Notes on the use of Lithuanian indefinite pronouns

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A distributional schema of Lithuanian indefinite pronouns was provided in Haspelmath (1997). In this paper, a more detailed investigation of the functions of Lithuanian indefinite pronouns is conducted. It demonstrates and explains why some of the series can occasionally occur in contexts where they are not usually supposed to be used. Particular attention is paid to the contexts where several series of indefinites are possible. The paper analyses the differences between the series in such contexts of competition. As a result, a more fine-grained description of the highly complex system of Lithuanian indefinite pronouns is arrived at.

Keywords: Lithuanian, indefinite pronouns, specificity/non-specificity, semantic maps, grammaticalisation

1. Introduction[1]

Descriptive linguistics for a long time did not pay much attention to indefinite pronouns. However, in the second half of the 20th century they became fruitful material for theoretical works in semantics and pragmatics. In 1997 a fundamental work on indefinites in a cross-linguistic perspective was written by Martin Haspelmath. It summarises the theoretical achievements of the structural, logico-semantic and syntactic approaches and describes universal functions of indefinite pronouns. One of the book's major contributions is distributional schemas of indefinites in 40 languages, including Lithuanian. The schema lists basic series of indefinites and shows their functional dis-

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[1] I thank Peter Arkadiev for supervising my work and for many valuable comments on the earlier versions of this paper. I am also grateful to the reviewers for useful comments during the review process. I am indebted to my dear Lithuanian friends, especially Indrė Kačiuškaitė, for opening the beautiful world of the Lithuanian language. I acknowledge their consultations on the examples provided in this paper. All shortcomings and faults are mine.

tribution. The few pages devoted to Lithuanian data in this book are probably the most comprehensive description so far of the semantics of Lithuanian indefinites.

Lithuanian indefinites were first placed in a separate semantic group of pronouns in the grammar book by Antanas Baranauskas (1896) (he used the Lithuanian term *nenuosakis*). The notion of indefinites in Lithuanian was defined in the works of the 'father' of standard Lithuanian, Jonas Jablonskis. The term for indefinites used in modern Lithuanian linguistic tradition, *nežymimieji,* was also proposed by him in his grammar of 1922 (Jablonskis 1957)[2]. This grammar also gives a list of 'literary' indefinites: *kas* 'who/what'*, kas nors* 'somebody/ something'*, kas norint* 'id.'*, bet kas* 'anyone'*, bet koks* 'id.'*, keli* 'several'*, keliolika* 'id.'*, kuris* 'what'*, katras* 'what'*, kas-ne-kas* 'somebody, something'*, kažin kas* 'id.'*, šis tas* 'id.'*, šioks toks* 'id.'*, kai kas* 'id.'*, kai kuris* 'id.'*, kurs-ne-kurs* 'id.'*, kitas* 'other'*, vienas* 'one, some'. In Jablonskis's earlier grammars some indefinites which now are considered dialectal were noted (e.g., with the indefiniteness markers *kana, jeib, by,* ne etc.). An academic approach to indefinite pronouns was formed in works by A. Valeckienė (see, e. g., Valeckienė 1963). This approach has been reproduced in all academic grammars and extensive descriptions of Lithuanian morphology (e. g., Ulvydas, ed., 1965, 667–693; Jakaitienė, Laigonaitė & Paulauskienė 1976, 87–104; Ambrazas, ed., 1999, 244–246; Ambrazas, ed., 2005). Table 1 demonstrates the traditional classification of indefinites in Lithuanian.

The first descriptions of indefinites in Lithuanian just listed the pronouns. The Lithuanian grammar of 1965 analyses indefinites on the basis of three principles: (1) their meaning and use in a sentence,(2) the grammatical categories of gender, case and number, (3) general meanings (semantic classes shown in Table 1). Probably the most extensive research on indefinites was conducted by A. Pilka (1984) in his dissertation on Lithuanian indefinite determiners. Semantic and functional properties of indefinite pronouns (as part of indefinite determinatives) are analysed in this work in terms of the logico-semantic approach. A somewhat different classification of indefinites is given in a series of works by A. Rosinas (e.g., Rosinas 1988, 2009). He considers all

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[2] Although in his first grammar of 1901 Jablonskis calls indefinites *nereiškiamiejei* (Jablonskis 1957).

traditionally noted indefinite pronouns to be 'cognitive'. They can be organised into definite (*kai*-serias), indefinite (*kaž*- and *nors*-series) and general (*bet*-series) subgroups. However, new contributions to analysing the use and semantic properties of indefinite pronouns can hardly be found in these works. Thus, the most significant recent research on indefinites in Lithuanian was conducted by Haspelmath (1997). A detailed discussion of Martin Haspelmath's approach and analysis of his distributional schema of Lithuanian indefinite pronouns will be given in section 2. It is important to note that Haspelmath recognises that the data might be 'deficient in some respects' (Haspelmath 1997, 244)

Table 1. Indefinite pronouns in the traditional approach

Indefinite (nežymimieji)	Differentiating (atskiriamieji)	Generalizing (apibendrinamieji)	
		Positive (teigiamieji)	Negative (neigiamieji)
Bare interrogatives, the pronoun *keli* 'several' and its derivatives, the series *kaž(i) (n)*, *nors, bet, kai, X ne X*, and the pronouns *kitkas* 'other', *daug kas* 'many', *nė koks* 'none, nothing', *vienas kitas* 'some', *vienas* 'one, some', *kitas* 'other', *toks* 'such', *šis tas* 'someone/some-thing', *šioks toks* 'id.'	*kitas* 'other', *ki-toks* 'id.', *kas kita* 'id.', *tam tikras* 'certain', *vienas* 'one', *vienoks* 'one', the pairs *vienas... kitas* 'one another', *vienas... antras* 'id.', *toks... toks* 'as... as' etc.	*visas* 'all', *visi* 'id.', *viskas* 'id.', *visoks* 'id.', *kiekvi-enas* 'every', *kas* 'who/what', *aliai vienas* 'each', *tūlas* 'many', *daug kas* 'many'	*Nie*-series, *joks* 'none, nothing', *nė koks* 'id.'

This paper seeks to give a more detailed, specific and comprehensive description of the actual use of indefinite pronouns in Lithuanian in line with the methodological proposals of Haspelmath (1997). It focuses on a detailed investigation of the functions indefinite pronouns can express in Lithuanian (section 3). The competition of different series in the contexts where more than one can be used will also be described (section 4). In section 5 I will investigate the distribution of variants of the same series (*kaž-* and *kažin-*). The main findings of the article will be briefly summarised in section 6.

The data the research is based on were taken from the Dictionary of the Lithuanian language (*Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* — LKŽ, www.lkz. lt), the Corpus of contemporary Lithuanian (*Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekstynas* — LKT, www.tekstynas.vdu.lt) and from the internet (links provided). Examples constructed by myself and checked by native speakers are not marked.

