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12 Lithuanian indefinite pronouns in contact

1 Introduction

The “era” of Lithuanian contact studies truly began in the 1960s and 1970s of the last century. There was more attention paid to the problem of language contact after investigating the Lithuanian dialects spoken outside of Lithuania and thus surrounded and dominated by other languages. Before that, the issue of borrowing in Lithuanian dialects was considered with regard to Slavic influence in old Lithuanian texts (Skardžius 1931) and some Eastern Aukštaitian dialects (e.g., Otrębski 1932). Dialectal studies were continued in the 1950s when dialects were systematically investigated for the atlas of the Lithuanian language database (Morkūnas 1977–1991). In the 1960s and 1970s, a number of articles (e.g., Vidugiris 1960, Grinaveckienė 1969, etc.) and monographs (e.g., Smoczyński 1972) on the Aukštaitian dialects surrounded by other languages appeared. This study evolved into a more general investigation of Slavic-Lithuanian contacts in the domain of phonetics and phonology, conducted by Tamara Sudnik (1975), as well as several collections of articles (e.g., Toporov 1972), which initiated the still-ongoing series *Balto-slav’anskije issledovanija* [Balto-Slavic studies] published in Moscow. However, attention was mostly paid to the description of the dialects and their phonetics and lexical borrowings. The issues of grammatical borrowing were discussed only sporadically: Apart from the aforementioned article by Grinavickienė (1969), only a few more works fully devoted to grammatical borrowing can be named (e.g., Grinaveckienė 1974, Ambrazas 1985); for a recent overview, see Wiemer (2009: 357–366). One exception, however, is an interesting attempt to describe the Circum-Baltic language area as a Sprachbund, made by Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001). Works by Wiemer (e.g., 2003, 2004, 2009) and Wiemer, Vladyko, and Kardelis (2004) have also significantly contributed to the investigation of Lithuanian language contacts and the linguistic description of the area.

Over the last 30 years, significant developments in contact linguistics have been achieved (see, for example, Matras 2009: 1–2), including cross-linguistic studies of grammatical borrowings (see e.g., Matras & Sakel 2007). In this chapter, I address the issue of grammatical borrowing in Lithuanian and aim to show how complex, and unfortunately, under-investigated, this field of study is using as the example indefinite pronouns.

In the fundamental cross-linguistic work on indefinites supplied by Haspelmath (1997: 184–186), two primary means of borrowing indefiniteness markers are singled out: direct borrowing and calquing. In a more recent work, Matras (2009: 198–199) adds more examples of direct borrowing not only of indefiniteness markers, but of whole indefinite pronouns. In this article, I will use the terminology of borrowings as identified by Sakel (2007): matter loans (MAT), in which both function and phonological form are replicated in the recipient language, and pattern borrowing (PAT), in which only the functional pattern of the source language is replicated. The following variants of borrowed patterns are listed: “organization, distribution, and mapping of grammatical and semantic meaning” (Sakel 2007: 15). The notion of MAT- and PAT-loans is well described in the literature: For example, earlier the terms “importation” and “substitution” (Haugen 1950), “borrowing” and “transfer” (Treffers-Daller & Mougeon 2005: 95), or “global” and “selective copying” (Johanson 2008: 64) and many others were proposed to MAT- and PAT-borrowings, respectively.

Since the situations most favorable for borrowing are those of “unidirectional bilingualism with weak normative support of the recipient language” (Matras 2009: 198), I will mostly use the data from Lithuanian dialects under strong influence of Slavic languages, i.e., eastern and southern Aukštaitian dialects. Nevertheless, the data from the Corpus of the Modern Lithuanian Language (Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekstynas, LKT, <http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/>), the Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language (Lietuvių kalbos žodynas, LKŽ, <http://www.lkz.lt/>), and the Internet will also be taken into account, as they contain many examples of dialectal and colloquial forms. To illustrate Polish data, the examples were taken from the Corpus of the Polish Language (Korpus języka polskiego IPI PAN, KJP, <http://korpus.pl/>), and the National Corpus of Polish (Narodowy korpus języka polskiego, NKJP, <http://nkjp.pl/>). In Section 2, I will discuss the system of Lithuanian indefinite pronouns, its structure and functions in standard language, and analyze the differences that can be found in the dialects with a special focus on the Lithuanian dialect of Ramaškonys (Belarusian *Romaškancy*) spoken in northwestern Belarus. Then I will discuss the indefiniteness markers¹ that were borrowed directly (MAT-borrowing) in Section 3 and calqued (PAT-borrowing) in Section 4. In Section 5, I will summarize the results of the article. Although I will analyze the following markers as borrowed, Haspelmath’s caveat that sometimes “it is hard to prove that language contact played a role in the creation of a particular type of indefiniteness marker because it might as well have arisen independently” (1997: 186) will be kept in mind.

1 It should be noted that the languages under analysis do not possess grammaticalized indefinite articles that is why indefinite articles will not be discussed.

2 Lithuanian indefinite pronouns

2.1 The system of Standard Lithuanian

According to the criteria proposed by Haspelmath (1997: 10–12), indefinite pronouns consist of an element that refers to an ontological category (thing, person, place, etc.), which is expressed in Lithuanian by interrogatives, and an indefiniteness marker. Thus, in Lithuanian, it is possible to single out the following basic series of indefinite pronouns with the markers *kaž-*, *nors-*, *bet-*, *kai-*, and *nie-*. There is also an unmarked series of indefinites, formally identical to interrogatives: *kas*, *koks*, *kuris*, etc. In the language of fiction, *X-ne-X* series (e.g., *kas ne kas* ‘someone’) can be used. There is also an indefinite determiner *joks* used with negation.

Almost all of the above-mentioned indefinite pronouns contain units referring to the following ontological categories: thing, person, property, place, time, manner, amount, and determiner. The *kaž-* series also includes a “why”-based pronoun *kažkodėl* ‘for some reason.’² On the other hand, only four elements of the *X-ne-X* series (*kas ne kas* ‘someone’, *kur ne kur* ‘somewhere’, *kuris ne kuris* ‘some’, and *kada ne kada* ‘from time to time’) are normally used.

Haspelmath (1997: 31–52) postulates nine main functions that can be expressed by indefinites: (1) specific known, (2) specific unknown, (3) irrealis non-specific, (4) conditional, (5) question, (6) comparative, (7) free choice, (8) indirect negation, and (9) direct negation (see 1–9).

- (1) *Turi-u* ***kai k-q*** *tiktai* *tau* *vien-ai*
 have-PRS.1SG INDF what-ACC.SG only you(SG):DAT. one-DAT.SG.F
pasaky-ti.³
 say-INF
 ‘I’ve got something to say that’s for your ears alone.’
- (2) ***Kažk-as*** *atėj-o*.
 who:INDF-NOM.SG COME-PST.3
 ‘Somebody came (I don’t know who).’
- (3) *Aplanky-k-ite* *mane* ***kada nors***.
 VISIT-IMP-2PL I:ACC when INDF
 ‘Visit me sometime.’

