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**THE MEANING OF LITHUANIAN PAST TENSES AND THEIR  
EQUIVALENTS IN ENGLISH**

Doctoral thesis  
Humanities, philology (04 H)

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## Introduction

**Research object.** The meanings of Lithuanian past simple tenses and their equivalents in English is the object of the thesis. Other forms expressing past, i.e. compound forms, participles used instead of indicative mood in the narrative speech as well as predicative indeclinable forms of past passive participles are the subject matter in the thesis.

Past tenses have been chosen as the object of the thesis since the opposition of continuance of an action (incompletion) and completion of an action is the most distinct in the past. Besides, this opposition is significant in determining the meanings of tenses and the origin of the past frequentative tense in Lithuanian.

However, stylistic functions of past tenses are not covered in the thesis.

**Novelty and topicality of the research.** It is absolutely essential to know the grammatical structure of the two languages in case of translation. There are no studies where the paradigms of past tenses of the two languages, English and Lithuanian, are compared and where the functions of the members of the paradigms (of English and Lithuanian) are identified. Undoubtedly, it has to be done both from the academic and practical point of view. Without theoretical basis there can be no expedient language teaching as well.

Thus, this is the first work of such type where Lithuanian past tenses are compared with expression of past in English. The meanings and functions of Lithuanian past tenses are defined in all the grammars, numerous studies and scientific articles; however, it has not been considered how those meanings reflect while translating into other languages. Analytical nature of English tenses enables to perceive and evaluate the meanings and functions of Lithuanian tenses more accurately. The search for the equivalents of Lithuanian tenses in English allows determining more precise meanings of Lithuanian past tenses, particularly the grammaticalization of analytic constructions, the relationships of participles with finite forms while expressing simple predicament as well as distinguishing analytic and compound predicates.

**The aim of the thesis** is to define the meanings of Lithuanian past tenses, to analyse and compare the paradigms of past tenses in Lithuanian and English and to determine paradigmatic relations of some syntactical constructions (the so called analytic tenses or analytic predicates) with simple tenses in Lithuanian.

**The tasks of the thesis are as follows:**

- to define the concept of time and describe the paradigms of past tenses in Lithuanian and English;
- to explain the origin of the past frequentative tense with the reference to the aspectual opposition; although it may not be a purely new interpretation, it may possibly become the basis of a traditional explanation;
- to evaluate the meanings of compound inceptive forms with respect to tense and modality;
- to analyse modal meanings of participial narration and determine whether it is the synonym of the indicative mood or can be considered to be a separate mood in the general paradigm of moods;
- to determine whether indeclinable past passive participles possess the meaning of passive voice: whether the constructions *čia žmogaus būta*; *čia žmogus buvęs*; *čia žmogus buvo* are synonymous or in opposition in respect of voice;
- to find adequate equivalents of Lithuanian past tenses in English.

**Degree of investigation.** The degree of investigation of English and Lithuanian is not of the same level since both languages differ in the extent of their usage as well as the dimension of research. English philology is on the curriculum of numerous universities all over the world; furthermore, the number of grammars of English (both academic and practical) is enormous. Nonetheless, there is a question which still remains unanswered. Although there are no discussions about the grammaticalization of English analytic constructions, the

grammar is both morphology and syntax. Morphological studies have influenced grammatical research of European languages to the extent that it is still being discussed whether analytic tenses of Germanic and Romance languages are word forms or groups of words. According to Kuryłowicz the prepositional construction *sur la table* (*on the table*) can be considered a solid form. He claims that in case it was a word group it would comply with the laws of word order (Kuryłowicz 1964:19-24). There are numerous linguistic studies on the subject and the opinions are diverse. The status of Lithuanian analytic predicate and its relation to finite verb forms was widely discussed in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The matter is covered extensively in the thesis; however, it can be stated that there are three solutions proposed in Lithuanian linguistics: Lithuanian grammars include analytic tenses into the general paradigm of tenses. The authors of the reviews of the grammars claim that those are free phrases (Girdenis and Žulys 1973:208; Žulys 1979:104-105). The third opinion states that analytic forms are in a medium position between simple tenses and compound predicates and are adjacent to simple predicates (Labutis 1998:229). Paulauskienė claims that if two words possess the same meaning as one word and perform the same syntactical function, they are to correlate as different forms of expression of the same phenomenon (Paulauskienė 1979a:180).

Thus, Lithuanian analytic tenses are defined differently in Lithuanian grammars: first grammars of Prussian Lithuania introduce analytic forms into the same paradigm with simple ones (Klein 1653; 1654 in Balčikonis 1957; Sapūnas and Šulcas 1673 in Sapūno ir Šulco Gramatika 1997); the anonymous grammar of Lithuania Major (1737) includes only the analytic form of the subjunctive mood (*O kad būčiau buvęs*) into the general paradigm (Universitas Lingvarum Litvaniae 1981); there are no analytic forms in conjugated paradigms in the grammar of Baranauskas (Baranauskas 1896); the only forms included in the paradigm of the grammar of Jaunius are the following ones: *yra dirbęs, buvo bedirbęs, buvo dirbęs, bus dirbęs, būtų dirbęs* (ЯВНИСЬ 1908-1916: 245-246); analytic forms are introduced into the general paradigm together with conjugated forms in the grammar of Jablonskis (Petras Kriaušaitis) in 1901 (Kriaušaitis

1901: 79-80 in Jablonskis 1957: 57-180); however, they are detached from simple forms and described in the chapter of the participle (yet, analytic forms are referred to as the forms of tense and mood there) in the grammar of 1922 (Jablonskis 1957).

Furthermore, there is not a single grammar that doubts that there are several simple tenses in Lithuanian; there is just a controversy about the question of them. There is no past frequentative tense in the first Lithuanian grammar by Klein (Klein 1653 in Balčikonis 1957:55-272, 414-528) and its forms are identified with simple iteratives, and the constructs with the suffix *-dav-* are analysed on the same level as the suffix *-inėti-*. However, there are two past tenses in the paradigm of simple tenses (the first preterit (the past simple tense) and the second preterit (the past frequentative tense)) in Sapūnas and Šulcas grammar (Sapūnas and Šulcas 1673 in Sapūno ir Šulco Gramatika 1997) which was written almost at the same time as the grammar by Klein. The historical origin of the past frequentative tense is referred to only by Otrębski (Otrębski 1956:223) and Paulauskienė (1994: 328-332). Currently the tendency to decline the past frequentative tense and to attribute only the function of aspect to it is observed in the Lithuanian linguistics (Holvoet 2004:121-140). Since this issue requires a more accurate argument, the problem of the past frequentative will be discussed more considerably in the thesis.

Moreover, the problem of *modus relativus* and the meaning of predicative participles of passive voice has not been fully analysed yet. Thus, it will be covered in the thesis as well.

**Investigated material** comprises both academic literature and linguistic data which has been collected from numerous texts of Lithuanian literature, spoken language. The authors of diverse generations have been chosen: Avyžius, Baltakis, Bubnys, Granauskas, Ivanauskaitė, Šerelytė (see the list of sources and abbreviations for the full information). Moreover, a survey has been rendered among students of Humanities since the analysis has proven that there is a lack of material for all the standards established in Lithuanian grammars. The students



have been asked to recognize compound inceptive forms (*buvo beeinąs*), indicate their meanings and answer the question whether they use such forms. Furthermore, material from the grammar of Lithuanian (1971) and the thesis of Sirtautas (1968) and Sližienė (1965) have been used for the analysis (the author of the primary source is indicated in the thesis). Thus, factual material reflecting current expression of past as well as the history of it has been collected.

The material from a number of English grammars (Sinclair 1990, Chalker 1991, Leech and Svartvik 1991, Alexander 1996, Biber, Conrad and Leech 2004, Carter and McCarthy 2006) has been used for the analysis of English.

**Research methods.** The method of contrastive analysis (Akhmanova 1972, Lado 1976, Hawkins 1986, Krzeszowski 1990, Bugarski 1991, Malmkjær 2002, Stig 2003) is applied in the research. The term *contrastive linguistics* or *contrastive analysis* is associated with the comparison of two or more languages the aim of which is to describe their differences or similarities. The focus will be on the paradigms of Lithuanian tenses and their meanings. The search for the equivalents of Lithuanian past tense forms in English will enable to emphasize the features of the investigative language (i.e. Lithuanian) which could not be determined without the comparison. Thus, the analysis covers all the forms of tenses expressing past in Lithuanian; however, it may not involve all the potential of English past tenses.

### **Hypotheses:**

1. The concept of time is universal; however, the number of tenses in languages varies since the meanings of iterativity and aspect are included into the paradigms of tenses. Aspect in Lithuanian is a separate category which is the basis for the origin and functions of the past frequentative tense.
2. The past frequentative tense belongs to the paradigm of simple tenses in Lithuanian. It is important to distinguish the aspectual opposition between the past tense and the past frequentative tense; however, it is not accurate

to define the past frequentative tense only as a version of the past simple tense or to attribute it to the aspect and deny it a status of a tense. Different relation with the moment of speech of the past frequentative and of the past simple tense (the past frequentative tense cannot express a past action of a non-distant past) is a further indication that the past frequentative tense belongs to the paradigm of simple tenses in Lithuanian.

3. Analytic forms expressing past correlate with simple forms similarly as prepositional constructions with the paradigm of case in Lithuanian. They expand the area of nuances and modal meanings of the tense; the compound forms of the pluperfect, however, are in opposition to the simple forms.
4. Participles in the nominative case which are predicatively used instead of tenses of the indicative mood cannot be considered as a separate mood but only as a modal version of the indicative mood. They are always synonymous and can be replaced by the forms of the indicative mood.
5. The use of past tenses in Lithuanian and English differs because of the distinction in the paradigms of tenses. Furthermore, Lithuanian past tenses may have present tenses or other grammatical forms as their English equivalents.

**Theoretical and practical value of the research.** The thesis may contribute academically and practically to the authors of grammars and in the field of translation (particularly while translating from Lithuanian to English). Moreover, the study may encourage to retain the variety of expression of past in Lithuanian as well as subtlety while translating from other languages (where there is no such variety). Furthermore, it may be useful for language and translation teaching as well.

**The structure of the thesis.** The paper consists of an introduction, three chapters, conclusions, list of references, list of sources and abbreviations.

## 1. Concept of Time

Time is a concept and a grammatical category. There is a constant change of objects and phenomena which are not perceived adequately by a person. The moment of that change might not be perceived, however, the passage of events, the motion of experiences and the change of substance are comprehend as a flow (Prior 2003:7-20); the surrounding phenomena and objects possess their location in time. Time in philosophy is defined as one of the basic forms of existence which is embodied by the time of existence of physical things and by the continuity of the change of their state. Time exists objectively and it is related to moving matter. Time is one-dimensional, irreversible, and relative. The change of material phenomena is unidirectional (and only from the past into the future) and this process is eternal. The first more comprehensive analysis of time is found in Aristotle's *Physics* where the discussion on time and change is delivered (Davidsen-Nielsen 1990:53, LePoidevin 1998:21, Smith 2002:210). Here the question '*What is time?*' is being raised. Although, it is easy to realize time, is it that easy to answer that question? Is it real and existing? Or is it something else? Unfortunately, it is possible neither to see nor to touch time or a part of it. Some part of time has already passed and it is gone forever; meanwhile, some other part of time has not come and is not at present yet. What exists now is imperceptibly disappearing and fading away. With every new moment we can notice a new one *now* (Bambrough 1963: 209-228).

There have been two major concepts of time in natural sciences and philosophy: the concept of *relative* time and the concept of *absolute* time. Time has been approached subjectively and anthropomorphically in the ancient philosophy. The concept of time has not been comprehensively developed. Aristotle asserts that the most primitive and simple way of time perception is conceiving it as some kind of motion or change. 'It is a conceptual truth, for Aristotle, that in order to have changed, there must be something changing' (Scaltsas 1994:9). He 'sets himself the task of giving a general account of

change' (Graham 1987: 152). However, motion changes while time does not change and it remains the same all the time and everywhere. Furthermore, the motion can be proceeded or discontinued; whereas, that is not possible with time. The change or the motion can continue faster or more slowly; and the speed of the action may be estimated by time; still, it is obvious that time can never be estimated by time. Even though time is typical to motion, it is not correct to assert that time is motion. Then the question remains: what is time? Aristotle states that, the same as in motion, there is always something what was in the past (something *before*) and there is something that will be in the future (something *later* which is different than *before*) in time. Precisely, it is motion that allows us to distinguish different and various *now* and that time is nothing else but the sequence, computing and change of those *now*. Thus, it is possible to claim that time is the course of such a consistent motion, the measure of the motion change which is one of the most fundamental definitions of time. Time is the dimension in which events occur in time. However, Aristotle defines time differently. He notices the change of motion and emphasizes the sequence of many *now* moments in it. Time, according to him, is the reckoning of those *now* moments. Furthermore, Aristotle settles that the magnitude of the motion is estimated by the means of evaluation of the motion, that is, by time. He defines the major paradox of time: there is no past as it has already elapsed and there is no future as it has not arrived yet; there is only the present, which is only a small slim line distinguishing the past and the future. The present is a hardly noticeable moment of time, claims Aristotle, it is a flash, only a blink (Aristotle 1960: 102-104, 243-244).

