative form of the noun velnias ‘devil’.

The interjections žiū, palū, palā, išgraūū, išgraūū, išgraūū are descended from 2. SG imperative verb forms žiūrēk ‘look’, palāuk ‘wait’, and išgraūzk ‘cut (it) out’ respectively; cf.:

Žiū, jau atvažiuōja! ‘Look, they are coming already!’
Palū, kā tū norėjai pasakūti? ‘Wait, what did you want to say?’

The 2. SG imperative forms eik (: efti ‘go’), išlūpk (: išlupti ‘pull out’) are also used as interjections to express disbelief, resp. ingratitude:

Eik, eik, negali tō bāti! ‘Don’t say so (lit. go, go) that’s impossible!’

The interjections valiō ‘hurray’ (: valiōti ‘be able’), ėdro (: ėdrti ‘eat’ (of animals)) expressing joy, encouragement, are also deverbal derivatives.

The units labas ‘hello’, sveikas (-a, -i) ‘hello’, skalsū ‘bon appétit!’, used as interjections are formally identical with the adjectives labas (rytas) ‘good (morning)’, sveikas ‘healthy’, skalsus ‘long-lasting, abundant, nourishing’, respectively.

The words dēkui ‘thank you’ and ačiū ‘thank you’ are Slavic borrowings.

A number of interjections, e.g. šė, tē, are formally identical with particles, the difference being semantic and functional, cf.:

Šė, jaū ir tās miēga. ‘Well, even this one is asleep already (interjection).’

A few interjections are related to other word classes, e.g. taī is identical with the pronoun taī ‘that’, šimts with the numeral šimtas ‘hundred’; cf.:

Taī! Iki paskutinio skatiko nulūpo. ‘Oh dear, he’s robbed me clean.’
interjections. The most common type here is a blend of an interjection and a particle, e.g.: ajaiū < a + jaū, avā < a + vā, evē < e + vā, avē < a + vē. The emphatic particle gi is the most frequent one here, cf.: ėgi, źgi, eįgi, ėtgi, nāgi.

Two interjections are often blended into one: ojai, ajūi; they may be extended by an additional formant: ajēg, ajēgi, ajējau, ajēti. The interjection aimān is composed of the primary interjection ãi and pronoun mān ‘me (DAT)’.

An interjection can have a number of variants, e.g., alongside ojā ‘oh’, its variants ojė, ojēgi, ojēgis, ojei, ojejaičiau, ojėtus are used.

There are also complex interjections composed of (a) two interjections, e.g. o vėi, oi vėi, ei vėi; (b) interjection + particle, e.g. ėt jau, ėk jau; (c) interjection + pronoun, e.g. eĩ tu lit. ‘oh you’, vajė tu, ėk tu; cf.:

Âk jau, nenōriu nėko. ‘Oh, dear, I don’t anything.’
Vajė tu, neik teĩ. ‘Oh dear, don’t go there.’

10.5 The following interjections (formulaic exclamations) are word groups blended into one:

dievaži, dievaž, dievažin < Diēvas žino ‘God knows’
sudiê, sudiēv, sudiēu < su Dievû ‘with God’
dievmylēk, diemylēk, die(v)mylē < Diève, mylēk ‘God, love (us)’
dievegin < Diève, gink ‘God forbid’
amžinātilsĩ < Āmžina ātilsĩ ‘Eternal rest (ACC)’ = ‘Rest in peace’)
labarỳt, labrỳt < Lābas rytas ‘Good morning’
labadiēn < Labā dienā ‘Good afternoon’ (lit. ‘Good day’) )
labănakt, labănaktis < Labā naktis, Lābą nākti ‘Good night’

The respective full words groups are also used in speech.

There is an number of idiomatic phrases containing words like Diēvas ‘God’, Viēšpats ‘(God) Almighty’, vėlnias ‘devil’, perkūnas ‘thunder’, ‘Thunderer (god of thunder)’, that are used very much like interjections, cf.:

Diève nedūok ‘God forbid’
Diève sērgēk ‘God protect’
po velnïų/velniais ‘damn’
velniai raüty ‘confound it’
nē velnio ‘no, the hell’ (emph.)
po perkūnï ‘damn’
The nouns gālas ‘end’, šuō ‘dog’, būdelis ‘hangman’, bėda ‘misfortune’, vārgas ‘misery, trouble’, and the numeral šimtas ‘hundred’ are frequent in this kind of idioms; the latter often contain the particle kad and pronouns tū ‘thou’, jis ‘he’, ji ‘she’; cf.:  

\textit{kad tave gālas}  
\textit{po galaĩs}  
\textit{vaŗge tu mano}  
\textit{po šimtis velniai (pypkiai, kalakutai)}  
\textit{nā dabaĩ tāu}  
\textit{tūšcia jō (jōs, jū)}

‘Oh damn!’  
‘damn’  
‘Oh dear, dear’  
‘confound it’ (lit. ‘a hundred devils (pipes, turkeys)’)  
‘oh my, oh well’  
‘damn him (her, them)’.

Quite a number of interjectional set phrases, used to express surprise, disappointment, admiration, etc., contain the desemanticized adverb kur ‘where’, sometimes kiek ‘so (how) many’, kaip ‘how’, e.g.: kur tāu, kur čia, kur nē, cf.:  

\textit{Maniaū, jis grįš. Bėt kuř tāu!}

‘I thought he would come back.  
But alas!’

\textbf{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:  
\textit{Ā, negerai padariaū.}  
‘Oh dear, I’ve done the wrong thing.’

surprise:  
\textit{Ā! Kas gi čia tōks?}  
‘Oh! Who’s this one?’

relief:  
\textit{Ā, dabaĩ tave prisimenu.}  
‘Oh, now I remember who you are.’

Similarly, the interjections ņ, ė, āk!, āi, 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 beĩt výras!  
‘Oh! He is a real man!’

contentment:  
Ō, kad miegøjau, 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’, valið ‘hurrah’, palà ‘here’, velniõp ‘(to) hell’, dië ‘(oh) dear’, etc. The following interjections are also specialized with respect to meaning and usage: tfù and viåû express contempt, ātata is used when one is hot or pleased; ss, šš(š), ts(š) and tš(š) are used to request silence, (e.g.: Šš, pasiklausýk ‘Hush, listen’); the interjections ôp (ôpa, ôpapa) and îpa (îpapa) 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-oho! ‘John, he is super’ (lit. ‘John, he is a man oho!’). They can also function as sentence equivalents, e.g.: Bër... (when scared or cold); Valiði ‘Hurray!’; ‘Bravo!’; Āï! ‘Ouch!’ (sudden pain) or Ōï! ‘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 laísve, tu kaũtai už grandinës sunkësnë.  
‘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, nà, nò-o, štò-a are used to drive oxen; nà, nà or nù, nû(u), nè(ê), kiũ kiũ 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: šiū is a general "address", along with mūže mūže and mužī mužī; 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 buli buli (buliā buliā) and they are teased with mỹ mỹ. A dog is summoned with čiū čiū, ciū ciū, nā nā, or čiūč, ss(s), sā, e.g.:

’Sà, šunēlī, sā.’

Pigs are summoned with čiūk(a) čiūk(a), kriū kriū, ādžiū (ādžiū) and driven away with ucī, ajūīs and aūkš. One may call hens with pūt(i) pūt(i), and chickens with cip(a) cip(a); ducks are called with pūl pūl, pulī pulī, geese – źiūr źiūr, źiūri źiűri.

10.8 Some vocative interjections are similar to or identical with primary interjections in their phonemic structure (nā, ō, 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.:

buli buli (buliā buliā) (cf. būlius ‘bull, ox’)
kīaul kīaul (cf. kīaulē ‘pig’)
kāt kāt (kāc kāc) (cf. kātē ‘cat’)
triuš triuš (cf. triušis ‘rabbit’)

The following are onomatopoeic invocations:

čiū čiū, čiū čiū (imitating a dog’s whimpering)
kriū kriū, čiūk(a) čiūk(a), čiūkī čiūkī (imitating pigs)
kūt kūt, cip(a) cip(a) (hens and chickens)
gīr gīr (geese)
r-r-r and uū-uū (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, pā, piū, čis.

A limited number of vocative interjections are compound derivatives composed of an interjection or a particle and an infinitive, e.g.:

uzgūt < ūz + gūti/ginti ‘drive’ (to drive away pigs)
šegult < šē + gultī ‘lie down’
šelaūk < šē + laūk ‘out’, etc.
The vocative kūre (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:

kât kât – kâtì kâtì  
cip cip – cipà cipà  
kiz kiz – kizi kizi  
čiuk čiuk – čiuka čiuka.

In a number of invocations, the formant a- is also added initially:

a(š)tiš, apruč, atiā, ažiuř.

The formant š- is also sometimes added initially. All these formants change the meaning of an invocation: kâc, pûl, žiuř are used to call cats, ducks and geese respectively and škâc, špûl and ažiuř are used to shoo them away.

There are ways of addressing animals with both formants a and š, e.g.: aštiš, aškâc, ašpûl; these have numerous dialectal variants, too, cf.:

aškâc, aškàč, aškacỹ, aškatỹ  
aškic, aškỹc, aškỹč
ONOMATOPOEIC WORDS

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.:

- *trinkt! 'bang!'
- *diń diń 'ding dong'
- *miūu 'meaow'
- *kāukšt! 'tap!, bang!'
- *bākst! 'prick!'
- *apčy (imitation of sneezing)
- *guŗ guŗ (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:

- *drińt (: dribti 'fall, drop, tumble')
- *glūst (: glaūsti 'clasp', glūsti 'snuggle, cuddle up')
- *klup (: klūpti 'stumble')
- *krýp, krýpt, krýpu, krypái (: krýpti 'turn, swing, bend')
- *linkt (: lińkti 'bend, stoop', leńkti 'bend, bow')
- *lilingt (: lingūoti 'rock, swing')
- *mīrkt (: mērkti 'shut (one’s eyes), wink')
- *pakýšt (: kīšti 'thrust, shove')
- *pēšt, pēšt (: pēšti 'pull, pluck')
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.: diņ, kaŗ, kriū, miāu, klėpu, matarāi, rara̯p, gurgulinkšt, širkšt, šiu, 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 guŗ guŗ, šliukšt, gurguliuķšt imitate the sound of running water.

Impressions and sensations are rendered in an entirely arbitrary way, e.g. matarāi 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

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 ks, ks, e.g.:
cakt, stūkt, čiūlpt, kāpt, krūpt, šliúopt
rist, snūst, švūst
kišt, pēšt, šlūst
kaukšt, pūkšt, šmūkšt
bākšt, drūkšt

Less commonly it is preceded by voiced b, g, ž, m, r:
būrbt, stābt, klingt, sprāgt, lýžt, ĺūžt, plūmt, bišt

Most of onomatopoeics in -t are imitation words. Some of them have counterparts without this formant, e.g.:
krīuk – krīukt
kāp – kāpt
tvōks – tvōkšt

A great many deverbal onomatopoeics also display this formant, e.g.:
linkt (: liņkti)
čiūlpt (: čiūlpti)
drīkst, drūkšt (: drīksti, drēksti)
(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.:
mugūrkt, kuldīnkšt, šabaldōkšt, gurguliūkšt.

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: kābokšt, šlamokšt, keberiokšt, tabarokšt.

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.:
bākš, šmāukš, šnūps, grūbš, krūms, kāls, dūrs. Words with these formants are not numerous. They are being ousted by their very common respective equivalents with the final -t: bākšt, šmāukšt, šnūpšt, krūms, kālšt, dūrst.

A number of the onomatopoeic words in question have shortened variants without the formants -š, -s, e.g.: bāk, kāp.

11.7 A considerable number of onomatopoeic words display the final vowel formants -i, -y, -u and -ū preceded by a consonant, e.g.: 
The vowel formants alternate in some words, e.g.:

čiupz / čiupg / čiupu
šlami / šlamg / šlamu

Words with the formants -i, -u and -y, -ū 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.:

Tuoj ponią atsikėlė iš lovės –
šiuri šiuri ateina.
Šiury šiury vėjas plaukus šiurėna.
Brazdų brazdų kažkās už
sienos subrazdėjo.
Kazin kās už grēčios brazdū
brazdų!

‘The mistress at once got out of bed – and here she comes rustling.’
‘The wind ruffles greatly the hair.’
‘Something scratched scratch it. ‘Something scratched scratch (softly) behind the wall.’
‘Something scratched scratch (hard)!’

The formant -(i)ai is also used to form onomatopoeic words, mostly of three syllables (e.g.: klebetai, reketai, šlapatai) and sometimes of two syllables (e.g.: lingai, rūkai). Practically all of them have variants without a formant: capai – cāp, klebetai – klebet, makalai – mākal.

The formant -(i)ai is always stressed and receives an acute toneme.

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.:

klēktum (cf. klēkt), cāpum (cf. cāp)
kūbur (cf. kūbōti ‘hang’), viṅgur (cf. vingiūoti, vinguriūoti ‘meander’)
cāpe (cf. cāp), rūzge (cf. ruzgēti ‘stir’)
bizeliō (cf. bizeliōti ‘run about madly’), kumpō (cf. kumpōti ‘nod’)
lapatuū (cf. lapatūi, lapu; lapatuōti ‘run with long strides’)

Onomatopoeic words in -t, -s, and -š usually refer to sudden actions and those in -i, -y, -u, -ā, -(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, tfū, ā, miāu, dzīn, dař, muř, spīr, šabál, cāk, spāk, làp, cýv, 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.:

Jis drāk bōbai pāgaliu per
gālvq.
Avēlē rēkia bē, ožkā mē,
visos nōri válgyti.

‘He hit the woman on the head with a stick.’
‘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.:

biř (: bir-ti, byrēti ‘pour’ (of sand etc.)
jūd (: jud-ēti ‘move’) 

A number of onomatopoeic words are formed with the prefix pa-, mostly from words in -t, e.g.:

pabrāķšt (: brāķšt ‘crack’, cf. brakšēti ‘to crack’) 
pastrīkt (: strikt, cf. striksēti ‘hop’) 
pašnipšt (: šnipšt, cf. šnipšēti ‘hiss, sputter’)

The prefix also occurs in a few other onomatopoeic words, e.g.: patāukš, patvīks, pašmākštu, pablīnkt, pastrāk. 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.:

balāķšt (: bāķšt) 
brabrāķš (: brāķš) 
čičīŋkt (: čīŋkt) 
dudūn (: dūn) 

kleklebt (: klēbt) 
tvitvīsk (: tvīsk) 
klekleikt (: klēikt) 
kvakvāukt (: kvāukt)

It may involve vowel alternation, e.g.:

dridrykt (: drȳkt) 

kliklānk (: klānk).

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.: 
Infixed words sometimes have a repeated middle segment, e.g.: cililifigt (: cilifigt), 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 bám, pykšt pàkšt, brùzdu bràzdu, càpu làpu, čyru vûru, sulðù bulðù), 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
strùòkt pastriùòkt
ciñ ciliñ

The two words in a pair may differ considerably, e.g.:

cèpt làpt
džingt bringt
cilím bám
šàlum drýlum

All these pairs refer to a complex sound or impression produced by one action; cf.:

Stikliūkas ciñ ciliñ ant
akmeñs ir subyrėjo.
Dziuñ dzàp – sùzvembè kulkà.
Dzingu lingu į júsù sveikàtq!

‘The glass fell tinkling on the stone and broke into pieces.’
‘Bleep blip – a bullet whined by.’
‘Chin chin to your health!’

To imitate a repeated sound, an onomatopoeic word may be repeated two or more times, e.g.:

Jò širdis dúkt dúkt plàkè.
Šiùr šiùr šiùr, – šnàbžda
kažkas šiauduosè.

‘His heart went tuck tuck.’
‘Sh, sh, sh, – something is rustling in the hay.’

A number of onomatopoeic words have variants with a short and a long vowel, e.g.:

kèpšt/kèpšt
šlépt/šlépt
sriùbt/sriùbt

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.:

Šiūpt drūskos žiupsnėti. lit. ‘(She) poured a little salt.’
Šiūpt visą sąują. lit. ‘(She) poured (emph.) a full handful’.
Senūtė stip stip nuskubėjo. ‘The old woman hurried away with tiny steps.’
Didžiąusias kūtinas styp styp paliūdo pė stalū. ‘With long strides the huge tomcat stole under the table.’

Lengthening is also observed in onomatopoeic words čif-čyr and šliopt-šliopt. To emphasize longer duration, in some onomatopoeic words the middle or final vowel or consonant (r, n, z, ž) is lengthened, e.g.:

Tryk tryk tryyk trimitūjoa medžiotojo rūgas. lit. ‘Tryk tryk tryyk went the hunter’s horn.’
Dzininė...dzz...dzinin - skambėjo telefonas. lit. ‘Dzinn...dzz...dzinn, rang 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.:

Diņ diņ diņ varpėlis suskambėjo. lit. ‘The little bell went din din din.’
Daņ daņ daņ – skaība varpa. ‘The bell booms dong dong dong.’
Liepsnā kūst, ugnēle bli bli bli. ‘The flame jumped, tiny flames started dancing.’
Ímetė keliās skiedras, tik – blà. ‘He threw a few chips (into the 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 (šmyktšt, šmirkštšt, šmūrkštšt), those with the initial bl refer to flashes of light (blakt, blyksšt, blizgū). Words with the final m and n customarily imitate jingling and pealing (bāmt, din); those with the final r imitate vibrating sounds (čir, dar, tir).

Onomatopoeic words can include only those consonants which are associated with similar natural sounds, e.g.:

Mūsēs bzz bzz aplīnkt. ‘Flies buzzed around.’
Džž pradėjo vežtis vandu. ‘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 iik (imitating stammering), ž ž ž koh (imitating shell fire), vatakānā! (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.:

*Klausaiš – kažin kās tik šlēp šlēp ī māno pūsē.* ‘I listen – someone is shuffling towards me.’

*Strāzdas tik pūrpt – ir nuskurio.* ‘The blackbird just took wing – and flew away.’

*Plūmpē nukritō kaïp pelē maïšas.* ‘He fell with a thud like a sack of chaff.’

*Cāpum āš jī už plaukā ir iš-trāukiau.* ‘I grabbed him by the hair and pulled him out.’

Numerous onomatopoeic words imitate birds, animals, insects, e.g.:

*Antys „prē! prē! prē!”* ‘The ducks (quacked) “quack! quack! quack!”’

*Kiaūlē kriukt kriukt šaūkia savo paršelius.* ‘The sow calls her piglets grunting.’

*Stūgt sustāugē vilkas.* ‘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 (*plē plē plē ‘bla bla bla’, cf. plepēti ‘chatter, jabber’), laughter (*kā kā kā*), weeping (*vē*), sneezing (*apčī*), eating (*krimst, cf. kriūstī ‘eat, nibble’), drinking or lapping up (*māk, gūrkšt*), fear (*brrf, šiūrpt, cf. šiūrpti ‘shudder with fright’), etc.

Onomatopoeic words also imitate the sound effects of natural phenomena, such as flowing water (*guř guř, gurguliukšt, šliukšt*), rain (*pliūpt*), thunder (*dū dū dū, dař dař*), and the like.

A number of onomatopoeic words imitate musical and other instruments, e.g. a trumpet (*turū turū*), a fiddle (*knīr knīf, čyru vyrū*), a hammer (*tūk tūk*), a saw (*džyru dzjyru*) and a great many others.

A number of onomatopoeic words emphasize the suddenness or unexpectedness of an action, or a poorly performed action, cf.:

*Brāukšt ir nūmirē.* ‘Bang, and he is dead.’

*Jīs tik pūkšt ir pastātē nāma.* lit. ‘He just pop and built the house.’

*Dirbo, dirbo ir padirbo šnipēš.* ‘He worked and worked, and produced a flop.’

*Dirbi kaip paklišāva – šiūrum būrum.* ‘You work just anyhow – helter-skelter.’
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 čiupt, cāpt, kāpt, expressing grabbing a thing, žvilgt, dīlbt, dēbt referring to a glance, chà chà, kà kà, kè ké, kì kì imitating laughter. Very few of them (e.g., ūbt, brūkš(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 taī taī is used to imitate a variety of vibrating sounds, e.g. those of a spinning wheel, rattling windows, cart wheels, and also thunder; mākt 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.:

- Pérsigando, ir pliūpt kiřvis
  iš raňky.
  ‘He got a fright, and the ax fell out of his hands.’

- Tik šakà triókšt, àš žémén blūmpt.
  ‘The branch (went) crack, (and) I (went) bang down.’

- Paválgyk ir driūn į lovelé.
  ‘Finish your supper and jump into bed.’

When used as intensifiers, they modify a verb as a kind of illustration, e.g.:

- Šà šà kriñta lāpaś.
  ‘The leaves fall with a rustle.’

- Bùm bùm pradéjo šáudyt.
  ‘They started shooting bang bang.’

An onomatopoeic word can be conjoined with a verb by means of the conjunction ir ’and’; e.g.:

- Šuō knábš į kóją ir įkándo.
  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.:

- Giřdime kažkókį ūžima, kažkókį lỳg tai bù bù bù.
  ‘We hear a kind of noise, a kind of bu bu bu.’

- Còp còp šito dárbo nepadìrbsi.
  ‘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. *Tylė 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) *išvažiūota* (PASS. PART. NEUTR) both meaning ‘Father has left.’
The term syntactic relations is used here to refer to immediate linear 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 gēlēs** (attribute; cf. **Grāžios gēlēs auga sodē** 'Beautiful flowers grow in the garden') and **Gēlēs grāžios** (predicative), meaning **Gēlēs yra 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

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:

\[
\text{Mēs} \leftrightarrow \text{gailējomēs} \quad \text{draūgo.}
\]

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. **aš gailējausi** 'I was sorry', **tū gailējausi** 'you were sorry (2. SG)', **jiē gailējos** 'they were sorry (3. PL)'). If we use the verb **pagailo** the dative case of the pronoun should be used, and the verb does not agree with it in person and number, cf.:

\[
\text{Mīms} \leftrightarrow \text{pagailo} \quad \text{draūgo.}
\]

we: DAT pity: 3. PAST friend: GEN

'We began feeling sorry for (our) friend.'
In this instance the relationship between *mi’tms* and *pagaĩlo* is that of subordination.

The finite forms of *bûti* ‘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.:

\[
Pētras \leftrightarrow bûvo \rightarrow \text{piktas.}
\]

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 *bûti* ‘be’ entails a change of the nominative into the genitive or dative respectively:

\[
Pētro \quad bûta \quad \text{pikto.}
\]

Peter: GEN be: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR angry: GEN

‘Peter was angry.’

\[
Pētrui \quad (sunkû) \quad bûti \quad \text{piktám.}
\]

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:

\[
Mēs \quad bûvome \quad \text{piktì.}
\]

we: NOM be: 1. PL. PAST angry: NOM. PL. MASC

‘We were angry.’

\[
Jūs \quad bûvote \quad \text{piktos.}
\]

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 (*pâdalyvis*), cf.:

\[
Gyvenùti \quad (\text{cf. gyvenînimas}) \quad yrà \quad \text{laimë.}
\]

live: INF life: NOM. MASC be: 3. PRES happiness: NOM

lit. ‘To live (cf. life) is happiness.’

\[
Bûvo \quad \text{girdêti} \quad \text{griaudžiant} \quad (\text{cf. griaustinis}).
\]

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:

Skyniau → gėlės  
‘I picked flowers.’

baigė → rašyti  
lit. ‘he finished to write’, i.e. ‘he finished writing’

labai ← gražūs  
‘very beautiful’

ankstį ← 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.:

Mötina grįžo vakarė.  
‘Mother returned in the evening.’

jis vėnia blogi žmonių.  
‘He avoids bad people.’

(Mötina grįžo ‘Mother returned’ and jis vėnia žmonių ‘He avoids people’ are grammatically complete, though they differ in meaning from the above sentences).
According to the means of formal expression, 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.:

- **baltas**
  - white: NOM. SG. MASC
  - stone: NOM. SG. MASC
  - 'a white stone'

- **baltà**
  - white: NOM. SG. FEM
  - crow: NOM. SG. FEM
  - 'a white crow'

- **devynì**
  - nine: NOM. PL. MASC
  - brother: NOM. PL. MASC
  - 'nine brothers'

- **devynios**
  - nine: NOM. PL. FEM
  - girl: NOM. PL. FEM
  - 'nine girls'

If the morphological form of the head word is changed, the dependent word obligatorily changes its form too, cf.:

- **devyniä**
  - nine: GEN. PL. MASC
  - brother: GEN. PL. MASC
  - 'of nine brothers'

- **devyniaäis**
  - nine: INSTR. PL. MASC
  - brother: INSTR. PL. MASC
  - 'with nine brothers'

Agreement typically links adjectives, participles, adjectival pronouns and ordinal and some cardinal numerals to a head noun or pronoun.

1.7 **Government** (valdymas) is a formal link between the principal word (head) and a specific case form of the dependent word (determined by the grammatical valency of the head word) with or without a preposition. Accordingly, non-prepositional and prepositional government is distinguished; cf. respectively:

- **parašyti láiška**
  - 'write a letter: ACC. SG'

- **laukti rudeñs**
  - 'await autumn: GEN. SG'
The head word can be:

(1) a verb (finite and non-finite form) or a deverbal derivative, e.g.:
- rašaū láišką
  'I am writing a letter: ACC. SG’
- sáulei tēkant
  lit. ‘(with) the sun: DAT. SG rise: GER’
- láiško rāšymas
  ‘the writing of a letter: GEN. SG’

(2) a noun, e.g.:
- áukso žiedas
  ‘a ring of gold: GEN’
- dovanā tēvāms
  ‘a gift for parents: DAT. PL’
- kēlias pāupiu
  ‘the road along the river: INSTR’

(3) an adjective, e.g.:
- pilnas vandeņās
  ‘full of water: GEN’
- ištikimas draugāms
  ‘loyal to friends: DAT. PL’

(4) a numeral, e.g.:
- dvylika brōliu
  ‘twelve brothers: GEN. PL’
- dēšimt vyrų
  ‘ten men: GEN. PL’

(5) an adverb, e.g.:
- daūg rāpesčių
  ‘many cares: GEN. PL’
- ganā vargs
  ‘enough hardships: GEN. PL’

(6) less commonly, a particle, an interjection or an onomatopoeic word, e.g.:
- šē pinigū
  lit. ‘here (is some) money: GEN. PL’
- āčiū visiems
  ‘thanks to all: DAT. PL’
- pliāukšt botagū
  ‘crack with a whip: INSTR’

A great many words (especially verbs) can govern two or more case forms, e.g.:

Tēvas dovanās sūnui laikrodī.
father presented son: DAT. SG watch: ACC. SG
‘Father gave a watch to his son as a present.’

Kreipkis ī draugās patarimo.
appeal to friends: ACC. PL advice: GEN. SG
‘Ask your friends for advice.’

Government can be strong (obligatory) and weak (optional); cf.:
strong government:
Šiandien baigsiu darbą.  
Mieste trūksta vandens.  
Jis atstovavo darbininkams.  
Vaikai dėmėjo pûroda.  
Mës gyvenome miestë.  
weak government:

‘Today I’ll finish the work: ACC. SG’  
‘There is a shortage of water: GEN. SG in the town.’  
‘He represented the workers: DAT. PL’  
‘The children were interested in the exposition: INSTR. SG.’  
‘We lived in a town: LOC. SG.’

Atëjaû kirvio.  
Dirbame saû.  
Éjome miškaû/i kûlûs/pas tûvûs.  
Sëdëjom po medëjû/su draugen/paûunksnéje.  

‘I’ve come for an ax: GEN. SG.’  
‘We work for ourselves: DAT. SG’  
‘We went across the woods: INSTR. PL/to the hills: Prep + ACC. PL/to (our) parents: Prep + ACC. PL.’  
‘We sat under a tree: Prep + INSTR. SG/with friends: Prep + INSTR. PL/in shadow: LOC. SG.’

1.8 Adjunction (šliejimas) is a syntactic link which has no formal expression through inflection, words being linked solely through juxtaposition. Thus adjunction is opposed formally to both agreement and government.

By means of adjunction, verbs subordinate all unchangeable words and word forms, e.g.:

važiuojame namo  
atsisëdome pailsëti  

‘we are going home: ADV’  
‘we sat down to rest: INF’

Adjectives subordinate adverbs and sometimes infinitives:

labaû graûûs  
perpus maûûûs  
malonûû paûiûûûû.  

‘very beautiful’  
‘smaller by half’  
‘nice to look at: INF’

Infinitives can also be linked by adjunction to some nouns:

viltis sugriûûti  
prûga apsilankûûti  

‘the hope to return’  
‘an occasion to pay a visit’

Less commonly, adverbs are also adjoined to nouns:

žiûûûûs atgûûûû.  
gyvenimas svetûûûû  

‘a step backwards’  
‘life abroad’
Adverbs subordinate only adverbs by adjunction:

labai daug
kiek geriau

'very much'
'somewhat better'

Adjunction is usually a weak (optional) syntactic relation. Strong adjunction occurs in the case of verbs that obligatorily require an infinitive, e.g.:

liautis dirbti
bandyti grįžti
mokėti skaityti
mėgti skaityti

'stop working' (lit. 'to work')
'try to return'
'be able to read'
'like to read'

A number of verbs obligatorily take adverbs:

atrūdai gera
jis elgiasi vyriskai

'you look well (fine)'
'he behaves in a manly way'

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 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.: Pūtė vėjas, ir medžiai lingavo 'It was windy, and the trees were swaying.' Coordinated word forms have an identical dependence relation to another word, cf.: Atėjo ilgas ir lietingas ruduo '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 and is indicated by a line without an arrow head; e.g., the phrase giędras ir tylus vakaras 'a clear and quiet evening' can be represented graphically as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{vakaras} \\
\text{\downarrow} \\
\text{giędras ir tylus}
\end{array}
\]
Explicit markers of coordination are coordinating conjunctions (cf. ir 'and' in the above example); constituents can also be coordinated without any explicit markers (asynthetic coordination), in which case coordination is indicated by juxtaposition of constituents and their equivalent syntactic status (cf. giédras, tylis vākāras 'a clear quiet evening'). Thus word order and intonation play a major role in the latter instance.

## Parts of a sentence

*Sākinio dālys*

1.10 The structure of a sentence can be described in terms of the predicate, subject, object, adverbia, 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 adverbia 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 adverbia. 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.:

*Mergaitės* \(\text{augina} \quad \text{gėlės (Pat)}\).
girl: NOM. PL \quad \text{grow: 3. PRES} \quad \text{flower: ACC. PL}

‘The girls grow flowers.’

*Gėlės (Pat)* \(\text{augo}\).
flower: NOM. PL \quad \text{grow: 3. PRES}

‘Flowers grow.’

The agent, however, is not always encoded by the syntactic subject. Thus, in the sentence

*Kambaryjė* \(\text{prisiriško} \quad \text{žmonių (Ag)}\).
room: LOC. SG \quad \text{gather: 3. PAST} \quad \text{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.:

*Čia* \(\text{kiškio (Ag)} \quad \text{bėgta}\).
here \quad \text{rabbit: GEN. SG} \quad \text{run: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR}

‘A rabbit has been (running) here’ (evidential passive).

*Mán (Pat)* \(\text{trūksta} \quad \text{duonos}\).
I: DAT \quad \text{lack: 3. PRES} \quad \text{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.

*Nešu* \(\text{lāzdo}\).
carry: 1. SG. PRES \quad \text{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 įgyvendėti lašant / vanduo lašant / kąd laša (vanduo). 
   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 gyrėsi laimėjus (rungtynės) / jūs 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) Išgirdome (rašis) bilda / kąd (rūšis) 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 (vanduo lašant) and the subordinate clause (kąd vanduo laša) are identified as the syntactic subject since they can be replaced by a noun subject, cf.:

Būvo įgyvendėti 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 gyrėsi laimėjimu (pėrgale). 
   he: boast: 3. PAST. REFL victory: INSTR

‘He boasted of (his) victory.’

Išgirdome bilda. 
   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 (tarinys) 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
‘Crowds of people filled the streets of the suburb.’

The subject *minios* ‘crowds’ and the (direct) object *gatvės* ‘streets’ are immediately linked to the predicate *užpildė* ‘filled’, and the attributes *priemiesčio* ‘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 *Šuo yra naminis gyvūlys* ‘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.:

   Miškė *visi*  
   wood: LOC *dainūoja / daināvo / dainūokite.*  
   PL. MASC PL. IMPER

   ‘In the woods everybody is singing/sang/sing.’

2. An active participle without an auxiliary verb, used to express unexpect- edness of the event, or doubt, or hearsay information about it, e.g.:

   Tėvas *jaū*  
   father: NOM *beateīnas.*  
   already PREF-come: PRES. ACT. PART. NOM

   ‘Father is coming already.’

   Kitadūs *gyvēnė* *dū*  
   sometime live: PAST. ACT. *brōliai.*  
   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.:
Jis eįsiąs.
he: NOM. MASC go: FUT. ACT. PART. NOM. SG. MASC
‘He will (probably) go.’

Jiė eįsiąq.
they: NOM. MASC go: FUT. ACT. PART. NOM. PL. MASC
‘They will (probably) go.’

(3) An onomatopoeic word interchangeable with the respective verb, e.g.:
Brólis šmáukšt (= šmáukštêlêjo) botagû.
brother: NOM. SG crack crack: 3. PAST whip: INSTR
‘Brother cracked (lit. ‘crack’) a whip.’

(4) An interjection or a particle, e.g.:
Márš namô!
march home
‘Go home!’

Šè iê tâu lašëlį.
here also you: DAT drop: ACC
‘Here, have a drop, too.’

(5) In expressive emotive speech an infinitive can be used to express a (sudden) energetic action, e.g.:
Zuïkis bêgt vîlkas vîtis.
hare: NOM. SG run: INF wolf: NOM. SG chase: INF. REFL
‘The hare dashed away, the wolf chased after.’

(6) In impersonal sentences, a past gerund or an infinitive can be used as a simple predicate, e.g.:
Kâ čià dâr prasimânîus / prasimanytî?
what: ACC here else think up: PAST. GER think up: INF
‘What else could we think up?’

Visîms išeît!
all: DAT. PL go out: INF
‘Get out, everybody!’

(7) The function of a simple predicate is also assigned to the neuter form of a passive participle, used in the meaning similar to that of the indirect mood (evidential passive), e.g.:
Čià vîlkiê ėsama / bûta.
here wolf: GEN. PL be: PRES. PASS. be: PAST. PASS.
PART. NEUTR PART. NEUTR
‘(It seems/evidently) There are wolves here/Wolves have been here.’
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.:

- **Jūs gālīt eitī.**
  - you: NOM can: 2. PL. PRES go: INF
  - ‘You can go.’

- **Ji ėmē ve rk tī.**
  - she: NOM take: 3. PAST cry: INF
  - ‘She began to cry.’

- **Likāū sēdē tī.**
  - stay: 1. SG. PAST sit: INF
  - ‘I kept sitting.’

- **Jām reikējo // rūpējo iš e rtī.**
  - 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 (nustōti ‘stop’, liāutis ‘stop, cease’, mēstī ‘give up, stop’ and the like) with the active past participle of a notional verb, e.g.:

- **Našlātē liovēsī ve r k us i.**
  - orphan: NOM. SG. FEM stop: 3. PAST. REFL cry: PAST. ACT.
  - PART. NOM. SG. FEM
  - ‘The orphan stopped crying.’

- **Lietūs nustōjo lījēs.**
  - rain: NOM. SG. MASC stop: 3. PAST rain: PAST. ACT.
  - PART. NOM. SG. MASC
  - ‘It stopped raining.’

(3) The finite form of the copula bāti ‘be’ (zero form in the present tense) with the infinitive of a verb of perception (matūtī ‘see’, girdētī ‘hear’, jaūstī/jūstī ‘feel’, numanūtī ‘anticipate’), e.g.:
Kās naūja girdēti?
what: NOM new: NOM. NEUTR hear: INF
‘What’s the news?’

Tolumojē miškas bi'vo / būdavo / bi's matyti.
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:

Čjom čjom visq diēnq.
go: 1. PL. PAST go: 1. PL. PAST all day
‘We walked on all day long.’

Griāudē nugriāudē āudra.
thunder: 3. PAST PREF-thunder: 3. PAST storm: NOM
‘The storm thundered and spent itself.’

Sūnūs tiēsē vārē pirmas vagās.
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.:

Matīt mačiaū, bet nenu tvēriau.
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.:

Kukūoja gegēlē kukūodama.
cuckoo: 3. PRES cuckoo: NOM. SG. FEM cuckoo: HALF-PART. NOM. FEM
‘The cuckoo is calling and calling.’

Rašyk 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 stingtē sustingo.
she freeze: ADV PREF-freeze: 3. PAST
‘She froze stiff.’
(5) A finite verb form with an onomatopoec word, e.g.:

\[
\text{Várna} \quad šàst \quad nùtùpè.
\]

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 būti 'be' and an adjective, e.g.:

\[
\text{Šitame} \quad kàime \quad ji \quad yrà \quad gyvènusi.
\]

this: LOC village: LOC she: NOM be: 3. PRES live: PAST.

ACT. PART.

NOM. FEM

'She has lived in this village.'

Cf.:

\[
\text{Šitame} \quad kàime \quad ji \quad gyvèna.
\]

this: LOC village: LOC she: NOM live: 3. PRES

'She lives in this village.'

\[
\text{ji} \quad yrà \quad jauniàusia.
\]

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 būti '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.:

\[
\text{Onùtè} \quad bì'vo \quad pîenininkè.
\]

Annie: NOM be: 3. PAST milkmaid

'Annie was a milkmaid.'

\[
\text{Vaikaì} \quad bùs \quad patènkinti.
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vaika̱i} & \quad \text{grīžo} & \quad \text{patēnkinti.} \\
\text{children: NOM. PL. MASC} & \quad \text{return: 3. PAST} & \quad \text{pleased: NOM. PL. MASC}
\end{align*}
\]

'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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tu} & \quad \text{turi} & \quad \text{būti} & \quad \text{teisingas.} \\
\text{thou: NOM} & \quad \text{must: 2. SG. PRES} & \quad \text{be: INF} & \quad \text{just: NOM. SG. MASC}
\end{align*}
\]

'You must be just.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tās} & \quad \text{žiūgnsis} & \quad \text{gāli} & \quad \text{būti} & \quad \text{paskutinis.} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{step: NOM. SG. MASC} & \quad \text{can: 3. PRES} & \quad \text{be: INF} & \quad \text{last: NOM. SG. MASC}
\end{align*}
\]

'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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mana̱o} & \quad \text{tēvas} & \quad \text{sveikas.} \\
\text{my father} & \quad \text{healthy}
\end{align*}
\]

'My father is well.'

(Cf. *būvo/būdavo/būs/yrā būnes/būtu sveikas* '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' (*yrā* '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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āš (esi̱) jāunas} & \quad \text{‘I am young’} \\
\text{tū (esi) jāunas} & \quad \text{‘thou (are) young’} \\
\text{jūs (ēsate) jauni} & \quad \text{‘you (are) young’}
\end{align*}
\]

In sentences with the zero copula the syntactic link between subject and predicative can be reinforced by the pronoun *tai̱* ‘that’ or emphasized by intonation,
marked by a dash in writing:

*Keliōnė – taĩ nė juōkas.*

travel that not joke

‘A trip is no joke.’

*Dū ir dū – keturi.*

two and two four

‘Two and two is four.’

In most cases, an overt present tense form of *būti* is interchangeable with the zero form, cf.: *Tū pats esi kal̂tas = Tū pats kaŭlas* ‘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.:

*Genys măr̃gas, pas̃aulis dăr marg̃es̃nis.*

‘The woodpecker is motley, the world is even more motley.’

*Janulis tie̅̅̅̅ñgas źmogūs.*

‘Janulis is a just man.’

The copula *būti* 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.:

**Esī**

be: 2. SG. PRES young: NOM. SG. MASC

iř stiprūs.

‘You are young and strong.’

**Ēsame**

be: 1. PL. PRES young: NOM. PL. FEM

ir grāžios.

‘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’, *darytis* ‘become’), or remaining in a state (e.g., *(pa)*likti ‘remain’), or pretending (e.g., *dētis* ‘pretend’, *apsimēsti* ‘pretend, feign’), the state being denoted by the predicative; cf.:

*Jis tāpo turtingas.*

‘He grew rich.’

*Jis liko vienišs.*

‘He remained alone.’

The verbs denoting pretending can take participles, e.g.:

*Darbininkai dējos pavaŗge.*

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) Geležis yra metālas.
   'Iron is a metal.'

(b) Kaimynas buvo geras žmogus.
   'The neighbour was a good man.'

The predicative can also be expressed by a comparative phrase with the nominative case form:

Sūnus buvo kaip ėžuolas.
'(His) Son was like an oak-tree (= strong and handsome).'

(2) The nominative case of an adjective, (ordinal) numeral, pronoun, or particle, cf.:

(a) Dangus buvo gièdras.
   'The sky was clear.'

(b) Berniūkas liko vienas.
   'The boy remained alone.'

(c) Laikai buvo kitokie.
   'The times were different' (lit. 'other').

(d) Mötina buvo tikinti.
   'Mother was a believer' (lit. 'believing': PRES. ACT. PART).

(3) The genitive case of a noun (single or with dependent words):

Žiedas buvo áukso.
'The ring was of gold.'

Tas ėkis yra mano tévo.
'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:

Tévo
father: GEN
nebéra
not-be: 3. PRES
gyvo.
alive: GEN

'Father is dead.'

Jō
he: GEN
êsama /
be: PRES. PASS.
'búta
PART. NEUTR
ragāniaus.
wizard: GEN. SG

'(They say) he is/was a wizard.'
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.:

\[
\text{Jis } \text{bi\'vo} \quad \text{m\'okytojas.} \\
\text{he} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{teacher: NOM} \\
\text{‘He was a teacher’ (permanent profession).}
\]

\[
\text{Jis } \text{bi\'vo} \quad \text{m\'okytoju.} \\
\text{he} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{teacher: INSTR} \\
\text{‘He worked as a teacher’ (temporary occupation).}
\]

As a rule, the nominative can be substituted for the instrumental, but not vice versa; cf. also:

\[
\text{K\'eleta m\'ety d\'ed\'e bi\'vo} \quad \text{seni\'un\'u (INSTR)/seni\'unas (NOM).} \\
\text{‘For a number of years my uncle was the village elder.’}
\]

The instrumental is more common than nominative with semi-notional copulative verbs denoting a change of state or a seeming state, than with b\'uti ‘be’, e.g.:

\[
\text{Pati egl\'e t\'apo.} \\
\text{herself: NOM fir-tree: INSTR became} \\
\text{‘She herself turned into a fir-tree.’}
\]

\[
\text{Jis apsimet\'e vir\'sininku.} \\
\text{he pretended boss: INSTR} \\
\text{‘He pretended to be the boss.’}
\]

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.:

\[
\text{Vaika\'i buvo \iddubusiai skr\'uostais.} \\
\text{children were sunken: INSTR. PL cheek: INSTR. PL} \\
\text{‘The children had sunken cheeks.’}
\]

In Standard Lithuanian, adjectives and their equivalents in the predicative position are not used in the instrumental case, e.g.:

\[
\text{M\'es b\'asime laisvi} \quad \text{(not *laisva\'is).} \\
\text{we will be free: NOM. PL (free: INSTR. PL)} \\
\text{‘We will be free.’}
\]

(5) Prepositional phrases describe the subject referent when used predicatively, e.g.:

\[
\text{i\'s ‘from, of’ + GEN:} \\
\text{N\'amo \'sienos i\'s r\'astyu.} \\
\text{‘The walls of the house are of timber.’}
\]
bè ‘without’ + GEN:
Mėdžiai jaũ be lápy. lit. ‘The trees are already without leaves.’

iki ‘up to’ + GEN:
Rankóvės bûs iki alkûnių. lit. ‘The sleeves will be down to the elbows.’

sû ‘with’ + INSTR:
Dëdë bûvo 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.:

Jû senëlis bûvo iš bajûrių.  
his grandfather was from gentry: GEN. PL 
‘His grandfather was descended from landed gentry.’

Mûno duktë nè iš tokių / nè iš prastųjų  
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’).

Jûs bûvo nè iš kvailiausių.  
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 taĩ ‘that’, or visa ‘all, everything’, viëna ‘one’, kita ‘another (thing)’, or (c) the indefinite pronoun kâs ‘who, what’ (or kažkâs ‘something, somebody’), kai kâs ‘something, someone’, daûg kas ‘much, many’, bet kâs ‘anything, anyone’, kâs ne kâs ‘something, somebody’, niëkas ‘nothing, nobody’, viskas ‘everything’; cf.:

(a) Sëna bûvo nuobodû, ô naũja nedâšku.  
(What was) old was dull, and  
(what was) new was uncertain.’

(b) Taĩ labaĩ įdomû.  
‘That is very interesting.’

Viëna yrâ tikra.  
‘One (thing) is true.’
(c) Kās tāu malonū? ‘What is pleasant for you?’
Kai kās/daug kās/kažkās būvo negēra.
Čiā niēkas nemīela.
‘Some things/much (many things)/something was wrong’ (lit. ‘not good’).
‘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.:
Svēčias visadā malonū.
Nē pinigai, ņ drāsā svarbū.
‘A guest is always a pleasure’ (lit. ‘pleasance’).
‘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.:
Kalbā yrā viena, ņ darbā kīta.
‘Talking is one (thing) and
deeds (quite) another.’

Neuter adjectives are widely used as predicatives in impersonal sentences to
express a state, e.g.:
Būvo kāršta.
‘It was hot.’
Jām būvo nesmagū.
he: DAT was not pleasant: NEUTR
‘He felt uneasy.’

Neuter adjectives can also take an infinitive, e.g.:
Čiā gēra gyvēnti.
here good: NEUTR live: INF
‘It’s good to live here.’
Mān būvo nejdomū klausyti.
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.:
Čiā kažkās negeraĩ / negēra.
here something not good: ADV not good: NEUTR
‘Something is wrong here.’

Tāu būs riestaĩ / riēsta.
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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jūs visas dārba biuvo dykinėti.} \\
\text{His all: NOM work: NOM was idle: INF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘His job was to do nothing.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gyveni - tai kūrta.} \\
\text{live: INF that create: INF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kviečiai pribrendo.} \\
\text{wheat: NOM. PL ripen: 3. PAST}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The wheat has ripened.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mergaitė biuvo linksma.} \\
\text{girl: NOM. SG. FEM be: 3. PAST cheerful: NOM. SG. FEM}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 kąs ‘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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aš dār nieko nežinojau.} \\
\text{I didn’t know anything yet.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jis labai jūnas.} \\
\text{He is very young.}
\end{align*}
\]
The 1st and 2nd person pronouns in subject position are often omitted, since the verbal ending implies the subject unambiguously, e.g.:

Einu  
*i*  
dainūoju.

go: 1. SG. PRES  and  
sing: 1. SG. PRES

‘I am walking and singing.’

Mokėjot  
ateiť,  
mokėkit  
išeit.

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.:

Kiekvienas jį pažįsta.  
‘Everyone knows him.’

Jauni šūka, seni žiūri.  
‘The young are dancing, the old are watching.’

Dū bėga, trēčias vējasi.  
‘Two are running, the third is pursuing.’

(3) The neuter form of an adjective or pronoun, e.g.:

Iš sēna gimsta jāuna.  
‘The young is born out of old.’

Tai būvo netikėta.  
‘It was unexpected.’

Visa prapūlė.  
‘All is lost.’

(4) The genitive case of a noun with the meaning of indefinite quantity, e.g.:

Pavasariais  
atplaūkdavo  
laivū  
(cf. laivai).

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 būti ‘be’ to express absence of the indefinite subject referent in the place indicated, e.g.:

Vyrų  
kiemę  
nebūvo.

man: GEN. PL  yard: LOC. SG  not be: 3. PAST

‘There were no men in the yard.’

Cf.:

Vyrai  
būvo  
kiemę.

man: NOM. PL  were  yard: LOC. SG

‘The men were in the yard.’

Vyrai  
kiemę  
nebūvo.

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:
Naujiena nebūvo maloni.
news: NOM. SG not be: 3. PAST pleasant: NOM. SG
'The news wasn’t pleasant.'

(5) An infinitive occurs in subject position in sentences with a compound nominal predicate, or with another infinitive as predicate, e.g.:
Šienauté yra neleñgvas dábas.
Suprasti — tai atłęisti.
'To make hay is hard work.'
'To understand is to forgive.'

The infinitive is regarded as a part of a compound predicate when it co-occurs with a modal or another semi-notional verb or with a neuter adjective.

Complex subject

1.23 The following word clusters in subject position are qualified as complex subjects.

(1) A personal pronoun with an intensifying or specifying pronoun (pats ‘one-self’, visas, -à ‘all, (the) whole’, vienas, -à ‘one, alone’, abû, abì ‘both’, kiekvienas, -à ‘each’), e.g.:
Àš pats skubéjau išétti.
Ji viena teisýbę pasákė.
Mês visi (mês kiekvienas)
tai žinome.
Jië abû vienódi.
‘I myself was in a hurry to leave.’
‘She alone told the truth.’
‘All of us (each of us) (lit. ‘we all, we each’) know it.’
‘Both of them (lit. ‘they both’) are the same.’

(2) An indefinite pronoun with another pronoun, e.g.:
Niêkas kitas tò negaléjo padarýti.
Visa tai atrôdë juokinga.
‘No one else could do it.’
‘All that seemed funny.’

(3) The pronoun kas ‘who, what’ (and its compounds kažkas ‘somebody, something’, kas nòrs ‘somebody, someone, something’, etc.) used with an adjective, numeral or an adverb, e.g.:
Kàs ketvòrîs káime sirógo.
Kàs gyvàs bëgo gélbëtis.
Daûg kàs čìà buvo.
Teû atsitiko kažkàs negëra.
Each fourth (person) in the village was ill.’
‘Everyone alive tried to escape.’
‘Many people (lit. ‘many who’) have been here.’
lit. ‘Something bad happened here.’
A cluster of two pronouns can be replaced by one of them, mostly the second one, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
Pati (= \text{Aš pati}) & \text{ pietiš išvirsiu.} & \text{‘I myself will cook dinner.’} \\
Visi (= \text{Mės visi}) & \text{ taiš matėme.} & \text{‘All of us have seen it.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(4) A quantitative adverb (\textit{daug} ‘much, many’, \textit{kiek} ‘how much/many’, \textit{tiek} ‘so much/many’, \textit{šiek tiek} ‘a little, a few’, \textit{maza} ‘little’) or the neuter adjectives \textit{maza} ‘little’, and \textit{apstū} ‘a lot’ used with the genitive case of a noun, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Daug mēty praējo.} & \quad \text{‘Many years (have) passed.’} \\
\text{Tiek ūmoniū čià gyvena.} & \quad \text{lit. ‘So many people live here.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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) \text{Bars} \quad \text{tavē} \quad \text{močiūtė} \quad \text{motinēlē.}

\text{scold: FUT} \quad \text{you: ACC} \quad \text{mother: DIMIN. NOM} \quad \text{mother: DIMIN. NOM}

‘Your mummy will scold you.’

(b) \text{Prabėgo} \quad \text{mēty} \quad \text{mētai.}

\text{pass: 3. PAST} \quad \text{year: GEN. PL} \quad \text{year: NOM. PL}

lit. ‘Years of years (i.e. many years) passed by.’

(For the gerundial clauses in subject position see 3.103.)

\section*{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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aš} & \quad \text{sēdžiu} & \text{mēs} & \quad \text{sēdime} \\
\text{I: NOM} & \quad \text{sit: 1. SG. PRES} & \text{we: NOM} & \quad \text{sit: 1. PL. PRES} \\
\text{‘I am sitting’} & \quad \text{‘We are sitting’}
\end{align*}
\]
If the subject is a noun or a 3rd person pronoun, the predicate agrees with it in person (number being unmarked in this form):

If the subject is a noun or a 3rd person pronoun, the predicate agrees with it in person (number being unmarked in this form):

As a polite form of address to one person, the plural pronoun jūs ‘you’ and the nouns pūnas ‘Mister’, ponià ‘Madam’, panēlē ‘Miss’ are used with the 2nd person plural form of a verb, e.g.:

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As a polite address, the pronoun tāmsta ‘you’, pāts ‘yourself’ and the adjective sveikas, -ā ‘healthy, sound’ in the meaning of tāmsta are used with the 2nd person singular verb form:

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They are also used in the plural form:

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The subject can be extended by the prepositional phrase iš + 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.:
Keli iš jūsų sėdėjo / sėdėjote namię?
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 (pats 'oneself', vienas 'one, alone', kiekvienas 'each', abū 'both'), and in this cluster the personal pronoun can be omitted, these second component representing the subject group. In this case the person of the omitted pronoun is marked in the predicate:

Pats nuėja/ nuėjai/ nuėjo.
self: MASC go: 1. SG. PAST go: 2. SG. PAST go: 3. PAST
'I myself/you yourself/he himself went there.'

Viena viską padaria/ padare/ padarė.
one: FEM. NOM all: ACC do: 1. SG. do: 2. SG. do: 3. PAST
'I/thou/she alone did everything.'

Abū grīžome/ grīžote/ grīžo.
both return: 1. PL. PAST return: 2. PL. PAST return: 3. PAST
'Both of us/you/them returned.'

With the pronouns kās 'who' (and its derivatives daug kās 'many', kās ne kās 'some (people)', katrās 'which (of the two)', kuris 'which', kēletas 'a few', niēkas 'no one', kelē 'several', kai kuriē 'some (people)' in subject position the verb is in the 1st and 2nd plural or in the 3rd person form, cf.:

Kās/ katrās/ kuris dabā eisite?
who which which now go: 2. PL. FUT
'Who/which of you two/which one will go now?'

Daug kās/ kai kās apiē tā īrdejome.
many some about that hear: 1. PL. PAST
'Many of us/some of us (have) heard about it.'

Niēkas nesuprašātme/ nesuprašāta.
o no one not understand: 1. PL. PRES not understand: 3. PRES
None of us/No one understand(s) it.'

Kai kuriē pasilikome / pasiliko.
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:
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)):

1.25

(1) *Tilopa yra mėdis.*

A poplar is a tree.

(2) *Jonas buvo sūnūs, o Marytė jauniūsia dukte.*

John was (their) son, and Mary (was) the youngest daughter.

(3) *Jis buvo mokytojas.*

He was a teacher.

The predicative noun usually agrees with the subject in number, e.g.:

*Brolis buis įkininkas.*

‘(My) brother will be a farmer.’

*Bróliai būs įkininkai.*

‘(My) brothers will be farmers.’
This is not the case if one of the two nouns belongs to the class of *pluralia tanti*um, cf.:

\[ \text{Jū} \quad \text{maïstas} \quad \text{būvo} \quad \text{bûlvês.} \]

their food: NOM. SG be: 3. PAST potato: NOM. PL

'Their food was potatoes.'

\[ \text{Akečios –} \quad \text{pasênes} \quad \text{îrankis.} \]

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.:

\[ \text{Vaikai} \quad \text{būvo} \quad \text{mûsû} \quad \text{viltis.} \]

child: NOM. PL be: 3. PAST our hope: NOM. SG

'The children were our hope.'

If the pronoun *jûs* 'you' is used as a polite address instead of *tû* 'thou' the predicative noun is in the singular:

\[ \text{Jûs} \quad \text{êsate} \quad \text{dûdvûris.} \]

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.:

\[ \text{Kêletas} \quad \text{(iš} \quad \text{jû} \text{)} \quad \text{bûvo} \quad \text{studeûntai.} \]

several: NOM. SG from them be: 3. PAST student: NOM. PL

'Some (of them) were students.'

\[ \text{Visa} \quad \text{taî –} \quad \text{nesûmonês.} \]

all: NOM. SG that nonsense: NOM. PL

'All that is nonsense.'

\[ \text{Kûs} \quad \text{bûs} \quad \text{nugalêtojai?} \]

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 + *sû* 'with' + INSTR, e.g.:

\[ \text{Daugûmas} \quad \text{bûvo} \quad \text{vûrai.} \]

majority: SG be: 3. PAST man: NOM. PL

'The majority were men.'
Tėvas su mėtina buvo darbiniūkai.
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 brūliai įtepo įriodo varniais.
all: NOM. PL brother: NOM. PL become: 3. PAST raven: INSTR. PL
‘All the brothers turned into ravens.’

Cf.: Jis įtepo įriodvniu.
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.:

Karūliai įtepo jos megestamą pasipusti.
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.:

Vaikai buvo laimingi.
child: NOM. PL. MASC be: 3. PAST happy: NOM. PL. MASC
‘The children were happy.’

Mergaitės buvo laimingos.
girl: NOM. PL. FEM were happy: NOM. PL. FEM
‘The girls were happy.’

Ji buvo pasipusti.
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.:

Ar buvaū laimingas/laiminga.
I was happy: MASC happy: FEM
‘I was happy.’

Jūs būsite laimingi / laimingos.
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:

\[ jūs \quad ėsate \quad graži. \]

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:

\[ Daūgelis \quad biwo \quad piki. \]

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.:

\[ Medūs \quad gardu. \]

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.:

\[ Ąš \quad esū \quad kalbėjęs / \quad kalbėjusi. \]

I be: 1. SG. PRES speak: PAST. ACT. MASC speak: PAST. ACT. PART. SG.

‘I have spoken.’

\[ Tiū \quad esi \quad kalbėjęs / \quad kalbėjusi. \]

thou be: 2. SG. PRES speak: PAST. ACT. PART. SG. MASC speak: SG. FEM

‘You have spoken.’

\[ Mēs \quad bivome \quad grįžę / \quad grįžusios. \]

we be: 1. PL. PAST return: PAST. ACT. return: PL. FEM PART. PL. MASC

‘We had returned.’
Jūs būvote kviečiamės.
you be: 2. PL. PAST invite: PRES. PASS. PART. PL. MASC invite: PL. FEM
‘You were invited.’