² As an anonymous reviewer pointed out, a ‘why’-indefinite exists neither in Polish nor in Latvian and can be probably considered a result of East Slavic influence. However, the form *czemuś* ‘for some reason’ does exist in Polish, so the fact of influence is not so obvious.

³ Unmarked examples (1)–(3), (5), and (7) are taken from Haspelmath (1997).

- (4) *Jeigu k-as skund-ė, tai melav-o.*
 if who:INDF-NOM complain-PST.3 then lie-PST.3
 ‘If someone complained, he lied.’ (LKT)
- (5) *Tu skait-ei k-q nors apie maj-ų*
 you-NOM.SG read-PST.2SG what-ACC INDF about MAYA-GEN.PL
kultūr-q?
 culture-ACC.SG
 ‘Have you read anything about the culture of the Mayas?’
- (6) *Man buv-o daug malon-iau š-ie šlap-i*
 I:DAT be-PST.3 much pleasant-COMP this-NOM.PL wet-NOM.PL
fejerverk-ai
 firework-NOM.PL
negu kok-ia praktišk-a dovan-a.
 than what:INDEF-NOM.SG.F practical-NOM.SG.F present-NOM.SG
 ‘These wet fireworks made me feel much better than any practical gift
 [I might have gotten].’ (LKT)
- (7) *Nupirk man k-q nors paskaity-ti – O k-q? –*
 buy:IMP(2SG) I:DAT what-ACC INDF read-INF and what-ACC
Bet k-q.
 INDF what-ACC
 ‘Buy me something to read. – What? – Whatever.’
- (8) *J-ie sudauž-ė kab-ant-į žibint-q,*
 they-NOM break-PST.3 hang-PRS.PA-ACC.SG.M torch-ACC.SG
be joki-o šūvi-o.
 without any-GEN.SG.M shot-GEN.SG
 ‘They broke a hanging lamp without any shot.’ (LKT)
- (9) *Bet aš niek-o ne-suprasi-u, aš toki-a*
 but I:NOM nothing-GEN NEG-understand:FUT-1SG I:NOM such-NOM.SG.F
kvail-a.
 stupid-NOM.SG.F
 ‘But I will understand nothing, I am so stupid.’ (LKT)

A semantic map, showing which functions can be expressed by which Lithuanian indefinites, is also provided in the appendix of the book (Haspelmath 1997: 275). The distribution of the functions of Lithuanian indefinites has been studied in more detail and revised by Kozhanov (2011). The modified distributional map of Lithuanian indefinites taken from the latter work is provided in Figure 1. Ø stands for a lack of any marker as in (4) and (6).

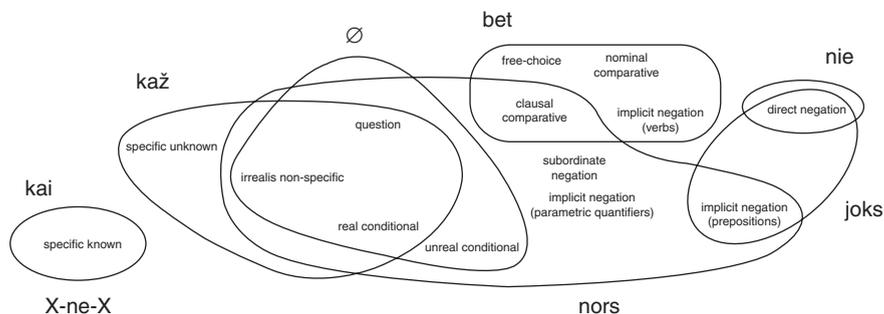


Fig. 1: Functions of Lithuanian indefinite pronouns.

2.2 Lithuanian dialectal indefinites: The system of the Ramaškonys dialect

Indefinites in Lithuanian have never been discussed from the perspective of language contact. Short comments and description of indefinites that differ from the ones found in the standard language can be sometimes found in grammatical descriptions of dialects (e.g., Jašinskaitė 1959: 193, Vidugiris 1960: 123, Aleksandravičius 1964: 128). In these cases, however, the description of the semantics of indefinites is usually limited to their translation into the standard language. Probably, the most comprehensive information on the dialectal variety of indefinites is provided by Zinkevičius (1966: 436–440) in his fundamental work on Lithuanian dialectology. The Slavic origin of some of the dialectal indefiniteness markers (*bile-*, *ne-*) is indicated in this work; however, Zinkevičius does not discuss the issues of their semantics or use, nor does he match them with their counterparts in the source language. More examples of borrowed or calqued indefiniteness markers can be found on the website of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language (*Valstybinė lietuvių kalbos komisija*, VLKK, <http://www.vlkk.lt/>). This commission aims at addressing issues related to the Lithuanian language policy. One component of the site is a list of non-standard forms that speakers of Lithuanian should avoid in their speech. The *-tai* and *ne-* markers of indefinites are part of this list (see Sections 4.1 and 4.2). In the answers of the consultancy bank, provided by VLKK, the *bile* marker is also mentioned (see Section 3.2).

A major difference between Lithuanian dialects and the standard language with respect to indefinite pronouns is the clear tendency to use bare interrogative-indefinites instead of series with overt markers in the dialects. Such a trend, mostly for the irrealis non-specific function, undoubtedly exists in colloquial speech as well. However, in dialects, bare interrogative-indefinites usually replace both the

nors- and *kaž*-series, i.e., the distinction of specific/non-specific indefinites is weak and likely to disappear. The free-choice function (the *bet*-series in Standard Lithuanian) is often expressed by constructions like *kur nori* ‘where you want; wherever you want’, *kiek nori* ‘how much you want; as much as you want’, etc. In other words, within a dialect, fewer indefiniteness markers are used, and indefiniteness is often expressed by non-grammaticalized constructions.

As an example, I will discuss the results of an analysis of approximately 200 pages of texts from the dialect of Ramaškony, the southernmost South Aukštaitian dialect of Lithuanian (Tuomienė 2008). Ramaškony is now a village in the Hrodna region of Belarus where for many years Lithuanian existed in a situation of bilingualism and multilingualism. As a result, the dialect has experienced significant influence from Slavic languages. All indefinite pronouns found in these texts have been analyzed with respect to their functions. First, I compared the series with standard indefiniteness markers found in the texts (the number of examples is shown in Table 1) to the functions expressed by these series in the standard language. In most cases, the low incidence of the examples demonstrates that this series is not usually used in the dialect.

Among 288 examples of indefinite pronouns I have found in the texts from Ramaškony, only negative pronouns seem to be identical to the ones in the standard language. However, even among the negative indefinites, there are examples of MAT-borrowings from Polish, e.g., *nigdy* ‘never’ in example (10).