There were no original time concepts in the Middle Ages except the idea of St. Augustine. "Who is there who will tell me that there are not three times <...> time past, time present, and time future? Who can say that there is only time present because the other two do not exist? <...> questions St. Augustine (Augustine, 1955). He refers to the paradox of time introduced by Aristotle and draws a conclusion about the relativity of time definiteness and claims that time is the measure of duration and it can be observed in things and

their motion only (Augustine, 1955). Later the concept of absolute time is proposed by Newton which prevailed over till the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Newton speaks about absolute space and absolute time and claims that time is universal, one-dimensional, and continuous. However, he admits that there is also relative time which can be measured by a clock (Rynasiewicz 2004). Nevertheless, Leibniz contradicts this theory and claims that time is the sequence of states of phenomena where only relative dimensions can be distinguished and declares that such phenomena as absolute time and absolute space or absolute motion does not exist (McDonough 2007). However, Kant rejects both Newton's and Leibniz's views on time (Arsenijević 2003:326). 'Kant's basic goal is to demonstrate that time is presupposed in all human experience <...>. Rather, Kant boldly claims that time is an a priori form of inner sense which structures and makes possible the cognition of objects qua appearances' (Hsieh 2004). One of the greatest German philosophers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Hegel presents his concept of time as well. He speaks about transformation, completion, impermanence (Redding 2006). He claims that time is not real; instead, it is impermanence which is shifting, temporal and also finite. He states that only present exists (Hegel, 1807:801, 787-808). Time has also been analysed by one of the most outstanding philosophers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, existentialist, Heidegger. He claims that all the objects have their own time; nevertheless, he asserts that existence is not an object which exists in time; although, existence is defined by time, it cannot be defined as temporal and time cannot be defined as existing (Crowell 2008).

Thus, time perceived by philosophers is not depended on a person. In this respect time can be relatively defined as objective and consistent sequence of events. A person who finds oneself in such a flow of events divides it according to the location of events in respect to the moment of speech or any other reference point. Thus, the notion of time in linguistics and in this work is conditional: we refer to the flow of time and still imply the constant change of phenomena of objective reality.

Tense in linguistics is referred to as grammatical notional category

of time (Dahl 2004:1181) that serves to locate events and situations in time (Hornstein 1993:9, Comrie 1999:363, Dickey 2001:1, Brown 2006:566). Time is universally divided into the past, present and future (Crystal 1992:386, 2003:459-460, Jespersen 1992:257). The events which occur at the same time or after each other are perceived as happening before the present moment, before *now*, as happening *now*, at the moment of speech or as will be happening in the future (Blokh 1983:137). The past, present and future tenses reflect the reality which surrounds us and they exist in the structures of all the languages (Matthews 2005:374). Russian is the standard illustration of the model. There are three tenses in Russian: the past (*прошлое*), the present (*настоящее*) and the future (*будущее*). Language demonstrates that material world is not perceived without time. However, different languages possess different number of tenses. All languages divide time into universal division: the past, present and future (Nida 1949:167, Comrie 2001:2); nevertheless, they all have different means of expression (verb tenses, time adverbs etc.) which are of diverse significance. Thus, most of the languages are oriented into the time of speech and the events are expressed accordingly. Arguably, there are languages which find it significant to emphasize not only the moment of speech but also the fact whether the action took place the day before, today, only some time ago, or even long time ago. There are also tensless languages possessing no tenses (Davidsen-Nielsen 1990:54, Fleischman 1990:13, Tooley 1997:185-186, Smith 2004:616, Comrie 2004:50-53, Palmer 2007:5). The emphasis is on *how* the action happened, whether it is still proceeding or not, if it has started or is completed etc. The distinctions like that are called aspect and it is a frequent phenomenon in English.

Languages have different ways of coding a time path (the movement, changes of time) and grammar may highlight some aspects of the path. What seems to be universally available is the construction of paths and shifts of focus and the viewpoint within the dynamic evolving mental space configuration (Davis and Gillon 2004:357).

In order to analyze the grammatical category of tense, it is important to understand what time is in general and how it is reflected in a language, what

is the relation between time and tense (Paulauskienė 1979a:165-166). Thus, time is not the same thing as tense (Joos 1964:106, Chalker 1990: 446; 1991:76, Lewis 1991:47). Time is an element of experience of reality. As it has already been mentioned, according to normal perception, time is divided into the past, present and future. This division is a versatile understanding of time for all languages. In an obvious sense, past time is time before now, future time is time after now, present time is simply the point now (Аракин 1979:133-134). The concept of time is universal in respect that the units of time are extra-linguistic: they exist independently of grammar of any particular language. In the use of language people make linguistic reference to these extra-linguistic realities by means of language-specific category of tense. A major function of tense in a language is to establish local time-ordering relations between neighbouring mental spaces and to keep track of viewpoint and focus shifts. Moreover, different systems of tenses in different languages depend on other aspects, not on the perception of time: present, past or future (Quirk 1973:84).

Thus, tense and time do not correspond directly. In real time there is no such thing as ‘a present period’ - by definition a period must extend in time, and therefore cannot be totally ‘in’ present time. In linguistics, the relationship between tense and time has been the subject of much study, and now it is evident that there is no easily determined relationship between time and tense. Tense is defined as ‘the inflectional category that indicates the time an event or action took place relative to the time of utterance’ (Aronoff and Fudeman 2005:242). Tense forms (i.e. variations in the morphological form of the verb) can be used to signal meanings other than temporal ones (Crystal 2003:459). According to Lock (1996:148), a basic distinction can be made between absolute tense and relative tense. Absolute tense essentially locates a process in time relative to the here and now. Relative tense locates the process relative to the absolute tense. In other words, for absolute tense, the deictic center is the time of the speech act; meanwhile, relative tense specifies a relationship between event time and reference time (Weist 2002:23).

There is a selection of three *absolute tenses*: present (location at the

moment of speaking or writing, or an extended period including the moment of speaking or writing), past (a time before the moment of speaking or writing) and future (a time after the time of speaking or writing). The selection of *relative tenses* is present and past (finite verb phrases). Verb phrases that are marked for tense are called tensed verb phrases. Other main verb phrases may include a modal verb. Non-finite phrases, as in *to*-clauses and *ing*-clauses, do not include either tensed or modal verbs (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2004:150). However, Comrie claims ‘that the term absolute tense is a traditional, though somewhat misleading term, that has come to be used to refer to tenses which take the present moment as their deictic centre. The term is misleading because, strictly speaking, absolute time reference is impossible, since the only way of locating a situation in time is relative to some other already established time point’ (Comrie 2004:36). Whereas, according to him, ‘relative tense refers to a tense which does not include as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre’ (Comrie 2004:36, 56). Nevertheless, Comrie continues to use the traditional term *absolute tense* and defines ‘the three basic tenses that have formed the backbone of much linguistic work on time reference in grammar, namely present, past and future, as follows: present tense means coincidence of the time of the situation and the present moment; past tense means location of the situation prior to the present moment; future tense means location of the situation after the present moment’ (Comrie 2004:36). He also claims that typically English finite verb forms have absolute tense, whereas non-finite verb forms have relative tense (Comrie 2001:2).

Tense systems of different languages have specific features and elements that are sometimes difficult or even impossible to apply to two different languages. Verbs are class of words denoting actions, processes, states and which can possess morphological categories of tense, mood, person, number, aspect and voice (Gleason 1961:233; Svartvik 1966:5; Bybee 1996:51-69, 81-90, 138; Verplaetse 1998:9-23; Spencer and Zwicky 2001:325). Dahl introduces the term ‘*TMA categories*’ (the categories of tense, mood and aspect) and claims that ‘tenses, moods, and aspects belong to the things in one's native language that one



tends to take for granted, and often, they have only attracted the attention of grammarians who have had to explain the use of such categories in one language to speakers of another language in which the system is different' (Dahl 1985: 1). Chafe claims that a verb itself can be considered a sentence, since what influences the verb influences the sentence itself (Чейф 1975:193). Lithuanian employs endings and inflectional suffixes to mark morphological categories of verbs. The category of tense finds expression in sets of verbal forms marking the different time relation of the action, process or state to the moment of speech or to another point or period of time indicated in the sentence (LG\* 2006:237).

According to grammatical and syntactical characteristics, languages can be analytic; thus they do not emphasize inflection, word order and auxiliaries play an essential role. Analytic languages (e.g. English) include strict, easily formalized grammatical rules. English linguistic tense is a technical term which means that there is a morphological change in the base form of the verb. A verb form which is made with an auxiliary is not considered to be a tense. In this technical sense, English verbs are inflected for two tenses: the present simple and the past simple. All others are made using auxiliaries, such as *be*, *do*, *have* (Lewis 1991:50). As auxiliary verb *be* has two distinct grammatical functions: progressive aspect (*be* + *ing*-participle), passive voice (*be* + *ed*-participle). Auxiliary verb *have* is the marker of perfective aspect (present *has/have* marks the present perfect), in that case *do* functions as auxiliary verb when lexical main verbs are made negative (*He does not smoke or drink.*) or used in interrogatives (*Do you like scallops?*) (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2004:135).

In the paradigm of grammatical tenses not only the localisation in the continuous line of changing processes is evidenced, additional meanings and nuances of those meanings are observed there as well. However, regardless of those supplementary meanings the members of the paradigm have to distinguish each other in the respect of the same relation to the moment of speech. The members of the paradigm have to be in the opposition in regard to each other. Naturally, every grammatical opposition may be neutralised down to synonymy.

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\* For the list of abbreviations see p. 157

However, provided the form belongs to the paradigm of the tense, there has to be at least one context where this form cannot be replaced with some other member of the same paradigm. This axiom of a grammatical paradigm may be applied to all grammatical categories. Thus, it is relevant to determine the paradigms of Lithuanian and English past tenses in this respect.

## 1. 2. Expression of Past in Lithuanian

There are two simple tenses in Lithuanian: *the past simple* and *the past frequentative* tense. They possess one common meaning: the two tenses express an action which took place before the moment of speech; however, they are distinguished by the main meaning of the relation to the moment of speech: the past simple tense may express an action which is close by its meaning to the reference time (whether it is the present moment or a past action). Thus, the past simple tense possesses the perfective and even the plusquamperfective meaning. The past frequentative tense, on the other hand, does not possess those meanings. It is used to express the meaning of a repeated or a more general action of a more distant past. In respect to a repeated action, it is in opposition with the past simple tense. The opposition depends on the aspect and it is distinct when the both members of the opposition are marked, when the verb of the past tense is of the perfective aspect (*parašė – parašydavo*). A result and the meaning of one time are indicated in the form of the perfective aspect. In case the verb of the past simple tense is of the imperfective aspect, it is an unmarked member in the pair of the aspects, i.e. there is no special index indicating the duration of an action; meanwhile, the member of the perfective aspect is a marked one (*rašė – parašė*).

According to the principle of privative oppositions, the meaning of an unmarked member possesses a broader meaning than it is of a marked one. Hence, the unmarked member may possess the meaning of the marked one, i.e. a single time past action, a repeated action or a more general action and, thus, it may approach the past frequentative tense. Consider:

*Tą dieną jis ėjo labai lėtai\* (the meaning of one time action)  
Kiekvieną dieną jis kėlėsi (=keldavosi) anksti ir ėjo (=eidavo) į  
darbą.*

Paradigmatic relations of the past simple and the past frequentative tense are highlighted after having analysed all the meanings and cases of usage (see sections 2.1 and 2.2).

Two meanings of tenses are distinguished in all academic grammars of Lithuanian: *absolute* and *relative* (LKG II 1971:73-74, Грамматика ЛИТОВСКОГО ЯЗЫКА 1985:206, DLKG 1994: 293, 1996: 293, 1997: 293, 2005: 293, LG 2006: 241). The meanings of verb tenses which are distinguished according to the moment of speech are referred to as absolute, and the meanings of verb tenses which are distinguished according to other action indicated in the sentence are referred to as relative (DLKG 1997:293). Holvoet (2004:121) claims that tense is a deictic category, i.e. the basis of it is not a symbolic but a deictic act (*deixis*) (the deictic center is the speaker's location at the time of the utterance (Levinson 1999:132; Janssen 2004:983-984)). He questions whether the future tense should be included into the paradigm of tenses (as numerous linguists claim that there is no future tense in English (Whitman 1975:77, Binnick 1991:8, Harder 1994:70, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 210, Crystal 2003: 459-460; about English future tense see section 1.2.) and that the major opposition is between the present and the past tenses (Hovoet 2004:123). He also distinguishes *relative* tense in addition to *absolute (deictic)* tense and states that the function of the relative tense is to emphasize that one action is prior in respect to the other, or that the actions are taking places at the same time. The perfective tenses (or the participles which are the part of the tenses) obtain that function according to him. Holvoet also suggests that there are three tenses in Lithuanian: past, present and future. He claims that there is no past frequentative tense and that its inclusion in

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\* Examples following no reference have been created by the author of the thesis to illustrate a particular point in the text.

the paradigm of tenses in Lithuanian is supported by tradition only. He declares that the opposition between the past simple and the past frequentative tense is the one of aspect but not of tense (Holvoet 2004:124) and claims that the past frequentative tense expresses some special meaning of iterativeness related to imperfective aspect, and that is the meaning of aspect but not tense (Holvoet 2004:153).

Thus, to prove that the past frequentative tense has to be included into the paradigm of tenses the second axiom of paradigmatic relations is to be considered: the past frequentative tense possesses the meaning which is of a more distant past than the one of the past simple tense; moreover, there are contexts where the past frequentative tense cannot be replaced by the past simple tense. Consider:

*Retkarčiais viesulo siautulys blokšdavo į lango stiklą, spingsulė imdavo mirkčioti, ir daiktų šešėliai pradėdavo blaškytis. (I.S.)*

The idea has already been suggested by Dambriūnas (1960 1975: 171-179).