(But: Jūs būvote kviečiamas (SG. MASC)/kviečiamà (SG. FEM) ‘You were invited’, when addressing one person.)

If the subject is an indefinite pronoun (kąs ‘what’, niękas ‘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 vēžama 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 jaū sejama.
rye: MASC. PL already sow: PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR
‘Rye is being sown already.’

Namas pastatytà.
house: MASC. SG build: PAST. PASS. PART. NEUTR
‘The house is built.’

Būlavos būvo nûkasta.
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 bûs nēšama
gêlès ið pàvëiksli.
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 (papildinys) 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 (tiesioginis papildinys) 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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ji įpėdėjo stalią.} & \quad \text{‘She laid the table (ACC. SG).’} \\
\text{Stalią buvo jūs įpėdėtas.} & \quad \text{‘The table (NOM. SG) was laid by her.’} \\
\text{Laukėme svečių.} & \quad \text{‘We expected visitors (GEN. PL).’} \\
\text{Svečiai buvo laukiami.} & \quad \text{‘Visitors (NOM. PL) were expected.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Matau paūkštį.} & \quad \text{‘I see a bird (ACC. SG).’} \\
\text{Nematą paūkščio.} & \quad \text{‘I don’t see a bird (GEN. SG).’} \\
\text{Turiu sēserį.} & \quad \text{‘I have a sister (ACC. SG).’} \\
\text{Neturiu seseřs.} & \quad \text{‘I don’t have a sister (GEN. SG).’}
\end{align*}
\]

If a direct object refers to an indefinite quantity, the genitive case is also used instead of the accusative, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Atnešiau obuolių.} & \quad \text{‘I brought some apples (GEN. PL).’} \\
\text{Cf. Atnešiau obuolius.} & \quad \text{‘I brought the apples (ACC. PL).’} \\
\text{Gavę laiškų.} & \quad \text{‘I received some letters (GEN. PL).’} \\
\text{Cf. Gavę laiškus.} & \quad \text{‘I received the letters (ACC. PL).’}
\end{align*}
\]

The following verbs always require a direct object in the genitive case: lūkti ‘wait (for)’, ieškoti ‘look (for)’, geisti ‘desire’, trūkšti ‘desire, wish’, norėti ‘want’, siekti ‘strive (for)’, stokoti ‘be short (of)’, bijoti ‘be afraid (of)’, vengti ‘avoid’, and the like.

The accusative (or genitive) case of a direct object is interchangeable with an infinitive after some verbs, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ji dėvė pavalgyti/važijo.} & \quad \text{‘She gave some food: INF/GEN.’} \\
\text{Vaikai karštais gauina lūpti /rūkščių.} & \quad \text{‘Sometimes (the) children get a beating (INF)/the birch (GEN).’}
\end{align*}
\]
An infinitive often used with verbs like vengti 'avoid', mokytis 'learn', saugotis 'take care (of)', bijoti 'be afraid (of)', at(si)mirti 'remember', užmirštį 'forget', etc. also occupies the position of a direct object; cf.:

mokosi rašyti/rāšto 'he learns to write (INF)/writing (GEN)'
užmiršaū pasisveikinti 'I forgot to say hello (INF)'
bijaū grįžti '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.:

Šitas žmogis šilta iš šalta maitęs.
this man warm: NEUTR and cold: NEUTR see: PAST. ACT. PART
'This man has experienced everything' (lit. 'has seen hot and cold').

Jis pats visa padarė.
he himself all: NEUTR do: 3. PAST
'He did everything himself.'

Ligōnė nebevalgo nef virta, nef virta. Ligonė
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) Šiaunės sėjū pats mačiau. lit. 'Today I saw him himself.'
(2) Su tikau daug draugi. 'I met many friends.'
(3) Rankas kūjas pavaergau. lit. 'I tired (my) hands and feet.'

1.30 The status of an indirect object (netiesioginis papildinys) 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.:

Mergaitė gėlės atnešė mótinai.
girl: NOM. SG flower: ACC. PL bring: 3. PAST mother: DAT. SG
'The girl brought flowers to her mother.'

Gėlės būvo atneštos mótinai.
flower: NOM. PL be: 3. PAST bring: PAST. PL mother: DAT. SG
PART. NOM.
'Flowers were brought to the mother.'
They rejoice:

They rejoiced at the victory.

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 šviečia. ‘The sun shines for all (DAT. PL).’
Jai nelaimė atsitiko. lit. ‘A misfortune happened to her (DAT. SG).’

(2) Jiė didžiuojasi savo sūnumi. ‘They are proud of their son (INSTR. SG).’
Jis viskuo abėjoja. ‘He doubts everything (INSTR. SG).’
Atvaizdavau trūkiniu. ‘I have come by train (INSTR. SG).’

(3) Jis juokiasi iš tavęs. ‘He laughs at you (Prep + GEN. SG).’
Papasakok apie savo keliones. ‘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.:

Merginė drovėjosi svečių. ‘The girl felt shy with visitors (GEN. PL).’

On the other hand, the genitive is very common in passive constructions where it denotes the agent (genetivus auctoris); cf.:

Stogas buvo vejo nuneštas. ‘The roof was blown away by the wind.’

Teių vaikų žaidžiama. ‘There are children playing there.’

The genitive is also required by adjectives and some adverbs of state used predicatively, cf.:

Jis buvo godis pinigų. ‘He was greedy for money.’

Kalbos buvo apstū. ‘There was much talk (about it).’
1.31 An indirect object is often governed by a predicate having a direct object, e.g.:

\[ \text{Aš gėrą naujieną jūms pärnešiau.} \]
\[ \text{I've brought you (DAT) good news (ACC. SG).} \]

\[ \text{Seniau rugiųs pjautuvais pjaudavom.} \]
\[ \text{In the old days we reaped rye (ACC. PL.) with sickles (INSTR. PL).} \]

\[ \text{Pasidariau kirbą iš lentų bė kirvio.} \]
\[ \text{I have made a pail (ACC. SG) from planks (Prep + GEN. PL) without an ax (Prep + GEN. SG).} \]

In these cases, the difference between a direct and indirect object is made explicit in a passive transform:

\[ \text{Rašiau laišką pieštuku draugui.} \]
\[ \text{write: 1. SG. PAST letter: ACC. SG pencil: INSTR. SG friend: DAT. SG} \]
\[ \text{‘I was writing a letter to a friend with a pencil.’} \]

\[ \text{Laiškas buvo rašomas pieštuku draugui.} \]
\[ \text{letter: NOM. SG was write: PRES. PASS. pencil: INSTR. SG friend: DAT. SG} \]
\[ \text{‘The letter was being written to a friend with a pencil.’} \]

The word groups singled out in the following sentences are viewed as complex indirect objects:

\[ \text{Juodą būvo vienas kitam skirti.} \]
\[ \text{The two of them were made (lit. ‘destined’) for each (NOM) other (DAT).} \]

\[ \text{Nors mane auksu sidabrą apipiltų, neišiu.} \]
\[ \text{‘Even if they shower me with gold silver (INSTR), I won’t go.’} \]

THE ADVERBIAL

1.32 The status of the adverbial (aplinkyble) 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 kadą ‘when’, kaip ‘how’, kiek ‘how much/many’, kodėl ‘why’, kuŗ ‘where’; nuo kadą ‘since when’, iki kël ‘until when’, už kiek ‘for how much’, iš kuŗ ‘from where’, etc. Adverbials denote the following:
(1) **place**, (including location and direction), e.g.:

- *Namię nieko neradau.*
  - ‘I didn’t find anyone at home.’
- *Aplinķi būvo tylū.*
  - ‘It was quiet all around (ADV).’
- *Miškē nuaidējo šūviai.*
  - ‘Shots were heard in the forest (LOC).’
- *Grīžome iš miestēlio.*
  - ‘We returned from the town (Prep + GEN).’

(2) **time:**

- *Anksčiau tū tāp nekalbējai.*
  - ‘You never spoke so before (ADV).’
- *Vidūdienu dēbesys išsisklaidė.*
  - ‘At noon (ACC) the clouds disappeared.’
- *Pō dviejū dienū sugrūšiu.*
  - ‘In two days (Prep + GEN) I’ll be back.’

(3) **manner:**

- *Arkliāi bēgo risčiā.*
  - ‘The horses ran at a trot (ADV).’
- *Kraūjas suņkēsi pō lāšā.*
  - ‘The blood seeped drop by drop (Prep + ACC).’
- *Čia pusētinai švarū.*
  - ‘It is rather (ADV) clean here.’
- *Gyvenome atsikraiā, pō vienā.*
  - ‘We lived separately, one to a room (Prep + ACC).’

(4) **cause:**

- *Mirē iš sīelvarto.*
  - ‘He died of grief (Prep + GEN).’
- *Peř tave pavēlavaū ī traukiniā.*
  - ‘Because of you (Prep + ACC) I missed the train.’

(5) **purpose:**

- *Visi išējo grybāuti.*
  - ‘They have all gone out to gather mushrooms (INF).’
- *Jis pākvieta mūs pietū.*
  - ‘He invited us to dinner (GEN).’

Among adverbials of manner, modifiers of quantity (*jis daug šnēka, mazā dāro* ‘He talks much and does little’) and of comparison (*Bēga kaip 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.:

- *Grīžome iš vakarōnēs.*
  - ‘We returned from an evening-party.’
- *(Iš kur? ‘From where?’ / Iš kā? ‘From what?’).*
Išėjau pas mótina.  
lit. 'I went to my mother.'
(Kur? 'Where?' / Pas ką? 'To whom?').

Skaičiau lášką pò stalìu.  
'I read the letter under the table.'
(Kur? 'Where?' / Po kuo? '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 (kur? 'where', kadà? '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 kuriuò tikslìu? /kò? '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.:

**Berniukas**  
boy: NOM. SG. MASC

**bégijo**  
rán about

**básas.**  
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 griš turtinga.
she: NOM return: FUT rich: NOM. SG. FEM
'She will return rich.'

Vaikai išėjo alkanė.
child: NOM. left hungry: NOM. PL. MASC
PL. MASC
lit. 'The children went away hungry.'

Jis stovėjo susiraūkęs, niūrūs.
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.:

Àš ji pažinau dár studeńtą.
I he: ACC. SG. MASC knew yet student: ACC. SG. MASC
'I knew him as a student yet.'

Radau sūny neválidojus.
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 nusibōdo vienām.
child: DAT. SG. MASC be bored: 3. PAST alone: DAT. SG. MASC
'The child got bored (being) alone.'

Nelaikyk šūns palāido.
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:

Sūnus grižo namo kaip šeimininkas.  'The son returned home as (in the
capacity of) its owner (NOM).'

Jis atvıko kaip pasiuntinys.  'He came as an envoy (NOM)'
(Cf. atvıko pasisuntinu.)
'Mēs gerbēme Motiēju kaip
gābu meistrą.  '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 širdiņā.
    lit. 'The bride woke up with a heavy heart (INSTR).'
Jis grīžo namō su uniforma.
    'He returned home in uniform (INSTR).'
(2) Atvedē vaikinā surištomis raņkomis.
    '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 nāmq sūpo sōdas, pilnas skaīščiai raudonū rūžiū ‘A garden full of bright(ly) red roses surrounded my grandmother’s house’; cf.:

```
sūpo ‘surrounded’
    I. sōdas ‘garden: NOM. SG’
        nāmq ‘house: ACC’
    II. pilnas ‘full: NOM. SG’
            senēlēs ‘grandmother: GEN’
    III. rūžiū ‘rose: GEN. PL’
            māno ‘my’
    IV. raudonū ‘red: GEN. PL’
    V. skaīščiai ‘bright: ADV’
```
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 sodas ‘full garden’, raudonų rūžių ‘(of) red roses’), or government (pilnas rūžių ‘full of roses’, mano senėlės ‘my grandmother’s’), or adjunction (skaisčiai raudonų ‘(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 sodas, raudonų rūžių, mano senėlės), objective modifiers (pilnas rūžių) and adverbial modifiers (skaisčiai raudonų).

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:

mėlynas dangūs ‘blue sky (NOM. SG. MASC)’
karštā vāsara ‘hot summer (NOM. SG. FEM)’
pīrmos diēnos ‘first days (NOM. PL. FEM)’
kiti žmönēs ‘other people (NOM. PL. MASC)’
judrē skruostai ‘sunken (PAST. ACT. PART. NOM. PL. MASC) cheeks (NOM. PL. MASC)’

An attribute with dependent word forms constitutes an attribute group, cf.:
pilnas raudonų rūžių sodas lit. ‘full of red roses garden’

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’, generolas Rāštikis ‘General Raštikis’) or follow (cf. žodis laišve ‘the word freedom’) the head noun. It differs from other attributes in that it can be used instead of the entire word group, cf.:

Sutikaū kaimyną Pētrą. ‘I met (my) neighbour (ACC. SG. MASC) Peter (ACC. SG. MASC).’

Cf.
Sutikaū kaimyną. ‘I met (my) neighbour.’
Sutikaū Pētrą. ‘I met Peter.’

The postmodifiers in the following word groups are very similar to appositional constructions:
visi kiti  
kažkás jūodas  
visa gēra  

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 (mūsų nūomonė ‘our (GEN. PL) opinion’, vaikų žaislai ‘children’s (GEN. PL) toys’), in the instrumental case with dependent words (mergaitė mėlynomis akimis ‘a girl with blue eyes (INSTR. PL)’ or a prepositional phrase (žmogus bė kūjos ‘a man without a leg (Prep + GEN. SG)’, nėmas 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.:

Teiši sėdėjo žmogus.  ‘A man was sitting there.’
Žmogus būvo bė kūjos.  lit. ‘The man was without a leg.’
⇒ Teiši sėdėjo žmogus bė kūjos.  ‘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 Vėlai vakarę pabaigęs darbą, Jónas išėjo namo ‘Having finished work late at night, John went home’ can be represented as follows:

```
  išėjo 'went'
    ↓
  Jónas 'John: NOM'
     ↓
   namo 'home'
         ↓
  pabaigęs 'having finished: (PART. PAST. ACT. NOM)'
          ↓
  dārbą 'work'
  vakarę 'at night'
  vėlai 'late'
```
The syntactic relations within a gerundial phrase are analysable in the same way; cf. the sentence *Jūnui pabaigus dārbu, visi vaikai išėjo namo* ‘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 riňko ant kalno pilkas, saldźiai kvępiančias žolės ‘Girls gathered grey, sweet(ly) smelling herbs on the hill’:

(1) the interdependent group mergaitės riňko ‘girls gathered’;
(2) the subordinative groups riňko žolės ‘gathered herbs’, riňko ant kalno ‘gathered on the hill’, pilkas žolės ‘grey herbs’, kvępiančias žolės ‘smelling herbs’, saldźiai kvępiančias ‘sweet(ly) smelling’;
(3) the coordinative group pilkas, kvępiančias ‘grey, smelling’.

The following scheme shows the syntactic relations within the sentence:

```
riňko 'gathered'
    /       
mergaitės 'girls'  žolės 'herbs'  ant kalno 'on (the) hill'
      
pilkas 'grey'  kvępiančias 'smelling'
        
saldźiai 'sweetly'
```
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 riūko žolės and a head word in pilkas žolės and kvepiančias žolės. The dependent word of the latter group is in its turn the head word of saldžiai kvepiančias.

Word groups, especially those with the interdependence relation, can be structurally identical to a simple sentence, e.g. vaikai žaidžia ‘children are playing’, laukė 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 riūko ant kálno ‘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’, mèstì fetì ‘to throw a spear’), or content (sakìti tìsą ‘to tell the truth’), or beneficiary (dùoti vaikui ‘give to the child’), relations between an entity and its property (raudóna róžë ‘red rose’), and also various relations of time, place, manner, etc. (miegòti naktì/namiè/ramiàì ‘sleep at night/at home/quietly’).

A word group may be a complex naming unit or an idiom, e.g.:

démēotoji šiłtinë ‘typhus’
laūmès júosta ‘rainbow’
kiùuras maùšas ‘glutton’ (lit. ‘a bag full of holes’)
gáudyti várnas ‘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.:
A complex word group can be regarded as a combination of simple ones:

duok mán raškšluostį 'give me a towel'
labaĩ godūs piniguĩ 'very greedy for money'

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 lūja 'it has been raining for three days'
vaikas jūbusiais skruostais 'a child with sunken cheeks'

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.:

pailsëjau vāsara prie jūros 'I rested at the seaside in summer'
Rightarrow mano poilsis vāsara 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:

rašyti lāiška 'to write a letter (ACC)'
Rightarrow lāiško rašymas lit. 'the writing of a letter (GEN)'

A verbal group with a qualitative adverb is often transformed into a nominal group with an adjective:

suñkiai dirbti 'to work hard (ADV)'
Rightarrow sunkūs dārbas 'hard (ADJ) work'

The structure of a word group also changes if an adjective is transformed into a noun:

graži mōteris 'a beautiful woman'
Rightarrow mōters grōžis '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)* skāldyti mālkas: 'chop wood'
- dažyti plāukus: 'dye hair'
- *(b)* nēšti vāndenj: 'carry water'
- varīti baņdā: 'drive a herd'

(2) an effected object, or the result of an action:

- statīti namūs: 'build houses'
- mēgztī piŗštinē: 'knit a glove'

(3) the content of an experience, or state, or speech:

- girdēti mūzikā: 'hear music'
- užmērēti vaŗdā: 'forget a name'
- pranešēti naujienā: 'report news'
- mylēti vaikūs: 'love children'

With a number of verbs denoting physical sensation the accusative is interchangeable with the nominative:

- skaūda gāļu/galvā: lit. '(the) head (ACC/NOM) aches'
- ausis/aūsys gēlia: lit. '(the) ears (ACC/NOM) ache'
- délnus/delnaī niēžti: '(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.:
siúti (drabužius) šeimai
- apsiúti šeimą
- ganúti (avis) pievoje
- nuganúti pieva
- bristi su bátais
- isbristi batú
- lóstis is pinigů
- pralóstis pinigús

腩Türkiye

Tautological combinations of a verb and a cognate object are distinguished as a special type:

dainúoti dañq

dirbtis dárba

dirbi karká

dirbi keliiq

 Lairę

The optional accusative of time denotes the time of an action:

pabusti naktį

grižti rūdenį

teiti antrándienį

miegoti diènq

atostogáuti vásarq

pietáuti peiktq válandq

žydáti gegužës ménësï

The accusative of duration may have a quantitative attribute (a numeral, pronoun or adjective):

snigo dvi/keliás paràs

miegojau vísq/ištisq diènq

The accusative of a numeral or pronoun is also used with the genitive of a temporal noun:

láukti dëšëmtj/keliólika vándq

lit. ‘provide the family (ACC) with clothes’

‘damage a meadow (ACC) by grazing’

‘play for money (Prep + GEN)’

‘sing a song’

‘to work work’

‘wage a war’

lit. ‘walk/travel a path’

‘wake up at night’

‘return in autumn’

‘come on Tuesday’

‘sleep in the daytime’

‘have (one’s) leave in summer’

‘have dinner at five o’clock’

‘blossom in May’

‘it rained for an hour’

‘(I) was ill for a month’

‘(we) studied for a year’

‘it snowed for two/ several days’

‘(I) slept all/entire day’

‘wait for ten/ several hours’

The adverbia\al accusative conveys temporal, spatial and quantitative meanings.

The optional accusative of nouns like vándq ‘hour’, ménëo ‘month’ used with specifiers) denotes the time of an action:

laukti dešimtį/keliolikas vándq
The accusative of subsequent period, in most cases synonymous with the more common dative, is used with a limited number of verbs such as pakviesti ‘invite’, pasiūsti ‘send (sb)’, išleisti ‘let out’, sustoti ‘stop over’, apsistoti ‘stay, stop (at)’, apsigyventi ‘put up, stay (for a while)’, e.g:

išvažiuoti mėnesį/mėnesiui ‘to go away for a month’
sustoti vėlandą/vėlandai ‘to stop for an hour’

2.9 The accusative of temporal nouns used with the pronouns kąs ‘what’ (without agreement in case), kiekvienas, -ą ‘each, every’, adjectives dažnas, -ą ‘frequent’, rėtas, -ą ‘far between, rare’ denotes frequency of action, i.e. intervals of time at which an action is regularly repeated, e.g.:

ateina kąs/kiekvieną rytą ‘(he) comes every morning’
aplaiko dažną sekmadienį ‘(he) pays visits frequently on Sundays’ (lit. ‘on a frequent Sunday’) 
rėtą dieną nelįja ‘it seldom (lit. ‘on a rare day’) does not rain’

A phrase kąs + ACC can be extended by a numeral or a quantitative pronoun:
susitikame kąs aistrą dieną ‘we meet every other (lit. ‘second’) day’

In these cases, the nominative can be used instead of the accusative: ateina kąs/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:

nuo iti kilometrą ‘walk a kilometre’
pasitraukti žingsni ‘draw aside a step’

It can be extended by a numeral or a quantitative pronoun:

nušokti tris/kelis metrūs ‘jump three/several metres’.

In such verbal groups as nujoti šimtą/kelétų mūlių ‘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 svērti/svērti (tonā) ‘weigh (a ton)’, sumokēti (du litūs) ‘pay (two litas)’, kainūoti ‘cost’, sukākti (as in jis sukāko peinkaertus metus vakar (cf. jām sukāko penkerī 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', gešti/trūkšti 'desire', ilgėtis 'long (for)', tikėtis 'hope (for)', laukti 'expect', pavydėti (draugams sėkmės) 'envy (friends, their success)', klausyti (tėvų) 'obey (parents)';
2. fear, shame, and the like: bijoti 'be afraid (of)', baimintis 'be afraid (of)', išsigąsti 'be frightened', baidytis 'take fright (of)'; drovėtis 'be shy', gėdytis 'be ashamed (of)', gailėtis 'be sorry', gedėti 'mourn'; vėngti 'avoid', šalintis 'avoid', sąugotis 'beware (of)', atskratyti 'get rid (of)', atsižadėti (jisitikinimų) 'renounce (one's views)';
3. want, loss or having enough (of sth.): stigti 'be short of', stokoti 'lack', trūkti 'be lacking', nustoti 'lose, be deprived (of)', užtękti 'have enough (of)', pakąkti 'have/be enough', ganėti 'have/be enough', reikėti 'need (sth)';
4. asking or requesting: klausti 'ask', melsti/maldauti 'beg', and prašyti 'ask (for sth)' which sometimes governs two genitives: prašyti 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): prašyti tėvo 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:

- pri(si)riūkti úogų 'to gather (enough) berries'
- pri(si)skinti gėlių 'pick (enough) flowers'
- persivalgyti obuolią 'overeat of apples'
- atsválgyti medaus 'have one’s fill of honey'
- už(si)kištį dúonos 'eat (a little) bread'

The objective genitive is also obligatorily governed by transitive verbs with the negation ne- 'not':

- neparāšė lāiško 'he didn’t write a letter'
- nežino tiesos '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) duoti pinigų
atnėsti obuolių
turėti ydų

(b) pirkti cukraus
turėti kantrybės

The accusative is used to refer to the whole object or entire quantity, cf.:

išgérti vandens
išgérti vandenį

2.13 The genitive denoting the **semantic subject** is required by passive participles (both present and past) used as attributes or predicates:

tėvo mylimas (sūnus)
žolė buvo išdžiovinta sāulės
(čia) žmonių gyvenama

čia kiskio gulėta

(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.:

krīto lapai
– prikrīto lapų
riņkosi žmönės
– prisirīkso žmonių
dygo grūbai
– pridygo grūby

(2) verbs denoting a change of quantity:

(pa)daugējo žmonių
(su)mažējo/apmažējo
mūsių/drēgmēs

(3) the verbs *rāstis* ‘become, appear’, *pasūtīkti* ‘be found’, *būt* ‘be’, *likti* ‘remain’, etc.; cf.:

rādasi uogų
pasūtīko klaidių

‘give some money’
‘bring some apples’
‘have (some) faults’

‘buy some sugar’
‘have patience’

‘drink some water (GEN)’
‘drink (all) the water (ACC)’

‘(son) loved by (his) father’
‘the grass was dried by the sun’
‘there are people living (here)’ (lit. ‘it is lived by people (here)’
‘a rabbit evidently has been lying (here)’

(see II.5.65–78).

‘leaves (NOM) were falling’
‘some leaves (GEN) have fallen’
‘people were gathering’
‘some, many people have gathered’
‘mushrooms were sprouting’
‘(a lot of) mushrooms have sprouted’

‘the number of people increased’
‘(the number of) flies/dampness decreased’

‘some berries (are ripening)’
‘there are (some) mistakes (to be found)’
Here are some words and phrases from the document:

- "yra/būvo/būdavo/" meaning 'there are/were/used to be/will be'
- "bus žmonių" meaning 'some people'
- "liko rugių (laukė)" meaning 'some rye remained (in the field)'
- "užėina žmonių" meaning '(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', važiuoti 'ride, go', vykti 'go, travel', bėgti 'run', skristi 'fly', grįžti 'return', rinktis 'gather', sustoti 'stop', apsistoti 'stop (at)'; cause to move: siūsti 'send', varyti 'drive', lėisti 'let', kviesti 'invite', prašyti 'ask'; change of position: atsisėsti 'sit down', pasodinti 'seat (sb)', gulėti 'lie down', klaūptis 'kneel', atsisistoti 'stand up', pasileikti 'lean'.

The meaning of purpose may be acquired by the genitive of nouns denoting:

1. concrete things:
   - "išeiti vandei" lit. 'go out for water'
   - "išsiųsti gydintojo" 'send for a doctor'
   - "paskvęsti arbątos" 'invite to tea'
   - "siekti lazdo" 'try to reach a stick'

   In this case the genitive often co-occurs with an infinitive:
   - "išeiti rugį pjauti" lit. 'go out to cut rye' (see 2.84)

2. processes, temporal concepts, meals, holidays, social events and the like:
   - "paskvęsti vakarienės" 'invite to supper'
   - "atsigulė pògulio" 'lie down for a nap'
   - "grįžti Kalėdę" 'return for Christmas'
   - "susiriškti išleistųvii" 'gather for a farewell party'
   - "išvykti gas trolių" 'go on tour'

   The genitive of a noun denoting process, action or event may be synonymous with the respective infinitive:
   - "sėsti vakarienės/" 'sit down to supper (GEN)/'
   - "vakarieniąuti" have supper (INF)'
   - "atsigulėti pòilso/pailsėti" '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 nė 'not'; cf.:
   - "neldukė (nė) valandą" 'he didn't (even) wait an hour/
   - "(nė) dviejį valandą" two hours'
   - "(cf. ląukė valandą" 'he waited (for) an hour')
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:

- **atstovauti tautai**
- **aukotis žmonėms**
- **tarnauti atėjimams**
- **vadovauti įstaigai**
- **vergauti pönams**
- **pataikauti valsčiai**
- **nuolaidžiauti mokiniams**
- **nusileikti karaliui**
- **pasidūoti priešui**
- **pritartīt draugui**
- **keisti gimines**
- **keisti kaimynams**
- **prieštarauti mokytojui**
- **priėsintis policijai**
- **dekoti kąm (už ką)**

  - ‘represent a nation’
  - ‘sacrifice oneself to the people’
  - ‘serve invaders’
  - ‘be a chief of an office’
  - ‘be a slave to lords’
  - ‘be obsequious to the authorities’
  - ‘make concessions to pupils’
  - ‘obey, bow to a king’
  - ‘surrender to the enemy’
  - ‘give support (approval) to a friend’
  - ‘take revenge on (one’s) relatives’
  - ‘do harm to the neighbours’
  - ‘contradict the teacher’
  - ‘thank sb (for sth)’

(2) verbs subordinating the dative and an infinitive:

- **liepti (įsakyti, patarti, pasiūlyti, léisti) jām pasilikt**
- **uždrausti (sutrūkdėti)**
- **žmonėms išvyk**
- **padėti (pagėbėti) ligoniui atsisėsti**

  - ‘tell (order, advise, offer, allow) him to stay’
  - ‘forbid (prevent) people to leave’
  - ‘from leaving’
  - ‘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:

- **parduotį kaimynui įrkle/grūdų**
- **dovanoti mótinaei skarėle**

  - ‘sell a horse/some grain to a neighbour’
  - ‘give mother a scarf (as a present)’
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:

   Pagalvo berniukui senelio.

   pity: 3. PAST boy: DAT. SG grandfather: GEN. SG

   ‘The boy felt sorry for his grandfather’;

   cf. also:

   pabaïso/paklaiko mergai (miškė) palengvėjo/pagerėjo ligoniui
tisibodol/îkyrėjo/îgriso vaikams (kâime)
patiko svečiâms váïšes
tiîka môtinai skarlé

   ‘the girl (DAT) got scared (in the woods)’
   ‘the patient (DAT) felt better’
   ‘the children (DAT) got bored (in the village)’
   ‘the guests (DAT) liked (enjoyed) the feast’
   ‘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:

   Stînga žmonëms pinigų.

   lack: 3. PRES people: DAT. PL money: GEN. PL

   ‘People are short of money’;

   cf. also:

   kiekviename reïkia užuojautos užteîka/pakaîka visiems dúonos

   ‘everyone needs compassion’
   ‘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:

   bróliui nòrisi miëgo

   ‘(my) brother (DAT) is sleepy’
   (lit. ‘wants sleep’)
katei sapnūojasi pėlės
jām rūdešį/vidūnosi šmėklos
prisiminen vaikui (višara)
mān giūdisi (muzika)
jām visadā sek asi
‘the cat (DAT) is dreaming of mice’
‘he (DAT) saw ghosts’
‘the child (DAT) remembered the summer’
‘I (DAT) hear (music (NOM))’
‘he (DAT) is always lucky’

A number of verbs govern the dative along with an infinitive:

rūpējo vaikui mokyčio/mokslos
atsibūdo mān lūkti
kiekvienām pasitākio suklystī
mān tēko išvažiūoti
vertējo jām patylietī
‘The child (DAT) was eager to study (INF/NOM)’
‘I (DAT) got tired of waiting (INF)’
‘everyone (DAT) happens to make mistakes’
‘(it so happened that) I (DAT) had to go away’
‘he (DAT) should have kept silent’

2.18 The dative case governed by verbs with another obligatory constituent has a possessive meaning in combinations like the following:

Jis pabūčiavo mūtina ražkā.
he: NOM kissed mother: DAT hand: ACC
‘He kissed (his) mother’s hand.’

Skaūda senēliui /kōja
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:

jām mīrē žmonā
‘(his) wife (NOM) died on him (DAT)’
diūgo kaimynui arklīs
‘the neighbour’s (DAT) horse (NOM) is missing’ (lit.’disappeared’)
kariļiui gime sūnus
‘a son (NOM) was born to the king (DAT)’
idūbo nāmui stogas
‘the roof (NOM) of the house (DAT) has caved in’

(2) the accusative, with transitive verbs:

mazgōti vaikui kōjas
‘wash the child’s (DAT) feet (ACC)’
pavogti arklį kaimynui
‘steal a horse (ACC) from the neighbour (DAT)’
nulaužti stālui kōja
‘break a leg (ACC) off the table (DAT)’
also with impersonal transitive verbs, cf.:

peštī vaikui akīs
‘the child’s (DAT) eyes (ACC) smart’
(3) the locative case, with impersonally used verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mán cypia ausyse} & \quad \text{‘there is a ringing in my (DAT) ears (LOC)’} \\
\text{lit. ‘in (the) ears is ringing to me’} & \\
\text{mán mirga aksyse} & \quad \text{‘my (DAT) eyes (LOC) are dazzled’} \\
\text{mán apka\text{r}to burnojè} & \quad \text{‘I (DAT) have a bitter taste in my mouth (LOC)’}
\end{align*}
\]

(4) a prepositional phrase, mostly with intransitive verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{trenkè mán per galvø} & \quad \text{‘(they) hit me (DAT) on the head (Prep + ACC)’} \\
\text{(plaukaï) kri\text{ñ}ta mergátitei} & \quad \text{‘(hair) covers the girl’s (DAT) eyes (Prep + GEN)’} \\
\text{ant akiçų} & \\
\text{(skarèlē) nu smùko} & \quad \text{‘(the kerchief) slipped off granny’s head (Prep + GEN)’} \\
\text{senèlei nuo galvøs} & \\
\text{nutvèrē kàtie už uodegòs} & \quad \text{‘(he) caught the cat by the tail (Prep + GEN)’}
\end{align*}
\]

The dative is often interchangeable with the possessive genitive in attributive position. The possessive genitive is a more immediate expression of possessivity, cf.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{diñgo dëdei/ dëdès arklÿs} & \quad \text{‘(my) uncle’s (DAT/GEN) horse is missing’} \\
\text{îdùbo nànu/nàmò stògas} & \quad \text{‘the roof of the house (DAT/GEN) caved in’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taupýk dúonq rytòjui} & \quad \text{‘save bread for tomorrow (DAT)’} \\
\text{prisirìnko žmoniû nàkçiai} & \quad \text{‘(many) people gathered for the night (DAT)’} \\
\text{apsišvàrino šveñtèms} & \quad \text{‘(they) tidied up for the holiday (DAT)’} \\
\text{sugrìzo (î kàima) vàsara} & \quad \text{‘(they) returned (to the village) for the summer (DAT)’} \\
\text{uòsidìrbo senàtvæi} & \quad \text{‘(he) has earned enough for old age (DAT)’}
\end{align*}
\]

A number of generalized temporal nouns require a specifying attribute:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pasilikti pinigû jûodai diènai} & \quad \text{‘put aside some money for a rainy (lit. ‘black’) day’} \\
\text{atidètì paskutinei minûtei} & \quad \text{‘put (sth) off for the last minute’} \\
\text{piòkîtì bilietà dvûliktài vàlandai} & \quad \text{‘buy a ticket for twelve o’clock’}
\end{align*}
\]

A noun in the dative case may refer to a subsequent period or duration of the resultant state, e.g.:
The dative of duration is also used with quantitative attributes:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{atsvykti ketver\[ems\}/kel\[eir\[ems\] m\[etams] } & \text{‘leave for four/several years’} \\
&\text{ateiti vis\[am\] v\[akarui]} & \text{‘come for the whole evening’}
\end{align*}
\]

The dative of a quantitative word is often connected with the subordinated genitive of a temporal noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{sust\[oti d\[esim\[ciai]/} & \text{‘stop (at a place) for ten}\ (\text{DAT})/several (\text{DAT})\ days (\text{GEN})’ \\
&\text{k\[ela\[tui d\[ien\[\]} & \text{years (GEN)/half (DAT) a year (GEN)’} \\
&\text{\[isik\[ur\[ti da\[igeliui/} & \text{‘take up residence for many (DAT)} \\
&\text{\[p\[usei m\[etu]} & \text{half (DAT) a year (GEN)}
\end{align*}
\]

(see 2.130, 2.134)

2.20 The optional dative with transitive verbs taking an obligatory object denotes \textit{purpose} or \textit{destination}:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{tu reti pi\[ing\[\; n\[amu]} & \text{‘have (enough) money for a house’} \\
&\text{pi\[rkti (\text{\[isig\[yti, g\[auti}] lent\[\; \text{grind\[ims]} & \text{‘buy (acquire, get) planks for the floor’} \\
&\text{i\[ssin\[uomoti ka\[mbar\[i mez\[g\[kliai} & \text{‘take a room on lease for a knitting shop’} \\
&\text{atn\[e\[sti v\[and\[e\[\; \text{dar\[z\[ams]} & \text{‘bring water for the kitchen-garden’} \\
&\text{su\[ve\[pti l\[in\[\; \text{dr\[obei}} & \text{‘spin flax for linen’}
\end{align*}
\]

The dative of purpose may co-occur with the dative of addressee, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{\[da\[ve m\[an si\[alu\; \text{megzt\[iniui]} & \text{‘(she) gave (me) some yarn for a sweater’} \\
&\text{pa\[rdav\[e k\[aim\[ynui rugi\[\; \text{s\[eklai}} & \text{‘(he) sold some rye (to his neighbour) for seed’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{\[man tr\[ak\[sta pi\[ing\[\; v\[ais\[tams} & \text{‘I am short of money for medicines’} \\
&\text{pag\[ail\[\; jo kn\[ygoms pi\[ing\[\} & \text{‘(he) grudged money for books’}
\end{align*}
\]

(see 2.11, 3)

(2) it is often used with an infinitive:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{\[at\[n\[e\[\; v\[ander\[s gel\[\; ms \text{p\[al\[a\[istyti]} & \text{lit.’(he) brought some water for flowers’}
\end{align*}
\]

(see 2.84)
(3) it is governed by some intransitive verbs (it may be interchangeable with an infinitive):

ruoštis nākčiai/miegotī
apsirengti keliōnei
'gimti kovai

‘prepare for the night/to sleep’
‘get dressed for the trip’
‘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) didžiuotis ‘be proud (of)’, domėtis ‘be interested (in)’, džiaugtis ‘rejoice (at)’, be happy (with), grožėtis ‘be delighted (with)’, gėrėtis ‘be delighted (with)’, žavėtis ‘admire, be delighted (with)’, mėgautis ‘revel (in)’, stebėtis ‘wonder (at)’, gar-džiuotis ‘relish’;

(2) girtis ‘boast (of)’, skūstis ‘complain (of)’, pa(si)ti kėti ‘trust’, abejoti ‘doubt’, guostis/ramintis ‘console oneself (with)’, rūpintis ‘take care (of)’;

(3) įkyreti (skundais) ‘plague (with complaints)’, įgristi ‘pester, bore (with)’;

(4) skirtis (ūgiu) ‘differ (in height)’, pasižymėti (grožiū) ‘be notable (for beauty)’;

(5) preki auti ‘trade (in)’, veštis ‘earn one’s living (by)’, naudoti ‘make use (of), benefit (by)’;

(6) susirgčti (gripū) ‘fall ill (with flu)’, užsikrésčti (šiltine) ‘catch (typhus)’;

(7) kvepeti ‘smell (of)’, smirdėti ‘stink (of)’ and their synonyms; e.g.

kvepeti ramūnėmis
dvelkčti pavasario
smirdėti dumblū
dvokčti žuvinė
‘to smell of camomiles’
‘to smell of spring’
‘to stink of silt’
‘to stink of fish’

2.23 The instrumental of **means** is used optionally after numerous transitive verbs of action like:

rašyti rūšalu
uztępti dervą
laitstytį vändeniu
prikalti vinimi
‘write with ink’
‘smear with tar’
‘sprinkle with water’
‘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:

- **avėti/aūtis bātais/batūs**  
  ‘wear/put on shoes (INSTR/ACC)’

- **juosēti/jūostis diržu/dīrža**  
  ‘wear/put on a belt’

- **mūvēti/māutis kēlnēmis/kēlnes**  
  ‘wear/put on pants’

- **ryšēti/rištis skarēlē/skarēlę**  
  ‘wear/tie on a kerchief’

- **segēti/sēgtis sijonū/sijōnq**  
  ‘wear/put on a skirt’

- **gobēti/gaūbtis skarā/skāraq**  
  ‘wear/put on a skirt’

- **vilkēti/viļktis drabužiās/drabužiūs**
  (pāltu, suknēlē/pāltq, suknēlē)  
  ‘wear/put on clothes (a coat, a dress)’

The names of all kinds of clothes, footwear, etc. combine with the verbs **dėvičti/nešioti** ‘wear, have (sth) on’:

- **dėvičti/nešioti bātais/batūs,**
  **suknēlē/suknēlę**
  ‘wear shoes, a dress’

The un-prefixed reflexive verbs of this list are used in two antonymous meanings, e.g. **vilktis** means both ‘put on’ and ‘take off’. Verbs of taking off clothes are used with the accusative case of the object, e.g.:

- **vilktis/nusivilkti pāltq**
  ‘take off a coat’

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.:

- **ap(si)rišti gālva skarēlē (*skarēlē)**
  ‘tie a kerchief (INSTR/*ACC) around one’s head (ACC)’

- **susijūosti kēlnes diržu (*dīrža)**
  ‘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:

- **užsiristi ant galvōs**
  ‘tie (up) a kerchief (ACC/*INSTR) on one’s head’

- **skarēlē (*skarēlē)**
  ‘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., *vilkti* ‘dress/take off’, *aūti*’ put on/take off (sb)’:

*aūti batukūs vaikui* ant kōju  
(j)sėgti sāge į suknēlé

‘put on shoes (ACC) on the child’s (DAT) feet (Prep + GEN)’

‘fasten a brooch (ACC) to the dress (Prep + ACC)’

(2) verbs denoting movement of body parts:

*lingūoti* (kinkūoti) gálva/gálva  
(but only: gálva kratyti, kraipyti, pūrtyti)  
karpyti ausimis/ausis  
griežti, kalėnti dantimis/dantis

‘shake one’s head (INSTR/ACC)’  
‘shake, toss one’s head (ACC)’  
‘move one’s ears (INSTR/ACC)’  
‘gnash, (lit.) chatter one’s teeth (INSTR/ACC)’

*skėsčioti* (skeryčioti) rańkomis/rankās  
(but: siupti kōjas)  
trūkyti (trūkčioti) pečiais/pečius

‘throw up one’s arms (INSTR/ACC)’  
‘swing one’s legs (ACC)’

‘shrug one’s shoulders (INSTR/ACC)’

*vizginti úodega/úodegą*  

‘wag one’s tail (INSTR/ACC)’

(3) verbs denoting sounds produced by means of the referent of the instrumental/accusative case:

*būrškin ti iūdais/indūs*  
žvanginti rāktais/raktūs  
skañbinti taurėmis/taurės  
treikti durimis/duris  
suamūšti kulnimis/kulnis  
birbinti vamzdeliū/vamzdēlij

‘rattle (the) crockery (INSTR/ACC)’  
‘jingle (the) keys’  
‘tinkle (the) wineglasses’  
‘bang the door’  
‘click one’s heels’  
‘paly a reed-pipe (INSTR/ACC)’  
‘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:

*(mergaitė) šilkais šlamėjo*  
*(žirgas) kamanomis žvangėjo*  

lit.’(the girl) rustled with silk’  
‘(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:

*rašyti lāiškā pieštukū*  

‘write a letter with pencil’
The instrumental case denoting means of transportation combines with verbs of motion:

- važiuoti dviračiu/traukiniu — 'go by bicycle/train'
- skristi lėktuvu — 'fly by plane'
- plaūkti laivu — 'sail by boat'
- (at)vėžti prekės traukiniu — 'convey goods by train'

The instrumental of nouns denoting an area is interchangeable with a prepositional phrase per 'across' + ACC, e.g.:

- eiti lauku/per lauką — 'walk across the field'
- (ašara) rieda skrūostu/per skrūostą — '(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.:
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:

- **grižti vidurvakariu** ‘return at midnight’
- **susirgę vieną (r)vasariu** ‘fall ill in midsummer’
- **lyti paryčiu** ‘rain at dawn’
- **darbymėciu ir akmuo krūta** ‘during a busy season even a stone moves’

In this cases the instrumental is interchangeable with the locative and the accusative:

- **grižti pavakariu/pavakarį/pavakari** ‘return towards evening (INSTR/LOC/ACC)’

The instrumental of generalized temporal nouns (e.g. **momen tas** ‘moment’, **mėtas/laikas** ‘time’, **diena** ‘day’) must be used with a specifying attribute:

- **tuò momenti galvūja kitaip** ‘at that moment (he) thought otherwise’
- **diingo audros metu** ‘(he) disappeared during a storm’
- **nerimavo pirmomis dienomis** ‘(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 rytais** ‘go away every morning’
- **dirbti sekmadieniais** ‘work on Sundays’

The instrumental plural form of some temporal nouns must be used with an attribute:

- **susiškiti kiekvienais metais** ‘meet every year’
- **išvažiuoti vasaros mėnesiais** ‘go away in summer months’
- **skaitęti poilsio valandomis** lit. ‘read in hours of rest’

(3) The instrumental plural form of nouns naming units of time denotes duration of an action:

- **valandomís klausyti (mūzikos)** ‘listen (to music) for hours’
- **kariūtis amžiais** ‘be at war for centuries’
- **neiššiti (iš namų) savaitėmis** ‘stay (at home) for weeks’

The meaning of duration can be emphasized by an attribute:

- **ištisomis dienomis miegėti** ‘sleep days and days’

Sometimes, duration is expressed by the instrumental singular form with an obligatory attribute:
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):
   - važiuoti dideliu greičiu
   - išsiisti visu ūgiu
   - rēkti nesavu balsu
   
   - ‘drive at great speed’
   - ‘sprawl at full length’
   - ‘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**:
   - pūlti liūto smarkumū
   - (cf. pūlti smarkiai kaip liūtas)
   - bēgti vējo greitumū
   
   - ‘attack with the might of a lion’
   - ‘attack (as) forcefully as a lion’
   - ‘run at the speed of wind’

3. A noun of the same stem as the verb, with an obligatory adjectival attribute:
   - miegōti kietu miegu
   - nusijuokti nemaloniuju juoku
   
   - lit. ‘sleep (with) a sound sleep’
   - ‘laugh (with) an unpleasant laugh’

4. **Nouns denoting a part (of the body or a thing), with a locational modifier**:
   - stovēti nūgara į sieną
   - atsisūkti veidu į saulę
   - pakabinti (butelį) kakliu žemyn
   
   - ‘stand (with one’s) back to the wall’
   - ‘turn (one’s) face (INSTR) to the sun’
   - ‘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) lōti šunimē (cf. lōti kaip šuo)
   - (ašaros) bega upeliu/upēliais
   - (dūmai) kilo kamuoliais
   - bitēs pakilo spičiumi
   
   - ‘bark like a dog’
   - ‘(teas) are streaming in rivulets (SG/PL)’
   - ‘(smoke) was rising in puff-balls’
   - ‘bees rose in a swarm’

(b) áuksu žibēti
   - atlēkti vēju
   
   - ‘shine like gold’
   - ‘come running like the wind’

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lithuanian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vėidas nuraudo apmaudu</td>
<td>'(her/his) face grow red with vexation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jis nušvito džiaugsmu</td>
<td>'he brightened with joy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vėidas pėsikreipę pykčiu</td>
<td>'(his) face distorted with anger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaikas leipo juokū</td>
<td>'the child was dying with laughter'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lithuanian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šlaistas mėlynūoja žibutėmis</td>
<td>'the slope is blue with violets'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dangišus mirga žvaigždėmis</td>
<td>'the sky sparkles with stars'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miškas skambė (paūkščių) giesmėmis</td>
<td>'the woods ring with (birds') songs'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lithuanian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kabėti spintoje</td>
<td>'hang in the wardrobe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyventi miestė</td>
<td>'live in a town'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žaisti sodė</td>
<td>'play in the garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skraidyti danguię</td>
<td>'fly in the sky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skęsti upėje</td>
<td>'drown in the river'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Owing to the meaning of a noun, its locative case form may refer to the sphere of activity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lithuanian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dalyvauti varžybose/konferencijoje</td>
<td>'take part in a match/conference'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirmauti moksle/sporte</td>
<td>'be the first in science/sports'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lithuanian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kėlėtis apyaušry</td>
<td>'get up at (during) dawn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žydėti balanžyje</td>
<td>'blossom in (during) April'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
māudytis vidū(r)vasaryje 'bathe in midsummer'
(but *vāsaroje 'in summer')
mylėti jaunystėje 'love in (one’s) youth'
žūti karė 'die in a war'
susipažinti vestuvėse/per vestuvės 'get acquainted at a wedding'
tingučiauti darbėmytėje 'idle in (during) a busy season'
triuksmūtuo pasokosė/per pasokos 'be noisy during lessons'

The locative case form of generalized temporal nouns must be used with a specifying attribute:
gyventi trečiame amžiuje 'live in the third century'
žydeti balandžio mėnesyje/mėnesį '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:
gyventi taikoje, mėlėje, 'live in peace, (lit.) in love, in unity,
viennybėje, laisvėje, pertekliuje, in freedom, in abundance, in wealth,
tuštuoje, skurdė, vargė 'in poverty, in hardship'
miūtis skausmuose 'die in pain'
ilgėtis vienumuojė 'miss (sb) in solitude'

(2) collective concepts:
āugti šeimojė 'grow up in a family'
gyventi krūvoj/kupetoj 'live together (lit. ´in a heap´)'
ganytis bandojė 'graze in a herd'

(3) some means of transport (with verbs of motion) and containers:
važiuoti vežime (ir dainuoti) 'go in a cart (and sing)'
atvėžti alaūs statinėje 'bring some beer in a barrel'
atnėsti úogų saujoje '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.:

eiti miestain/j miestą 'go to the town'
įmėsti įpėn/j įpę 'throw into the river'
(nu)važiuoti tuščun/j tušču 'go to the market'
paintai raņkon/j raņka 'take into (one’s) hand'
įkristi akiņį/j aki '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 adversarial meaning.

Frequency of action is expressed by temporal nouns with (1) the pronouns kąs 'what; each', less commonly kiekvienas 'each', and (2) the adjectives dėžnas 'frequent' and rėtas 'rare' as obligatory attributes; compare respectively:

(1) eiddavo kąs rytas
atvažiuoja kąs mėnųo
(varžybos) vyksta
kiekvieni mėtai

(2) dėžnasekmdienis atvažiuoja
retà dìena neskaūda kòjù

Words groups with kąs can be extended by a numeral or a quantitative pronoun:

ateina kąs antrà dienà
susitikà kąs trejì (kelintì) mëtaï

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):

jò nûëita kilomètras
lit. 'a kilometre has been gone by him (GEN)', i.e. 'he has gone a kilometre'

mànò islàukta valandà
lit. 'an hour has been waited by me'

jò sumokëta litas (cf. litq)(uòž
pàslaugas)
'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):

kad taìp nòrs kilomètras
(cf. kilometra) nuvažiàvus màsinà
'I wish I could ride in a car at least a kilometre (NOM/ACC)'
I wish I could have a holiday at least for a week (NOM)

it would be nice to have a nap at least for a minute (NOM)

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):

it’s not for a baby to walk a kilometre

it’s not for him to wait an hour

it’s not easy to lift a centner

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.:

father has been ill (for) a month

(‘(father) was ill for a month (ACC)’)

(they) have been digging potatoes (for) a week

he hasn’t been out of bed all day and night

lit. ‘he has been studying three years’

it’s been raining all/the whole morning

The nominative of nouns denoting a measure of distance occurs with a dependent prepositional phrase:

the plane (has) landed a kilometre from the forest/from here

(he) stopped a step from me

lit. ‘he has been studying three years’

The nominative of nouns denoting a measure of distance occurs with a dependent prepositional phrase:
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 $f + \text{ACC}$ 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) belstis į ląną
    treńkti į sieną
    klitūti/patākyti (ākmeniu) į gālva

    'knock on the window'
    'bang on the wall'
    'hit (sb) on the head (with a stone)'

With some verbs, this phrase is synonymous with the prepositionless accusative (daužyti į véidą/véidą lit. ‘hit (sb) in the face/the face’) or with the phrase per + ACC:

    treńkti per pečiūs
    gauti per pirštus
    sudužti į uolas
    susižeisti į stiklą
    nusivalyti (batūs) į žūlę

    'strike (sb) on the shoulders'
    'get smacked on (one’s) fingers'
    'crash into rocks' (e.g., of a plane)
    'injure/hurt oneself on glass'
    'clean (one’s) shoes on grass'

(b) jsikibti į turėklus
(also turėkly/uz turėkly)

    kibti į plaukus

    'grasp (at) the rail'
    'seize (sb) by the hair'

With verbs of answering, responding and the like this phrase refers to the stimulus:

    atsakytį į klūsimą
    atsiliępti į šaūksmą

    'answer a question'
    '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:

   sudužti į šukės

   'break into pieces (slivers)'


su daužyti (kė) į šukės
sulaužyti (lāzda) į šipulių
suskirstyti (žėmę) į sklypas/sklypais

'smash (sth) into pieces'
'break (a stick) into splinters'
'divide (land) into plots (f+ ACC/INSTR)'

(b) with verbs of uniting, putting and getting together it denotes the resultant whole:
sukráuti (malkas) į krūvą
sugniažiūti (sniegą) į kamuolį

'pile (fire-wood) into a stack'
lit. 'squeeze (snow) into a ball'

(c) with verbs (both transitive and transitive) denoting a change of state, it denotes the resultant state:
pavirsti į akmenis/akmenimis
išaugti į vyrus/vyru
išriškinti į seniūnus/seniūną

'turn into stones'
'grow up into a man'
'select as village elder'

In some of these cases the prepositional phrase is synonymous with the instrumental.

2.37 The phrase _PROP 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:

sumokėti už darbą
apdovanoti už drąsa
dėkoti už pirmą

'pay for the work'
'award for bravery'
'thank for help'

It has the same meaning after the verbs kovoti/kariauti (už laisvę/dėl laisvės) 'struggle/fight (for freedom)', aukotis (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):

pirkti (nėmą) už auksą/pinigus
dirbti už valgį (o ne už pinigus)

'buy (a house) for gold/money'
'work for food (not for money)'

(3) With a number of verbs, it denotes the person for whom the agent acts as proxy:

dirbti už tėvą
išeiti (į rekrutus) už brólij

'work instead of (the) father'
'join (the army) instead of one’s brother'

2.38 The phrase apię + ACC is used with verbs of speech, mental processes and the like to denote content:
2.39 The phrase prieš + ACC is used with verbs of resistance to name the counteragent or opposition:

spiritis/išauštis prieš tėvus
maištauti prieš valdžią
kilti prieš pavergejus

‘resist/stand against the parents’
‘rebels against the authorities’
‘revolt against the conquerors’

It is also used with kovoti ‘struggle’, kariauti ‘fight’ instead of sū ‘with’ + INSTR; cf. also:

didžiuotis prieš kaimynus
raudonuoti prieš žmones

‘be proud with one’s neighbours’
‘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’:

nupinti (vainiką) iš gėlių
pastatytė (namą) iš plytų
gaminti (vyną) iš pienių

‘weave (a garland) out of flowers’
‘build (a house) out of bricks’
‘make (wine) from dandelions’, etc.

