

ADNOMINAL POSSESSIVES IN MODERN LITHUANIAN

The paper presents an attempt to make a transform analysis of adnominal Genitive constructions of possession¹ in Modern Lithuanian with the view of utilizing the results thus obtained in a typological study of Lithuanian and English Genitive constructions.

The ultimate aim of the study has predetermined the choice of material-examples were largely drawn from translations of works by English and American authors.

The paper consists of two parts. In the first part an attempt is made to revise all the available works devoted to the subject as well as discuss the immediate problems which inevitably face every linguist investigating the Genitive case. In the second part an attempt has been made to classify possessive genitive constructions into types, paying special attention to their valency.

1.1. Survey of available works on the Genitive of Possession

The Genitive of possession is distinguished in all the works on the Genitive case. It is generally treated as the basic value of the Genitive. The prominent position it occupies in the classifications is easy to understand, as the Genitive expresses first of all possessivity in the wide meaning of the word and the other relations conveyed by the case are but variants of possessivity.

Regardless of the numerous works on the Genitive case in Lithuanian, it would be indiscreet to say the problem has been disposed of. The classifications of the values of the Genitive fall short of the present level of linguistics.

The reasons are several. Linguists in the past were concerned with individual linguistic phenomena. Language was not conceived as a system, where each linguis-

¹ For traditional treatment of the Genitive case the reader may refer to the following works: J. Balkevičius, *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos sintaksė*, Vilnius, 1963, 78, 110, 132; J. Balkevičius, *Lietuvių kalbos linksnių vartojimo būdingesnieji atvejai*, – Tarybinė mokykla, IV, Vilnius, 1964, 14–16; Т. В. Булыгина, *Неглагольные сочетания с родительным падежом с современным литовском литературном языке*, – *Славянское языкознание*, Москва, 1959, 217–231; E. Fraenkel, *Syntax der litauischen Kasus*, Kaunas, 1928, 42–104; J. Jablonskis, *Rinktiniai raštai*, I, Vilnius, 1957, 571–593; *Lietuvių kalbos gramatika*, I, Vilnius, 1965, 186–188; A. Schleicher, *Litauische Grammatik*, Prag, 1856, 271–276.

tic unit occupies a definite place. To produce a meaningful utterance we must use words in a certain relationship to each other. Linguistic devices that help the speaker bind words together are inflexions, word order, structural words, stress and intonation. As can be seen, inflexions occupy a definite place in structural grammar — they are the indispensable elements the function of which is to construct structure. Since inflexions are signals of structure, inflected words cannot be investigated in isolation.

Being aware of it, T. Bulygina² presented a structural-semantic classification of Genitive constructions in Lithuanian. Bulygina's work meant a considerable improvement on the previous classifications, as the linguist gave due regard to the co-occurrence of the Genitive with other words. Still, her analysis is not without reproach. Having no reliable criterion for discerning relations between the constituents of a genitive construction, the linguist (as well as the linguists cited on page 73) had to resort to intuition. So, for instance, in the classification worked out by T. Bulygina the construction *tėvo sūnus* "a father's son" is attributed to the Genitive of relation. But is it not the general function of the Genitive inflexion to convey a relation? There being no reliable criterion for syntactic analysis, linguists held utterly opposite views concerning the notion of possessivity. J. Jablonskis, for instance, defines the Genitive of possession as a case expressing ownership, only. In other words, constructions of alienable possession (*sūnaus arklys* "the son's horse") are recognized as representing the Genitive of possession, while those of inalienable possession (*senio ranka* "the old man's hand") are treated as the Genitive of origin.

T. Bulygina maintains that only constructions like *uošvio žemė* "my father-in-law's land" illustrate the Genitive of possession. As for the constructions *senio ranka* "the old man's hand", *tėvo dukrelė* "a father's daughter", they, in her opinion, should be attributed to the Genitive of relation. J. Balkevičius³ defines the Genitive of possession as a case indicating what the thing denoted by the Genitive belongs to, what it comes from, what material it is made of. E. g. *lietaus vanduo* "rain water"; *miško samanų* "forest moss"; *molio gūžta* "a clay hut". It is not difficult to see that the definition holds good for a variety of syntactic relations conveyed by the Genitive.

A. Laigonaitė⁴ does not give the constructions a special place in the classification, but treats the Genitive of possession and other Genitives under the rubric *Nusakomasis kilmininkas*⁵ "Genitive of Description". E. g. *sodos šunys* "the dog

² Op. cit.