- (10) *Nog t-o, sak-o, čės-o nigdy nėj-au*
 from that-GEN.SG.M say-PRS.3 time-GEN.SG never NEG:GO-PST.1SG
švent-ą dien-ą aš palavo-t.⁴
 saint-ACC.SG day-ACC.SG I:NOM hunt-INF
 ‘After that time, he says, I never went hunting on a Saint Day.’ (Tuomienė 2008: 116)

Tab. 1: Standard indefinites in the texts of the dialect of Ramaškony

| <i>kaž</i> - | <i>nors</i> | <i>kai</i> | <i>bet</i> | <i>nie</i> - | <i>joks</i> | <i>X ne X</i> | Ø |
|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----|
| 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 61 | 17 | – | 76 |

⁴ Since I analyze morphology and do not need phonetic dialectal features, I use transposed spelling of the examples proposed by Bacevičiūtė et al. (2004: 21).

The non-specific functions are usually expressed by bare interrogative-indefinites. The two examples of the use of the *nors*- indefiniteness marker found in the sample are probably influenced by the standard language. In one of these examples, the pronoun is used “incorrectly”, i.e., the indefinite pronoun, which in the standard language appears only in the non-specific function, is used in the specific context known to the speaker of the dialect:

- (11) *Aš sėdži-u ir mezg-u k-q nors.*⁵
 I:NOM sit-PRS.1SG and knit-PRS.1SG what-ACC INDF
 ‘I am sitting and knitting something.’ (Tuomienė 2008: 172).

The specific unknown series of indefinites usually has the indefiniteness marker *tai* (seen in a total of 126 examples!). Only three examples with the standard marker *kaž-* were found in the texts, and they should be considered as influenced by the standard language. (Cf. the texts of the Northeast Aukštaitian dialect, spoken around the town of Mielagėnai, eastern Lithuania, in the Ignalina region (Kardelis 2006), where all examples with the *kaž-* marker are indicated as influenced by the standard language (see Kardelis 2006: 60, 110 etc.)). The free-choice function in Ramaškonys is usually expressed by special constructions, as already mentioned above, e.g., *k-nori* (cf. 3). The status of *nori* in such sentences as (12) can probably be viewed as a non-grammaticalized indefiniteness marker, inasmuch as these constructions have the free-choice meaning. Haspelmath (1997: 134–135) considers such constructions to be a source for free-choice indefinites in many languages.

- (12) *Materijol-q pirk ir staty-k k-q*
 material-ACC.SG buy:IMP(2SG) and build-IMP(2SG) what-ACC
nor-i.
 want-PRS.2SG
 ‘Buy material and build whatever you want.’ (Tuomienė 2008: 243)

The only example of the use of the *kai*-series seems to calque the construction from the standard language, shown in (13). In such constructions, the *kai*-series is not employed in the specific known function it usually expresses but indicates an indefinite number, cf. Russian *nekotorye* ‘some.’

- (13) *Kai kur-ie i rusišk-ai maža kalb-a.*
 INDF what-NOM.PL.M and Russian-ADV little speak-PRS.3
 ‘Some (young people) also speak Russian a little.’ (Tuomienė 2008: 206)

5 The examples is not from an iterative context, so *nors*-series should not be possible.

I found only two examples in the texts where indefinites are used in the free-choice function. However, one of them, where the marker *bet* (identical to the standard free-choice marker) is used, represents the secondary meaning of free-choice indefinites that can be roughly described as ‘something of bad quality, poorly, etc.’ (cf. 14).

- (14) *An-is ne bet kap verki-a, nu taip kaip reiki-a,*
 they-NOM.PL NEG INDF how cry-PRS.3 well that how need-PRS.3
verki-a.
 cry-PRS.3
 ‘They don’t just cry, they cry like they’re supposed to (i.e., weep loudly).’
 (Tuomienė 2008: 206)

This meaning is derived from the free-choice meaning: ‘any’ > ‘anything of any quality’ > ‘something of bad quality.’ Since no other examples of *bet*-indefinites can be found in the sample, the analyzed example can be considered a borrowing from the standard language.

Another example of the use of indefinites in the free-choice function is calqued from the neighboring Slavic languages: *nors kur* ‘anywhere’ from Belarusian *xoc’ dz’e*, Russian *xot’ gd’e* ‘anywhere’, as in (15). There are more calqued forms in this sentence, cf. *nudavė* ‘passed’, vs. Standard Lithuanian *išlaikė* ‘id.’, Russian *sdal* ‘passed’; *pastot* ‘to enter (university)’ vs. Standard Lithuanian *įstoti* ‘id.’, Russian *postupit’* ‘id.’.

- (15) *Nudav-ė egzamin-ų, tai t-as tada jau galėj-o*
 give-PST.3 exam-GEN.PL so that-NOM.SG.M then already can-PST.3
nors kur pasto-t.
 INDF where enter-INF
 ‘He passed the exams, and then he could enter any place (university).’
 (Tuomienė 2008: 123)

There are more examples of indefiniteness markers and even whole indefinite pronouns in this dialect that are directly borrowed or copied. A few words should be said with respect to the marker of the specific indefinite series *-tai*, which is considered to be copied from Slavic *-to*. This marker will be discussed in more detail below. In the dialect of Ramaškonyš, instead of the standard demonstrative pronouns *šitas, šita, tai*, the pronouns *itas, ita, itai* are used. However, when used as an indefiniteness marker instead of the dialectal *itai*, the form *tai* occurs, as in (16). Such a form might be explained by the influence of the Slavic *-to* with no initial vowel.

- (16) *Visa kada tai itai brang-iai kainoj-o, labai brang-iai.*
 everything when INDF this expensive-ADV cost-PST.3 very expensive-ADV
 ‘Once all this was expensive, very expensive.’ (Tuomienė 2008: 243)

There are also examples in which the indefiniteness marker is declined along with the interrogative, cf. (17).

- (17) *Tadu pon-as susimislj-o, tinai savo jau tinai*
 then lord-NOM.SG think-PST.3 there own already there
koki-am t-am tarn-ui sak-o.
 what-DAT.SG.M INDF-DAT.SG.M servant-DAT.SG say-PRS.3
 ‘Then the landlord thought it over and told one of his servants.’

(Tuomienė 2008: 210)

It can be concluded from the investigation of the texts of Ramaškonys that the dialectal system of indefinite pronouns, including their usage, can differ in important respects from that of the standard language, and that language contact can play a role in this divergence. Some indefinites can be entirely replaced by a borrowed counterpart (*-tai* instead of *kaž-*), while others can display variable behavior and be expressed by the markers used in the standard language, as well as by borrowed ones. At the same time, it should be said that the notion of “being replaced” is given from the perspective of the standard language, and the exact time when the non-standard form of indefinite pronoun came into use can hardly be established. In other words, we usually cannot tell with full certainty whether the marker in question was borrowed and has replaced the marker identical to that of the standard language, or it developed independently before the grammaticalization of its counterpart in the standard language. However, the results of this analysis show the main tendencies of the “borrowability” of indefinite pronouns in Lithuanian. A more detailed investigation will be carried out in Section 3.