It also denotes the component parts or source in word groups with intransitive verbs:

daina susideda iš žodžių
dėbesys susidaro iš garų
gaisras kilo iš kibirkštės
obelis išdygo iš grūdo

‘a song consists of words’
‘clouds are formed from vapour’
‘the fire grew from a spark’
‘the apple-tree grew from a seed’

(2) This phrase denotes the source (of information, etc.) after verbs of the following types:

(a) sužinoti/iš giršti iš žmonių
išmokti iš mótinos (mègzti)

‘learn/hear from people’
‘learn from one’s mother (how to knit)’

(b) pažinti/atpažinti iš balso,
iš drabužių

‘recognize/identify by the voice, by the clothes’
suprasti iš akių
‘understand from sb’s eyes’
suvokti/spėti iš vėido
‘perceive/guess from sb’s face’
(c) pirkti iš kaimyno
‘by from a neighbour’
paimti iš draugo
‘take from a friend’
gauti iš banko
‘get from a bank’
pavogti/pasiskolinti iš vaiko/parduotuvės
‘steal/borrow from a child/a shop’
išlošti/atimti iš draugo
‘take by force (from a friend)’
(d) norėti (tikėtis, laukti)
paramūs iš žmonių
‘want (hope for, expect) help from people’
reikalauti/išprašyti iš tėvų
(pinigų)
‘demand/get (some money) from one’s parents’

(3) After verbs like tylëtis (iš draugų) ‘mock (at friends)’, juoktis (iš visko) ‘laugh (at everything)’, šypsotis (iš kalbōs) ‘smile (at sb’s words)’, the prepositional phrase denotes the target of emotional reaction, e.g.:
pyksti ant draugų
‘be angry with (one’s) friends’

(4) The phrase iš + GEN denotes the whole from which a part is distinguished or selected, when used after the verbs denoting choice or separation:
skirtis iš kitų
‘be different from others’
išskirti iš visų
‘single out, choose from all’
išsiskirti iš miniōs
‘stand out in a crowd’
riinkti(s) iš krūvōs
‘choose from a pile’

2.41 The phrase nuo + 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 nuo)) and at-:
nupliešti nuo medžio (lapūs)
‘tear off (leaves) from a tree’
nušlūostytis (dūkes) nuo stalo
‘wipe (dust) from the table’
atšokti/atstoti nuo sienos
‘come off the wall (of plaster)’
atsiskirti nuo tėvų
‘leave (lit. ‘break away from’) one’s parents’
atirščioti nuo būrio
‘fall behind/stray the platoon’
atirščioti nuo žmonių
‘dissociate oneself from people’
(2) the state one is relieved of:

atsigauti nuo ligōs  'recover from an illness'
atsipėkęti nuo išgaisčio  'come to oneself after a fright'
atstepalaidūoti nuo rūpesčių  'get rid of worries'
atšikratytį nuo snūdušlio  'shake off somnolence'
atprasči nuo gėrimo  'break oneself of drinking'

(3) the counteragent or a factor against which the agent takes precautions or defends himself or someone:

ginti(s) nuo prėšų  'defend (oneself) from the enemies'
gydyti(s) nuo džiovōs  'treat (undergo treatment) for tuberculosis'
ap(si)draūsti nuo gašro  'insure (oneself) against fire'
slepęti(s) nuo uodų/nuo sūlės  'protect oneself (lit. 'hide') from gnats/from the sun'

cf. also:
priklausyti nuo klimato  'depend on the climate'

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):

pridėti prie visumōs  'add (sth) to the whole'
prikalti prie sienos  'nail (sth) to the wall'
pririšti prie tvorūs  'tie to the fence'
molis liņpa prie bātų  'clay sticks to shoes'
prisidėti prie sukilelių/prie sukilimo  'join the rebels/the rebellion'
prisiplakti prie nepažįstamų  'stick to strangers'

(2) the entity (inanimate or human) one gets used or adjusted to:

priprastī prie aplinkōs/prie šaľčio  'get used to the environment/to the cold'
prisi(t)ākyti/pris(i)dērinti  'fit (clothes) to (one’s) figure'
(drabužiūs) prie figūros  'be attached/make up to one’s parents'
prisitākyti prie aplinkybių  'adjust oneself to circumstances'
prisirūšti/prisigrėrinti/ prisimėlinti prie tėvų  'be numbered among (lit. 'belong to') decent people'

cf. also:
(pri)tikt prie akių  'match (one’s) eyes' (of colour)
priklausyti prie gerų žmonių  'be numbered among (lit. 'belong to') decent people'
2.43 The phrase *ašt* + GEN denotes the target:

(1) of negative emotions after the verb *pykti* ‘be angry (with)’ and its synonyms *niřsti, širšt, tūžti, siūsti*, e.g.:

- *pykti ant kaimynų* ‘be angry with one’s neighbours’
- *niřsti ant viso pasáulio* ‘be enraged against the whole world’

(2) of actions motivated by negative emotions:

- *bártis ant vaikų* ‘scold children’
  (cf. *bárti vaikus* ‘scold children (ACC)’)
- *rēkti/šaūkti ant mokinų* ‘shout at pupils’
- *murmēti ant vadovo/prieš vadovą* ‘grumble at the chief/against the chief’

2.44 The phrase *be* + GEN is used:

(1) obligatorily, with some intransitive verbs:

- *likti be namū* ‘be left without a home’
  (cf. *netēkti namų* ‘lose one’s home’)
- *išsiveisti be pinių* ‘manage without money’
- *apsieiti be pagāldos/draugū* ‘manage without help/friends’

(2) optionally, with transitive verbs of action to denote an instrument or means not used by the agent:

- *siūti be ādatos* ‘sew without a needle’
  (cf. *siūti su ādata* ‘sew with a needle’)
- *statyti be kišvio* ‘build without an ax’

It is often used with negative verbs:

- *be tiņklo nesugauti žuvų* ‘you won’t catch fish without a net’
- *be pinių nenupirksi* ‘you can’t buy without money’

2.45 The phrase *už* + GEN denotes a support when used with the following verbs:

- *laikytis už šakos* ‘hold on to a branch’
- *jisikibti/jisitvērti už šakos/šakos* ‘catch hold of a branch/a branch (GEN)’
- *griežtis už šīudo* ‘catch at a straw’
- *užkliūti už sleņksčio/sleņksčio* ‘stumble (catch one’s foot) over a threshold’

It also denotes a (body) part of the object, as in:

- *tampyti kātę už uodegąs* ‘pull a cat by the tail’
- *paimtī vaiką už raņkos* ‘take a child by the hand’
- *laikytī dvirati už vairo* ‘hold the bicycle by the handlebar’
Prepositional phrases with the instrumental

2.46 The phrase $sū + \text{INSTR}$ 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):

\begin{itemize}
  \item $bārtis/giņētis/pūktis \textit{su draugas}$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘quarrel/argue/be on bad terms with friends’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $mūštis (pēštis) \textit{su bróliu}$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘fight with one’s brother’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $derētis su pirkējais$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘bargain with buyers’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $tāikytis \textit{su draugu}$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘make peace with a friend’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $bučūotis/svēkintis$/
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘kiss/greet/marry/divorce (one’s) wife’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $tvōktis/skirtis \textit{su žmonā}$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘divorce’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $kolvāti/kariāuti su$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘struggle/fight with/against the aggressors’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $užpuolikais/prieš užpuoliku$\newline
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘compete with a rival’
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

(b) the second inanimate actant:

\begin{itemize}
  \item $dangūs susisiēkia/susiliēčia$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘the sky blends (lit. ‘touches’)
    \end{itemize}
  \item $su jāra$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘with the sea’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $miškas ribojasi su ēzeru$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘the forest borders on the lake’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $dienā susilūgino su naktīm$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘lit. ‘the day has become equal with the night’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $cf. : maišyti moli su smėliu$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘mix clay with sand’
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Many symmetrical predicates have the prefix $\textit{su-}:$ 

\begin{itemize}
  \item $\textit{su}: \textit{susipazinti} ‘\text{get acquainted’},$
  \item $\textit{su}: \textit{susitikti} ‘\text{meet’},$
  \item $\textit{su}: \textit{susidūrīt} ‘\text{encounter, collide’},$
  \item $\textit{su}: \textit{susirašinēti} ‘\text{correspond (with’},$
  \item $\textit{su}: \textit{sugyvėnti} ‘\text{be on good terms’},$
  \item $\textit{su}: \textit{susibārti} ‘\text{quarrel’},$
  \item $\textit{su}: \textit{susitāikytī} ‘\text{make up (with’},$
\end{itemize}

This prepositional phrase is also obligatory with some non-symmetrical predicates, e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item $\textit{su}: \textit{susidorošītī su dārbi/su prīēšu}$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘cope with the work/have done with the enemy’
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

This phrase is also used to denote an optional comitative object with non-symmetrical predicates, e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item $\textit{atētī su vaikaī}$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘come with (one’s) children’
    \end{itemize}
  \item $\textit{vāgytī dūona su svīestu}$
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘eat bread and (lit. ‘with’) butter’
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
(2) The prepositional phrase su + INSTR is interchangeable with the more common instrumental case (without a preposition) denoting instrument or means:

- rašyti (su) pieštuku
- atvažiuoti (su) traukiniu

‘write with a pencil’
‘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.:

- stovėti ant stogo

‘stand on the roof’

(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 kiėma ‘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):
  - augti prie namo
  - susitikti prie vartelių
  - arti/netoli + GEN:
    - stovėti arti ugnies
    - gyventi netoli upės

- toli nuo + GEN (the greatest distance from an object):
  - apsistoti toli nuo miesto

‘grow by the house’
‘meet at the gate’
‘stand near the fire’
‘live not far from the river’
‘stay far from the town’
(2) position relative to a linear object (parallel to it):

\textit{pagal/ palei} + ACC:

(suolas) stovti \textit{pagal sieną} ‘(a bench) stands along the wall’
(žole) auga \textit{palei griovį} ‘(grass) grows along a ditch’

(3) relative position by the side:

\textit{šalią/gretą} + GEN:

sėdėti \textit{šalią krónšies} ‘sit by the stove’ (lit. ‘at the side of’)
augti \textit{šalią kėlio} ‘grow by the road’ (‘on the roadside’)

(4) position on both or all sides of an object:

\textit{abipus} + GEN:

\textit{abipus kėlio geltonúoja rugiai} ‘rye is turning yellow/is yellow (lit. ‘is yellowing’) on both sides of the road’

\textit{apië/aplišk} + ACC:

sėdėti \textit{APIE stālq} ‘sit round a table’
augti \textit{APLISIŠK nāmą} ‘grow round a house’

(5) position on top or on the surface:

\textit{ašt} + GEN:

stūksoti \textit{ant kálno} ‘loom on (top of) a mountain’
sėdėti \textit{ant kėlmo} ‘sit on a tree stump’
ryšeti \textit{skarēle ant galvōs} ‘have a kerchief on (one’s) head’
augti \textit{ant mēdžio} ‘grow on a tree’ (e.g. of moss)

The preposition \textit{ašt} with names of surfaces is synonymous with the locative case:

gyventi \textit{ant krañto/krantè} ‘live on the shore’
\textit{pasirūdyti ant viëškelio/viëškelyje} ‘appear on the highway’
laikyti \textit{ant délno/delnè} lit. ‘hold on/in one’s palm’
sėdėti \textit{ant žemès/žemèje} ‘sit on the ground’

(6) position above an object (without touching it):

\textit{virš/viršūj/viršum} + GEN:

kabėti \textit{virš galvōs} ‘hang above one’s head’
\textit{skraidyti viršum laukū} ‘fly above the fields’
aukščiau + GEN:

(rándas) buvo \textit{aukščiau alkūnè} ‘(the scar) was above the elbow’
(7) position under an object:
po + INSTR:
tupēti po stalu – 'squat under a table'
likti po sniegū – 'remain under snow'
stovēti po medžiū – 'stand under a tree'

(8) position in front, on this side of a thing:
priēš + ACC (usually with names of objects with a front):
sustoti prieš rūmus – 'stop in front of a palace'
klūpōti prieš altorių – 'kneel in front of the altar'
staipytis prieš vėidrodį – 'mince in front of a mirror'
šildytis prieš ūgnį – 'warm oneself in front of a fire'
stovēti prieš vėją – 'stand facing the wind'

šiapus + GEN (the place is determined relative to the observer):
gyveni šiapus gūrios – 'live (on) this side of the forest'
pasivyti draugų šiapus tilto – '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:
stovēti už prekystalio – 'stand behind the counter'
lēptis už namo – 'hide behind a house'
anąapus/kitapus/antrąpus/anāšal + GEN (the relative position is determined by the observer):
gyveni anąapus įpēs – 'live on the other side of the river'
sėdėti kitapus stalo – 'sit on the other side of the table'

(10) position between two or more objects:
tarp + GEN:
gyveni tarp įpēs ir miško – 'live between a river and a forest'
tvyluioti tarp kalnų – 'stretch (of a lake) between mountains'
lēptis tarp lapų – 'hide among leaves'
stovēti tarp durų – 'stand in the doorway' (with pluralia tantum)

(11) position on the surface or inside an object relative to its dimensions:
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:

(iš)važiuoti iš miesto
paimti/išimti (knygą) iš spintos
(iš)kirsti iš rankų
vėjas pūčia iš pietų

‘go out of town’
‘take (a book) out of the bookcase’
‘fall out of the hands’
‘the wind is blowing from the south’

(2) next to an object:

nuo + GEN (the verb is often prefixed with at-):

(at)joti nuo miško
atsitrāuktī nuo ugnies

‘ride from (the direction of) the forest’
‘draw from fire’

(3) the surface (or top) of an object:

nuo + GEN (the verb can be prefixed with nu- or pa-):

nukristi nuo stalo
pakilti nuo žemės

‘fall from the table’
‘rise from the ground’
cf. the respective static location:

gulėti ant stalo 'lie on the table'

(4) below a thing:
iš pō + GEN:
išlįsti iš po kėlmo 'crawl out from under a tree stump'
cf. the respective static location:

lindėti po kėlmu 'be under a tree stump'

(5) behind (another side) an object:
iš už + GEN:
išlįsti iš už debesų 'appear from behind the clouds'
cf. the respective static position:
būti už debesų 'be behind the clouds'
iš anąpus/iš antrąpus/iš kitapus + GEN:
persikelti iš anąpus upės 'move (come) from the other side of the river'
cf. the respective static position:
būti anąpus upės 'be on the other side of the river'

(6) between two or more objects:
iš tarp + GEN:
išbėgti iš tarp mėdžių 'run out from between/among trees'
cf. the respective static position:
būti tarp mėdžių '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' / niękur 'nowhere' (these adverbs can refer to both static position and direction), e.g.:

ateiti iš teñ 'come from there'
susirinkti iš visuř 'gather from everywhere'
atsinėsti iš kituř 'bring from elsewhere'
abėgti 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 + artī ‘nearby’ / toli ‘far away’ / aukštaĭ ‘high above’; e.g.:

matyti *iš artī ‘see from a short distance’
grįžti *iš toli ‘return from far away’
nukrūsti *iš aukštaĭ/iš aūkšto ‘fall from high above’

(3) *iš + anapus/kitapus/antrapus, šiapus, abipus; e.g.:

atvykhti *iš anapus ‘arrive from the other side’
ateiti *iš šiapus ‘come from this side’
žiūrėti *iš antrapus ‘look from the other side’
bėgti *iš abipus ‘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:

*i + ACC (a perfective verb often has the prefix *i-):

(j)važiūoti į mišką ‘come into the forest’
įsidėti į kišenę ‘put into the pocket’
pasūkti į dėšinę ‘turn to the right’
pašokti į viršų ‘jump upward’

cf. the respective static position expressed by the locative:

būti miškė ‘be in the forest’

(2) near to an object (in contact or not):

priė + GEN (the head verb often has the related prefix pri-):

priėti priė vařtu ‘come up to the gate’
prilipti priė sienos ‘stick to the wall’
pastatytì priė durų ‘put at the door’
pasileñkti priė ligónio ‘bend over the patient’

cf. the respective static position:

stovėti priė vařtu ‘stand at the gate’

artīn + GEN:

sliñkti artīn ežero ‘move nearer to the lake’
cf. sliñkti priė ežero ‘move towards the lake’
artī/arčiaū + GEN:
prieiti artī/arčiaū namo  'come up near/nearer to the house'

(3) on the surface of an object:
anta + GEN (the verb may be prefixed with už-):
(už)lipti ant stógo  'climb on to the roof'
padėti ant stalo  'put on the table'
nukristi ant žėmės  'fall to the ground'

(4) above an object (without touching it):
viš/viršuž + GEN:
užskristi viš miesto  'fly up above the town'
pakilti viršuž stogo  'rise above the roof'
auščiaū + GEN:
pakilti auščiaū debės  'rise above (higher than) clouds'

(5) below an object:
pō + INSTR (often after verbs with the related prefix pa-):
palžsti po stalū  'crawl under the table'
padėti po pagalve  'put under a pillow'
atisėsti po medžiu  'sit down under a tree'

cf. the respective static location:
lindėti po stalū  'stay under a table'

(6) behind, on the other side of an object:
ūž + GEN (often, with verbs with the prefix už-):
užlįsti už spintos  'creep behind a cupboard'
nunėsti už vaštų  'take outside the gate'
užkišti (peili) už dižjo  'stick (a knife) behind the belt'

cf. the respective static location:
lindėti už spintos  'stay behind a cupboard'

(j) anàpus/kitapus + GEN:
peršikelsti (j) anàpus úpēs  'cross to the other bank of the river'

(7) between two or more things:
tarp + GEN:
įstrigti tarp mėdžių  'get stuck between trees'
įbristi tarp meldų  'wade in among rushes'
2.52 Prepositional phrases can also express:

(1) the limit of movement:

iki/ligi + GEN:

\[ \text{nūi}t iki/ligi \text{ miesto} \quad \text{‘walk as far as the town’} \]
\[ \text{pakilti ligi debesų} \quad \text{‘rise up to the clouds’} \]
\[ \text{jibrsti (i} \text{ vändeni) iki keili} \quad \text{‘wade (into the water) up to one’s knees’} \]

\[ \text{sulig + INSTR:} \]
\[ (béržas) \text{ užáugo sulig namū} \quad \text{‘(the birch-tree) grew equal to the house} \]
\[ \text{(i.e. as tall as the house)’} \]
\[ (vanduO) \text{ pakilo sulig lieptū} \quad \text{‘(water) rose up to (as high as) the footbridge’} \]

(2) direction (without indicating the limit):

\[ \text{GEN + liňk} (ui) \text{ or liňk} (ui) + \text{GEN:} \]
\[ \text{nūi}t i miesto link/link miesto \quad \text{‘walk towards the town’} \]
\[ \text{cf. nūi}t i \text{ miesto pūsq} \quad \text{‘walk in the direction of the town’} \]

The prepositional phrase \[ pās \] + \[ ACC \], with a human noun, denotes destination metonymically:

\[ \text{nuvažiuoti pas giminës} \quad \text{‘go to (one’s) relatives’ (i.e. the place} \]
\[ \text{where they live)} \]
\[ \text{išeiti pas kirpėją} \quad \text{‘go to the hairdresser’s)’} \]
\[ \text{nubėgti pas brölį} \quad \text{‘run to one’s brother’s (place)’} \]

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 (atsisėsti ‘sit down’,
\[ \text{pasodinti ‘seat (sb)’, padėti ‘put down’, etc.) ; when associated with verbs of state} \]
\[ \text{or motion, they denote location or passage (see 2.48, 2.55). Here belong:} \]
\[ \text{apiė/aplińk + ACC:} \]
\[ \text{susėsti/susodinti apie stālq} \quad \text{‘sit down/seat (people) round the table’} \]
\[ \text{apvynioti šālika aplink kāklq} \quad \text{‘wrap a scarf around (one’s) neck’} \]
\[ \text{pagal/palei + ACC:} \]
\[ \text{atsiguši palei sienq} \quad \text{‘lie down along the wall’} \]
\[ \text{patiēsti (drōbe) pagal upēlq} \quad \text{‘stretch (a roll of linen) along the stream’} \]
\[ \text{priēš + ACC:} \]
\[ \text{atsisėsti priēš židinį} \quad \text{‘sit down in front of the fire-place’} \]
\[ \text{atsiklaūpti priēš tevūs} \quad \text{‘kneel in front of (before) the parents’} \]
gretā/šaliā + GEN:
atsisēsti gretā/šaliā mókytojo  
‘sit down next to the teacher’
pasidēti šaliā lóvos  
‘put next to the bed’
skersai, išilgaĩ, įstrižai/ikypaĩ + GEN/ACC:
numēsti leinā skersai kēlio/kēliq  
‘throw a plank across the road’
atiguulīti įstrijai lóvos/lóvq  
‘lie down across (= slantwise) the bed’
pastatūti šoulo išilgaĩ siēnos  
‘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) ī + čiā/teņ/kurī:
eīk ī čiā  
‘come here’
sūk ī teņ  
‘turn that way (there)’

(2) ī + anāpus/kitapus/antrāpus/šiāpus/abipus:
išēti ī anāpus  
lit. ‘go to the other side’ (i.e. die)
grīžti ī šiāpus  
‘return to this side’
ištēstī rankas ī abipus  
‘stretch out (one’s) arms’ lit. ‘to both sides’

(3) iki/ligi + čiā/teņ/kurī/kolī/tolī:
atbēgti iki čiā  
‘run up to here’
nueiši iki teņ  
‘go as far as there’
atēiši iki tōl  
‘come up to here’
iki kurī/kolī eisi?  
‘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 po + 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:

peř + ACC:
eiši per miestq  
‘go across the town’
važiuoti per tīltq  
‘drive across the bridge’
riedēti per vēidaq  
‘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.:

pėrėgti/pėreiti per kiėma/kiėmq 'run/go across the yard/cross the yard'
pėrškristi per ėžerq/ēzerq 'fly across the lake/cross the lake flying'
pėršokti per griūvī/griūvī 'jump across (over) a ditch'

skersai, išilgaĩ, įstrižaiĩ/kypaĩ + GEN/ACC (reference to movement through or along the surface):

plaūkti skersai ūpės/ūpė 'swim across the river'
pėreiti išilgaĩ lentōs/leńtaq 'walk the length of the plank'
nuriedėti įstrižaiĩ aikštēs/aikšte 'roll across (diagonally) the square'

(2) route of motion through an object (with names of things with holes or gaps):

prō + ACC, with nouns as the following:

išėti pro duris 'walk through the door'
žūrėti pro grōtas 'look through the lattice'
išlįsti pro tińklq 'get through a net (of fish)'
rūkči pro kāminq (also iš kāmino) 'go out though a chimney (of smoke)'

The phrase peř + ACC is occasionally used in the same sense:

jeńti per duris 'enter through the door'
žūrėti per lánga 'look through a window'

peř + ACC (with names of solid objects and materials):

išlįsti pro sienq 'pass through a wall (of a bullet)'
pėrsigerti per drabužius 'soak through clothes (of water)'

The phrase prō + ACC is occasionally used instead, cf.:

suńktis pro batūs 'soak through shoes (of water)'
prasimušti pro stōgq 'break out through the roof (of fire)'

kiauraĩ/skrādziqai + ACC/GEN:

(vinis) išlišdo kiauraĩ leńtaq '(a nail) came out the plank'
(rōgēs) klīmpsta skrādziqai snīęq '(the sled) sinks through snow'
(nāmas) nugrińzdo '(the house) sank through the earth'

(3) route of motion past an object, by its side:

prō + ACC:

važiūoti pro ėžerq 'go past a lake'
nueiĩti pro sōdq (i mišq)q 'go past the garden (to the woods)'

After verbs with the related prefix *pra-*, the preposition can be omitted:

- **pravažiuoti pro miestą/miestą** — *drive past a town/pass a town*
- **paeiti pro obeli/obelį** — *walk past an apple-tree/pass an apple-tree*

**pagal/palei** + ACC (with names of things having length):

- **vėsti palei upę** — *walk along a river*
- **šliaužti palei/pagal tvorą** — *crawl along a fence*

(4) route of motion around an object, on all sides:

**apliňk/apię** + ACC (mostly with verbs with the prefix *api(i)-*):

- (api)žēgti apie/apliňk nāma — *run around a house*
- žemė sūkasi apie savo āšķi — *the earth rotates round its axis*

(5) route of motion over, above an object (with verbs denoting motion in the air):

**peri** + ACC:

- **skristi per ėžerq** — *fly above a lake*
- **péršokti per griðvį** — *jump over a ditch*
- **pérmesti ēkmenį per tvorą** — *throw a stone over a fence*

**viris/viršumi/viršūj** + GEN:

- **skristi virš miško** — *fly above a forest*
- **pralekti virš galvōs** — *fly over (sb’s) head*

**aukščiaū** + GEN:

- **skristi aukščiaū/virš debesū** — *fly above the clouds*

(6) route of motion between two or more objects:

**tarp** + GEN:

- **šliaužti tarp bēgio** — *crawl between the rails*
- **brūtis tarp žmoniū** — lit. ‘force one’s way among the people’

(7) route is also occasionally expressed by the following prepositional phrases:

**priešais** + ACC:

- **paeiti priešais tribāną** — *pass in front of the stands*

**už** + GEN:

- **prabēgio už nūgaros** — *run behind (sb’s) back*

**pō** + INSTR:

- **praplaūkti po tiltu** — *swim by under a bridge*
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arti/netoli + GEN:

praskristi netoli/arti žemės  
‘fly not far from/close to the ground’

tiės + INSTR:

skrīsti ties gālva  
‘fly past (sb’s) head’

gretā/šalią + GEN:

eti šalią vežimo  
‘walk next to the cart’

Route is also expressed by the instrumental case (see 2.25).

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):

vāikščioti po kiēmā  
‘walk about a yard’

plāukoti po ēzerā  
‘sail on a lake’

ieškoti po miškā  
‘look for (sth) all over the forest’

graižytis po kišenēs  
‘grope in the pockets’

(2) dispersing, spreading:

pasklīstī po miškā  
‘disperse (all) over the forest’

išmētyti po laukūs  
‘scatter (sth) over the fields’

aidēti po miškā  
‘echo over the forest’

The phrase pō + ACC can be interchangeable with the locative, cf.:

vāikščioti po kiēmā/kiemē  
‘walk over the yard/in the yard’

ieškoti po kišenēs/kišenēse  
‘search through the pockets/in the pockets’

pasklīstī po pievā/pievoje  
‘spread over the meadow/in the meadow’

The spatial position of moving objects relative to each other is denoted by the prepositional phrases pirmā + GEN and pāskui/pāskum + ACC, when used with verbs of motion, e.g.:

šuo bēga pirmā vežimo/  
‘the dog is running in front of/behind the cart’

pāskui vežimo  
(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 prieky/prieksakę ‘in front of’ + GEN and priekš/priekšais ‘in front’ + ACC render the same meaning.

The phrase priekš + ACC can also denote motion from the opposite direction, e.g.:

vaikai išbego priekšais motinā  
‘the children ran out to meet (lit. ‘opposite’) their mother’
Phrases with two prepositions, viz. *nuo* ... *priė*, *nuo* ... *aū估值*, *nuo* ... *pė* ... *iki/ligi*, and *iš* ... *i* occur with imperfective (often iterative) multidirectional verbs to describe a change of direction or to delimit the path of motion. Prepositional phrases may contain:

1. The relevant case-forms of the same noun, e.g.:
   - *bėginėti nuo medžio prie medžio* ‘be running from tree to tree’
   - *šokinėti nuo kūsto ant kūsto* ‘be jumping from mound to mound’
   - *vaikščioti iš kašbario į kašbarį* ‘walk from room to room’

2. Indefinite pronouns as in:
   - *vaikščioti nuo vieno lango prie kito* ‘walk from one window to another’
   - *nešioti iš vienos vietos į kitą* ‘carry from one place to another’

3. Two different nouns: *bėgioti nuo lango prie dūry* ‘be running from the window to the door’.

To emphasize iteration, a prepositional phrase can be repeated in reversed order:

- *vaikščioti nuo lango iki dūry, nuo dūry iki lango* lit. ‘walk from the window to the door (back) to the window’

**Prepositional phrases of time**

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**

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.:

susitikti per Kalėdas/ per rugiapjūtę per atostogas per vakarienę
šokti per vestuves šienauti per kaithra

‘meet at Christmas/ at harvest time/ during holidays/ at supper’

‘dance at a wedding’

‘make hay during a period of heat’

(b) names of parts of the day, seasons, and the like:

lūtų per dieną per naktį
žydėti per vėsara
susirgti per darbymetį

‘rain in the daytime/ at night’

‘blossom in summer’

‘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):

pasikeisti per praėjusį dešimtmetį

‘change in the past decade’

(2) The approximate time of an action is expressed by the following prepositional phrases with temporal nouns:

apiė + ACC:

grįžti apię rytą apię peňktą valandą
išvažiuoti apię pietus apię pavasarį

‘return approximately in the morning/ at about five o’clock’

‘go away at about lunchtime/ about spring time’

i + ACC:

atvėsti į rytą
pristigti (duono s) į pavasarį
sugrižti į mėnesio mētu pabaigą

‘grow colder by (towards) morning’

‘be short (of bread) by spring’

‘return by (towards) the end of the month/year’

arti/netoli + GEN (rare):

baigtis arti vidūrnakčio

‘be over at about (lit. ‘near to’) midnight’

DURATION

2.60 Duration of an action (from the beginning to the end of a period) is expressed by pef + ACC. In this phrase, temporal nouns are used usually with a quantitative modifier, viz. a numeral, the pronouns kelis ‘several’, visas ‘all’, the adjectives ištisas ‘entire’, kiurias ‘all, entire’, and the like, e.g.:
šokti per visą/ištisą/kiaurą naktį  ‘dance all/the entire night’
dirbtį per visą vasarą  ‘work all summer’

This prepositional phrase can also indicate the period of time in which a certain result is achieved, e.g.:
palūtą pasiuva per tris mėnesius  ‘(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:
lūtį apie vėląndą  ‘rain for about an hour’
laukti apie penkis/kelis mėnesius  ‘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 nuo + 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.: miegoti nuo vakaro ‘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.: susirūšti iš vakaro ‘get ready in the evening (and be ready since)’. The preposition nuo has broader combinability with nouns than iš; cf.:

iš + GEN:
ateiti iš vakaro  ‘arrive in (lit. ‘from’) the evening (and be here since)’
suzaliūoti iš pavasario  ‘turn green in (since) spring’
nuo + GEN:
nekęsti iš nuo pirmos dienos  ‘hate from/since the first day’
išlikti iš /nuo senų laikų  ‘exist from/since the olden times’
vāķščioti nuo rýto  ‘walk since morning’
mokytis nuo vaikystės  ‘study since childhood’
laukti nuo antrų valandos  ‘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/ligi + GEN with temporal nouns:
laukti iki vakaro/ruđiņis/pirmadienio  ‘wait until evening/autumn/Monday’
mókytis ligi egzaminų
sugrįžti iki gegužės mėnesio

‘study until the examinations’
‘return until the month of May’

The prepositional phrase iki/ligi + GEN with nouns denoting units of time specifies the limits of duration:
(juods tėks) laukti iki
valandos/mėtų
(be vandens gailima) išgyvėnti
ligi septinių parų

‘(you have to) wait for about (as long as) an hour/a year’
‘(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 tarp + GEN ir/GEN, e.g.:
(žvėrys) šeriasi tarp
rugpjūčio ir spalio mėnesio
(žadėjo) ateiti tarp
vieniūliokos ir dvylīktos valandos

‘(wild beasts) moult between September and October’
‘(they promised to) come between eleven and twelve o’clock’

The coordinated genitives can be sometimes replaced by the plural form of a noun:
susitiksime tarp švenčių

‘we’ll meet between the holidays’

The limits of duration can also be expressed by a complex prepositional phrase nuo + GEN – iki/ligi + GEN. The following nouns are used here:

(1) antonyms, e.g.:
dirbti nuo rýto iki vakaro
keliauti nuo pavasario iki rudenės

‘work from morning till night’
‘travel from spring to autumn’

(2) nouns with the modifiers vienas ... kitas:
laukti nuo vieno sekmadienio iki kito

lit. ‘wait from one Sunday till the next’

ANTERIORITY AND POSTERIORITY

2.63 The prepositional phrases prieš + ACC and pirmą + GEN relate an action to the following time or event. The phrase po + GEN relates an action to the preceding time or event. Nouns used in these phrases denote:

(1) temporal concepts and also events, e.g.:
(a) keltis prieš ašrą/pirmą aušros
ateiti prieš vakarą/pirmą vakaro
susitikti prieš atostogas

‘get up before dawn’
‘come before evening’
‘meet before the vacation’
(b) *grižti po pietų*  
*sužaliūoti po lietaus*  
*rasti po naktis*  
*išdygti po žiemos/iš po žiemos*  

(‘return after dinner’  
‘break into young leaf after rain’  
‘find (sth) after a night’  
‘sprout after the winter’

(iš po is used with the nouns *naktis* ‘night’ and *žiema* ‘winter’ exclusively);

(2) animate beings, plants and things which refer to time by implying comparison:

(a) *gyvėno (čia) prieš lietuvius/pirmą lietuvių*  
*(pėmpė) atskrido prieš gandrą*  
*atejo prieš mane/pirmą manęs*  

(‘they) lived (here) before the Lithuanians’  
(= ‘before the Lithuanians had lived here’)  
‘(the lapwing) returned before the stork’  
‘(he) came before me’

(b) *(Vytautas) valdė Lietuvą po Kęstučio*  
*pjauti kviečius po rugių*  
*sugrižti po brólio*  

‘(Vytautas) ruled Lithuania after Kęstutis’  
‘cut rye after wheat’  
‘return after (one’s) brother’

(3) generalized temporal concepts (with an obligatory modifier):

(a) *išeiti prieš dvýliktą vâlandą*  
*palûti prieš pjûties mëta*  
*susûitikytì prieš ámźiaus gâlq*  

‘leave before twelve o’clock’ (lit. ‘twelfth hour’)  
‘rain before harvest time’  
‘get reconciled before the end of life’

(b) *ateïti po penktos valandos*  
*atšiltì po ledûnû laikotarpio*  

‘come after five o’clock’  
‘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.:

*neïšvažiuûs be vâkarò*  
(i.e. *išvažiuûs tik vakarè*)  
*negrûžk be rudeðûs*  
*nesusitikûs be šveñçû*  

‘he won’t leave until (lit. ‘without’) evening’  
(‘he’ll leave only in the evening’)  
‘don’t return until autumn’  
‘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:

*atsikûltì be sàulës (dienûs, šviesûs)*  

‘get up before sunrise (daylight, light)’

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 *prieš + ACC* with a noun denoting a unit of time, e.g.:
susirinko prieš vėląndaq 'they gathered an hour ago'
atvýko prieš dū mėnesius 'he arrived two months ago'
gyveno prieš šimtą mėtyų 'he lived a hundred (ACC) years (GEN) ago'

The synonymous prepositional phrases po + GEN and už + GEN (less common), and also be + 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:
sugrįžo po/už valandą 'he returned an hour later'
susitiko po trijų (kelių) dienų 'they met three (a few) days later'
atėjo po dešimtis minūčių 'he came ten (Prep + GEN) minutes (GEN) later'
negérk váistų be valandą 'take this medicine in an hour’s time only' (lit. ‘don’t take this medicine without an hour’)
ligónis nepasveikš be dviejų savaičių 'the patient will get well in two weeks only'

SIMULTANEOUSNESS

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:

atsikėlti su šviesą lit. ‘get up with the (day)light (dawn, day(light), sun(rise))’
(aušrą, dieną, sūle)
baimė ateina su vakaru 'fear comes with the night'
ligos prasideda su rudeniu 'illnesses begin with the autumn'
cf. also: kėltis (kartu) su paūkščiais 'get up (together) with the birds’
gušti su vištomis '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:

(vėjas) stūgauja per naktis 'the wind) howls at nights’
(šeimą) susitikdavo per šventės 'the family) used to meet during holidays’
(mokiniai) išdykauja per pėtraukas 'schoolchildren) romp during intervals’
When used with *pluralia tantum*, this phrase denotes frequency with the past frequentative tense form only, cf.:

- *atvažiuodavo per atostogas*  
  'he used to come (home) on holidays'  
  (frequency)

- *atvažiavo per atostogas*  
  '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):
   - *šokinëti iš džiaugsmo*/*laimės/laimės/linksmûmo*  
     'be jumping with joy/happiness/merriment'
   - *paraūsti iš pûkčio/gédos*  
     'redden with anger/shame'
   - *vežti iš nûsokaudos/*apmaudo/neviltiës  
     'cry out of mortification/vexation/desperation'
   - *drebe̱ti iš baimės/*susijáudinimo/išgusčio  
     'tremble with fear/agitation/fright'

2. a psychological feature:
   - *atsisakûti iš kûklumo/mandagûmo*  
     'refuse (sth) out of modesty/politeness'
   - *padëti iš pareigingûmo/*gerûmo/draugiškûmo  
     'help (sb) out of a sense of duty/kindness/friendliness'
   - *nusigyvûnti iš tûningûstûs*  
     'become impoverished because of laziness'

3. a feeling or a physical state:
   - *raityûtis iš skaûsimo*  
     'writhe with pain'
   - *užmigûti iš nûovargio*  
     'fall asleep from fatigue'
   - *apalptûti iš âlko/bûdo/trûškulio*  
     'faint from hunger/starvation/thirst'
   - *drebe̱ti iš šalčio*  
     'tremble with cold'
nuo + GEN

2.69 The phrase *nuo* + 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:

   - *susigti nuo obuolių* ‘fall ill from apples’
   - *žūti nuo priešų* ‘perish at the hands of the enemies’
   - *mėlynūoti nuo žibūčių* ‘be blue with violets’
   - *permirkti nuo lietaus* lit. ‘get wet through (of shoes, clothes) from rain’

2. a natural phenomenon:

   - *nuo degti nuo sau lės* ‘get sunburnt from/in the sun’
   - *suktis nuo vėjo* ‘go round (of a windmill) because of the wind’
   - *supelyti nuo dręgmės* ‘grow mouldy because of humidity’
   - *kentėti nuo karščio* ‘suffer from the heat’
   - cf. also: *mišti nuo žaizdų* ‘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.:

- *dėl blogą kelią atvažiuodavo* ‘few people used to come because of (due to) poor roads’
- *nedaug žmonių* ‘because of its sweetness, maple sap was considered to be better’

The preposition *dėl* typically combines with nouns denoting:


   - *Dėl savo geografinės padetės* ‘Because of its geographical position, Lithuania could not remain isolated.’
   - *Žvaigždės dėl didelio atstumo atrūdo mėžos* ‘Stars look small due to the great distance.’

Because of his learning, he soon became famous.

He could not work because of his health.

People can’t live here because of gnats.

I liked her for her blue eyes.

The preposition dėl is used with the noun priežastis ‘cause’ with an obligatory modifier:

dėl šiOS/menkos priežastišës

for this/slight reason

dėl këleto priežasčių

for a number of reasons

(3) also concrete things:

People can’t live here because of gnats.

I liked her for her blue eyes.

The preposition dėl is used with the noun priežastis ‘cause’ with an obligatory modifier:

Because of his learning, he soon became famous.

He could not work because of his health.

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People can’t live here because of gnats.

I liked her for her blue eyes.
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) Dėl tokio šalčio reikėjo ateiti. 'In spite of this cold (weather), you should have come.'

Dėl tokio lietaus gālīme važiuoti. 'In spite of such rain, we can drive.'

(2) Dėl tokios ligos gyvėsī šiūta mėtų. 'With such an illness, you'll live a hundred years.'

Dėl manęs eikit nors į pragarą. 'For me (= as far as I am concerned) you can go to hell.'

peř + ACC

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:

nepàbaigè dárbo per tingējima 'he didn't finish work because of (out of) his laziness'
nèdave pìnigù per šyksùma 'he didn't give money out of stinginess'
negalèjo išeiti per vaikùs 'he couldn't go out because of the children'
nepailsèjo per dárbus 'he had (had) no rest because of work'

(2) verbs with negative meanings:

apàkti per apsileidimà 'become blind through carelessness'
kentëti per gimines 'suffer because of relatives'
išeikvoti (pìnigus) per móteris 'embezzle (money) because of women'
pavelùoti per svečius 'be late because of the visitors'

(3) verbs acquiring negative connotations in context:

pasieglèti kvìalai per nesusipratima 'do a silly thing through misunderstanding'
ne taìp atsakûti per susijàudinima 'give the wrong answer because of excitement'
painëti ne peûli, o šakûte per skubëjima 'take a fork instead of a knife in a hurry'

Peř + ACC is usually interchangeable with the neutral dël + GEN:

nusigyvënti per tingëjima/dël tingëjimo 'become impoverished through (one's) laziness'
GEN + dėkà

2.74 The phrase GEN + dėkà ‘thanks to’ renders a specialized causal meaning which is antonymous to that of per + ACC: it expresses a positive cause of an action. It is used with nouns denoting persons or their positive qualities; cf.:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{pasveikti gūdytojų dėkà} ‘recover thanks to doctors’
\item \textit{parašyti puikų romānq} ‘write a perfect novel thanks to talent’
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tālento dėkà}
\end{itemize}

už + ACC

2.75 The prepositional phrase \textit{už} + ACC expresses motive or reason with verbs denoting:

(1) punishment for misdeeds, or awarding:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{baūsti už nusikalčimus} ‘punish for crimes’
\item \textit{keršyti už skriaudąs} ‘revenge for offences’
\item \textit{teisti už vagaştę} ‘try (take to a court of law) for stealing’
\item \textit{apdovanoti už drąsą} ‘award for bravery’
\end{itemize}

(2) verbal and emotional behavior and assessment, e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}

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 dēl/dēlei + GEN refers to the purpose of an active action (most frequently, movement):

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{atjōti dēl mergēlēs} ‘come riding for the fair girl’
\item \textit{lenktyniūtī dēl pirmos viētos} ‘compete for the first place’
\item \textit{kovōti dēl laisvės/už laisvę} ‘fight for freedom’
\item \textit{išgērītī dēl drāsōs} ‘have a drink for courage’
\item \textit{pasislēptī atsargumo dēlei} ‘hide oneself for the sake of caution’
\end{itemize}

(2) The phrase f + ACC, used with verbs of motion (or inducement, e.g. \textit{kviēsti ‘invite’}), refers to an event in which the agent (patient) intends (is urged) to participate; e.g.
The phrase prė + GEN, combined with verbs of motion or change of position (e.g. sėsti ‘sit down’), refers to a thing which implies motivation of an action:

nuėti prie rugių  

lit. ‘go to the rye’ (i.e. to cut rye)

sėsti prie ratėlio  

‘sit down to the spinning-wheel’ (i.e. to do spinning)

pastatytį darbininką prie staklių  

‘send (lit. ‘stand’) a worker to the machine-tool’

cf.: stoti prie dárbo/dirbti  

‘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.:

nuėti apie kilometrą  

‘walk about a kilometre’

pirkti už penkis litus  

‘buy for five litas’

Nouns of quantity are often modified by a numeral (apie du kilometrus ‘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  

(apie tris myliąs/šimtą mylių)  

‘cover (drive) about a mile (about three miles/hundred miles)’

svėti/svėrīti apie tōną (apie penkiąs tonas/apie dēšimt tōnų)  

‘weigh about a ton (about five tons/ten tons)’

(2) arti/netoli + GEN denotes a somewhat smaller quantity than that named by the noun:

nuėti arti kilometro  

‘walk nearly a kilometre’

pardūoti arti ceitnerio (grūdų)  

‘sell almost a centner (of grain)’

sumokėti netoli šimto litų  

‘pay nearly a hundred litas’

(3) iki/ligi + GEN indicates the upper limit of quantity:

nuėti iki kilometro  

(iki šešių/dešimtis kilometrų)  

‘walk as much as a kilometre (six/ten kilometres)’

suskaiciuoti iki šimto  

‘count up to a hundred’
(4) \( peĩ + \text{ACC} \) denotes a greater quantity than that named by the noun or numeral:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sveřti/svěrti per kilogrām} & \quad \text{‘weigh over (more than) a kilogram’} \\
\text{kainūoti per tākstantī dōlerių} & \quad \text{‘cost over a thousand dollars’}
\end{align*}
\]

(5) \( už + \text{GEN} \) denotes distance from the reference point:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sustōti už kilomētro (už dviejū/šimto kilomētrų) nuo miēsto} & \quad \text{‘stop at the distance of a kilometre (two/a hundred kilometres) from the town’} \\
\text{nukristi už penkiū mētrų (nuo manēs)} & \quad \text{‘fall five metres away (from me)’}
\end{align*}
\]

(6) \( už + \text{ACC} \) denotes price, the account of payment, etc. (see 2.37, 2):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{piškti už šimtą lių} & \quad \text{‘buy for a hundred litas’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( su + \text{INSTR} \) is used:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pultī su ėnīršiu} & \quad \text{‘attack with fury’} \\
\text{pazvelgti su méile} & \quad \text{‘glance (at sb) with love’} \\
\text{laukti su nekantrumu} & \quad \text{‘wait with impatience’} \\
\text{išeiti su pāltu} & \quad \text{‘go out in a coat (wearing a coat)’} \\
\text{sēdeti su kepurē} & \quad \text{‘sit with one’s cap on’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) absence of a characteristic or possession, which is rendered by \( bē + \text{GEN} \):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pultī be bāmēs} & \quad \text{‘attack without fear’} \\
\text{išvarytī be gaīlesčio} & \quad \text{‘drive (sb) out without pity’} \\
\text{gulēti be sāmonēs} & \quad \text{‘lie unconscious’ (lit. ‘without consciousness’)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{ateīti be kepurēs} \quad \text{‘come without a cap’}
\]

(2) the maximum intensity of an action or process, which is rendered by \( iki/līgi + \text{GEN} \):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pristovālyti iki sōties} & \quad \text{lit. ‘eat to satiety’} \\
\text{īkaštī iki raudonūmō} & \quad \text{‘be heated red’ (lit. ‘to redness’) (of iron)} \\
\text{įkyrēti iki gūvo kāulo} & \quad \text{‘bore (sb) to death’ (lit. ‘to the live bone’)}
\end{align*}
\]
(3) the motive or plan, or grounds for performing an action, for which purpose pagāł + ACC is used:

- statyti (rūmus) pagāl projekta  
  ‘build (a palace) according to a project’
- nubausti pagāl įstatymą  
  ‘punish in accordance with the law’
- rėngtis pagāl mādą  
  lit. ‘dress according to fashion’
- veikti pagāl plāną  
  ‘act according to a plan’

(4) the intermediary or medium, expressed by per + ACC:

- kalbėtis per vertėją  
  ‘talk through an interpreter’
- pranešti per rādiją/laikraštį  
  ‘announce on (lit. ‘through’) the radio/through a newspaper’
- pasiūsti (linkėjimus) per draugą  
  ‘send (best wishes) with (lit. ‘through’) a friend’

(5) means:

- jsivežti per jėga  
  ‘break in by force’
- išsivėsti per prievartą  
  ‘lead (sb) away under compulsion’

(6) an obstacle (which may be the agent’s state), expressed by pro/per + ACC:

- šypsotis pro ĭšaras/skausma  
  lit. ‘smile through tears/pain’
- išgirsti pro triukšmą  
  ‘hear through noise’
- susikalbėti per sieną  
  ‘communicate through a wall’

(7) the mode of action relative to the position of a body part, expressed by ant + GEN:

- stovėti ant vienos kojos  
  ‘stand on one foot’
- gulėti ant nūgaros  
  ‘lie on one’s back’
- pasireišti ant raikų  
  ‘lean on one’s hands’
- nėšti (vaiką) ant pečių  
  ‘carry (a child) on one’s shoulders’

With verbs of ‘attaching’ this prepositional phrase may refer to a means:

- palėisti ķitvarą ant siūlo  
  ‘fly a kite on/with a thread’

(8) distribution of the plural agent or patient in equal numbers during an action, expressed by po + ACC:

- išsivaikščioti po vieną  
  ‘disperse one by one’
- ateiti po kelis  
  ‘come in groups of several’
- prinešioti (šiūno) po glebi  
  ‘bring (hay) in armfuls’

The manner of an action can also be expressed by is + GEN, e.g.:

- surikti is visū jėgū  
  ‘cry out with all one’s might’
- palinkėti (gėro) is širdiės  
  lit. ‘wish (good luck) with/from one’s heart’
There is a number of adverbialized phrases with this preposition, e.g.:

- žiūrėti iš padilbų/paniūrų – 'look scowlingly'
- kalbėti iš lėto – 'speak slowly'
- ateiti iš (pa)leñgvo – 'walk slowly'
- perrašyti iš naūjo – 'rewrite anew'
- užpultī iš pasalīq – '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 mōka skaitëti 'he can read') or it may not coincide with it (jis liëpē mān 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 (gałë eiti 'you can go'), or it takes the position characteristic of an object (jis mēgsta skaitëti 'he likes to read'), or it is an adverbial modifier of purpose (atejo padëti 'he came to help'); it may also take the subject position (mān nusibōdo lāukti/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:

   - pradēti/iūtī (mōkytīs) – 'begin (to study)'
   - (pa)baigēti (rašyti) – 'finish (writing)'
   - mēstī (rākūtī) – 'stop, give up (smoking)'
   - liūtīs/nustōtī (liūtī) – 'stop, cease (raining)'
   - likēti (stovēti) – 'continue, go on (standing)'
   - ihusēti (knūgq skaitēti) – lit. 'do half (to read a book)'

These verbs typically combine with imperfective infinitives excepting baigēti which also takes a perfective infinitive:

- baigēa isdžiūtī lit. ‘it finishes to dry’ i.e. ‘it has almost dried’

The following verbs are also used with an infinitive to express a sudden and/or unexpected intense beginning of an action: šokēti ‘jump’, pūltī ‘rush, attack’, mēstī ‘throw oneself, rush’, griēbtīs ‘seize, set to’, tvērtīs ‘seize, snatch’, subrūzēti ‘(begin to) bustle’, ‘start (quickly)’, sujūstī ‘(begin to) move’, ‘start, set about’, praplūptī ‘gush out, burst into’, prakūrīti ‘burst’, pašēltī ‘get furious’, įniktī ‘apply oneself (to)’. The
ending of an action is expressed by the verbs *nutilti* ‘fall silent’, *nuščiūti* ‘die away’, etc. They acquire a phasal meaning in combination with an infinitive only, cf.:

- šoko *padėti* ‘(he) rushed to help’
- praplyšo *dainiūoti* ‘(he) burst into singing’
- nutilo *šūkauti* ‘(he) (suddenly) stopped shouting’

(2) Verbs with a modal meaning: *galėti* ‘be able’, *sugebėti* ‘be able, capable’, *pajęgti/jštęgti/valioti* ‘be able’, *mokėti* ‘be able, know (how to),’ *iprąsti/igūsti* ‘get used, get into the habit (of),’ *turėti* ‘have (to),’ *privalėti* ‘be obliged (to),’ *reikėti* ‘have (to)’, e.g.:

- reiška *tikėti* ‘one ought be believe’
- gali *padėti* ‘he can help’
- turi *išeiti* ‘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’, *vežtis* ‘long’, *geisti* ‘wish, long’, *trókšti* ‘crave’, *tikėtis/viltis* ‘hope’, *mėgti* ‘like’, etc.; *mėginti* ‘try’, *bandyti* ‘try’, *stęngtis* ‘strive, seek’, *išdėrėti* ‘dare’, etc., e.g.:

- nörime *džiaugtis/džiaugsmo* ‘we want to enjoy/enjoyment (GEN)’
- mėgstu *gėrilti/gėrimus* ‘I like to drink/drinks (ACC)’

(2) Verbs of intention, agreement or refusal, or memory: *galvoti* ‘think, plan’, *manytį* ‘think, intend’, *svajoti* ‘dream’, *užmirti* ‘forget’, *atsiminti* ‘remember’, *nuspręsti/nutrašti* ‘decide’, *ketinti* ‘intend’, *ruoštis/rengtis* ‘prepare, get ready’, *susiprašti* (išeiti) ‘have the sense (to leave)’, *apsiimti* ‘undertake (to do sth)’, *sutikti* ‘agree’, *įsipareigoti* ‘pledge oneself (to do sth)’, *prasikėsti* ‘promise’, *rūžtis* ‘decide, resolve’, *žadėti* ‘promise’, *susitarť* ‘arrange (to do sth)’, *siūlytis* ‘offer’, *atsisakytį* ‘refuse’, e.g.:

- nusprendę *išeiti* ‘(he) decided to leave’
- užmiršo *pranešti* ‘(he) forgot to report’
- žadėjo *padėti* ‘(he) promised to help’

(3) Verbs with negative connotations: *bijoti* ‘be afraid’, *vęgti* ‘avoid’, *saugotis* ‘fear, avoid’, *gėdytis* ‘be ashamed’, *drovėtis* ‘be shy’, *tingtį* ‘be lazy’; e.g.:

- bijo *pėrsalti* ‘(he) is afraid of catching a cold’
- vėngia *kalbėti* ‘(he) avoids talking’

(4) Verbs denoting excess or insufficiency: *padauginti/pamazinti* ‘add too much/little’, *patankinti* ‘make too thick/frequent’, *parėtinti* ‘make too thin’, *nuilginti*
‘make too long’, *patrumpinti* ‘make too short’, and the like. The infinitive can be omitted here, e.g.:

*padaugina/pamžžinau (įdėti) drūkos* ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Atsibódo</em></th>
<th><em>mán</em></th>
<th><em>laukti</em></th>
<th><em>laukimas</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bored</td>
<td>I: DAT</td>
<td>wait: INF</td>
<td>waiting: NOM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I got bored with waiting’

Here belong verbs of psychological states, assessment, and the like: *įkyrėti/įgristi/įsipykti/prailgti* ‘bore’, *rūpeti/magėti* ‘worry, be anxious’, *kniętėti* ‘have an urge’, *patikti* ‘like’, *tikti/derėti* ‘be suitable’, *sėktis* ‘go well’, *vertėti/apsimokėti* ‘be (well) worth’, *atsitikti/pasitūktyti* ‘happen’, *tėkti* ‘fall to the lot of’, *pavýktyt* ‘succeed (in), manage’, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>mán rūpėjo dirbti/dárbas</em></th>
<th><em>mán patińka dainūotí/daińos</em></th>
<th><em>jám sēkasi rašyti/rāšymas</em></th>
<th><em>jiems tėko laukti</em></th>
<th><em>mūms pavýko grįžti</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘I (DAT) was anxious to work’</td>
<td>‘I like to sing/songs’</td>
<td>‘to write/writing goes well with him’</td>
<td>‘(it so happened that) they (DAT) had to wait’</td>
<td>‘we (DAT) managed to return’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>reikia žmogui pailsėti/póilsio</em></th>
<th><em>užtėks tāu veřkti</em></th>
<th><em>kiekvienám nórisi</em></th>
<th><em>džiaugtis/džiaugsmo</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘a person (DAT) needs to rest/a rest (GEN)’</td>
<td>lit. ‘it is enough for you to cry’ (‘you have cried enough, stop it’)</td>
<td>‘everyone (DAT) wants to be joyful/joy (GEN)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.83

An ‘objective’ infinitive occurs with verbs of causation governing either (1) the accusative (*päkvietė mane ateiti* ‘he invited me (ACC) to come’) or (2) the dative case (*léido mán išėti* ‘(he) allowed me (DAT) to go out’) of a noun which names a person to whom the infinitival action is ascribed:


*priprátino vaiką anstki guilti* ‘(she) trained the child to go to bed early’
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.:

- atėjome pasikalbėti/pökalsio — ‘we have come to talk (INF)/ for a talk (GEN)’
- atsisėdo pailsėti/p'oilsio — ‘(he) sat down to rest (INF)/ for a rest (GEN)’
- išsiuntė vaikus uogauti/uogų — ‘(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:

- išvažiavo kelio taisyti — ‘(they) went to repair the road (GEN)’
  (cf. taisyti kelią) — ‘repair the road (ACC)’
- atėjo draugo aplankyti — ‘(he) came to visit his friend (GEN)’
- liko namų sągoti — ‘(he) stayed to look after the house (GEN)’
- siuntė mergaitę vandens parnešti — ‘(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:

- išejo pieno parnešti — ‘(he) went to bring milk’
  (cf. išejo pieno) — ‘(he) went for milk’
- išsiuntė sūnų daktaro pakviesti — ‘(he) sent his son to get the doctor’
  (cf. išsiuntė sūnų daktaro) — ‘(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:

- pastatė daržinę šienui sukrauti — ‘they built a hay-loft to keep hay’ (lit. ‘they built a hay-loft for hay (DAT) to keep’)
- iššovė žmonėms pagasdinti — ‘(he) fired to scare people (DAT)’

The infinitive may be either obligatory (cf. *iššovė žmonėms ‘he fired for people’) or optional, as in:

- pařvežėm lentų namiui (apmušt) — ‘we brought some boards for the house (to cover)’

The dative case is also used if the semantic subject of the infinitive is the beneficiary of the head verb:
The infinitives *vāgyti* 'eat', *užkasti* 'have a snack', *lesti* 'peck' (of hens), *ēsti* 'eat' (of animals), *gērti* 'drink', *lākti* 'lap', *rūkti* 'smoke', *skaitēti* 'read', *siūti* 'sew', *mēgztī* 'knit', *dēvēti* 'wear', *apsivīktī* 'put on', when subordinated to the verbs *nēšti(s)* 'take/carry (for/with oneself)', *at(si)nēšti* 'bring (for oneself)', *vēžtī* 'take/drive for oneself', *pa(si)mēšti* 'take (for oneself)', *dūoti* 'give', *nu(si)pēktī* 'buy (for oneself)', *paruōšti* 'prepare', are equivalent to the accusative (or genitive) case of a noun as a direct object, cf.:

- *dāve mān vāgyti/maïsto* lit. 'she give me to eat/some food (GEN)'
- *pasiemiau vāgyti/dūnos* lit. 'I took to eat/some bread (GEN)'
- *isidējau mēgztī/mēzginiā* lit. 'I have put (in my bag) to knit/the knitting (ACC)'

### Verb – Participle, Gerund

The grammatical properties and meaning of a number of verbs permit complemention by a participle, e.g.:

- **sākēsi**
  - say: 3. PAST. REFL
  - 'he said he would come'

- **mēgsta**
  - like: 3. PRES
  - 'he likes being praised'

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) **tikisi laimēsias/laimēti**
  - 'he hopes to win (FUT. ACT. PART/INF)'
  - 'he asked to be let in (PRES. PASS. PART/INF)'

(b) **mēgsta pāgiriamas/ pāgiriamās/ pāgirimūs**
  - 'he likes being praised (PRES. PASS. PART)/praises (ACC)'
  - 'he fears being scolded (PRES. PASS. PART)/scolding (GEN)'

- **ateīsiās**
  - come: FUT. ACT. PART. NOM. MASC
  - 'he said he would come'

- **pāgiriamas**
  - praise: PRES. PASS. PART. NOM. MASC
  - 'he likes being praised'
Verbs of perception can also subordinate a gerund, or a gerundial phrase with the accusative or genitive case of a noun, e.g.:

- *girdėjau griūdžiant*  
  ‘I heard thundering (PRES. GER)’
- *mačiau skreindant paūkšči*  
  ‘I saw a bird flying (PRES. GER)’
- *laukė motinos pareinant*  
  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*:

- *gyvėnti toli/arti/nuošaliai/šalia*  
  ‘live far/nearby/apart/near’
- *likti nami*  
  ‘stay at home’
- *sliūkti artyn*  
  ‘move near(er)’
- *žiūrėti aukštyn*  
  ‘look upwards’
- *eiti namo*  
  ‘go home’

A number of adverbs refer either to location or direction:

- *gyvėna/atvýko či, te*  
  ‘(he) lives/ arrived here, there’
- *niėkur nebūvo/nenuėjo*  
  lit. ‘he has been/ gone nowhere’
- *gyvėno/išėjo kitu*  
  ‘he lived/went elsewhere’

(2) Adverbs of *time*:

- *dabar nelįja*  
  ‘it is not raining now’
- *vėkar lijo*  
  ‘it rained yesterday’
- *anksti atsiškėlė, vėlaš atsigest*  
  ‘(he) got up early, went to bed late’
- *ateina kasdién (kás dienã)*  
  ‘(he) comes every day’
- *negyvėno (či)ad nėkadà*  
  ‘(he) never lived (here)’
- *vaikaš gimė pamečiu*  
  ‘the children were born every year’

(3) Adverbs of *cause*:

- *kodėl/del kó nepasakė?*  
  ‘why didn’t he say?’
- *kažkodėl neatėjo*  
  ‘he didn’t come for some reason’
- *todėl/del tò/už taĩ nukentėjo*  
  ‘therefore/for that reason he suffered’
- *týčia taĩp pasakė*  
  ‘he said so on purpose’
(4) Quantitative adverbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daūg skaito</td>
<td>'he reads much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mažai vālo</td>
<td>'he eats little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilgāi gryvēno</td>
<td>'he lived long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padaugējo divgubai/dūkart</td>
<td>'it increased twice' i.e. 'it doubled'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketūrgubai atlygino</td>
<td>'(they) remunerated (him) four times (as much)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labaī lāukē</td>
<td>lit. 'he waited very (much)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirtinaī įkryējo</td>
<td>'it bored (sb) to death'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Adverbs of manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skaūdžiai sudejāvo</td>
<td>lit. '(he) groaned painfully'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klausiamaī pāžvelgē</td>
<td>'(he) glanced inquiringly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalba pašnibždōm</td>
<td>'they talk in a whisper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirba pakaitōm</td>
<td>'they work by turns'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adverbs in -te/-tinai are used exclusively as intensifiers (see II.6.13):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bēgte bēga</td>
<td>lit. '(he) runs running' i.e. '(he) runs fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gertinaī gēria</td>
<td>lit. '(he) drinks drinking' i.e. '(he) drinks like a fish'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deverbal noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tamsōs bāimē</td>
<td>'fear of darkness (GEN)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. bijōti tamsōs)</td>
<td>('be afraid of darkness (GEN)')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikējimas ateitimi</td>
<td>'belief in the future (INSTR)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. tikēti ateitimi)</td>
<td>('believe in the future (INSTR)')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyvēnimas miestē</td>
<td>'life in a town (LOC)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. gyvēntī miestē)</td>
<td>('live in a town (LOC)')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svajōnēs apie āteitī</td>
<td>'dreams about the future (Prep + ACC)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. svajōtī apie āteitī)</td>
<td>('dream about the future (Prep + ACC)')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skrīdis per Atlāntą</td>
<td>'flight across the Atlantic (Prep + ACC)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. skrīstī per Atlāntą)</td>
<td>('fly across the Atlantic (Prep + ACC)')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sustojimās pakeliūtī</td>
<td>'a stop(ing) on the way (ADV)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. sustōtī pakeliūtī)</td>
<td>('to stop on the way (ADV)')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deverbal nouns also retain the same relationships with an infinitive of the base verb, e.g.:
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.:
   - gražiai megzti
     (cf. gražus mezgimas)
     ‘knit beautifully’
   - įtikinamių atsakyti
     (cf. įtikinamų atsakymas)
     ‘answer convincingly’
   - kitaip suprasti
     (cf. kitaik supratimas)
     ‘understand otherwise’

2. The accusative of measure, which is transformed into the genitive case or some other form, cf.:
   - dirbti metus
     – mėty/žemės dARBAS
     – nueiti kilometrą
     – kilomètro ĖJIMAS
     – sveiti/sverč kilogramą
     – kilogramo svORIS
     ‘work for a year’
     ‘the work of a year (GEN/ADJ)’
     ‘walk a kilometre’
     ‘walking a kilometre (GEN)’
     ‘weight a kilogram (ACC)’
     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

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 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:

vaiko ranka  
'child’s hand’
gulbės spaňnas  
'swan’s wing’
béržo šakà  
‘branch of a birch-tree’
tráukinio vagónai  
‘carriages of a train’

(2) The relation of alienable possession between possessor denoted by the genitive and property denoted by the head noun:

tėviš sodýba  
'parents’ farmstead’
valstýbės miškas  
lit. ‘forest of the state’
universitèto bibliotekà  
‘university library’

(3) Blood and family relationships. The following cases are distinguished here:

(a) both the head noun and the genitive premodifier denote relatives:

mótnos tèvas (senèlis)  
‘mother’s father (grandfather)’
senèlio tèvas (pròsenelis)  
‘grandfather’s father (great-grandfather)’
výro brolis (dieveris)  
‘husband’s brother (brother-in-law)’
výro sesuð (móša)  
‘husband’s sister (sister-in-law)’
výro tèvas (šešuras)  
‘husband’s father (father-in-law)’
seseðs dukte (dukterècia)  
‘sister’s daughter (niece)’
seseðs sùnùs (sùnënas)  
‘sister’s son (nephew)’

The head noun often denotes a relative, and the genitive premodifier a person identified otherwise:

mokytojo brólis  
‘teacher’s brother’
karaliaus sùnùs  
‘king’s son’
Pëtro tèvas  
‘Peter’s father’

(b) the head noun denotes an animal with respect to age or gender and the genitive premodifier names the species:

vilko jauniklis (vilkiùkas)  
‘wolf’s cub’
vàrnos vaikas (varniùkas)  
lit. ‘crow’s child (young crow)’
ánties pàtinàs (aàtinàs)  
lit. ‘duck’s male (drake)’
(4) A human (animate) possessor can be referred to by the possessive genitive form of personal pronouns (màno ‘my’, tàvo ‘your (SG)’, sàvo ‘one’s own’, mûsû ‘our’, jûsû ‘your’, jû ‘their’, jû ‘his’, jûs ‘her’) or the same case form of indefinite pronouns:

- màno knygà ‘my book’
- tàvo tèvaï ‘your parents’
- jû draugûstè ‘their friendship’
- kienô kaltè ‘whose fault’
- kažkienô žûdis ‘someone’s word’

THE DESCRIPTIVE GENITIVE

2.92 The genitive premodifier expresses a qualitative characteristic of the head noun referent:

- prûto žmogûs ‘a man of intellect’
- lûmûs diûnos ‘days of happiness’
- uûžûojuûsûs žûdžiai lit. ‘words of condolences’
- tylûs minûtû ‘a minute of silence’

The genitive of the subordinated noun is often used with an obligatory limiting modifier:

- gûro bûdo móteris lit. ‘woman of good nature’
  (but *bûdo móteris)
- didelû tûlento raûûtojûs ‘writer of great talent’
- nûmatûtûgraûûžûmûsû mergûûtû ‘girl of exceptional beauty’
- plaûûtû pûûcûûjûjaûûûlis 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) sidûbro šûlnû lit. ‘frost of silver’ (i.e. ‘frost like silver’)
- deûûmûntû žûvaûûgûûdûs ‘stars of diamond’
- áukûo žûdûjûaî ‘words of gold’

(2) erûûlio nûûsûs ‘the nose of an eagle’ (i.e. ‘a nose like that of an eagle’)
- áûûrûo sûûeûkûûâtû ‘the health of a horse’
šuñs apetitas  'the appetite (like that) of a dog'
várnos balsas  '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.:
pelenų spalvōs plaukai  lit. 'hair of the colour of ashes'
(c.f. pelenų spalva)  ('the colour of ashes')
mótinos būdo duktē  lit. 'the daughter of the temper of her mother'
kriaušēs pavidalos qšōtis  '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.:
mėnulio pjautuvas  'the sickle of a moon' (i.e. 'the moon like a sicle')
upėlio kąspinas  'the ribbon of the river'
ežerų ėkys  '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:

ąukso žiedas  'gold (GEN) ring'
vāško žvākē  'wax candle'
kiškio kepūrē  'cap of rabbit (fur)'
āžuolo stālas  'oak table'

The genitive plural has a similar meaning in the following instances:

ēglių mūškas  'fir forest'
vūšnių sūdas  'cherry orchard'
rugių laūkas  'rye field'

THE GENITIVE OF PURPOSE

2.95 The genitive premodifier refers to the purpose the referent of the head noun is intended for:

dūonos peilis  'bread knife' (i.e. 'a knife for cutting bread')
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.:

- Vilniaus miestas (= Vilnius) ‘the City of Vilnius’
- Rambýno kálnas ‘Mount Rambynas’
- Ròmos impërija ‘the Roman Empire’
- Träku pilis ‘the castle of Trakai’

(b) institutions, factories, newspapers, magazines, pieces of art, e.g.:

- “Lelijos” fábrikas (also “Lelijà”, fábrikas “Lelijà”) ‘the factory “Lelija”’
- “Mókslo” leidyklà ‘“Mokslas” publishing house’
- “Mëtu” poëmà ‘poem “Metai” (“Year”)’

(c) holidays (with the nouns dienà ‘day’, šventë ‘holiday’):

- Mótinos dienà ‘Mother’s day’
- Visų šventijų dienà ‘All Saints’ day’
- Velykų šventë ‘Easter holiday’

(2) The genitive premodifier denotes a narrower concept, and the head noun a broader concept, e.g.:

(a) plëšrûñų bûrûs ‘order of predators’
- banginiû póbûris ‘whale suborder’
THE GENITIVE OF PLACE

2.97 The genitive case describes the referent of the head noun relative to the place it names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miško paūkštis</td>
<td>‘forest bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miesto žmogūs</td>
<td>‘town dweller’ (lit. ‘man of town’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vandens lelijā</td>
<td>‘water lily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalnų upėlis</td>
<td>‘mountain stream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gâtves žibiñtas</td>
<td>‘street lamp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rytų Lietuva</td>
<td>‘East Lithuania’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietų ašigalis</td>
<td>‘South Pole’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rudeñs gēlē</td>
<td>‘autumn flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naktiēs paūkštis</td>
<td>‘night bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rýto rasā</td>
<td>‘morning dew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vásaros darbai</td>
<td>‘summer work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senovės dañnos</td>
<td>‘songs of old times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pavasario rýtas</td>
<td>‘spring morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biržėlio vākaras</td>
<td>‘June evening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šeštādienio pōpietē</td>
<td>‘Saturday afternoon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

- kilogrāmo lydekā: lit. ‘a pike of a kilogram’ (i.e. ‘a pike weighing a kilogram’)
- kilomètro kēlias: ‘the way a kilometre long’
- minūtēs pērtrauka: ‘a (one) minute interval’
- mēnesio viščiukas: ‘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) mētro ilgio lenta: lit. ‘a plank of (one) metre’s length’
(cf. mētro īlgis): (‘metre’s length’)
(2) ketverių metų (āmžiaus) vaikas: ‘a child of four years (of age)’
dviejių kilogrāmu (svorio) žuvis: ‘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) draugū draūgas: ‘the best of friends’ (lit. ‘the friend of friends’)
giesmiū giesmē: ‘the song of songs’
žvaigždžiū žvaigždē: ‘the brightest of stars’
vařgšu vařgšas: ‘the poorest of all’
kvailiū kvailūs: ‘the stupidest of fools’
(2) miniū miniūs: lit. ‘crowds of crowds’ (i.e. ‘huge crowds’)
dienū diēnos: ‘many, many days’
āmžiū āmžiai: ‘centuries and centuries’
žiedū žiedai: ‘lots of blossoms’
kartū kařtos: ‘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:

- daugumā/daugybė žmonių — ‘majority/a lot of people’
- gausybė/ābē daiktū — ‘plenty/a lot of things’
- dalis/pūse mīško — ‘a part/half of the forest’
- ketvirūtis/trēčdalis tučto — ‘a quarter/a third (part) of the property’
- trupūtis pinigū — ‘a little money’

(2) a unit of quantity:

- kilogrāmas sviešto — ‘a kilo of butter’
- litrās pieno — ‘a litre of milk’
- mētras drōbēs — ‘a metre of linen’
- kilomētras kēlio — ‘a kilometre of the road’
- sāuja miltu — ‘a handful of flour’
- gūrkšnis vandeņs — ‘a mouthful of water’
- šieno glēbys — ‘an armful of hay’
- gābalas drōbēs — ‘a piece of linen’

(3) a container or a place:

- stiklinē vandeņs — ‘a glass of water’
- lēkštē sriubōs — ‘a bowl of soup’
- maišas miltu — ‘a sack of flour’
- vežimas šiēno — ‘a cart (load) of hay’
- klojimas šiēno — ‘a barn (full) of hay’
- skryniā drōbīu — ‘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:

- kavōs puodēlis — 1. ‘a cup (full) of coffee’; 2. ‘a cup for drinking coffee’

The meaning is disambiguated by the context.

(4) a group of things of one kind:

- būrīs karēviu — ‘a platoon of soldiers’
- miniā žmoniū — ‘a crowd of people’
- gaujà vilkū — ‘a pack of wolves’
- spiēčius bičiu — ‘a swarm of bees’
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):
   - *obuolių rūškymas* (cf. *raškoti obuolius*)
   - *akių gydytojas* (cf. *gydyti aiks*)
   - *namo statyba* (cf. *statyti namą*)
   - *lapių medžioklė* (cf. *dirbti rankomis*)
   - *Birutės dainā* (cf. *dainuoti apie Birutę*)

2. Verbs taking other case forms:
   - *tėvo padėjėjas* (cf. *padėti tėvui*)
   - *tautų atstovas* (cf. *atstovauti tautai*)
   - *raškų dārbs* (cf. *dirbti rankomis*)

The genitive is thus a transform of the subject of the respective finite verb.

2.103 The **subjective** genitive modifies nouns formed from:

1. Verbs, e.g.:
   - *paūkščio skrydis* (cf. *paūkštis skreña*)
   - *upėlio čiurlėnimas* (cf. *dirbti raškomis*)
   - *tėvų sutikimas* (cf. *raškų dārbs*)

2. Adjectives, e.g.:
   - *sniego baltumas* (cf. *sniegas (yrā) baltas*)
   - *gamtos grūdis* (cf. *gamtos grožis*)

In this case the genitive corresponds to the subject of a nominal predicate, cf.:

*a heap of stones’
*a bunch of flowers’
*the picking of apples’
*an eye specialist’
*the building of a house’
*fox hunting’
*a house watchman’
*the father’s helper’
*help father: DAT’
*representative of the nation’
*represent a nation: DAT’
*work of hands’ (i.e. ‘handiwork’)
*work with (one’s) hands: INSTR’
*‘sing about Birutė’
*a bird’s flight’
*‘a bird flies’
*the babble of a stream’
*‘the parents’ consent’
*‘a friend’s arrival’
*‘the whiteness of snow’
*‘the beauty of nature’
*snow is white’
The dative case (with the infinitive)

2.104 The dative case denotes the purpose for which the head noun is intended:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dative Case</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lašai akims</td>
<td>lit. ‘drops for eyes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūpiereiš laiškams</td>
<td>‘paper for letters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraūtis dukteriai</td>
<td>‘trousseau for (the) daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lėsalas paūkščiams</td>
<td>‘seed for birds’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this meaning, the genitive of purpose (cf. akių lašai ‘eye drops’) is more common (see 2.95). The dative is more frequently used with an infinitive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dative Case</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iūdas arbėtai virti</td>
<td>‘a kettle for making tea’ (lit. ‘for tea to make’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sklypas nāmui statyti</td>
<td>‘a plot for building a house’ (see 2.84)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With some nouns, the infinitive alone is used to signify purpose:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vietą sėdėti</td>
<td>‘a place for sitting’ (lit. ‘to sit’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanduō atsigėrīti</td>
<td>‘water for quenching the thirst’ (lit. ‘to drink’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situai mėgzt</td>
<td>‘yarn for knitting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laikas žydėti</td>
<td>‘the time for blossoming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>próga susitikti</td>
<td>‘an occasion for meeting’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrumental Case</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mergaitė geltonomis kasomis</td>
<td>‘a girl with blond plaits’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paūkščis lenktu snapū</td>
<td>‘a bird with a crooked beak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šakės trimis pičštai</td>
<td>‘a pitchfork with three prongs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) the genitive case of a noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>žiedas dečmanto akimė</td>
<td>‘a ring with a diamond’ (lit. ‘with a diamond eye’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaikas sėnio vėidu</td>
<td>‘a child with an old man’s face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyriškis kario uniforma</td>
<td>‘a man in a soldier’s uniform’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) with two (or more) sequentially subordinated genitives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paūkščis ryškių spalvų plunksnomis</td>
<td>lit. ‘a bird with feathers of brilliant collours’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
karalaitė mėnesio spalvūs
lit. ‘a princess with clothes of the colour of the moon’
rūbais
mėdis dviejų mėtrų ilgio
lit. ‘a tree with roots of the length of two metres’
šaknimis
(4) the adjective panašūs ‘similar’ governing a prepositional phrase į + ACC:
áugalas panašiaiš į kárdq lāpaís
‘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 miškè
‘a lake in the woods’
ašaros akysè
‘tears in (sb’s) eyes’
áudra jāroje
‘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:
mieštas nākti
‘the town at night’
ēžeras žiēma
‘the lake in winter’
mokyklà rugsėjo mėnesį
‘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 Petras
‘the neighbour Peter’
úpè Némunas
‘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 Petraitis ‘the teacher Petraitis’, žodis laisvę ‘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 appositive may not be coordinated in case in the following instances:

(a) in addresses, the polite 'title' pūnas 'Mister' commonly retains its nominative case form if the head is in the vocative case, though the vocative is also used:

\[\text{puonas/pone Juozaitis!} \quad \text{Mister (NOM/VOC) Juozaitis (VOC)!} \]
\[\text{puonas/pone Prezideite!} \quad \text{Mister (NOM/VOC) President (VOC)!} \]

(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:

\[\text{Prenumeruoju žurnalu} \quad \text{I subscribe to the magazine (ACC)}
\]
\[\text{"Kultūros barai"} \quad \text{"Kultūros barai" (NOM).'} \]

In informal speech, however, the genitive case of a modifier is preferable:

\[\text{Prenumeruoju "Kultūros barai" (GEN) \ Žurnalu (ACC) (cf. 2.96);} \]

(c) invariable nouns cannot agree in case with the head noun:

\[\text{(grįžome) iš Tūrto miesto} \quad \text{lit. '(we returned) from Tartu town (GEN)'} \]
\[\text{alfa dalėlės} \quad \text{lit. 'alpha particles'} \]

(2) The appositive may not agree in number:

(a) if one of the appositives is invariable for number (it is either singular or plural only):

\[\text{(miestelio) vaardas Tauragnai} \quad \text{'(the town’s) name (SG) Tauragnai (PL)'} \]
\[\text{liga raupaž} \quad \text{'the disease (SG) smallpox (PL)'} \]

(b) if two or more appositive are subordinated to the same plural head noun:

\[\text{žodžiai laisvė ir lygybė} \quad \text{'the words freedom and equality'} \]

(3) The appositive may not agree in gender if both are invariable with regard to it:

\[\text{vabzdys bitė} \quad \text{lit. ‘the insect (MASC) bee (FEM)'} \]
\[\text{sostine Vilnius} \quad \text{lit. ‘the capital (FEM) Vilnius (MASC)'} \]

If an appositive is neutral with respect to gender it combines with nouns of both genders:

\[\text{paduža sūnas/duktė} \quad \text{‘scapegrace son (MASC)/daughter (FEM)} \]
\[\text{akipleša mokinys/mokinė} \quad \text{‘cheeky (NOUN: COMMON) pupil (MASC/FEM)'} \]

In the case of nouns with gender contrast (substantiva mobilia), coordination in gender is obligatory; cf.:
2.109 In the case of **partial apposition** subordinated appositives occur most frequently with proper personal names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Apposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mokytojas Jonaitis</td>
<td>'the teacher Jonaitis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karalius Mindaugas</td>
<td>'king Mindaugas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigute našlaitėlė</td>
<td>'Sigutė (the little) orphan'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

also with human nouns in general:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Apposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaimiêtës moterys</td>
<td>lit. 'villagers (FEM) women'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bróliai dvyniai</td>
<td>'twin brothers ' (lit. 'brothers twins')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pâmote rágana</td>
<td>'stepmother (the) witch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sünūs palaidūnas</td>
<td>'the son debauchee'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sometimes also with animate and concrete nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Apposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šárka vagile</td>
<td>'magpie (the) pilferer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáule močiūtė</td>
<td>lit. 'the sun mother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In official style, in order to achieve precision, appositive collocations like **upė Nemunas** 'the river Nemunas', **ežeras Sartai** 'lake Sartai', are used, with proper nouns in apposition, though otherwise the genitive case is more common: **Nemuno upė** '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Apposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tévas motina (tēvaĩ)</td>
<td>'father and mother (parents)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bróliai sëserys (brolījã)</td>
<td>'brothers and sisters'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>výrai moterys</td>
<td>'men and women'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raïkos kójos</td>
<td>'arms and legs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žiemà vāsara</td>
<td>'winter and summer' (i.e. 'the year round')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dienà naktis</td>
<td>'day and night' (i.e. 'all the time, round the clock')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) pairs of synonyms, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Apposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laûmë rágana</td>
<td>lit. 'witch sorceress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vargaï bédos</td>
<td>lit. 'worries troubles'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\[ \text{keliai keleliai} \quad \text{lit. 'roads little-roads'} \\
\text{kalnai kalneliai} \quad \text{'hills'} \\
\text{žodžiai žodeliai} \quad \text{‘words’} \]

All these clusters are stylistically marked. They are common in folklore, dialectal speech and in fiction; e.g.:

\[ \text{Skrįšiau pas mergelę} \quad \text{‘I’d go rushing to my girl morning and evening.’} \\
\text{rytas vakarėlis.} \quad \text{‘Among the hills there stretched countless lakes.’} \]

**NOUN – PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE**

2.111 Prepositional phrases used to modify a noun express a variety of meanings.

(1) \( \text{iš/nuo} + \text{GEN} \) denotes the origin, source, material or composition of the head noun referent, e.g.:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{(a) žmogus iš miesto} & \quad \text{‘a man from the city’} \\
\text{giminė iš tėvo pusės} & \quad \text{lit. ‘relatives from (the) father’s side (of the family)’} \\
\text{komisija iš trijų žmonių} & \quad \text{‘a committee of three persons’} \\
\text{(b) sūnus nuo pirmo vyrо} & \quad \text{‘the son by the first marriage (lit. ‘husband’)’} \\
\text{ląškas nuo tėvų} & \quad \text{‘a letter from (one’s) parents’} \\
\end{align*} \]

(2) the following prepositional phrases denote:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{(a) the purpose for which the referent of the head noun is intended:} \\
\text{nuo + GEN:} \\
\text{váistai nuo galvōs skausmo} & \quad \text{‘remedy for a headache’} \\
\text{žūlės nuo kūsulio} & \quad \text{‘herbs for a cough’} \\
\text{ţi + ACC:} \\
\text{bilietas į teatrą} & \quad \text{‘a ticket to the theatre’} \\
\text{stráipsnis į laikrašťį} & \quad \text{‘an article for a newspaper’} \\
\end{align*} \]
prior + GEN (rare):

suašnai prior alaūs

‘biscuits for beer (to go with beer)’

(b) the purpose for which the head noun referent has been used, is expressed by

nuo + GEN (often interchangeably with the preposed genitive without a preposition), cf.:

buteliukas nuo vāistų/vāistų buteliukas

statinė nuo šilktų/shilktų statinė

‘a medicine phial’

‘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:

mötina su vaikais

stālas su kēdēmis

saulē su mēnuliiū

žēmē su dangumī

mütina su vaiakās lit. ‘mother with the children’

‘a table and (lit. ‘with’) chairs’

‘the sun and the moon’

‘the earth and the sky’

These groups are close in meaning to coordinated groups with the conjunction 
iř ‘and’:

mötina su vaikais = mötina ir vaikai ‘mother and the children’;

(b) the entity habitually associated with the head noun referent:

sēnis su lazā

pyrāgas su vārške

(cf. varškēs pyrāgas)

dūona su svīestu

‘an old man with a cane’

‘a cake with cottage cheese’

(‘a cottage cheese (GEN) cake’)‘bread and (lit. ‘with’) butter’

(c) a part or a feature of the head noun referent:

mergātē su kasomīs

puodēlis su gēlītēmis

vaikas su kepurē

žmogiš su charakteriū

‘a girl with plaits’

‘a cup with flowers (on it)’

‘a child in (lit. ‘with’) a cap’

‘a man of (lit. ‘with’) character’

Sometimes, the preposition can be omitted, e.g.:

kiūvis (su) ilgu kōtu

‘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

pintinē su uogomis

‘a cart (loaded) with hay’

‘a basket with berries’
These prepositional phrases are often close in meaning to the postpositive genitive:

puodėlis su pienu  
- puodėlis pieno  
‘a cup of (lit. ‘with’) milk’

(4) The phrase be + 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.:

vaikai be tėvų  
mokytojas be mokinių  
laukas be kapitono  
‘children without parents’
‘teacher without pupils’
‘a ship without a captain’

(b) a part or a feature of the head noun referent, e.g.:

paūkštis be šarno  
namai be stogo  
zmogus be vėlios  
žolė be kvapo  
naktis be žvaigždžių  
‘a bird without a wing’
‘a house without a roof’
‘a man without character’
‘grass without a smell’
‘a night without stars’

(c) the quantity the head noun referent is short of:

mėtai be mėnesio  
mėnuo be dviejų dienų  
mėtras be dešimties centimetrų  
‘almost a year’ (lit. ‘a year without a month’)  
‘a month minus (lit. ‘without’) two days’  
‘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:

kūkos iki liemeņs  
spinta iki lubų  
pūsnys iki langų  
‘plaits (reaching down) to the waist’  
‘a wardrobe up to the ceiling’  
‘sleeves longer (lit. ‘lower’) than elbows’

virš(u)m)/aukščiau, žemiau + GEN:

suknelė virš(u)m)/aukščiau kelių  
kalnai virš(u)m) debesų  
rankovės žemiau alkanių  
paldas žemiau kelių  
‘a gown/above the knees’  
‘mountains higher than clouds’  
‘sleeves longer (lit. ‘lower’) than elbows’  
‘a coat (reaching) below the knees’  
‘a coat (reaching) to midcalf’
sulig + INSTR:
sijonas sulig keliais
mēdis sulig namu

(6) The phrase pagal + ACC denotes the standard to which the head noun referent corresponds:
drabūžiai pagal māda
vāsara pagal ziemā

lit. ‘clothes according to fashion’
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:
straipsnis apie zolēs
žodžiai apie draugus

‘an article about herbs’
‘words about friends’

(8) The phrase priē + GEN, when modifying nouns referring to institutions, indicates subordination of one social body or institution to another:
komisija priē Seīmo

‘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 kālno
bēržas priē kēlio
kēlijs i kālna
tiltas per upē
akmuo po slenksčiu

‘a castle on the hill’
‘a birch-tree by the road’
‘path up the hill’
‘a bridge across the river’
‘a stone under the doorstep’

(2) time, e.g.:
Vilnius priē audrā
miēstas po gaīsro

‘Vilnius before a storm’
‘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) kēlijs atgāl
žīnāgsnis pirmūn
‘the way back’
‘a step forward’ (locative meaning)

(2) miēstas aūštant
‘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.:

- *gražus rytas* ‘a fine morning’
- *medinis nāmas* ‘a wooden house’
- *baltā/baltōji lelijā* ‘a white/the white lily’
- *ilgēsnē dienā* ‘a longer day’

(2) Active and passive participles, both present, past and future, e.g.:

- *spīndinčios ākys* ‘shining eyes’
- *išbālēs véidas* ‘a pale face’ (lit. ‘a whitened face’)
- *ateīsianti vāsara* ‘the summer that will come (FUT. ACT. PART)’
- *neišsiustas láiškas* ‘unmailed letter’
- *būsīmos kaŗtos* ‘future (FUT. PASS. PART) generations’

(3) Adjectival pronouns of all semantic types; e.g.:

- *šis mēiestas* ‘this town’
- *tōks grōžis* ‘such beauty’
- *kai kuriē augalaī* ‘some plants’
- *visas pasaulis* ‘all the world’
- *patī viršukalnē* ‘the very mountain-top’

(4) Ordinal numerals, which agree with the head noun like adjectives, e.g.:

- *antrā dienā* ‘the second day’
- *aštunoioliktieji mētai* ‘the eighteenth year’

Cardinal numerals from one to nine are used with the plural number of the head noun (excepting *viēnas, -ā ‘one’), with agreement in gender (except *trys ‘three’) and case; e.g.:

- *du brōliai, dvī sēserys* ‘two brothers, two sisters’
- *peņkios savātēs* ‘five weeks (FEM)’
- *penkī mēnesiai* ‘five months (MASC)’
- *trējos dūrys* ‘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.:

- pilnas/kūpinas/skilidinas vandėnės: ‘full of water’
- turtingas pinigų: ‘rich in money’
- večtas pagarbos: ‘worthy of respect’
- reikalingas paramos: ‘needful of support’
- godūs turty: ‘greedy for riches’
- skolingas pinigų: ‘owing money’

The meaning of content is also expressed by the genitive after the neuter adjectives used predicatively:

- māža pinigų: ‘(there is) little money’
- ilga dienōs: lit. ‘(it is) long of the day’ (i.e. ‘the day is (too) long’)
- trumpa naktēs: lit. ‘(it is) short of night’ (‘the night is (too) short’)
- siaūra vičtos: lit. ‘(it is too) narrow of space’
- baisū karo: ‘(one is) afraid of war’
- ilgū tėvynės: ‘(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.:

- visū gražiausia: ‘the most beautiful (FEM) of all’
- visū aukščiausias (kūlnas): ‘the highest (mountain) of all’

The preposition iš can be used with the genitive:

- iš visū gražiausia: ‘the most beautiful of all’ (see 2.119, 1)
(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 gėras, bet negudrūs.
‘He is really good (lit. ‘of goodness he is
good’), but not clever.’
Jis gražumo 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 sveikūtai      ‘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:

gėra jauniems               lit. ‘(it is) good to the young’ (‘the young
feel good’)
liūksma 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.:

gyvas maldomis            ‘alive due to prayers’
garsūs/žinomas darbaĩš     ‘famous/known for deeds’
jdomūs (savo) praetimī       ‘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.:

\[\text{išejo kibiru nėšinas} \quad \text{‘(he) went out with a bucket’}\]
\[(\text{cf.: išejo nėšdamas kibirą})\]

\[\text{išvyko vėžinas sūnumi} \quad \text{‘he left taking his son with him’}\]

(3) The instrumental case used with the comparative degree of adjectives denotes:

(a) the feature (of an entity) subjected to comparison, e.g.:

\[\text{sesuō vėidu skaistėsnė už baŋga} \quad \text{lit. ‘sister (NOM) by face (INSTR) fresher than a wave’ (i.e. ‘sister’s face is fresher than a wave’)}\]

(b) the difference in quantity:

\[\text{metrū/dviem mėtrais platėsnis} \quad \text{‘a metre/two metres broader’}\]
\[\text{mėtais/trių mėtais jaunėsnis} \quad \text{‘a year/three years younger’}\]

(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.:

\[\text{garsūs taĩs laikaĩs} \quad \text{‘famous in those days’}\]
\[\text{žinomas vidūramžiais} \quad \text{‘(well-)known during the Middle Ages’}\]

The accusative case

2.118 (1) The accusative case of object can be used with very few adjectives, e.g.:

\[\text{(jis) skolingas šiŋtą litų} \quad \text{‘(he) owes a hundred litas’}\]
\[\text{kaĩtas kaimynui batūs} \quad \text{‘(he) owes (lit. ‘guilty’) shoes to his neighbour’}\]

(2) The comparative degree of adjectives governs (a) the accusative of the nouns \(\text{kartas/sýkis} \) ‘time’ (as in \(\text{dû kartus} \) ‘two times’) with a numeral or with the adjectival pronoun \(\text{kelî} \) ‘several’ as attribute, or (b) the accusative of cardinal numerals \(\text{dešimt} \) ‘ten’, \(\text{šimtas} \) ‘hundred’) and nominal pronouns \(\text{kėletas, keliólīka} \) ‘several’ with the governed genitive of \(\text{kartas/sýkis} \); cf. respectively:

(a) \(\text{dû (tris ... devynis)} \)
\[\text{kartus didėsnis} \quad \text{‘two (three ... nine) (ACC) times (ACC) as big’ (lit. ‘bigger’)}\]
\[\text{kelis syktus greitėsnis} \quad \text{‘several times as fast’}\]

(b) \(\text{šiŋtą kaṛtu brangėsnis} \)
\[\text{kėletą/keliólīka sýkį didėsnis} \quad \text{‘hundred (ACC) times (GEN) more expensive’}\]
\[\text{‘several (ACC) times (GEN) bigger’}\]
(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.:

žealias vėsara
paklusnus visą laiką

‘green in summer’
‘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:

garsus apylinkėje
žinomas kaime
didžiūsias pasaulyje
turtingiūsias mieste

‘famous in the area’
‘(well-)known in the village’
‘the biggest in the world’
‘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.:

garsus senovėje
narsus milšyje
sumanūs darbė

‘famous in the old times’
‘courageous in battle’
‘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.:

Viena žvaigždė iš visų šviesiausia. ‘One star is brightest of all.’
Šita mergaitė iš visų gražiausia. ‘This girl is the prettiest of all.’

In this phrase, the genitive singular form of collective nouns is also used:

Iš (viso) būrio jis buvo tinkamiūsias. ‘Out of the (whole) group he was the most suitable.’

(2) with the positive degree of some adjectives to denote the part or property of entity described by the head adjective, e.g.:

mergaitė graži iš véido
lit. ‘girl (is) pretty of the face’
(cf. mergaitė gražaūs véido)
(lit. ‘the girl (is) of a pretty face (GEN)’)
žmogus protingas iš kalbōs
lit. ‘the man (is) clever of speech’
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* dárba  
  'indebted for the work'

(2) with the comparative degree of adjectives to denote the basis of comparison:

- sunkèsnis *už* ėkmenį  
  'heavier than stone'
- baltèsnis *už* sniègą  
  '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):

*Šita mergaitė už visas gražèsnė.*  
'**This girl is prettier than all.**'

The prepositional phrase **prieš** + ACC occasionally denotes an object with which the subject is compared, e.g.:

*Sūnus prieš tévą negražus.*  
'The son is not handsome in comparison with (lit. 'against') the father.'

The prepositional phrase **pagal** + ACC denotes the basis of comparison, e.g.:

- Šfmet derlius **pagal** kitus metus prastas.  
  'The harvest this year is poor in comparison with the last year.'
- Pagal ţmžiu ės ganà gudrūs.  
  'He is quite clever for his age.'

The prepositional phrase **su** + INSTR is used:

(1) after adjectives denoting human properties to refer to persons (sometimes things), e.g.:

- kukluès *su* vyråsniais  
  'modest with elder (people)'
- mandagius *su* visaïs  
  'polite to everybody'

(2) after the adjectives *lygus* 'equal', *giminiškas* 'kindred, related', *tapatus* 'identical', *panašius* 'alike, similar' e.g.:

- *lygus* *su* visaïs  
  'equal to everybody'
- bròlis *su* sèseria panašius  
  'brother and (lit. 'with') sister are alike'
  *(but: bròlis panašius ī sèserì)*  
  ('the brother looks like sister (ACC)')

The prepositional phrase **bè** + GEN combines with neuter adjectives (used predicatively) to denote a thing whose absence or lack causes the state expressed by the head adjective:

*ilgù be tévynès*  
'one is homesick (lit. 'it is homesick')
  without one's homeland'
baugū be šuņs  
‘it is scary without a dog’
sunkū be namū  
‘it is hard (for one) without (one’s) home’

2.126 The following prepositional phrases are rare in adjectival word groups:

\[ \text{ašt} + \text{GEN:} \]

piktas ant žmonių  
‘angry with people’
(cf. pýkti ant žmonių)  
(‘be angry with people’)

nuo + GEN:
laisvas nuo dārbo  
‘free from work’

2.127 Prepositional phrases are occasionally used with adjectives to express the same adverbial meanings as with verbs, e.g.:

reikalingas prie namū  
‘necessary at home’
(cf. jō reikia prie namū)  
(‘he is needed at home’)
iš tikimas iki mirtiēs  
‘faithful unto death’
(cf. tarnauti iki mirtiēs)  
(‘serve until death’)
raíšas nuo kāro  
‘lame since the war’
silpṇas po ligōs  
‘weak after an illness’
jūdas iš pýkčio  
‘black with anger’
kaltas dēl nelaimēs  
‘guilty of the accident’
be gālo laimēngas  
‘extremely happy’ (lit. ‘without end happy’) 

ADJECTIVE – PRONOUN

2.128 Qualitative adjectives can be modified by the adjectival pronouns tōks, -iā (pat)  
‘such’, kōks, -iā  ‘what’, šitoks, -iā ‘such’, etc. which assume the same gender, number and case. These pronouns are used for emphasis; cf.:

tōks nelaimēngas  
‘so unhappy’
kōks gražūs  
‘how beautiful’
šitoks tōlimas (kēliās)  
‘such (a) long (way)’

They are also used in comparative sentences, e.g.:

jis tōks bāltaš kaip obelis.  
‘He is as white as an apple-tree.’
vaikat tokie pāt grāžūs  
‘The children are as handsome as their parents.’

ADJECTIVE – ADVERB

2.129 Adjectives can be modified by adverbs. The following instances can be distinguishe.
Most commonly, the modifying adverb is an intensifier, the very frequent one being *labai* ‘very’, e.g.:

- *labai geras* ‘very good’
- *per daug brangus* ‘too expensive’
- *visiškai naujas* ‘quite new’
- *ypatingai svarbus* ‘especially important’
- *nepaprastai gražus* ‘exceptionally beautiful’

The modifying adverb can specify the quality of the head adjective, e.g.:

- *šviesiai/tašniai pilkas* ‘light/dark grey’
- *žalsva melšvas* ‘greenish blue’
- *saldžiai rūgštus* ‘sweetly sour’
- *savaip įdomus* ‘interesting in its own way’

Numerous adverbs denote quantity or difference in quantity (with the comparative degree of adjectives), e.g.:

(a) *truputį keistas* ‘a little queer’
- *šiek tiek kreivas* ‘somewhat curved’

(b) *daug/gerokai šviesesnis* ‘much/considerably lighter (in colour)’
- *kur kąs sunkėsnis* ‘a lot heavier’
- *dvigubai brangėsnis* ‘twice as (lit. ‘more’) expensive’
- *perpūs mažėsnis* ‘smaller by half’

Adjectives (especially neuter) are sometimes modified by adverbs of place and time, e.g.:

- *visu balta* ‘(it is) white everywhere’
- *aplinkui tamsū* ‘(it is) dark around’
- *visada kārštas* ‘always hot’
- *šiandien pigūs* ‘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.:

- *veidas pagirti/pagyrimo* ‘worthy of praise (INF/GEN)’
- *godis gerti/pinigū* lit. ‘greedy to drink/for money (GEN)’
- *reikalingas paremti/paramūs* ‘in need of support (INF/GEN)’
Neuter adjectives used predicatively also take an infinitive (though not the genitive case), e.g.:

sunkū gyvėnti
nuobodū láukti
liūksma šokti

'(it is) hard to live'
'(it is) boring to wait'
'lit. (it is) merry to dance'

(2) The purpose or suitability of the property the head adjective denotes, e.g.:

báltas pažiūrėti
(arklys) geras árti
(mésà)kietà pjáustyti
(sniëgas) minkštas pačiupinëti

'lit. 'white to look at'
'lit. 'the horse) good to plough'
'(meat) tough to cut'
'(snow) soft to touch'

An infinitive denoting purpose can co-occur with the dative case (cf. 2.84), e.g.:

(dienà) gerà šiènui džiovinti
(suolélis) patogus kójoms

'lit. '(a day) good for the hay (DAT) to dry'
'lit. '(a stool) convenient for the feet (DAT) to put on'

ADJECTIVAL NOMINALISATIONS

2.131 Nouns derived from the following adjectives retain their combinability properties; e.g.:

tuńto godulys
(godus tuńto)
gabumai muzikai
(gabus muzikai)
piktu mas ant kaimyn ų
(piktás ant kaimyn ų)
dėkingumas už pàramą
(dèkingas už pàramą)
lipšnùmas su žmonëmis
(lipšnùs su žmonëmis)
malonùmas keliautéti
(malonû keliautéti)

'greed for money (GEN)'
('greedy for money')
'talent for music'
(lit. 'talented for music')
'anger with neigbours (Prep + GEN)'
('angry with neighbours')
'gratitude for support'
('grateful for support')
'lit. 'sweetness with people'
('sweet with people')
'lit. '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 dešimt(ės) ‘ten’, vienųolika ‘eleven’ ... dvidešimt ‘twenty’, trisdešimt ‘thirty’ ... devyniasdešimt ‘ninety’, šimtas ‘hundred’, tūkstantis ‘thousand’, milijonas ‘million’, milijardas ‘billion’; e.g.:

- dešimt dienų/tūkstančių ‘ten days/thousand (GEN. PL)’
- šimtas litų/milijonų ‘(one) hundred litas/million (GEN. PL)’

(2) the collective numerals (marked by the suffix -et(as)) dvėjetas ‘two’, trėjetas ‘three’ ... devyňet as ‘nine’, e.g.:

- kėtvertas vaikų/šimtų ‘four children/hundred (GEN. PL)’
- šimtų ketverai ‘four children (NOM. PL)’
- trėjetas žirgų/tūkstančių ‘seven horses/thousand’
- septynų žirgų/tūkstančių ‘seven horses/thousand (NOM. PL)’

2.133 When used in the plural number, the numerals dešimtys ‘tens’, šimtai ‘hundreds’, tūkstančiai ‘thousands’, milijonai ‘millions’, milijardai ‘billions’ denote an indefinitely great quantity of the entities in the dependent genitive plural:

- šimtų keleivių/tūkstančių ‘hundreds of passengers/thousands’
- dešimtys kilometrų/milijonų ‘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 minių minius lit. ‘crowds of crowds’, see 2.100).

2.134 Composite fractional numerals formed from the root pus- (= pūsė ‘half’) and an ordinal numeral are used in the genitive case and take another genitive, e.g.:

- pusaŭtro kilogramo/shiūto ‘one and a half kilograms/hundred’ (lit. ‘half of the second kilogram/hundred’)
- pustrečiūs dienai ‘two and a half days’
- pusketvirtų metų ‘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) įs + GEN:

du įs dešimtięs
vienas įs tūkstančio
vienas įs draugų

‘two out of ten’
‘one out of a thousand’
‘one of (the) friends’

(2) be + GEN:

šimtas be trejų metų
penkiolika valandų be

lit. ‘one hundred (years) without three
years’, i.e. ‘97 years’
‘five minutes to fifteen hours’ (lit. ‘fifteen
hours without five minutes’), i.e. ‘14:55’.

Ordinal numerals occur in phrases like:

pirmasis įs eilės
antras nuo galo
trèčias pagal ãgi

‘the first in (lit. ‘from’) the sequence’
‘the second from the end’
‘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 (kàs nòrs ‘somebody, something’, kai kàs ‘some (peo-
ple)’, daug kas ‘many (people), kàs ne kàs ‘somebody, some people’, kažkàs/kažin
kàs ‘somebody, something’, nièkas ‘nobody, nothing’, and šis tòs ‘something’, and
also indefinite adjectival pronouns (inflected for gender) kuris, -i, katràs, -à ‘which’
(MASC/FEM) and the derivative adjectival complex pronouns kai kuris ‘some’,
kažkuris ‘some’, kuris ne kuris ‘some’, kitas ‘other, another’, viènas kitas ‘some,
some people’, kiekviènas ‘each, every’, ne viènas ‘no one’ govern the genitive plural
(with or without the preposition įs ‘from’) which refers to a group or class out
of which a part is distinguished, e.g.:

kàs (iš) kaimynų
kažkuris (iš) draugų

‘which of the neighbours’
‘one (someone) of the friends’
viens (iš) moterų
niėkas (iš) keleivių
kiekvienas (iš) mūsų

‘one of the women’
‘no one among (lit. ‘from’) the passengers’
‘each of us’

Collective nouns are used in the singular, the preposition iš ‘from’ being obligatory, cf.:

kās iš vyriausybės
ne vienas iš komisijos

‘someone (lit. ‘who’) of the government’
‘no one from the committee’

The indefinite quantitative pronouns kēletas ‘several’ (from 2 to 10), keliolika ‘several’ (from 11 to 19) and kēliasdešimt (20, 30 .. 90) take the genitive plural of a noun without a preposition, e.g.:

kēletas žmonių
keliolika dienų
kēliasdešimt kilomètrų

‘several people’
‘several days’
‘some dozens of kilometres’

Pronoun – Adjective

2.137 The indefinite pronouns kās ‘something’, kažkās ‘something’, kas nòrs ‘anything’, šis tās ‘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.:

kās pikto/pikta
kas nòrs svarbaüs/svarbū
(turēti) ši tą vālgomo/vālgoma
(pajusti) kažkā blōgo/blōga
(nepasakytī) niėko
nereikalingo/nereikalinga

‘something bad’
‘something important’
‘(to have) something edible’
‘(to feel) something bad’
lit. ‘(not to say) nothing unnecessary’

The interrogative pronoun kās ‘what’ is also used with the same adjective forms:

kās gēra/gēra?
kās naūjo/naūja?

lit. ‘what (is) good?’ (‘what’s the good news?’)
‘what’s new?’

The same pronouns also occur (though very seldom) with the masculine singular of adjectives instead of the neuter form, cf.:

kažkās jūodas/jūoda
(susidomēti) kažkuo ypatingu

‘something black (NOM.
MASC/NEUTR)’
‘(get interested) in something peculiar
(INSTR. MASC)’
Pronoun – Adverb

2.138 The adjectival pronouns *kitas*, -à ‘other, another’, *kitoks*, -ià ‘another, different’, *toks pât* ‘the same (as)’, *visas* ‘all’ can be modified by the intensifying and specifying adverbs *visai/visiškai* ‘quite, entirely’ (*visas* ‘all’), *beveik* ‘almost’, cf.:

*visai/visiškai kitas*, *kitoks*, *toks pât* ‘quite another, different, the same’
*beveik visas* ‘almost all’
*beveik toks pâts* ‘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.:

* labaì gražiaì (cf. gražus) * ‘very beautifully (beautiful)’
* per daūg pigiaì (pigûs) * ‘too (much) cheaply (cheap)’
* trupûtì keistaì (keistas) * ‘a little queerly (queer)’
* saveip įdomiaì (įdomûs) * ‘interestingly (interesting) in its own way’
* taûsiai rudaì (cf. rûdas) * ‘dark brown’
* taûp geraì (cf. toks gûras) * ‘so well’ (cf. ‘so good’)’
* kaûp įûškiai (įûškus) * ‘how clearly (clear)’
* šitaûp ramiaì (ramûs) * ‘so quietly (quiet)’

Respective adverbial groups are formed with the comparative degree of adverbs (coinciding with that of the neuter adjectives):

* kuû kûs sunkiaû (sunkûsûs) * ‘much more heavily (heavier)’
* dvûgubai bran giaû (branûsûs) * ‘twice as expensively (expensive)’

Adverb groups with the head *daûg* alone have no corresponding adjective groups, e.g.:

* labaû/be gûlo/neiûpasakûtai daûg* ‘very/extremely/unusually much’

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.:
daug/daugiau/daugiausia žmonių
‘many/more/the greatest number of people’

maža (cf. māza: ADJ. NEUTR)
mažai
‘little snow’

šiek tiek džiaugsmo
‘a little joy’
tiek vandens
tiek
‘so much water’
social (cf. sótu: ADJ. NEUTR)
sočiai
‘(more than) enough bread’

duo

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) dū kartus gretišiau (cf. greitesnis)
šimtą kartų mažiau (cf. mažesnis)
‘two times (ACC) faster (ADV (cf. ADJ))’

(2) metrù siauriau (cf. siaurësnis)
dviem litais brangiàu
dviem dienų anksčiau
‘a metre (INSTR) narrower (ADV/ADJ)’

Word groups with daugiau ‘more’ as the head are formed in the same way:

du kartus/šimtą kartų daugiau
dviem dvarais
‘twice/a hundred (ACC) times more’

penkiąs kilogramais/
dviem dienų daugiau
‘five kilograms (INSTR)/ten (INSTR) more’

2.142 Time adverbs can take (1) the accusative, (2) the instrumental and (3) locative case of a noun, cf. respectively:

(1) vėlai rudenį
pernai pavasarį/vasarą/žiema
‘late in autumn’

(2) vaker apjausriaus
diurosios
diaudos
‘yesterday at dawn’

(3) rytoj vakare
šiandien ryte
‘tomorrow (in the) evening’

2.143 Place adverbs commonly govern the locative case of a noun which modifies the meaning of the head adverb, e.g.:

aukšta kalnuo
‘high in the mountains’
giliai žemėje
giliai
‘deep in the ground’
toli šiaurėje
toli
‘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):

**priė + GEN:**

- **artī/arčiaū/artīn priė miško**  
  'near/nearer to the woods'

**nuo + GEN:**

- **toli/toliaū nuo namū**  
  'far/farther from home'
- **nuošaliai/nuošalių nuo žmonių**  
  'apart from people'
- **žemūn nuo kūno**  
  'down (from) the hill'

**i + ACC:**

- **giliai/giliaū/gilūn į mišką**  
  'deep/deeper/deep into the woods'
- **aukščiūn į kūno**  
  'up the hill'
- **pakeliūn į namūs**  
  'on the way home'

**peč + ACC:**

- **skersai per kelią**  
  'across the road'
- **išilgai/įstrižai per kiemą**  
  '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:**

- **geriau už brūli**  
  'better than (one’s) brother'
  (cf. **gerėsnis už brūli** 'better (ADJ) than (one’s) brother')

**iš + GEN:**

- **(bėgši) greičiūsiai iš visų**  
  '(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 pažiūstamus.**  
    'I visit friends and acquaintances.'

(2) **Lankaū draugūs, pažiūstamus.**  
    'I visit friends, acquaintances.'
Coordinative word groups may consist of three or more word forms or phrases, e.g.:

Jām vēl grīžo noras gyventi, dīrbi, išeiti iš namū, susitikti su žmonėmis.

‘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 mān alaūs, sūrio, svėsto.

‘He gave me (some) beer, cheese, butter.’

Dabař trūksta dorų ir išmintingų žmonių.

‘There is a shortage of honest and wise people now.’

Žmönės jō nemėgo, bet bijojo.

lit. ‘People didn’t like, but feared him.’

Negrīšime nei šiaandien, 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.:

Tu dar jáunas ir gali palāukti.

‘You are young (ADJ) yet and can wait (V).’

Gustas kalbėjo lėta, 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) kaimų skubėjo žmonės.

‘People hurried from towns and (from) villages.’

Jis grīš po mēnesio ar (po) savaitės.

‘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.:

Mergāithe šokinėjo ant akmēns ir nuo jō.

‘The girl was jumping onto the stone and (down) from it.’

Pūpieriai buvo išmētyti ant stalo ir po stalu.

‘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 keliai, (ne) įpės, (ne) jūros skiria žmönės.

‘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.:

\[\text{Nemėgstu jūs vėido, (jū) balso, (jū) elgesio.}\]

\[\text{I don’t like his face, (his) voice, (his) manners.‘}\]

\[\text{Kiemme buvo daug mažų mergaičių ir berniukų.}\]

\[\text{‘There were many little girls and boys in the yard.’}\]

However, if conjoined nouns require different forms of the same modifier, it can not be omitted:

\[\text{Šito vyro ir šitos moters āš nepažįstu.}\]

\[\text{‘I don’t know this (MASC) man or this (FEM) woman.’}\]

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.:

\[\text{raudoni ir balti obuoliai}\]
\[\text{mūsų (vaikai) ir jūsų vaikai}\]

\[\text{‘red and white apples’}\]
\[\text{‘our (children) and your children’}\]

Coordinative groups consisting of finite verb forms are naturally similar to compound sentences, cf.:

\[\text{Žmonės jų nemego už šykštumą, bet gármino už pinigus.}\]

\[\text{lit. ‘People disliked them for their stinginess, but respected (them) for (their) money.’}\]

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.:

\[\text{šaltas ir vėjo žvös rytais}\]
\[\text{(Upė buvo) nors ir neplati, bet srauni.}\]

\[\text{‘cold and windy morning’}\]
\[\text{‘(The river was) though not wide but rapid.’}\]

A closed group can be asyndetic, an adversative relation being implied, e.g.:

\[\text{Džiaukis duonos tūrinti, ne svęsto!}\]

\[\text{‘Rejoice at having bread, not butter!’ (i.e. ‘even if you don’t have butter’).}\]

Structurally open groups may comprise any number of components conjoined by repeated conjunctions (1), or asyndetically by intonation and juxtaposition, as in (2), cf.:

\[\text{(1) Tokių šarvų nepramuša nei akmenys, nei kalavijai, nei kirviai, nei iėlys.}\]

\[\text{‘Such armor cannot be pierced either by stones, or swords, or axes, or spears.’}\]
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’, niėkas ‘nothing, nobody’, toks (pats) ‘such’, etc., e.g.:

Jai viskas buvo įdomu: ir sodyba, ir tvenkinys, ir miškas.
Ir viskas buvo įdomu: ir sodyba, ir tvenkinys, ir miškas.

Iš ryto ji atsikėtė toliau: gyvą, sveiką, linksmą.
Iš ryto ji atsikėtė toliau: gyvą, sveiką, linksmą.

'Everything interested her: the farm-stead, and the pond, and the woods.'

In the morning she was her usual self again: alive, healthy, merry.'

(2) the adverbs visur ‘everywhere’, visada ‘always’, niėkur ‘nowhere’, e.g.:

Nei kiemė, nei sodė, nei laukė – niėkur 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 bėgiojo žmönės – vyrų, moterų ir vaikų

'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. jūd ... tuod ‘the ... the’, jūd ... jūd ‘the ... the’, nörs ... bêt ‘though ... but’, nörs ... tačiau ‘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 ir 'and':

Tavo vaiką padarysiu turtingą ir garbingą.

'I’ll make your son rich and honorable.'

The conjunction beį 'and' (synonymous with ir) connects units that are very similar in meaning: it emphasizes their semantic proximity; e.g.:

šis bei tás 'this and that'
nesutarimai bei konfliktai tarp šalių 'discord and conflicts between countries'
išvirsiu bei iškėpsiu 'I’ll cook and bake'

Word forms joined by the conjunction beį can be connected with other coordinated units by ir to indicate the hierarchy, e.g.:

Tamė miškė gyvėna ląpės bei vilkai ir kitį laukinių žvėrys.

'In that forest, there are foxes and wolves, and other wild beasts.'

In two-component groups, reduplicated conjunctions are also used, viz. ir ... ir 'and ... and', nei ... nei 'neither ... nor', and sometimes čia ... čia 'now ... now', taį ... taį 'now ... now', tiek ... tiek (ir) 'both ... and'; e.g.:

Pasidărė ir šilčiaū, ir šviesiaū.

'It grew both warmer and lighter.'

Dabar nebelaukiu nei žinios, nei laiško.

'Now I don’t expect either news or a letter any longer.'

Jis jaūtė tai baimę, tai džiaugsmą.

lit. 'He felt now fear, now joy.'

Three or more coordinated units are linked with reduplicated conjunctions:

Nereikia mán tavo drabužių, nei deimantu, nei tučtu.

'I don’t want your clothes, or diamonds, 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 bet and tačiau, e.g.:

Jáunas, bet/tacicau/ užtąt protingas vyras.

'A young, but wise man.'

Niėkas kitas, tiktaį gvyvėnimas pamokys jį.

lit. 'Nothing other but only life will teach him.'

Adversative groups are sometimes formed with the subordinating conjunctions nórs (ir) 'although' and nórs (ir) ... bet 'though ... but':

...
DISJUNCTIVE GROUPS

2.154 Disjunctive groups may consist of two or more components. In two-component groups the single conjunctions ar ‘or’ and arbă ‘or’ and reduplicated ar ... ar, arbă ... arbă are commonly used and, sometimes, jei(gu) ne ... tai ‘if not ... then’; e.g.:

Dabar privālome laimēti arba žūti. ‘Now we must win or perish.’
Jei ne tēvis, tai sēserī tikiūosi pamatūsias. lit. ‘I hope to see if not my parents then my sister.’

Three or more components are linked by the reduplicated conjunctions ar ... ar ... and arbă ... arbă ...

Kō jinaī bijōjo, pati geraī nežinōjo: ar sāvo žmoniū, ar priešų, ar kažiū kō 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 (ir) ‘so’, taigi ‘so’ and tad ‘so, therefore’:

Mēs visi būvome paukge, tad nelinksmi. ‘We were all tired, therefore not merry.’
Daug dirba, tai visko ir tūri. ‘He works hard, therefore (he) has everything.’

GROUPS WITH VARYING CONJUNCTIONS

2.156 Copulative conjunctions may be combined with conjunctions denoting adversative, disjunctive or consecutive relations; e.g.:

Sāvo tikslo jis siēkē tvirtaī ir drāsiai, bet atsargiai. lit. ‘He pursued his object firmly and boldly, but cautiously.’
Dabarā grībāi daugiūsia dygsta palei ėzerus ir papiškėse arba palaikēse. ‘Now mushrooms grow mostly by the lakes and woods or by the fields.’
Jis būvo sēnas ir paliegs, tad labaī irzlūs. ‘He was old and ailing, therefore petulant.’
Asyndetic coordination

2.157 Asyndetic word groups can be comprised of two or more juxtaposed units:

Didelis, raudonas mėnūlis patekėjo.
Svečiai šoko, dainavo, gėrė ėly.

‘A huge, red moon rose.’
‘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,
mēsą, tik ne ląšinius.

‘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) Medžiai metė ilgus
šešėlius į laukus ir pievas,
ant kelio ir takų.

(2) Žmogus parklupo, parpūlė,
bet greit pašoko, apsidaėrė.

‘The trees threw long shadows on the fields and meadows, on the road and paths.’
‘The man stumbled, fell, but at once jumped to his feet, looked around.’
3 THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

Vientisinis 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:

Viršuň miško patekėjo mėnuo.
above forest: GEN rise: 3. PAST moon: NOM. SG
‘The moon rose above the forest.’

Visos gėlės buvo nusvytusios.
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 laukuose.
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:
Gyveni

live: 2. SG. PRES

and

mokaisi.

learn: 2. SG. PRES. REFL

‘You live and learn.’

Prieš

against

vėjų

wind: ACC

nepapūsi.

not-blow: 2. SG. FUT

‘One can’t blow against the wind.’

The subject is sometimes mentioned in these generic sentences:

Taip ir gyveni žmogus nieko nema tydamas.

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 (žmönės ‘people’, visi ‘all (people), everyone’, etc.):

Jām pavoget ārklį.

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 (Rudėnėja ‘Autumn is coming’) or the predicate with subordinated components, e.g.:

Mān skaudējo gālva.

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.:

Jām visadā sēkasi.

he: DAT always go well: 3. PRES. REFL

‘He is always lucky.’

Vākar snīgo.

yesterday snow: 3. PAST

‘It snowed yesterday.’

(2) the neuter form of an adjective or a passive participle used predicatively:

Tamsū miškē.

dark: NEUTR forest: LOC

‘It is dark in the forest.’