2. Haspelmath's approach to indefinites and his distributional map for Lithuanian

The book of Martin Haspelmath solves several issues. For the first time, a typological approach is applied to the domain of indefinite pronouns. Indefinite pronouns typically form series consisting of a part (interrogatives in the case of Lithuanian), referring to ontological categories (thing/person, place, time, manner, amount etc.), and an indefiniteness marker. Formally characterised as pronouns, they are indefinite from the functional point of view, i.e. "their main function is to express indefinite reference" (Haspelmath 1997, 11). Strict formal and semantic criteria for indefinites, which were "a sort of waste-basket category in many descriptive grammars" (ibid.), exclude expressions of indefiniteness in the wider sense, such as mid-scalar quantifiers (e.g., *keli* 'several'), generic pronouns (e.g., *vienas* 'one, some'), universal quantifiers (e.g., *visi* 'all', *kiekvienas* 'everyone') and identity pronouns/determiners (e.g., *kitas* 'other') from the domain of inquiry. On the other hand, Haspelmath applies a broad understanding of indefinite pronouns, including indefinite determiners and adverbs. In this paper I will adopt the same approach. Thus, the domain of Lithuanian indefinite pronouns investigated by Haspelmath is limited to five series of indefinites with the markers *kaž-*, *nors*, *bet*, *nie-* and

kai-. The 'marginal' series of *X-ne-X* type[3] and the negative determiner *joks* are also mentioned. Another important investigation conducted by Haspelmath is that of diachronic sources of indefiniteness markers. Further sources of indefinites which cannot be subsumed under grammaticalisation are also discussed.

The major contribution to the typological study of indefinite pronouns is an implication (semantic) map of nine main functions of indefinite pronouns. It is applied to 40 languages (including Lithuanian) in Appendix A of the book. According to the map provided in (Haspelmath 1997, 275–276), the nine universal functions of indefinites are distributed in Lithuanian as follows: (1) specific known — the *kai*-series, (2) specific unknown — the *kaž*-series, (3) irrealis non-specific, (4) question and (5) conditional — the *kaž*- and *nors*-series, (6) comparative — the *nors*- and *bet*-series, (7) free choice — the *bet*-series, (8) indirect negation — the *nie*-series and the pronoun *joks*, (9) direct negation — the *nie*-series. In the literature there have been insightful comments and critiques of Haspelmath's map, see e.g. van der Auwera, Van Alsenoy (2008), who cite both 'multiplicity of meaning', i. e., when one function includes in fact two different meanings, and 'multiplicity of form', i. e., when several series can express one function. Returning to the discussion in this paper, I will analyse different contexts pertaining to one function and will look at the differences between meanings within one function and one series.

In section 3 I will briefly discuss the functions expressed by Lithuanian indefinite pronouns using the results of Haspelmath's research. The main functions of the *X-ne-X* series and bare interrogative-indefinites, not covered by Haspelmath's semantic map, are also investigated. I also mention secondary meanings which can be expressed by some series.

3. Functions of the series of indefinite pronouns in Lithuanian

3.1. The *kaž*-series

The *kaž*-series has two widespread variants of the markers of indefiniteness — *kaž*- and *kažin*- (they will be discussed in more detail

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[3] However, it is not shown on the distributional schema.

in Section 5). This marker is derived from *kas žino* 'who knows' (see Fraenkel 1962, 199). More variants of markers having the same origin can be found in the Lithuanian dialects (e.g., *kaji, kana*).

Such a source for indefiniteness markers is typologically common. Haspelmath states (1997, 131) that the speciality of the Lithuanian marker of the 'dunno' type, i. e., descended from a clause with 'I don't know' meaning, or similar, is that this is the only known language where a rhetorical question with explicit negation has been grammaticalised. It should be noted that there are more similar, but highly expressive constructions in Lithuanian like *velnias(i) žino k-* 'devil(s) know(s) wh-' or *dievas (i) žino k-* 'God(s) know(s) wh-'.

According to Haspelmath, the functions where the *kaž*-series is possible are specific unknown (1), irrealis non-specific[4] (2), question (3) and conditional (4). The indefinite pronoun *kažkodėl* 'for some reason' should be mentioned here as well. It is the only series which forms indefinites with the interrogative *kodėl* 'why' (for some reason, Haspelmath does not list this pronoun).

(1) ***Kažk-as*** *išdauž-ė* *vairuotoj-o* *pus-ės*
who:INDEF-NOM break-PST.3 driver-GEN.SG side-GEN.SG
stikl-ą *ir* *padeg-ė.*
window-ACC.SG and set.afire-3.PST
'Somebody broke the window from the driver's side and set it (the car) on fire.' (LKT)

(2) *Juos* *atleid-o,* *nes* *suprat-o,* *kad*
they:ACC let.go-3.PST because understand-3.PST that
kažk-as *gal-i* *įvyk-ti.*
who:INDEF-NOM can-3.PRS happen-INF
'They let them go, because they understood that something could happen.' (LKT)

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[4] It is indicated on the distributional schema, but in the comments to it this function of the *kaž*-series is not discussed.

(3) *Ar   prieš **kažk-ą**   jauči-a-tė-s*
whether before who:INDEF-ACC feel-PRS-2PL-REFL
kalt-as?
guilty-NOM.SG
'Do you feel guilty for (doing something bad) to someone?'
(LKT)

(4) *Jeigu **kažk-as**   trukd-o   daugum-ai*
if   who:INDEF-NOM disturb-3.PRS majority-DAT.SG
žmon-ių,   tai reik-ia   stabdy-ti, o ne toleruo-ti.
people-GEN.PL this need-3.PRS stop-INF but NEG tolerate-INF
'If someone disturbs the majority, it should be stopped, not
tolerated.' (LKT)

3.2. The *nors*-series

This series of indefinite pronouns is the most multifunctional.
Haspelmath's distributional schema places the *nors*-series as possible
in the irrealis non-specific (5), question (6), conditional (7), compara-
tive (8) and indirect negation (9) functions.

(5) *Dar gal-i   **k-as**   **nors** įei-ti.*
still can-3.PRS who-NOM INDEF come.in-INF
'Somebody else may come in.'

(6) ***K-as**   **nors** žin-o,   kur mes   važiuoj-a-me?*
who-NOM INDEF know-3.PRS where we:NOM go-PRS-1PL
'Does anybody know where we are going?'

(7) *Jeigu **k-as**   **nors** atrod-o   ne visai*
if   what-NOM INDEF look-3.PRS NEG absolutely
tink-a-m-a, gal-i-m-a   su-si-rink-us
suit-PRS-PP-N can-PRS-PP-N PVB-REFL-gather-PST.PA
diskutuo-ti.
discuss-INF
'If something looks unsuitable, it is possible to gather together
and discuss it.' (LKT)

(8) *Ši-uo   met-u   muziej-ai   jud-a   daugiau*
this-INS.SG time-INS.SG museum-NOM.PL move-3.PRS more
negu **kada nors** *savo istorij-oje.*
than when INDEF own history-LOC.SG
'Nowadays museums move more than any other time in their history.' (LKT)

(9) *Mažai žmoni-ų   žin-o   **k-ą**   **nors** apie*
little people-GEN.PL know-3.PRS what-ACC INDEF about
žmog-aus   teis-es.
man-GEN.SG right-ACC.PL
'Few people know anything about human rights.' (LKT)

3.3. The *bet*-series

The indefiniteness marker of this series is identical to the conjunction *bet* 'but' (Smoczyński 2007, 36), although the old and dialectical forms *betai, betaig(a), betag* show that it is derived from two words *bei* 'and' and *tai* 'this' (Fraenkel 1962, 41). Haspelmath (1997, 275) suggests it originates from the particle *bent* 'at least', but this is hardly plausible bearing in mind forms like *betai, betag*.