3 MAT-borrowing of indefinites

Indefinite pronouns are borrowed quite often, as they belong to “the explicit presupposition-processing apparatus” (Matras 2009: 198), i.e., they present new information and at the same time refer to background knowledge and play a large role in the speaker-hearer relationship in communication. As was mentioned above, indefinites are usually borrowed “in situations of unidirectional bilingualism with weak normative support of the recipient language” (Matras 2009: 198). The Lithuanian dialects surrounded by other languages (especially Slavic) represent such a case. However, borrowed indefinites can be found in the speech of the urban population as well.

Both (MAT- and PAT-) types of borrowing indefinites are attested in Lithuanian dialects. Some markers can be directly borrowed from the surrounding languages, e.g., *bile* from Polish, or *abi* from Belarusian. Sometimes borrowed markers are phonetically adapted, cf. the variants of the marker *abi/aby*: the Belarusian

sound [i] is kept intact ([abi]) or adapted to Lithuanian phonetic system ([ab'i]). Examples of PAT-borrowing can also be found: Instead of the standard specific indefiniteness marker *kaž*, the form *-tai*, which is calqued from Slavic *to*, is used. In Lithuanian, MAT-borrowing appears in separate dialects (maybe even only in a limited number of cases), e.g., *abi* marker (in the variant of *aby*) borrowed from Belarusian in the Eastern Aukštaitian dialect of Gervėčiai (Belarusian *Herv'aty*), the Hrodna region (Kardelytė 1975: 70), as well as within larger territories, e.g., the *bile*-marker of free-choice indefinites from Polish can be found in many Lithuanian dialects in various regions. Some borrowings occur only in dialectal speech, while others can be found in literary written speech as well. In many cases, the exact source of the borrowing can hardly be firmly established, as the pattern exists in a few languages; *bile* exists not only in Polish but is also used in Belarusian dialects. Some indefiniteness markers are used in all three Slavic languages that surround Lithuanian, e.g., *ne*- in Polish, Belarusian, and Russian. In such cases, the source is marked as “Slavic.”

The cases of MAT-borrowings in the domain of indefinite pronouns in Lithuanian are represented by a few examples of the use of the originally Slavic indefiniteness markers.

3.1 Borrowing of *abi*

In the southern Lithuanian dialects, the free-choice marker *abi*, borrowed from Belarusian, can regularly be found. It is represented in both adapted and non-adapted versions *abi* and *aby*, but only the adapted version was included in LKŽ (cf. 18 and 19).

(18) Belarusian

U vixur-y žycc'-a dumk-i čalavek-a l'otaj-uc'
 in whirlgig-LOC.SG life-GEN.SG thought-NOM.PL man-GEN.SG fly-PRS.3PL
aby-dze, tol'ki ne l'a svaj-oj duš-y.
 indf-where only NEG near own-GEN.SG.F soul-GEN.SG
 'In the whirlgig of life a person's thoughts fly anywhere except near his soul.'⁶

(19) Lithuanian

Man abi k-as ger-ai.
 me:DAT INDF what-NOM good-ADV
 'Anything is good for me.' (LKŽ)

⁶ <http://tululu.ru/read67906/37/>.

It seems quite regular in Lithuanian dialects that not only the indefiniteness marker is borrowed, but also other function words that were a source for the marker (cf., 20).

- (20) *Kiaul-es* *gan-ė,* ***abi*** *gyv-os* *bū-tų.*
 pig-ACC.PL shepherd-PST.3 so alive-NOM.PL.F be-SBJV.3
 ‘They would graze pigs just to stay alive.’

3.2 Borrowing of *bile*

One of the most widespread borrowed indefiniteness markers in Lithuanian dialects is *bile* [b'il'e], which has phonetically non-adapted variants *byle*, *by* [b'il'e, bɨ], and the variant *bele(n)* [b'el'en].⁷ However, it can also be easily found in urban speech. In LKŽ, almost the full series of *bile* and *by* are represented. Many examples are attested in the Corpus of Lithuanian (cf. 21).

- (21) *Pas* *mus* ***bile k-am*** *galima* *užei-ti...*
 at we.ACC INDF who-DAT possible come-INF
 ‘Anyone is allowed to drop by our house.’ (LKT)

Fraenkel (1962: 42) states that this indefiniteness marker originated from Polish *byle*. It is interesting that the same marker is found in some Latvian dialects,⁸ which can be explained either as the direct influence of Polish or by contact with Lithuanian (Fraenkel 1962: 42). A prepositional indefiniteness marker of the same origin and the same meaning *byl'a-* is used in the western dialects of Belarusian as well (Steškovič 1979: 36). The main function of the *bile*-series is expression of the free-choice function (cf. 22).

- (22) ***Bile katr-a*** *merg-a* *ai-tų* *su* *tavim,* *kad tik*
 INDF what-NOM.SG.F girl-NOM.SG go-SBJV.3 with you.sg:INS what only
ves-tai!
 marry-SBJV.2SG
 ‘Any girl would go with you, if only you marry her!’ (LKT)

⁷ Zinkevičius (1966: 436) explains the sound [e] in the last form by the influence of the literary marker *bet*. However, the forms with final *-n*, broadly used in colloquial speech, cannot be easily explained.

⁸ It is also used in the Romani variety of Lithuania, cf. *bili kon* ‘anyone’, *bili so* ‘anything’ (Beinortienė 2011: 36). It should also be said that no indefiniteness markers of Lithuanian origin are attested in Lithuanian Romani, which can probably be explained by the sociolinguistic situation in the country, as well as by historical circumstances of language development: the Roma people came to Lithuania from the Polish-speaking territories.

In the Lithuanian dialects neighboring with Polish, this marker seems to be the only variant of the free-choice series (see Niewulis 2001: 66).

However, the use of *bile* as an indefiniteness marker seems to be secondary with respect to the function of a particle or conjunction with the meanings ‘as soon as, only, only if’, since there are dialects where *bile* occurs only as a particle or conjunction (e.g., 23).

- (23) **Bile** *tik* *gav-o* *pinig-ų* *i* *išleid-o.*
 just only get-PST.3 money-GEN.PL and spend-PST.3
 ‘As soon as they got some money, they spent it.’ (LKŽ)

The particle function of *bile* is identical to the use of Polish *byle*, which can be a particle or conjunction, cf. the use of the second *byle* in (24), and an indefiniteness marker (although, Polish *byle*-series has marginal status and is only one of the ways to express the free-choice function; Haspelmath 1997: 271).