(cf. Miškē buvo tamsū ‘It was dark in the forest.’)
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

*Svečiai 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) (pavažge) keleiviai išvydo (nuo kālno) (didelį) miestą.

‘(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 (*Arklys traukė vežimą* ‘The horse was pulling a cart’) and four-member (*Sūnu paprāšė tēvu pinigū* ‘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 miëga.*  
   ‘The children are sleeping.’

2. Subject – predicate – object:
   
   *Jiё mūs yrё giminёs.*  
   lit. ‘They are relatives to us.’

3. Subject – predicate – object – object:
   
   *Draugas graёzino mёn knёgą.*  
   ‘A friend returned a book to me.’

4. Subject – predicate – (object) – adverbial:
   
   *Jёnas elёgiасi negraёziаё.*  
   ‘John behaves badly.’

5. Subject – predicate – (object) – predicative complement:
   
   *Mёkytojas atrёdё pikтас.*  
   ‘The teacher looked angry.’

   *Teismas pripаёzino jё kaётą.*  
   ‘The court declared him guilty.’

6. Predicate:
   
   *Pasnёgо.*  
   ‘It has snowed.’

   *Bυuо naktёs.*  
   ‘It was night.’

7. Predicate – object:
   
   *Draугui sёkasи.*  
   ‘My friend (DAT) is in luck.’

   *Mёn sёlta.*  
   ‘I (DAT) am cold (ADJ. NEUTR).’

8. Predicate – object – object:
   
   *Mёms uёteёka pinigёт.*  
   ‘We (DAT) have enough money (GEN).’

9. Predicate – (object) – adverbial:
   
   *Lauкё dёнда.*  
   ‘It is thundering outside (LOC).’

   *Mиёste trёёksta vандёёs.*  
   ‘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**
*Veiksmažodiniai 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 (Nn).

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.:

\[  \text{Tu žėmei prakaitą, ji tāu viską.} \]

\[ \text{you land: DAT sweat: ACC she you: DAT everything: ACC} \]

‘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:

\[ N_n \rightarrow Vf \]

\[ \text{Vaikas miega.} \]

‘The child is asleep.’
It typically encodes the following semantic structures:

(1) Agent/Force – Action:

*Laukūose dainavo merginos.
Kaminė kaūkia vėjas.*

‘Girls were singing in the fields.’
‘The wind is howling in the chimney.’

(2) Patient – State/Process:

*Lėkštė sudūžo.
Ligonis jaū gyja.
Gyveno trys 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 **Nn – Vf – Na**

*Vaikas skaityo knygą.*

‘The child is reading a book.’

(1) Agent/Cause – Action – Patient/Result:

*Vaikas sudužė lėkštę.
Švesa eržina akis.
Dažlinkinkas nutapė pavėiksą.*

‘The child broke a plate.’
‘Light irritates the eyes.’
‘The artist has painted a picture.’

(2) Agent – Action – Content:

*Vyrų žaidžia krepšinį.
Senelė seka pasaką.*

‘The men are playing basketball.’
‘Granny is telling a fairy-tale.’

(3) Instrumental – Action – Patient:

*Peilis peilį pagalanda.
Raktas raki visąs spynąs.*

‘A knife sharpens a knife.’
‘The key opens all locks.’

(4) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

*Matau mišką.
Jis apgalvojo planą.
Ji prisiminė jaunystę.*

‘I see a forest.’
‘He thought over a plan.’
‘She recollected (her) youth.’

(5) Beneficiary – State/Process – Patient:

*Dėdė turėtų ukį.
Darbininkai gaudo algas.
Brolis prarado darbą.*

‘(My) uncle has a farm.’
‘The workers received wages.’
‘Brother lost (his) job.’
Patient – State – Comparative.

This semantic structure is ascribed to sentences with relational verbs of state, e.g.:

Kūpija atitinką originālā. ‘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:

Tēvā su ėmė miegās. ‘Father fell asleep.’

Mergātē pagāvo bāimē. ‘The girl got scared.’

Sūnūs išgāvo (= susiūgo). ‘The son caught a disease (fell ill).’

Priešas pralaimējimā (= pralaimējo). ‘The enemy suffered defeat.’

The accusative case of a noun can be a cognate object:

Ji sapnāvo blōgā sāpnu. ‘She had a bad dream.’

3.13 Nn – Vf – Ng

Sesuō ieško brūlių. ‘The sister is looking for her brothers.’

(1) Agent – Action – Patient/Result:

Arklīgs atsigērē vandeņs. ‘The horse drank some water.’

Ji prikepē pyrāgy. ‘She (has) baked a lot of pies.’

(2) Agent – Action – Content:

Jis mokosi matemātikos. ‘He learns mathematics.’

Tēvas atsisākē dārbo. ‘Father gave up his job.’
(3) Agent – Action – Goal:

Merγaɨtę ɨeško lėlės.  ‘The girl is looking for her doll.’
Móteɾiɾ ʃaʊkɛsi pagaɫbɔs.  ‘The woman called for help.’

(4) Experimenc – State/Process – Content:

Šuʊ nɔɾi mɛsɔs.  ‘The dog wants (some) meat.’
Làukiame pawaɾsiɾio.  ‘We wait for spring.’
Kiɾkis ləpo iʃsiɡaɾdɔ.  ‘The rabbit got scared of a leaf.’
Mɛs paɾilgɔme namu.  ‘We are homesick’ (lit. ‘We are missing our home’).
Jis nekeɲcia brɔliɔ.  ‘He hates his brother.’

(5) Beneficiary – State/Process – Content:

Mɛɾs prirɾukɔme piniɡu.  ‘We fell short of money.’

(6) Patient (N_n) – State/Process – Content:

Ji neɾe kɔɾi ɾaɾmonɛs.  ‘She fainted’ (lit. ‘She lost consciousness’).
Laɾvɔs pribɛɾo vandaɾɛs.  ‘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.:

Kætɛ sugãvo pɛlɛ.  ‘The cat caught a mouse.’

⇒ Kætɛ nesugãvo pelɛs.  ‘The cat didn’t catch a mouse.’

3.14  N_n – Vf – N_d

Jis paɾejo draɾgui.  ‘He helped (his) friend.’

This pattern encodes the following principal sets of semantic functions:

(1) Agent – Action – Beneficiary/Counteragent:

Sʊnʊs pàdeda tɛvɔm.  ‘The son helps his parents.’
Gyeɾントɔjai prɛʃinɔsi okupɔntas.  ‘The inhabitants resisted the invaders.’

(2) Agent – Action – Patient:

Vaɾku ɨspɛɾe aɾklɔs.  ‘A horse kicked the child (DAT).’
Mån ɨɡɛɬɛ bɨtɛ.  ‘A bee stung me (DAT).’
(3) Agent – Action – Goal:
Žmonės ruošiasi sėjai. 'The people are preparing for sowing.'

(4) Experiencer – State/Process – Goal:
Laurynas atsidavė mėnui. 'Laurynas gave himself up to art.'

(5) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:
Žmonės pasidavė pânikai. 'People gave in to panic.'

(6) Patient – State/Process – Beneficiary:
Namai priklauso broliui. 'The house belongs to (my) brother.'
Palikimas atiteko vyriūsiam sūnui. 'The property was inherited (ACT) by the eldest son.'

(7) Patient – State – Goal:
Dobilaiti tinka pašarui. 'Clover is suitable for fodder.'

(8) Content (Nn) – State – Experiencer (Nd):
Māns patīka kātēs. 'I like cats.'
Mātīnai rūpi vaikā. 'Mother is worried about the children.'

(9) Content (Nn) – State – Beneficiary:
Mūms grēšia bādas. 'We (DAT) are threatened with starvation (NOM).'

(10) Patient – State – Comparative:
Sūnu prilūgsta tevui. 'The son is like (equals) his father.'
Faktai prieštarauja teīginiui. 'The facts contradict the statement.'

3.15 Nn – Vf – Ni

Jīs dōmisi mūzika. 'He is interested in music.'

(1) Agent – Action – Patient:
Berniūkai apsikeite kepūrėmis. 'The boys swapped (their) caps.'
Mergetēs pasidalijo ūbūliu. 'The girls shared an apple.'

(2) Agent – Action – Instrument/Means:
Vidūdieni Mākolas skaņbina varpa. 'At midday, Mykolas rings the bells.'
Jīs susijuose diržū. 'He girded himself with a belt.'

(3) Agent – Action – Content:
Kāimo gyvēntoja veišies žvejēba. 'Villagers earned their living by fishing.'
Jī pasivadino mōtinos pārvarde. 'She assumed (lit. 'called herself') her mother's name.'
(4) Agent – Action – Result:

Velniai pasivertė šunimi.

‘The devil turned himself into a dog.’

(5) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

Svečiai gėrejosi paveikslais.
Abejóju tavo pažadais.

‘The visitors admired the pictures.’
‘I doubt your promises.’

(6) Patient – State/Process – Content:

Mergaitė vilkojo baltą suknelė.

‘The girl was wearing a white gown.’

(for the respective constructions with the accusative see (1) in 2.23)

Batai aplipo moliu.
Vaikas užsikrėtė tymaž.

‘The shoes got covered with mud.’
‘The child caught measles.’

(7) Patient – Process – Result:

Laužas virto pelenais.

‘The campfire turned into ashes.’

Nn – Vf – PrepP

Tėvas susitiko su sūnumi.

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:

Tėvas bėrasa ant vaikų.
Jis gėrinosi prie manės.
Žmogus nusitvėrė už šakos.

‘Father scolds the children.’
‘He was courting (making up to) me.’
‘The man clutched at the branch.’

(2) Agent – Action – Counteragent/Contentive:

Žemaiciai gynesi nuo kryžiuočių.
Duktė ištekėjo už girtuoklio.

‘The lowlanders defended themselves from crusaders.’
‘The daughter married a drunkard.’

(3) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

Tik kvailys džiaugiasi iš nelaimės.
Užpykau ant vaikų.
Šuō priprato prie naujo šeimininko.
Tinginys nuo dárbo atprašta.

‘Only a fool rejoices at misfortune.’
‘I got angry with/at the children.’
‘The dog got used to the new master.’
‘A lazy man falls out of the habit of working.’
(4) Patient – State/Process – Content:

Metālai susideda iš kristālų.  
‘Metals consist of crystals.’

(5) Patient – State – Comparative:

Ji skyrėsi iš visų vaikų.  
‘She was different (lit. ‘differed’) from all the children’ (standard of comparison).

Dieną nuo nakties nesiskyré.  
‘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 priklauso 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:

Žmonės dar tebekalbėjo apie káš.  
‘People were still talking about the war.’

Vyriausybė atsizvelgė į piliečius.  
‘The government took the citizens into account.’

(2) Agent – Action – Patient:

Jis pabeldė į duris.  
‘He knocked on the door.’

Žaibas treikė į medį.  
‘A bolt of lightning struck the tree.’

(3) Agent – Action – Goal:

Mës balsuosime už sàvo kandidátq.  
‘We shall vote for our candidate.’

Ji kovoja už láišvę.  
‘They fight for freedom.’

(4) Agent – Action – Addressee:

Mokinys kreipési į mokytoją.  
‘A schoolboy addressed the teacher.’

(5) Experiencer – State – Content:

Visi galvoja apie áteiti.  
‘Everybody thinks about the future.’

Jis atsako už sàvo dàrbq.  
‘He is responsible for his work.’

(6) Agent – Action – Counteragent:

Žmonës sukilo prieš okupantus.  
‘The people revolted against the invaders.’

(7) Patient – Process – Result:

Vanduó paviìto į lëdq.  
‘Water turned into ice.’
3.18 The frequently used prepositional phrase su + INSTR encodes a variety of semantic roles in the following semantic patterns:

(1) Agent – Action – Comitative:

\[ \text{Jis kalbėjosi su kaimynais.} \]
\[ \text{Mes atsisveikinome su draugais.} \]

‘He talked with the neighbours.’
‘We said goodbye to our friends.’

(2) Agent – Action – Patient:

\[ \text{Policija susidorėjo su gyventojais.} \]
\[ \text{Žmönës darbavo su šienù.} \]

‘The police dealt (harshly) with the people.’
lit. ‘People worked with hay (were making hay).’

(3) Experiencer – State – Comitative:

\[ \text{Tėvas gera sutinka su kaimynais.} \]
\[ \text{Jis susipūko su draugù.} \]

‘Father is on good terms with his neighbours.’
‘He quarrelled with his friend.’

(4) Experiencer – State/Process – Content:

\[ \text{Vilkas apsiprato su nelaisve.} \]

‘The wolf got used to captivity.’

(5) Patient – State/Process – Comitative:

\[ \text{Šiaurėje Lietuva susieina su Latvija.} \]

‘In the north Lithuania borders (on) Latvia.’

(6) Patient – Process – Comparative:

\[ \text{Ąžuoliukas susilýgino su úosiu.} \]

‘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.


\[ \text{Kaimynai susitarè kol kàs patylëti.} \]
‘The neighbours agreed to keep silent for the time being.’

\[ \text{Dar vis tikëjausi sugrįžti.} \]
‘I still hoped to return.’

\[ \text{Kà manaï darýti?} \]
‘What do you intend to do?’

\[ \text{Svajóju tavë pamatyti.} \]
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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jie } & \text{ susitare patyleti / patylesiq / kad patyleis.} \\
\text{they} & \text{ agreed keep silent: / keep silent: / that keep silent:} \\
\text{INF} & \text{ FUT. ACT. PART. NOM. PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘They decided to keep silent/that they would keep silent.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aš } & \text{ tikėjaus grįžti/ grįšias/ kad grįšiu.} \\
\text{I} & \text{ hoped return: INF/ return: FUT. that return:} \\
\text{PART. NOM.} & \text{ FUT. PART. NOM. SG. FUT} \\
\text{SG. MASC} & \text{SG. MASC} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I hoped to return/that I would return.’

The verbs sutikti ‘agree, consent’, ruoštis ‘prepare’, rūpintis ‘take care’, rūžtis ‘resolve’, bijoti ‘fear’, tingėti ‘be lazy’, and the like take an infinitive only (but not a participle or a clause), cf.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Duktė sutiko mokyti.} & \text{ ‘The daughter agreed to study.’} \\
\text{Mačė tingi dirbti.} & \text{ ‘Marcė doesn’t feel like working.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Only an infinitive is used after verbs like padauginti ‘do (sth) too much’, numazinti ‘do (sth) too little’, paaškinti ‘do (sth) too early’, pavelinti ‘do (sth) too late’, etc.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Paaškinau} & \text{ ateiti.} \\
\text{do too early: 1. SG. PAST} & \text{come: INF} \\
\text{‘I came too early.’} & \\
\text{Jis} & \text{ nenudaugina duoti.} \\
\text{he} & \text{ not-do too much: 3. PRES give: INF} \\
\text{‘He does not give too much.’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( N_n - Vf - N_a - N_g \)

\( \text{Sēnis paklāuse jī kēlio.} \quad \text{‘The old man asked him the way.’} \)

The semantic patterns are:

(1) Agent – Action – Addressee – Goal:

\( \text{Vāiķas prāšē tēva pinīgū.} \quad \text{‘The child asked his father for money.’} \)

(2) Agent – Action – Patient – Content:

\( \text{Jī māko vaiku lietuvi kalbūs.} \quad \text{‘She teaches children Lithuanian.’} \)
\( \text{Vīrai statinę pripīlē vandeņs.} \quad \text{‘The men filled the barrel with (lit. ‘of’) water.’} \)

3.22 \( N_n - Vf - N_a - N_d \)

\( \text{Senēlė dāvē mergyτeı o'buolj.} \)
\( \text{Grandma gave little girl: DAT. SG apple: ACC. SG} \)

‘Granny gave the little girl an apple.’

The most common semantic structures encoded by this pattern are:

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Beneficiary:

\( \text{Tēvas pāvedē sāvo tuŗtq sūnui.} \quad \text{‘Father entrusted his property to his son.’} \)
\( \text{Jī ūdavē vāgi policijai.} \quad \text{‘They delivered the thief to the police.’} \)
\( \text{Āukle užrišo vaikui šālikq.} \quad \text{lit. ‘The nurse tied a scarf to the child.’} \)

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.:

\( \text{Komisija paskyrē pinīgus švietimui.} \quad \text{‘The committee allocated money for education.’} \)

(2) Agent – Action – Content – Beneficiary:

\( \text{Aš tāu visku pāiškinsiqiu.} \quad \text{‘I’ll explain everything to you.’} \)
\( \text{Pasaklyk mān tięsq.} \quad \text{‘Tell me the truth.’} \)
\( \text{Mōtina atlēdzia vaikāms visās skriaudās.} \quad \text{‘Mother forgives her children all the offences.’} \)

Numerous verbs denoting communication are used in this pattern.
3.23 \( N_n - V_f - N_a - N_i \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nurse</th>
<th>Put on</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Shoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nurse: NOM</td>
<td>put on: ACC</td>
<td>child: SG</td>
<td>shoes: INSTR. PL. MASC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit. ‘The nurse shod the child with boots.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Instrument/Means/Content:

- Šeimininkė tvorąs nudžiovė skalbiniaiš. ‘The housewife hung the wash on the fences (for drying).’
- Kaimynas užsiūndė kiaulės šunimis. ‘The neighbour set the dogs (INSTR) on the pigs (ACC).’
- Draugai apkaltino jį išdavyste. ‘Friends accused him (ACC) of betrayal (INSTR).’

(2) Agent / Cause – Action – Patient – Result:

- Rāgana pāvertē brōlius akmenimis. ‘The witch turned the brothers into stones (INSTR).’
- Tavo namus jis pelenais paleido! Šaltis pāvertē vāndenj ledū. ‘He turned your house into ashes!’ ‘Frost turned water into ice.’

3.24 \( N_n - V_f - N_a - \text{PrepP} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boy</th>
<th>Took</th>
<th>Toy</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>Friend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boy: NOM. SG</td>
<td>took: ACC. SG</td>
<td>toy: GEN. SG</td>
<td>from: GEN. SG</td>
<td>friend: GEN. SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The boy took a toy from his friend (by force).’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In sentences with verbs meaning ‘buy’, ‘sell’, ‘lend’, ‘rent’, ‘pay’, etc. three semantic valencies are often realized:

- Tēvas paņēmē kaimynu kārve. ‘Father sold a cow to the neighbour.’
- Kaimynas priko kārve iš tēvo. ‘The neighbour bought a cow from father.’
- Šeimininkas atsiskaity su maninū už dārbq. ‘The owner paid me (lit. ‘settled an account with me’) for the work.’

But the second object is often omitted, the sentence retaining its grammaticality:

- Tēvas paņēmē kārve. ‘Father sold a cow.’
- jis atsiskaity su maninū. ‘He settled accounts with me.’

**THE PREPOSITIONAL GENITIVE AS SECOND OBJECT**

3.25 The most common semantic structures are:

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Source / Counteragent:
Pasiskolinau iš draugo knygą.  ‘I borrowed a book from my friend.’
Mikas apgynė vaiką nuo šuųs.  ‘Mikas (Michael) defended the child from a dog.’
Kažkas pavogė iš manęs žiedą.  ‘Somebody stole a ring from me.’

(2) Beneficiary – Process – Patient – Source:
Jis gavo iš draugo laišką.  ‘He received a letter from his friend.’

(3) Experiencer – State/Process – Content/Patient – Source:
Visa tai sužinojau iš draugo/laikraščių.  ‘I learned all that from a friend/newspapers.’
Būda jis paveldėjo iš tévo.  ‘He inherited his temper from his father.’

(4) Agent – Action – Patient – Content:
Visi atkalbinėjo manę nuo tės sumanymo.  ‘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 apie paukščius.  ‘The children were asking the teacher about birds.’

(2) Agent – Action – Patient – Beneficiary:
Jis užsiundė šunį ant avij.  ‘He set the dog on the sheep.’

(3) Agent – Action – Patient – Goal:
Tėvai sunų į kunigus išleido.  ‘The parents had their son become a priest.’
Jis iškeitė paltą į laskinius.  ‘He exchanged a coat for bacon.’

(4) Agent/Cause – Action – Patient – Result:
Raganà pàvertè bròlius iàkmenis.  ‘The witch turned the brothers into stones.’
Šallet pãvertè vândenà ià lédà.  ‘Frost turned water into ice’ (cf. (2) in 3.23).

(5) Agent – Action – Patient – Counteragent:
Mòtina užstòjo/iùtarè manè prieš tévà.  ‘Mother interceded for me with father.’
Mès sukëlsime žmónes prieš biurokratus.  ‘We shall incite the people against bureaucrats.’
THE PREPOSITIONAL INSTRUMENTAL AS SECOND OBJECT

3.27 The common semantic structures are:


Darbininkas sumažė

cementą su žvyrų.

‘The worker mixed cement
with gravel.’

2. Agent - Action - Patient - Comparative:

Jūs akis poetas lūgina su žvaigždėmis.  ‘The poet compares her eyes to stars.’

3. Agent - Action - Patient - Comitative (second Agent):

Mergaitė pasidalijo ūbolį su drauge.  ‘The girl shared an apple with her friend.’

4. Agent - Action - Content - Comitative:

Jūnas aptarė planus su šeimą.   ‘John discussed the plans with his family.’

Sentence patterns with the genitive as first object

Here belong the following patterns.

3.28 \( N_n - V_f - N_g - N_g \)

Senelė paprašė manęs

gvardis vandens.

‘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:

Praeivis pasiklausė

mergaitės/mergaitę kėlio.

Visi prašė Dievo/Dievo

lietais.

‘A passerby asked the girl (GEN/ACC) the way.’

‘Everybody begged God (GEN/ACC) for rain.’

3.29 \( N_n - V_f - N_g - N_d \)

Aš linkiu

tau

sėkmės.

I: NOM wish you: DAT success: GEN. SG

‘I wish you luck.’
It encodes two sets of semantic roles:

(1) Agent – Action – Patient – Beneficiary:

\[\text{Jaunikis pridavė jai brangių dovanų.}\]

‘The bridegroom gave her (a lot of) 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):

\[\text{Katrė paveidė draugėi pasisekimo.}\]

‘Katrė (Katherine) envies her friend her success.’

3.30 \(N_n - Vf - N_g - \text{PrepP}\)

\[\text{Jis reikalauja iš manęs pinigų.}\]

‘He demands money from me.’

(1) Agent – Action – Goal/Patient – Source:

\[\text{Atėjūnai prisipiešė iš gyventojų tur to.}\]

‘The invaders looted (a lot of) property from the inhabitants.’

(See also the above example.)

(2) Agent – Action – Addressee – Content:

\[\text{Ji visų (cf. visus) klausinėjo apie savo vyrą.}\]

‘She asked everybody (cf. ACC) 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 skūstis ‘complain’, girtis ‘boast’, etc. encoding the semantic structure:

Agent – Action – Addressee – Content:

\[\text{Tėvas visiems giriąs sūnumi.}\]

‘Father boasts to everybody of his son.’
3.32  \( N_n - Vf - N_d - \text{PrepP} \)

The prepositional phrase can be either \( \text{api} + \text{ACC} \) (with verbs denoting communication like \( \text{(pa)sak} \) ‘say’, \( \text{p} \) ‘tell’, \( \text{pr} \) ‘report’, etc.), or \( \text{u} + \text{ACC} \); the semantic structure is:

Agent – Action – Addressee – Content:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Niekas} & \quad \text{mums} & \quad \text{nepr} \text{n} \text{e} \text{ne} \text{s} & \quad \text{api} & \quad \text{su} \text{s} \text{t} \text{r} \text{i} \text{k} \text{r} \text{i} \text{m} \text{a} \text{y}. \\
\text{nobody: NOM} & \quad \text{we: DAT} & \quad \text{not-informed} & \quad \text{about} & \quad \text{meeting: ACC. SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Nobody informed us about the meeting.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Redaktorius} & \quad \text{j} \text{a} \text{m} & \quad \text{pad} \text{ėk} \text{o} \text{j} \text{o} & \quad \text{u} \text{ž} & \quad \text{l} \text{a} \text{i} \text{š} \text{k} \text{a} . \\
\text{editor: NOM} & \quad \text{he: DAT} & \quad \text{thanked} & \quad \text{for} & \quad \text{letter: ACC. SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The editor thanked him for the letter.’

Sentence pattern with the instrumental as first object

3.33  \( N_n - Vf - N_i - \text{PrepP} \)

Agent – Action – Comitative – Patient

The most productive pattern here is with \( s + \text{INSTR} \) in which reflexive verbs of reciprocal action are used:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aš pasike} \text{i} \text{č} \text{iau}/\text{pasidalija} \text{u} & \quad \text{‘I exchanged/shared clothes (INSTR) with my friend.’} \\
\text{su drau} \text{g} \text{ė} \text{d} \text{r} \text{a} \text{b} \text{u} \text{ž} \text{i} \text{a} \text{i} \text{a} & \quad \text{su drau} \text{g} \text{ė} \text{d} \text{r} \text{a} \text{b} \text{u} \text{ž} \text{i} \text{a} \text{i} \text{a} \text{u}
\end{align*}
\]

After some verbs, e.g. \( \text{pasidal} \text{y} \text{t} \text{i} \), the instrumental is interchangeable with the accusative (cf. \( \text{(3)} \) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mės pasidal} \text{j} \text{ome}/\text{pasikeitėme drabu} \text{ž} \text{i} \text{a} \text{i} \text{a} & \quad \text{‘We shared/exchanged the clothes’} \\
\text{(cf. (1)) in 3.12, 15).}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( \text{pra} \text{s} \text{y} \text{t} \text{i} \) ‘ask’, \( \text{r} \text{a} \text{gi} \text{n} \text{t} \text{i} \) ‘encourage’, \( \text{j} \text{k} \text{a} \text{l} \text{b} \text{i} \text{n} \text{ė} \text{t} \) ‘(try to) persuade’, \( \text{k} \text{v} \text{i} \text{č} \text{t} \text{i} \) ‘invite’, \( \text{v} \text{i} \text{l} \text{i} \text{o} \text{t} \text{i} \) ‘tempt’, \( \text{s} \text{i} \text{n} \text{t} \text{i} \) ‘send’, etc.):
Šeimininkė rūgino svečius vėlgyti. ‘The hostess urged the guests to eat.’
Jis kviėtė manė užeiti. ‘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 mokyti ‘teach’, vežti ‘make, force’, paskirti ‘appoint’, etc.):
Mötina moko vaiką kalbėti. ‘The mother teaches the child to speak.’
Draugas privertė 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 (liępti ‘order’, siūlyti ‘suggest’, linkėti ‘wish’, leisti ‘allow’, draudeti ‘forbid’, trukdyti ‘prevent’, etc.), (b) assistance in performing an action (padėti ‘help’, pagalbėti ‘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 mān liępė ateiti rytųjį
kad atežiau rytųjį. ‘He ordered me to come tomorrow/that I come tomorrow.’

With (c) verbs it is interchangeable with a clause or a future active participle:
Jis pažadėjo mān nevelūoti /
nevelūos /
he promised me not-be late: that not-be late: 3. FUT
INF FUT. ACT. 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:
Mān mama liępė sugrįžti. ‘Mother ordered me to return.’
Tū mān prisiekti tylėti. ‘You gave me an oath to keep silent.’
Draugas padėjo mān pabėgti. ‘A friend helped me to escape.’
Mokytojas leido 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.:

\[
\text{Knygà buvo spîntoje / ant spîntos / po spînta / čià.}
\]

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:

\[
\text{Vaîkas įkrito į vûdenî.}
\]

child into-fell into water

‘The child fell into water.’

\[
\text{Jis iššoko iš duobës.}
\]

he out-jumped out of pit: GEN. SG

‘He jumped out of the pit.’

\[
\text{Arklys peršoko per griovî.}
\]

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  \( N_n - V_f - \text{AdvLoc} \)

\[ \text{Senėlė gyvena káime.} \]

‘Granny lives in the country.’

(1) Patient – State – Place:

\[ \text{Dešinėjė buvo píeva.} \]

‘On the right was a meadow.’

\[ \text{Vaikas tūnójo kampë.} \]

‘The child stayed in the corner.’

\[ \text{Pavéikslas kábo ant síenos.} \]

‘A picture hangs on the wall.’

(2) Agent – Action – Place:

\[ \text{Jis laňkési pas kaimýnus.} \]

‘He visited his neighbours.’

\[ \text{Šeimininkė sükosi virtůvëje.} \]

‘The housewife was busy (working) in the kitchen.’

3.38  \( N_n - V_f - N_a - \text{AdvLoc} \)

\[ \text{Jis paliko sáný namié.} \]

‘He left his son at home.’

The semantic functions are:

Agent – Action – Patient – Place:

\[ \text{Senėlė laikýdavo kiušiniúis lentýnoje.} \]

‘Granny used to keep eggs on the shelf.’

\[ \text{Šuó gáiniojo vištás kiemë.} \]

‘The dog chased chickens in the yard.’

\[ \text{Suólus sustátëme pasieniais/prie stálo.} \]

‘We put the benches along the walls/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.:

\[ \text{Jis ėjo per liĕpta / lieptù.} \]

‘He walked across the foot-bridge.’
3.40 Nₙ – Vf – AdvDir

Raitelis nu sedo nuo árklio.

‘The rider dismounted from the horse.’

(1) Agent – Action (Motion) – Initial/Final Point/Route:

Iš krūmų išlindo šuō.
Kūtinas užšoko ant tvorōs.
Kárves brenda per upę.

‘A dog crawled out of the bushes.’
‘The cat jumped on the fence.’
‘The cows are wading across the stream.’

(2) Patient – Process – Initial/Final Point/Route:

Vijoklis vyniojosi apie stuľpą.
Pupà išáugo iki dangaūs.

‘Ivy wound round a post.’
‘The bean has grown up to the sky.’

3.41 Nₙ – Vf – Nₐ – AdvDir

Gydytojas nusiuntę vaika į váistinę.

‘The doctor sent the child to the drugstore.’

Agent/Force – Action – Patient – Initial/Final point/Route:

Vējas plēše lapūs nuo mēdžių.
Jis pridėjo aušį prie dūryų.
Piemuō vārē baṇdā keliū.

‘The wind tore leaves from the trees.’
‘He pressed his ear to the door.’
‘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) Ji pereina iš kambario į kambarį.
Vaikas nušoko nuo kēdēs žemēn.

‘She passes from room to room.’
‘The boy jumped down from the chair onto the ground.’

(2) Vyrai nuritino rastūs nuo kālno į upę.
Šituō takū jiē vėsdavo kárves iš namų į ganykla.

‘The men rolled (down) the logs from the hill into the river.’
‘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.

Nn – Vf – AdvQuant

\(Dárbas trúko ilgaĩ.\)  
‘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 \(pra-:\)

\(\text{Jis prasírgo/išguléjo vísą čiêma}.\)  
‘He was ill/spent in bed all winter’  
(cf. *\(\text{Jis prasírgo/išguléjo}\)).

3.45 A spatial quantitative adverbial is obligatory with the verbs \(\text{síekti} \ ‘\text{reach, stretch (as far as), equal}, \ těstis \ ‘\text{stretch}, \ nusitẽsti \ ‘\text{last, extend}’ \ and \ the \ like:\

\(\text{Kúno iõgis síekia tris metrûs}.\)  
‘The length of the body equals three metres.’

\(\text{Lygumã tãsiasí/nusitẽsia tõli}.\)  
‘The plain extends far.’

3.46 Quantitative adverbials denoting other dimensions are obligatory with the verbs \(\text{sverûti} \ ‘\text{weigh}, \ \text{kainûoti} \ ‘\text{cost}, \ \text{atsieûti} \ ‘\text{cost, come to}, \ \text{ikainoti} \ ‘\text{appraise, fix the price (of)}’, \ \text{etc.:}\)

\(\text{Kûðikis sverû kêtûris}.\)  
‘The baby weighed four kilograms/much/little.’

\(\text{Knygû kainûvo pigiaĩ.}\)  
‘The book cost little (lit. ‘cheaply’).’

In the following sentence the Agent is added:

\(\text{Jõ tuûta aûntstolis ikainoj}.\)  
‘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 \(\text{nuõ ‘from}’ \ and \(\text{iki ‘to}’:\)

\(\text{Operâcija trûko nuo rýtø iki vâkaro}.\)  
‘The operation lasted from morning till evening.’
3.47  
\( N_n - Vf - AdvLoc - AdvQuant \)

*Pas sūnų ji išbuvo 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 mėties amžiaus ji išgulėjo lėvoje.*  
‘She stayed in bed until (she was) twelve years of age.’

3.48  
\( N_n - Vf - Na - AdvLoc - AdvQuant \)

Agent – Action – Patient – Place – Quantity of time:

*Ji išlaikė sūnų namie 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’, *atrūdyti* ‘appear, look’, *jaūstis* ‘feel, be’, *gyvūoti* ‘get on’, *laikyti* ‘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 keista/kaip vaikas elgiasi.*  
‘He behaves strangely / like a child.’

*Tėvas prasta atrūdo/jaūčiasi.*  
‘Father looks / feels unwell’ (cf. also 3.50).

V. SUBJECT – PREDICATE – (OBJECT) – PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENT

3.50  
\( N_n - Vf - Adj_n/N_n/N_i \)

*Mokytojas atrūdė piktas.*  
teacher: NOM. SG. MASC seemed angry: NOM. SG. MASC

‘The teacher looked angry.’

With the verbs *atrūdyti* ‘seem, look’, *rūdytis* ‘look’, *pasirūdyti* ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
Jis & \quad jaūtėsi & \quad nūskriaustas / & \quad atródė & \quad pavařgęs. \\
he & \quad felt & \quad hurt: \text{PAST. PASS.} & \quad seemed & \quad tired: \text{PAST. ACT.} \\
& & \text{PART. MASC} / & & \text{PART. MASC} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
Jis & \quad jaūtėsi & \quad kaip nesāvas. \\
& \quad felt & \quad like his own self. \\
Mergytė & \quad atródė & \quad gerās širdiēs. \\
& \quad seemed & \quad kind-hearted lit. ‘of kind heart’). \\
Ji & \quad pasirōdė & \quad visā be nūovokos. \\
& \quad seemed & \quad turned out to be quite witless (lit. ‘quite without quick wits’). \\
\end{align*}
\]

If the subject is the neuter pronoun or an indefinite pronoun with no gender contrast, the predicative adjective is used in the neuter form:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Visa} & \quad / & \quad viskas & \quad teņ & \quad atródė & \quad naūja, & \quad gražu. \\
\text{all: NEUTR} & \quad \text{everything} & \quad \text{there} & \quad \text{looked} & \quad \text{new:} & \quad \text{beautiful:} & \quad \text{NEUTR} & \quad \text{NEUTR} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Everything there looked new and beautiful.’

In sentences with the verbs řoditī/atrito/pasirōdyti ‘seem, look’ the dative object of Experiencer can be used:

\[
\begin{align*}
Jis & \quad māņ & \quad baisūs & \quad keistūolis / & \quad baisiū & \quad keistuoliū & \quad pasirōdė. \\
he & \quad I: \text{DAT} & \quad terrible & \quad crank: & \quad terrible: & \quad crank: & \quad seemed \\
& & \text{NOM} / & \quad \text{INSTR} & \quad \text{INSTR} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He seemed to me a terribly queer man.’

3.51 \( N_n - \text{Vf} - N_a - \text{Adj}_a/\text{Adj}_i - N_i \)

Kāras \quad padārē \quad visūs \quad nelaimingus. \\
war: \text{NOM. SG} \quad made \quad all: \text{ACC. PL} \quad \text{unhappy: ACC. PL} \\
‘The war made everybody unhappy.’

\( N_n \) commonly encodes Agent with the verbs (pa)darīti ‘make’ (in the above example it encodes Cause), vadinti ‘name, call’, pravardžiūoti ‘call’, pripažinti ‘recognize, acknowledge’, and Experiencer with the verb laikyti ‘consider’; cf. respectively:
(a) Visi pravardžiavo jį bedievius. ‘Everyone called him an atheist (INSTR).’
(b) Mės laikėme jį išmintingu. ‘We considered him a wise man (N) / wise (Adj).’

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.:

Mótinaite drėba rankos.
mother: DAT 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:

Pabuciavo raška motinai.
kissed hand: ACC. SG mother: DAT
‘He kissed mother’s hand.’

Lūžo ranka vaikui.
broke arm: NOM. SG child: DAT
‘The boy’s arm broke’ (or ‘The boy broke his arm’).

Sėdi ant kėlių 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.:

Švarkui atiro rankovė.
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:

Tū mān (iš manēs) žemę norējai atimēti.
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:

\[ \text{Mán jō žodžiai be paliovōs skambėjo galvojē.} \]

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:

\[ \text{šūs išslýdo vaiku} \]

branch: DAT across child: DAT

‘Branches scratched him on the face.’

\[ \text{žuvis išslydo vaiku} \]

fish: NOM slipped-out child: DAT

‘The fish slipped out of the boy’s hands.’

In sentences with momentary verbs like smōgti ‘strike, hit’ and its synonyms (drōžti, skėlti, treńkti, (su)dūoti, etc.), dūrti ‘stab’, įkāsti ‘bite’ and its synonyms (įgelti, įkįsti) the name of a body part may be omitted, in which case the dative of possesor/whole can be interpreted as Patient, cf.:

\[ \text{šuo įkando man} \]

dog: NOM bite: 3. PAST I: DAT into leg: ACC. SG

‘A dog bit me on the leg.’

\[ \text{Mán įkando šuō.} \]

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**

\[ \text{Auśta.} \]

‘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:

*Sniūga.*
'It is snowing.'

*Laukė šįla.*
'It is growing cold outside.'

*Jaū švinta.*
'Day is already breaking.'

*Rudenėja.*
'Autumn is coming.'

*Žaibuoja.*
'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:

*Lyja lietus.*
lit. 'Rain is raining.'

*Aūšta aušrā.*
lit. 'Dawn is dawning.'

The exceptions are very few, e.g. the verbs *rudenėja* ‘autumn is coming’, *vakarėja* ‘evening is coming’, and a few others.

Structurally, sentences with a tautological subject assume the pattern Nn - Vf, 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:

*Ujo šiltas lietus.*
'A warm rain was raining.'

The verbs under consideration can also be used in personal two-member (usually metaphorical) sentences:

*Išaušo graži diena.*
lit. 'A beautiful day (has) dawned.'

Some impersonal verbs are sometimes used with an optional instrumental:

*Ledaīs lūja.*
lit. 'It rains with icicles.'

*Bobų kāsniais sniūga*  
'Vermin snowing with huge snowflakes.'

**VII. PREDICATE – OBJECT**

3.56  
*Vf – Ng*  

*Prisirińko*  
reikalū.  
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.:

Šiemet priviso uodą (*uodai). ‘This year lots of gnats (GEN) have hatched.’
Cf. Veisiasi uodai. ‘Gnats (NOM) are hatching.’

This pattern is also associated with the negative form of the verb būti ‘be’ (and likti ‘remain’):

Nėra jokios išėtiūs. not-be: 3. PRES no way-out: GEN. SG
‘There is no way out.’
Cf. Yra išeitis. is way-out: NOM. SG
‘There is a way out.’

Seniai nebėra tévo. old: ADV not-be: 3. PRES father: GEN
‘Father died a long time ago.’

3.57 Vf – Nd

Draugui sėkasi. 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. pagerėti ‘become better’, palengvėti ‘become easier’, pabaisti ‘feel horror’, etc.) which are used in sentences like

Kažtis jām palengvėja. 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:
A number of verbs are reflexiva tantum, e.g. sėktis ‘go well’, klótit ‘get on’, e.g.:

Kaip tąū 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 nesidūrba / nesimiegojo.
I: DAT not-REFL-work: 3. PRES not-REFL-sleep: 3. PAST
‘I can’t work (don’t feel like working)/couldn’t sleep.’

Žmonëms kituŗ geriaū gyvenasi.
people: DAT. PL elsewhere better live: 3. PRES. REFL
‘People live better in other places.’

Adverbs of manner are also common with the verbs eitiš/išeiti ‘go, happen’, klótis ‘get on’, and they are less common with their synonyms sėktis/pasisėkti ‘go well’; e.g.:

Ne kiekvienám lygiai geraĩ eĩnasi.
not everybody: DAT equally well goes: REFL
‘Not everyone is equally lucky.’

The verbs sėktis, eitiš, išeiti can also take the prepositional phrase sū + INSTR:

Su kelionës jiem neišejo / nepaveikė.
with journey: INSTR they: DAT not-went not-succeeded
‘They failed to make the trip.’

3.58 Vf – Na

Manė pūkina.
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., sulūtis ‘get
wet (in the rain), *užsnigti* ‘snow over’, *nutreikti* ‘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) *Visai užpūstė kėliq.*

quite cover up: 3. PAST road: ACC. SG

lit. ‘It snowed up the road.’

*Vėsara mūsų kärvę nūtrenkė.*

summer: ACC our cow: ACC. SG strike dead: 3. PAST

‘In summer, our cow was struck dead.’

(2) *Vežime ligönę labai krâtė.*

cart: LOC patient: ACC. SG very jolt: 3. PAST

‘The patient was being badly jolted in the cart.’

*Gál prieš ųrò pérmainą manè taip lāužo.*

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 gālvq.*

I: DAT aches head: ACC

‘I have a headache.’

**VIII. PREDICATE – OBJECT – OBJECT**

3.59 *Vf – Ng – Nd*

*Mūms trūksta duonos.*

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 tuštų.*

I: DAT not-need: 3. PRES strange: GEN. PL riches: GEN. PL

‘I don’t need other people’s riches.’

*Saulės mūms užteikña.*

sun: GEN. SG we: DAT

‘We have enough sun (light).’
A man is never short of hope.

The dative sometimes can be replaced by the locative of the inanimate noun, e.g.:

There is too little water in the well' (see 3.67).

The verbs *užtekti* 'be/have enough', *stigti* 'be short (of)', *pristigti* 'fall short (of)', *trūkti* 'lack' are also used, though less commonly, with the nominative subject instead of the dative object (cf. 3.13, 5):

One day he was short of bread.'

(2) State/Process – Experiencer – Content:

I wanted an apple very much.'

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-mâto* '(is) not to be seen', *ne-si-jaūčia* '(is) not to be felt', *ne-si-girdi* '(is) not to be heard'; these sentences are in fact negative transforms of their respective affirmative sentences; thus

is a transform of

Cf. the non-reflexive sentence:

'I heard voices.'
These reflexives, however, are more common without the dative case, thus implying a generalized Experiencer:

\[ \text{Laukuo} \text{nebesimiltė žmonių.} \]

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:

\[ \text{Nebematytė} \text{žmonių.} \]

not-any longer see: INF people: GEN

‘One can see no people any longer’ (see 3.95).

3.60 \text{Vf - Na - Ng}

\[ \text{Sodą pri} \text{nėšė} \text{snēgo.} \]

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:

\[ \text{Prilio} \text{pilnq} \text{griovį} \text{vandeños.} \]

PREF-rained full: ACC ditch: ACC water: GEN

‘Rain filled the ditch with water’ or ‘It rained the ditch full of water.’

3.61 \text{Vf - Na - Ni}

\[ \text{Vaiką} \text{mėto} \text{spuogais.} \]

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)beštį/išbéštį ‘break out (of a rash)’, (iš)kelti lit. ‘raise’, mėtyti ‘cover’ (lit. ‘throw’), (iš)muštį ‘break out, erupt’, (iš)pilti ‘erupt’ (lit. ‘pour out’), veštį ‘erupt, break out’ denoting an eruption of sores, pimples and the like, which makes them synonyms; cf. also:

\[ \text{Ji išbėre/išbėrė spuogašis.} \]

‘He had an eruption of pimples.’

\[ \text{Manė karštais išmuša dėmėmis.} \]

‘Sometimes I have an eruption of spots.’
The instrumental can be omitted with the verb (iš)beřti/(iš)bérti since the meaning of the noun is incorporated in the verb:

Manė buvo smarkiai išbėrę. ‘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 spugaš liežuvį. ‘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:

Vaiką plau spuga. ‘Pimples erupt on the child’s body.’

This pattern is also realized by sentences with meteorological verbs, e.g.:

Daňgu užtraukę debesimis. ‘The sky got covered with clouds’

which has an alternative personal variant:

Daňgu užtraukę debesys. ‘Clouds covered the sky.’

3.62 Vf – Np – nuo Ng

Jám kliūs nuo tévo. ‘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. kliūti 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

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.

Vakaruose parausvejo.
west: LOC. PL grow reddish: 3. PAST
‘It grew reddish in the west.’

Giriose švokšte, šlamėjo.
wood: LOC. PL swish: 3. PAST rustle: 3. PAST
‘There was swishing and rustling in the woods.’

Po kójomis žliugsi.
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.:

Girios šlamėjo. ‘The woods (NOM) rustled.’
Dangūs parausvejo. ‘The sky grew red.’

3.65 Vf – N₁ – AdvLoc/AdvDir

The 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:

Čià kvėpia gélémis.
here smell: 3. PRES flower: INSTR. PL
‘It smells of flowers here.’
(a) Laukuose kvepėjo medumų. field: LOC. PL smell: 3. PAST honey: INSTR. SG
‘In the fields it smelled of honey.’

(b) Nuo ežero patráukė vėsumū. from lake: GEN draw: 3. PAST freshness: INSTR
‘There was a draught of fresh air from the lake.’

3.66 Vf – Na – AdvDir

Manė tráukia namo. 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 adver­
bial; here belong kelti ‘raise’, tráukti ‘draw, pull’, stúmti ‘push’, etc.; also vilióti/másinti ‘attract, lure’. Direction is expressed by a prepositional phrase or an
adverb:

Manė lyg stůmė tėžerą / pirmyn. 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 – Na,
denoting a person’s physical state (see 3.58.).

3.67 Vf – Ng – AdvLoc/AdvDir

Šulinyje stiņga / 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:

Kambaryje trůksta oro. 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. pakûkti ‘be in sufficient quantity’).

(2) State/Process – Patient/Content – Direction:
THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

\[ \text{į statinę pribėgo vandeņs.} \]
\[ \text{into barrel: ACC. SG PREF-run: 3. PAST water: GEN. SG} \]
\[ '(Much) water filled the barrel.' \]

\[ \text{Pribyrėjo tinko nuo lubų.} \]
\[ \text{PREF-fall: 3. PAST plaster: GEN. SG from ceiling: GEN. PL} \]
\[ 'A lot of plaster flaked off down from the ceiling.' \]

This pattern is semantically similar to the two-member pattern, e.g.:

\[ \text{Prisiriņko reikalū.} \]
\[ 'A lot of affairs have accumulated'(see 3.56). \]

Most of these verbs are also used personally, with the nominative of spatial noun instead of an adverbial of place:

\[ \text{l kaņbarēs priširinčo žmoniū.} \]
\[ \text{into room: ACC. SG PREF-REFL-gather: people: GEN} \]
\[ 'A lot of people gathered in the room/The room filled with (a lot of) people.' \]

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.:

\[ \text{Knūgoje trūksta dviejų lapų.} \]
\[ \text{book: LOC. SG lack: 3. PRES two: GEN page: GEN. PL} \]
\[ 'Two pages are missing in the book.' \]

\[ \text{Knūgai trūksta dviejų lapų.} \]
\[ \text{book: DAT. SG lack: 3. PRES two: GEN pages: GEN} \]
\[ 'The book lacks two pages' \]

but:

\[ *Šūliniu trūksta vandeņs. \]
\[ well: DAT lacks water: GEN \]
\[ 'The well is short of water.' \]

SENTENCE PATTERNS WITH AN INFINITIVE

3.68 A number of verbs (tėkti '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.:

\[ \text{Sūnui patiko dirbtī / dārbas.} \]
\[ \text{son: DAT. SG like: 3. PAST work: INF work: NOM. SG} \]
\[ 'The son liked to work/the work.' \]
According to the case form of the second subordinate nominal, two patterns are distinguished.

3.69  Vf – Nd – Inf

Svečiams  reikės  palaukti.
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 užtękti/pakąkti ‘have/be enough’, sėktis ‘succeed, be a success’, derėti ‘be suited/suitable’, tękti/pastaikti ‘happen’, patikti ‘like’, at(si)bōsti ‘get bored’, jkryti ‘bore’, rūpėti ‘be worried (about), care’, knietėti ‘be anxious (to do sth)’, pabaisti ‘feel terror’, etc. are also used in this pattern; e.g.:

Jām pasisekė išlūsti.  
‘He (DAT) was lucky enough to win.’

Ganės tāu niekūs taikūstī.  
lit. ‘It is enough for you (DAT) to jabber.’

Tāu nepridera taip darūtī.  
‘It isn’t proper for you (DAT) to do so.’

Mān pakyrējo lāuktī.  
‘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:

Rytōj  tēks  labaī  galitētīs.  
tomorrow  have-to: 3. FUT  very  be-sorry: INF

‘Tomorrow one will be very sorry.’

Vakarē jau nōrisi pailsētī.  
‘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:

Jām  nepatīko  laukēlis  (laukēļi)  ārtī.  
he: DAT  not-like: 3. PAST  field:  field:  plough: INF

NOM. SG  ACC. SG

‘He didn’t like to plough the field (NOM/ACC).’
THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

3.70 Vf − Na − Inf

Manė trūkia keliūti.
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 vilioti/māsinti ‘lure’, and also veisti ‘force, compel’, gūndytii ‘tempt’, etc.) require the accusative (cf. 3.66):

Jā veŗčia vēmti. lit. ‘It makes her (ACC) sick (INF).’
Manė seniai viliōja
pamatyti jūrą.

‘I have been longing to see the sea for a long time.’

The accusative of Patient/Experiencer may be omitted if it is generalized or implied by the context, cf.:

Tylų vakarą taip ir traukia
pasivākščioti.

‘On a quiet evening one feels like taking a walk.’

3.71 The infinitive of būti ‘be’ and tāpti ‘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) Tāu tēks pabūti / tāpti vertēju.
you: DAT have-to: 3. FUT become: INF translator: INF

‘You’ll have to act as an interpreter.’

Berniuką traukė būti / tāpti lakūnu.
boy: ACC. SG draw: 3. PAST be: INF become: INF pilot: INSTR

‘The boy had an urge to be/become a pilot.’

(b) Tāu reiška būti atsargiām.
you: DAT be necessary: 3. PRES be: INF careful:DAT

‘You ought to be careful.’

Manė gūndė būti abeijinga viskam.
I: ACC tempt: 3. PAST be: INF indifferent: all:

‘I was tempted to be indifferent to everything.’
SYNTAX

PAT R EN S W ITH T H E P OSE S S IVE D A TIVE

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monikai</th>
<th>kōjas</th>
<th>įskaudo.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monica: DAT</td>
<td>foot: ACC. PL</td>
<td>begin-to-ache: 3. PAST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Monica’s feet began to ache.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jām</th>
<th>speiğia</th>
<th>ausysė.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he: DAT</td>
<td>ring: 3. PRES</td>
<td>ear: LOC. PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘There is a ringing in his ears.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mān</th>
<th>smilksi</th>
<th>per</th>
<th>širdį.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: DAT</td>
<td>prick: 3. PRES</td>
<td>across</td>
<td>heart: ACC. SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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.

INFINITIVEAL 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)

Išeiti (visiems)!
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):

Vaikai, dainuoti!
children sing: INF
‘Children, sing!’

(2) Wishing luck (to oneself or another person):

Laimingai sugrįžti!
happily return: INF
‘Happy return!’

Taĩ kad män taĩp pasivažinėti!
PRT PRT I: DAT so travel: INF
‘I wish I could travel so too!’

(3) Censure, disapproval:

Tokiam rimtām vyrui taĩp pasiegti!
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 män čia liktĩ, ar išeiti?
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 kad or an interrogative or relative pronoun:

Kad tãi pãukšti pagauti / pagāvus!
PRT so that bird: ACC. SG catch: INF catch: PAST. GER
‘I wish I (we) could catch that bird!’

Kã čia mûms daryti / padãrius?
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 darytis / pasidaryti ‘become’, tapti ‘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.:

\[
\text{Sūnūs lygus su tėvu. lit. 'The son is equal with the father.'}
\]

They are entered in the sentence patterns below.

However, the obligatory valencies of infinitives and verbal nouns (kerštas ‘revenge’, užduotis ‘task’, (cf. užduoti ‘give a task’), atlyginimas ‘pay’ (cf. atlyginti ‘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

\[
\text{3.76 } N_n - Vf_{\text{cop}} N_n
\]

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.:

Bėržas yrà mèdis. ‘The birch is a tree.’
Aš vérgas nebuvau ir nebūsiu. ‘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’, žmogus ‘person’, vyras ‘man’, etc.).

Jásų sūnus buvo gēras mokinys. ‘Your son was an excellent student.’
Tòs bûlves buvo pigûs dáiktas. ‘Those potatoes were a cheap thing.’
Identify the subject referent:

Màno pàvardë Stonys.
Màno pàvardë Stonys.

‘My surname is Stonys.’

Tai búvo vieniñtelis màno gyvenime šuvis.

‘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:

Kiñvis yrà màno mègstamiàusias frankis.

‘An ax is my favourite instrument.’

(3) Show the relationship between the referents of a plural subject, whose meaning is determined by the predicate noun:

 mùdu su Jonù seni pažìstami.

‘Jonas and I (lit. ‘We two with Jonas’) are old acquaintances.’

Taip mës pasidàrème gìmìnës.

‘In this way we became relatives.’

3.77 Nn – VfcopNi

jis 
he: NOM

búvo
was

mókytoju.
teacher: INSTR. SG

‘He was a teacher.’

The instrumental case instead of the nominative expresses a temporary characteristic, cf.:

Jù vestùvëse jis búvo pàbroliu.

‘At their wedding he was best man.’

Ir grýnas vandenëlis

mûms medûmi búvo.

‘At that time pure water was honey to us.’

The instrumental is sometimes replaced by a prepositional phrase per + ACC:

Na, tai liksiu àš per piemeni.

‘Well, I’ll remain a shepherd.’

3.78 Nn – VfcopAdjn

Peðlis
knife: NOM. SG

búvo
was

aštrûs.
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 sienes būvo (jūdo) mėdžio.*  ‘All the walls were of (black) wood (GEN).’
*Šitas kambarių būs tavo.*  ‘This room will be yours.’

(2) the instrumental case of a noun with an obligatory modifier:
*Mergaitė būvo juodaš plaukais.*  ‘The girl was black-haired (lit. ‘with black hair’).’

(3) a prepositional phrase:
*Dárbas būvo ne pagal jėgą.*  ‘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:
*Aš esu vardu didžiu.*  ‘I am name: INSTR in uncle: ACC. SG
‘I have been named after my uncle.’

*Pilvas būvo didumo su ligbelį: 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 liežuvis 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 į kita pasnašius.*  ‘We two are alike.’

*Jonas su Petru labai 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 *kelis, keleris, kėletas, keliölika* meaning ‘several’):
*Žuviōs patiekalai tebūs tik du.*  ‘There will be only two fish dishes.’

*Mēs būvome tei kelis.*  lit. ‘We were several there.’
3.79 $\text{Pron}_{\text{neut}}/N_n - Vf_{\text{cop}}\text{Adj}_{\text{neut}}$

$\text{Tai} \quad \text{buvo} \quad \text{puikū}.$

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 $\text{tai} \ ‘it, that’ \ or \ an \ indefinite \ pronoun \ (\text{kažkas} \ ‘something’, \ \text{kas nòrs} \ ‘something’, \ \text{kai kòs} \ ‘something’, \ \text{viskas} \ ‘everything’):$

$\text{Viskas atròdē apsiblaūsē,}$

‘Everything looked dull, commonplace, gloomy.’

$\text{Nè, cìà jaū}$

no here already something not-good: ADV

‘Well, something is wrong here.’

The subject can also be an infinitive:

$\text{Pavaðgti} \quad \text{už} \quad \text{tèvynè–} \quad \text{gražû}.$

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

$\text{Ne mètai, o dràsà svarbù.}$

‘Not age, but courage is important.’

In the latter case, an adverb equivalent to a neuter adjective can be used:

$\text{Dàrbas buvo vèltui.}$

‘The work was in vain.’

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 $N_n - Vf_{\text{cop}}\text{Inf}$

$\text{Tàvo dàrbas yrà mòkytis}.$

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:

$\text{Tàvo reíkalas susíràsti}$

‘Your business is to find a new master and

naùjà ñeiminiùk à ir íseìti.

leave.’

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) Svarbiusias dalýkas buvo išlikti gyviems. ‘The most important thing was to stay alive (DAT).’
(2) Jūs troškimas – būti mokytoju. ‘His wish is to be a teacher (INSTR).’

3.81 Inf – Vf<sub>cop</sub>N<sub>n</sub>

Tylėti būtu 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.:

Duona auginti yra alsūs dARBas.
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):

Būti geru mokytoju – didelis dalýkas.
‘To be a good teacher is a great thing.’

Būti mandagiam – taž savariuas reikalavimas.
‘To be polite is the most important requirement.’

3.82 Inf – Vf<sub>cop</sub>Inf

Dirbti – taž gyventi.
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:

Knygąs rašyti – taž ne ālu gerti.
‘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 nedirbt – taž negyventi.
‘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 tėvąs ‘father’, brólįs ‘brother’, giminė ‘relative’, draugas ‘friend’, priėšas ‘enemy’, etc.) implying symmetrical relations, complemented by the dative or the prepositional phrase su + INSTR:

Baltrus mán dėdé.
Baltrus: NOM I: DAT uncle: NOM. SG
‘Baltrus is my uncle.’

Mės ėsama giminės su Stoniaišs.
we: NOM are relative: NOM. PL with Stonys: INSTR.PL
‘We are relatives with the Stonys family.’

The predicate is sometimes expressed by už + ACC:

Žirgas būs mán už draugėlį
(cf. draugelitą).
‘The horse will be (like) a friend to me.’