Moreover, so called analytic predicates adjoin simple tenses (Sirtautas, Grenda 1988:63-65, Labutis 1998:230). Labutis claims that analytic predicates are more approximate to simple predicates than to compound ones; thus, accordingly they are closer to simple tenses. Participles with auxiliary words may be used instead of the past simple tense with no change in the basic meaning of the utterance; in such cases additional quality of whether the doer of an action has completed the action is perceived. The opposite phenomenon, i.e. when an analytic form is substituted by the simple one, is observed. Consider:

*Tau persistengti nereikia, nieko tu blogo nei žmonėms, nei poezijai, nei savo skaitytojams nepadarei (=nesi padaręs) (En. have not done anything),- priešingai, tik gera darei kraštui ir jo žmonėms, visus mylėjai, dirbai ir ačiū tau už tai (A.B.)*

Provided an analytic form is used at the first part of the sentence, it would be more flexible and more eloquent. There is a direct appeal to a recipient (of a letter in this particular case) and the idea related to the present moment (that he actually has not done anything wrong, i.e. the result of an action which is an outcome of some past actions (which may be expressed by the forms of the past simple tense)) should be expressed.

Evidently, such synonymy of simple and compound forms is not a new phenomenon in Lithuanian. Jablonskis corrected the usage of simple forms of perfective meaning instead of analytic ones. Consider:

*Kuriuos gyvulius matėte (=esate matę) pievose?*

*Mokslininkai ištyrė (=yra ištyrę) <...>*

(Piročkinas 1986:125).

English (as well as Russian) possesses only one form which can express the meaning of the two above mentioned forms, i.e. the present perfect tense (*matėte – esate matę // have seen; ištyrė – yra ištyrę // have analysed*). Thus, it can be considered that Lithuanian is losing such forms because of the influence of foreign languages. Russian language does not possess analytic constructions of perfective meaning that is why it is translated by one form; whereas English does not possess simple forms of perfective meaning. Thus, both simple and analytic Lithuanian forms possess one equivalent form in Russian and English. The uniformity in translation is to sustain a more simple form instead of a more complex one according to an internal economy principle in a language (or in other words “the principle of least effort” (Vicentini 2003:37-57).

However, in some Lithuanian dialects there used to be perfective analytic forms while in others (South Lithuanian), which were influenced by Slavic languages, the analytic forms were substituted by simple forms. Consider:

*Kitos jis vesti negali, tik tą kuriai pažadėjo (=yra pažadėjęs) (V.K.)*

*He cannot marry any other except the one he has promised to marry.\**

*-Tfu, kad tave kur galas. Ko dabar čia trankaisi, jei užvakar numirei ir mes tave palaidojom? –Tai kas, kad numiriau (=esu numiręs)? Manai, kad aš jei numiriau (=esu numiręs) negaliu eiti kur noriu? (V.K.)*  
*‘Why the hell are you knocking around? You died the day before yesterday and we buried you.’ ‘So what that I have died. You think that if I have died I can’t go wherever I want?’*

Though, the forms with the plusquamperfective meaning have sustained their forms in the language. Consider:

*Vakar šituo laiku buvau išėjęs pas kaimyną.*  
*Yesterday same time I was visiting my neighbour.*

*Kai mes nuvykome jų pasitikti, jie jau buvo pasisamde taksi ir išvažiavę iš aerouosto.*  
*When we went to pick them up, they had already cought a taxi and left the airport.*

In the examples above the analytic forms cannot be replaced by simple ones in Lithuanian.

All Lithuanian grammars define analytic forms of tenses and moods on one level; moreover, it is being claimed that they all are in relation with the simple forms. However, the question is: what kind of relation is that? Are they in opposition? Are they synonymous? Do they all relate equally? From the examples above it is evident that there are contexts where analytic forms cannot be replaced with the simple ones; thus, they are closer to the paradigm of simple tenses.

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\*Translation of this and other examples is mine. (S.P.)

Lithuanian grammars indicate that compound tenses can be found in active as well as in passive voice and both in the indicative and in the oblique mood. There are indicated two groups of compound tenses in the active voice (LG 2006:320-326):

The perfect tenses:

Present perfect: *yra matęs, mačiusi* 'has seen'

Past perfect: *buvo matęs, mačiusi* 'had seen'

Past perfect frequentative: *būdavo matęs, mačiusi* 'used to have seen'

Future perfect: *bus matęs, mačiusi* 'will have seen'

The continuative tenses:

Past continuative: *buvo bežiūrįs, bežiūrinti* 'had been looking'

Past continuative frequentative: *būdavo bežiūrįs, bežiūrinti* 'used to have been looking'

Future continuative: *bus bežiūrįs, bežiūrinti* 'will have been looking'

There are also two groups of compound tenses in the passive voice:

The imperfect tenses:

Present imperfect: *yra rašomas, rašoma* 'is (being) written'

Past imperfect: *buvo rašomas, rašoma* 'was (being) written'

Past imperfect frequentative: *būdavo rašomas, rašoma* 'used to be written'

Future imperfect: *bus rašomas, rašoma* 'will be written'

The perfect tenses:

Present perfect: *yra parašytas, parašyta* 'is written', 'has been written'

Past perfect: *buvo parašytas, parašyta* 'was written', 'had been written'

Past perfect frequentative: *būdavo parašytas, parašyta* 'used to be written', 'used to have been written'

Future perfect: *bus parašytas, parašyta* 'will be written', 'will have been written'

Furthermore, the problem of an auxiliary verb has also been an issue in the linguistics. Linguists argue if it is a separate word or not. In such languages as French and German the auxiliary verb approaches the notion of morpheme. First of all, it is not possible to change its position. Secondly, it is not possible to use two negatives. Moreover, it is only possible to use (and not even in all the cases) an adverb between the auxiliary and the participle in English. In French it is possible to use only a negative between the auxiliary and the participle. In Lithuanian the position of the auxiliary can be changed, it is possible to have two negatives as well as several words between the auxiliary verb and the participle; the same auxiliary can be used with homogeneous predicatives expressed by participles or adjectives. The same word can function as an auxiliary and as a lexeme (to have a meaning) in Lithuanian.

There is only one auxiliary verb in Lithuanian: *būti* (to be). In Lithuanian the auxiliary verb *būti* can be used with affixes which do not change the lexical meaning of the word. Firstly it is the negative that can be used with the auxiliary verb *būti*: *buvau matęs*, *nebuvau matęs*. The function of the negative is to negate what was said in the statement only, and the negative can be used with the auxiliary verb or the participle because the position of the negative is free in the compound form and it is possible to negate the state created by some action or the action itself: *nebuvau matęs* and *buvau matęs*. It is also possible to use affixes *be-*, *te-*, *tebe-*, *nebe-* e.g. *tebebuvo mylimas*, *buvo tebemylimas*, *bebuvo likę*, *buvo belikę*, *nebebuvo likę*, *tebebuvo kalbama*, *buvo tebekalbama*, *nebebuvo tikima*, *buvo nebetikima* etc. (Paulauskienė 1971: 97-98).

Moreover, aspect should be mentioned as an important semantic category of the Lithuanian verb, since time is its closest category and they both are associated (Paulauskienė 1964:53-75, 1970:67-77, 1971:84-86, 1979a:168-169, 1994:285-296, 2008:12, Holvoet 2004:142, LG 2006:234). Aspect in Lithuanian is expressed using derivation: prefixation, suffixation and adverbs of time. Two aspectual meanings are distinguished in Lithuanian: *perfective* and *imperfective*. The perfective meaning of the verb is characterized by prefixes. Prefixed verbs carry the meaning of completed action with an implication of its limit or achieved



result or limited duration (e.g. *rašiau* – *I was writting*, *parašiau* – *I wrote*). The perfective and imperfective contrast is often expressed by the opposition of tense forms, especially verbs with prefixes denoting the direction or modifying the verbal meaning in some other way have a perfective meaning in past and future tense forms but they are imperfective in the present (e.g. *atėjau* – *I came*, *apžiūrėjau* – *I inspected*, *ateinu* – *I am coming*). Also there is a group of unprefixd verbs of dual aspectual character which meaning depend on the tense form and context (*Jis miršta.* – *He dies.*). The imperfective meaning of the verb is characterized by suffixes. The suffixed verbs require the imperfective meanings of iterativity, duration or state (e.g. *nešioti* – *carry*, *nešti* – *carry*) (LG 2006:234).

## 1. 2. Expression of Past in English

There are four tense groups in English: indefinite tenses, continuous tenses, perfect tenses and perfect continuous tenses. Moreover, each group has four indicative mood active voice tenses: present, past, future and future in the past. Some grammarians believe that tense must always be shown by the actual form of the verb. The present, past and future are indicated by changes in the form of the verb in many languages; however, the form of the verb varies only in the past tense (e.g. *saw*) and in the present ('nonpast') tense (e.g. *see*) in English (Trager and Smith 1951:77, Joos 1964:120, Chomsky 1992:42, Alexander 1996:159). The past time can be seen as the time before the moment of speech. The past tense usually refers to the past time, but the forms of past tenses may refer to the present time due to politeness or indirectness (Carter and McCarthy 2006:608). Accordingly, verb forms which involve different auxiliaries (as *will do*, *has done*, *will have done*) belong to the same (in this case: present) tense (Declerck 1991:8). However, even though there is a lack of general agreement on how many tenses are there in English in linguistic literature, the analysis is based on the theoretical background of tenses presented in the grammars of English.

As it has already been mentioned, English does not have a future

tense, there is no verb form specifically, or even strongly, associated with future time. The present tense may be used to refer to future time. In this sense, a sentence with *will* (often called the ‘future tense’) is really present, because *will* is the present tense form just as *would* is the past tense form of *will* (Gramley and Patzold 1995:141). Moreover, some linguists consider English future tense as a modal element (Vincent 1987:237, Haan 2006:39-50). Dahl states that ‘normally, when we talk about the future, we are either talking about someone's plans, intentions or obligations, or we are making a prediction or extrapolation from the present state of the world. As a direct consequence, a sentence which refers to the future will almost always differ also modally from a sentence with non-future time reference. This is the reason why the distinction between tense and mood becomes blurred when it comes to the future (Dahl 1985:101). Furthermore, Verplaetse supports the opinion and adds that ‘future time has much in common with the concept of modality, since nobody knows with complete certainty what future will offer, not even if concrete plans or fixed schedules have been made; future tense can never give any really factual information’ (Verplaetse 1998:13).

While using past tenses, normally an adjunct of time is used to indicate that one is talking about the past. Adjuncts of time can refer to specific time or to more general period of time (Fillmore 2002:32-36). Some of the adjuncts are used with all past tenses (e.g. *again, already, earlier, just, last, since* etc.). Of course, some of the adjuncts used with the past tense are more specific (e.g. *yesterday, ago, the other day, long time ago* and etc). When the past simple, past continuous or past perfect tense is used to describe habitual or regular activities, an adjunct of frequency may be used (e.g. *often, sometimes, every day, always, forever*) to indicate the regularity or repetition of the activity (Sinclair 1990:252-254).

*The past simple tense* is used to indicate an event which occurred at a particular time in the past (Sinclair, 1990:250). The focus of the tense usually is on the time when an action occurred but not on its duration. The past simple tense is used to define complete actions, events and situations which occurred in recent (*He came to our party last night.*) or distant past (*Shakespeare was born in 1564.*);

the time reference can be given (*He visited us last night.*) or it may be understood from the context (*I finished work, walked to the beach, and found a nice place to swim.*). Moreover, the past simple tense can be used to describe past habits (*They never went to school, they always skipped classes.*). Sometimes it is used to describe that something happened a very short time ago (*He left a moment ago.*); however, it implies a gap between the time referred to and the moment of speech (*His sister was an invalid all her life* (i.e. she is dead now) (Leech and Svartvik 1991:66). Furthermore, the past simple tense does not always refer to past time; sometimes the past tense forms are used to refer to present time, especially for reasons of politeness and indirectness (Alexander 1996:170). The past tense distances an event from the present situation and, thus, makes the event more indirect (*I wondered if you felt it would make a difference if more people wrote or telephoned or said what they thought.*) (Carter and McCarthy 2006:406).

Besides its primary use, the past tense has several secondary uses. The backshift past is used in indirect speech or in a backshift from the present tense. The attitudinal past is used as a more polite alternative to the present tense with verbs of thinking or wishing. Moreover, it is also used to refer to hypothetical past and in hypothetical conditions that relate to the present or future time, those that convey belief in the non-fulfillment of the condition (Greenbaum 1996:256).

*The past continuous tense* is used to describe past situations or actions that were in progress at some time in the past (*At midnight, we were still driving through the desert*). Also it is used to emphasize the fact that two or more actions were in progress at the same time (*When I walked into the office, several people were busily typing, some were talking on the phones, the boss was yelling directions, and customers were waiting to be helped. One customer was yelling at a secretary and waving his hands. Others were complaining to each other about the bad service*) (Alexander 1996:170). This tense refers to past-time events occurring as a background to other events which interrupt them (*Sammy was waiting for us when we got off the plane*). The past progressive may refer to repeated unplanned (or undesired) events in the past (*I wasn't constantly collapsing in floods of tears, but I was in quite a bad way.*) and sometimes it is

used as a polite inquiry (*I was wondering if you could give me a lift.*). The past continuous tense can also be used to refer to definite past time to emphasise the extended nature of an event (*We were working in the garden all day yesterday*) (Carter and McCarthy 2006:611-613).