- (24) Polish
Na oślep, tam i z powrot-em, bez wyjść-ia,
 blindly there and with return-INS.SG without way.out-GEN.SG
bez cel-u, byle gdzie, byle dal-ej.
 without purpose-GEN.SG INDF where only far-COMP
 ‘Blindly, back and forth, with no way-out, with no purpose, anywhere, just to move ahead.’ (KJP)

Polish *byle* can also be used in the free-choice function without a pronoun.

- (25) Polish
Sprzedadz-ą nas przy byle okazj-i.
 sell:FUT-3PL we:ACC at any occasion-GEN.SG
 ‘They will sell us at any opportunity.’ (KJP)

In Polish, the *byle*-series can also have a secondary, negative meaning of bad quality (as discussed above for Lithuanian), like in (26).

- (26) Polish
Odżywia-ł-a się byle jak, przez cały dzień dodaj-ąć
 nourish-PST-3SG.F REFL INDF how through entire-ACC day:ACC.SG add-NV
sobie energi-i mocn-ą herbat-ą.
 yourself:DAT energy-GEN.SG strong-INS.SG.F tea-INS.SG
 ‘She didn’t eat well, all day long sustaining her energy with strong tea.’ (KJP)

Compared to the Polish examples, *byle* in Lithuanian dialects seems to be more regular in expressing the free-choice function. Additionally, despite the meaning of examples like (26), recently, in Lithuanian youth slang, probably via conventionalization of irony, it has acquired a new meaning ‘very good’ (cf. 27).

- (27) *Kreid-a man atrod-o yra belen kok-s*
 chalk-NOM.SG I:DAT seem-PRS.3 be:PRS.3 INDF what-NOM.SG.M
Kalci-o šaltin-is – kreid-q valgy-ti sveika.
 calcium-GEN.SG source-NOM.SG chalk-ACC.SG eat-INF healthy
 ‘Chalk, I think, is a very good source of Calcium – it is healthy to eat chalk.’⁹

To express this “new” meaning the variant of the indefinite *bele(n) koks* is usually used. A similar highly expressive meaning is seen with the indefinite *belen kaip* ‘strongly, big time’, cf. examples like *belen kaip įspūdingai* ‘really amazing’.¹⁰ Other members of the *bele(n)*-series do not express such a meaning, or at least I have not found such examples. These meanings, which have developed in the last decade, are still probably being formed. In general, this is a very good example of how a borrowed element can acquire meanings and functions that are completely different from those of the source language.

The development of the free-choice meaning of the *bile*-series in Lithuanian may be in some way supported by the variant borrowed from Belarusian *abi* whose main function is free-choice as well. There are examples when these two markers are even contaminated in the forms like *abile* (cf. 28), Zinkevičius also mentions the form *abet* (1966: 436).

- (28) *Miel-i, nori-u paskelb-ti e-adresiuk-q ir*
 dear-NOM.PL.M want-PRS.1SG publish-INF e-mail_address-ACC.SG and
bendrau-ti apie “abile” k-q.
 communicate-INF about INDF what-ACC
 ‘Dear friends, I want to publish my e-mail address and talk about “whatever”.’ (LKT)

3.2 Borrowing of *koc*

There are more variants of the borrowing of the free-choice marker: *koc’/xoc*. The indefiniteness markers *xoc’/koc’* are attested neither in LKT, nor in LKŽ. The only function ascribed to these elements (in the variant *koc*) in the dictionary is one of the particle ‘at least’. However, a few examples, when *koc* is used as an indefiniteness marker, are found in dialectal texts. This indefiniteness marker is usually used in the dialects that have come into contact with Belarusian, which

⁹ http://www.games.lt/g/forum.forum_zinutes/742574?sev=page.

¹⁰ <http://wn.com/Įspūdingai>.

also explains why some variants have *c*’ in the end, cf. Belarusian *xoc*’ ‘at least’. For instance:

- (29) *Im-k* *an* *save* ***xot’ k-o.***
 take-IMP.2SG in self:ACC INDF what-GEN.SG
 ‘Take whatever you want.’ (Vidugiris 2004: 224)

3.3 Borrowing of *nebūt*

Another borrowed Slavic indefiniteness marker is *nebūt*, which can mostly be found in the southern dialects of Lithuanian, in contact with Belarusian. It seems to be calqued from Belarusian *nebudz’*. Its main function in Slavic languages, viz. irrealis non-specific, seems to be retained in Lithuanian:

- (30) *Operacij-a,* *ten* ***k-q nebūt*** *prapjau-t* *do iščisti-t.*
 operation-NOM.SG there what-ACC INDF cut-INF and clean-INF
 ‘Surgery: [you know,] to cut something or other, then clean it out.’
 (Vidugiris 1998: 276)

There are examples when this marker means ‘in any old way, barely, poorly’:

- (31) *Nu vaik-ai* ***kap nebut*** *gyven-a,* *o an-as* *jau*
 well child-NOM.PL how INDF live-PRS.3 but he-NOM already
ne-rak *susiem.*
 NEG-see:PRS.3 at all
 ‘The children live somehow, but he already doesn’t see at all.’ (Petrauskas & Vidugiris 1987: 58)

3.4 Borrowing of *kalvek*

Another borrowed indefiniteness marker found in Lithuanian dialects is *kalvek* (*kalvėk*). It comes from Western Slavic, cf. Polish *kolwiek*, Slovak *kol’vek*. Lithuanian dialects have probably borrowed it from Polish, but its existence in some Belarusian varieties should also be taken in mind. According to Haspelmath (1997: 271), its Polish counterpart’s main functions include question, conditional, indirect negation, comparative, and free-choice (cf. 32), where the indefinite is used in the free-choice function:

- (32) Polish
Cokolwiek *teraz* *powie-m,* *obró-ci się* *przeciwko* *mnie*
 what:INDF now say-PRS.1SG turn-INF REFL against I:ACC
 ‘Whatever I’ll say now will turn against me.’ (NKJP)

The examples found in Lithuanian dialects show that its functions are very close to the ones found in Polish, cf. question 33, but also irrealis non-specific function 34:

- (33) *Maž* *pristig-ai* *k-o kalvėk?*
 maybe lack-PST.2SG what-GEN INDF
 ‘Maybe you need something?’ (LKŽ)
- (34) *Aš* *tau* *k-q kalvek* *nupirk-si-u*
 I:NOM you_sg:DAT what-ACC INDF buy-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will buy you something’ (LKŽ)

It seems to exist only in dialects, as no examples are given by LKT as well all the speakers living in Vilnius I asked about the form have never heard it in everyday speech. Probably, its use in the dialects is limited to some point, cf. the remark in the dictionary of Dievėniškės saying that the marker is used only with *kas ir kaip* interrogatives (Mikulėnienė, Morkūnas, & Vidugiris 2005: 238). As in a few other cases with borrowed from Polish markers, the marker *kol’vėk* is also found in the Old Belarusian texts as well as in some Belarusian dialects (Steškovič 1979: 34–35).