The dative case or prepositional phrase of an object is semantically equivalent to the possessive genitive, cf.:

Baltrus mano dėdé.
Baltrus: NOM man: DAT uncle: NOM. SG
‘Baltrus is my uncle.’

Mės ėsama Stonių giminės.
‘We are the Stonys’ relatives.’

Žirgas būs mano draugas.
‘The horse will be my friend.’

(2) Adjectives, namely:

(a) the adjectives pilnas ‘full’, kūpinas ‘full’, reikalingas ‘necessary, requiring’, vežtas ‘worthy, worth’, turtingas ‘rich’, etc. which govern the genitive case:

Obelis pilną žiedų.
‘The apple-tree is full of blossoms.’

Šitas nāmas vežtas didelių pinigų.
‘This house is worth a lot of money.’

(b) the adjectives artimas ‘near, close (to), būdinės ‘peculiar (to), characteristic (of), naudingas ‘useful’, palankus ‘favourable (to), pavojingas ‘dangerous’, reikalingas ‘necessary’, etc. which require the dative case:

Vertimas artimas originalui.
‘The translation is close to the original.’

Jis būs mūms naudingas.
‘He will be useful to us.’

(c) the adjective patenkinantas ‘pleased’ which governs the instrumental:

Jis buvo viskuo patenkinantas.
‘He was pleased with everything.’

(d) a number of adjectives require a prepositional phrase:

Jis su manim beveik 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 už + 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/negu Kauną.

lit. ‘Vilnius is bigger than Kaunas.’

If a predicative adjective is in the superlative form it requires iš + GEN:

Marytė laimingiausia iš visų mergaicių.

‘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.:

Žmogūtis toks neveičtas pažiūrėti/dėmesio.

lit. ‘The little man is quite unworthy to look at/of attention (GEN).’

Sąlygos palaikanios mokyties/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 veikta pagyrimo.

‘That is worthy of praise (GEN).’

Tas paskyrimas buvo lygu ištremimui.

‘That appointment was equal to an exile (DAT).’

Tai buvo panašū į skandālą.

‘That looked like a scandal.’

Gera išgalioti dabar svarbiai 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’, vargąs ‘misery’, and the like):

Visa tai mān nauja.

‘All that is new to me.’

Jai nėkas nemėla.

‘Nothing gives her pleasure’ (lit. ‘is pleasant to her’).

O tai jām buvo didelė garbė.

‘That was a great honour to him.’

The dative of a human noun is also possible in sentences of the pattern Nn – VfCopInf – Nd, where the predicate is the infinitive of a verb of perception (matyti ‘see’, regėti ‘see’, girdėti ‘hear’, jaūsti ‘feel’, etc.), e.g.:

Iš ten jām viskas aiškiu matyti.

‘He can see everything better from there.’
Cf. the corresponding sentence with a finite verb (without the modal meaning):

\[ Jis \ viskų \ aiškiau \ māto. \]  
'He sees everything better.'

These sentences often occur without the dative case of a human noun, e.g.:

\[ Pro \ durīs \ būvo \ girdēti \ balsas. \]  
'One could hear voices behind the door.'

\[ Visuŗ \ numanīti \ šveĩte. \]  
'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:

\[ Jis \ mān \ skolingas \ dū \ litūs. \]  
'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 \[ Vf_\text{cop}N_n \]

\[ Būvo \ zigā. \]  
'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:

\[ Būvo \ vēlūs \ ziemošs \ vākaras. \]  
'It was a late winter evening.'

\[ Rytōj \ būs \ sekmādiēnis. \]  
'Tomorrow will be Sunday.'

\[ Vākar \ būvo \ audrā. \]  
'There was a storm yesterday.'

\[ Klāseje \ būvo \ mirtinā \ tylā. \]  
'There was a dead silence in the classroom.'

The present tense form of the copula būti 'be' is usually omitted (zero copula):

\[ Kārstas \ vāsaras \ vidūrdienis. \]  
'(It is) a hot summer afternoon.'

\[ Šiaudien \ pirmādiēnis. \]  
'Today (is) Monday.'

\[ Vākaras. \ Visuŗ \ tylā. \]  
'(It is) evening. Silence everywhere.'

Sentences of this pattern without a copula can be used to inform about a thing or a phenomenon.
Such sentences without a copula are often termed nominative sentences.

3.88 \( Vf_{\text{cop}}Ad_{\text{neut/adv}} \)

\[ \text{Buvo kārsta.} \]
\[ \text{It was hot.} \]

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. \( \text{Gūdi būdavo miškė.} \)
\[ \text{It used to be gloomy in the forest.} \]
\[ \text{Saulėta, šviesū.} \]
\[ \text{lit. ‘(It is) sunny, light (ADJ).’} \]
\[ \text{Tylū vakaraūs.} \]
\[ \text{‘(It is) quiet in the evenings.’} \]

2. \( \text{Dabar jį sėjelo taip ramū, džiugu.} \)
\[ \text{lit. ‘Now (it is) so quiet, joyful in his soul.’} \]
\[ \text{Taip malonū pavės.} \]
\[ \text{‘(It is) so pleasant in the shade.’} \]

3. \( \text{O dabar vis prasčiaū ir prasčiaū.} \)
\[ \text{‘And now (it is getting) worse and worse.’} \]

Adverbs seldom occur predicatively, except those with the suffix -yn which are used with the desemanticized semi-link verb \( eiti \) ‘go, become’:

\[ \text{Nuo pusiaukelės ūmė eiti šviesyn.} \]
\[ \text{‘From midway it began growing lighter.’} \]

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 \( Vf_{\text{cop}}Ad_{\text{neut/adv}} – N_d \)

\[ \text{Jām buvo pikta.} \]
\[ \text{‘He felt anger.’} \]

The predicate here denotes a psychological or physical state experienced by the object referent, sometimes its assessment by the speaker; cf.:

\[ \text{Mergaitėi kasdien blogiaū.} \]
\[ \text{‘The girl’s state is deteriorating each day’} \]
\[ \text{(lit. ‘It is worse to the girl each day’).} \]

\[ \text{Buš arkliams sunkū.} \]
\[ \text{‘It will be hard on the horses.’} \]

\[ \text{Ar tuā pas mūs buvo negerat?} \]
\[ \text{‘Didn’t you feel well at our place?’} \]
The dative object can be omitted if its referent is implied by the context or generalized:

_Burnojė šleikštū._

‘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 viena, tāu kita._

‘One (thing) (is) for me, (something) another for you.’

3.90 \( V_{fcoop} N_n - N_d \)

_Vaikui tiktaĩ mėtai._

‘The child is only one year old’ (lit. ‘(It is) only a year to the child’).

_Kokią tāu garbė visamė kāime._

lit. ‘What glory for you in the whole village.’

The predicate noun in these sentences denotes a state.

3.91 \( V_{fcoop} N_g - N_d \)

_Vaikui nėra nė mėty._

‘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 nebūvo gyvenimo._

lit. ‘There wasn’t any life for me there’ (i.e. ‘Life was hard for me there’).

\_– Mán ten tai būvo gyvenimas._

lit. ‘It was life for me there’ (i.e. ‘Life was easy for me there’).

3.92 \( N_g - V_{fcoop} AdvQuant \)

_Grūbū_  

_mushroom: GEN. PL_  

_būvo daug._  

‘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:

_Sniego būvo daug/menkai._

‘There was much/little snow’ (lit. ‘Snow (GEN) was much/little’).

(2) a quantitative pronoun:

_Vyrų būvo 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:
Brōlių buvo penki.  
- Brōliai buvo penki.  

‘There were five brothers.’  
lit. ‘The brothers were five.’

(3) a noun denoting quantity:
Žmonių buvo daugybė.  

‘There was a multitude of people (there).’

(4) a neuter adjective implying a quantitative characteristic:
Sniego gilū.  

‘The snow is deep’ (lit. ‘(It is) deep of snow’).

Dabar dienos ilga, nakties trūmpa.  

‘Now days are long, nights are short’ (lit. ‘Long of the day, short of the night’).

(5) prepositional phrase:
Vandens čia iki kelių.  

‘There is water (GEN) up to the knees here.’

Vargų buvo be galo.  

‘There were troubles (GEN) without end.’

3.93 \textit{Ng} – \textit{Vf}_{\text{copAd}_{\text{g}}} / \textit{Num}_{\text{g}}

\begin{align*}
\text{Tėvo nebera gyvo.}  
\text{father: GEN not-be: 3. PRES alive: GEN}  
\text{‘Father is dead.’}
\end{align*}

This pattern is encountered in negative transforms of affirmative personal sentences with the nominative case of a predicate adjective or ordinal numeral, cf.:

\begin{align*}
\text{Nė vieno obuoli nebuvo sveiko.}  
\text{‘Not a single apple was sound.’}  
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{– Visi obuoliai buvo sveiki.}  
\text{‘All the apples were sound’ (cf. 3.78).}  
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Nięko nėra ėmžino.}  
\text{‘Nothing is eternal.’}  
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Kriaušės tei nė vienős nėra.}  
\text{‘There is not a single pear-tree there.’}  
\end{align*}

In this pattern the predicate expressed by any adjective substitute (e.g. a participle) is also in the genitive case; e.g.:

\begin{align*}
\text{Tokio žodžio nėra išlikusio.}  
\text{lit. ‘Such a word (GEN) is not retained (GEN).’}  
\end{align*}

The predicate can also be an emphatic phrase consisting of the negation \textit{nė} ‘not even’ and the genitive case of a noun:

\begin{align*}
\text{ Arklių nebūvo nė pėdsako.}  
\text{‘There was not the slightest sign (lit. ‘footprint’) of the horses.’}  
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Saulės nė spindulėlio.}  
\text{‘There isn’t a ray of sun(light).’}  
\end{align*}

**VIIIa. PREDICATE – OBJECT – OBJECT**

There are two patterns of this type.
3.94 \( Vf_{\text{cop} \text{Adv}} - N_g - N_d \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mán} & \quad gāila \quad \text{tavęs.} \\
\text{I: DAT} & \quad \text{pity} \quad \text{you: GEN} \\
\text{‘I am sorry for you.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The adverbs \textit{gana} ‘enough’, \textit{gaila} ‘pity’ and the nouns \textit{stoka} ‘lack, shortage’, \textit{gēda} ‘shame’ are used predicatively in this pattern. They express a state experienced by the human referent in the dative case:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Šeimai buvo gana savo rūpesčių.} & \quad \text{‘The family had enough of its own worries.’} \\
\text{Jām vis stokā duonos.} & \quad \text{‘He is always short of bread.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Just as in the other patterns the dative case of a human noun can be omitted:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gaila ir tēvo, ir vaikī.} & \quad \text{‘One is sorry for both the father and the children.’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.95 \( Vf_{\text{cop Inf}} - N_g - N_d \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mán} & \quad \text{nematyti} \quad \text{saulės.} \\
\text{I: DAT} & \quad \text{not-see: INF} \quad \text{sun: GEN} \\
\text{‘I can’t see the sun.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Sentences of this pattern are negative transforms of personal sentences like

\[
\text{Mán matyti saulė.} \quad \text{‘I (can) see the sun’ (3.84).}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mán nepatogū sėdėti.} & \quad \text{‘It is awkward for me to sit.’} \\
\text{Sunkū Pētrui gyventi.} & \quad \text{lit. ‘It is hard for Peter to live.’} \\
\text{Jîems buvo nepākeliama dirbtī kartī.} & \quad \text{‘It was intolerable for them to work together.’} \\
\text{Bepīgu tāu taip kalbēti.} & \quad \text{‘It is all very well for you to say that.’} \\
\text{(Cf. also Tāu laīkas išeiti.)} & \quad \text{‘It is time for you to go.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The dative is often omitted here:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Paskuī būs vēlū grēžtī.} & \quad \text{‘After that it will be late to return.’} \\
\text{Blūga/Blūgā turēti daug pinigū.} & \quad \text{‘It is bad to have much money.’}
\end{align*}
\]
The infinitive is often interchangeable with a past gerund:

\[ Gěra būty su juo susitikus. \]  
‘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) \[ Gěra žmogui būti sveikam. \]  
‘It’s good for a person (DAT. SG. MASC) to be healthy (DAT. SG. MASC).’

(2) \[ Kiekvienám malonu pasidaryti didvyriu. \]  
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 (pradėti ‘begin’, išti ’begin, start’, baigti ‘finish’, liūtis ‘stop’, etc.) or a modal verb (galėti ‘be able (to)’, pajėgti ‘be able’, turėti ‘have (to)’, privalėti ‘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: pradėjo giedoti = pragydo ‘(he) began to chant’; baigė valgyti = pavaldę ‘(he) finished eating’. The modal meaning ‘be able (to)’ can also be expressed by a prefix: gali eiti = paeina ‘(he) can walk’.

Verbal groups with a phasal or modal verb like pradėjo rėkti/vaiškioti ‘(he) began to shout/walk’, baigė dirbti/rašyti ‘(he) finished working/writing’, pradėjo/baigė lūti/snūgti ‘it began/stopped raining/snowing’; galiu vaiškioti/dirbti ‘I can walk/work’ are viewed here as variants of the simple predicates rėkė ‘shouted’, vaiški-ciojo ‘walked’, dirbo ‘worked’, rūšė ‘wrote’, liojo ‘(it) rained’, snigo ‘(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:

\[ liūvėsi rašyti/rąšęs, -iusi, -ę \]  
‘(he, she, they) stopped writing’

\[ nustoj rūti/lįją \]  
‘(it) stopped raining’

A phasal verb denoting beginning can be omitted in emphatic speech, an infinitive alone representing the predicate:
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 daug žmonių ‘many people’, dešimt knygų ‘ten books’, tėvas su sūnumi lit. ‘father with son (INSTR)’, mės su draugi lit. ‘we with the friend’ (= ‘my friend and I’), mūsų minios ‘crowds upon (lit. ‘of’) crowds’, auksas sidabras lit. ‘silver gold’, aš pats ‘ I myself’, etc. can be used.

The accusative case of a direct object alternates with the genitive of indefinite quantity (see 2.12); e.g.:

Merga atneše duoną.   ‘The maid brought the bread (ACC).’
- Merga atneše duonos.  ‘The maid brought some bread (GEN).’

(The use of the genitive of indefinite quantity determined by the verbal meaning see 2.11, 3.56, 60.)

The accusative case of a direct object alternates with the genitive of indefinite quantity (see 2.12); e.g.:

Viėtos būs ląsių.   ‘The guests (NOM) / Some guests (GEN) arrived.’
- Viety būs laisvių.  ‘Some places will be vacant’ (= ‘There will be some vacant seats’).

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) Išgirdau griausmą/griaudžiant. ‘I heard a clap of thunder (ACC)/thundering (PRES. GER).’
Visų laukė atšilimo/atšilant. ‘Everybody was waiting for a thaw (GEN)/thawing (PRES. GER).’

(2) Jaučiu vėją pūčiant. ‘I feel a wind (ACC) blowing (PRES. GER).’
(3) Jie suprato, kad vėsara baigėsi. ‘They realized that the summer was over.’

This alternation is often possible in the same sentence; cf.:

Mačiau, kaip jis grįžo/jį grįžtant/jo sugrižimaq. lit. ‘I saw how he returned/him returning (GER)/his return (ACC).’
A gerund or a gerundial clause occurs in object position after verbs denoting:

(1) speech and related actions:

Tarnas pranešė žmogų aitejus su reikalau. ‘The servant announced a man (ACC) who had come (PAST. GER) on business.’

(2) perception:

Kurš girdėjai gaidžius lūjant, šunis giedant? ‘Where have you heard roosters (ACC) barking (PRES. GER), dogs (ACC) crowing (PRES. GER)?’

Mačiau brōli ateinant. ‘I saw my brother (ACC) coming (PRES. GER).’

(3) mental processes:

Jis pramānė manė ilgai miegant. ‘He thought I (ACC) slept (PRES. GER) (too) long.’

(4) hope, belief:

Reikia tikėti ji greitai grįšiant. ‘One should believe he (ACC) would return (FUT. GER) soon.’

(5) finding and leaving:

Senelė rūdo/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 gyresi daug mātēs. ‘He boasted of having seen (PAST. PART) much.’

Žmogus pasiskūndė netekęs dārbo. ‘The man complained of having lost (PAST. PART) his job.’

(2) Ji ne(si)jauchia klaūda padarusi. ‘She doesn’t feel she has made (PAST. PART) a mistake.’

Tēvai mātē sūnaus nepērkalbēsiq. ‘The parents saw they wouldn’t talk (FUT. PART) their son out of it.’

(3) Kitī tāriasi viską žinaq. ‘Some people think they know (PRES. PART) everything.’
Vincas įsitikino geraip pirkęs. ‘Vincas was convinced he had made a good purchase (lit. ‘having bought well’) (PAST. PART).’

(4) Vyliusi turėsias gera žmona. ‘He hoped he would have (FUT. PART) a good wife.’

Dabaď tikiuosi ištėsisinamas. ‘Now I hope to be acquitted (PRES. PASS. PART).’

(5) Pasilikaši begulšis lovoje. ‘I remained lying (PRES. PART) in bed.’

In the following case, the present passive participle alone is possible:

Katė ląukia 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 apsimēsti ‘pretend, feign’, susilaikyti ‘refrain (from)’ and the like:

Mažasis brūlis dėjosi niėko nežina. ‘The little brother pretended he knew (PRES. PART) nothing.’

Jis apsimeta sergęs. ‘He pretends to be ill (PRES. PART).’

Kareivis vės susilaikę neišėjęs. ‘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.:

Kö norësi mano dūodamas? ‘What will you want me to give you?’

Arklīgs bijo mūšamas. ‘The horse is afraid of being beaten (PRES. PASS. PART).’

Jis 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.:

Jis jauntėsi negalių dirbti. ‘He felt unable to work.’

– Jis jauntė, kad negali dirbti. ‘He felt that he couldn’t work.’

Džiaugiuosi sugrįžęs. ‘I rejoice at having returned.’

– Džiaugiuosi, kad sugriža. ‘I rejoice that I have returned.’

Sakei ateisiąs (Sakei, kad ateisi). ‘You said you would come.’
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 *girdėti* ‘hear’, *matyti* ‘see’, *numanėti* ‘guess’, *jausti* ‘feel’ or by their reflexive derivatives:

Jaū matyti žąsys parškrendant  
‘One can already see the geese (NOM) return (PRES.GER/that the geese are returning).’

(cf.: kad žąsys parškrenda).

*Girdėti/Pasigindo griaudžiant.*  
‘One can hear /One could hear thundering (GER)/thunder (NOM)/that it is thundering.’

The objective infinitive in some patterns is interchangeable with a completive subordinate clause:

Prašiau tėvą sugrižti.  
‘I asked father to return.’

– Prašiau tėvą, kad sugrižtu.  
‘I asked father that he return.’

Omission and interchangeability of constituents

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:

*Arkliai* pasibaidė akmeňs.  
‘The horses took fright at a stone.’

– *Arkliai* baigosi.  
‘The horses take fright (easily).’

*Jis labai didžiūoja jasi savo arkliai.*  
‘He is very proud of his horses.’

– *Jis labai didžiūoja*  
 (= yrą labai išdidūs).  
‘He is very proud (= is arrogant).’

*Ji mąstė apie ateitį.*  
‘She thought of the future.’

– *Ji sédėjo ir mąstė.*  
‘She sat deep in thought (lit. ‘sat and thought’).’

This case is traditionally referred to as the absolutive 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
he put-on-shoes
'He put on shoes.'

(2) Moterys įpaigua
jūnają (nuometu).
'The women veiled the bride (with a
married woman's head-dress).'

A direct object may be sometimes omitted to imply an unspecified or generalized referent, e.g.:

Visi daba tik parduoda,
iękas nėperka.
'Everyone is only selling now, no one is
buying.'

An indirect object is more often omitted in such cases, e.g.:

Raudoną spalvą primena rožės.
'Vered colour reminds (one) of roses'
(implied DAT - generalized referent).

Jis žadėjo ateiti.
'He promised to come'
(implied DAT - unspecified referent).

Už gėra dárba vyriausybė
ji apdovanójo.
'The government awarded him for good
work' (implied INSTR - unspecified
referent).

Kiaušinis vištą moko (kø?).
'An egg teaches the hen' (implied GEN -
generalized referent).

A prepositional phrase can also be omitted:

Mūno dukę išteka (už kø?).
'My daughter is getting married (to
whom?)' (unspecified referent).

Jis gavo láišką (iš kø?).
'He received a letter (from whom?)'
(unspecified referent).

Piktas šuo namus gina (nuo kø?).
'A fierce dog protects home (from
whom?)' (generalized referent).

Omission of two objects is also possible:

Ji amžina skundžiasi (kám? kuð?).
'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.:

Mūn          geraĩ          miėgasi.
I: DAT        well          sleep: 3. PRES. REFL
'I (can) sleep well.'
‘One sleeps well when it rains.’

‘I am suffocating.’

‘In such weather it is hard to breathe.’

3.107 Sometimes, an object can be replaced by an adverbial modifier of place or manner; cf. respectively:

(1) Anglią kasykla i/kasykloje
jis atidavė savo sveikatą.

‘He lost (lit. ‘gave’) his health to the coal mine (DAT)/in the coal mine (LOC).’

Jonukas reikalingas
namų atsiems/prie namų.

‘Johnny is needed (lit. ‘necessary’) by his family (DAT)/at home (PREP. GEN).’

(2) Aš nugirdau visai
kitką/kitai p.

lit. ‘I heard something different (ACC)/quite otherwise (ADV).’

Turētā Diēvas tō/taip norējo.

lit. ‘God must have wanted that (GEN)/so (ADV).’

An adverbial of place can be omitted if its absence is compensated for by an adverbial of purpose:

Siunčiau jį dūonas (į parduotūve).

‘I sent him for bread (to the shop).’

Sometimes an adverbial can be substituted for an (inanimate) subject, which results in an impersonal sentence, e.g.:

Vaikui
darželyje /
darželis
child: DAT. SG kindergarten: LOC kindergarten: NOM not-liked

‘The boy didn’t like it in the kindergarten/didn’t like the kindergarten.’

Štaž
kaip / kās
kaštai
thus how what: NOM sometimes happens man: DAT. SG

‘That’s how it/what sometimes happens to a person.’

Relations between sentence patterns

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE SENTENCES

3.108 If the active voice of the predicate is changed into the passive, the sentence structure undergoes a number of changes: the nominative of the subject is replaced
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:

\[ N_n^1 - V_f - N_n^2 \Rightarrow N_n^2 - V_{fp} - N_n^1 \]

In a passive construction, the passive participle assumes either the masculine or feminine (1) or (rarely) the neuter form (2):

\[ Tēvas skažto laikrašti. \]

‘Father is reading a newspaper.’ ⇒

\[ (1) \text{Laikraštis} \quad yrà \quad skažtomàs \quad tēvo. \]

newspaper: is read: PRES. PASS. father: GEN. SG
NOM. SG. MASC PART. MASC

\[ (2) \text{Laikraštis} \quad yrà \quad skažoma \quad tēvo. \]

newspaper: is read: PRES. PASS. father: GEN MASC PART. NEUTR
MASC

‘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:

\[ Rašoma ]

write: PRES. PASS.
PART. NEUTR

‘A letter is (being) written.’

\[ Perkama ]

buy: PRES. PASS.
PART. NEUTR

‘Grain is (being) bought.’

Sentences with the neuter form of a passive participle may express special mean­nings (see II. 5.74, 77).

Sentences with the passive form of the transitive verbs atstováuti ‘represent’, vadováuti ‘lead, guide’ taking an object in the dative case and of verbs taking an object in the genitive case (laukti ‘wait (for)’, ieškoti ‘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.:

\[ Jis \text{ atstováuja kitai pārtijai.} \]

‘He represents another party.’ ⇒

Kitā pārtīja yrà (jō) atstovājujama.
Šeiminīkē laukią svečiā.
Svečiai yrà laukiamì (šeiminīkēs). ‘Another party is represented (by him).’

‘The hostess is waiting for the guests.’ ⇒

The guests are expected (by the hostess).’
The sentence structure changes as follows:

\[ N_n^1 - Vf - N_{r/d}^2 \Rightarrow N_n^2 - Vf_p - N_{r/d}^1 \]

(b) The object retains its case form and the passive participle is neuter; thus the transform is an impersonal sentence:

\[ \text{Pártijai yrà (jò) atstovàujama.} \]

(The party (DAT) is represented (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR) (by him)' (or: 'There is a representation of the party').

\[ \text{Svečià yrà láukiama.} \]

('Guests (GEN. PL) are expected (PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR).')

In this case the sentence undergoes the following change:

\[ N_n^1 - Vf - N_{r/d}^2 \Rightarrow N_k^1 - Vf_p - N_{r/d}^2 \]

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:

\[ \text{Tèvas miëga.} \]

('Father is asleep.')

\[ \text{Tèvo miëgama.} \]

(father: GEN sleep: PRES. PASS. PART. NEUTR 'Father is asleep.'

The structure here changes as follows: \( N_n - Vf \Rightarrow Vf_p - N_r \).

3.109 A compound nominal predicate can also take the passive form, both the subject and the predicate acquiring the genitive case form, cf.:

\[ \text{jis bùvo kareìvis.} \]

('He was a soldier.')

\[ \text{jò bùta kareìvio.} \]

(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.:

Čia parduodamos knygos. ‘Books are sold here.’

Cf. also impersonal sentences with the neuter passive form:

Laiškų negauta. ‘No letters are received.’
Taip nedaroma. ‘This (lit. ‘so’) is not done’ (‘One can’t do so’).
Sūlėje šokama. ‘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) Nn – Nd. A number of relational verbs (of the lexical type užtękti ‘have/be enough’, trūkti ‘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.:

Mes pritrūkome pinigų. ‘We (NOM) ran short of money.’
- Mums pritrūko pinigų. ‘We (DAT) ran short of money.’
Ligonis/ligoniui pagerėjo. ‘The patient (NOM/DAT) improved.’
Jis/jąm gailėjo šunis. ‘He (NOM/DAT) felt pity for the dog.’

(2) Nn – Na. Verbs of physical sensations (like skaudėti ‘ache’, gėlti ‘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 skaūda galvą/galvą. ‘I have a headache’ (lit. ‘To me (the) head (NOM/ACC) aches’).
Jám gerkle/gérkle perši. ‘His (DAT) throat (NOM/ACC) smarts’ (i.e., ‘He has a sore throat’).
Mán gėlia 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.
The nominative case alternates with the instrumental in sentences with numerous verbs of the lexical types illustrated here:

(a) *Vaiką išbėrę spuogai/spuogais.*  
‘Pimples (NOM/INSTR) covered (lit. ‘broke out’) the child.’

(b) *Kambaryjà kvępies gėlės/gėlėmìs.*  
lit. ‘Flowers (NOM/INSTR) smell sweet in the room.’ (Or: ‘In the room flowers smell sweet/it smells of flowers.’)

(c) *Nuo ežero pàdvelkë vėsumas/vėsumù.*  
‘Cool air (NOM/INSTR) drifted up from the lake.’

(d) *Dañgu užtraukë dèbesys/debesimìs.*  
‘Clouds (NOM/INSTR) covered the sky.’

Impersonal sentences emphasize the spontaneous nature of a state or process.

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:

*Màn ãžia galvà/galvojè.*  
‘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/daržuosè/ po daržùs dar žaliúoja.*  
‘The gardens (NOM/LOC/prepACC) are green yet.’

This and similar verbs can also take a patient noun in subject position:

*Daržuosè dar žaliúoja žolë.*  
‘The grass is green yet in the garden.’

(b) *Manè traukia ežeras/ prie ežero.*  
‘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:

*Kièmas / kièmas privažiûvo žmoniû.*  
courtyard: NOM to courtyard: ACC came people: GEN  
‘A lot of people came into (filled) the courtyard.’
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jām} & \quad \text{sēkasi} & \quad \text{dārbas} / & \quad \text{dirbtī.} \\
\text{he: DAT} & \quad \text{goes well} & \quad \text{work: NOM} & \quad \text{work: INF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He works successfully.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vaikui nusibōdo žaidimas/žaisti.} & \quad \text{lit. ‘Playing/to play bored the child.’} \\
\text{Manė viliōja keliōnės/keliūtī.} & \quad \text{lit. ‘Travels/to travel lure(s) me.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mān patiņka dainūoti.} & \quad \text{‘I like to sing.’} \\
\text{– Mān patiņka daināvimas.} & \quad \text{‘I like singing’ (my own or another person’s).}
\end{align*}
\]

(6) The subject of a personal sentence expressed by the nominative case may be omitted (N_{n} – Ø) if it is tautological or can be recovered unambiguously from the verbal meaning:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nuo stogo varva lašai.} & \quad \text{‘Drops drip from the roof.’} \\
\text{– Nuo stogo varva.} & \quad \text{‘It is dripping from the roof.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Impersonal sentences with causative verbs and the accusative of a human noun, such as

\[
\text{Manė kēlia į į orą.} \quad \text{lit. ‘(It) is lifting me into the air’}
\]

may be considered to be variants of personal sentences with a lexically expressed indefinite non-human subject:

\[
\text{Manė kažkās kēlia į į orą.} \quad \text{‘Something is lifting me into the air.’}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Āš nemiegū.} & \quad \text{‘I don’t sleep.’} \\
\text{Mān} & \quad \text{nesimiēga.} \\
\text{I: DAT} & \quad \text{not-REFL-sleep: 3. PRES}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I can’t sleep.’
An impersonal reflexive verb usually occurs either with negation or with an adverbia of modality, but:

\[ \text{Aš noriu miego.} \]
\[ \text{I: DAT want: 3. PRES. REFL sleep: GEN. SG} \]
‘I feel sleepy.’

Impersonal reflexives differ semantically from the respective non-reflexive verbs in that they acquire a potential modal meaning of the human referent’s involuntary predisposition to the action of the underlying verb (cf. 3.57).

(2) A number of intransitive verbs (būti ‘be’, likti ‘remain, be left’, matytis ‘be seen’, girdėtis ‘be heard’, etc.) used with negation (ne- ‘not’ or nebe- ‘not any longer’) require the genitive rather than the nominative subject when the existence of something is denied, cf.:

\[ \text{Išeitis yra.} \]
\[ \text{I: DAT not-see: INF light: GEN} \]
‘There is no way out.’

Compare also respective sentences with an infinitive:

\[ \text{Mán matyti šviesà.} \]
\[ \text{I: DAT see: INF light: NOM} \]
‘I can see light.’

(3) A personal sentence alternates with an impersonal sentence in which the infinitive is substituted for the imperative form of the predicate, the subject taking the dative form:

\[ \text{Visi tylēkit!} \]
\[ \text{everybody: DAT. PL be silent: INF} \]
‘Everybody, keep silence!’

\[ \text{Jūs dainiūokit!} \]
\[ \text{you: DAT sing: INF} \]
‘Your turn to sing!’
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.:

*Tėvas grįš rytöją.*
– *Tėvas negrįš rytöją.*
*Mán reikia anksti kėltis.*
– *Mán nerėikia anksti kėltis.*

‘Father will return tomorrow.’
‘Father will not return tomorrow.’
‘I have to get up early.’
‘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:

*jis prašė mane dar nevažiuoti.*
*gyvename nė dėl turto.*

‘He asked me not to leave yet.’
‘We live not for riches.’

Affirmation has no specific markers, excepting the particle *tai* ‘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 *ne* is its negative counterpart. Cf.:

(1) *Ar pasakei jām teisybę? – tai/?Ne.*
*Tėvas jau grįžo? – Tai, grįžo/?Ne, negrįžo.*

‘Did you tell him the truth? – Yes/No.’
‘Has father returned? – Yes, he has/No, he hasn’t.’

(2) *Tai, dabar āš suprantu/?Ne, dabar āš nesuprantu.*

‘Yes, now I understand it/No, now I don’t 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):

*Studėntai laižė paskaitas.*
– *Studėntai nelaižė paskaitų.*

‘The students attended lectures (ACC).’
‘The students did not attend lectures (GEN).’
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:

*Vaikai būvo/nėliko namē.*

‘The children were/stayed at home.’

*Vaikai nebūvo/nēliko namē.*

‘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:

*Vaiką nebūvo/nēliko namē.*

‘There were no children at home/No children stayed at home.’

This rule also applies to sentences without an adverbial of place:

*Yra kitas keliai.*

‘There is another way.’

*– Nėra kito kėlio.*

‘There is no other (GEN) way (GEN).’

Liko išeitūs.

‘There was yet (lit. ‘remained’) a way out.’

*– Nėliko išeitūs.*

‘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:

*Jis yra gyvas.*

‘He is alive.’

*– Jō nėra gyvo.*

‘(The state of things is such that) he (GEN) is not alive (GEN).’

The equivalent of the English sentence *He is dead* is *Jis negyvas* ‘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)matyti* ‘not to see (any longer)’, *ne(be)girdėti* ‘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.:

*Čia matyti / mātosi kėliai.*

‘One can see the road here.’

*– Čia nematyti / nesimāto kėlio.*

‘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:

- Tėvai mūs mokė netingėti.
- Jis manė privertė negržti.

‘The parents taught us (ACC) not to idle.’

‘He forced me (ACC) not to return.’

If the negation is prefixed to the predicate the genitive is used instead of the accusative:

- Tėvai mūsų nemokė tingėti.
- Jis manęs nepriverė gržti.

‘The parents did not teach us (GEN) to idle.’

‘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:

- Jis mėgsta rašyti laiškus.
- Jis nemėgsta rašyti laiškų.

‘He likes to write letters (ACC).’

‘He doesn’t like to write letters (GEN).’

- Šiaūdien tūrime sodinti medžiūs.
- Netūrime sodinti mėdžių.

‘We must plant trees (ACC) today.’

‘We don’t have to plant (any) trees (GEN).’

- Pradėjau skaityti tavo knygą.  
- Där nepradėjau skaityti tavo knygą.

‘I have begun to read your book (ACC).’

‘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:

- Negaliu priimtis parašyti laišką.  
- Jie nenori leisti pradėti statyti mokyklos.

‘I can’t get myself (ready) to write a letter (GEN).’

‘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 nepamiršk mán kitą dieną parašyti laišką/laiško.
- Nedrįsa tādā atviraš pasakāti tiēsā/tiesās.

‘Only don’t forget on the next day to write me a letter (ACC/GEN).’

‘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):

*Duktė buvo/pasidärė graži.*

‘The daughter was/became pretty.’ ⇒

(a) *Duktė buvo/pasidärė neraži.*

lit. ‘The daughter was/became not pretty.’

(b) *Duktė nebuvo/nepasidärė 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:

*Mėdžių lapai jau buvo nuvystė.*

‘The tree leaves were already withered.’ ⇒

(a) *Mėdžių lapai buvo dar nenuvystė.*

‘The tree leaves were not-withered yet.’

(b) *Mėdžių lapai dėr nebuvo nuvystė.*

‘The tree leaves were not yet withered.’

*Stalas buvo padengtas.*

‘The table was laid (for a meal).’ ⇒

(a) *Stalas buvo nepadengtas.*

‘The table was not-laid.’

(b) *Stalas nebuvo padengtas.*

‘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:

*Aš negalėjau neateiti.*

lit. ‘I couldn’t not come’ (= ‘I couldn’t help coming’).

*Duktė nebuvo neraži.*

lit. ‘The daughter was not not-pretty (= ‘She, was pretty’).

*Stalas nebuvo nepadengtas.*

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 *nė* or (less commonly) *nei* is used. It can be placed either before the negative predicate (1) or before any other sentence constituent (2):

(1) *Mokytoja nė/nei nepažvelgė į sąsiuvinį.*

‘The teacher did not even glance at the copybook.’

*Tokie džiaugsmo jis nė/nei nebuvo sapnāvės/nebuvo nė/nei sapnāvės.*

‘He had not even dreamed of such joy.’
(2) Jis nepàjégė daugiau
nèi nei žòdžio ištarti.
Nèi/Nei vienas iš jù
nenûjaute sàvo 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 neñ ... neñ ‘neither ... nor’ is used.
It has emphatic force and it is a negative counterpart of the emphatic conjunction
iñ ... iñ, cf.:

(1) Žmònès ir màtè, ir
girdéjo artèjanèiq aùdràq.
- Žmònès nei nemàtè, nei
negirdéjo artèjanèiq audràs.

‘People both saw and heard the
approaching storm.’

‘People neither saw (lit. ‘not-saw’) nor heard
(lit. ‘not-heard’) the approaching storm.’

(2) Galiù pasakûû tièsq ir
tàu, ir kitìems.
- Negaliù pasakûû tièòs
nei tàu, nei kitìems.

‘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 àù Jòna maèciaù, ir
tàu galèjài jì sutìkti.
- Neí àù Jòno nemaèciaù,
nei tàu negalèjài jò sutìkti.

‘(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 neñ ... neñ coordinates predicates or clauses the negative
prefix can sometimes be omitted in the predicates, the negative conjunction
compensating for it, cf.:

Žmònès nei màtè, nei
girdéjo artèjanèiq audràs.
Neí àù Jòna maèciaù, nei
tàu galèjài jì sutìkti.
Neí àù tàu kà dúòòsu, nei
tàu manèq praèòèq.

‘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 neñ ... neñ or with the particle nè the present
tense form of búti ‘be’ with negation can also be omitted (in expressive speech):

Aplûûk (nèrà) nei mèðòq,
nei kràùèòq.
Miestèûjè (nèrà) nè
zhíùèòq.

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’, kažkas ‘somebody’, ‘something’ – niėkas ‘nothing, nobody’;
visi, -os ‘everybody’, kiekvienas, -à ‘everyone’ – niėkas ‘nobody’, nė vienas, -à ‘not (a single) one’;

visūks, -ia ‘any (kind of)’ – joks, -ià ‘no (kind of)’; cf.:

Tadà mán visas paaškédjo. ‘Everything then became clear to me.’
- Tadà mán niėkas / niėko nepaaškédjo. lit. ‘That time nothing (NOM/GEN) became clear to me.’

Tèvas su kažkuo šnekédjo. ‘Father was talking with somebody.’
- Tèvas su niėkuo nesišnekédjo. ‘Father was not talking with anyone (lit. ‘with nobody’).’

Jì tei visi pažįsta. ‘Everyone knows him there.’
- Jó tei niėkas nepažįsta. ‘Nobody knows him there.’

Kiekvienas výras taïp tūri elgtis. ‘Every man should behave so.’
- Nè vienas / Jóks výras taïp netūri elgtis. ‘Not one/no man should behave so.’

Dédè vaikâmás ãtneše visókiu dovanų. ‘The uncle brought the children all kinds of presents.’
- Dédè vaikâmás neâtneše jokių dovanų. ‘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’ – niėkaip ‘in no way, nowise’
visuð ‘everywhere, kažkur ‘somewhere’ – niêkur ‘nowhere’
visadà/visasðós ‘always’ – niekadà/niekadàs ‘never’
visuomët ‘always’ – niekuomët ‘never’
šiek tiék ‘somewhat, a little’ – nè kiek ‘not at all, not any’; cf.:

Stëngiausi visaip jám padëti. ‘I tried to help him in all (possible) ways.’
- Nesistëngiau jám niêkaip padëti. ‘I did not try to help him in any (lit. ‘no’) way.’

Visuð buvo daug žmoniû. ‘There were many people everywhere.’
- Niêkur nebûvo žmoniû. ‘There were no people anywhere (lit. ‘nowhere’).’

Mótina kažkuû išvažiaû. ‘Mother has gone somewhere.’
- Mótina niêkur neišvažiaû. ‘Mother has not gone anywhere (lit. ‘nowhere’).’
Tas sēnis visadā / visuomēt po pietū pamēga.
- Tas sēnis niekadā /
iekuomēt po pietū nemiēga.
Vāistai mān šiek tīek padējo.
- Vāistai mān nē kiek nepadējo.

‘That old man always has a nap after dinner.’
‘That old man never has a nap after dinner.’
‘The medicine has helped me a little.’
‘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 negativemeaning 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.:

Tāu niēkas niekadā nedārē jokiū priekaištū.

‘No one has ever reproached you for anything’ (lit. ‘No one never did not make you no reproaches’).

Niēko, niēkur ir niēkad jiems nēliēdžiama.

‘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.:

Jīs visūr yra būves, viskā mātēs.
- Jīs visūr nēra būves, visko nērā mātēs.

‘He has been everywhere, seen everything.’
‘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’).

Kiekvienas tō neprivālo darīti.

‘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 palauksiu.
- Āš jaū tavēs nebelaauxiu.
Traukīnys jaū atvažiuoja.
- Traukīnys dār neatvažiuoja.

‘I’ll wait for you (for a while) yet.’
‘I won’t wait for you any longer.’
‘The train is already pulling in.’
‘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:

Žmogus stovėjo prie lango. 'A man stood at the window.'
Jis kalbėjosi su laiškanešiu. '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) Stovėdamas prie lango, žmogus kalbėjosi su laiškanešiu. 'Standing at the window the man talked to the postman.'
(2) Žmogus stovėjo prie lango, kalbėdamas su laiškanešiu. '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.:

- Senėlis, žiūri! damas į darbininkus, šypsójosi.
  ‘Looking (HALF-PART) at the workers, grandfather smiled.’
- Bėrnas, vidurys piškios atsistojės, apsidažė aplinkui.
  ‘The lad, having stopped (PAST. ACT. PART) in the middle of the room, looked around.’
- Visų pėsektijomas, kareivis nūtarė gintis.
  ‘Pursued (PRES. PASS. PART) by everybody, the soldier decided to defend himself.’
- Paleistą iš nárovo, kanarėlė išskrido pro lángą.
  ‘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:

- Jurgelis mirė penkiolikos mėtų būdamas.
  lit. ‘Jurgelis (Georgie) died being (HALF-PART) fifteen years of age.’
- Būdamą pavargusi, negali!jau 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):

- Mûms besišnekant atsidarė dûrys.
  we: DAT talk: PRES. GER open: 3. PAST door
  ‘While we were talking the door opened.’
- Broliau gržus āš atsiguliu.
  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. ‘The friends left home early.'
Važiuojant per mišką sulūzo rātas. While (they were) driving (PRES. GER) through the woods, the wheel broke.’

(2) Bulves kāsant dažnai prasideda šalnos. ‘(When) digging up (PRES. GER) potatoes, it often starts freezing.’

(3) Taip sparčiai suteik mūs nebegalėjome nė tąko 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 mus pasitiko tik šuo. ‘On return (PAST. GER) home, the dog alone came out meet us.’
Naktį bežygiuojant sun kvežimis jūm pervažiavo koją. ‘When he was walking (PRES. GEN) at night, a lorry (ran him over and) crushed his (lit. to him, DAT) leg.’

Jū veidas paniuro išgirdus atsakymą. ‘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 pradžių abu kaimynai ėjo tylomis. Aštinantis 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/dirbės gali ir pailsėti. ‘Working (HALF-PART)/having worked (PAST. ACT. PART) so hard, you can afford a rest.’

Taip suņkiai dirbant/dirbus galima 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’, *prięš* ‘before’, *vöš* ‘hardly, as soon as’, *tik* ‘just’ are used to introduce a participial clause, e.g.:

\[\text{Prieš eïdamas namõ, Jurgis visadà užsûkdavo pas jà.}\]

‘Before going home, Jurgis (George) used to look in on her.’

\[\text{Mótina išskubëjo į miestëlîj vos rûtui prašvitus.}\]

‘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:**
   
   \[\text{Per dienû dienàs niëko nedirdomà, jì tûrì net per daûg laiko.}\]
   
   ‘Doing (HALF-PART) nothing all day long, she has too much spare time.’

   \[\text{Nuolat visû përsekojamas jis pripràto gûntis.}\]

   ‘Constantly persecuted (PRES. PASS. PART) by all he got used to defending himself.’

   \[\text{Mótinai çìà ësant, mûn nebaïsû.}\]

   ‘Mother being (PRES. GER) here, I am not afraid of anything.’

2. **condition:**
   
   \[\text{Pabûvës pas manë metûs, išmûktum ir laûkûs ârî.}\]

   ‘Having spent (PAST. ACT. PART) a year with me, you would even learn to plough the fields.’

   \[\text{Tavìmû dëtas aû bûcjàu kitaûp pasìélûûës.}\]

   ‘If I were you (you: INSTR. SG put: PAST. PASS. PART. NOM. SG) I’d have behaved differently.’

   \[\text{Dûodant vienûm, reûkia dûoti ir kitûm.}\]

   ‘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)*):**

   \[\text{Pûts vargganaï gynëndamas, jis stëngësi kitûms padëti.}\]

   ‘Being poor (lit. living poorly: HALF-PART) himself, he did his best to help others.’

   \[\text{Čìà gimes ir uûáugû, gûntûsios kalbûs doraû neiûsmûko.}\]

   ‘Having been born and grown up here, he hasn’t learnt his native language properly.’

   \[\text{Nûrs/kad ir sàugumûs draugû, jis nepraràðo vîlûûs pabëgti.}\]

   ‘Though guarded (PRES. PASS. PART) by his friends, he did not lose hope of escaping.’
(4) manner:

Besirūpinsamas kitų laime rasi ir savąją.

'(While) being concerned (HALF-PART) with other people’s happiness, you’ll find your own.’

Vaikai sėdėjo kambario kampe prisigaildę 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 ieškoti ‘look for’, siekti ‘seek, strive’, norėti ‘want’, mostly after verbs of motion):

Visą dieną bėgiojau ieškodamas mergaitės tėvų.

lit. ‘I ran about all day looking (HALF-PART) for the girl’s parents.’

Jis užėjo į knygyną, tikedamas iš norėdamas nusipirkti žodyną.

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 sušlapo kojas braidýdamas po balas.

lit. ‘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:

Gyvendamas toli nuo savo giminių, Jónas retai tegalėjo júos aplinkytį.

lit. ‘Living (HALF-PART) far from his relatives, John could only seldom visit them.’

A single participle without dependent words can also be detached from the sentence:

Paválge, medžiotojai tuojaū 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 (kaip ‘like, as’, taštum ‘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.:

Vargaĩ praėis kaip naktis. lit. ‘Troubles will pass like a night’ (comparative phrase).

Vargaĩ praėis, kaip praėina naktis. ‘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:

Nusipirkaţi jūodą kaip anglis 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 kaip ‘like’, or by it, līg, taštum/tarsi implying a shade of modal meaning.

(1) Tēvas dirba kaip visi. ‘Father works like everybody else.’
Merginā žydi lyg / taštum rūže. ‘The girl is blooming like a rose.’

(2) Sāugojo jā trūs brōliai kaip āžuolaĩ. ‘She was guarded by three brothers like oak-trees.’

(3) Jis grīžo namod piktaš it/lyg/ taštum žvėris. ‘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).’

Saulē pasislēpē už tamsaũš kaip naktis 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:

Nōriu miegro kaip medaũš. ‘I want sleep (GEN) like honey (GEN).’
Cf. Nōriu miegro saldaũš 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:

- **Bokštas žiba kaip stiklinis.** 'The tower glitters like (made of) glass (ADJ).'
- **Jis lėidžia mano pinigus kaip savūs.** 'He spends my money (ACC) like his own (PRON. ACC).'
- **Dabar galim pasikalbėti kaip seniau.** '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):

- **Katrė rūmuose kankinasi lyg narvė paukštėlė.** 'Katrė (Catherine) is suffering in the palace like a bird in a cage.'

Adverbial comparative phrases can be preceded by the correlative words **taip** 'so', **taip pat** 'as':

- **Jau nebūs taip gerai kaip anksčiau.** 'It won't be as good (ADV) as earlier.'
- **Išvažiavome taip pat anksti kaip visada.** 'We left as early as always.'

The correlative words cooccurring with modifying comparative phrases are **toks**, **-iš** 'such', **tóks pât** , **tokià pât** 'the same', sometimes **taip** 'so' and **taip pât** 'as':

- **Ar tu regėjai tóki dvarą kaip mano?** 'Have you seen such a manor as mine?
- **Ji tokià pât / taip pât graži kaip jaunystėje.** '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 correlative **tiek** 'so (as) much' or **tiek pât** 'as much'.

- **Šulinyje vandenį būvo tiek, kiek statinėje**
  - 'In the well there was as much water as (lit. how much) in the barrel.'

Comparative phrases preceded by **tiek** (pât) are most frequently introduced by **kaip**:

- **Aš ne tiek pasikeitęs kaip jūs.**
  - 'I haven’t changed as much as you.'
- **Niėkam jis tiek neįkrydavo kaip mán.**
  - 'He didn’t worry anyone as much as me.'
- **Nusipirkiau tiek pât knygų kaip ir brolis.**
  - 'I’ve bought as many books as (my) brother.'

The correlative **tiek** often co-occurs with the adverb **daug** 'much/many':

- **Susiriško tiek daug žmonių kaip dar niekadą.**
  - lit. ‘So many people gathered as never before.’
4.11 **Differentiating comparative phrases** serve to express the difference between compared entities or actions. They are commonly introduced by the conjunction negū ‘than’, and sometimes by nekaip, nei, kaip 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:

- *Tą dieną jis išėjo į darbą anksčiau kaip/ negu visada.*
  - ‘On that day he left for work earlier than usual (lit. ‘always’).’
- *Geriau mirėti nekaip svetimėms tarnauti.*
  - ‘It’s better to die than to serve the invaders (lit. ‘foreigners’).’

(2) the comparative form of adjectives:

- *Jūs gyvuliai visada menkesni negu jūs kaimynų.*
  - ‘His cattle are always scraggier than his neighbours.’
- *Čia likęs āš tikraš būsiu laimingėsni nei tu.*
  - ‘Staying here, I will surely be happier than you.’

(3) the adverb kitāp ‘differently’ and the adjective kitoks, -iā ‘different, another’:

- *Žmonės čia kitāp gyvena negu mūsų kāime.*
  - lit. ‘The people here live otherwise (differently) than in our village.’
- *Jūs yrā kitoks/kitoki būdu negu visi vaikai.*
  - 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 *už + ACC*:

- *Sūnūs žino daugiau negu tēvas/ daugiau už tēvą.*
  - ‘The son knows more than the father’ (see 2.120, 143).

**APPPOSITION**

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 brūliai, dideli ir galingi karalai. 'There were three brothers, great and powerful kings.'

Jis atneše mūms dovanų: žaislų, knygų, saldųnių. 'He brought us gifts: toys, books, sweets.'

(2) adverbs and other word forms used as adverbial modifiers:

Tei, prie lopšio, klūpo moteris. 'There, by the cradle, a woman is kneeling.'

Rytą, dar neišsausšus, išėjome grybąauti. 'In the morning, before dawn yet (lit. 'having not dawned yet'), we went mushrooming.'

Už namų, palei visq tvorą, augo avietės. 'At the back of the house, along the fence, there grew raspberries.'

(3) adjectives and adjectival words:

Tas kambarėlis būvo labai malonus: Saulėtas, švarus, baltomis sienomis. 'That little room was very pleasant: sunny, clean, with white walls.'

(4) personal pronouns, in various syntactic positions:

Jai, (kaip) našlaitėi, būvo 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 kambarėje balsu raudojo, stāčiai 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', arbą 'or, otherwise', tai yrą (abbreviated t.y.) 'that is':

Tik vienas klausytojas, būtent Vincas, pasiliko sālēje. 'Only one listener, namely Vincas (Vincent), stayed in the hall.'

Atžalynas, arbą/t.y. jauunas miškas, ganyti nelidžiamas. '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', pavyzdžiui 'for example' (abbreviated pvz.), the adverbs ypač 'especially', daugiausia 'mostly', and the like.
Naminiai paūkščiai, kaip antaib/paūvyzdžiai, vištos, antys ar žsys, laba naudingi žmogui.
Laukinės bitės apdulkina augalus, ypač/labiausiai raudonuošius dobilus.

‘Poultry, as for instance/for example hens, ducks and geese, are very useful to man.’

‘Wild bees pollinate plants, especially/most of all red clover.’

An appositional construction has an additive force, which is indicated by kaip ir ‘as well as’, taip pāt ir ‘and also’:
Lauka, kaip ir miška, ištušėjo.
Šiemet, kaip ir taip pat ir pernai, buvo labai karšta vasara.

‘The fields, as well as the woods, were deserted.’

‘This year, as well as/and also last year, we had a very hot summer.’

An appositional construction is explanatory if it specifies the relevant aspect of the head and can be introduced by kaip:
Jonas, (kaip) visų vaikų vyriausias, turėjo užkurti laužą.
Jūms, kaip motina, reikėtų labiau řūptis sūnų ateitimi.

‘Jonas (John) (as) the oldest of all the children, was to light the bonfire.’

‘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) Petrai, parodyk tām žmogui kēlią.
Lietuva, pabūsk iš ilgo miego!

‘Peter, show that man the way.’

‘Lithuania, awake from your long sleep!’

(2) Tuojaū sukėkit namō, vaika!
Vyrai, nesibarkite!
Visi manę, motūle, mylėjo.

‘Hurry home at once, children!’

‘Gentlemen (lit. Men) don’t quarrel!’

‘Everybody loved me, mother.’

The nouns ponas ‘Mister, Sir’, ponia ‘Madam’, panėlé ‘Miss’ are used for formal and polite address:
Atltiskite, ponia/panėlé, aš nenorėjau sutrukdīti.

‘Sorry, Madam/Miss, I didn’t mean to disturb you.’
The vocative of non-human nouns usually occurs in rhetorical speech:

Vai lėkite, daĩnos!  ‘Oh fly, (my) songs!’

The noun in direct address can take all kinds of modifiers:

Ką pasakysite, garbingi ir naĩs 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):

Nusiramink, mielasis /måno mielas.  ‘Be quiet, dear /my dear.’

Tai apie kã mès čià kalbësime, gerbiamieji?  ‘And what shall we talk about gentlemen (lit. ‘honourable’)?’

(2) the personal pronouns tû ‘you: SG’, tãmsta, jûs ‘you’:

Greičiaû, tu!  ‘You, be quick!’

Sakyk, tãmsta, kuriuû keïû reikia eïû?  ‘Please tell me, sir, which way do I take?’

Ei, jûs, atnëškite mûn vûno!  ‘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, Paûliau, dabaû nebe tieû laïkaû.  ‘Oh, Paul, the times have changed.’

Oi tu, mergële jaunõjì, kuû taip vaikštinëjì?  ‘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):

Ēt, vyrëli, geriaû tylëtum!  ‘Well, old chap, you’d better keep silent!’

Ēi, vaïke, priëiû arčiaû!  ‘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, bernëli måno mielas, jau negerët pasimatûsim!  ‘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:

*Kaimýne, kō taip skubi namō, brangūsis?*  
‘Neighbour, why are you hurrying home so, dearest?’

**INTERPOLATION**

4.18 Interpolation (*įterpinys*) 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:

*Jis, žinoma, nięko tei̯ 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 *bėda* ‘misfortune’, *laimė* ‘luck’, *nelaimė* ‘misfortune’, *teisybė* ‘truth’, *tiesa* ‘truth’, *vaŗgas* ‘misery, grief’ and the like (also the dative of *laimė* and *nelaimė*):

*Laimė laimei, mótna buvo netoliese.*  
‘Luckily (NOM/DAT), mother was nearby.’

*Teisybė, jis nięko nežinójo.*  
‘True (lit. Truth), he didn’t know anything.’

2. The instrumental form *žodžiu* ‘in a word’:

*Mės miegòjome, žodžiu, nięko nemátème.*  
‘We were asleep, in a word, we didn’t see anything.’

3. The vocative case forms *Diēve* ‘God’, *Viešpatie* ‘Good Lord’, *vaŗge* ‘woe, grief’ and the like which function as interjections:

*Viešpatie, kàs gi čia dëdasì?*  
‘Good Lord, what’s going on here?’

*Vaŗge, kàs gi tāu atsitìko?*  
‘Woe, what has become of you?’
(4) Interjections:

Dejà, dabař jau gāli būti per vēlū.  'Alas, it may be too late now.'
Dievaži, ir kūs īs maņes nōri?  'O dear, what does he want of me?'

(5) The neuter adjectives āšku ‘clear’, svarbiāusia ‘most important’, the neuter passive participles žinoma ‘of course’, supraņitama ‘of course’, and also the neuter form of the numerals viena ‘first(ly)’, aŗtra ‘secondly’, pīrma ‘first’, pirmiāusia ‘first of all’ and the like:

Tū knūgu, žinoma, niēkas neskaite.  ‘No one read those books, of course.’
Viena, jis buvo pavaŗgēs, aŗtra,
pâts negalējo apsisprēsti.  ‘Firstly, he was tired, secondly, he couldn’t make up his mind.’

(6) The synonymous adverbs atvirkšciai and priēsingai ‘on the contrary’:

Tās jū tylėjimas, atvirkšciai/
priēingai, kėlė dar didēsnį nērimą.  ‘That silence of his, on the contrary, caused even greater uneasiness.’

(7) The adverbialized gerunds atsiprašant ‘(by way of) apologizing’, nepērdedant ‘without exaggerating’:

Vēskis iš įveis tā, atsiprašant, kvailį.  ‘Get this, beg your pardon, fool out of here.’
Māno dukte, nepērdedant, gerā
virēja.  ‘My daughter is, without exaggeration, a good cook.’

(8) The infinitives matyt(i) ‘evidently (lit. ‘see’),’
girdi!t(i) ‘they say (lit. ‘hear’)’ and the finite verb forms rōdos(i) ‘it seems’, rēgis(i) ‘it seems’, vadinasi ‘so, then, well then, consequently’:

Vaikas, matyt, buvo nekaltas.  ‘The child was, obviously, innocent.’
Rōdos, īu niēkas negyvēna.  ‘It seems, no one lives here.’
Vadinasi, turēsime išsikelti kitur.  ‘Well then, we’ll have to move elsewhere.’

(9) The particle bejē ‘by the way’:

Bejē, ar negalēsi mān padēti?  ‘By the way, could you help me?’