According to M. Haspelmath, the *bet*-series can be used in the comparative (10) and free-choice (11) functions. In colloquial speech forms of the indefiniteness markers *bele, belen and bile*[5] are also used. They are of Polish origin and are wide-spread in many dialects. For example, in the dialect of Punsk it is the only marker of the free-choice function (Niewulis 2001, 66; Smoczyński 2001, 296).

(10) *Santyki-ai   su NATO yra   blog-esn-i*
relation-NOM.PL with NATO be:3.PRS bad-COMP-M.NOM.PL
negu **bet   kada.**
than INDEF when
'Relations with NATO are worse than ever before.' (LKT)

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[5] In youth slang the *bele*-form has recently acquired a new meaning 'very good': cf, *bele kokia suknelė* 'very good dress.' Some of my consultants indicated Kaunas and its outskirts as the place of the origin of such constructions.

(11) ***Bet kok-s*** *žmog-us gal-i tai pa-dary-ti.*
INDEF what-NOM man-NOM.SG can-3.PRS this PVB-do-INF
'Anyone can do this.'

3.4. The *kai*-series

This series is used only in the specific known function.

(12) ***Kai k-as*** *pas tav-e atėj-o, atspė-k,*
INDEF who-NOM to you-ACC come-3.PST guess-IMP

k-as!
who-NOM
'Someone come to see you, guess who!'

It was not mentioned in Haspelmath's study that this series sometimes can mean an indefinite subset of a set (see the determiner use in 13).

(13) ***Kai kuri-as*** *ši-ų funkcij-ų band-o*
INDEF what-ACC.PL.F this-GEN.PL function-GEN.PL try-3.PRS
atlik-ti šakin-ės įmoni-ų
perform-INF branch-F.NOM.PL enterprise-GEN.PL
asociacij-os.
association-NOM.PL
'Branch associations of the enterprises are trying to perform some of these functions.' (LKT)

The use of the pronouns of this series in some contexts changes the meaning of the same contexts when other indefinites are used in them. For example, a comparative with the *kai*-series means comparison with a certain number of objects.

(14) *Pavard-es krepšin-io gerbėj-ai žin-o,*
surname-ACC.PL basketball-GEN.SG fan-NOM.PL know-3.PRS
*k-o ger-o, geriau negu **kai***
what-GEN.SG good-GEN.SG better than INDEF
kur-ių *savo giminaič-ių.*
what-GEN .PL own relative-GEN.PL
'The basketball fans know the surnames (of the players), probably, better than those of some of their own relatives.' (LKT)

3.5. The *nie*-series

Sometimes this series is considered to constitute a semantic group of 'negative pronouns' separate from indefinites. In the Lithuanian linguistic tradition they have been classified as indefinites in academic grammars since the 1960s. The source for this marker was a negative scalar focus particle. This series can be used only in contexts of direct negation function, i.e. in sentences with verbal negation.

(15) ***Niek-as***   *ne-norėj-o*   ***nie-ko***   *skaity-ti.*
Nobody-NOM.SG NEG-want-3.PST nothing-GEN.SG read-INF
'Nobody wanted to read anything.'

It should be noted that in Lithuanian, as well as in Russian, only the negative pronoun, i. e., one negation, is used in elliptic answers[6] (see van der Auwera, Gybels 2010).

(16) *K-o*   *iešk-ai?*   —   *Niek-o.*
what/who-GEN search-2SG.PRS   nothing-GEN
'What are you looking for? — Nothing.'

3.6. The indefinite pronoun *joks*

It does not form a series and can be used only as an attribute. To some extent it fills the empty gap in the *nie*-series. This pronoun can be used in the contexts of direct (17) and indirect (18) negation. The function of indirect negation is based primarily on meaning and contains contexts of implicit and subordinate negation.

(17) *Mes*   *ne-norė-dav-o-me*   ***joki-o***   *atlyginim-o.*
we:NOM NEG-want-HAB-PST-1PL any-GEN.SG salary-GEN.SG
'We did not want any salary.' (LKT)

(18) *Vis-i*   *žmon-ės*   *gal-i*   *naudo-ti-s*
all-NOM.PL.M   people-NOM.PL can-3.PRS use-INF-REFL

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[6] J. van der Auwera and P. Gybels (2010, 18–19) call such a use the 'Balto-Slavic type' and state the difference between Yiddish and Balto-Slavic.

> *pagrindin-ėmis* *teis-ėmis* *ir* *laisv-ėmis* *be*
> basic-F.INS.PL   right-INS.PL and freedom-INS.PL without
> ***joki-os***   *diskriminacij-os.*
> any-F.GEN.SG   discrimination-GEN.SG
> 'All people can enjoy basic rights and freedoms without any
> discrimination.' (LKT)

3.7. The *X-ne-X* series

This series is called 'marginal' by Haspelmath (1997, 257) in the sense
that not all elements of the series are possible in modern Lithuanian.
The use of these pronouns is not regular and marks literary style. The
main function it can be used in is specific known.

> (19) *Juoking-a,* *bet* ***k-as*** ***ne*** ***k-as*** *t-o*
> funny-PRED but who-NOM NEG:INDEF who-NOM that-GEN.SG
> *žlugim-o* *kaltinink-ų* *iešk-o*
> collapse-GEN.SG initiator-GEN.PL look.for-3.PRS
> *Lietuv-oje* *ir* *Estij-oje.*
> Lithuania-LOC.SG and Estonia-LOC.SG
> 'It is funny but some people are looking for the initiators of
> that collapse (of the Soviet Union) in Lithuania and Estonia'
> (LKT).

Usually the *kas*-pronouns are used in this function. The forms *kur ne
kur, kada ne kada* and *kuris ne kuris* can be found as well. At the same
time these pronouns can easily express other meanings. For example,
kada ne kada can mean 'sometimes' (20). On the internet I found some
examples with *kaip ne kaip* 'nevertheless' (21) probably influenced by
Russian *kak-nikak*[7].

> (20) *Gatv-e* ***kada ne*** ***kada*** *nuplerpsė-dav-o*
> street-INS.SG when NEG-INDEF when rattle.away-HAB-3.PST
> *išgver-ęs* *karišk-as* *rus-ų*
> rickety-M.PST.PA.NOM.SG military-M.NOM.SG Russian-GEN .PL
> *sunkvežim-is.*
> truck-NOM.SG
> 'From time to time a rickety Russian military truck rattled
> away on the street.' (LKT)

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[7] Some of my consultants told me this example does not make any sense to them.

(21) *Jau   kaip-nekaip, o   šalt-is   geriau,   nei*
already anyway   but cold-NOM.SG better   than
karšč-iai   po   +40C.
heat-NOM.PL   around
'Anyway the cold is better than the heat of +40'[8]

3.8. Bare interrogative-indefinites

Most of the interrogative pronouns can be used in the irrealis non-specific function without any indefiniteness marker.