3.5 Borrowing of negative pronouns

Haspelmath (1997: 184) writes that he knows of no case when an entire indefinite pronoun has been borrowed. His observations hold with regard to Lithuanian as well: Mostly, only indefiniteness markers are borrowed, while the pronominal components are kept. However, I have found several examples of the entire negative pronoun *nigdi* (or *nigdy*) ‘never’ being borrowed from Polish. It might seem peculiar in the light of the fact that the system of negative pronouns seems to be the most stable one. This puzzle can be explained by the exceptional nature of this pronoun, which is not derived in accordance to the general pattern, cf. pl. *kto* ‘who’ > *nikt* ‘nobody’, *kiedy* ‘when’ > **nikiedy*, but *nigdy* ‘never’. This form differs from the other members of the series, which makes it more likely to be borrowed than substituted by the counterpart in the recipient language.

- (35) *Tadu bus* *muzik-a,* *kadu nor-i,* ***nigdi*** *ku tai*
 then be:FUT.3 music-NOM.SG when want-PRS.2SG never where INDF
išvažo.
 go:PRS.2SG
 ‘There will be music whenever you want, you never go anywhere.’
 (Kardelis 2006: 95)

3.6 Borrowing of *žėdnas*

Another borrowed indefinite negative pronoun is *žėdnas* ‘none, any’ borrowed from Polish *żaden* ‘id.’. Old Belarusian also borrowed this pronoun from Polish, and its variants *žadenъ*, *žadny* were regularly used in the ducal chancery style (cf. Steškovič 1979: 30–31). It has an interesting history: According to LKŽ, its only meaning is ‘every’, which contradicts Zinkevičius’s (1966: 321) statement that it retains the meaning of the Polish source ‘none’. In fact, examples of both meanings can be found in the dialects (and only in the dialects; there were no examples of this pronoun found in LKT):

- (36) **Žėdn-am** gryb-e yra kirmėli-ų.
 every-LOC.SG.M mushroom-LOC.SG be:PRS.3 worm-GEN.PL
 ‘There are worms in every mushroom.’ (LKŽ)

The negative meaning of this pronoun is found only in the contexts with direct negation:

- (37) *Gyven-k-it kaip mes, paukšteli-ai, ne-bus tarp tarp*
 live-IMP-2PL how we-NOM.SG bird-NOM.PL NEG-be:FUT.3 between
jums žėdn-ų zdrod-ų, prapul-s vis-i
 you(PL):DAT any-GEN.PL betrayal-GEN.PL disappear-FUT.3 all-NOM.PL.M
neprieteli-ai.
 enemy-NOM.PL
 ‘Live like us, birds, there will be no betrayals between you, all enemies will disappear’ (LKŽ)

In Lithuanian dialects, *žėdnas* is often used in the constructions *žėdnas bevienas*, *žėdnas vienas*, or *kožnas žėdnas* with the meaning ‘every’ (cf. 38).

- (38) **Žėdn-as** bevien-as nor-i geriau.
 every-NOM.SG.M one-NOM.SG.M want-PRS.3 better
 ‘Every one and single [person] wants it to be better.’ (LKŽ)

Contemporary Polish *żaden* does not have this meaning, but the data from other languages show that the meaning ‘every’ has probably emerged in Polish and was borrowed together with the pronoun, cf. the meanings of the pronoun in old Ukrainian and old Belarusian (Mel’nyčuk 1985: 204).¹¹ The development of this meaning can be probably reconstructed this way: ‘no one’ > ‘anyone’ in negative contexts > ‘anyone, every’ in positive contexts.

¹¹ Although the meaning ‘every’ is singled out for old Ukrainian and old Belarusian by Mel’nyčuk (1985: 204), I did not find any good examples of *żaden* with the meaning ‘every’ in non-negated contexts for old Belarusian by Žurauski (1989: 242–243).

To conclude this discussion of MAT-borrowing, it should be said that borrowing mostly affects the series used in the free-choice function. This fact can probably be interpreted as an argument for the relatively late development of a special series of indefinite pronouns expressing this function in Lithuanian. The borrowed markers usually can be used in other functions as well (mostly as discourse particles). In some cases, the borrowed series can develop new meanings, as in the case with *bele(n) k-*. Sporadic loans tend to keep the meaning they express in the source language (*koc'*), while old and widely used loans (*bile*) are likely to develop new functions. All borrowed indefiniteness markers (*abi, bile, koc'*) with the free-choice meaning have other functions, as particles or conjunctions. As stated by Matras (2009: 193), discourse markers are “at the very top of the borrowability hierarchy”, which can also be taken to mean that the function of the discourse marker is more easily borrowed than that of the indefiniteness marker. The function of indefiniteness markers might have not be directly borrowed and could have developed later by analogy with the source language. This brings us to the discussion of another type of borrowing – PAT-loans.

4 PAT-borrowing of indefiniteness marker

4.1 Borrowing of *tai*

Commonly accepted as a calque from Russian, the indefiniteness marker *-tai* is found both in dialects and in the speech of urban population. This marker is used so widely that the Lithuanian language commission listed it as a “grave language mistake” (see paragraph 1.3.12 of the list, <http://www.vlkk.lt/lit/lt/klaidos/zodyno3>).

Indeed, Russian and Lithuanian examples of the use of *-to* and *-tai* show high similarity (cf. 39).

(39) Lithuanian

| | | | | |
|----|----------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| a. | <i>knyg-a</i> | <i>apie</i> | <i>kok-į tai</i> | <i>šlykšt-ų</i> |
| | book-SG.NOM | about | what-ACC.SG.M INDF | despicable-ACC.SG.M |
| | <i>sen-į</i> | | <i>Anglij-oje</i> | |
| | old.man-ACC.SG | | England-LOC.SG | |

Russian

| | | | | |
|----|---|----------|--------------------|---------------------|
| b. | <i>knig-a</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>kak-om-to</i> | <i>protivn-om</i> |
| | book-SG.NOM | about | what-LOC.SG.M INDF | despicable-LOC.SG.M |
| | <i>starik-e</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>Angli-i</i> | |
| | old.man-LOC.SG | in | England-LOC.SG | |
| | ‘a book about some despicable old man in England’ | | | |

Another function of the Russian element *to* is that of the neuter demonstrative pronoun. The Lithuanian counterpart of this element is *tai* (see Valeckienė 1974), whose use might be revised under the influence of Russian. The *-to* marker is also widespread in the northeastern dialects of Belarusian (Steškovič 1979: 35). An indirect argument for the “calquing origin” of this indefiniteness marker in Lithuanian is another calqued expression, *būk tai*, Russian *budto* ‘as if, allegedly’. This example is fascinating, as it reflects the etymology of the Russian word containing the imperative of the verb *byt’* ‘be’ and the demonstrative *to* (cf. Vasmer 1986: 231): One would argue that this etymology is realized by the speakers even until now.