4.20 The following prepositional phrases are commonly used as interpolation:

(1) anót/pasāk/pagāl ‘according to + GEN’, with human nouns:

Pasāk Jōno, jiē tik pasiteirāvo
apie kaimynus.  ‘According to Jonas (John), they only inquired about the neighbours.’

(2) bē ‘without, besides, except + GEN’, especially set phrases like bētō ‘besides’,
be ābejo/be abejōnēs ‘without doubt’:

Be smūkininko, teņ dar buvo
kēletas svečiū.  ‘Besides the violinist, there were a few more guests.’
Doubtless, you will miss your train again.

(3) the preposition po ‘after’ with the Genitive or Instrumental case in set phrases used as swear-words, e.g.:

Nejaūgi, po velnių, čia nė vieno padoraūs žmogaus neliko?

What the deuce, is there not a single decent man (left) here?

(4) the phrases tarp kitko/ tarp kita kū gerū naujienų.

‘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.:

mūsų (jių, visų, mūsto gyvenotojų) laimei

‘luckily for us (them, everybody, the towns people (lit. to my their, etc. luck)’

saviame áišku

‘of course’

visų pirmiausia

‘first of all’

priešingai negū visi

‘contrary to everybody’

nė kiek nepérédėt

‘without exaggerating at all’

antra veštus

‘on the other hand’

anót namų gyvenotoji

‘according to the inhabitants of the house’

pagaľ tūrimus šaltinius

‘according to the sources we have’

be jokiós abejo

‘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:

teisybę pasakius

‘to tell (lit. ‘having told’) the truth’

kitaip/vienų žodžių saktant

‘to put it (lit. ‘putting it’) otherwise/in one word’

atvirai kalbant

‘frankly speaking’

išskyrus kitus

‘excepting the others’

aiškus/suprątamas dalikas

‘of course’

turimais duomenimis

‘according to the available information’

ačių Dievui

‘thank God’, etc.

A great many set phrases containing a pronoun or an adverb are habitually used in interpolation, e.g.: 
Ko gėro, vėl sulauksime nekviestų svečių.
Jonas, šiaip ar taip, geras mokinys.

I am afraid (lit. ‘what good: GEN’), we shall have uninvited visitors again.
Jonas (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 pambiršo.
Tėvas, aiškiai matyti, dar nēko nēzino.

‘I think, he has forgotten us.’
‘Father, to all appearance, doesn’t know anything yet.’

Interpolated clauses are often introduced by the conjunctions kaip ‘as’ and kiek ‘as’:

Jūs vyras, kaip visiems žinoma, būvo girtuoklis.
Kaip jai būvo minēta, jis tuod metę gyvėno kaimę.
Kiek prisimenu, jis čia nebūvo apsilaukęs.

‘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):

Tikiuosi, tu nepasęksi tėvo pėdomis.
Vilniuje, kaip girdeti, jis nebegyvena.

‘I hope, you won’t follow in your father’s steps.’
‘He doesn’t live in Vilnius any longer, (as) one hears.’

(2) commenting or summarizing what is being said in the sentence:

Atviraį sākant/pasākius, aš tō gera nežinau.
Žodžiu, reikia nedelsti nė valandėlės.

‘Speaking honestly, I don’t know much about that.’
‘In a word, we shouldn’t waste a moment.’

(3) appealing to the listener:

Šito, žinote, aš jau nebegalēsiu pakūsti.

‘This, you know, I won’t put up with.’

(4) indicating the source of information:

Antrasis sūnūs būvo, anot tėvo, nevykelis.

‘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 susirūkė, išskyrus tuos tris.

Palyginti su kitašs, jis atrodė protinges.

Antra vežtus, ten galėsi mokyti.

Nepaklausei mano patarimo, vadinasi, pats būsi kažkas.

‘Everybody was there, excepting those three.’

‘In comparison with the others, he looked intelligent.’

‘On the other hand, you’ll be able to study there.’

‘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):

pirmiausia ‘first of all’
visiškai ‘first of all’
tikriausiai ‘most probably, surely’
veikiausiai ‘most probably /likely’
apskritai ‘in general, on the whole’
paprastai ‘usually’
anaiptol ‘by no means’
iš viso ‘all in all’
iš principo ‘on principle’

iš tiesių ‘really, indeed’
iš tikrųjų ‘really, indeed’
galbūt ‘maybe’
turbūt ‘must be’
rasit/rasit ‘maybe, perhaps’
berūs ‘it seems’
atseit ‘that is’
antai ‘there’
taigū ‘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.:

Mūsų kaimynos (o jis, nors kažkais mėgsta išgerti, bet taip žmogus ne melagis) papaskojo mūs keistą atsitikimą.

‘Mother, he felt, was worried, though she was smiling.’

‘Our neighbour (and he, though a drinking man, is not a liar), told us a strange story.’
5 WORD ORDER

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 (geražina, lit. ‘(I) well know’, aiškia pasako, (he) clearly said’) and a head noun (brangi 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 brangi (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:

Buvo tad jis dar visai jau nas vaikinas.
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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
(ñamas) & \text{ be langū} & \text{‘(a house) without windows’} \\
(eiti) & \text{ į miška} & \text{‘(go) to the woods’}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) pre-position of negation, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
ne & \text{ visi žmönës} & \text{‘not all people’} \\
ne & \text{ jis atējo} & \text{lit. ‘not he came’ (‘it wasn’t he who came’)}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) the initial position of an interrogative particle, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ar jis čià?} & \text{ ‘Is he here?’}
\end{align*}
\]

(4) post-position of attributive clauses to the head noun, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
Išaūšo dienà, kuriōs visi lāukë. & \text{‘The day dawned everyone had been waiting for.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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):

\[
\begin{align*}
tēvo kambarīs & \text{‘father’s room’} \\
mīško žvērys & \text{‘forest beasts’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 *Petras atvežė mālu* ‘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:

\[\text{Malkų atvežė Petras} \quad \text{‘The firewood was brought by Peter.’}\]

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:

\[\text{Kas atvežė malkų? ‘Who brought the firewood?’ – PĖTRAS atvežė malkų ‘PETER brought the firewood.’}\]

Rhematization of the predicate:

\[\text{Ką padarė Petras? ‘What did Peter do?’ – Petras ATVEŽĖ malkų ‘Peter BROUGHT the firewood.’}\]

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:

\[\text{Gyveno dve brōliai. Jie buvo labai neturtìngi. ‘There lived two brothers. They were very poor.’}\]

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
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.:

Laukai ištušėjo.  
'The fields grew empty.'

This word order is also characteristic of sentences with a compound predicate (verbal or nominal):

Žmönės pradėjo skirtystis.  
'The people began to disperse.'

Rudo 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:

Švarkas juodas spalvės.  
jacket black: GEN colour: GEN
lit. 'The jacket is of black colour.'

Cf.: juodas spalvės švarkas lit. 'a jacket of black colour'

Dieną šiltą.  
'The day is warm.'

Cf.: šiltą dieną 'a warm day' (see 5.22)

The rhematic predicate (V) preceding the subject (S) is usually marked by intonation:

ATSISTÓJO jis kiemo vidurys (iř pravižko).  
stopped he: NOM yard: GEN middle: LOC (and cried)
'He stopped in the middle of the yard (and burst into tears).'

NUOBODŽIOS būdavo mūms žiemos.  
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.:

(Kas teņ stuksēna? –) Teņ dīrba Pētras.  
'(Who is knocking there? –) (lit.) There works petras (Peter).'</n
Mirē tā dienā ir vienas kareģis.  
'On that day one soldier died too.'
The VS sequence is also common in authorial remarks following direct speech:

“Šaltā,” – 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:

Gyveno karšą vargšą žmogų. ‘There once lived a poor man.’
Sode auga didelę līpę. 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

Seni buvo laikai. 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 žiemą. Ulpes užšālo. 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:

Dienā buvo vējūota. ‘The day was windy.’
Pētras atrādē pavaģē. ‘Peter looked tired.’
Jis gāli pavēlēti. ‘He may be late.’

The same rule applies to copulas with a neuter adjective:

Miestēlyje buvo ramū. ‘It was quiet in the town.’
Būs vēlū grīžti. ‘It will be late to return.’

But their sequence is inverted if the predicate is fronted and (usually) emphasized by intonation:

RAMŪ buvo miestēlyje. ‘It was QUIET in the town.’
VĒLŪ būs grīžti. ‘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 sūvālgė visūs obuolius. ‘The children have eaten all the apples.’

Corresponding sentences with an implied subject retain the VO word order:

Sužinōjau 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 sūvālgė. ‘The children have eaten all the apples.’
Naujieną sužinōjau. ‘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.’
Šiandien as niėko nesakysiu. ‘Today I won’t say anything.’

The SOV sequence is also common in set phrases and general statements, e.g.:

Pirmi gaidžiai velnią baido. ‘Early roosters scare away the devil.’
Ąitvaras pinigus nėša. ‘The house-spirit brings money.’
Darbą darbą veja. 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.:

Sesuō pasako naujieną. ‘My sister told me the news.’
Pamačiau kįški. ‘I saw a rabbit.’
Mės nežinome 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. Ta žinią labai sujūdino motiną ‘That news
excited mother very much’) and SOV (Tą žinią motiną labai sujaudino) four inverted sequences are possible.

The pattern VSO is used to emphasize the predicate while VOS often emphasizes the predicate and subject:

(1) VSO: Labai sujaudino tą žinią motiną.

(2) VOS: Labai sujaudino motiną tą žinią.

The OSV pattern places emphasis on the object:

(3) Motoną tą žinią labai sujaudino.

OVS emphasizes both the object and the subject:

(4) Motoną labai sujaudino tą žinią. ‘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: Mane apėmė baimę. ‘I (O) was gripped (3. PAST. ACT) by fear (S).’

Kaimą gaubė naktis. ‘The village (O) was engulfed (3. PAST. ACT) by night (S).’

OSV: Manė baimę apėmė. ‘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 Ką tėvas nušovė? ‘What did father shoot?’ may be:

SOV: Tėvas ląpe nušovė. ‘Father shot a fox.’

SVO: Tėvas nušovė ląpe. ‘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:

Ląpe, 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 Kas nušovė ląpe? ‘Who shot the fox?’ may be:
OVS: Lāpē nušovē tēvas.  'It was father who shot the fox.'
OSV: Lāpē tēvas nušovē.  (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 nušovē lāpē 'He shot a fox') or SOV (JĪS lāpē nušovē) 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) Nēšė vélnias ākmenį.  '(Once) a devil carried a stone.'
Turējo karālius grāžią dūkteri.  '(There was) A king (who) had a beautiful daughter.'

OVS: Pīevas deñgē 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 kāsē/kāsē 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 kāsē 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 sāulę atidūsiu.  'I will give you (DAT) the sun itself.'
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) Senėlė vaišino Antanūką medumą. ‘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:

Vaikai riško miškē uogas. ‘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 vaika riško uogas. ‘In the woods children picked berries.’
Vaika riško uogas miškē. ‘The children picked berries in the woods.’

An adverbial (of place or time) modifying the entire sentence is usually thematic and therefore fronted:

Vālgomajame stalaī lūjo nuo valgi. ‘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:

Mēnuulis pakilo raudonas ir grēsmingas. ‘The moon rose red and menacing.’

A complement related to the object and predicate is commonly put after the object:

Šiai dien pagaliau pamatėme ji liūksma. ‘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:
'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.:

- *gerai dirbi* ‘(you) work well’
- *pescio m viksto* ‘(he/she/they) walk on foot’
- *balsu ve rke* ‘(he/she/they) wept loudly (lit. ‘in a voice: INSTR’)’
- *be tikso klaidziojo* lit. ‘(he/she/they wandered without aim’

(2) adverbs of place, time and cause (unrelated to inflected nouns) such as *cia* ‘here’, *ten ‘there’, kitur ‘elsewhere’, *niekur ‘nowhere’, visu ‘everywhere’, daba r ‘now’, niekad ‘never’, pasku ‘later’, tada ‘then’, tuojau ‘at once’, todel ‘therefore’, ka zkodel ‘for some reason’, etc.; e.g.:

- *Visi ten sugrisme*.
- *Dabar visu pali jo*.
- *Traukiny is tuoj pajudes*.
- *Vaikas azkidvel susi go*.

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:
We live well.
(Please) speak calmly.
We’ll be waiting here.
We’ll go elsewhere.
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:

In the morning father works, in the evening (he) rests.
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.:

(he) stepped back
(he) went home

A predicative adverb also usually follows the copula:

he (suddenly) felt unwell

Adverbials of purpose are as a rule placed in final position:

(he) invited for dinner
we sat down to have breakfast
(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.:

He always sleeps quietly.
Yesterday we waited a long time on purpose.

An adverb modifying another adverb always precedes it (\( \text{Adv}_1 \text{ Adv} \)), e.g.:

(he) works quite well
(it) is flying very fast
(I) see much better

Comparative phrases introduced by the conjunctions kaip ‘like’, lūg ‘as, like’ and taftum/taři ‘as if/though’ are usually placed after the predicate (VComp):

(He) Croaks like a rooster.
(He) Slept like a log’ (lit. ‘like dead’).
A comparative phrase may be placed in initial position for emphasis:

*Kaip viena dieną prabėgo mėtai.*  ‘The year passed like a single day.’

5.22 The neutral position of a particle is before the head word (PrtV), e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dár nemiėga</td>
<td>(they) are not asleep yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaū atėjo</td>
<td>’(he has) already come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bevéik suprataũ</td>
<td>’I almost understood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēt nežinaũ</td>
<td>’(I) don’t even know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vōs jūda</td>
<td>’(he) hardly moves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēl ateĩna</td>
<td>’(she) is coming again’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interrogative particles *ar* and *benė* (cf. 5.2, 6.14) are also always placed initially. The particle *gi* usually follows the verb, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Žinaĩ gi jō pāpročius</td>
<td>’You do know his habits, don’t you.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tū gi žinaĩ jō pāpročius</td>
<td>(Same translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nominal groups**

5.23 The neutral position of an adjective is before the head noun (AdjN):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tamsus debesis</td>
<td>’dark cloud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smarkus vējas</td>
<td>’strong wind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adjective is post-posed in case of inversion for emphasis:

*Pirkaũ trobêle mažytę ir sēną.* lit. ’I bought a hut small and old.’

Post-posing is characteristic of adjectives used as trite epithets (*rūtâ žalióji* ’green rue’), and it is common in poetry, e.g.:

*Teĩ už ūpiũ plačiũ spiũdi māsu pulkâr.*  ‘There, beyond wide rivers, our regiments are shining.’

An adjective distanced from the head noun receives special emphasis:

*Iš mažos kirbktįšės dīdis kûla gaïras.*  ’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, -iâ ‘such’, nēt ‘even’, nōrs ‘though’, etc.), or if it is coordinated with another adjective, cf.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jis râdo ōbelei, pilna labai gražiũ obuoliũ.</td>
<td>’He found an apple-tree full of fine apples.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atējo ruduũ, liûdas, nelaimingas.</td>
<td>’Autumn came, sad, unhappy.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mân buvo gaila mergâtės, tokiõs jaunõs, tokiõs gražiõs.</td>
<td>’I was sorry for the girl, so young, so beautiful.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.:

Grybus kuriuod geresnius (cf. grybus, kuri (yr̄a) geresni) dėk į krępšį.

‘Put (IMPER) the better mushrooms (lit. the mushrooms (ACC) which better (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):

žaidžiantis vaikas
āriamās laūkas
kitas krūštas
tokiā dienā
vienas mēdis
pirmas mēnuo
penki vērai

‘a playing child’
‘a ploughed field’
‘another country’
‘such a day’
‘one tree’
‘the first month’
‘five men’

5.24 The genitive of a noun used attributively is placed before the head (GenN):

tēvo svārklas
āukso žiedas
keliņēs tikslas
nāmo statyba
Vilniaus miestas

‘father’s jacket’
‘gold ring’
‘the purpose of the journey’
‘building of a house’
‘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. Kaip puikūs slēniai srauniōs Dubysos ‘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 gyvenimas žmogai, kuriuō niēkas nētiki 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:

Dažas jų māžas ir aplēistas.

‘Their garden (lit. ‘garden of them’) is small and neglected.’

However, the genitive attribute usually follows head nouns of measure and quantity:

butēlis ailaūs
dalis linū
būriūs žmoniū
litras pieno

‘a bottle of beer’
‘a part of the flax’
‘a group of people’
‘a litre of milk’
These head nouns are akin to adverbs of measure which are also placed before the genitive, e.g.:

dauğ pieno  ‘much milk’
maža pinigų  ‘little money’
pakaikamai laiko  ‘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’; šie no 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:

tas (tōks) gražus pavasaris  ‘that (such a) beautiful spring’
kiekvienas dōras žmogus  ‘every honest man’
dū maži vaikai  ‘two little children’
pirmoji šiltą dieną  ‘the first warm day’

The genitive is also placed immediately before the head:

kitas pasaulio kraštas  ‘the other end of the world’
kiekvienas mano žodis  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:

baltas obės žiedas  ‘a white apple (GEN) blossom’
sunkus vario varpas  ‘a heavy copper (GEN) bell’

A limiting modifier can also be an adjective and it may be preceded by the possessive genitive:

mötinos vestuvinė suknelė  ‘mother’s wedding (Adj) gown’
árklio prėkinės kojos  ‘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 (NInstr):

Pamačiau mergaitę ilgaus plaukaitės.  ‘I saw a girl with long hair.’
Ar esi kuomet matęs žaltį devyniomiis galvomis?  ‘Have you ever seen a grass-snake with nine heads?’
The reversed sequence is also neutral but it is very rare; cf.:

Tai būvo aukšta, žemaipaliūkšionis 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:

fykis dvare 'the incident in the manor'
žmogus be pastoges 'a person without a home'
puolimas iš pilies 'attack from the castle'

5.28 In adjectival groups, a modifying adverb usually precedes the head (AdvAdj):

nepaprasta tvankus oras 'unusually sultry weather'
maloniai šiltas vanduo 'pleasantly warm water'
per daug išdidus (svetis) 'too proud (guest)'
ganà graži merginà 'a rather pretty girl'

A qualitative prepositional group is also placed before the head adjective:

be galo geras 'very (lit. ‘without end’) good'
iš esmés klaidingas 'basically (lit. ‘from essence’) erroneous'

Similarly, the instrumental case of a noun precedes a verbal adjective in -inas, -a:

ėjo kibiraits nešinà 'meal (INSTR)'
gržo arklìu védinas '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:

vandens plin nas ėsotis/pilnas 'a jug full of water (GEN)'
vandeis ėsotis

tévui reikalinas peilis/reikalinas lit. ‘a knife necessary for father (DAT)’
tévui peilis

i motina panašus vaikas/panašus i mòtina vaikas 'a child resembling (his) mother (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 ėrklì didesnis 'bigger than a horse'
už mèdu saldèsnis 'sweeter than honey'
Its post-position is characteristic of official style, e.g.:

sunkėsnis už gėležį
‘heavier than iron’
greitėsnis už garsą
‘faster than sound’

The prepositional phrase pe+r + ACC used in dialectal speech alternately with už + ACC also precedes the head:

per visūs vertėsnis
‘worthier than all’
per ją gražėsnis
‘handsomer than she’

The genitive plural visų ‘of all’ of the pronoun visas, -à (with or without the genitive of a noun) and the adverbs pervis/užvis ‘(most) of all’ also precede the superlative (sometimes the comparative) form of an adjective:

visų geriausias
‘the best of all’
visų kalnių aukščiausias
‘the highest of all the mountains’
pervis didžiausias
‘the biggest of all’
pervis balčiausias
‘whiter than all/the whitest of all’

The standard of comparison expressed by a noun with the conjunctions negiū/néli/(ne)kaip ‘than’ usually follows the head adjective:

kietėsnis negū (néri) geležis
‘harder than iron’
baltėsnis kaip (nekaip) sniegas
‘whiter than snow’

The instrumental case expressing the compared characteristics precedes the head, as a rule:

ūgiu mažėsnis už bróli
lit. ‘in height smaller than (his) brother’
dviem mėtais vyrėsnis už bróli
‘two years older than (his) brother’

It is placed after the head for emphasis:

pranašėsnis už kitus išmintimi
‘superior to others in wisdom’
už draugus aukščiausias visū galvà
‘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 vėją greičiaû/greičiaû už vėją ‘faster than wind’), or fixed, as in užvis geriaû ‘better than anything’, pervis toliaû ‘farther than anything’, anksčiaû negû (nekaip, kaip) vėkar ‘earlier than yesterday’. The position of the criterion is also variable: dviem minutûm už tavë greičiaû/už tavë greičiaû dviem minutûm ‘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 tū 'you', mān 'to-me (DAT)', or with the emphatic clusters tū mān lit. 'you to me', tū jām 'you to him', tū žmogūs 'you man', or with the particles ir, tik, tā:

Tavo namuošė nuo rytų iki vakaro tik dirbk ir dirbk. (lit. 'At your house one has to work and work (IMPER) and work (IMPER)') from morning till night.'

Tū mān ir pridaryk tīek nētvarkos. lit. 'Just make (IMPER) such a mess to me (DAT).' 'It's surprising what a mess one has made.'
Ir turėk mán žmogüs tókias akis. ‘Just imagine a man having such eyes’ (lit. ‘Just have (IMPER) to me (DAT) a man (NOM) such eyes’).

Dabař į rogèš tik sèšk 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 ląngą ‘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 liëpti ‘order’, reikalauti ‘demand, insist’, norëti ‘want’, prašyti ‘ask’, pageidauti ‘desire, wish’, linkëti ‘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 rytöj! ‘Come to see me tomorrow!’
Neklausykit jûs tokûj šnekûj! ‘Don’t you listen to such talk!’
Sèskimës čià, ant akmeûs. ‘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 žiûrëti ‘look’, forms of direct address, particles, etc. To intensify or tone
down a request, expressions like būk geras, -à ‘be kind’, susimildamas, -a ‘for goodness’ sake’, etc. are also used, e.g.:

Žiūrėk/Būk geras/Susimildamas neužmiršk grąžinti knygos. ‘Look/Be good (and)/For goodness’ sake, don’t forget to return the book.’

Tū mān sāvo sūnāus neužtarinēk! ‘Don’t you intercede for your son!’

Še, inēk sāv tā ārkā! ‘Here, take that horse.’

The particle tik, the adverb dār ‘yet’, and the dative mān ‘to me’ (functionally similar to a particle) can be used to add threat to an imperative form, while the particle gāl is used to tone down an order:

Tik pamēgink išbėgti laukā! – grasina močiūtė. ‘Just you try to run outside! – threatened granny.’

O tū mān tylēk! ‘And you just keep silent!’

Dabař gāl ēk namā. ‘Now you (may) go home.’

6.5 The predicate of an imperative sentence can be also expressed by a present or future indicative:

Prisēdam po tuō medžiu! ‘Let’s sit down (lit. ‘We sit down’) under that tree!’

Tai gāl nesipāksim. lit. ‘May be we shall not quarrel.’

Tū láuksi manēs miškē. ‘You’ll wait for me in the woods.’

O rytō užeisite pas manē, – pridūrē direktorius. ‘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 (mān) or softened by gāl/gal būt:

Kad āš tokiū kalbū daugiaū negirdėčiau! ‘No more talk like this!’ (lit. ‘That I wouldn’t hear any more talk like this!’)

Kad mān daugiaū čia kōjos nekeltumēt! ‘Don’t you ever dare come here again!’ (lit. ‘That you should never come here again!’)

Gal užsūktum pas mūs..? ‘Maybe you might drop in at our place..?’

6.7 In expressive speech categorical commands can be conveyed by an infinitive or an intensifying deverbal adverb in -te, e.g.:

Tuojaū išvarysti pūblīku iš čia! ‘Turn out (INF) the people from here immediately!’

Bėgtė márš! ‘Quick march!’ (lit. ‘Running march!’)

Tylēt! ‘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:

- Jūkš iš mano kiėmo! ‘(Get) out of my yard!’
- Čit, vaikai! ‘Hush, children!’
- Še tāu pīnīgus! ‘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:

- Rankās aukštīn! ‘Hands up!’
- Sesēle, vandeņis! ‘Nurse, water!’
- Nē iš viētos! ‘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 tē, tegū/tegūl ‘let’, e.g.:

- Tebūniē viskas pagaī tavē. ‘Let everything be as you wish.’
- Tegū Jokubas greičiau ateina. ‘Let Jacob come sooner.’
- Tegulī visād laisvā būs mūsų žemė. ‘Let our land be always free.’

2nd person imperative forms are also used occasionally:

- Pasīlikit sveiki... ‘Stay (2. PL) healthy...’
- Iēk tavē velniāt! lit. ‘Devils take (2. PL) you!’

Future and present tense forms of the indicative mood with the affix te- or particle tegū/tegūl, and with the particle tik ‘only, just’ are sometimes used to express a threat:

- Teišārīsta tik jis paliēsti mano dūkterį... ‘Let him just dare (3. PRES) touch my daughter...’
- Tegū tik āš sužinōsiu tō vagiēs vārdq. 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 kād ‘that’, alone or in conjunction with the interjections āi, āk, ē, ēi or with the particle tik, e.g.:
Ô, kad àš užmigčiau nòrs valandèlè! ‘Oh, if (only) I could fall asleep for even a little while!’

Kad tik mamytè greiéiaù namò grìžtu... ‘If only mummy returned (3. SUBJ) home sooner...’

This type of optative sentence is often used to wish somebody ill, e.g.:

Kad juòs perkùnas nutréikty! ‘Let thunder strike them!’
Ô, kad tì sudégtum! ‘Oh, may you burn!’

Sometimes in these sentences subjunctive mood is implied:

Kad beìt laòèlis vandeòës. ‘If only (there were) at least a drop of water.’
Kad juòs kur gàlas! ‘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:

Numìròti, užmìgti anëòinaì, niëkad nejaùsti skaùsmò! ‘To die, to sleep forever, never to feel pain!’
Kad tik iòstréòkus ìò ñòì! ‘If only one could escape (PAST. GER) from here!’

The finite forms of verbs like norèòti ‘want’, pageidàùti ‘desire, wish’, linkèòti ‘wish’ with an infinitive or a noun are also used for the same purpose; e.g.:

Linkìù pasveìktì. ‘I wish you to get well.’

Linkìù laìmingì Naujàùjì Mëtuì/geròë sveikàtos. ‘I wish (you) a Happy New Year / good health.’

The finite verb form is often omitted in these formulaic sentences:

Ì sveikàtà! ‘To your health!’
Linksmì Kàlëduì! ‘Merry Christmas!’
Laimingai! ‘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 intonational 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.:

```
Čia gyvensiu ilgai. įlgaI ţiau gėlių.
here live: FUT. 1. SG long bring: PAST. 1. SG
I'll stay here a long time.' 'Will you stay here a long time?'

Atnešiau tavo gėlių. ątnešai mán?
bright: PAST. 1. SG you: DAT flowers: ACC
'I have brought you some flowers.'

Gėlės atnešei mano.
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.:

```
Ar tu ateisi vakarė? (or Tu ateisi vakarė?)
Kadà tévas parašys lâiską?
'Will you come in the evening?'
'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 *taip* 'yes' or *nė* '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.: *ar, argi, benè, gál, kažin, nègi, nejaû, nejaûgi*, etc.:

```
(1) Tu Jì geraï pažisti?
Guli dar nein?
Tavo žmonà namē?
'Do you know him well?'
'Aren't you going to bed yet?'
'Is your wife at home?'
```
Most general questions can be either positive or negative (irrespective of the expected reply). A question containing negation may sound more polite, cf.:

Tāu reikia pinigū? ‘Do you need (any) money?’
Tāu nereikia pinigū? ‘Maybe you need some money?’

Sometimes, negative questions with ar acquire the additional meaning of prohibition, restraint or threat, e.g.:

Ar tū pagaliau nenutilsri? ‘Won’t you stop talking at last?’

The particle ar is a specialized formal marker of general questions, though it is not syntactically obligatory and does not change the question in any way; cf.:

Jis ateis? / Ar jis ateis? ‘Will he come?’

The particle ar 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 argi, bene, negi, nejaū, nejaūgi, the cluster ar tik convey uncertainty about what is being asked. These questions presuppose a contrary reply:

Argi šuo jō nepažiūns? ‘Won’t the dog recognize him?’ (expected response: Taip, pažiūns. ‘Yes, it will’)
Nėgi tū nūri tėn eiti? ‘Do you really want to go there?’ (expected response: Nė, nenoriu. ‘No, I don’t.’)
Ar tik nemelūoji, sēni? ‘Are you really not lying, old chap?’ (presupposition: the addressee is lying).

The particles gäl, kažin convey doubt with respect to what is being asked:

Gal manė prisimeni? ‘Maybe you remember me?’
Kažin ar vaikas nūri geri? ‘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’, koks ‘what (kind of)’, keli ‘how many’, keliniitas ‘which (of the ordinal number)’ and (2) with the interrogative adverbs kur ‘where’, kadą ‘when’, kaip ‘how’, kodėl ‘why’, kiek ‘how many’. These markers are placed initially; cf. respectively:
6.17 Interrogative sentences can be related to the preceding sentences by the conjunctions bet, ir, o, tik placed initially:

- Bet kodėl taip rūpiniesi?
  - ‘But why are you so concerned?’
- O ar pats kaip tas nebandei jokaklausinėti?
  - ‘But/And you by any chance didn’t try to ask him a few questions?’
- Tik kuri jis gaun tiek knygu?
  - ‘But (lit. ‘Only’) where will he get so many books?’

In speech, an interrogative word alone can substitute for an interrogative sentence:

- (Noriu ji aplankyti.) – Kodėl?
  - ‘(I want to visit him.) – Why?’
- (Jis išvažiavo.) – Kuri?
  - ‘(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 nė, (ar) ką, which makes them disjunctive questions:

- Nà, ar aš ne karaliénė?
  - ‘Well, aren’t I a queen?’
- Táu reikia pinigų, taip?/ar nė?
  - ‘You need money, yes?/don’t you?’
- Juk táu jis visai nepatikina, ar nė?
  - ‘But you don’t like him at all, do you?’
- Čià susirinkimas, ar ką?
  - ‘Is this a meeting, or what?’

6.18 The following questions offer a choice between possible alternative replies:

- Ar pas mus apsistosi, ar viėšbute?
  - ‘Will you put up at our place, or at a hotel?’
- O katrás buvot kalts: ar mamą, ar tū?
  - ‘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:

\[ \text{Kas nenoretu savo jaunyste sugrazinti?} \quad \text{Kodeli mums nepradetus (PAST. GER) visko is naujo?} \quad \text{Kas gi galeso tai numatyti?} \quad \text{‘Who wouldn’t like to recover one’s youth?’ (\= Everyone would like to.)} \quad \text{‘Why don’t we start everything anew?’} \quad \text{‘Who could have foreseen it?’ (\= No one could have foreseen it.)} \]

**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) \[ \text{Aš tau nieko neduosiu! (riktelėjo vaikas.)} \quad \text{‘I won’t give you anything! (shouted the boy.)’} \]
(2) \[ \text{Dink iš mano namo!} \quad \text{‘Get out of my house!’} \]
(3) \[ \text{Ką čia padarei?!} \quad \text{‘What have you done here?!’} \]

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.:

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{Atvažiavo!} & \quad \text{‘(They have) Arrived!’} \\
\text{Neteisybė!} & \quad \text{‘(That’s) Not right!’} \\
\text{Anaiptol!} & \quad \text{‘Not at all!’} 
\end{align*} \]

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) \[ \begin{align*} 
\text{Ak, nerà tévo!} & \quad \text{‘Alas, Father is not with us!’} \\
\text{Oi, geibk kit!} & \quad \text{‘Oh, help!’} \\
\text{Vali-o!} & \quad \text{‘Hurray!’} 
\end{align*} \]
(2) \[ \begin{align*} 
\text{Ir kas per naktis!} & \quad \text{‘Oh what a night!’} \\
\text{Kokia ramybė!} & \quad \text{‘What peace!’} \\
\text{Kaip as nepazinsiu savo vaikos?!} & \quad \text{‘Won’t I recognize my child!’} 
\end{align*} \]
(3) Vaikai, greičiau!
Liaukitės, niekataūškiai!
Ar neiši šaliūn, kvailūy?! ‘Children, faster!’
‘Stop it, chatterboxes!’
‘Won’t you get out of the way, (you) fool?!’

6.22 Exclamatory intonation can be superimposed upon rhetorical questions (mostly those with negation):

Kas nenoretu savo jaunyste sugrazinti! ‘Who wouldn’t like to recover his youth!’

Exclamatory sentences formally identical with declarative sentences can imply the opposite assumption:

Padės jis tau! lit. ‘He’ll help you!’ (meaning ‘He won’t help you.’)

Neišs jis tāu pinigā! lit. ‘Won’t he take you (DAT. SG) the money!’ (= ‘He will certainly take the money!’).
7 THE COMPOSITE SENTENCE

Sudėtinis sakinys

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 Ōras būvo gražus ir mēs išējome pasivākščioti ‘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 ir ‘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 asemantic conjunction, these secondary means may acquire a distinctive function. Thus, for instance, the following example is a conditional sentence:

\[
\text{Kad suieškótumei mano dūkteris, āš tāu}
\]

that find: SUBJ. 2. SG my daughter: ACC. PL I: NOM thou: DAT
dūočiau pūse sāvo tuŗto.
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 dūočiau ‘(I) would give’ is changed into the indicative future tense form, the subordinate clause acquires the meaning of purpose:

\[
\text{Kad suieškótumei mano dūkteris, āš dūosiu tāu pūse sāvo tuŗto.}
\]

that find: SUBJ. my daughters I give: thee half my wealth
2. SG FUT. 1. SG

‘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. Jónas pamiršo, kad žadėjo 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:

Jónas pamiršo, kad jis žadėjo padėti. ‘Jonas (John) forgot that he (John himself or another person) had promised to help.’

2. Vyras pinigus uždirba, o žmona išleidžia. ‘The husband earns money and the wife spends (it).’

3. Vakar būvo šalta ir vaikai būvo namė. ‘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 buvo didiko pono sūnus, bet augo 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:
Àš nėkur neišiu. Ir tąu nepatariu. ‘I won’t go anywhere. And (I) don’t advise you (to do so).’
Àš viską padarysiu. Nors ir labai sunkiu. ‘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**

*Prijungiamasis sakinys*

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. *Prašiau tėvužėlio, kad mane aplankytų.* ‘I begged my dear father to visit me (lit. ‘that (he) visit me’).’
   *Sužinojau, kad jis dėr negrįžęs.* ‘I learnt that he hadn’t returned yet.’
2. *Tas ne vyras, kuris taip elgiasi.* ‘He is not a man who behaves so.’
3. *Kur žemą tvorą, tei visi gyvuliai šoka.* ‘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.:

*Mūsama, kad jis slėpstosi.* ‘(It is) believed that he is in hiding.’
*Ir rodos šiandieną, kad buvo tai sąpna.* ‘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.:

\[ \text{Mėdis, kuris girgžda, nelūžta.} \] ‘A tree that creaks never breaks.’

The subordinate clause in this sentence modifies the head word \text{mėdis} ‘tree’ very much like an adjective (or its equivalent, in this case a participle) and has the same syntactic function as an attribute, cf.:

\[ \text{Girgždantis mėdis nelūžta.} \] ‘A creaking tree never breaks.’

In the following sentence the subordinate clause is equivalent to an object, cf.:

\[ \text{Vienas žmogus norėjo išgirsti, ką šneka jo arkliai.} \] ‘One man wanted to hear what his horses talk about.’

\[ \text{Vienas žmogus norėjo išgirsti savo arklų šneką.} \] ‘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.:

\[ \text{Žibuoklių kvapas ore plaiko, nòrs pievoj jų ir nematyt.} \] ‘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 \text{nòrs} ‘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 \text{kàd} ‘that’ and \text{jòg} ‘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.:

\[ \text{Jis pajūto, kad pasidäre šalša.} \]  
\[
\text{lit. ‘He felt that it became cold.’}
\]

In this sentence the conjunction \( \text{kad} \) subordinates a completive clause in object position to the transitive predicate verb \( \text{pajūto} \) ‘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:

\[ \text{Jis stėčiasi, kad gyvenimas gerėtų.} \]  
\[
\text{lit. ‘He strives that life should improve.’}
\]

**Semantic conjunctions** indicate subordination and at the same time they express the semantic relation between clauses. They can express temporal (\( \text{ka}, \text{ikiligi} \) ‘until’, \( \text{köl} \) ‘while’, etc.), causal (\( \text{kadangi} \) ‘because’, \( \text{nės} \) ‘as’), and conditional (\( \text{jējējū}'if', \text{nebean} ‘unless’) relations, and also the relations of concession (\( \text{nōrs} \) ‘though’, \( \text{kad ir} \) ‘even though’, \( \text{tegūl} \) ‘though’), purpose (\( \text{idañt} \) ‘in order that’), and comparison (\( \text{kaip} \) ‘like’, \( \text{lyg} \) ‘like, as if’, \( \text{negu} \) ‘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.:

\[ \text{Paūkščiai pradeda čiulbėti,} \] \[
\text{‘Birds begin to sing} \]
\[ \text{kai óras atšyla.} \] \[
\text{when the weather grows warm’ (time).} \]
\[ \text{nes óras atšyla.} \] \[
\text{because the weather grows warm’ (cause).} \]
\[ \text{jei óras atšyla.} \] \[
\text{if the weather grows warm’ (condition).} \]

Conjunctions are often used with the intensifying postpositive particles \( \text{kad, ir, dūr, tik, nėt, nōrs} \), etc. Some of these combinations have become complex conjunctions, e.g. \( \text{kad ir} \) ‘(al)though’, \( \text{kai tik} \) ‘as soon as’, \( \text{vōs tik} \) ‘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.:

\[ \text{Nors ir velū, bet netrukus ateisiu.} \] \[
\text{lit. ‘Even though it is late but I’ll come soon.’} \]
\[ \text{Jei ateisim ankščiau, tai užiminsim geriausias vietās.} \] \[
\text{lit. ‘If we come earlier then we’ll take the best seats.’} \]

Since all the two-place subordinating conjunctions, excepting \( \text{juō... juō, kuō... tuō, juō... tuō} \), 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 kās ‘what, who’, kōks, -iā ‘what’, kurīs, -i ‘which’, katrās, -ā ‘which (of the two)’, kēlī, kēlios and kēleri, kēleriōs ‘how many (of several)’ and kēliñtas, -ā ‘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, kās tei̇ atsitiko. ‘He knows what (NOM) happened there.’

(2) an object:
Jis žino, kō mān reikia. ‘He knows what (GEN) I need.’

(3) a predicative:
Niēkas nežino, kōks būs ruduo. ‘No one knows what the autumn will be like.’

(4) an attribute:
Jie svarstė, kurį projektą pasirinks komisija. ‘They discussed which project the committee would choose.’

Sene lē klausia, kelios mergaitės eis į vakarėlį. ‘Granny asks how many girls are going to the party.’

7.9 The relative adverbs kadā ‘when’, kuomēt ‘when’, kaip ‘how’, kieķ ‘how much’, kuř ‘where’, kodēl ‘why’, used to subordinate clauses in the form of an indirect question, function as adverbials within subordinate clauses:

Nekaîtriai lāukiau, kadā uţāugsiu. lit. ‘I waited impatiently when I would didelis grow up.’

Nežinau, kuř jis išvažiavo. ‘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.:

Jaū būvo sutei̇me, kadā (cf. kaī) vaikaĩ grēžo namō. ‘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.:

Tetušis kadā mirē, buvaĩ dar māžas. ‘When father died I was small yet.’

Šitq kepūrej ķēs užsideda, tai niēkas jō nemāto. ‘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:

\[ \text{Eisiu teņ, kur paliēpsi.} \]

lit. ‘I’ll go there where you tell me.’

The most commonly used correlatives are the demonstrative pronouns \( \text{tās, -ā, taī 'that', tōks, -iā 'such'} \) and the adverbs \( \text{taīp 'so', tiēk 'so much', tadā 'then', tuomēt 'then', tōl 'until, till', teņ 'there', todēl/dēl tō 'therefore'} \). The choice of a correlative word is determined by the semantic relation (spatial, temporal, causal, etc.) between the clauses. Thus, \( \text{taīp 'so'} \) correlates with \( \text{kād 'that'} \); \( \text{tiēk 'so much/many'} \) with \( \text{kīek 'how much/many'} \) and \( \text{kād 'that'} \); \( \text{tadā 'then'} \) may correlate with \( \text{kadā 'when', kaī 'as, when'; tās 'that'} \) with \( \text{kās 'who, what'} \) and \( \text{kūris 'which'} \); \( \text{teņ 'there'} \) with \( \text{kūr 'where'} \), 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.:

\[ \text{Mergālē būvo tokiā pavaigusi, kad mūms jōs pajālo.} \]

‘The girl was so (lit. ‘such’) tired that we felt sorry for her.’

Correlative words are not used in sentences with the conjunction \( \text{jēl/jēigu 'if'} \).

### 7.12 The order of clauses

In a complex sentence the order of clauses is either variable or fixed.

**Variable order** is characteristic of sentences with simple (one-component) semantic conjunctions (excepting \( \text{nēs 'as', negū, neī 'than'} \)), 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:

\[ \text{Kai pradējo līti, minīā išsiskirstē.} \]

‘When it started raining the crowd dispersed.’

\[ \text{Minīā išsiskirstē, kai pradējo līti.} \]

‘The crowd dispersed when it started raining.’

\[ \text{Minīā, kai pradējo līti, išsiskirstē.} \]

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 ateisi iš rytos, tai manė dar rasi namie. ‘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 nės, negū, nei, asemantic conjunctions used with correlative words and with complex conjunctions such as kaip kad, kad nėt, etc.: 

Mės turėjom eiti namo, nes buvo vėlū. ‘We had to go home, for it was late.’

Mės taip džiaugėmės, kad visai pamirėome pavojų. lit. ‘We so rejoiced that we quite forgot about the danger.’

Miškas buvo didesnis, negu vaikams iš pradžių atrodė. ‘The forest was bigger than it had first seemed to the children.’

In sentences with the relative pronouns kuris, -i ‘which’, koks, -ia ‘what (kind of)’, a subordinate clause commonly follows the antecedent, e.g.: 

Pamatysiu žmogų, koks niekuomet nesi dár užtikės. ‘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 sutėmo, mės pagalvėjom, kad jau laikas eiti namo. ‘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:

\[ \text{I} \quad \text{II} \quad \text{III} \]

Män päsakojo, kad tēn gyvēna daug žmoniū, kurīems reikia 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) attributive 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 (aiškinamieji sakiniar) 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.:

\[\text{Jis bijójo, kad jie nesugrįžtų.} \quad \text{‘He was afraid lest they should return.’}\]
\[\text{Jám nėrą báimés, kad jie sugrįš.} \quad \text{‘He has no fear (lit. ‘to him is no fear’) that they will return.’}\]

**CLASSES INTRODUCED BY CONJUNCTIONS**

7.17 When used in completive clauses, the conjunctions *kad* ‘that’ and *jog* ‘that’ are often interchangeable. If a sentence contains two hierarchically subordinated completive clauses, both conjunctions are used in order to avoid monotonous repetition:

\[\text{Jis visą laiką kalbėjo, kad gaila, jog abū sünūs išvykė.} \quad \text{‘He said all the time that it was a pity that both his sons were away.’}\]

Generally, the conjunction *kad* is more common than *jog* (the latter is nearly out of use in dialects). Only the former conjunction is used after the verbs *bijoti* ‘fear’, *laukti* ‘wait’, *mokyti* ‘teach’, *noreti* ‘want’, *prašyti* ‘ask’, *reikalauti* ‘demand’, *reikėti* ‘be necessary’, *saugotis* ‘beware’, etc., to introduce clauses with the subjunctive mood in the predicate:

\[\text{Prašiau, kad (*jog) mane išleisytų.} \quad \text{lit. ‘I asked that (they) should let me out.’}\]
\[\text{Noriu, kad (*jog) jis ateitų.} \quad \text{‘I want him to come (lit. ‘that he should come’).’}\]

Completive clauses are introduced by the conjunctions *lyg* ‘as if’ and *tautum/tafsi* ‘as if’ if an unreal, imaginary, or possible action is referred to:

\[\text{Jám pasivaidėno, lyg vilkas būty.} \quad \text{‘He fancied he saw something like a wolf.’}\]
\[\text{Iš tolo girdėjosi, tartum jis ką dainūotų.} \quad \text{‘One could hear from afar what sounded like his singing something.’}\]

Sometimes, the conjunction *kař* ‘when’ is used in completive clauses. This adds a temporal meaning:

\[\text{Àš mėgstu, kai pas manė svečiai.} \quad \text{‘I like (it) when I have visitors.’}\]
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 kās ‘what, who’, kóks, -iā ‘what (kind of)’, kuris, -i ‘which’, katrās, -ā ‘which (of the two)’, keliūtas, -ā ‘which (in number)’, kēlī, kēliōs ‘how many’; e.g.:

Nežinaū, kās ten būvo. ‘I don’t know who was there.’
Dabar matai, kokių nelaimių gālīma susilauki. ‘Now you see what misfortunes may happen.’
Jis žino, kurī/katrā vaikā reikia pabartyti. ‘He knows which/which of the two children should be scolded.’
 Pasakūk, varnėle, keli tavo vaikai. ‘Tell me, dear crow, how many children you have.’


Laukēm, kadā/kuomēt pradės lyti. ‘We were waiting for it to start raining.’
Ar tu žinais, kaip tavo tėvai gyvena? ‘Do you know how/where your parents live?’
Visiems papāsakok, kiek/kodēl jis mūms padėjo. ‘Tell everybody how much/why he has helped us.’

(3) The above mentioned pronouns and some adverbs with the prepositions ī ‘to’, iš ‘out of’, nuō ‘from’, už ‘for’, etc.:

Jis taip ir nesužinėjo, už kā būvo baistas. ‘He never learnt what he had been punished for.’
 Pasakūk atviraik, iš kuř atkeliavai. ‘Tell us frankly where you have arrived from.’

(4) The particles aē, benē, gāl:

Sakūk, ar gālīme juō pasikliauti. ‘Tell me whether we can rely on him.’
 Tikėjau, bene pats susipras atsipraštēti. ‘I hoped maybe he would remember to apologize.’
 Bēk pasižiūrēti, gal jis jau šokā. ‘Go and see, maybe he is already dancing.’
Infinitival phrases after the verb būtī ‘be’ can be used with the same subordinators as completive clauses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jiems nebūvo kās veikti.} & \\
\text{they: DAT not-be: PAST what do: INF} & \\
\text{‘They had nothing to do.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kai jis kalba, tai yrā kō pasiklausyti.} & \\
\text{when he speaks then is what listen: INF} & \\
\text{‘When he speaks it is worthwhile listening to him.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vaistų nėra kur veikti.} & \\
\text{medicine not-be: PRES where do: INF} & \\
\text{‘One can’t get any medicine anywhere.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bus kur laikyti karvutę.} & \\
\text{will be where keep: INF cow} & \\
\text{‘We’ll have somewhere to keep the cow.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Infinitival phrases with subordinating relative pronouns and adverbs are also used after the verbs turēti ‘have’, gauti ‘get’, rasti ‘find’, etc.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ar turī kuō rašyti?} & \\
\text{lit. ‘Do you have something to write with?’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mūms atsirūdo kuŗ žiopsōti.} & \\
\text{‘We found something (lit. ‘where’) to gape at.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Participles and 3rd person verb forms can also be used in subordinate clauses with the same subordinator (they have a dialectal colouring):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nērā kās āria.} & \\
\text{not-is who ploughs} & \\
\text{‘There is one to do the ploughing.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nērā kām turūgam važiuōja.} & \\
\text{not-is who: DAT to market go: 3. PRES} & \\
\text{‘There’s no one who could go to the market.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nērā kās dārą su tokiu karaliumi.} & \\
\text{not-is what: ACC do: ACT. PRES. with such king: INSTR. SG} \text{ PART. NEUTR} & \\
\text{‘There is nothing one can do with such a king.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In some sentences, the nominative form of the relative pronoun kās ‘who, what’ may function either as subject or object; thus the following sentence is ambiguous:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nērā kās kūlia.} & \\
\text{not-is who/what thrash: 3. PRES} & \\
\text{‘There is no one to do the thrashing/ There is nothing (no grain) to thrash.’}
\end{align*}
\]
SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF COMPLETIVE CLAUSES

The subject function

7.20 Complete 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’, atsitikti ‘happen’, būti ‘be’, dingtelėti ‘cross one’s mind’, matytišis ‘be seen’, paaškėti ‘become clear’, rūdytis ‘show itself’, rūpėti ‘be concerned’, patikti ‘like’):

Mán atródė, jog jaū vėlû. ‘It seemed to me that it was already late.’
Būdavo, kad ištisq mënësû lûja be përtraukos. ‘It sometimes happened (lit. ‘it used to be’) that it would rain for a month without stopping.’
Jâm patiûka, kad viskas bûtu padarûta laikû. ‘He likes (it) when (lit. ‘that’) everything is (lit. ‘should be’) done in time.’

(2) The infinitive of the verbs girdëti ‘hear’, matyti ‘see’, jaûsti, jusãti ‘feel’:

Matût, kad jâm galûv sûkas. ‘One can guess (lit. ‘To see’) that his head is swimming.’
Dabaû bûvo girdëti, kaûp skanûba varpaû. ‘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 keûsta, kad jã taûp visû giria. ‘It is even strange that all (the people) praise her so.’
Žînoma, kaûp bûs. ‘(It is) known how it will be.’
Bûvo pasakûta, kad jiû tûri padûti kaimûnams. lit. ‘(It) was said that they must help the neighbours.’

(4) Adverbs of state:

Geraû, kad viskaû main pasakëû. ‘(It is) good that you have told me everything.’
Nežiniû, kû ûsûtû padûres. ‘There is no knowing what he might have done.’

(5) The nominative case form of nouns denoting emotions and states (e.g. džiaûgsmas ‘joy’, garbë ‘honour’, gëda ‘shame’, laûmë ‘luck’, kaltû ‘fault, guilt’, teisybë ‘truth’, etc.):
The object function

7.21 Compleitive 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 klausė, ką jis turėtų daryti* (cf. *kláusé patarimo*).
   - 'He asked what he should do' (cf. 'asked for advice').

2. *Pasakyk, kaip mán pabėgti* (cf. *pasakýk teisybę*).
   - 'Tell me how I could escape' (cf. 'tell the truth').

   - 'Father believed that the old man was telling the truth' (cf. 'believed the old man').

4. *Nepýk ant manęs, kad aš noriu šitai žinoti* (cf. *nepyk už mano kláusimą*).
   - '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 compleitive subordinate clause commonly follows the main clause. Inverted arrangement serves to emphasize the subordinate clause or to make it the theme of a sentence:

*Kuomet išsręginau važiuoti, negaliu tikrai pasakyti.*
   - 'When I got ready to go, I can’t really say.'

*Kuř laikomi degtukai, žinójo tik tėvas.*
   - 'Where the matches were kept, father alone knew.'

CORRELATIVE WORDS

7.23 Correlative words are not often used in sentences with compleitive 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 *taï ‘that, it*’ and the case forms of *tãs ‘that*:

*Ar tai blöga, kad jis žmonëms gëra dâro.*
   - lit. 'Is it bad that he does good to people.'
A correlative dummy word is obligatory in sentences with a few verbs only; cf.:

\[\text{Jūs gerūmas rėškėsi tuod, kad ji visiems padėdavo.}\]

‘Her goodness expressed itself in that she used to help everyone.’

Completive subordinate clauses can be represented by generalized pronouns (\textit{viena} ‘one’, \textit{viskas} ‘everything’, \textit{niėko} ‘nothing’), sometimes by abstract nouns, very much like the dummy \textit{taĩ}, \textit{tas}: 

\[\text{Jis viską žino, kąs ten dąrosi.}\]

‘He knows everything that goes on there.’

\[\text{Pasakyk màn visą teisybę, kaip tai atsitiko.}\]

‘Tell me all the truth how it happened.’

**Attributive clauses**

7.24 Attributive clauses (\textit{pažymimieji sakiniai}) are typically introduced by the relative pronouns \textit{kuris}, -\textit{i} ‘which, that’, \textit{koks}, -\textit{iā} ‘what (kind of)‘, \textit{katrās}, -\textit{ā} ‘which (of the two)’, \textit{kās} ‘what’. Their head words are nouns or pronouns.

**CLAUSES WITH NOUN ANTECEDENTS**

7.25 If the antecedent of an attributive clause is a noun, or its substitute, it is introduced by the relative pronouns \textit{kuris}, -\textit{i} ‘which, what’, \textit{koks}, -\textit{iā} ‘what (kind of)’, and, sometimes, by the adverbs \textit{kada} ‘when’, \textit{kai} ‘as’, \textit{kde} ‘why’, \textit{kur} ‘where’, etc. (see 7.28). The antecedent nouns vary in lexical meaning and syntactic function; cf.:

\[\text{Šuo, kuris lōja, nekanda.}\]

‘A dog that barks does not bite.’

\[\text{Vaika sužiuoro tāką, kuriuo būvo atēję.}\]

‘The children stared at the path by which they had come.’

The main clause may contain the pronoun \textit{tās, tā} ‘that’ or \textit{tōks, -iā} ‘such’ as an optional correlative word which serves to single out the antecedent noun and to reinforce the link between the clauses; e.g.:

\[\text{Paiūk tā knygą, kurį ant stalo.}\]

lit. ‘Take that book which is on the table.’

7.26 An attributive clause usually follows immediately after the antecedent, unless a post-posed attribute is placed between them:

\[\text{Mergaitė juodaïs plaukaïs, kurią mateï vākar, yrā mano dukterėcia.}\]

‘The girl with black hair whom you saw yesterday is my niece.’
An attributive clause may also by distanced from the antecedent if the latter is a preposed genitive attribute itself, cf.:

Pinigas nemėgsta tō žmogaus raūky, kuris nemōka jō věrtinti. ‘Money doesn’t like the hands of the man who doesn’t value it.’

7.27 Attributive 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:

Nemėgstu žmoniŲ, kurie nemoka laikyti liežūvio už dantų. ‘I don’t like people who can’t hold their tongues.’

Cf. Nemėgstu žmoniŲ. ‘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:

Taē tas pāts žmogūs, kuris padējo jiems pabēgti. ‘It is the (very) same man who had helped them to escape.’

Restrictive clauses specifying the quality of the antecedent are introduced by the pronouns kuris, -i or koks, -iā, with the correlative pronoun tokis, -iā ‘such’ used optionally:

Pamatysi (tokiā/*tī) sōda, kōkio niekumēt nēsi dar mātes. ‘You’ll see a garden (whose like) you have never seen yet.’

Jis trōško (tokiūs/*tōs) audrōs, kuri išblaškėtų nērimą. ‘He longed for (such) a storm that would 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.:

Gyveno kafta sēnas žmogūs, kuriām mirē žmonā. ‘There lived an old man whose (lit. ‘to whom’) wife had died.’

Po dārbo manē aplaṅķe sēnas bičiūlis, kurī pākviečiau vakarieniāuti. ‘An old friend came to see me after work and (lit. ‘whom’) I invited him to supper.’

7.28 Attributive clauses can also be introduced by invariable words.

(1) If the antecedent is a locative noun in subject or object position, the relative adverb kuř can be used:
We visited the house where the writer had once lived.

(2) If the antecedent is a temporal noun (laikas ‘time’, diena ‘day’, etc.) the markers of subordination are the relative adverbs kadà ‘when’ and kaï ‘as’:

Prisiminiau dienas, kadà/kaï visai dar jàunus buvai.

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 kodél ‘why’ can be used:

Buvo ir kita priežastis, kodél / dél kuriòs jis nenorëjo eiti su mumis.

‘There was another reason why he didn’t want to go with us.’

Note: Subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinators kadà, kaï, kuř 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 kàs ‘who, what’, kurìs, -i ‘which’, katràs, -à ‘which (of the two)’, kòks, -ià ‘what (kind of)’, introducing the subordinate clause can be related to the demonstrative pronouns tòs, tà ‘that’, tòks, -ià ‘such’, included or implied in the principal clause. They agree with the antecedent in number and gender and refer to the same entity; cf.:

Kàs per da búg norì, tòs mažài gáuna.

‘Whoever wants too much, (that one) gains little.’

The antecedent pronoun is sometimes omitted, but it is easily recoverable from the sentence structure:

Kàs da búg kalàba, (tòs) mažài dirba.

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:

Tàs laimès, kàs bús pirìmas.

‘That (one) will win who will be the first.’

Búsiu gëras ir tòks, kòks esù.

‘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 *käs* ‘who, what’, *kuris, -i* ‘which, that’ describe the entity (thing or person) referred to by the demonstrative pronoun *täs, tć, tai* (explicit or implicit) in the main clause.