³ Tarybinė mokykla, op. cit., 14–16.

⁴ See Lietuvių kalbos gramatika, op. cit., 189.

⁵ The term *nusakomasis kilmininkas* was first used by J. Jablonskis, but with a different meaning. See J. Jablonskis, op. cit., 586.

of the village“ or “country dogs“; *Tupikio namai* “Tupikis’ house“ or “the Tupikis house“; *Rapalienės lėtumas* “Rapalienė’s slowness“. The term *nusakomasis kilmininkas* can hardly be recognized as satisfactory. It is too general and, consequently, vague. As can be seen, the above constructions display a variety of distant syntactic patterns, each deserving special attention. Therefore, to class them under the term *nusakomasis kilmininkas* is the same as to say that the Genitive expresses relationship between two notional words.

1.2. Transformational-generative approach to attributive constructions. In the light of the generative approach to grammar, attributive constructions are regarded as secondary, i. e. derived from certain underlying structures. As was shown by N. Chomsky and given a wider interpretation by Robert Lees⁶, the internal structure of more complex nominals usually incorporates the major grammatical relations found in full sentences, i. e. within the complex subject of a sentence we can find the transformed subject, verb, object of a full sentence.

E. g. *Jono atvykimas* “John’s arrival“ ← *Jonas atvyko* „John has arrived“.

Jono teismas “John’s trial“ ← *Jonas yra teisiamas* “John is tried“.

X teisia Joną “X tries John“

or *Jonas teisia X* “John tries X“.

Jono namas “John’s house“ ← *Jonas turi namą* „John has (owns) a house“.

As has been shown by transformationalists⁷, a grammar is a limited number of rules (iterative or recursive rules) by means of which increasingly more complex nominal constructions are built out of simpler components. In view of this, attributive constructions are treated as derived from verbal structures. All this is in harmony with the general theory of generative grammar worked out by N. Chomsky and E. Bach. We do not maintain that transformations applicable to *didelis namas* (a large house) ← *namas yra didelis* “the house is large“ are equally applicable to *Jono knyga* “John’s book“. The adjunct *Jono* has found its way in the construction under different circumstances⁸, but this does not deny the general principle, viz. that attributive constructions are transforms of verbal structures.

Recently Lees’ analysis of nominal constructions has been called into question. So J. G. Kooij⁹, for example, argues that a large number of constructions do not necessarily have to be derived from verbal structures. E. g. *a chair in the garden; a chair for the garden; a chair of the garden.*

⁶ Robert B. Lees, *The Grammar of English Nominalizations*, Indiana, 1960.

⁷ N. Chomsky, op. cit.; Robert B. Lees, op. cit.; E. Bach, *An Introduction to Transformational Grammars*, New York, 1964; Z. S. Harris, *Co-occurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure*, – *Language*, XXXIII, 3, 1957.

⁸ See page 76.

⁹ *Compounds and Idioms*, *Lingua*, XXI, 1968.

It would be wrong to assume that the constructions *a chair in the garden*, *a chair for the garden*, *a chair of the garden* are primary. As a matter of fact they are derivationally related to corresponding verbal structures¹⁰.

\swarrow *a chair in the garden* ← *the chair is in the garden*
a garden chair ← *a chair for the garden* ← *the chair is for the garden*
 \searrow *a chair of the garden* ← *the chair belongs to the garden*

In view of this, possessive constructions are derived from a verbal structure of the N+turi+N type (N+have+N)¹¹. E. g. *Petro automobilis* "Peter's car" ← *Petras turi automobilį* "Peter has a car"; *Petro rankos* "Peter's hands" ← *Petras turi (geras) rankas* "Peter has (good) hands"; *Petro brolis* "Peter's brother" ← *Petras turi brolių* "Peter has a brother"; *Namo stogas* "The roof of a house" ← *Namas turi stogą* "The house has a roof".

One may be tempted to regard *Petrausko opera* "Petrauskas' opera" as a possessive construction as well. From the semantic point of view, the above construction can be attributed to possessive constructions, as the person denoted by the Genitive is the author of the opera. Naturally, the person can claim to be the owner of the thing he produced. Yet, the relations between the constituents are not of possession: *Petrausko opera* ← *opera yra parašyta Petrausko* "The opera has been composed by Petrauskas". It cannot be transformed into **Petrauskas turi operą* „Petrauskas has an opera“. Hence, the relationship between *Petrausko* and *opera* is that of *performer* and *result*.