The difference between the past continuous and the past simple tense is that the past progressive tense describes a situation or action in a progress in the past, and the past simple tense is used to describe a shorter past action or event. Moreover, the past continuous tense suggests that the events may be seen more as background or of secondary importance, or their temporal nature may be more highlighted (*And scattered throughout a lot of the area he dug, he found iron slag, so, you know, they were making quite a lot of stuff. Phase one, under the bank he found some crucibles and crucibles were used in bronze working. In the earlier phase at least they were making bronze implements as well.*). However, the both tenses are often used together in a sentence (Alexander 1996:170, Carter and McCarthy 2006:612).

*The past perfect tense* refers to the events in time from one point in the past up to another later point in the past (*Tony knew Istanbul so well because he had visited the city several times*). It expresses the idea that something occurred before another action in the past and shows that something happened before a specific time in the past (*We had had that car for ten years before it broke down*). It is very frequent in reported clauses where the reporting verb is in the past (*Linda kept me informed and she said that her husband had moved back in.*). Moreover, the past perfect tense is used to refer to the situations which were true but have been changed or are to be changed (*At the moment Sarah is quite interested in tourism, anything to do with tourism. So it looks like she will leave school and go on to something like this. I had hoped she'd carry on for a bit longer.*) (Carter and McCarthy 2006:620). Sometimes the past perfect tense functions as the past form of the present perfect tense; it can also be used to describe things which were expected, wished for before a particular time in the past but had not yet happened (*It was the remains of a ten-rupee note which she had hoped would last till the end of the week.*) (Alexander 1996:175; Sinclair

1990:252).

The past perfect is combined to the past simple and the past continuous tense when the situation refers to the past. Sometimes the past perfect may be used to resolve possible misunderstandings or ambiguity in the sequence of events and the semantic relationship between them (*They all left the room when she recited her poem* (indicates that they all left at the moment when she started reciting); *They all left the room when she had recited her poem* (indicates that they all left after she had finished reciting)). The past simple suggests a more immediate causal link between two events, compared with the past perfect, consider: *When he opened his desk, he discovered a dead bird* (the immediate result is emphasized); *When he had opened his third present, he looked at the roller skates and smiled* (there is no such an immediate or direct relationship and the roller skates may not have been in that third present) (Alexander 1996:176, Carter and McCarthy 2006:620-621).

*The past perfect continuous tense* is used to emphasize the recentness and the duration of a continuous activity which took place before a particular time in the past (*Until now the rumours that had been circulating were exaggerated versions of the truth.*). Both the past perfect and the past perfect continuous tense refer to a time frame leading up to a point in the past (time up to then). There is often little difference between the two forms, however, the continuous form expresses an ongoing event continuing up to that point in the past and the emphasis is on the duration rather than on the completion of an event there. Consider: *After their departure Edith noticed the small white card lying on the mantelpiece. She had been meaning to tell her brother about it, he had a right to know, but their behaviour had put everything else out of her mind* (the past perfect continuous (*had been meaning*) is used to refer to an extended event going on around that time; the past perfect tense (*had put*) is used to refer to a single, completed event that occurred during that time) (Sinclair 1990:252, Carter and McCarthy 2006:621).

*The present perfect tense* is also used to refer to past events, actions and situations which are related to the present. 'It is used to refer to events taking

place in a past time-frame that connects with the present' (*In fact, alligators have killed only eight people in Florida in the last half-century* (in the fifty years up to the time of writing) (Carter and McCarthy 2006:613). In case the events are relevant to the moment of speaking or seem to be connected to it, the present perfect is used (*I haven't asked her yet. I haven't seen her. To all the passengers who have recently joined this service. My name is Chris and I'm your new chief steward.* ). The smallest gap between the time of the action and the present moment would require the past (Chalker 1991:102).

Moreover, English employs *used to* and *would* to express repeated past events. *Used to* and *would* both refer to habitual actions and events in the past, consider: *Sandra used to come down here and watch me bake cakes. And she used to find it quite fascinating. She wanted to bake them herself but she never really knew how. And her grandmother always used to bake cakes and she would go and watch you know.* The difference between *used to* and *would* is that with *would* it is necessary to have an established past time-frame and it is not used to refer to states in the past which are no longer true (Carter and McCarthy 2006:663).

According to the division of tenses into absolute and relative (Declerck 1991:7-8, Lock 1996:148, Hengeveld 2004:1106, Beheydt 2005:15-32, Vandelanotte 2005: 61-68), English uses the preterit, the present perfect tense, the present tense and the future tense to locate the situation in the past (the preterit or the past tense), pre-present (the present perfect tense), present (the present tense) and post present (the future tense). These are therefore the four tenses that can be used as absolute tenses. The other four tenses (the past perfect, the future perfect, the future in the past, the future perfect in the past) can only relate a situation to a time of orientation, i.e. they can only be used as relative tenses (Declerck 1991:18-22, 1999:209-225). Accordingly, there is only one past relative tense (the past perfect tense) and three absolute past tenses (the past simple, the past continuous (if it is considered to be a tense and not the aspect of the past tense) and the present perfect (if it can be considered a past tense)) in English.

While analysing English tense system, it is important to describe English verbs. According to the meaning and syntactical functions, English verbs

can be divided into three grammatical classes: *lexical (main)* verbs and *auxiliary* verbs (Fromkin 2000:282, Spencer 2004:1257). Lexical verbs form the biggest class which denotes types of actions, states or events (e.g. *to set, to make, to hurt*) (Carter and McCarthy 2006:303); their principal function is to introduce appropriate lexical content (Brown and Miller 1992:209). ‘It is a characteristic of English verb forms that they signal the time when an action or event occurs’ (Radford 2005:154). They have independent meaning and can act as predicates. Auxiliary verbs are a closed set of function words. Steele claims that ‘*auxiliary* is a term applied most commonly in either descriptive or analytical studies to forms bearing both morphological and positional resemblance to verbs and occurring with ‘main verb’ but not independently (except perhaps in environments where a verb has been elided)’ (Steele 1999:49). The principal function of auxiliary verbs is to ‘relate the sentence to *temporal, modal, aspectual* and *voice* distinctions’ (Brown and Miller 1992:209). The non-modal auxiliaries in English are *be* and *have* (e.g. *have, has, had and having*) and *do* (e.g. *do, does, did*). Some of the auxiliary verbs have only one form (e.g. *must, ought*) (Gramley and Patzold 1995:131). They have no independent meaning and they are used to constitute analytic forms of the verb. These verbs add information to lexical verbs, indicating clause type and passive voice (Carter and McCarthy 2006:303). Modal verbs are a closed class of verbs consisting of core modal verbs, semi-modal verbs and modal expressions. Modal verbs give additional information to lexical verbs, mainly concerning degrees of certainty and necessity (Carter and McCarthy 2006:303). They are used with the infinitive of the verb and constitute modal compound predicate with them.

Palmer claims that ‘there are eleven or possibly twelve auxiliaries, with twenty-eight distinct forms in all, or thirty if those that function both as finites and non-finites are counted twice’ (Palmer 1968:19) (Table No.1).

Table No.1. English auxiliary verbs

		Finite	non-finite
1.	BE	is, are, am, was, were	be, being, been
2.	HAVE	has, have, had	have, having
3.	DO	do, does, did	
4.	WILL	will, would	
5.	SHALL	shall, should	
6.	CAN	can, could	
7.	MAY	may, might	
8.	MUST	Must	
9.	OUGHT	Ought	
10.	DARE	Dare	
11.	NEED	Need	
12.	USED	Used	

He also states that auxiliary verbs can be classified either *morphologically* or *syntactically*. There are the following *morphological* classes of auxiliary verbs:

- BE is the only verb in English which has five finite forms in addition to an infinite *-ing* form and a past participle.
- HAVE has three finite and two non-finite forms (infinitive and *-ing* form).
- DO has three finite and no non-finite forms.
- WILL, CAN, SHALL, MAY have two finite forms, no non-finite, and no distinct form in *-s* for the third person singular of the present.
- MUST, OUGHT, DARE, NEED, USED have only one finite form.

However, Palmer claims that if only one morphological feature i.e. the presence or absence of an *-s* form the verbs fall into two types (*primary* (*be*,



*have, do*) and *secondary* (all other auxiliaries) auxiliaries) (Palmer 1968:19-37).

There are the following properties of auxiliary verbs:

- Auxiliary verbs are fronted in forming questions.
- The contracted negative form *n't* can attach to auxiliary verbs:

*John is running / John isn't running*

*I can sing / I can't sing*

*Mary left early / Mary didn't leave early*

- Auxiliary verbs can appear in tags:

*John has not been here, has he?*

*Herman is threatening to leave, is he?*

*Herman is threatening to leave, isn't he?*

In English the auxiliary verb is not considered to be a morpheme but rather a grammaticalized word or a grammatical marker (Fromkin and Rodman, 1993: 60-64). Moreover, the level of grammaticalization in different languages is of a different level.

Moreover, it is important to analyse verbal aspect and related concepts while analysing grammatical category of tense. Comrie claims that the difference in English between *he was reading* and *he read* is not one of tense because both cases possess absolute tense. He states that in such cases it is possible to observe the distinction between aspect and tense. Thus, he refers to the perfective/imperfective opposition as aspectual, even though, he recognises that 'the grammatical terminology of individual languages has a tradition of referring to them as tenses' (Comrie 2001:3). The concept is sustained by other linguists as well (Fischer 1997: 297, Filip 1999: 159, Kabakchiev 2000: 293-298, Androutsopoulos 2002:10, Ayoun and Salaberry, 2005:3).

According to Holt (Holt 1943:6 in Comrie 2001:3) 'aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation'. Moreover, aspect manages the dynamics of the flow of information about defined change encoded in a text (Meulen 1997:6). Although both tense and aspect are related to time, that relation is different in both cases. As it has already been stated, tense

locates situations and events in time (with reference to the moment of speech or with reference to other situations). Unlike tense, however, aspect is not a deictic category (Fleischman 1990:13, Boogaart 2004:1165); the basic difference between tense and aspect is that aspect does not relate the time of the situation to any other time-point and that it is rather concerned with ‘the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation external-time (tense)’ (Comrie 2001:5).

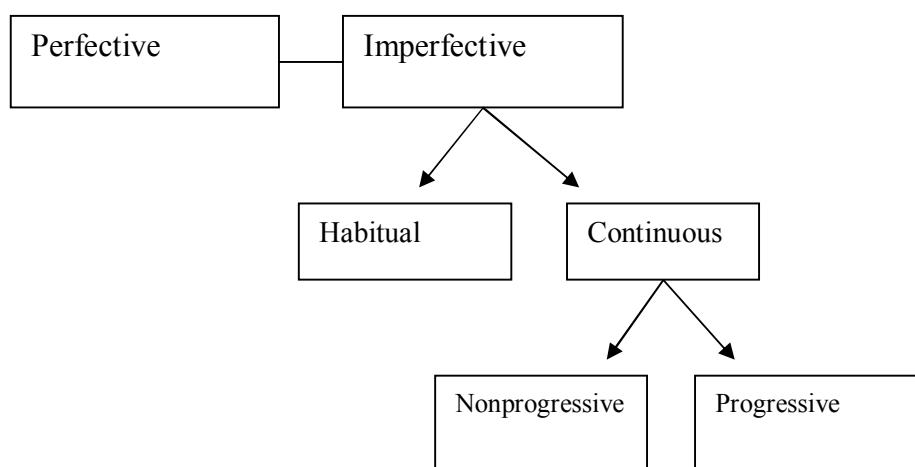
Aspect as a grammatical category is often expressed by means of the inflectional morphology of a language (e.g. Spanish *leyó/leía*) or by means of a periphrasis (e.g. English *he read/he was reading*). Aspectual oppositions are expressed by particular formal devices which belong to the grammar of individual languages (Comrie 2001:9).

Aspect in English deals with tense forms of the verb and their functions which indicate that an event can be completed or it is in progress. English has two forms of aspect: *perfect (perfective)* and *progressive (imperfective)*. The perfect aspect is related differently to tense than the progressive aspect. The meaning of the perfect aspect is related to such features as ‘totality’, ‘completedness’, or ‘attainment of inherent limit’ (Dahl 1999a:31, 1999b: 290). The progressive aspect is related to the idea of incompleteness (Binnick 1991: 285-286). This aspect distinguishes acts and events which are complete from activities and processes which are not (Gramley and Patzold 1995:146-148, Goossens 1994:174-175).

According to Comrie (2001:16-40) the difference between the two aspects is the following: perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole (with no distinction of the various separate phases that create that situation); the imperfective aspect is related to the internal structure of the situation and pays substantial regard to it.

Moreover, Comrie provides a classification of aspectual oppositions (see Figure 1) (Comrie 2001:25).

Figure 1. Classification of aspectual oppositions by Comrie.



Comrie explains that there are languages which possess a single category of imperfectivity; meanwhile, there are languages where imperfectivity is subdivided into distinct categories. He also claims that there are such languages where there is a category which corresponds to part only of the meaning of imperfectivity. According to him English possesses a *Habitual Aspect* in the past tense (*I used to sing*) and a separate *Progressive* (*I was reading (when he came)*).

Thus, as it has already been mentioned linguistic expression of time is related not only with the category of tense but also with such categories as aspect and mood. While analysing and comparing expression of past in two different languages of two different types, it is essential to discuss linguistic environment and other grammatical categories which are very much related to the subject.