However, the origin of *tai* as an indefiniteness marker remains vague: It is very difficult to say whether this marker was calqued or developed independently. In forms like *kažkas tai* ‘someone’, *kažkoks tai* ‘some’ containing, in fact, two indefiniteness markers, viz. *kaž-* and *tai*, the question as to which element was added later can hardly be answered with precision. Such forms can be a result of either hypercorrection by adding the standard marker *kaž-* to forms like *kas tai* or reinforcement of the standard specific unknown series by adding the calqued indefiniteness marker.

Traditionally, two main functions of Lithuanian *tai* are singled out: (1) a demonstrative pronoun of the so-called neuter gender and (2) a particle or conjunction. In both Valeckienė’s articles (1974, 1977), where these functions are described in detail, there is no mention of the use of *tai* as indefiniteness marker (even though dialectal material is analyzed).

The examples of the use of *tai* as a series marker show that in most cases, the functions of the pronouns of the *tai*-series are identical to their Russian counterparts, as well as to the standard *kaž-*series. The main function of this series is specific unknown:

- (40) Aš *ne-pamen-u* *tiksliai*, *bet* *žin-au*, *kad*
 I:NOM NEG-remember-PRS.1SG exact-ADV but know-PRS.1SG that
kaž-k-as tai *įvyk-o*, *kad* *aš* *ten* *pradėj-au*
 what:INDF-NOM.SG INDF happen-PST.3 that I:NOM there start-PST.1SG
įsči-ose *aug-ti*.
 womb-LOC.PL grow-INF
 ‘I do not remember exactly, but I know that something happened and I started to grow in the womb.’ (LKT)

The “correct” variants proposed by the Lithuanian language commission as alternatives to the “wrong” *tai*-series sometimes differ in meaning from the original sentences (cf. 41).

- (41) *Stat-ant užtvank-q gal-i atsiras-ti ir*
 build-CNV embankment-ACC.SG can-PRS.3 appear-INF and
(kaž)koki-ų tai (= *tam tikrų*) *gamt-os apsaug-os*
 what:INDF-GEN.PL INDF nature-GEN.SG protection-GEN.SG
pažeidim-ų.
 violation-GEN.PL
 ‘When building an embankment, certain violations in the preservation of
 the environment may take place.’ (VLKK)

Here the proposed correction *tam tikras* ‘certain’ refers not to a non-specific object, but rather to a specific one, cf. *kai*-series vs. *kaž*-series.

4.2 Borrowing of *ne*-

Another series with calqued indefiniteness marker is the specific unknown *ne*-series, which seems to be widespread both in colloquial speech and in the dialects (e.g., 42).

- (42) *Brol-is tavo tur-i nek-q prieš tave.*
 brother-NOM.SG your have-PRS.3 what:INDF-ACC against you.sg:ACC
 ‘Your brother has something against you.’ (LKŽ)

In contrast to other cases where I could find only some examples of the use of borrowed indefiniteness marker, the full *ne*-series can be reconstructed on the grounds of LKŽ, LKT, or dialectal texts. The dictionaries mark it as calqued from the Slavic *ne*-series, for instance, LKŽ, whose main function is also specific unknown (cf. 43).

- (43) Russian
Nekto *zašel* *v komnat-u.*
 who:INDF.NOM come.in:PST.SG.M in room-ACC.SG
 ‘Someone came into the room.’

The State Commission of the Lithuanian Language names the use of *nekuris*, *nekurie* ‘some’ a grave mistake (see paragraph 1.3.6. of the list, <http://www.vlkk.lt/lit/lt/klaidos/zodyno3>) and proposed correction in (44). However, the borrowed or calqued nature of this marker can hardly be proven. The development of non-negative indefinite pronouns from the negative ones is typologically widespread (see Haspelmath 1997: 230). The *ne*-series exists in all Slavic languages neighboring with Lithuanian – in Polish, Russian, and Belarusian. In all these languages, its main function is specific unknown.

- (44) **Nekur-ie** **ligoni-ai** (= *Kai kurie; Kurie ne kurie ligoniai; Vienas kitas ligonis*)
 some:INDF-NOM.PL.M patient-NOM.PL
nuo *sunki-ų* *komplikacij-ų* *miršt-a.*
 from difficult-GEN.PL complication-GEN.PL die-PRS.3
 ‘Some patients die because of serious complications.’ (VLKK)

Haspelmath argues for the explanation of the origin of this series that was proposed in the works of Brugmann and Delbrück. These linguists treated the *ne*-series of indefinite pronouns in Lithuanian and other Indo-European languages as the result of “reanalysis of a negative indefinite co-occurring with verbal negation as a non-negative indefinite” (Haspelmath 1997: 230). There seems to be some kind of mistake in Haspelmath’s data, because the *ne*-series is probably calqued from Slavic, since the Lithuanian indefinite of this origin is *nėkas*, cf. the negation *nė* (Fraenkel 1962: 492). It can be used in negative contexts as well as in specific unknown ones (cf. 45 and 46).

- (45) **Nėk-o** *ne-saky-k!*
 nothing-GEN NEG-say-IMP.2SG
 ‘Do not say anything!’ (LKŽ)
- (46) *Turi-u* *tau* **nėk-q** *pasaky-tie*
 have-PRS.1SG you:DAT INDF:what-ACC say-INF
 ‘I have something to tell you.’ (LKŽ)

Haspelmath has some problems dealing with Lithuanian indefinite pronouns of the *ne*- type, as they are usually used as a part of “the reduplicative combinations *kas nekas, kada nekada*” (Haspelmath 1997: 232). If this suggestion is correct, and the indefinites of the *X ne X* type contain the *ne*- indefinites, it could probably be an argument in favor of the borrowed origin of this series.