(22) *Gal   **k-as**   padė-s   jaun-ai   mergait-ei?*
maybe who-NOM help-3.FUT young-F.DAT.SG girl-DAT.SG
'Will somebody help a young girl?' (LKT)

(23) *Ei-dam-as   pa-si-imk   **kok-ią***
go-CNV-M.NOM.SG pvB-REFL-take-IMP.2SG what-F.ACC. SG
lazd-ą   šun-ims   at-si-gin-ti.
stick-ACC.SG dog-DAT.PL   pVB-REFL-defense-INF
'When you go, take a stick to defend yourself from the dogs.'
(LKŽ)

The LKŽ demonstrates that some of the bare interrogative-indefinites can also occur in other functions: specific unknown (24), indirect negation (25) and free-choice (26). However, these examples should be considered dialectal as they can hardly be used in colloquial or even less in written speech (with some exceptions for (26)).

(24) *Man   tai   **k-as**   pasak-ė.*
I:DAT   this who-NOM.SG   tell-3.PST
'Someone told me that.' (LKŽ)

(25) *Be   **k-o**   sugrįž-o   namie.*
without   what-GEN return-3.PST home
'They (he, she) came back home without anything' (LKŽ)

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[8] http://mano.zebra.lt/gyvenimai/pauliukeviciute/dienorastis/291358/

(26) *Tai   ne   **k-as**   norė-s   ap-si-im-ti.*
     this NEG who-NOM want-3.FUT PVB-REFL-take-INF
     'Not just anyone would like to undertake it.' (LKŽ)

Some of the indefinite functions attributed to interrogative pronouns by the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Language* do not seem to be attested in contemporary speech. For instance, the LKŽ gives a free-choice meaning for *kur* 'where', but I could not find such examples in the corpora or on the Internet.

The use of bare interrogative-indefinites instead of the *nors*-series in the contexts of irrealis non-specific function is widespread in modern Lithuanian. In colloquial speech it tends to dominate. While checking examples with the *nors*-series, some of my consultants (especially of the younger generation) told me they would usually omit *nors*.

However, in some contexts bare interrogative-indefinites can mean something different from the same constructions with the indefiniteness marker. For instance, when bare interrogative-indefinites mean approximate time, they cannot be replaced by the *nors*-series (27).

(27) *Š-ią   vasar-ą   važiuo-s-im prie jūr-os*
     this-F.ACC.SG summer-ACC.SG go-FUT-1PL at   sea-GEN.SG
     kok-iai   *savait-ei.*
     what-F.DAT.SG   week-DAT.SG
     'This summer we will go to the sea for about a week.'

If in example (27) the *nors*-series were used, the sentence would mean that the vacation would be only for a week.

In Haspelmath (1997,172–173) it is shown that bare interrogative-indefinites are cross-linguistically attested in affirmative sentences with non-specific referents, in questions, conditional clauses, imperative and future/uncertain statements. The Lithuanian data supports this generalisation.

4. Distribution of indefinite pronouns in contexts

The interesting problem of the use of indefinites in Lithuanian is the difference between several series used in the same function: irrealis non-specific, question and conditional — for *kaž-* and *nors*; indirect

negation — for *joks* and *nors*, comparative — for *bet* and *nors*. The analysis allows us to add more detailed rules of distribution of the indefinites in Lithuanian, as often a series can be used only in a part of the contexts subsumed under a more general function. The study conducted also discovered the use of some indefinites which are 'not supposed' to be used in those contexts.

4.1. Contexts of the specific known function

As it was shown in the previous section, the *kai-* and *X-ne-X* series of indefinites can be used in the context of this function (cf. examples (12) and (19)). The main difference is in the frequency of use. The *kai*-series is regular and colloquial, while the *X-ne-X* type of indefinites is used only in written style.

4.2. Contexts of the specific unknown and irrealis non-specific functions

As a part of this issue, the competition of specific and non-specific indefinites should be discussed. Specificity and non-specificity is one of the most important functional distinctions between different series of indefinites. In the specific unknown function usually only the *kaž*-series can be used. In the irrealis non-specific, conditional and question functions both specific and non-specific indefinites can be used. Here I will use the distribution for (non-)specific phrases proposed in (Haspelmath 1997, 45).

Table 2. Distribution of (non-)specific contexts

Perfective past, ongoing present	'want', future, distributive	imperative	Question, conditional	In the scope of negation
Specific possible		(specific impossible)		
(non-specific impossible)	Non-specific possible			

First of all, I will discuss the distribution given in Table 2. The dif-

ference of the meanings of the two series of indefinites in the 'want' contexts can be clarified by examples (27) and (28).

(28) *Petr-as   nor-i   pažiūrė-ti **kažkok-į***
P.-NOM.SG want-3.PRS watch-INF   what:INDEF-M.ACC.SG
film-ą,   bet j-o   ne-atrad-o.
film-ACC.SG but he-GEN NEG-find-3.PST
'Petras wants to watch some movie but did not find it.'

(29) *Petr-as   nor-i   pažiūrė-ti **kok-į**   **nors***
P.-NOM.SG want-3.PRS watch-INF   what:M.ACC.SG INDEF
*film-ą,   *bet j-o   ne-atrad-o.*
film-ACC.SG but   he-GEN NEG-find-3.PST
'Petras wants to watch some movie *but did not find it.'

If a specific indefinite is used (like in 28), the sentence can be continued by a clause with an anaphoric reference to the object. Such reference is impossible for the non-specific phrase (like in 29), as no specific referent was introduced.

In future contexts both types of pronouns can be used, as future tense allows the speaker to avoid individualising the object, i. e., to use a non-specific pronoun (30).

(30) *J-ie   važiuo-s **kažkur/**   **kur** **nors** *toli.**
they-M.NOM go-FUT.3 where:INDEF/ where INDEF far
'They will go somewhere far away.'

Some peculiarities of the use of the specific and non-specific series of indefinite pronouns can be found in contexts of possibility with the modal verb *galėti* 'can'. When the verb expresses epistemic modality, the difference between the two series is likely to be eliminated. However, when the verb expresses deontic modality, the non-specific series can hardly be used. The example (30) can be understood in two ways: on the epistemic reading, both series are appropriate, but if we look at this situation from the point of view of deontic modality, only the non-specific series is possible:

(31) *Dar gal-i   (*)**kažk-as/**   **k-as**   **nors** *įei-ti.**
still can-3.PRS who:INDEF-NOM who-NOM INDEF come.in-INF
a. 'Someone still might come in.'
b. '(*) Somebody (specific)/somebody (non-specific) may come in.'

In distributive contexts like (32), discussed in (Pilka 1984, 127), both series can be used, if the subject has a universal quantifier. In this case the object is distributed over the referents of a plural subject (= universal quantifier) which actually makes the object non-unique. This makes it possible to use a non-specific indefinite.

(32) *Vis-i*   ***kažk-ą/ k-ą nors*** *skait-ė.*
      all-NOM.PL.M   something-ACC   read-3.PST
      'Everybody read something.'