## 2. The Past Simple Tenses of Lithuanian and Their Equivalents in English

Grammatical forms determine two past simple tenses of the verb in Lithuanian: *the past simple tense (darė- padarė)* and *the past frequentative tense (darydavo- padarydavo)*. Specialists of comparative historical grammar have determined that the past frequentative tense is specific to only one Indo-European language which is Lithuanian. Whereas, dialectologists note that it was not used in all the areas of Lithuania. That is why it was not mentioned in the first historical Lithuanian grammar by Kazlauskas (Kazlauskas 1968: 336-365). However, before that Otrebski attached the past frequentative tense to the paradigm of simple tenses. Yet, he suggested the suffix *-dav-* was derived from formation suffixes *-av-* of iterative verbs with the ‘squeezed’ *-d-* (Otrębski 1956:223).

Since the past frequentative tense is found only in the Lithuanian language, it was not overanalysed by the specialists of historical grammar. It was only stated that its origin is not clear and that it was not used in all the dialects of Lithuanian (Zinkevičius 1966: 356-359, 1981: 115-117). It is natural since comparative historical grammar was interested only in the development of forms and the forms of this Lithuanian tense could not be compared to adequate forms of other languages. The past frequentative tense, without any doubt, belongs to the paradigm of tenses (that is to be established in section No 2.2.) and the roots of its origin should be searched for in Lithuanian in consideration of the semantics of the forms expressing past.

The first writings of Lithuanian are not very old. The first Lithuanian book “Katekizmas” by Mažvydas was printed in 1547. Mažvydas was Samogitian i.e. from the area of Lithuania where, according to dialectologists, the past frequentative was not used. However, the past frequentative tense is used in the first printed Lithuanian book: *Maksla šito tevai iusu trakšdava turėti,/ Ale to negaleia ne vienu budu gauti* (Mažvydas 1974:99). Hence, it can be claimed that the form of the past frequentative tense was recognized in all the areas of Lithuania.

Nonetheless, some linguists refer to the first Lithuanian grammar by Klein and claim the past frequentative tense is derived from the past simple tense by replacing the last syllable with *-dawo-* (Holvoet 2004: 124, 153-154). Only Klein did not distinguish grammatical meaning of a repeated action of the formation of iterative verbs. Provided the meaning of the past frequentative tense is of the same level as the meaning of iterative verbs, then the latter could not obtain the form of the past frequentative tense. However, the form of the past frequentative tense is applied to both iterative and non-iterative verbs, e.g. *šoko-šokdavo* (*jumped- used to jump*), *šokinėjo –šokinėdavo* (*was jumping- used to jump*).

Though, Sapūnas and Šulcas (Sapūnas and Šulcas 1673 in Sapūno ir Šulco Gramatika 1997) indicates the *first preterit* (the past simple tense) and the *second preterit* (the past frequentative tense) in his grammar. Unfortunately, later it was not distinguished between the meaning of a tense and word formation. The essential distinction between the iterativeness of word formation and the iterativeness of grammatical tense is the regularity of the latter (all the verbs obtain the form of the past frequentative tense) and the establishment in the language (Gudavičius 2007:24). (more about the past frequentative tense see in section No.2.2.)

Jablonskis also indicates the past tense and the past frequentative tense in his grammar (Kriaušaitis 1901 in Jablonskis 1957:101). He also distinguishes the same grammatical value of the past simple and the past frequentative tense and contrasts them on the basis of a single time and the repetition in the past (Avižonis 1919:56). He indicates the same opposition in his later grammar as well (Rygiškių Jono Lietuvių kalbos gramatika 1922 in Jablonskis 1957:185-433). The opposition is accurate and remains in all the grammars till 1971. Paulauskienė claims that traditional grammar quite well defined the past simple tense as the tense expressing a single action in the past and the past frequentative tense as the tense expressing a repetitive action in the past, since only verbs of progressive aspect which are not marked in respect of a single time may be used both in the context of a single action and in the context of a repeated action (Paulauskienė 1983: 266-267, 1994: 326-332).

Lithuanian grammar (LKG II 1971) provides the following definition of the past simple tense: the past simple tense is determined as the tense which expresses an action that took place in the past i.e. before the moment of speech; it also determines a definite action and at the same time indicates that it happened only once in the past. This meaning distinguishes the past simple tense from the past frequentative tense (LKG II 1971:96). This definition was criticized since the past simple tense is also used to express an action which repeatedly took place in the past and, thus, cannot be determined as a past single action tense (Girdenis and Žulys 1973:210). Consequently, the authors of Lithuanian school grammars defined the past simple tense as a past tense and the past frequentative tense as a repeated past tense (Gedvilas, Kadžytė and Kuzavinis 1982:137).

However, neither a distinct opposition of perfective and progressive (imperfective) aspect in the past nor the general nature of the past frequentative tense was considered. The past frequentative tense cannot be used in some past situations because of the indicated number of times the action has been performed, e.g.

*Vakar jis man skambino tris kartus// Yesterday he called me three times.*

In the example above only the past simple tense can be used.

However, in the opposition of aspects *ėjo* (*went*) / *nuėjo* (*have/has gone*) the marked number is *nuėjo* (*have/has gone*) and the prefix provides the verb with the perfective aspect and with the meaning of a single time action. Unfortunately, aspect is indicated in grammars as rather a semantic but not a grammatical category. Thus, the past simple tense is defined as a past tense and the past frequentative tense is defined as a past iterative tense in all Lithuanian grammars (Грамматика литовского языка 1985:212-213, DLKG 1994: 298, DLKG 1996: 298, DLKG 1997: 298, DLKG 2005: 298, LG 2006: 246).

Moreover, the past frequentative tense is distinguished from the past simple tense not only by the iterative meaning but also by the distance from the moment

of speech, thus it cannot possess a perfective meaning. The past frequentative tense cannot be used in the following example:

*Aš jau šiandien daug sykių valgiau. // Today I have eaten many times.*

It is important to distinguish the aspectual opposition between the past simple and the past frequentative tense. However, it is not accurate to define the past frequentative tense only as a version of the past simple tense (DLKG 1994:694; Ambrazas in Morkūnas 1999:694) or to attribute it to the aspect and deny it as a tense (Holvoet 2004:153).

## **2.1. The Use of the Past Simple Tense and its Equivalent in English**

The forms of the tense are used to express the actions that took place in the past, that is, before the time of speech. Generally, every tense has got one basic meaning, e.g. the form of the present simple tense is used to express an action which takes place at present moment, the form of the past simple tense is used to express a non-repeated action in the past, the form of the past frequentative tense is used to express a repetitive action in the past, while the forms of the future simple tense are used to express a prospective action in the future. The basic meanings of tenses do not depend on lexical meanings of verbs. However, they denote the relation of the action and the moment of speech (*absolute*) or the moment of some other action (*relative*) (LG 2006: 241). Such usage of tenses of verbs is referred to as *objective* and is characteristic to scientific texts, also to spoken language when the accuracy of thought which is meant to be expressed is significant. The forms of verbs used objectively do not express any additional nuances, e.g.

*Aš tave myliu nuo tos dienos, kai tave pirmą kartą pamačiau ten, Aukštujuose. (I.S.)*

*I have been in love with you since the day I saw you there in Aukštujai.*

In the example above the present tense (*myliu*) does not possess any additional nuances, the same as the past simple tense (*pamačiau*). The both tenses are used in their objective meaning.

However, tense forms of verbs may be used differently: in some contexts the forms of present tenses may express some future or past actions, and the forms of past tenses may express present and even future actions. The usage of tense forms of verbs when the meanings of the forms of tenses do not correspond to the meanings of the actions they express to the moment of speech is conditionally named *subjective*, e.g.

*O vagystės šiais laikais ilgai nepaslėpsi. Tai ne kirvi – imetei į šulinį ir suuosk!*

*It is not that easy to hide a theft nowadays. It is not an axe which one can throw into a well and hope that no one knows about it.*

The example is translated literally and does not express the subjective meaning of the original example in Lithuanian where a past simple tense is used to express a future action. In this case we have an example of the past simple tense with a subjective meaning.

There are no specific forms of tenses to express the subjective meaning of them. The shift in meaning of a tense is usually related to the imaginary moment of speech which can be shifted to the past or to the future. Thus, past actions may be expressed by the forms of the present tense; meanwhile, future actions may be expressed by the forms of the present or even the past tense. Consider:

*Suradau ir tą vokiečių. Ant stalo kiaušiniene čirška, dukterys vokiškai erzeliuoja, partapijonu skambina. Gyvenimas! O pats ponas tas, su tokiais ūsais, kerta net ausys lapsi. Išdėsčiau, išklosčiau, kad taip ir*



*taip. (A.Vencl.)*

*I have found that German also. The omelette was served on the table; the daughters were chatting in German and playing the piano. That was life! And the lord was eating like a dog. I spelled out the situation to him.*

Again, the example above is translated to convey objective meaning and does not express the subjective meaning of the tense used. The forms of the present tense possess the subjective meaning of past.

The use of tenses in the figurative meaning is a stylistic device which is the basis for the vividness of a language. Thus, the speaker is allowed to use (without the contradiction to the laws of a language) tenses in their subjective or objective meanings.

The meaning of a tense fades away when the figurative function of a tense form is emphasized. Hence, present, past or future tenses may be used to express actions which relate to the moment of speech equally. Consider:

*Tupikiui vis seilės bėgo, kažį ko negera širdis... Įsileidęs alaus atsigėrė. Kaipgi nepradės galuotis, vėmti, plėšytis širdim! Kris ant žemės, kris į lovą, šaltis krečia, virpa, dreba, o čia vidurius varsto... Merga parvedė motiną. Ta suvirino žolienės.(Ž.)*

There are three different tenses used in the example above: the past simple tense (*bėgo, atsigėrė, parvedė, suvirino*), the future tense (*nepradės, kris*) and the present tense (*krečia, virpa, dreba, varsto*). They are all used to express some actions and states in the past situation; thus, the forms of the past simple tense are used in their objective meaning while the forms of the future and the present tenses are used in their subjective meanings.

Furthermore, the tenses in the subjective meaning may very easily be interchanged with the tenses in the objective meaning. Such situations are observed in fairytales. Consider:

*Raganos jau aiškiai išgirdo Povilėlį, pasiuto, išsipūtė baisiausiai ir bėga į trobą pasižiūrėti. Žiūri – tik Onelės galva, skara užgobta. Išbėgo į kiemą ir graužia medį. Jos nežinojo, kuriam medy Povilėlis sėdi, ir pradėjo graužti nuo krašto. Povilėlis tik juokiasi. Graužė, graužė raganos, medis jau vos besilaiko; ir nuvirto, o Povilėlio nēr. Pradėjo graužt antrą. Graužė, graužė įdūkusios. Povilėlis mato, kad jau nebejuokai: medis siūbuoja, lūžta. (T.)*

The present tense (*bėga, žiūri, graužia, juokiasi, besilaiko, nēr, mato, siūbuoja, lūžta*) is used in its subjective meaning in the past situation, which is expressed by the past simple tense in its objective meaning (*išgirdo, pasiuto, išsipūtė, išbėgo, nežinojo, pradėjo, graužė, graužė, nuvirto, pradėjo, graužė, graužė*), in the example above. It is demonstrated well enough, how the tenses in objective meaning alternate with the tenses in subjective meaning. Tenses which are used in the subjective meaning provide the language with more vividness and figurative style.

Although there is objective as well as subjective usage of the past simple tense distinguished in Lithuanian, the analysis will cover only the objective meaning of the past tenses, since the subjective usage is more related to stylistic usage and modality than to the expression of time of an action.

While analysing the objective usage of the past simple tense *non-contact (isolated)* and *contact (unisolated)* past simple tenses are distinguished. *Contact* past simple tense is used to express the action which took place in a recent past and denotes the result of the action which is still relevant at the moment of speech or at any other moment.

The examples of Lithuanian *contact* past simple tense below and their equivalents in English demonstrate that the equivalents of the past simple tense are only present tenses in English: the present simple tense and the present perfect tense. Present time is seen either as the moment of speaking or writing,

or as ‘time around now’, or as the more general, permanent time relating to truths and general facts’ (Carter and McCarthy, 2007:598). The present simple tense is used to express everyday, regular or habitual actions, as well as planned future actions and general truths (Sinclair 1990:246-249). In the examples below, the present simple tense expresses the states of the characters, the result which is observed now that is what is relevant here, but not the time when the actions took place. The perfect form of the present tense is referred to the past which is in relation to the present (Sinclair 1990:251, Carter and McCarthy 2006: 598, 613-616). The present perfect tense is used to refer to events which took place in the past but the results of the actions are relevant at the present (*a past time-frame that connects with the present*) in English. That is why the present perfect tense is the best tense to express the meanings of the examples of Lithuanian contact past simple tense; the result but not the time of the action is relevant. Consequently, the structure of English tenses differs from the structure of Lithuanian tenses. Lithuanian past simple tense is simple in its structure, meanwhile, almost all English tenses are compound tenses (only affirmative sentences of simple present and past tenses are simple forms).

*Šitokį berną paleist iš rankų! Gal tu pablūdai? (J.B.)*

*Such a guy to let go! (a) Are you out of your mind? // (b) Have you gone out of your mind?*

*Mano gerklė visai išdžiūvo! Aš visas degu ir alpstu! (J.Blč.)*

*(a) My throat is completely dry! // (b) My throat has dried out! I am all burning and almost fainting.*

*Šuo išklauses atsakė: -Ką čia rasi pasauly teisybę. Aš taip pat, kol buvau jaunas, ... tai tol mylėjo mane; o dabar va pasenau, apžabalau, ir išvarė mane.(J. Bs.)*

*After having listened the dog responded: ‘There is no justice in the world. When I was young everybody loved me. (a) And now because I am old and blind they have kicked me out’. // (b) And now because I*

*have grown old and have gone blind they kicked me out.*

*Koks tu kerštingas pasidarei, Pranciškau. (V.M.-P.)*

*Pranciskus, you have become very vindictive.*

*Toks netikėtas pagyrimas visą ją sujaudino. (Ž.)*

*Such an unexpected compliment has moved her.*

*Štai pamilo Perkūnas Vaivą, kaip bernas mergą myli. (V.K.)*

*Perkūnas has fallen in love with Vaiva just as a guy can love a girl.*

*Žydras dangus apsipylė tūkstančiais mirgančių žvaigždelių. (Ž.)*

*Thousands of twinkling stars have covered the blue sky.*

All the examples of Lithuanian *contact* past simple tense above include only the verbs of perfective aspect.