As already seen, the possessor and the thing possessed can be both human (*Petro brolis* "Peter's brother") and non-human (*Petro automobilis* "Peter's car" — *namo stogas* „the roof of the house“). As regards the nature of possession, we can speak of alienable possession (*Petro automobilis*) and inalienable possession (*Petro rankos* "Peter's hands", *namo stogas* "the roof of the house"). Constructions of alienable possession generally express ownership, while constructions of inalienable possession are concerned with relationships distinct from simple ownership and yet not wholly unrelated to it, viz. part-and-whole relationship. All this variety of possessive constructions is united structurally — they all display the same syntactic relations.

As regards their surface structure possessive genitive constructions divide into two main groups: unexpanded (simple) constructions and expanded (complex)

¹⁰ See M. В. Малинович, Синтаксическая валентность в именных свободных сочетаниях как вторичных образованиях глагольных структур, Автореферат, Москва, 1968.

¹¹ See R. Zimek, K. Chápání posesivnosti, in: Rusko-České Studie, Praha, 1960, 133—156.

constructions. Constructions consisting of two constituting elements are unexpanded and those consisting of more than two are expanded. Expanded constructions subdivide into: constructions with expanded adjunct; constructions with expanded head; constructions with expanded adjunct and expanded head¹².

2.1. Unexpanded Constructions. Most genitive constructions, when taken out of the context, can be interpreted in two or three ways. This can be accounted for by the fact that the structures generally reflect a variety of syntactic relations. So, for instance, *vyru drabužiai* is transformationally related to the following verbal structures — $N_n + turi + N_a$ and $N_n + kuris_a + V + N_n$ ¹³. E. g. *vyrai turi drabužius* „the men have clothes“ → *the men's clothes*; *drabužiai, kuriuos nešioja vyrai* “clothes worn by men“ → *men's clothes*. There is reason to think that the two structures are derivationally related. In point of fact it is only the syntactic function of the adjuncts that makes the constructions different: in the former case *A* is determined and in the latter — undetermined. For simplicity's sake, we will refer to the two types of structures as phrases of actual possession and phrases of neutralized possession. As has been mentioned, the structures are related from the semantic point of view. The history of human thought shows that man goes from the concrete to the abstract. Consequently, structures of neutralized possession referring to generalized situations should be treated as secondary, i. e. derived from structures of actual possession. Due to the generalization the phrase acquires a new syntactic function without losing its semantic relations with the parent phrase.

Lithuanian seems to be one of those few languages which let their genitive nouns perform an adjectival function without considerable restrictions. This usage is not characteristic, for instance, of Russian, German or French. It is only English Lithuanian shares the use of the genitive with. In English, however, non-determinative possessives are of limited occurrence as they conflict with the central patterning¹⁴. Owing to the frequent use of nouns in the function Lithuanian boasts a large stock of polysemantic structures. Cf.

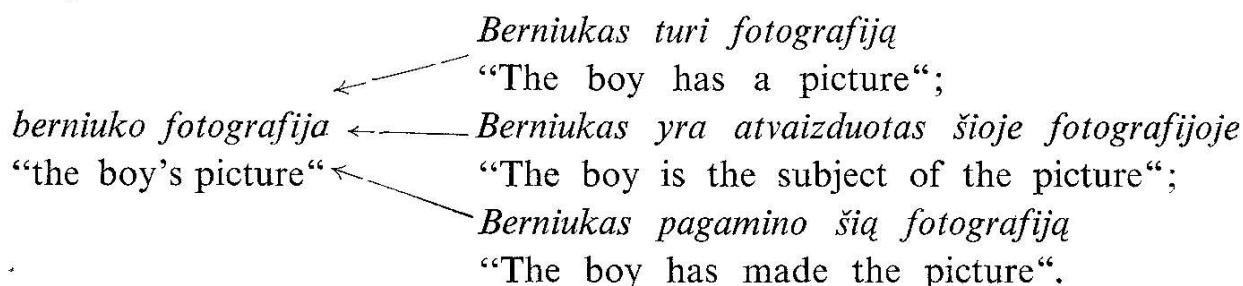
¹² The variety of constructions will not be treated separately, as in our opinion they present no specific problems of their own.