The only difference is that when a specific pronoun is used, the object is the same for all subjects, and when a non-specific pronoun is used, each subject has its own object. Such distribution could be explained by the different scopes of universal quantifiers (the subject phrase *visi*) and existential quantifiers (indefinites): $\exists > \forall$ for *kažką*, and $\forall > \exists$ for non-specific series.

An indefinite noun phrase can be distributed over events in frequentative contexts (for example, with habitual past verb forms). The difference between the meanings is similar to the one in example (32): a specific pronoun refers to the same subject in all cases, and the non-specific series refers to different ones.

(33) *Anksčiau* ***kažk-as/***   ***k-as***   ***nors*** *iš*
      earlier   who:INDEF-NOM who-NOM INDEF from
      Rusij-os   *visada atvažiuo-dav-o pas mus*
      Russia-GEN.SG always come-HAB-3.PST to   we:ACC
      vasar-ą.
      summer-ACC. SG
      'Some people from Russia used to come to us in the summer.'

In some contexts, however, only one series can be used. The non-specific series is restricted to the contexts of past perfective and ongoing present, and specific indefinites cannot be used in imperative sentences. The use of specific indefinites in imperative contexts would violate Grice's maxim of quantity as in (34). Someone is asked to read a book, but is not told which one, so is unable to fulfil the request.

(34) *Petr-ai,*   *paskaity-k*   *man*   ****kažkok-ią/****
      P.-VOC.SG   read-IMP.SG   I:DAT   what:INDEF-F.ACC.SG /

> ***kok-ią   nors   knyg-ą.***
> what-ACC.SG INDEF book-ACC.SG
> 'Petras, read some book for me.'

In questions the use of specific series would violate the same maxim (Haspelmath 1997, 42–43). The restriction on the use of specific indefinites in conditionals is explained by the fact that they are explicitly similar to imperatives (ibid.).

However, some exceptions (partly discussed by Haspelmath) to Table 2 can be found. For example, the non-specific series can be used in the contexts of past perfective and ongoing present if the sentence has the meaning of epistemic modality.

(35) *Man-au,   **k-as   nors**   jau   apie   tai*
think-1SG.PRS who-NOM INDEF already about this
paraš-ė.
write-3.PST
'I think someone has already written about it.'

Non-specific indefinites can be used in such examples because they are in the irreralis.

The restriction on the use of specific indefinites in imperatives is very strict. I have found no examples in the corpus of the Lithuanian language. However, some of them (but really few) were found on the internet.

(36) *Nupirk   **kažk-ą**   iš   populiar-iosios*
buy + IMP.SG what:INDEF-ACC from popular-DEF.F.GEN. SG
psichologij-os   ar panašiai.
psychology-GEN.SG or similar
'Buy something from popular psychology or something like that.'[9]

(37) *O   gal   tu   nupirk   **kažk-ą**,*
and   maybe you:NOM buy + IMP.SG thing:INDEF-ACC
k-as   tikt-ų   jums   ab-iems —pvz. kok-į
what-NOM fit-3.SBJV you:DAT.PL both-DAT   what-ACC

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[9] http://www.chatas.lt/post460989.html

> *graž-ų   patalyn-ės   komplektuk-ą.*
> beautiful-ACC.SG bedding-GEN.SG set-ACC.SG
> 'Maybe you should buy something that would fit both of you, for example, some beautiful bedding set.'[10]

Specificity in (36) can be explained by the fact that the object is a *certain part* of a set. In (37) the object is defined by specific (*kažką)* and non-specific (*kokį)* pronouns at the same time. The use of the specific series can probably be explained by the presence of an attributive clause specifying the reference.

In questions many examples of the use of specific indefinite pronouns were attested.

> (38) *Ar   tur-ite   **kažk-ą**   panaš-aus   į*
> whether   have-2PL.PRS   thing:INDEF-ACC similar-GEN.SG in
> *moter-s   ideal-ą?*
> woman-GEN.SG   ideal-ACC.SG
> 'Do you have something similar to an ideal woman?' (LKT)

> (39) *Ar   **kažk-ą**   sak-ei?*
> whether   thing:INDEF-ACC   say-2SG.PST
> 'Did you say something?'

In (38) the specific indefinite is specified by an attribute, which allows the speaker to use the specific series. In (39) such a use can be explained by the fact of asking for information that had supposedly already been provided.

In some contexts the difference between the two series is slighter. For example, in (40) the non-specific series was approved by several native speakers. But some of them also tried to explain the difference: for example, I was told that *kas nors* would be used in a request, but *kažkas* in a general question.

> (40) *Ar   **kažk-as/**   **k-as**   **nors**   gal-i*
> whether who:INDEF-NOM   who-NOM   INDEF can-3.PRS

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[10] http://www.zebra.lt/forum/viewtopic.php?p=513613&sid=5001da40c5a312c2ba d8a86317938246

> *paaiškin-ti?*
> explain-INF
> 'Can anyone explain?'

Many examples prove that the restriction on the use of specific indefinites in conditionals is very weak. The reason for distribution of specific and non-specific indefinites in conditionals is the type of conditionals. In the protasis of realis (41), (42) and imaginative counterfactual (43), (44) conditionals both series are possible.

(41) *Jeigu* **kažk-as** *trukd-o daugum-ai*
if who:INDEF-NOM disturb-3.PRS majority-DAT.SG
žmon-ių, tai reik-ia stabdy-ti, o ne toleruo-ti.
people-GEN.PL this need-3.PRS stop-INF but not tolerate-INF
'If someone disturbs the majority, it should be stopped, not tolerated.' (LKT)

(42) *Jeigu* **k-as** **nors** *blog-o gal-i*
if who-NOM INDEF bad-GEN.SG can-3.PRS
at-si-tik-ti, tai ir at-si-tik-s.
PVB-REFL-happen-INF this and PVB-REFL-happen-3.FUT
'If something bad can happen, it will happen.' (LKT)

(43) *Daugel-is j-ų galėj-o lik-ti gyv-i,*
majority-NOM they-GEN can-3.PST stay-INF alive-NOM.PL.M
jei **k-as** **nors** *būt-ų ėm-ęs-is*
if who-NOM INDEF be:AUX-SBJV.3 take-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M-REFL
j-uos gelbė-ti.
they:ACC.M save-INF
'Most of them could have survived if anyone had tried to save them.' (LKT)

(44) *Jei* **kažk-as** *būt-ų norėj-ęs* t
if who-NOM be:AUX-SBJV.3 want-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
pagąsdin-ti mus, sprogmuo prie "Irvaj-os"
hreaten-INF we:ACC explosion:NOM. SG at I.-GEN . SG
būt-ų droikstelėj-ęs nakt-į.
be:AUX-SBJV .3 go.phut-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M night-ACC. SG
'If someone wanted to threaten us, the explosion at "Irvaja" would have thundered in the night.' (LKT)

In a hypothetical protasis (45) only the non-specific series can be used.[11]

(45) *Jeigu* **k-as** **nors** *sakyt-ų,* *kad* *naujai*
if who-NOM INDEF say-SBJV.3 that newly
skir-ia-m-i *vadov-ai* *yra* *mano*
appoint-PRS-PP-NOM.PL.M director-NOM.PL be:3.PRS my
gimin-ės, *draug-ai,* *artim-ieji* *ar*
relative-NOM.PL friend-NOM.PL close- DEF.NOM.PL or
pagaliau liberal-ai, *tai* *būt-ų* *ne-ties-a.*
finally liberal-NOM.PL this be-SBJV.3 NEG-truth-NOM.SG
'If someone said that newly appointed directors are my relatives, friends or even liberals, it would not be truth.' (LKT)

However, in some sentences two semantic layers expressing different functions can be imposed. These functions license different types of indefinite pronouns. In theory, three types of such multilayered sentences can exist, viz., sentences allowing (1) only specific + only non-specific indefinites, (2) only specific + both series possible, (3) only non-specific + both series possible.