The most common pairs of pronouns in sentences of the type under consideration are *käs... täs, tći*. 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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Käs lengvai žāda, täs suńkiai} & \quad \text{‘Whoever (NOM) is quick to promise that one (NOM) is slow to give/for that one (DAT) it is hard to give.’} \\
\text{Kā lengvai žadēsi, tā suńkiai} & \quad \text{lit. ‘What (ACC) you easily promise, that (ACC) you will give with difficulty/that (NOM) will be hard to give.’} \\
\text{Kām lengvai žadēsi, tām} & \quad \text{‘Whom (DAT) you promise easily, to that one (DAT) you will give with difficulty,’ etc.} \\
\text{suńkiai dúosi.} & \quad \text{etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

The relative pronoun *kuris, -i* ‘which’ is less commonly used; sentence structure and relations between clauses correspond to sentences with *käs*, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aš ne iš tŲ, kuriuos} & \quad \text{‘I am not one of those whom (lit. ‘which’) one can cheat.’} \\
\text{apgāuti.} & \quad \text{etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

An attributive clause can also be dependent on the pronouns *kažkäs* ‘somebody, something’, *kiekvēnas* ‘everybody’, *niēkas* ‘nobody’, *visas, -a* ‘all, the whole’, *viskas* ‘everything’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jis tūri savyjē kažkā, kās} & \quad \text{lit. ‘He has something in himself that attracts.’} \\
\text{tráukia.} & \quad \text{lit. ‘Invite inside everyone who will knock at the door.’} \\
\text{Kviesk ī vidų kiekvienā, kās} & \quad \text{‘He took everything that was on the table.’} \\
\text{pasibeš.} & \quad \text{‘like father, like son.’ (lit. ‘What (kind of man) is the father, such is the son.’)} \\
\text{Jis pasiēmė viską, kās būvo ant} & \quad \text{‘What (kind of man/husband) you will want, such (kind) you will get.’} \\
\text{stālo.} & \quad \text{etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

7.31 Clauses introduced by the relative pronoun *kōks, -iā* ‘what (kind of)’ refer to the property indicated by the antecedent pronoun *tōks, -iā* in the main clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kōks tēvas, tōks ir sūnūs.} & \quad \text{‘Like father, like son.’ (lit. ‘What (kind of man) is the father, such is the son.’)} \\
\text{Kōkio norēsi, tōkį gauši.} & \quad \text{‘What (kind of man/husband) you will want, such (kind) you will get.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Similar relations hold in sentences with the pronouns *tōks, -iā ... kuris, -i*:
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:
   Kās daug žada, tās mažai dāro.
   ‘Whoever promises much, (that one) does little.’

2) an object:
   Negirk tō, kō nematei.
   ‘Don’t praise that which (lit. ‘what: GEN’) you haven’t seen.’

3) a predicative:
   Ar esi tās, kuriā liēpsiu.
   ‘You’ll marry (that (one)), whom (lit. ‘which’) I tell you.’

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 attributive clauses from completive clauses introduced by the same relative pronouns kās ‘who, what’, kuris, -i ‘which’, koks, -ia ‘what (kind of)’ (cf. 7.18).

Correlative clauses

7.33 Subordinate clauses of this type are introduced by the conjunctions kād ‘that’ and jūg ‘that’, while the demonstrative pronouns tās, tā ‘that’, tōks, -i ‘such’ and the adverbs tai p ‘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 būves tōks (baisūs),
   ‘The thunder was such (so terrible) that’
   kad nāmo sienos drebėjusios.
   ‘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 kad ‘that’ and jog ‘that’ are not always interchangeable. The conjunction kad alone is used to introduce clauses with the subjunctive mood of the predicate expressing purpose, aim, e.g.:

\[ \text{Kas turi tokia pikta sirda, kad (jog) galetu taid padaryti?} \]

‘Who has such an evil heart that he could do so?’

7.34 Both conjunctions (kad and jog) are often used with the emphatic particle net ‘even’, less frequently with nors ‘though, even’ (the latter usually with the imperative):

\[ \text{Aš tikė apie jį girdėjau, kad / jog net sapnava kaftą.} \]

‘I’ve heard so much about him that I even dreamed about him once.’

\[ \text{Jis kalbėjo taip pikta, kad nors apsisūk ir išeik.} \]

lit. ‘He spoke in such an angry way that one felt like turning and leaving (lit.: ‘that even turn (2. IMPER) and leave (2.IMPER)’).’

These conjunctions are sometimes omitted, especially in dialectal speech and in fiction, and the particles net and nors introduce a subordinate clause:

\[ \text{Čia taip skani kvepia, net sēlės vairų.} \]

lit. ‘It smells so nice here, even one’s mouth waters.’

\[ \text{Vandeņs pribēgo tiek, nors kibiru sēmk.} \]

‘There was so much water, one might 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.:

\[ \text{Vaikai jū mirė vienas po kito, taip kad pagaliau neturejo nei vieno.} \]

‘Their children died one after another, so that finally they had none.’

7.35 The antecedent of a subordinate clause can perform any syntactic function in the superordinate clause:

(1) The predicative:

\[ \text{Reikalas tiks, kad nebėra pasitikėjimo.} \]

lit. ‘The matter is such that there is no trust any longer.’

\[ \text{Skirtumas tūs, kad esi už jū dėsimt mėtų vyrėsnis.} \]

‘The difference is (that) that you are ten years older than she is.’

\[ \text{Dienū buvo tokia graži, kad/jog nenorejomi grižti namo.} \]

‘The day was so nice that we didn’t want to return home.’
In this case the adverbs *taip* ‘so’ and *tiek* ‘so much’ are sometimes used instead of the correlative *tôks*, -iù, to stress the degree of the quality denoted by an adjective:

*Seneîē buvo taip senà, kad nebegalējo ir paeîti.*

‘Granny was so old that she could not even walk.’

*Jis dârosi tiek drâsûs, kad viskâ pâts îma.*

‘He is growing so (much) bold that he takes everything himself.’

The relative adverb *taip* is the principal correlative word used with the neuter form of adjectives and participles in predicative position:

*Teû bûvo taip gëra / liûksma, kad niêkas nenorëjo iîeîti.*

‘It was so nice/merry there that no one wanted to leave.’

(2) The subject:

*Prasîdêjo tokîâ áudra, kad net stôgus kilnôjo.*

‘Such a storm began that it even tore at the roofs.’

(3) An object:

*Jis pajûto tóki skaûsma, kad nenoromis sudejîvo.*

‘He felt such a pain that he moaned against his will.’

(4) An adverbial of manner:

*Tiek/ taip dirbi, kad galêjai ir praturtêti.*

‘You work so much/so that you could get rich.’

*Dainûjîa taip gražiaîî, kad veîkt nôrisî.*

‘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 *kaî* ‘as’, *kadâ* ‘when’, *kôl* ‘while, till’, *iki* ‘until’, *ligî* ‘until’, *vôs* ‘as soon as’, *tik* ‘only, but’, etc. and corresponding complex conjunctions. Correlative words (*tadà* ‘then’, *tuoîêt* ‘then’, *po tô* ‘after that’, *tôl* ‘until, till’, etc.), also temporal in meaning, can be used optionally. The order of clauses is usually variable.

In sentences with the conjunctions *kaî* and *kadâ* 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 *kaï, kadà*

7.37 These conjunctions are the least specified semantically. The most neutral and common conjunction is *kaï* ‘as, when’. Its synonym *kadà* ‘when’ is less frequently used and it cannot always substitute for *kaï* (see 7.39). The two-place conjunctions *kaï... taï* ‘as... then’, *kadà... taï* 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 tave atlankysiu, kadà mėdžiai žaliuos.*

‘I’ll come (PERF) to see you when the trees are green (IMPF).’

*Kai saulėlė tekėjo, mûsû linaï 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 săulė nusêdo už giriu, âtlėkê pelêda.*

‘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.:

*Åš net nusigandaû, kai jis mûs prakâlbino.*

‘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, tuomêt ‘then, at that time’; they emphasize the temporal relationship between the clauses:

*Kalbësiu tiësq ir tuomêt/tadà, kai pavojinga.*

‘I will speak the truth even at the time/then when it is dangerous.’

The phrases *tuô metû ‘at that time’, tuô tárpu ‘in the meanwhile’ are functionally similar to these correlative words and stress simultaneity of actions:

*Tuô metû, kai jis kalbëjosi su kaimûnu, mergâûte žatåðe netolûse.*

‘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)’:

Aš grįžaū 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:

Dabar / Naktį, kai jau šokiai 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 sliñko vakaróp, kai jiédu grížo 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 sáulë nusiléido.

‘It is an hour since (lit. ‘as’) the sun has set.’

Jaū valandà, kai / kaip jis miéga.

‘It is an hour that he has been asleep.’

The particles dár ‘yet’, jaū ‘already’, vōs ‘hardly’, tik ‘just, only’, when used in the main clause, specify the temporal relation:

Vōs (tik) spėjau užmigti, kai suskañbo telefonas.

‘I had hardly (just) fallen asleep when the telephone rang.’

(Cf. semantically similar sentences without kai in which vōs serves as a conjunction, in 7.43.)

A subordinate clause beginning with kai may denote an action which had begun or taken place before the action of a negative main clause denoting the time of an action:

Nepraėjo ir valandà, kai pradėjo lūti.

‘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 *kai* can also have a secondary causal meaning determined by context; e.g.:

*Kai dabar keliai prastai, tai ir svečiai neatvažiūoja.* 'As the roads are poor now, there are few visitors.'

**Clauses with *köl*, *iki*/*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 *kai* 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 *köl*, indicates a simultaneous action whose duration sets limits to the duration of the main action:

*Jis dirbo, köl saulė švietė.* 'He worked while (lit. ‘till’) the sun shone.'

A subordinate clause with a perfective verb usually introduced by *köl(ei)* (less commonly by *iki*, *līgi*) denotes the successive event limiting the duration of the main action:

*Jis dirbo, köl/iki patekėjo mėnuli.* '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.:

*Traukimės namo, kol neužlijo /nelyja.* 'Let’s go home before it starts raining (PAST)/rains (PRES) (lit. ‘till it did not start raining/does not rain’).'</n
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 *neužmušė).* '(They) beat him until (they) killed (him).'</n

7.42 The most common correlative word in the main clause is the adverb *töl* ‘so long’:

*Kol gyveni, töl ir mokaisi.* 'You learn as long as you live' (lit. ‘While you live so long you learn’).

A subordinate clause (like clauses introduced by *kai* ‘as’) can have an antecedent that functions as an adverbal of time:

*Po lietaus, kol buvo šlapia, sėdėjome namie.* 'After the rain, while it was wet, we stayed at home.'
Clauses with vōs, tik

7.43 These conjunctions (homonymous with the particles vōs '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 vōs and the complex conjunction vōs tik are the most common subordinators used in this case, tik and the complex conjunction lig tik(tai) occurring in everyday speech and in fiction. Cf. respectively:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vos (tik) nusiléido sáulë, jis parbëgo namô.} & \quad \text{‘As soon as the sun set, he came running home.’} \\
\text{Tik (lig tik) manë pamâto, tuôj veðkia.} & \quad \text{‘As soon as (he) sees me, he at once starts crying (lit. ‘cries’).’}
\end{align*}
\]

Clauses of cause

7.44 Subordinate clauses of cause are introduced by the semantic conjunctions kadângi ‘as, since, because’, nēs ‘for, as, because’ and by the asemantic kad ‘that, as’ which is commonly paired with the correlative words dël tō (todēl) ‘therefore, so’, už tāt/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 nēs

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jis netrûkus uźmigo, nes bûvo labaï pavařgës.} & \quad \text{‘He fell asleep at once, for he was very tired.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Such sentences are close in meaning to compound sentences with the coordinators todēl/dël tō ‘therefore’ denoting consequence:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Obuoliûs pasimû, nes namî neturîû.} & \quad \text{‘I’m taking the apples, because I have none at home.’} \\
\text{Namiû obuoliû neturîû, todēl juôs pasimû.} & \quad \text{‘I have no apples at home, therefore I am taking these.’}
\end{align*}
\]
The conjunction *nes* is also used to connect clauses related as assertion and its foundation (premise), the latter being expressed by the subordinate clause:

\[
\text{Rytój bus vėjūta dienà, nes}
\]

\[
dangús raudónas.
\]

'It will be a windy day tomorrow, as the sky is red.'

Such sentences correspond to compound sentences with the conjunction *taigi*:

\[
\text{Dangús raudónas, taigi rytój bus vėjūta.}
\]

'The sky is red, so it will be a windy day tomorrow.'

**Clauses with *kadangi***

This conjunction is less common in everyday speech than *nes*; it is characteristic of formal styles. The order of clauses varies, but the subordinate clause tends to precede the main clause.

The conjunction *kadangi* mostly expresses cause and effect relations:

\[
\text{Kadangi pelédos gáudo pelès, jòs}
\]

\[
žmògui naudingos.
\]

'As owls hunt mice, they are useful to man.'

This conjunction is often paired with *taī* 'then', both comprising a two-place conjunction:

\[
\text{Kadangi knýgos brángios, tai}
\]

\[
pirkēju mažai.
\]

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:

\[
\text{Jìë, matýt, buvo miestièciai,}
\]

\[
kadangi nešiójo jùodus ãkinius.
\]

'They were not villagers, obviously, because they were wearing dark glasses.'

**Clauses with *kàd***

The conjunction *kàd* is commonly used with the correlative *dèl tò* '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:

\[
\text{Màn ji patiko tik dèl tò, kad}
\]

\[
turéjo grážu balísa.
\]

'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.:
Neatėjaū, dėl tō kad sirgaū. ‘I didn’t come because I was ill.’

A less common correlative is the adverb todēl ‘therefore’:

Atėjaū tik todēl, kad mān pasidārē gaīla tāvo sūnaūs. ‘I have come only because I felt sorry for your son.’

The conjunction kad 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 kad... tā ‘because... then’ and kad... tād ‘because... therefore’; e.g.:

Kad vaikā mažī, tai/tad reikēs sēdēti namiē. lit. ‘Because the children are small, therefore I’ll have to stay at home.’

7.49 The conjunction kad 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 tāip māža? lit. ‘What’s going to happen, as/since there are so few people?’

Gal jis serga, kad neatvažiāvo. ‘Maybe he is ill, since he hasn’t come.’

In this case the conjunction kad cannot be replaced by nēs or kadāngi.

7.50 Clauses of cause are sometimes introduced by the adverbialized case forms kām ‘why, for what (DAT)’ and kō ‘why, for what (GEN)’ of the pronoun kās ‘what’:

Tēvas supūko, kām jī ginasī. lit. ‘Father got angry, because she was defending herself.’

Mamā bārēsi, kō taip vēla parējaū. ‘Mother scolded me because I had returned so late.’

Clauses of condition

7.51 To introduce clauses of condition, the semantic conjunctions jēigu/jēi ‘if’, less commonly nebeikt ‘if only’, the asemantic conjunction kad ‘that’, and the two-place conjunctions (jēi... tai ‘if... then’, kad... tai ‘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 kad) 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 jeigu, jėi**

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 papištume **savo kalbą ir praeitį**, diųgtų **ir Lietuvą**.

(2) Jei būtum **rimsa kalbėjęs, gal būčiau tekėjusi**.

The main predicate can be used in the imperative form or in the indicative future tense form:

Jeigu **kūs tą ka būgą norėtų padaryti**, šaūkis manęs.

Jeigu **dar sūkį tū mane sītaip padarytum**, tai būsi nužudytas.

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 / turī **pinigų, gausi visko**.

Jeigu **gegužė mėnesį nebūna lietaus, gėro dešliaus nelauk**.

The conjunction is often coupled with the particles tik and iš:

Jeig u tik **gerai sutašime, niūkas mūsų neišskis**.

Jeig u ir **niūkas maniši nepatikės, negaliu tyleti**.

7.54 The two-place conjunction jėi(gu)... tai is used in the same way as jėi(gu):

Jeigu **rytų ateitum/ateisi**, tai gál daugiau sužinotum/sužinosi.
Sometimes the main clause (usually incomplete) has a restrictive meaning; e.g.:

Jei grįždavo kąs iš karųomenės,
tai jaū sėnas, palieges.
lit. ‘If anyone ever returned from the army, then (he was) already old and ailing.’

7.55 The conjunction *jei(gu)... tai* is also used to express **contrastive relations**:

Jei tiū ir nusivylėi, tai āš tik
apsidžiaugiau.
‘Even if you got disappointed, then I was only glad.’

Jeigu tą su maniniš blūga, tai
vienai būs dār blodžiau.
‘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 ḥ ‘but’, tačiau ‘however’, but they differ from the latter sentences in that both clauses are more closely related.

**Clauses with kad**

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* būčiau norėjės, ( tai)
būčiau tave pralenkęs.
‘Had I wished I would have outstripped you.’

*Ką ilš daryčiau, kad* tavę
neturėciuau.
‘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* niedirbsi, tai niėko ir
neturėsi. ‘If you don’t work then you’ll have nothing.’

**Clauses with nebeńt**

7.57 The conjunction *nebeńt* ‘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 namię, nebeńt pakvięsčiau.*
lit. ‘Stay at home, unless I should invite you.’

*Daug pešno iš tò nebus, nebeńt
imtumei 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 bêt ‘but’, ď ‘but’, tačiaū ‘but, however’, vis dėltō ‘nevertheless’ (see 7.90, 95, 98, 100) which are also used as part of complex concessive conjunctions, e.g.: nórs/kàd iř... bêt ‘although... but’, nórs/kàd iř... tačiaū ‘although... but’, nórs/kàd iř... ď/vis dėltō/ď vis dėltō ‘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 širdis, linksmaĩ juōktis galiū. ‘Although my heart is weeping, I can laugh merrily.’

Nors tvirtôvës sîenos griûvo, tačiaū / bet kariaĩ nûtarë gyoï nespîdûoti. ‘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 labai norëtum, neisiu į girią. ‘However much you ask me, I won’t go to the woods.’

Kad àš ir išgyśiu, bet/tačiaû tavo nebûsiu. ‘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) jîs nórs ir atsiklaûpes praśûs/praśûty, niêko jâm nedûiostû. ‘Even if he begs (FUT/SUBJ) me on his knees, I won’t give him anything.’

(2) Tegù(l) (iř) niêkas to nemûtê, (bet) àš vis viên negalësiu jâm melûoti. ‘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 kad and, very seldom, by the specialized semantic conjunction of purpose idaiit ‘in order that’. Since kad 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.:

Padėk rankas ant stalo, kad visi matytų.
Kad lengviai būtų atsiginti nuo priėšų, lietuviai stātė pilis.
Išėjome anksti, kad nepavēlūotume į traukinį.

‘Put your hands on the table so that everyone can see.’
‘In order that it might be easier to defend themselves from the enemy, Lithuanians used to build fortresses.’
‘We left home early in order not to miss the train.’

The conjunction kad can be used with the correlatives tám (which is the adverbialised dative case form of the pronoun ųas ‘that’) and the prepositional phrase dėl to ‘for that’, in which case the main clause precedes the subordinate clause:

Aš ne tam suńkiai dirbau, kad tu galėtum dykinėti.
Dėl to atėjaū, kad tau padėčiau.

‘I didn’t work hard so that you could idle.’
‘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 dėl to (tám) dainuoju, kad ųmonës girdėtų.

‘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 bijoti ‘fear’, galleris ‘be sorry’, norëti ‘want, wish’, lauktis ‘wait’, prašyti ‘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 idaiit are somewhat archaic and formal. Structurally, they are identical with kad-clauses:

Atvýkome į šį krūštą, idaiit geriau pažintume ją gańtą ir ųmonęs.

‘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 nuėjo, kuř kójos nėša. ‘He went where his feet took him.’

For emphasis, the subordinator kuř tik ‘wherever’ is used:

Kuř tik ī eirdavo, kātinas sēkē iš paskūs. ‘Wherever she went, the cat followed in her steps.’

As a rule, clauses of place co-occur with a correlative word, viz. the adverb teñ ‘there’; in this case a subordinate clause is usually preposed to the main clause, or it follows the correlative word:

Kuř paũkštis lēkia, teñ plūnksna kreīta. lit. ‘Where a bird flies, there a feather falls.’

Nięko neberadaũ teñ, kuř kadāise stovējo tēvū namai. lit. ‘I found nothing there where my parents’ house had been.’

Both the subordinator kuř and the correlative teñ can be used with the prepositions of direction iš ‘out of’, nuō ‘from’, peũ ‘through, across’, etc.:

Namō gršite, per kuř norēsite. ‘You’ll return home by any road (lit. ‘by where’) you want.’

Nuo teñ, kuř ī tadā gyoũno, atskambējo dainūs āudas. 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 nũplaukė gana toli, kuř būvo negili vietū. ‘He swam rather far, where there was a shallow place.’

Sēnis stēngdavosi būti tarp žmoniū, kuř daugiāi triūkšmo, kalbū. ‘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 kamē ‘in what’ is sometimes used as a subordinator instead of kuř:

Kamē lōsi, tenāi ir lāksi. ‘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 kaip ‘as, like’, lÿg ‘as if’, it ‘as if, like’, taršum/tarši ‘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 kaip denote comparison without implying any modal meaning:

Viskas buvo padarýta, kaip sútarta. ‘Everything was done according to agreement (lit. ‘as agreed’).’

In sentences with verbal predicates the correlative taip ‘so’ can be used:

Jis viską taip padarýs, kaip nôriu. ‘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 tûks, -ià ‘such’ is used:

Jis buvo tûks, kaip mân pûsakojo. lit. ‘He was such as they told me.’

7.67 Sentences with the subordinators lÿg, it, taršum/tarýtum and tarûsi which usually require a subjunctive mood form in the subordinate clause, denote comparison with a possible or unreal or imaginary event:

Vûkinas dirbo toliaû, lÿg/tarûsi/it bûtû niêko nepastebëjës. ‘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 kaip.

In these sentences the correlative word taip ‘so’ is also used:

Jis elgësi taip, lÿg tikraû niêko negirdëtu ir nematytû. ‘He behaved so as if he really didn’t hear and see anything.’

If the standard of comparison is a quality, the correlative tûks, sometimes tiëk, can be used:

Eglûtë jaûtë tûkû sôpûli, taûtum bûtû kas šûrdj ài rûþës. ‘Eglutë 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.:

\[ \textit{Visi dabar sėdėjom tyliai, lęg klausėme kō.} \]

‘We were all sitting quietly, as if we were listening to something.’

**Quantitative comparative clauses**

7.68 These clauses are formed with the subordinator \( \text{kiėk} \) ‘how much’ and the correlative \( \text{tiek} \) ‘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.

\[ \text{Kiek atsiriėksi, tiek ir suvälgyi.} \]

‘You’ll eat as much as you will cut off for yourself’ (lit. ‘How much you will cut off so much you will eat’).

\[ \text{Senėlis jąi dāvę tiek obuolių, kiek ji galėjo panėsti.} \]

‘Grandfather gave her as many apples as (lit. ‘so many... how many’) she could carry.’

A comparative clause can be related to the pronoun \( \text{visas} \) ‘all’ or to the adverb \( \text{visuė} \) ‘everywhere’ implying quantity:

\[ \text{Kiek mūsų buvome, visi apsirgome.} \]

‘As many of us were there, all fell ill.’

\[ \text{Kiek tik ūkys užmāto, visuė juodūjoja dėbesys.} \]

‘As far as (lit. ‘how much’) the eye can see everywhere the clouds appear black.’

The correlative word is sometimes omitted:

\[ \text{Kiek žiedą regėsi, manė atsiminësi.} \]

‘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 \( \text{kuo... tuo, juo... tuō} \) and \( \text{juo... juō} \) 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 \( \text{juo... juō} \) the initially placed clause is regarded as the subordinate one):

\[ \text{(1) Kuō (juō) j mūsā toliāū, tuō mēdzju daugiaū.} \]

‘The farther into the woods the more trees.’
"The more he worked the less he got."

"The older he grows the more wrinkles appear."

"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’, *kitoks, -ia* ‘different, not such’, or an adverb like *kitaip, kitoniškai* ‘in a different way’.

*Dabartinių laikų vaikai* gudresni, *negu* kadáise buvo suaugę výrai.  ‘Children these days are cleverer than adult men used to be before.’

*Susitikimas buvo visái kitoks, negu* mēs tikéjomės.  ‘The meeting was quite different from what (lit. ‘than’) we had expected.’

Differentiating clauses are also introduced by the conjunctions *nekaip, nei, kaip*. They do not differ from those with *negū* either structurally or in meaning, but they occur mostly in colloquial speech, cf.:

*Negalitū suteikū jāi daugiaû laiśvēs, kaip/ nekaip/ nei jī dabař tūri.*  ‘I can’t give her more freedom than she has now.’

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:

*Kā mān prašýt, tai geriaû visāi neturēšiu.*  ‘I’d rather not have it at all than beg for it.’

**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:

Jiė neatėjo, kąs manė labai
nuliūdino.

‘They did not come, which worried me
very much.’

Mergaitė miegė iki
pusiąudienio, už ką nuolat
gaudavo bérti nuo mótinos.

‘The girl used to sleep till noon,
for which
her mother always scolded her.’

Jám skaudėjo kójas, kaip paprasta
česti po ilgos kelionės.

‘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 ir ‘and’, o ‘and’, nės ‘as’ followed by a
demonstrative pronoun (tās, tā, tāi ‘that’, tōks ‘such’) or the adverb taip ‘so’; cf.:

Jiė neatėjo, ir taį mán kėlė nėrimą.

‘They did not come, and that worried me.’

Additive clauses are characteristic of formal style.

Compound sentence
Sujungiamasis sakinys

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.:

Buvo vásara, bet laukusė žmonės
niėko nedirbo.

‘It was summer, but people did not work
in the fields.’

Žemė čia derlinga, todėl kviečia
gera įauga.

‘The soil is fertile here, therefore
wheat
grows well.’

A coordinator is placed between the clauses and it expresses the semantic rela­
tionship 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 ir ‘and’, o
‘only’, vis delto ‘still; however’, vis tįk ‘nevertheless’, užtaĩ/užtaĩ ‘therefore’, nei
‘nor’, and also with todėl/dėl tō ‘therefore’, per taį ‘therefore’.

The constituent clauses of a structurally closed sentence can also be joined by
complex conjunctions such as o tačiau ‘but’, o bėt(gi) ‘but’, etc., e.g.:

Tėvas buvo labai įpūkės, bėtgi/
o bėtgi nepasako nė žodžio.

‘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/vōs... ir vēl lit. ‘just... and again’, dār/vōs... o jaū ‘yet/just... and already’, neganā... bet dār ‘not only... but even’, etc. This correlation serves to reinforce and specify the connection between the clauses, cf.:

Tik/vōs spējau pareiti namō, ir vēl pradējo liūti.

‘Hardly had I returned home, and it started raining again.’

Dār neprasidējo pavāsaras, o jaū laukaž žaliūjoja.

‘Spring has not come yet, but the fields are already green.’

Neganā mān sāvo darbī, bet dār turītī svetimaūs 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): if... ir ‘and... and’, af... ar ‘whether... or’, arba... arba ‘either... or’, nei... nei ‘neither... nor’, tai... taī ‘now... now’, čia... čiū ‘now... now’. The number of clauses is practically unlimited though two or three-constituent sentences are the commonest.

Ir gyvulīai buvo pašerti, ir pūsryčiai paruošti, ir namaū sutvarkyti.

‘(And) the animals were fed, and breakfast was ready, and the rooms were cleaned.’

Nei āš tež buvaū, nei galiū tāu kā 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:

Šīryt ir sāule šviesėsnė, ir paukšteliai linksmiaū čiūlba.

‘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.:

Iš rytī šalēlēs saulēle tekėjo, o iš vakarēlių 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) Āš jūms dūsisu bandēle, o jūs mān dūokite avinēlī.

‘I’ll give you a cake, and you’ll give me a lamb.’

Nei tū jō pabārsi, nei tū jō pamōkysi.

‘Neither will you scold him nor will you teach him a lesson.’
(2) Māno sesūtē plonā kalba, o ātū storaī.

Motūšē verkdamā, o Bēnis šokinēdamas īsvažīvo.

‘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 *if* ‘and’ and reduplicated conjunctions *īf*... *īf*, *neī... neī*, *taī... taī*, *čiā... čiā* are used. Juxtapositive and adversative relations are expressed by the conjunctions *ō* ‘and / but’, *bēt*, *tačiaū*, *tik(taī)*, and *vis delto*, *vis tīek*, *užtāt*. Disjunctive coordination is designated by the single conjunctions *ař*, *arbā* and reduplicated *ař*... *ař*, *arbā*... *arbā*. Consecutive coordination is expressed by the coordinators *tād*, *taīgi*, *taī*, *dēl tō*, *per taī*, *todeī*, and continuative coordination by *īf*, *ō* and *bēt*.

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 *īf***

7.77 Clauses joined by the conjunction *īf* 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:

*Mēnūlis šviečia kaip šviečēs, ir šuō liūdnaī kienē kaūkia.*

‘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:
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:

Lūpai sušlāmo, ir vēl 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:

Jūs vīras netrūkus mirē, ir jī šeimininkauja / šeimininkāvo šiojā sodīboje. ‘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:

Rētkarčiais prabēga kažkokia žmogysta – ir vēl viskas ramū / visur tylā. ‘From time to time a man passes by running, and all is quiet again/it is silence everywhere.’

Alongside temporal relations clauses linked by if 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):

Tie dokumeņtais būvo riebaluoti ir pēlēs juos sudrāskē. ‘Those documents were greasy and mice gnawed them to shreds.’

Jis būvo nusisūkēs ī siena ir āš mačiaū jū žilā pakaušī. ‘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:
Ežys susirietė į kēmuolį, ir šuo nēko negalė padarysti.  
Tū nekaltai nukentėjai, ir āš turiu atlęginti.  

‘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 manęs nebeplaki ir āš nebeverkiu.  
Dūrųs gerau neuzsidarė ir pro plyšiūs vėtėsi į vidų šaltis.  

‘Now you don’t beat me any longer and I do not cry.’
‘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 ta’ai, ta’ai, tād, denoting causal relations (see 7.103–105).

7.79 The conjunction īr may be reinforced by the adverbs dēl tō/todēl ‘therefore’ and the like, which express the cause-and-consequence relationship explicitly:

Aštinos jau prietėmis, ir todēl Juodas paskubėjo išėti.  

‘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 īr (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:

Įeini žmogus tankumynan, ir kūnas tik eina pagaugaĩs.  

‘You enter (lit. ‘Enter (PRES. 2. SG) (a) man’) the thicket and your body trembles all over.’

Mōstelėsi rankelė, 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 kiemė, ir pākerta Elžbiētai kōjas.  

‘A dog will bark in the yard, and Elizabeth’s knees shake (with fright).’
‘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 liežūvio – ir būs geraž. ‘Don’t wag your tongue – and it will be all right.’

(4) The subjunctive mood is used in the first or in both clauses:

 Eīgtumeis kaip pridera, ir viši tavė gėrbėtų. ‘If you behaved properly everyone would respect you.’

(5) The predicate of the first clause is the impersonal verb užtėkti ‘be enough’ or reikėti/bereikt ‘be necessary’ with an infinitive often emphasized by the particles tik ‘only’, dăr ‘yet’:

 Užteňka mán tik užmėrkt akis, ir tuojaū kyla priēš manė vaizdaū. ‘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 jėi(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:

 Ieškojau duktešs visą diēną
 ir niêkas neatējo mân padėti. ‘I was looking for my daughter all day long, and nobody came to help me.’

 Koks māžas šūtas kambarēlis, ir kōks platus pasāulis! ‘How small this room is, and how great the world!’

These sentences are close in meaning to sentences with the conjunctions ņ, bêt,
tačiaū 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 vāsaru laisētāu tūs daržūs,
 ir niēkas neužāugo. ‘I had been watering those vegetable
gardens all the summer, and nothing
grew up.’

This meaning is intensified by vis dēlo or taē postposed to iš:

 Sāule spindējo grynaī balūtē šviesā, ir vis dēlo nebūvo taēp kāršta. ‘The sun glowed white-hot, and still
nevertheless it wasn’t so hot.’

(Cf. complex sentences of concession with the conjunction nōrs ‘though’, 7.58.)
RELATIONS OF PARALLELISM

7.82 In this case the predicates of both sentences are either identical or close in meaning:

\[ \text{Visi jà bûvo paténkinti, } \text{ir} \]
\[ \text{jì bûvo paténkinta.} \]
\[ \text{I avoid her, and you (should) be on guard!} \]

\[ \text{\'Everyone was pleased with her, and she was pleased.'} \]

\[ \text{\'Iš jûs privéngiu, ir jûs pasisérgëkite!} \]
\[ \text{\'I avoid her, and you (should) be on guard!'} \]

SUMMATIVE RELATIONS

7.83 The second clause introduced by \( \text{if} \) is related to the preceding clause as a conclusion or a generalization over it. It often contains a generalizing pronoun (\( \text{viskas} \) ‘everything’, \( \text{visas, -à ‘all’}, \text{niëkas ‘nobody, nothing’, etc.} \)):

\[ \text{Jì rûpinasi tik savimi - ir viskas.} \]
\[ \text{\'She takes care of herself only – and that’s all.’} \]

\[ \text{Su kišaû visiis pini gus į ukì, ir niëko nematyti.} \]
\[ \text{\'I laid out all my money on the farm, and (there is) nothing to be seen.’} \]

Sentences with \( \text{if} \ldots \text{if} \)

7.84 The basic meaning and syntactic properties of sentences with the reduplicated conjunction \( \text{if} \ldots \text{if} \) are similar to those of respective sentences with the single \( \text{if} \), 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.:

\[ \text{Čìà ir ežèrè galésmie pasimáudyti, ir vaikaï miškë pagrybaûs.} \]
\[ \text{\'Here we shall be able (both) to swim in the lake, and the children will pick mushrooms in the woods.’} \]

In the case of parallelism the predicates of both clauses are usually close in meaning, as in respective sentences with the single \( \text{if} \):

\[ \text{Ir dúonos tikraï mûžà, ir viëtos tikraï nèrà.} \]
\[ \text{lit. ‘(And) there is really little bread, and there is really no room.’} \]

\[ \text{Ir mës bûsime paténkinti, ir kaimynai džiaûgûs.} \]
\[ \text{\'(lit. And) we shall be both happy and the neighbours will rejoice.’} \]
Sentences with *nei* ... *nei*

7.85 This conjunction is a negative counterpart of *iř* ... *iř*. Cf.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ir vėjas pūtė, ir girią ūžė, ir leliją lingāvo.} & \quad \text{‘The wind was blowing, and the woods were murmuring, and the lily was swaying.’} \\
\text{Nei vėjas pūtė, nei girią ūžė, nei leliją lingāvo.} & \quad \text{‘Neither was the wind blowing, nor were the woods murmuring, nor was the lily swaying.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The predicates of clauses conjoined by *nei* ... *nei* can be used either with or without the negative prefix; cf.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nei dARBAS sēkasi/nēsiseka, nei valgīs lenda/nělenda.} & \quad \text{‘Neither is the work going well, nor does the food go down easily.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes, sentences expressing parallelism are used with the single *nei*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Grūžti as niēkam nežadējau, nei mān kās būvo liēpēs.} & \quad \text{‘I didn’t promise anyone to return, nor did anyone tell me to.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Sentences with *tāi* ... *tāi, čia* ... *čia*

7.86 These sentences refer to alternating events, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tai bulvēs supūvo, tai rugiair prapiuolē.} & \quad \text{‘Now the potatoes rotted, now the rye got ruined.’} \\
\text{Čia mān liēpē tylēti, čia patī pirmōji pasīsākē.} & \quad \text{‘Now she told me to keep silent, now she herself confessed (it).’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 kažkur išėjęs į kaimą, o motina dirbo laukuose.
‘Father was gone to the village, and mother was working in the fields.’

(2) objects (usually identical in form):
Su melagystė netoli teisėsi, o su teisybė visuř gėra.
‘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):
Eik, sesūte, vėnui kelių, o aš eisiu kitų kelių.
‘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 šuniuką, o bobutė kačiuką.
‘Grandfather had a little dog, and grandmother a kitten.’

Paūkštį plunksnos grąžina, o žmogų – prūtas.
‘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 šventės, o mēs vėl į darbus pasinešeme.
‘The holidays passed, and we again got absorbed in our work.’

Papasakojo mergaitė savo nelaimę, o laūmė jį guodžia.
‘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.):
Kitą užmišti jis mokėjo, o pats mirė biųo.
‘He could kill another (man), but he himself is afraid to die.’

Jūs vėidas būvo labai draugiškas, o akysė žybciojo liepsnelės.
‘Her face was very friendly, and in her eyes there twinkled a smile.’

CONTRASTIVE RELATIONS

7.89 In sentences with the conjunction Ž 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:
The predicates of two clauses may be antonymous words:

Ji kaūpė pinigus, o léido výras. ‘She saved money and her husband spent it.’
Jūs likite namič, o dės eisiu girion. ‘You stay at home, and I’ll go to the woods.’

In sentences with the conjunction o the content of one clause may be contrasted to that of the other as unexpected or contradicting it.

Rūdos, visá nebūvo debesų, o staigá pradėjo lýti. ‘It seems, there were no clouds at all, and suddenly it started to rain.’
Reikia pradėti pâmoką, o vaiko nėra. ‘It is time (lit. ‘It is necessary’) to begin the lesson, and /but the child is not here.’
Netrūkus būs 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... jaū; tuoj... dár, etc. which are placed initially and stress the contrast:

Dâr vištà kiaušinio nesudėjo, o jaū marti pautiënës panorëjo. lit. ‘The hen has not laid an egg yet, and already the daughter-in-law wants chicken- broth.’

Tik išėjau iš namū, o jaū šaúkia gržti. ‘I have just left the house, and they already tell me to return.’
Tuoj grži vaikaû, o dâr piêtûs nepradėti. ‘The children will be back in no time, and I haven’t started (cooking) dinner yet.’

CONCESSIVE RELATIONS

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 tegû/tegûl or (2) a subjunctive or imperative mood form, or (3) the same verb repeated with negation:

(1) Tegû manę âûksu apiberia, o už nemûlimo ir sënio neîsiu. ‘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) Atidūočiau jām viską vėltui, o jis neišs.
'\( I \) would give him everything for nothing, but he won’t take (anything).’

(3) Sakei nesakei, o reiklas tūri 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 iš expressing the same relation (cf. 7.78):

Čiū mūsų namai, o kokia ten šleižo vilko nebįsims!
'Here is our home, and we won’t be scared of any bandy-legged wolf!’

Žiema reikia vežti, aüsti, o tampa mokslui nė valandėlės neliėka.
'In winter spinning and weaving (linen) are to be done, and there is not a minute for school.’

Visi pūnai, o kąs 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 tūri vaikų, o mēs vieni.
'All people have children, and we are alone.’

Kitos mergaitės puošiasi, o aš ir suknelės neturiū.
‘Other girls dress smartly, and I don’t even have a dress.’

Sentences with bet

Sentences with the conjunction bet 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 Ž, either (1) a positive and a negative clause or (2) clauses containing antonyms are contrasted:

(1) Pleivos ir dabar tebėrā
grāžios, bet mišķī seniai nebėrā.
Geraī lēkti, bet negeraī nutūpti.
(2) Leņga yrā pasakīti, bet
sunkū padarīti.

Dārbo šāknys kārčios, bet
jō vaišiai sāldūs.

(Compare the respective sentences with the conjunctions Ž, tačiaū; see 7.89; 98.)

7.94 The content of the second clause introduced by bet 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 Ž, but the conjunction bet is a more explicit means of expressing contrast.

Mēgau skaitytī, bet pas mūs
nebuvo knīgu.

(See also the examples in 7.93.)

In sentences expressing contrast, pairs of antonymous particles or adverbs (da... jaū and the like, see 7.89) are often used, e.g.:

Saulē dār nebuvo patekējusi, bet
laukē jaū buvo šviesū.

CONCESSIVE RELATIONS

7.95 Sentences with bet expressing concession do not differ from respective Ž 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.:

Žodžių mažaī tesupraīta, bet
gaidū jām vērīa širdī.
Buvo dar žiemūs laīkas, bet
atōdrēkis pranašāvo ankstīvā
pavāsarij.

'He doesn’t quite understand the words, but the tune rends his heart.'

'He didn’t understand the words, but the tune rends his heart.'

'He didn’t understand the words, but the tune rends his heart.'
The meaning of concession is emphasized by the units vis tięk ‘all the same’, vis dėlto ‘still’, užtūt ‘but then’:

Senėlė dár kažką áiškina, bet anūkėlis vis tięk nięko suprasti negali.

‘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 tik(tai) ‘only’ (see 7.99) and ū ‘and/but’ (see 7.92), but in sentences with bet the contrast between the content of the clauses is more explicit, e.g.:

Visi atsigulė, bet jį neužmigantis. ‘Everyone has gone to bed, but she can’t fall asleep.’

Svečiai valgė dár ir gėrė, bet Drūktenis kažin kōliko nōsį nulėidės. ‘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 bet than in those with ū.

The clauses connected by bet often contain different forms of comparison:

Gēra tolī girdėti, bet pikt – dár toliaū. ‘Good words carry far, but evil words carry farther.’

Taip praėjo jām pirmoji dieną, 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’, neganą... bet dár lit. ‘not enough... but even’, and the like.

Mūsų šeimojė ne tik tėva lit. ‘In our family not only the parents work, but also the children help.’

Neganā namūs prarėdom, bet Neganā namūs prarėdom, bet dár ir sūny ištrėmė. dár ir sūny ištrėmė. ‘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 bet, but their usage is more restricted. Their most common meaning is that of non-correspondence.
Šaūkė ji ilgaĩ, tačiau niėkas neatšilępė. ‘She shouted for a long time, but nobody ever answered.’

These sentences can also express the following related meanings:

(1) the contrastive relations:
Žemė, rėgis, buvo ta pati..., tačiau daug kąs pasikeitė. ‘The land was apparently the same, but so much was changed.’

(2) the concessive relations:
Kambarys buvo tamsus, tačiau kampė pamačiau kažką judant. ‘The room was dark, but I saw something moving in the corner.’

Sentences with tik(taĩ)

7.99 The most characteristic relationship in these sentences is that of exclusion, a part being singled out of a whole, e.g.:

Visas jau raidës jis žino, tik vienà tokià sunkì. lit. ‘He knows all the letters already, only one of them is so hard (to remember).’

Visi kaip buvę, tik Petriukas pasikeitė. 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:
Kotás geras, tik kiũvis netikës. ‘The helve is good, only the ax does not fit it.’

Pilnì pašaliai visa kô buvo, tik nebûvo kâm valgyti. ‘The larder was full of good things, only there was nobody to eat all that.’

Išėjama i kiêma, tik staigà šoko ant manës šuo. ‘I went out into the yard, and only suddenly a dog jumped at me.’

(2) concession:
Jau ir kója nebeskaûda, tik atskëlëti negûlma. ‘The (My) foot does not ache any longer, only I can’t stand up.’

(3) condition:
Viskas bûs geraĩ, tik nešnekeǩ tikë daûg. ‘Everything will be all right, only don’t talk so much.’

Sentences with užtaĩ/užtàt, vis dëlto, vis ãiek

7.100 These coordinators are comparatively infrequent. They usually denote concession, e.g.:
SYNTAX

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 ar/arb ‘or’, ar ‘either... or’, arb... arb ‘either... or’. The conjunctions arb and arb... arb are used to link clauses within an affirmative sentence, while ar and correlative ar... ar can link clauses within both affirmative and interrogative sentences. In the latter case, the conjunction ar functionally corresponds to the interrogative particle ar. In sentences with the reduplicated conjunctions arb... arb and ar... ar the disjunctive relationship is emphasized due to the repetition of the conjunction:

‘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 arb and ar typically express a disjunctive relationship as well:

‘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 ar, arb can also express:

(1) parallelism (cf. respective sentences with the conjunction δ in 7.88), e.g.:

‘The neighbour’s house (is in such perfect order that it) even shines, look, the garden has a new fence.’
THE COMPOSITE SENTENCE

(2) enumeration (as in the respective sentences with the reduplicated conjunction 
\textit{taĩ}, see 7.86):

\textit{Kartais čia apsilaiko giminės, arba šiaip koks praėvis užklysta.} ‘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: \textit{taĩ} ‘so’, \textit{taĩgi} ‘thus’, \textit{tàd} ‘therefore’, and also \textit{todėl/del tō} ‘therefore’, \textit{užtaĩ} ‘that’s why’.

Sentences with \textit{taĩ}

7.103 Sentences with \textit{taĩ} usually express the relation of cause to its consequence.

\textit{Vaikoš paaugo, tai tėvas vėdasi ji namo.} ‘The child has grown older, so his father is taking him home.’

\textit{Pats šeiminiškas... čia buvo rėtas svėčias, tai nė kelių niėkas netaišė.} ‘The owner himself seldom came here, so no one even repaired the roads.’

Sentences with \textit{taĩ} 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.:

\textit{Atvažiuosi/Atvažiuok namo, tai pasitiksin tavė kaip brangiausią svėčią.} ‘Should you come (FUT/IMPER) home, then we shall greet you as the dearest guest.’

\textit{Būtum manės paklaūsės, tai dabar būtum turtingas.} ‘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.:

\textit{Šalta, tai šalta.} ‘If it’s cold, it’s cold.’

\textit{Lįja, tai lįja.} ‘If it rains, it rains.’

Sentences with \textit{taĩgi, tàd}

7.104 These sentences express the meaning of consequence more explicitly than those with \textit{taĩ} (cf. 7.103).

\textit{Buvo pietų laikas, taigi pąkviečiau juos prie stalo.} ‘It was dinner time, so I invited them to the table.’
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Jis visas jūodos, tad jō tamsojė nė nematytė.

‘He is all black, so he is invisible in the dark.’

Sentences with todėl, dėl 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 tai, taiti, tād in that they have a stronger implication of cause; e.g.:

Žemė tei derlinga, todėl viskas geraĩ auga.

‘The soil is fertile there, therefore everything grows well.’

Vyras mažai uždirba, dėl tō gyvename suikiai.

‘My husband earns little, therefore we are hard-up.’

CONTINUATIVE COORDINATION

7.106 This type of coordination holds between clauses linked by the conjunctions ir, o, bet 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 tās, tā ‘that’:

Aplink kaima dunksojo taïsûs miškaï, o tuosë miškuose bûvo daugybë pëliu.

‘Around the village there stretched dark forests, and in those forests there were numerous bogs.’

(2) by the pronouns jis ‘he’, ji ‘she’, tās, tā ‘that (one)’, sīs, sī ‘this (one)’ referring anaphorically to a noun in the first clause:

Sutikaï païstama ãmogû, ir tās/ jis manë sutiko parveïtë.

‘I met an acquaintance of mine, and (that one) / he agreed to give me a lift.’

Senis papraiše Petrą gräžinti skūla, bet jis/ sīs tik nusijuokë.

‘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 tās, tā ‘that’, tōks, -ià ‘such’:

Vaikas staïga nutilo, bet tā tylâ vienaë minutę tesitráukë.

‘The child suddenly fell silent, but that silence lasted only a minute.’

(4) by the neuter demonstrative pronouns tai ‘that’, taiti ‘that’ (sometimes tās ‘that’) referring to the content of the first clause:
Petras ilgai kalbėjosi su manimi, ir tai/tas mān būvo labai malonū.

‘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.:

Aplink kaimą dunkso tamsūs miškai, kuriuosè būvo daugybè pelkių.

‘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 kās ‘which’; cf.:

Petras ilgai kalbėjosi su manimi, kās mān būvo labai malonū.

‘Peter talked to me for a long time, which was a great pleasure’ (see 7.71).

Asyndetic sentence

Bejungtikis sakinys

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 kad see 7.34);

(3) sentences expressing complementary relations which have no syndetic counterparts; e.g.:

Po kiek laiko mergaitė pažiūrėjo į mótinos veidą: mótina veikė.
‘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.:

Atėjo laikas sumokėti – sumokėjau.
Atėjo laikas sumokėti, tai/ taigi ir sumokėjau.
Kadangi atėjo laikas sumokėti, tai ir sumokėjau.
Atkélk vartus – nesibėlsiu.
Atkélk vartus, tai ir nesibėlsiu.
Jei atkélsi vartus, nesibėlsiu.

lit. ‘The time came to pay – I paid.’
‘The time came to pay – so I paid.’
‘Since the time came to pay, so I paid.’
‘Open the gate – I won’t knock.’
‘Open the gate, and then I won’t knock.’
‘If you open the gate I won’t knock.’

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 pušynai, mán priklaūso ežeraĩ.

‘The pine-woods belong to me, the lakes belong to me.’

(2) Mišto pakraštyjė jau švytėjo langai, trinkėjo värstomos dūrys, gātvēmis nuužė pirmieji troleibusai.

‘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:

Spięgė vaikai, šaukė moterys, rēkė vyrai.

‘The children were shrieking, the women were shouting, the men were bawling.’

Artėjo naktis, suspindėjo pirmosios žvaigždės.

‘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.:

Tą pāčią minūtę suskaičio varpait, užsidegė šviesos, miniā staią nuščiūvo.

‘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 mūšios, žmonės išsiskirstė.

‘The mass was over, the congregation broke up.’

Imperfective verbs may occur in the last clause, e.g.:

Studentas tuoj priėjo prie jūs, abūdu daug kalbėjosi ir juokėsi.

‘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:
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:

Tėvas króvé prakaituodam as,
šū nu s leido besijuōkdamas.
Gēras ir žōdžio klaūso, pikto ir
lazdā neatitaīso.

Juxtapositive sentences comprising more than two clauses are rare, though marginally possible; e.g.:

Galvā žmōgu vedžiōja, ųkys
klaidina, pilvas gaišina.

In most of these sentences, omission of a part of the subsequent clause(s) is common as a means of avoiding repetition:

Dárbas dúoną peīno, tinginūstę –
vaīgq.

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:

Gamta graž, mergėlė dår
gražēsnē.
Daūg vaīgo su vaikaīs, dår
daugiau – be vaikū.

If the parallelism is drawn between opposite concepts antonyms are used in both clauses, or negation with a repeated word in the second clause:
Darbas – ne važgas, tinginystė – ne laimė. ‘Work is not hardship, idleness is not happiness.’
Mūlkis dúoda, išmintingas ima. ‘A fool gives, a clever man takes.’
Keičia kalčas, keičia nekalčas. ‘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 lūja, reikia pasiimti skėtį. ‘It is raining outside, I must take an umbrella.’
Reikia pasiimti skėtį – laukė lūja. ‘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:

Šviečia saulė – visiems malonū

dirbti.

‘The sun shines (IMPF) – everyone enjoys working.’

Atsipūs arkliai – vėl važiuos im.

‘The horses will get rested (PF) – we’ll continue our journey.’

The temporal relationship between clauses is often combined with the conditional relationship:

Išeinė rytą į mišką grybauti, galis visą dieną pravaišioti.

lit. ‘You go to the woods to pick mushrooms in the morning, you can spend the whole day walking there.’

**CONDITIONAL RELATIONS**

7.114 In this case the first clause is related to the second as condition to consequence or result:

Rūpinies tik pats savimi, nėkas tą gyvenime nepadės.

‘(If) you take (FUT) care only of yourself, no one will ever help (FUT) you.’

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.:

Būčiau žinėjęs, būčiau ir kójos iš namų nekęles.

‘Had I known, I’d have stayed at home.’

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.:

Nevešk jō dirbti – sámanom apaugs.

‘(If) you don’t force (IMPER) him to work – he’ll get overgrown (FUT) with moss.’

In generalised sentences, the present tense and imperative mood forms are also possible in the second clause:

Neprižiūrėk vaikų, paskūi jię tą visą gyvenimą nuodija.

‘(If) you don’t look (IMPER) after the children, later they poison (PRES) all your life.’

Su juo prasidėk, nėko gėro nelauk.

‘(Once) you get mixed up (IMPER) with him, you are (IMPER) in for trouble.’

The use of the imperative mood in the first clause is a distinctive feature of asyn-
détic 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:

Visų vėrksi – akių netėksı.  ‘(If) you bemoan (FUT) everybody, you’ll lose (FUT) your eyesight.’
Palięsi mygtušq pirštų – skamba visi namaĩ.  ‘(If) you touch (FUT) the button with your finger, the whole house rings (PRES).’
Vienas nepakėliš dėžės – pasikvišk manė.  ‘(If) you can’t lift (FUT) the box alone, call (IMPER) me.’

(2) The present tense in the first clause:

Neleidi män vести Verutės, aš nieko vesti nenoriu.  ‘(If) you don’t allow (PRES) me to marry Verutė, I don’t want (PRES) to marry anyone.’
Šiandien juokies – rytøj vėrksı.  ‘(If) you laugh (PRES) today – you’ll cry (FUT) tomorrow.’
Bijaĩ vilko – neiķ i mišką.  ‘(If) you are afraid (PRES) of the wolf – don’t go (IMPER) to the forest.’

(3) The past tense in the first clause:

Nūogas gimeĩ, nūogas ir mišsi.  ‘(If) you were born (PAST) naked (= poor), naked you will die (FUT).’
Pavgė árkli – pridék ir bāīna.  ‘(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 tė, tegul ‘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) Tegul mūs vēl tremia, kankina – lāīsvēs neatsižadēsim.  ‘Let them deport, torment us again – we will not give up our freedom.’
(2) Nori nenori, reikia eiti.

Prašyk neprašyk – sūrio negausi.

The first clause of a concessive sentence may begin with a relative pronoun or adverb, the predicate containing the prefix be-:

Ką besakytų kaimynai, savo dąrbą atsišaigsiu.

‘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 second clause often expresses an unexpected result (1) or unforeseen event (2). The predicates of both clauses usually have the same tense form:

(1) Skundėmės aukščiau – teisybės vieton ryškiaus susilaukėm.

‘We complained to the authorities – instead of justice we got punished.’

(2) Iš rytos kaip visada ateinas į pámoką – kläsė tuščia.

‘In the morning I come to a lesson as usual – the classroom is empty.’

But not necessarily:

Nespėjai įkopti kalvutėn – jau riedi pakalnėn.

‘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:

Nebėra tėvelio, jis tave pamokytu.

‘Father is dead, (otherwise) he would teach you a lesson.’

Mán gaĩla kâtino, šiaip juokčiausī.

‘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) At velniui tarnauju – neturiu laiko vaikščioti.

Ji atvažiavo čia linksmintis – negadink jai nūotaikos.

‘I serve the devil – I’ve no time for walking.’

‘She has come here to have a good time – don’t spoil her pleasure.’

(2) Tą pâčia akimirką nûkelėjo Tomo širdis: jis prisiminė vaikus.

‘At that very moment Tom’s heart gave a jump: he remembered his children.’
Nešukauk dabar kambarį - senėlė miega.  
Ar į verčia sielotis, visko jūms ganė.

'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:

Parduok tą obuolį mán – āš suválgysiu.  
Mėskit ginčūs, eikim geriaū užkasti.

'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:

Taip įskiai įgirdžiu: jie valgo duonos ir net pieno gėrią.  
Tiek kaftų jaū tavę prašiau: neik vakarė iš namų.

'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:

Mės nugalėsim – āš žinau.  

'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:

Petras dirstelėjo į laikrodi – buvo jau dvyninkta valandą.

'Petras (Peter) glanced at his watch – it was already twelve o’clock.'

(2) The second integrated clause takes the subject position:
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:

Geriausias būdas atkeršyti būs štaikóks: aš nekalbėsiu su jais.
Aš su tāmsta tik tiek sutinkū: pagrindinė mintis nė mān nedaiki.
Taik visai neabejótina: tāu reikia īš ėta īšvēktī.

‘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 elgeta, taik mēs puikiai 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:

Taik bent istorija – kitūs tokiūs dar negirdėjau!
Abūpus kēlio mēdžiai stovėjo tylūs, nė vienā šakēlė 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.:

Pērduok linkējimus žmōnai – mān tēko su ja susipažinti žiēmā.

‘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 aplės, vėlinias ateis – // – vienas nebūsi.
Lazdą tūri dū galū: // vienas mán, kitas tāu.
Jūdos raņkos – baltá dúona, // báltos raņkos – juodā dúona.

‘The angel will leave, the devil will come // you won’t be alone.’
‘A stick has two ends: // one (is) for me, the other (is) for you.’
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 rēžia – net langai bifbía, // šokėjai treńkia – net žėmė dūnda, // senieji gėria – net ākys būla...

‘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 nuolat sakýdavau: // miestas didelis, daug jamé piktą žmonių gyvena, sąugok mán Jokūba!

‘But I constantly repeated: // the town is large, many bad people live there, please look after Jokūbas (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:
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.:

Ką jiė tei kalbėjo, ką dirė, niekas nežino, // tik namo grįžęs vaikškas pasakė, kad jąm reikia išvažiuoti.

Žmönės seniai kalba, kad Jonas sugrįžį, // bet sleiška metai, o motina jo vis nesulaukia.

A sentence may comprise three or more coordinated constituents:

Kai sutėmo, rengiausi gulėti, // bet staigą gatvėje pasigirdo riksmas, // ir kažkas emė bėlėtis į duris, kuriąs buvą pamiršęs užrašinti.

7.126 In sentences with the principal syndetic subordination, one or both constituents may correspond to compound or asyndetic sentences:

Niekaip negaliu suprasti, // iš kuŗ įs atsibastė ir kodėl aš turiu juō rūpintis.

Jeigu imsi giūdytis, // draugui tikrai nepadėsi, bet pačiam būs blogiau.
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, bičiuli, kū širdis gėržia – // viską padarysiu.

‘Ask, my friend, whatever your heart craves for – // I’ll do anything for you.’

Atsiminiau, kad žmogų užmušiau, // šiuopers manė visą pâmė, plaukaĩ ant galvõs atsistolò.

‘I remembered that I had killed a man; // I was struck with terror, my hair stood on end.’

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’:

Ponas miršta badû, // kûningsas – šalčiûs, // o vargdiënis – gârdžius vâlgymu.

‘A rich man dies of hunger, // a priest (dies) of cold, // and a poor man of rich food.’

Tuò tárpu sâulë jaû pasislëpë už mëdžiûs, // šešelis pâsiekë sûolus, kuû sêdëjo svečiaû, // ir vësös srovë pûstelëjo iš laûko.

‘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.:

Aš viskã žinaû, tîvai, kûs pûno rûmuose dûrosi, ir sakaû tûu: nevaryûk dukûûs ï dvûra.

‘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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Lithuanian Grammar

Second editor

ARVYDAS GAIŽAUSKAS

SL 014. Baltos lankos publishers, Mėsinių 4, 2001 Vilnius, Lithuania
Printed by Vilspa printing house, Viršuliškių 80, 2056 Vilnius.