¹³ From now on we introduce the following symbols and abbreviations: A-adjunct; a-adjunct modifier; Adj. — adjective; D — adverb; H — head; h — headmodifier; N — noun; N_a, g, l — noun in the accusative, genitive, locative; N^c — common noun; N^p — proper noun; Num — numeral; P — preposition; Pron — pronoun; $Part_1$ — present participle; $Part_2$ — past participle; syntactic blending; → transforms into; ← derives from; ↔ transformation is impossible.

¹⁴ Ralph B. Long, *The Sentence and Its Parts*, The University of Chicago Press, 1962, 244.

| | | |
|---|------------|---|
| Vaikai turi kambarį The children have a room | | Kambarys yra skirtas vaikams The room is for children |
| Vaikų kambarys N_g N_n | Lithuanian | Vaikų kambarys N_g N_n |
| Комната (наших) детей N_n (Pron. $_g$) N_g | Russian | Детская комната Adj. N_n Комната для детей N_n prep. N_g |
| (some) children's room the children's room d N_g N_n the room of the children d N prep. d N | English | a children's room dN_g N_n |
| Das Zimmer unserer Kinder d N_n Pron. $_g$ N_g | German | Das Kinderzimmer d N_n + N_n |
| la chambre des enfants d N_n d N_g | French | la chambre de enfants d N_n prep. N_d |

Other genitive possessive structures may exhibit a syntactic phenomenon of a different nature. So, for instance, the construction *berniuko fotografija* can be interpreted as follows:



The variety of patterns exhibited by the phrase is based on a different syntactic plane, viz. the blending of several structures. Unlike structural polysemy we referred to on page 83, we deal here with structural homonymity. It is only determined structures that may be homonymous. Consider the non-determined phrase *berniuko fotografija* “a picture made by a boy“. Structural homonyms are a result of the interaction of *A* and *H*, the decisive role being played by *H*, e. g. *vaikų kam-*

barys "the children's room" or "a children's room"; *vaikų fotografija* (the same patterns as exhibited by *berniuko fotografija*).

Non-determinative genitives, though generally preferred, are sometimes replaced by corresponding adjectives with the suffixes *-inis*, *-inė*, *-iškas*, *-iška*. But since the genitive noun can express a complex of visions, the very substance of the thing, preference is generally given to nouns¹⁵. The noun in the function enhances the phrase, while the adjective makes it more concrete and, consequently, impoverishes it. On the other hand, there are cases where the use of adjectives is a must. It concerns, above all, constructions with emphasis on the species *A* belongs to. E. g. *anties plunksna*→*antinė plunksna*; *ėriuko kailis*→*ėrinis kailis*; *kandidato disertacija*→*kandidatinė disertacija*; *moters laikrodis*→*moteriškas laikrodis*; *lietuvių pavardės*→*lietuviškos pavardės*. Yet, not all genitives can be transformed into corresponding adjectives. No Lithuanian will readily accept the phrases **motininis (motiniškas) kambarys*; **vairuotojiškas liudijimas (vairuotojinis liudijimas)*. The list of such phrases can be easily extended. The reluctance to use adjectives in place of genitive nouns may be partly explained by the peculiar meaning it generally imparts to the word as a result of concretizing it to a high degree: *lenkų filmai*→*lenkiški filmai*; *rusų teatras*→*rusiškas teatras*; *lietuvių namai*→*lietuviški namai*. It is not to be concluded that the above Genitives cannot undergo the suffixal transformation. The phrases in the right-hand column are all used in Modern Lithuanian. The native may resort to them for the sake of emphasis. E. g. *aš mačiau lenkišką, o ne lietuvišką filmą* "I saw a Polish film, not a Lithuanian one". It will be noted that the usage is not restricted to common nouns. It is characteristic of proper nouns as well, e. g. *Jono draugas* "John's friend". So, for instance, on seeing a stranger in the street, we may exclaim, „*štai, žiūrėk, Jono draugas eina*“ "Look here, John's friend is coming along!" The genitive noun does not mean that the person in question (*draugas*) is indeed John's friend. All this means is that John likes the sort of people or that he is like the stranger. To give just one more example, *Čia tikri Tupikio namai!* „This is the Tupikian house!". The usage does not seem to be restricted to Lithuanian, only. Similar examples can be found in English, e. g. *There goes one of Bill's beautiful morons*. The phrase suggests that Bill shows considerable interest in women of a type labelled here „beautiful morons“¹⁶. We have already noted that common genitive nouns, when used as non-determinatives are easily converted into relative adjectives. The rule does not seem to cover first names, e. g. *Jono namai*, *Jono žmona*. But the construction *Tupikiški namai* „a Tupikian house“ is quite acceptable to the native speaker. It needs not to be said that such transformations,

¹⁵ Pr. Skardžius, Priesaga *-inis* ir jos vartojimas. Gimtoji kalba, V, Kaunas, 1935, 68

¹⁶ Ralph B. Long, op. cit., 241.

though possible theoretically, are seldom resorted to. One of the reasons is that such constructions are rather cumbersome.