A sentence of type (1) is not possible, as the imperative restricting the use of specific series has no tense (non-specific series are not allowed in the contexts of past perfective and ongoing present). In contexts (2) competition of *kaž-* and *nors* is more often observed. For example, the verbs of volition in past perfective can license both series.

(46) *Tačiau* *ab-u* *su* *žmon-a* *norėj-o*
however both-NOM.M with wife-INS.SG want-3.PST what-ACC
k-ą nors/ (kažką) *dar* *did-esn-io* *ir*
INDEF/what:INDEF else big-COMP-GEN.SG and
prasming-esn-io *nuveik-ti.*
meaningful-COMP-GEN.SG do-INF
'However both he and his wife wanted to do something bigger and more meaningful.' (LKT)

A better example may be the combination of past perfective and question.

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[11] I was told that *kažkas* could be used in sentences like (45) by older speakers because of the influence of Russian.

(47) *__K-as nors__   atėj-o.
who-NOM INDEF   come-3.PST
'*Anyone came'

(48) *Ar*   __k-as__   __nors__   *atėj-o?*
whether who-NOM INDEF come-3.PST
'Did anyone come?'

In complex contexts of type 3) the only possible context I found was imperative + distributive (imperatives cannot combine with questions, future or conditionals; on the other hand, I found no example of imperatives of verbs of volition that would have had the *kaž-* or *nors* series as arguments). In the context analysed above both series are possible (in the original the non-specific indefinite was used, but the possibility of the use of *kažkuriuo* was approved by native speakers).

(49) *Pa-si-kalbė-ki-te*   *vis-i*   *su*   __kur-iuo__
PVB-REFL-speak-IMP-2PL all-M.NOM.PL with   who-M.INS
__nors/ (kažkur-iuo)__   *iš*   *draug-ų,*
INDEF/ who:INDEF-M.INS.SG from friend-GEN.PL
pa-si-tar-ki-te,   *o*   *tada* *nuspręs-ki-te.*
PVB-REFL-advise-IMP-2PL and then decide-IMP-2PL
'All of you should talk to someone from your friends, discuss and then decide.' (LKT)

The results of the research are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Revised distribution of specific/non-specific series

Perfective past, ongoing present	'want', future, distributive	Imperative	Question, conditional	In the scope of negation
Specific possible				(non-specific impossible)
(specific impossible)	Specific possible			

If a sentence consists of two contexts, and one of them allows competition of the series while the other one allows only one, both series can be used.

4.3. Contexts of indirect negation[12]

The function of indirect negation can be expressed by the largest number of generalising contexts (Tatevosov 2002, 138). According to Haspelmath (1997, 276), the *joks* and *nors*-series can be used in contexts of indirect negation. However, the research conducted shows that in contexts when negation is in the main clause and indefinite is in the subordinate clause, *joks* cannot be used, and *kas nors* must be used instead:

(50) *Ne-man-au,   kad **k-as   nors/   (*jok-s***
NEG-think-1SG.PRS that who-NOM INDEF/   any-M.NOM.SG
žmog-us)   dėl   man-ęs šokinė-tų   nuo
man-NOM.SG because.of I-GEN   jump-SBJV.3 from
stog-ų.
roof-GEN .PL
'I do not think that anyone would jump from roofs because of me.' (LKT)

But *joks* can be used if the subordinate clause is non-finite (51).

(51) *Niek-as   j-o   ne-kviet-ė   ten   skaity-t*
nobody-NOM he-GEN NEG-invite-3.PST there read-INF
jok-ios   paskait-os.
any-F.GEN.SG lecture-GEN.SG
'Nobody asked him to read any lecture there.'[13]

Joks cannot be used in the contexts with implicitly negative verbs (52) or implicitly negative parametric quantifiers (53).

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[12] In general, negation seems to be a 'weak' zone for indefinites. When a negation is put before an indefinite pronoun, the pronoun often changes its meaning. For instance, *ne kažin kas, ne bet kas, ne kai kas* etc. tend to mean 'good, important.' I find this rather typical for indefinites, as negation of the indefinite nature of their referents makes them at once more significant. It should also be said that van der Auwera and Van Alsenoy (2008) propose distinguishing negation of free-choice as a separate type of use.

[13] http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/article.php?id = 29317571&com = 1&s = 1&no = 380

(52) *Tačiau   T. Žičk-us   kategoriškai neigi-a*
     however   T.Ž.-NOM.SG.M flatly   deny-3.PRS
     k-ą nors/   (*jok-į   dalyk-ą)
     what-ACC.SG INDEF/any-ACC. SG thing-ACC. SG
     žin-ą-s   apie parduo-t-ą
     know-PRS.PA-M.NOM. SG about sell-PST.PP.-ACC.SG.M
     Lietuv-os   Respublik-os   pilieči-o
     Lithuania-GEN.SG Republic-GEN. SG citizen-GEN.SG
     pas-ą.
     passport-ACC. SG
     'However, T. Žičkus flatly denies that he knows anything
     about the sold passport of a citizen of the Republic of Lithua-
     nia.' (LKT)

(53) *Mažai žmoni-ų   žin-o   **k-ą   nors/***
     little   people-GEN.PL know-3.PRS what-ACC INDEF/
     (*jok-į   dalyk-ą)   apie žmog-aus   teis-es.
     any-ACC.SG thing-ACC.SG about man-GEN.SG right-ACC.PL
     'Few people know anything about human rights.' (LKT)

So the only indirect negation context is the one with implicitly
negative prepositions like *be* 'without', see (18) above.

It should also be noted that in some indirect negation contexts
other indefinites can be found. In some colloquial examples negative
indefinites can be found.

(54) *Ir   liek-a   pirkėj-as   be   **niek-o** —*
     and   remain-3.PRS buyer-NOM.SG without nothing-GEN
     nei   but-o,   nei   pinig-ų.
     neither flat-GEN.SG nor   money-GEN.PL
     'And the buyer is left with nothing — neither flat, nor
     money.' (LKT)

Examples like (54) are probably influenced by Russian colloquial
expressions like *Oni ostalis' bez ničego*.