4.3 The *X ne X* case

The case of the *X ne X* series is a little bit mysterious. Haspelmath calls it “marginal”, meaning that it does not contain all members of the general paradigm. In addition, it is marginal in the sense of its use. Usually the pronouns of this series appear only in literary texts and already seem to be very old-fashioned. They are never used in colloquial speech, and I could not find any examples of this series in the dialectal texts. The origin of this series is not clear. The problems Haspelmath dealt with in discussing these forms can be explained if its borrowed nature is assumed. Haspelmath (1997: 232) admits that he does not know “the function

of the negation *ne-* in such combinations”. The Polish origin could explain the restriction of this series to the literary style in Lithuanian. However, this series is also used in Belarusian, cf., *xto-nixto, što-ništo, jaki-nijaki*, but it might have emerged also as a result of contacts with Polish. One of the arguments in favor of the Polish calque hypothesis is that this series is used in the same specific known function:

(47) Polish

Jest on dosyć woln-y, a nawet gdzieniegdzie
 be:PRS.3SG he:NOM quite free-NOM.SG and even where:INDF
odbieg-a od łaciński-ego oryginal-u.
 diverge-PRS.3SG from Latin-GEN.SG.M original-GEN.SG
 ‘It [the translation] is quite free, and sometimes even diverges from the Latin original.’ (KJP).

(48) Lithuanian

Lėk-ėme lygi-ais lauk-ais, kur ne kur išdyg-dav-o
 fly-PST.1PL plain-INS.PL field-INS.PL where:INDF drift-HAB-PST.3
stači-os raudon-os uol-os.
 straight-NOM.PL.F red-NOM.PL.F rock-NOM.PL
 ‘We were flying through plain fields, in some places straight red rocks appeared.’ (LKT)

On the other hand, the *X ne X* series is not very widespread in Polish and can be found in Latvian as well (Haspelmath 1997, 277).¹² The best way out is certainly a detailed investigation of this form in Polish dialects. Along with the aforementioned *bile* forms, this could be also an interesting contribution to the influence of Polish on the Baltic languages.

4.4 PAT-borrowing of negative pronouns

A few more words should be said about the negative pronouns. It has already been stated that this category of indefinites seems to be more stable than others (apart from the MAT-borrowed *nigdy* ‘never’). However, one more example can be interpreted as testifying to Slavic influence: In the dialects, the negative determiner *niekoks* is found, cf. Russian *nikakoj* ‘none’.

¹² An interesting fact is that the existence of forms like *so-na-so* in Latvian Romani is explained by the influence of Lithuanian (Manuš-Belugin 1973: 138).

- (49) *Ne-buv-o čia niekoki-os jau spatičk-os su*
 NEG-be-PST.3 here any-GEN.SG.F already meeting-GEN.SG with
partizan-ais.

guerrilla-INS.PL

‘There was no fight whatsoever with guerrilla warriors.’ (Petrauskas & Vidugiris 1987: 18)

- (50) Russian

Nikak-ogo somnenij-a zdes’ i by-t’ ne mož-et.
 any-GEN.SG doubt-GEN.SG.N here and be-INF NEG can-PRS.3SG

‘There cannot be any doubt here.’

Obviously, this form can be explained by the dialect-internal process of paradigm levelling, i.e., the form *nie-koks* was constructed on the model of other negative pronouns like *nie-kas*, *nie-kur*, etc. Still, this process could be influenced or supported by the surrounding languages.

In general, it is more difficult to prove that calquing took place, since very often the “suspicious” elements can also be explained as an independent development. The use of this form of negative indefinites is supported by the fact that the calqued series discussed above (*ne-*, *-tai*) are more regular both structurally (usually all members of the series are used) and geographically.

5 Conclusions

Functional words, and indefinite pronouns as a subtype thereof, are easily borrowed. In the Lithuanian dialects that are dominated by other languages (as the one of Ramaškonys), more loans can be found. There are both MAT-loans, i.e., the form is directly borrowed, and PAT-loans, with a calqued functional pattern. In the dialects of the areas where Lithuanian is the dominant language, the number of loans is much lower. In these cases, the borrowings are usually PAT-loans of older periods when Lithuanian played a subordinate role in the sociolinguistic hierarchy of the area (i.e., when Polish, Belarusian, and Russian were more prestigious for various reasons). In general, PAT-loans are also likely to be typical for the whole linguistic area, i.e., such patterns can be found in several surrounding languages (see Sakel 2007: 21–25).

All cases of borrowed indefinites, together with the cases when the borrowed nature is impossible to prove, are listed in Table 2. The acquisition of a secondary meaning in Lithuanian is marked by (+), while (–) means that the use of the borrowed element is identical to the one of the source language. The existence of the element exclusively in the dialect or in the speech of the city population is

Tab. 2: Borrowed indefinites in Lithuanian and its dialects

| Specific known | Specific unknown | Free choice | Negative |
|----------------------|--|--|--|
| <i>X ne X?</i> (-)OL | <i>tai</i> -series (-)DC <i>ne</i> -series (-)DC <i>nebūt</i> -series (-)OD <i>kalvek</i> -series (-)OD | <i>bile</i> -series (+)DC <i>koc'</i> -series (-)OD <i>abi</i> -series (-)OD | <i>nigdi</i> (-)OD <i>žėdnas</i> (-?)OD |

marked by OD (only dialectal), OL (only literary), and DC (dialects and colloquial speech). The interrogation mark is put when there are doubts of the borrowed origin of a marker or a meaning.

Table 2 shows that the free-choice function is more likely to be replaced by loans and that usually the meanings of the borrowed indefiniteness markers are kept identical to the source language model. The interrogation mark with the pronoun *žėdnas* is meant to show that there are no data that the meaning ‘everyone’ did not develop independently. The interrogation mark with the *X ne X* series shows there is doubt on the borrowed nature of the marker.

In general, the investigation of Lithuanian indefinite pronouns demonstrates that the complex system of Lithuanian emerges as even richer when the borrowed elements used in the dialects and colloquial speech are taken into consideration. Further study of contact for Lithuanian grammatical forms and patterns might help to describe the linguistic situation in the area, as well as to understand the trends in the development of the borrowed elements.

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Abbreviations

Glosses

| | | | |
|-----|------------|------|-------------|
| ACC | accusative | COMP | comparative |
| ACT | active | DAT | dative |
| ADV | adverb | F | feminine |
| CNV | converb | FUT | future |

| | | | |
|------|--------------|------|-------------------|
| GEN | genitive | NEG | negation |
| HAB | habitual | NOM | nominative |
| IMP | imperative | PA | active participle |
| INDF | indefinite | PL | plural |
| INF | infinitive | PST | past |
| INS | instrumental | PRS | present |
| LOC | locative | REFL | reflexive |
| M | masculine | SBJV | subjunctive |
| N | neuter | SG | singular |

Sources

- KJP Korpus języka polskiego IPI PAN [The Corpus of the Polish Language] <http://korpus.pl>
- LKT Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekstynas [The Corpus of the Modern Lithuanian Language] <http://tekstynas.vdu.lt>
- LKŽ Lietuvių kalbos žodynas [The Dictionary of the Lithuanian language] <http://lkz.lt>
- NKJP Narodowy korpus języka polskiego [The National Corpus of Polish] <http://nkjp.pl>
- VLKK Valstybinė lietuvių kalbos komisija [The State Commission of the Lithuanian language] <http://www.vlkk.lt>

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