There is much room for further investigation in the field of semantic and stylistic differentiation of non-determined genitives, on the one hand, and synonymous adjective attributes, on the other, as, apart from a few notes by Pr. Skardžius¹⁷, the problem has not received proper attention in Lithuanian linguistics.

As regards the arrangement of constituents within such constructions, we must say the following: the order is generally fixed, i. e. adjunct+head. We mean, of course, neutral style, not the language of poetry. The change in the sequence of the constituents causes a change in the pattern, converting the structure into a structure of predication, e. g. *berniuko knyga*→*knyga berniuko* “the boy’s book” → “the book belongs to the boy”.

2.2. Constructions with Expanded Adjunct. The typical structure of constructions with expanded adjunct is *a AH*. One of the structural peculiarities of such constructions is the fixed position of *a* with respect to *A* – *a* generally precedes *A*, e. g. *senojo Džolijono akys*→*Džolijono senojo akys*.

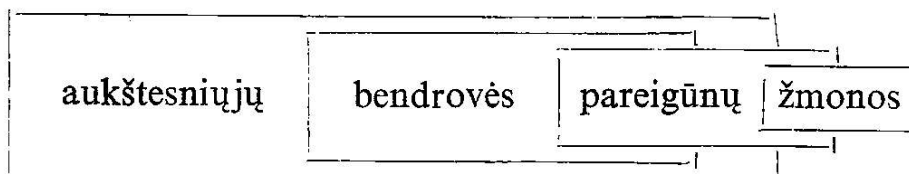
Theoretically, the *a* -string of such constructions is not restricted in length. In practice, however, the number of adjunct modifiers is limited, as the presence of many modifiers makes the construction cumbersome, e. g. *paniurusiu, piktai akimis dėbčiojančių kalniečių namai* “the houses of the sullen, wrathful-eyed mountaineers”.

Modifiers to *A* can be of two kinds:

a) free or non-subordinated, e. g. *aukštesniųjų bendrovės pareigūnų žmonos* “wives of the company’s senior officials”. It will be noted that the number of nouns used as free modifiers to *A* is generally restricted to two, e. g. *Lietuvos darbo žmonių santaupos* “the savings of Lithuania’s working people”;

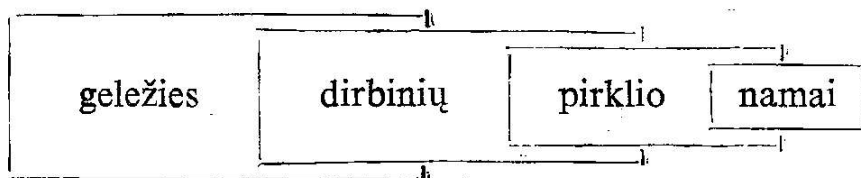
b) subordinated, e. g. *geležies dirbinių pirklio namai* “an ironmonger’s house”. The number of subordinated genitive noun modifiers is twice as large (see p. 82). Though constructions in question include several modifiers they are organized along strict lines – they consist not of a series of parallel modifiers, but of a series of structures one within another. The diagram given below may be more illustrative.

a)



¹⁷ Op. cit.

b)



As can be seen, the constructions are of great complexity. Construction (a), for example, embeds three distinct verbal structures, viz. $N^1 + \text{turi} + N_a^2 \times N^1 + \text{verb}$ (tarnauja) + $N_{loc}^3 \times N^1 + \text{yra} + \text{Adj}$. E. g. Pareigūnai turi žmonas "The officials have wives" \times Pareigūnai tarnauja bendrovėje "The officials work at the company" \times Pareigūnai yra aukštesnieji "The officials are senior".