In contexts with implicitly negative verbs the *bet*-series can often
be found. In 42 examples of sentences with 3.PRS *neigti* the *nors*-series
is used only 8 times, and *bet* 34 times. In fact, the *bet*-series is used as
direct object (55), and the *nors*-series is possible only as object of a

dependent non-finite predicate — infinitive or participle, cf. (52). In other words, the *nors*-series cannot be used in the contexts with implicitly negative verbs, but only in the contexts of subordinate negation.

(55) *A. Lukašenk-a neig-ia* **bet kok-ius/**
A.L.-NOM.SG deny-3.PRS INDEF what-ACC.PL/
(*kok-ius nors) *kaltinim-us dėl*
what-M.ACC.PL INDEF accusation-ACC.PL of
suklasto-t-ų rinkim-ų rezultat-ų.
falsify-PST.PP-GEN.PL election-GEN.PL result-GEN.PL
'A. Lukashenko denies any accusations of falsified results of the elections.' (LKT)

In examples like (55) the *bet*-series is used probably because universality of the object must be underlined. In such contexts the *nors*-series is impossible as it would mean the negation only of a part of the object.

Sometimes *kaž*-series is found in examples with subordinate negation. In such cases it has some particular referent.

(56) *Svarb-iausi-a, kad j-is net ne-man-o,*
important-SUP-PRED that he-NOM even NEG-think-3.PRS
jog **kažk-ą** *blogai dar-o.*
that thing:INDEF-ACC badly do-3.PRS
'The most important thing is that he does not even think that he is doing something wrong.'[14]

4.3. Comparative contexts

Nominal and clausal comparatives have different distributions of the series of indefinites. According to Haspelmath, the *nors* and *bet*-series are used in comparative contexts. The analysis shows that in clausal comparatives (see example (10) and (8) repeated here as (57) and (58), respectively) both series can be found:

(57) *Santyk-iai su* NATO *yra blog-esn-i*
relation-NOM.PL with NATO be:3.PRS bad-COMP-M.NOM.PL

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[14] http://supermama.lt/forumas/lofiversion/index.php/t455850.html

negu ***bet*** ***kada.***
than   INDEF when
'Relations with NATO are worse than any other time.' (LKT)

(58) *Ši-uo*   *met-u*   *muziej-ai*   *jud-a*
this-INS.SG time-INS.SG museum-NOM.PL move-3.PRS
daugiau negu ***kada*** ***nors*** *savo istorij-oje.*
more   than when INDEF own history-LOC.SG
'Nowadays museums move more than at any other time in
their history.' (LKT)

In nominal comparative structures only the *bet*-series can be used:

(59) *Arbalet-as*   *ir*   *šiandien teb-ėra*
arbalest-NOM.SG and today   CNT:be-3.PRS
pranaš-esn-is   *už*   ***bet*** ***kur-į/***
superior-COMP-M.NOM.SG than INDEF what-ACC.SG /
*(*****kok-į*** ***nors****) šaun-a-m-ąjį*   *ginkl-ą.*
what-ACC. SG INDEF shoot-PRS-PP-DEF.M.ACC.SG gun-ACC.SG
'Today the arbalest is still superior to any shotgun.'(LKT)

The *kai*-series is also found in both comparative structures. It is
only possible when the subject is compared with a particular set of
referents. This fact contradicts van der Auwera and Alsenoy's (2008)
suggestion that comparative is part of the free-choice type.

(60) *Krepšini-o*   *federacij-a*   *dar, ačiū*
basketball-GEN.SG federation-NOM.SG still thanks
Diev-ui,   *gudr-esn-ė*   *už*   ***kai*** ***kuri-uos***
God-DAT.SG clever-COMP-NOM.SG than INDEF what-ACC.PL
rašeiv-as.
pamphleteer-ACC.PL
'The Basketball Federation is still, thank God, more cunning
than some pamphleteers.' (LKT)

(61) *Laisv-ės*   *alėj-a,*   *mano nuomon-e,*
freedom-GEN.SG boulevard-NOM.SG my   opinion-INS.SG
dabar jau   *atrod-o*   *gal*   *net*   *geriau, negu*
now   already look-3.PRS maybe even better than

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> **kai kuri-os**   *gatv-ės*   *dideli-uose*   *Amerik-os*
> some-NOM.PL   street-NOM.PL   large-LOC.PL   America-GEN.SG
> *miest-uose.*
> city-LOC .PL
> 'The Boulevard of Freedom, in my opinion, already looks maybe even better than some streets in large American cities.'(LKT)

4.4. Conclusions

The use of different series of indefinites in the contexts of the same function has been discussed in this section. It was shown that usually series of indefinites can be used only in a part of the contexts. Apart from the distribution of the specific and non-specific series of indefinites which was given in Table 3, the main rules for using indefinites in the contexts of different functions are summarised in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Functions of indefinite pronouns in Lithuanian
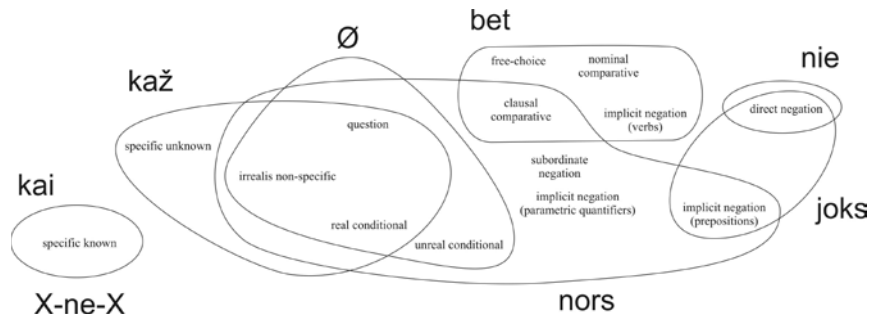
5. The use of *kažin-* in Lithuanian

Different variants of the indefiniteness markers are attested in old Lithuanian texts, grammatical descriptions and dialects of Lithuanian. Many of them (e.g., *kas norintais, kažnec kas, jeib kas*) are not used in colloquial speech. In this section I will analyse the *kaž-* and *kažin-* forms of the specific indefinite series. Both of these forms are considered 'grammatically correct' even in the standard language.

It has been generally assumed that the *kaž-* variant is a short form of *kažin* (Musteikis 1972, 119), and that variants *kaž-* and *kažin-* are absolute synonyms (Ambrazas, ed., 1985, 168, Musteikis 1972, 119). A large variety of the forms of specific indefinites can be found in the dialects of Lithuanian: *kaž-, kaži-, kažin-, kažna-, kažnec-, kažne-, kažnoc-, kažno-*. In the corpus of Lithuanian some of these variants were also attested (in fiction) (*kažne* — 1 time, *kažno* — 1 time, *kažna* — 11 times). In the dictionary of the Lithuanian language only *kaž-, kaži-* and *kažin-* are not marked as dialectal forms. The analysis has shown that the use of *kažin-* is in some way different from *kaž-*. I have found examples of *kažin-* only in the functions of specific unknown (62) and irrealis non-specific (63):

(62) *Aplink trobel-ę* **kažin k-as**
around shack-ACC.SG INDEF who-NOM
šlaist-o-si, bald-o-si.
lounge.around-3.PRS-REFL knock-3.PRS-REFL
'Somebody is knocking and lounging around the shack.' (LKT)

(63) *Atrod-ė, nuvažiuo-si-u į Dievažėn-us,*
seem-3.PST go-FUT-1SG in D.-ACC.PL
su-si-tik-si-u Butkiuk-ą, ir įvyk-s **kažin**
PVB-REFL-meet-FUT-1SG b.-ACC.SG and happen-3.FUT INDEF
k-as *ne- paprast-a.*
who-NOM NEG-usual-N
'It seemed that I would go to Dievažėnai and see Butkiukas, and something unusual would happen.' (LKT)

Unlike the *kaž-*variant, *kažin-* is never used in questions and conditionals. This can be explained by its lower level of grammaticalisation and less frequent use in colloquial speech. The *kažin-*variant can be used independently from interrogatives, expressing the meaning of uncertainty and playing the syntactic role of a particle.