Mostly verbs which possess the perfective meaning (result is relevant) can obtain the meaning of contact past simple tense in Lithuanian. The meaning and its nuances depend on the context and is especially noticed in the context where a character or situation is being described. According to the situation, two nuances of the meaning are distinguished. That is perfective and plusquamperfective meaning.

A past action expressed by non-contact past simple tense is related neither to the present moment nor to some other action. Thus, the tense denotes an isolated action and may be used to express a distant or not very distant past action. The non-contact past tense may also be referred to as a narrative tense since it is often used to narrate past events which are in no relation to the present situation. Verbs of imperfective aspect are typical to the past simple tense of the non-contact meaning in Lithuanian; however, verbs of the perfective aspect may also be used to express the tense.

### 2.1.1. The Equivalents of the Past Simple Tense of the Non-contact Meaning

As it is observed in the examples below, verbs of both *perfective* and *imperfective* aspect are used to express the tense.

The below examples of the past simple tense have the equivalents of past tenses in English. The past simple and the past continuous tense are used to express the meanings of Lithuanian past simple tense of the non-contact meaning. Thus, contrary to the examples of the past simple tense of the contact meaning and their equivalents, the time when the action took place and the fact that the action happened at some time in the past and has no relation to the present is relevant. The past simple tense is marked usually by inflection, it is a marked tense, and is not so much past as non-present. It is formed with the help of an auxiliary verb *did* in negative sentences and questions. The past continuous tense is formed with the help of an auxiliary verb *to be* and a main verb with the ending *-ing*, which indicates that it is a continuous tense expressing an action or state which took place at some particular time in the past, present (present continuous tense) or future (future continuous tense). The past continuous tense is used (1) to talk about continuous states or repeated actions which occurred in the past (*I was meeting thousands of people and getting to know no one.*), (2) to describe a situation if we want to contrast it with an event which happened just after that situation existed. The past simple tense is used to describe and draw attention to the event which occurred after it (*We were all sitting round the fire waiting for my soldier brother to come home. He arrived about six in the evening.*) (Sinclair 1990: 250-251).

*Balys atsimena kaip šiandien. Buvo vėjuotas rudens vakaras. Visa šeimyna triūsėsi pirkioje. Piemenukas žibino balanas, motina verpė, o tėvas ir juodu su broliu suko virves. Staiga kieme sulojo šuva ir į pirkią įsiveržė keletas vyrų. (V.M.-P)*

*Balys remembers all as if it was today. It was a windy night. All the*

*family was bustling about in the house. The shepherd was burning some sapwood, the mother was spinning the yarn, the father together with him and his brother were making ropes. Suddenly the dog started barking and some men broke into the house.*

*Tik po ilgoko laiko senis pakilo, vėl uždegė užgesusį rūkiklį ir nuėmė nuo avilio šiaudinę kepurę. Dūzgė pavargusios bitės, tuščiomis grįždamos iš laukų, laipiojo ant senio rankų, o jis kilnojo pilnus rėmus, šluostė, tvarkė. (A.Vencl.)*

*Only after a while the old man got up, lit the dead smoke again and took a straw hat off the hive. Tired bees were buzzing while coming back empty from the fields, were climbing up on the hands of the old man while he was moving the full frames, wiping and arranging them.*

*Vedė Vytautas ten didžiaviryių pulkus ir priešų sulaužė puikybę. (M.)  
Vytautas (a) led / (b) was leading the troops of brave cavaliers and destroyed the glory of his enemies.*

The verbs of perfective aspect expressing the past simple tense of the non-contact meaning have the equivalent of the past simple tense in English; however, the verbs of imperfective meaning expressing the past simple tense of the same (non-contact meaning) may have as their English equivalent both the past continuous and the past simple tense. The past continuous tense is used to refer to continuous actions where the focus is on the duration.

*Nepažįstamasis, galva lingavo, į juos žiūrėdamas iš savo pusės, lyg rodė, jų pasigailėdamas. Pagaliau, atsidusęs, tarė patylomis, lyg patsai sau: -Ne kiekvienam tenai priėti! ... (L.P.)*

*The stranger was nodding his head while looking at them from the place where he was, it seemed he was sorry for them. Finally, he sighed and said silently, as if talking to himself, 'Not every man can*

*reach that place!..*

*Sodiečiai susižvalgė savo tarpe, o už kitus nekantresnis Rymeika prabilo. (L.P.)*

*The countrymen exchanged glances and Rymeika, the most impatient of all, started talking.*

*Karčemoje kilo pragarinis triukšmas, kuriame retkarčiais tik prasimušdavo garsesnis surikimas arba keiksmas; kartais girdėjosi atskiras smarkesnis trenksmas arba stiklų žvangėjimas. (L.P.)*

*Hellish row started in the tavern, only now and then some louder scream or curse, some stronger single bang or crash of glass was heard.*

*Vienas tik senis Jarašius, nė vietos nemainydamas, vienodai rimtai sau pypkę traukė, tik kiek tankiau ir dar mitriau trykšdino seiles pro dantis pačian vidurin aslos, kovojantiems kiek prasiskleidus. (L.P.)*

*Only old Jarašius was sitting in the same place and smoking seriously his pipe, more often and faster he was spitting into the middle of the dirt floor when the fighters pulled away for a while.*

The non-contact meaning of the past action is characteristic to all forms of simple past tenses of the verbs of *imperfective* aspect in Lithuanian. The forms of simple tenses of the verbs of *perfective aspect* possess isolated meaning only if the lexical contents of the verb or the context of the situation does not foreground the perfective meaning of the action.

All the forms of the past simple tense of the verbs of *perfective aspect* possess the non-contact meaning when they express simultaneous past actions.

*Daktaras isižeidė ir nutilo. (A.G.-G.)*

*The doctor got offended and hushed.*

*Nulenkė žemai žemai žilą galvą, kaip ir slėpdamas nuo manęs savo veidą, padėkojo drebančiu balsu ir drebančiom rankom paėmė duoną; peržegnojo ją ir idėjo krepšin. (J.Bil.)*

*The man bent his white-haired head extremely low as if hiding his face, thanked me with his trembling voice, took bread with his shaking hands, made the sign of the cross on it and put it away in his sack.*

*Žmona atbudo, sučepsėjo lūpomis, ištraukė iš po antklodės rankas, atsiduso ir nutilo. (V.)*

*The wife woke up, munched with her lips, took her hands out from (?) under the blanket, sighed and hushed.*

*Moteris nusiėmė saulės akinius. Tarsi bučiniui sudėjo ryškiai dažytas lūpas. Papūtė į tamsius stiklus ir patrynė juos į raudoną šilką ties kairiaja krūtimi. (J.I.)*

*A woman took off her glasses. She put her brightly coloured lips as if she was waiting for a kiss. Then she blew into the dark glasses and rubbed them into red silk on her left breast.*

The verbs of the *perfective* aspect are not used to refer to the actions where the focus is on duration, thus, the examples above and below do not have the equivalent of the past continuous tense in English. Consider:

*Išrūkė ir pypkę, prisėdęs pakelėje, iškratė pelenus, padaužęs į klumpę, iškrapštė ir, vis nesurasdamas raminančiojo atsakymo į kilusiuosius abejojimus, leidosi toliau keliauti ir atsidūrė dvaro vartuose. (L.P.)*

*He smoked his pipe, shook ashes from it while sitting by the roadside, then he pounded it into his clog and scrubbed it out, then he again resumed his journey and found himself near the gate of the mansion, still not having a soothing answer the arisen doubts.*



Juozas pažvelgė ištiestosios rankos link ir pamatė visą būrį varnų, kurios, ir savo tarpe besikukindamos ir garsiai kvarkdamos, draskė nebegyvus paukščius. (L.P.)

Juozas looked into the direction of the outstretched hand and saw a troop of crows which were tearing dead birds and squawking loudly.

Patsai "žinovas", muštynei prasidėjus, tuoj išsisuko laukan ir skubiai, pakromiais klibinkščiuodamas, spruko namo. (L.P.)

The "specialist" himself evaded the fight and urgently scampered off.

Nors jaučiaus nekaip, bet atsikėlęs apsitaisiau ir išėjau miestan pažiūrėtu, koks oras. (J.B.)

Although I was not feeling well, I got up, dressed and went into the city to check what the weather was.

Štai aukštai ore linksmai sulojo šuo ir pasklido garsus šūkajuančių vaikinių skardas. (J.B.)

Suddenly a dog barked high in the air and the loud echo of children shouting spread in the air.

Ant nušvitusio jo skliauto pasirodė saulė: atmetus nuo savo veido uždangalą, ji vienu akimirksniu papylė spindulius ir kaitriai pradėjo šildyti mano kaktą. (J.B.)

The sun arose, spread its rays and started warming my forehead.

Dar palypėjau ankščiau... Ant galo, nuvargęs, atsirėmiau int apačiau... (J.B.)

I climbed higher.. Finally I leaned to it all tired...

Pasilenkėm ir smėlyje pamatėm tikrai kažką panašų į raides. (E. M.)

*We bent and saw something similar to letters in the sand.*

The examples of Lithuanian past simple tense above have only one equivalent in English: the past simple tense which is used to express past situations, habitual and regular actions in the past (stating a definite time in the past). It is used (1) to refer to past situations; it can also be used to express an event or an action which occurred or happened at a particular time in the past (*The Israeli Prime minister flew into New York yesterday to start his visit to the US*), (2) to describe the situation that existed over a period of time in the past (*He lived in Paris during his last years*), (3) to talk about something that happened in the past when the situation that existed at that time is mentioned. It is used whether or not the situation still exists (*About fifty miles from the university there was one of India's most famous and ancient Hindu temples*), (4) it is used to talk about an activity that took place regularly or repeatedly in the past, but which no longer occurs (habitual and regular actions) (*Each week we trekked to the big house*) (Sinclair 1990:250).

All the forms of the past simple tense of the verbs of *perfective aspect* possess the non-contact meaning when they express isolated past actions in Lithuanian. Consider:

*Krūmai su šilais visais išsibudino keltis, o laukų kalnai su kloniais pametė skrandas. (D.)*

*All the bushes with the pinewood (a) have woken up // (b) started waking up and all the hills of the fields together with the valleys (a) have lost // (b) lost their parkas.*

*Staiga prapliupo čiulbėti paukščiai, ir laukymę užliejo rausva šviesa. Patekėjo saulė. (J.I.)*

*Suddenly birds started singing and the field was flooded with reddish light. The sun has risen.*

*Temo. Darėsi šalta. Paukščiai ir jų paukštyčiai sumigo. Užgriuvo naktis. (J.I.)*

*It was dimming. It was becoming cold. Birds and their birdies have fallen asleep. The night has come.*

The examples of the past simple tense with the verbs of perfective aspect which are used to express isolated past actions in Lithuanian possess the past simple tense as their English equivalent. Consider:

*Kiti kareiviai apsėdo stalą, geria, valgo, o Jonas įsispraudė ten pas krosnį į kamputį ir sėdi. (J.B.)*

*All other soldiers sat round the table and started drinking and eating just Jonas squeezed himself in the corner near the furnace and sat there.*

*Jos žodžiai kaip elektra užgavo visus: Juozapai kirvis iškrito iš nagų, motinai siūlas nutrūko, tėvui skiedros pabiro- visi nustebę žiūrėjo į Magdele. (Ž.)*

*Her words hit everybody like electricity: an axe fell off the Juozapas' hands, a thread broke in the mother's hands, the father lost all the shingles and everybody stared at Magdelė.*

*Kitą rytą į našlės Žilienės kiemą įsvyravo sūnaus vežimas, iš kurio išvirto sunkus, su rudine iki žemės, vyras ir jo moteris. (P.C.)*

*The next morning a wagon swayed into Žilienė's yard and a heavy man in a long coat and his woman tumbled out of it.*

*Troleibusas sustojo. Moteris išlipo laukan. Ūmai ją išpylė prakaitas. (J.I.)*

*A trolleybus stopped. A woman got off. Suddenly she was all in sweat.*

*Vika atlošė galvą. Jos ilgu kaklu perbėgo keli mėšlungiai. Liūdesys augo. Moteris vėl atsisėdo ant paties krėslo kraštelio ir pajuto, kaip susidraskė kojine. (J.I.)*

*Vika reclined her head. Several spasms ran up her neck. Sadness was growing up. Once again she sat down on the very edge of an armchair and felt that she snagged her stocking.*

*Vika užsimerkė, susverdėjo ir atsargiai it nuogąstingas žvėris kyštelėjo vieną koją į vandenį. Jis paglostė jos blizgančią blauzdą. (J.I.)*

*Vika closed her eyes, teetered and slided her one leg into the water with care, as if a scared animal. It caressed her sleek shin.*

*Dairiausi, kur atsisėsti, ir labai nustebau, kai viena moteris, modama ranka, pašaukė mane vardu. (J.I.)*

*I was looking where to sit down and got very surprised when a woman waving her hand called my name.*

As it has already been concluded, the above examples of the past simple tense have the equivalents of the past simple tense and the present perfect tense in English (the past simple tense being a more frequent equivalent).