A different technique is involved in the generation of construction (b): $N^1 + \text{turi} + N_a^2 \times N^1 + \text{verb} + N_{instr}^3 \times N^3 + \text{yra} + P + N_g^4$, e. g. Pirklys turi namus "The dealer has a house" \times Pirklys prekiauja dirbiniais "The dealer sells goods" \times Dirbiniai yra iš geležies "The goods are made of iron".

The notable fact about adjunct modifier strings is that they can repeat the types of syntactic relationship found in the simple sentence, viz.

a) subject + turi + direct object, e. g. *akmenskaldžio dukters santaupos* "the savings of the stone-cutter's daughter"; *akmenskaldis turi dukterį* "the stone-cutter has a daughter";

b) subject + intransitive verb, e. g. *nuskendusio žmogaus skrybėlė* "the drowned man's hat"; *žmogus nuskendo* "the man has drowned";

c) subject + linking verb + predicate adverbial, e. g. *baisiai atrodančio vyro šautuvas* "the rifle of the fierce-looking man"; *vyras atrodė baisiai* "the man looked fierce";

d) subject + linking verb + predicate adjective, e. g. *gražiosios moters batukai* "the shoes of the beautiful woman"; *moteris yra graži* "the woman is beautiful";

e) subject + linking verb + predicate noun, e. g. *vairuotojo Petraičio namas* "the house of the driver Petraitis"; *Petraitis yra vairuotojas* "Petraitis is a driver";

f) subject + transitive verb + direct object, e. g. *šieną piaunančių vyrų apsiaustai* "the coats of the hay-makers"; *vyrų piauna šieną* "the men are cutting the grass";

g) subject + transitive verb + direct object + objective complement, e. g. *naujai išrinkto prezidento brolis* "the brother of the newly elected President"; \times *išrinko jį prezidentu* "X elected him president". We have presented constructions containing subordinated adjunct modifiers. As already seen, each adjunct reflects only one type of the simple sentence. In case of free modifiers, the variety of syntactic relations would be greater, e. g. *aukštesniųjų Londono darbo biržos pareigūnų namai* – *pareigūnai dirba biržoje* "the officials work at the exchange" \times *bir-*

ža rūpinasi darbo reikalais “the exchange deals with labour“ *Xbirža yra Londone* “the labour exchange is in London“ *Xpareigūnai yra aukštesnieji* “the officials are higher“.

The remarkable fact about Lithuanian is that it allows relatively complex adjuncts to take pre-head position. Still, Lithuanian regressive constructions cannot grow indefinitely¹⁸. Consider the phrase *labai gražiai pasiūta suknelė* “a beautifully made dress“. The phrase cannot be expanded further through subordinated modifiers – it is closed, the closing function being performed by the adverb *labai* “very“. One may argue saying that the phrases *penkios labai gražiai pasiūtos suknelės*, literally “five beautifully made dresses“, and *Marytės penkios labai gražiai pasiūtos suknelės* “Mary’s five beautifully made dresses“ are also acceptable. But *penkios* modifies *suknelės*, not *labai* or in the case of the latter structure *Marytės* modifies *suknelės*. Consider one more example – *geležies dirbinių pirklio vasarnamis* “an ironmonger’s country-house“. The construction may be looked upon as still open. We will add another genitive to *geležis* yielding *Uralo geležies dirbinių pirklio vasarnamis*. The constituents of the phrase are in direct subordination with each other, i. e. *Uralo*→*geležies*→*dirbinių*→*pirklio*→*vasarnamis*. Strange as it may seem, the native speaker would seldom resort to such phrases. The point is that the new genitive (*Uralo*) has loosened the syntagmatic relations between the constituents so much that the phrase can now be interpreted in two ways: *Uralo geležies dirbinių | pirklio vasarnamis* „ironworks produced in the Urals“; *Uralo | geležies dirbinių | pirklio vasarnamis* “a merchant from the Urals“. Other constructions, though having the same number of genitives, do not show up the difficulty, e. g. *Lietuvių kalbos ir literatūros instituto bendradarbių pavardės* “the names of the workers of the Lithuanian Language and Literature Institute“. This accounts for by the semantic factors of the structure *Lietuvių kalbos ir literatūros institutas*. The structure is closely knit, i. e. phraseologized. That is why the native user of the language does not generally divide it into *lietuvių* and *kalbos ir literatūros instituto*. The phrase is conceived as one indivisible whole. In other words the criterion the native is guided by is the freedom of occurrence. To say that the workers are Lithuanians, we add *lietuvių* to *bendradarbių*, but then a change occurs in the syntagmatic relations of the phrase. It is to be derived that the maximum number of pre-adjunct genitive nouns in direct subordination is three. Any increase in the number of such nouns has impact on the existing syntagmatic relations. The depth of genitive constructions can be increased by expanding the existing genitives, i. e. by build-