(64) *Girdėj-au, rengi-a-si važiuo-t į t-ą*
hear-1SG.PST prepare-3.PRS-REFL go-INF in that-F.ACC. SG
pus-ę, pa-si-kalbė-k, gal paim-s,
half-ACC.SG PVB-REFL-speak-IMP.SG, maybe take-3.FUT

> *nors   kažin —   sunk-u   su   j-uo*
> although who.knows difficult:PRED with he-INS.SG
> *su-si-tar-t.*
> PVB-REFL-negotiate-INF
> 'I heard he is going in that direction, talk to him, maybe
> he will take you, although who knows — it is difficult to
> negotiate with him.' (LKT)

Kažin is also often used as a predicate subordinating clause with the interrogative particle *ar*. The verb is usually in the subjunctive mood or in the future tense.

(65) *Be   greit-osios   pagalb-os* **kažin**   *ar*
without fast-DEF.F.GEN.SG help-GEN.SG who.knows Q
būt-ų   at-si-gaivelėj-ęs...
be-SBJV.3   PVB-REFL-recover-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
'Who knows if he would have recovered without acute help...' (LKT)

The form is not strictly grammaticalised, as examples (64)–(65) show. *Kažin* is used sometimes with interrogatives without turning them into indefinites.

(66) *Raš-ė   man, kad j-ai   ger-a   ir   ji*
write-3.PST I:DAT that she-DAT.SG good-PRED and she:NOM
patenkint-a,   bet **kažin**   *kaip ji   ten*
satisfied-NOM.SG but who.knows how she:NOM there
jaut-ė-si.
feel-3.PST-REFL
'She wrote to me that she is well and satisfied, but who knows
how she felt there.' (LKT)

It can also be separated from indefinites by other words.

(67) *Jei ne t-a   pelk-ė* **kažin**   *dar*
if   not that-F.NOM.SG swamp-NOM.SG who.knows yet
kaip *būt-ų   visk-as.*
how   be-SBJV.3   everyting-NOM
'If that swamp did not exist, who knows how everything
would be.' (LKT)

In examples (64)–(66) *kažin* is used as a predicate of the main clause subordinating an indirect question clause with the aid of an interrogative particle (general question) or interrogative word.

Other question constructions are close to those discussed above. The examples (68)–(70) throw some more light on this issue.

(68) **Kažin,**　　k-ą　　　dabar pasakyt-ų Antan-as?... —
who.knows what-ACC now　　say-SBJV.3 A.-NOM. SG
prašnek-o Liongin-as Šeput-is.
say-3.PST L.-NOM. SG Š.-NOM. SG
'"Who knows what Antanas would say now?" Lionginas Šeputis said.' (LKT)

(69) *Poni-a,*　　**kažin**　　kada aš　　galė-s-iu
madam-VOC.SG who.knows when I:NOM can-FUT-1SG
t-ą　　　televizij-ą par-si-neš-ti　　　namo?
that-ACC.SG TV.set-ACC PVB-REFL-carry-INF home
'Madam, when will I be able to take this TV set home?' (LKT)

(70) *K-ą　　　dar nauj-o　　**kažin**　　jis*
what-ACC else new-GEN.SG.M who.knows he-NOM
sugalvo-s?
think.up-3.FUT
'What else will he think up?' (LKT)

In the examples (67)–(69) *kažin* is used as an intensifying interrogative particle. The example (67) is not very different from (64)–(66) (a comma is put after *kažin* because it is read as a separate predicate). Example (68) shows an 'intermediate' stage of the development of such constructions. Here *kažin* can be understood as an intensifying particle as well as 'who knows'. In (69) *kažin* is placed in the middle of the sentence which makes it impossible to interpret it as a separate predicate.

Thus, the difference between the *kaž-* and *kažin-* is that *kažin* is less grammaticalised and cannot be used in questions and conditionals. The latter witnesses that the primary functions of this series were specific unknown and irrealis non-specific. The fact that *kažin* is grammaticalised to a lesser extent than *kažkas* is confirmed by many examples where *kažin* can be a particle or even a separate predicate.

6. Conclusions

This paper has sought to make more precise the data and results of Haspelmath's work on the basis of the present-day behaviour of indefinite pronouns in Lithuanian. An attempt to take a more detailed look at the use of the *X-ne-X* series not discussed by Haspelmath and the series of indefinites with no indefiniteness marker in Lithuanian has been made. The *X-ne-X* series expresses only specific known function, but, unlike the *kai*-series, belongs to literary style and is never used in colloquial speech. The 'marginality' of this series is also marked by its 'incompleteness': only forms with *kas, kuris* and *kur* are commonly used. The series of bare interrogative-indefinites is usually used in the contexts of the irrealis non-specific function, question and conditionals and often tends to replace the *nors*-series in colloquial speech in such contexts.

The contexts of competion of several series of indefinites were also analysed in detail. It was shown that quite often the use of a series of indefinites is restricted to only certain contexts of the function. The main reasons for such restrictions are usually linked with modality (deontic or epistemic), type of condition (real or imaginative) and syntactic structure of a sentence (clausal or nominal comparatives). The zone of indirect negation was specified: it was demonstrated that the *bet*-series is used in the contexts with implicitly negative verbs.

Another part of the paper was devoted to the differences between the variants *kaž-* and *kažin-* of the same series which, as it turned out, behave in considerably different ways. *Kažin* can be used only in specific unknown and irrealis non-specific functions. It is also used as a predicate — 'who knows' — and a particle. That is, the *kaž-* variant is strongly grammaticalised, while the use of the *kažin-* variant demonstrates that this indefiniteness marker is less grammaticalised.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC — accusative, AUX — auxiliary, CNT — continuative, CNV — converb, COMP — comparative, DAT — dative, DEF — definite, F — feminine, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, HAB — habitual, ILV — illative, IMP — imperative, INDEF — indefinite, INF — infinitive, INS — instrumental, LOC — locative, M — masculine, N — neuter NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, PA — active participle, PL — plural, PP — passive participle, PRED — predicative, PST — past, PRS — present, PVB — preverb, Q — question particle, REFL — reflexive, RESTR — restrictive, SBJV — subjunctive, SG — singular, SUP — superlative, VOC — vocative

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LKŽ — Lietuvių kalbos žodynas (Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language). http://www.lkz.lt/

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