The past simple tense is used to express both specific and general actions in Lithuanian. Only a non-contact past simple tense possesses a distinct specific or general meaning of the action. Meanwhile, contact past simple tense, which expresses an action and its result or resultative state, does not always allow distinguishing if the state is specific or general. Moreover, it is not always possible to determine whether the perfective state was achieved by a single action or by a repeated one. The past simple tense with general meaning signifies the relevance of the action which is defined for a longer or a shorter period in the past in Lithuanian. The verbs of *imperfective aspect* are used in this case. Consider:

*Silpni iš gymio, ligų nukankinti, vienas po kito mirė vaikai, ir jis laidojo juos be ašarų. (P.C.)*

*His weak sick children died one after another and he buried them with no tears.*

*O girios, girios!.. atmint malonu: jos buvo dievo, ne dvaro; jos slėpė žmones ne tik nuo ponų: nuo dvaro, nuo maro, nuo karo. (M.)*

*Oh forests forests!.. its so sweet to remember that their master was the god but not the laird and they concealed people not only from the lord but also from the plague and from the war.*

*Kas tik klausė kvailo vado, tas tikrai nelaimę rado. (V.Kud.)*

*Those who obeyed to the dumb commander found their misfortune.*

*Už dviejų žingsnių žmogus žmogaus nematė. (J.Bil.)*

*A person could not see a person in a couple of steps.*

*Restorane sėdėjo vos keletas žmonių. (A.Vencl.)*

*Only several people were in the restaurant.*

*Sabalio lentpjūvė buvo toli nuo viešojo kelio. (A.V.)*

*Sabalys ' sawmill was far away from the public road.*

*Jojo antrininkas buvo Aužbikų Šiukšta Mykolas, perpus už jį jaunesnis. (V.)*

*His double was Aužbikis Šiukšta Mykolas who was half his age.*

The past simple tense of the non-contact meaning expressing a general past action which was relevant at some time in the past possesses the past simple tense as its equivalent in English. However, the past continuous tense may also be used as the equivalent in this case. As it has already been noted, the past

continuous tense is used when the focus is on duration. Consider:

*Iš vamzdžio plonu, ilgu kaspinu driekėsi aitrus dūmas. (P.C.)*

*A thin bitter smoke was spreading from the pipe.*

*Arvydo gyvenimas ėjo sava vaga. (A.V.)*

*Arvydas ' life was following its path.*

*Ant tų jūrių kranto gyveno vienas žmogus. (V.K.)*

*A man was living on the seaside.*

As it has already been indicated, the most frequent equivalent of the above examples of the past simple tense is the past simple tense in English. The past simple tense is frequently used to express general past actions and situations in English. However, when the focus is on the duration of the action, the past continuous tense may be used as well.

The past simple tense with the general meaning expresses an action which is unlimited in its state or actions, they are more or less permanent phenomena of nature or human's life in Lithuanian. Moreover, only the verbs of *imperfective aspect* are used there. Consider:

*Pievas ir ežerėlį supo aukšti krantai... Iš vieno šono siekė gražus,*

*sausas miškas. Puiki žolė augo Želvio pievose. (V.M.-P)*

*The meadows and the little lake were surrounded by high hills... A dry beautiful forest was at one side. Lush grass was growing in the fields of Želvys.*

*Iš lūšnų ir barakų į saulę stiebės vargo Lietuva. (A.J.)*

*Poor Lithuania was trying to stand up out of all the shacks and bunkhouses.*

*Kaip baltas audeklas tęsėsi tarp žaliuojančių laukų, pievų ir girių lygus ir platus plentas, margais akmenėliais išbarstytas. (J. Bil.)*  
*A wide highway was stretching between green fields, meadows and forests. It was like white fabric scattered with speckled pebles.*

*Kažkur čiurleno šaltinis. (T.T.)*  
*A spring was rippling somewhere.*

*Pro blankias debesų properšas liejosi kaip auksas žėruojančio saulėlydžio žaros. (V.M.-P.)*  
*The glow of sparkling sunset was streaming like gold through the breaks of colourless clouds.*

*Ėjo dienos, savaitės, mėnesiai. (P.C.)*  
*Days, weeks and months were passing by.*

*Oras buvo pilnas elektros, ir ji amalu byrėjo iš oro, nebesilaikydama, blizgėjo žybčiojo be griaustinio, pažemiais pynės. (V.)*  
*The air was full of electricity and it was falling down and glittering without a thunder and twisting down the ground.*

The past simple tense of the non-contact meaning expressing more or less consistent states and lasting actions has the equivalent of the past continuous tense in English. As it has already been noted, the past continuous tense is used when the focus is on the duration of the action, when we refer to continued states in English. However, the past simple tense may also be used since the past continuous tense is limited in some cases (there are verbs which do not obtain a continuous form). Consider:

*Žmonės buvo padidintais norais ir padidintu nepasitenkinimu. (V.)*  
*The people were with exaggerated wishes and exaggerated*

*dissatisfaction.*

*Ne per toli nuo miesčiuko riogsojo apleista karčema. (L.P.)*

*An old inn was not far away from a small town.*

*Buvo rytas, giedras, ramus ir malonus... (J.B.)*

*It was a cloudless, quiet and nice morning.*

*Geišių sodžius buvo antrapus miškelio už dvejeta trejeta kilometrų.*

*(V.)*

*The village of Geišiai was on the other side of the grove, two or three kilometres away.*

*Ne tik saulė, visas oras buvo geltonas kaip tirpintas vaškas. (V.)*

*Not only the sun but all the air was yellow like melted wax.*

As it is evident from the examples above, the most frequent equivalent of the past simple tense is the past continuous tense in English. The focus is on duration but not the time of an action. When the verb *būti* (*to be*) is used in the Lithuanian examples, the past simple tense is the equivalent in English (the verb *to be* does not possess the continuous form in English).

The past simple tense which expresses a repetitive action always obtains a general meaning in Lithuanian; the verbs of *imperfective aspect* are used there. Consider:

*Kasdien nuo septynių ryto iki gilaus vidurnakčio plušėjo jis Moliūno knygrišykloje. Pjovė popierių, rėžė kartoną, maišė kljus, mynė perforuojamosios pedalą, žodžiu, darė viską, kas privalu mokiniui.*

*(J.B.)*

*He was working hard in the bindery of Moliūnas from 7am till the midnight. He was cutting paper, mixing glue, treading the pedal to*



*perforate the paper; basically, he was doing everything what an apprentice should have done.*

*Baisia savęs gailėjausi. Pravirkau. Verkiau ir verkiau. (J.I.)*

*I was so sorry for myself. I started crying. I was crying and crying.*

*Bėgiojo vienas pas kitą, šnibždėjos, stovinėjo pavartėse, priemenių duryse, prie šulinių ir narstė jaunosios Pečiūrienės kaulelius. (A.V.)*

*They were all running one after other, whispering and standing at the gates, doors, wells and all were gossiping about Pečiūrienė.*

*Kitą rytą po laidotuvių motina atsikėlė švintant. Paskum ji taip kasdien kėlėsi, ėjo ravėt daržų, nešt turtingiesiems miestelėnams vandenį. (P.C.)*

*The next morning after the funeral the mother woke at the dawn. Every day (later on) she was waking up and going to weed out the garden, to bring water to the rich townspeople.*

*Vis galvojo galvojo tą vieną mintį, kur čia Severja dar kartą susitikus?*

*(V.)*

*He was thinking again and again where he could meet Severja.*

The above examples of the past simple tense have the equivalents the past continuous tense in English. However, the past simple tense is used when the verbs in English cannot possess the continuous form or when the duration of the action is expressed semantically. Consider:

*Kur tik jis pasisuko, visur girdėjai: -Mykoliuk šen, Mykoliuk ten. (V.)*

*Wherever he went one could hear: Mykoliukas here, Mykoliukas there.*

*Jis už visus anksčiausiai kėlė, vėliausiai gulė už visus... (E.M.)*

*He was the first one to wake up and the last one to go to bed.*

General meaning is also specific to the past simple tense which expresses phenomena in a broad sense which usually take place in different locations and on different periods of time in Lithuanian. Furthermore, only the verbs of *imperfective aspect* are used to express the meaning. Consider:

*Laimė tiems, kurie turėjo pieningesnę karvę. Iš atliekamo pieno moterys suko sviestą, spaudė sūrį, jei gerai dėjo vištos, rinko tuziną ar visą puslapį kiaušinių ir vežė viską į Kėdainius. (V.M.-P)*

*Happy were those who had a milky cow. Women used to make/would make butter and cheese from the spare milk and if hens were good at laying eggs they used to collect /would collect them and used to take/would take to Kėdainiai.*

*Bet ir tenai darbo nebuvo; daugelis išmestųjų iš fabrių darbininkų badavo, neturėdami kuo duonos nusipirkti. (J.B.)*

*There were no jobs there either, many workers fired from the factory were starving because they had no money to buy bread.*

*Senis Rytis žvejojo jūroje žuvis, jo pati adė tinklus, gamino šeimynai valgi ir, dukrelės padedama, ruošėsi apie namus. (A.V.)*

*Old man Rytis was fishing in the sea, his wife was mending nets, cooking for the family, and doing the chores with the help of her daughter.*

*Ne per toli nuo miesčiuko riogsojo apieista karčema. Priklausė ji dvarui, bet nuo to laiko, kaip degtinės varymas buvo uždraustas, tuščia stovėjo. Tik žmonės pasakojo, kad tenai velniai naktimis sueigas darą. (L.P.)*

*An old inn was not far away from a small town. It belonged to the*

*mansion but since the time when the making of vodka was banned it has been standing empty. People were telling that devils meet there at nights.*

The above examples of the past simple tense have the equivalents of the past simple tense, the past continuous tense and *used to* and *would* in English. *Used to* is used to express the action which repeatedly took place or existed in the past, although it no longer happens or exists. *Used to* is similar to *would* when it is used to describe repeated actions in the past. However, unlike *would*, *used to* can also describe past states and situations (*Actresses used to be very reluctant to wear tight corsets*) (Sinclair 1990: 242-243). *Would* is used to express regularity in the past, i.e. to talk about something that occurred regularly in the past, but no longer takes place or happens (*A man with a list would come round and say you could go off duty*) (Sinclair 1990: 221).

The past simple tense is also used to express past actions characteristic to one species during its period of existence; only the verbs of *imperfective aspect* are used there. Consider:

*Aplink sodą eglės žaliavo. (J.Jabl.)*

*Fir trees were growing green around the garden.*

*O šaltis spiginte spigino. (J.Blč.)*

*It was freezing cold.*

*Nors jau pavasario saulė linksmi žiūrėjo pro mano langą, nors lauke sprogo ir žydėjo medžiai, vienok sėdėjau savo kambary: rengiaus prie egzaminių. (J.B.)*

*Although the spring sun was looking merrily through my window and all the trees were bursting in leaves and blossoming, I yet was sitting in my room and getting ready to my exams.*

*Tik maži upeliukai šokinėjo nuo vieno akmens ant kito ir greitai skubėjo apačion, maloniai sriuwendami ir kažin ką liūdnai pasakodami. (J.B.)*

*Only small runnels were jumping from one stone to another and were promptly rushing down while nicely flowing and telling something very sadly.*

*Medžiai gelto, raudo palengva ir priminė amžinosios ugnies liepsnas. (J.I.)*

*The trees were gradually yellowing and reddening. They reminded me of the flames of eternal fire.*

*Žiemos tenai nebuvo, nesgi sniegas negalėjo įsnigti ir, jei kur pūgos ir pusnys kame-ne-kame nuo medžių įkratė, tas pats tenai ilgainiui gaišo. (D.)*

*There was no winter there because there was no snow and even if some storms shook off some snow from the trees it melted away in the fullness of time.*

The examples above again have the equivalent of two past tenses in English is the past continuous tense. Nevertheless, when the verb cannot obtain the continuous form, the past simple is used in English.

The past simple tense is often used in riddles, proverbs, sayings, expressing common sense and wisdom in Lithuanian.

*Aukso lenta praskilo, visi žmonės sukilo (saulė). (T)*

*Aš jam kalną pyliau, o jis man duobę kasė. (T)*

*Ir nelaimintas tas žmogus, kuris veido ašara neplovė. (M.)*

The beautiful Lithuanian riddles and proverbs above cannot be translated literally. However, it is logical to assume that, since the English language is bound by the sequence of tenses and since there are subordinate clauses used in some the examples above, past tenses would be used if there is a past tense in the main clause. However, if there are compound tenses all grammatical tenses could be used.

Sometimes the past simple tense of general meaning is used to express the ability of an agent to perform an action; the verbs of *imperfective aspect* are used there. Consider:

*Penkiolikos metų buvo, o taip dailiai šieną pjovė, oi-oi-oi!.. (L.P.)*

*He was only fifteen still he could cut /was able to cut grass so well.*

*Gudrus buvo (Petras) ir protingas. Maža ką pamokytas, ne tik gražiai skaitė kiekvieną knygą, bet ir rašė greitai smulkiai. (V.M.-P.)*

*He was very smart and cunning even though little educated he could read any book and write very tidy.*

*Jis skaitė, rašė jau gana gerai. (T.T.)*

*He could read and write quite well.*

*Vaikinai, į kuriuos jis seniau nekreipdavo atidos, buvo ne tokie, kaip jis manė,- jie jau skaitė laikraščius, platino knygeles. (J.Bil.)*

*The lads were already reading newspapers and distributing books.*

The examples above have the equivalents of the past simple and the past continuous tense in English. The past simple tense with the modal verb *can* is usually used to express the meaning of the action above. The past continuous is used when there is a focus on the action itself.