¹⁸ Cf. Victor H. Yngve, The Depth Hypothesis, in: Structure of Language and Its Mathematical Aspects, Proceedings of Symposia in Applied Mathematics, XII, American Mathematical Society, 1961.

ing constructions with the existing genitives acting as heads, e. g. *Vilniaus miesto mokyklos mokinio knyga* “the book of a Vilnius schoolboy” → *Vilniaus miesto |S. Nėries vardo vidurinės mokyklos |aštuntos klasės mokinio| knyga*. The construction can be further expanded by adding new modifiers to *mokinio* → *labai gero Vilniaus miesto Salomėjos Nėries vardo vidurinės mokyklos aštuntos klasės mokinio knyga* “the book of a Vilnius Salomėja Nėris 8th grade schoolboy”.

Though the construction has become rather long, the expansion has not obscured the existing relations between the constituents *miesto*, *mokyklos* and *mokinio*. As we see, the carcas structure is made up of only three words in direct subordination. All this leads to believe that cumbersome structures are not the result of a large number of components in them, but rather the result of too many genitive nouns used in direct subordination. We conclude that the depth of a Lithuanian genitive structure is limited, the process being regulated by the very system of the language.

In dealing with constructions the linguist cannot avoid the problem of modifiers, i. e. the valency of parts of speech¹⁹. We can only say that in the Lithuanian language the combining possibilities of each part of speech are so far little studied. The results would be quite promising. All we know is that nouns can be modified by nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals and participles; adjectives – by adverbs. This is only a rough-and-ready rule, as nothing certain is known about lexico-grammatical classes within each part of speech with respect to their valency. The problem calls for greater elaboration.

2.3. Constructions with Expanded head. Graphically the structure of constructions with expanded head can be presented as the sequences *AhH* or *hAH*, which means that the position of *h* is not fixed, e. g. *Universalinė Jonaičio parduotuvė* “Jonaitis department store” → *Jonaičio universalinė parduotuvė*. In other words, *h* either precedes *H* or *A*. The flexibility of the position of head modifiers makes the constructions different from constructions with expanded adjunct. The above statement does not mean that all head modifiers can freely change their position. This concerns, above all, modifiers expressed by adjectives, numerals, pronouns, and participles: *Marytės auksinis laikrodis* “Mary’s gold watch” → *auksinis Marytės laikrodis*; *Žolės kiekvienas stiebelis* “every stem of the grass” → *kiekvienas žolės stiebelis*; *Mėnulio antrasis pusrutulis* “the moon’s other side” → *antrasis mėnulio pusrutulis*; *Petraičio gyvenamasis namas* “Petraitis’ dwelling house” → *gyvenamasis Petraičio namas*. From the stylistic point of view, constructions with the sequence *hAH* lay more emphasis on the class the thing denoted by *H* belongs to, while constructions with the sequence *AhH* gives more

¹⁹ On valency analysis see J. Arnold, *The English Word*, Moscow, 1966, 44.

prominence to the genitive noun. Constructions with the sequence *hAH* make up the largest group in Modern Lithuanian.

Head modifiers may also be expressed by nouns, e. g. *Šteino prekybos bendrovė* "Stein's trade company"; *Marytės galvos šepetys* "Mary's hair-brush". The variety of constructions behaves differently – they are not subject to the above transformation, i. e. their head modifiers have fixed position – they generally follow *A*: *Šteino prekybos bendrovė* → *prekybos Šteino bendrovė*. The transformation becomes valid again on converting the noun into a corresponding relative adjective, e. g. *Šteino prekybinė bendrovė* → *prekybinė Šteino bendrovė*.

Another peculiarity of constructions with expanded head concerns the occurrence of nouns in pre-head position. If in case of constructions with expanded adjunct the number of nouns is not subject to considerable restrictions, so in case of constructions with expanded head the use of nouns in pre-head position is limited. This can be accounted for by the fact that head modifiers expressed by nouns are structurally ambiguous. Consider *brolio darbo stalas*. The construction may be either *brolio | darbo stalas* "the table at which my brother works" or *brolio darbo | stalas* "the table made by my brother". It is necessary to know which of the two is at hand before it can be decided in which way to cut it into ICs. One of the systems which assist the native speaker in determining IC cuts is suprasegmentals (stress, intonation). Pairs of the sort we have just presented are generally distinguished in speech by different stress and intonation patterns, e. g. *brolio | „darbo stalas* and „*brolio darbo | stalas*. As regards the written language the distinction is made by the context. It is to be noted that the construction with the cut *brolio | darbo stalas* may transform into *brolio darbinis stalas*. Such constructions are generally the cause of structural homonymity. It will be said that structural homonymity is usually a result of the interaction of both syntactic and lexical factors. Other constructions are not ambiguous, e. g. *Šteino prekybos bendrovė*. It is unambiguous thanks to the freedom of occurrence of the construction *prekybos bendrovė*. In other units the construction *prekybos bendrovė* occurs more freely than *Šteino prekyba*, which suggests that the correct cut is *Šteino | prekybos bendrovė*. The statement does not hold good for the construction *brolio darbo stalas*, as with regard to the freedom of occurrence the phrases *darbo stalas* and *brolio darbas* are equal. Syntactic ambivalence generally arises when the head of a construction is modified by an individual noun. It is very natural, since the head modifier expressed by a noun can gravitate either towards *A* or *H*, its actual status being determined by both syntactic and lexical factors. Therefore, when such a danger arises, the noun is converted into the corresponding adjective. As regards head modifiers expressed by nouns in construction with other parts of speech the user of the language experiences no such difficulty, e. g. *Petro buvęs tarnybos drau-*

gas "Peter's former work-mate" *Veronikos nelaimės ir nemigo iškankintas veidelis* "Veronika's tired, unhappy face". The reason for this is that the head modifiers enter into distinct syntactic relations with *H*, i. e. make up constructions of their own, e. g. *buvęs draugas, tarnybos draugas*. As a result, the potential syntactic relationship between *A* and the head modifier is broken.

As regards syntactic patterns repeated by head modifier structures, their variety is reduced by certain restrictions concerning the occurrence of nouns in the position. Unlike constructions with expanded *A*, constructions with expanded *H* do not tolerate nouns as free modifier in pre-head position (except the case dealt with above). The typical free head modifiers are: adjective; adjective-noun; participle; participle-noun; numeral; numeral-noun; pronoun; pronoun-noun and, rarely, noun-noun. The appearance of single nouns in pre-head position generally makes the phrase ambivalent, only head modifiers expressed by genitive nouns in direct subordination can be used, e. g. *Petraičio dramblio kaulo spalvos staliukas* "Petraitis' ivory desk". The occurrence of free head modifiers expressed by nouns in the genitive loosens the semantic ties between the constituents so much that the phrase practically decomposes. The way out of the situation lies in the conversion of one of the genitive nouns into a relative adjective, e. g. *Jono ažuolo televizoriaus staliukas* → *Jono ažuolinis televizoriaus staliukas* literally "John's television oak desk" or *Jono televizorinis ažuolo staliukas*. As already seen, the ambivalence of a phrase can be removed only by transforming the noun modifier closest to *A* into an adjective. As we see, the head noun occupies a peculiar place in the constructions. Owing to its position, the head noun, unlike the adjunct noun, does not take noun modifiers as readily as *A* does. One may argue that head modifier constructions can be of great depth as well. We think they can, e. g. *Ant židinio atbrailos stovinti Kristinos fotografija* "Christine's picture on the mantelpiece". But the central component is the present participle *stovinti* „standing“, not any of the nouns. To take just one more example — *Veronikos nelaimės ir nemigo iškankintas veidelis* „Veronika's tired, unhappy face“. The carcass structure is *Veronikos iškankintas veidelis* "Veronika's tired face", the past participle *iškankintas* "tired" serving as central component. It is to be derived that the occurrence of nouns in the position is welcome on condition they are used in construction with other words. In all other cases (except the cases pointed out on page 90) the use of individual nouns in pre-head position results in structural ambivalence.

The peculiarities pointed out above lead us to the conclusion that the dominating pattern of head modifier structures is *Subject + linking verb + predicative*. As compared to constructions with expanded adjunct, constructions with expanded head do not boast such a great variety of syntactic patterns. And if we conceive depth as a certain number of syntactic patterns reflected by a construction, constructions with expanded head are less deep.