Moreover, the past simple tense of general meaning may be used to define (generally) a state or action which is perceived as a feature of the agent in

Lithuanian. Again, the verbs of *imperfective aspect* are used there. Consider:

*Ketvirta buvo padori žmonelė, bet per nelaimę gėrė arielkėlę. (M.V.)*

*The forth wife was a good one just would drink a lot.*

*Negėrė mano nei tavo tėveliai, nelinkę ir mudu gerti. (V.)*

*Neither my parents were drinking nor we do.*

*Ji (lakštingala) giedojo taip gražiai, jog, jos beklausydamas, net varguolis žvejys pamiršdavo ištraukti savo tinklą iš vandens. (J.Blč.)*

*The nightingale would sing / used to sing so beautifully that even the poor man used to forget his net while listening to her song.*

The examples of the past simple tense above have the equivalents of the past continuous tense, *used to* and *would* in English. The past continuous tense is used when we want to talk about past continued states or repeated actions. Both *used to* and *would* refer to past states, however, *used to* can be used to express some past actions or habits which no longer happen or exist. *Would* is used to talk about past habits and typical characteristics.

The analysis of the past simple tense of the non-contact meaning in Lithuanian has demonstrated that verbs of both perfective and imperfective aspect are used to express the meaning. However, the verbs of imperfective aspect are more frequent. The equivalents of the past simple tense of the non-contact meaning expressed by the verbs of perfective aspect are the present perfect and the past simple tense. Moreover, the equivalents of the past simple tense of the non-contact meaning expressed by the verbs of imperfective aspect are the past simple tense, the past continuous tense and *used to* and *would* in English.

### 2.1.2. The Equivalents of the Past Simple Tense of the Perfective Meaning

The forms of the past simple tense possess perfective meaning when the result of the tense they express is related to the moment of speech or some other present moment.

The examples below prove once again that the past simple tense of one language does not necessarily have the equivalent of the same tense in the other language. Lithuanian past simple tense possesses the present perfect tense as its equivalent in English. The present perfect tense is often described as referring to 'past with present relevance' or 'past involving the present' (Leech 1971: 30-31). The present perfect tense is used (1) to express the action which happened in the past but a specific time is not mentioned (is not relevant) (*They have raised £ 180 for swimming pool.*), (2) to express the action or to talk about the situation that started at some time in the past, continued, and is still happening now (*She has always felt that films should be entertaining.*) (Sinclair 1990: 251). Moreover, all the verbs in the examples of Lithuanian past simple tenses of the *perfective aspect* below are of *perfective aspect* only. Consider:

*Pernai buvo dar mažutis, o dabar išaugo jau. (K.B.)*

*Last year he was small and now he (a) has grown up / (b) has become a big boy.*

*Nebepažintum tų laikų- taip visa čia pakito. (E.M.)*

*You wouldn't recognize the times as everything has changed a lot here.*

*Atgijo žemė pirmu derlium nešina. (T.T.)*

*The earth has come to life bearing its first harvest.*

*Šiandien atsikėliau su lig pusryčiais. (J.Jabl.)*

*Today I have woken up at breakfast time.*

*Darbininkai dar tvirčiau susispietė apie vėliavas, pasiruošę jas ginti.* (A.V.)

*Workers have come together even closer to the flags and ready to defend them.*

*Kareiva pagaliau sutiko imtis tarpininkauti.* (A.Vencl.)

*The soldier has finally agreed to be a mediator.*

*Atsigavo Rapolas. Dabar savo pareigas vėl pradėjo eiti kaip reikiant.* (V.)

*Rapolas has recovered and started his duties properly.*

*Staiga supratau, kad tave myliu.* (J.I.)

*I suddenly have realized that I love you.*

*Jis parašė per dvidešimt raštų.* (J.Jabl.)

*He has written over twenty writings.*

*Vaikams šiuo kartu jis neparnešė nieko. Tai ir jie paliko nepatenkinti.*

*Vienas net jį įžeidė, atsisakęs su juo sėstis užstalèn kaip visados.* (V.)

*This time he has brought nothing to his children. Thus they have been very dissatisfied. His one child even insulted him by refusing to share a table with his father.*

As it has already been noted, the most suitable equivalent of the past simple tense of the perfective meaning is the present perfect tense in English.

Although the majority of the examples of the past simple tense of the perfective meaning possess verbs of *perfective aspect*, verbs of *imperfective aspect* could be used in the past tenses of the perfective meaning in Lithuanian as well. The examples below have the present perfect and the past simple tense as



their equivalents in English. Consider:

*Ir aš ten gyvenau trejus metus, ir laimę ten radau.*

*I have also lived there for three years and have found my fortune.*

*Taip aš tave pakrikštijau ir vardą daviau patį gražiausią, kokį žinojau  
<...> (R.G.)*

*Yes, I have baptized you and have given you the most beautiful name  
I've known <...>.*

*Garsus, bet nesveikas rašytojas tai irgi sakė, tik vietoj trijų parų  
minėjo amžinybę. (R.Š.)*

*A famous but ill writer has also said that, except he has mentioned  
eternity instead of three days.*

*-Gal susapnavai septynias liesas ir septynias riebias? <...>?*

*-Ne, aš sapnavau vieną. (R.G.)*

*-Have you seen a dream with seven skinny and seven fat ones?*

*-No, I have dreamt only one.*

The analysis of the examples of the past simple tense of the perfective meaning of Lithuanian and their equivalents in English demonstrate that the most frequent equivalent Lithuanian past simple tense of the perfective meaning is the present perfect tense in English. The past simple tense of the perfective meaning in Lithuanian and the present perfect tense in English possess the same meaning: the result of the action expressed is relevant at the moment of speech or any other present action or situation, i.e. past with present relevance or past involving the present.

### 2.1.3. The Equivalents of the Past Simple Tense of the Plusquamperfective Meaning

The forms of the past simple tense possess the plusquamperfective meaning when the result of the tense they express is related to some other past action or past situation. Thus, the forms of the past simple tense with the plusquamperfective meaning often are used with other forms of past tenses.

The illustrations adduced below prove that the equivalents of the past simple tense of Lithuanian are the following tenses of English: the past perfect tense and the past simple tense. The past perfect tense expresses and emphasizes the result of the action and the time of the action is not relevant. The past perfect tense signifies an action the result of which was relevant at some moment in the past, thus the past perfect refers to a time-frame leading up to a point in the past (*That was 1938. I left in June with the children for a new home in Oxford, where my mother had bought a house. My father had died in 1936*) (Carter and McCarty 2007: 619).

The verbs of both perfective and imperfective aspect are used to express the past simple tense of the plusquamperfective meaning. Consider the examples of the tense with the verbs of *perfective aspect* below which possess the only equivalent in English: the past perfect tense:

*Tačiau akys pritivino ašarų, jos jau papsėjo ant pagalvio krašto ir grindų.* (J. M.)

*However, the eyes had become all full of tears which started dropping on the pillow and on the floor.*

*Šeštadienio vakarą Petras, grįžęs su dėde namo, rado netikėtą svečių: atvažiavo brolis* (V. M.-P.)

*Saturday night Petras came home and found an unexpected guest: his brother Vincas had arrived.*

Švito. Tačiau ančių nebuvo: lyg tyčia, jos visos kažkur išsidangino.  
(P.C.)

The dawn was breaking. Nevertheless, there were no ducks; as if on purpose they had disappeared somewhere.

Taigi, čia tuomet pirmą kartą pamačiau ir kalnus. (A.V.)  
It was here that for the first time I had seen mountains.

Visą savaitę išvaikščiojo Laurynas po Rygą, ieškodamas darbo: niekur jo nepriėmė. Nuplyšo batai, baigė pinigai. (J.B.)  
All week long Laurynas had been searching for a job in Riga, but no one hired him. He had ripped his boots and spent all his money.

Bent kartą jis pats mums tai papasakojo. (J.Bil.)  
At least once he had told us this story.

As it has already been noted, verbs of *imperfective aspect* are used in the past simple tense of the plusquamperfective meaning in Lithuanian as well. The examples below possess both the past perfect and the past simple tense as the equivalents in English. Consider:

Visai kitokia buvo Veronika pirmiau. (A.V.)  
Veronika was completely different in former times.

Prieš amžiaus ketvirtį jau aš buvau poetas, grožėjausi eiliavimo įmantrumu. (T.T.)  
A quarter of a century ago I was already a poet and was able to admire the poetry.

Juozas jau tada buvo vyras, dailiai nuaugęs: laibas, kaip liepa, stiprus, kaip ąžuolas. (L.P.)

*Even then Juozas was already a man all handsomely grown up:  
slender like a linden, strong like an oak.*

*Priskaičius vietą, kurioje vargšė mergelė aprašo, kaip mirė jos  
motina, skausmas suspaudė man širdį, o akys pasruvo ašaromis. (Š.R.)  
Having read the place where the poor girl describes how her mother  
had died, pain clenched my heart and tears started running from my  
eyes.*

*Ištisais mėnesiais nejudėdamas, stovėjo vienas, tirštai pilkas dangus.  
(V.)  
The sky had remained thick and grey for months.*

*Nuo to sykio per visą žiemą ir pavasarį nematėme Šmulkos ir  
numanėme jį išvažiavus. (Š.R.)  
Since then, through all winter and spring, we hadn't seen Šmulka and  
we assumed he had gone.*

*Visa ta diena buvo ypatingai nervinanti. (V.)  
All the day was extremely nerve-racking.*

The forms of the past simple tense of Lithuanian are also used to express an action with the plusquamperfective meaning with no relation to other forms of past tenses because the past simple tense may express actions the result of which does not exist at the moment of speech, is not relevant and for this reason is per se attributed to the past. The past situation (when the result of the action was relevant) is perceived from the context.

The examples of the past simple tense of Lithuanian below have the equivalents of the past perfect (or past perfect continuous when the focus is on duration of the action) and the past simple tenses of English. As has already been noted, the past perfect tense is used to express a past action which took

place at some time in the past and the results of which were relevant at some past moment while the time of the action is not significant at all.

Moreover, verbs of both perfective and imperfective aspect can be used to express the meaning. Consider the examples with the verbs of *perfective aspect*:

*Mano pažįstamas miestietis nusivedė mane į komediją, lygiai taip pat: kalbasi, sveikinasi, juokiasi, verkia... (Ž.)*

*My acquaintance from the town had taken me to a comedy. Everybody was chatting, shaking hands, laughing, crying.*

*O kupetų daugybė! Iš kur jų tiek čionai? Nė pusės nesugrėbė prieš audrą juk jinai. (S.N.)*

*How many haystacks are here! How come there are so many? She hadn't raked even a half of them before the storm*

*Dovydžiukas prapliupo verkti: taip jam pabaiso vienam gyventi ir vargti. (V.)*

*Dovydžiukas burst out crying after he had realized how scared he had been to live alone his hard life.*

*Užmiršo Rapolas savo pareigas. Nebeėmė savo bizūno. (V.)*

*Rapolas had forgotten his duties. He stopped taking his whip.*

*Juozui nepigiai atiteko tos dovanos: kuo tik galvos nepadėjo, gelbėdamas ponaičius skęstant. (L.P.)*

*Juozas didn't receive those presents free, he had almost lost his life while saving the drowning masters.*

Consider the examples of Lithuanian past simple tense of plusquamperfective meaning with the verbs of *imperfective aspect*:

*Stebėtina man pasirodė, kad taip nebranginau mamatės, tiek laiko kasdien praleisdama be jos. (Š.R.)*

*It was surprising how I hadn't been appreciating my mother, how much time I had been spending without her.*

*Dovydui iš jo tiek tebuvo naudos, kad jis iš dvaro parnešdavo jam kokių senų, dar stiprių šikšny, kurias šikšninkas keitė naujomis. (V.)*

*The only benefit Dovydžiukas got from him was that he used to bring him old but strong leather strops which had been changed for new ones.*

*Ta įkibusi mintis, tas pasiūlgimas ar ištroškimas, pavadinkime, kaip sau norite, meile ar kitaip, nors nė per akies mirksnį nenyko, tačiau nebekliudė. (V.)*

*That obsessive idea, that feeling of nostalgia or even desire, you may call it love or whatever, although it had never gone, it was not bothering me that much.*

The example below and its equivalent in English demonstrate that the past simple tense maybe be the equivalent of the past simple tense of the plusquamperfective meaning in English. In this case the abilities of a person are expressed and thus the modal verb *could* is being used.

*Nemokėjo senis nei rašyti nei skaityti; o gaila, nes jo pastebėjimai gal būtų atnešę nemaža naudos kokiam mokslininkui. (L.P.)*

*The old man could neither write nor read; it was very unfortunate because his ideas could have brought (could have benefited some scientist a lot) much benefit to some scientist.*

The analysis of the examples of Lithuanian past simple tense of the plusquamperfective meaning and their equivalents in English demonstrates that a

broader context is required to express the meaning of the past perfect tense in English as well as in Lithuanian. Moreover, the most appropriate and suitable equivalent of the Lithuanian past simple tense of the plusquamperfective meaning is the past perfect tense in English. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the past simple tense of the plusquamperfective meaning with the verbs of perfective aspect have the only equivalent in English, i.e. the past perfect tense; however, the past simple tense of the plusquamperfective meaning with the verbs of imperfective aspect maybe possess the past simple and the past perfect tense as its equivalents in English.

## **2.2. The Use of the Past Frequentative Tense and its Equivalents**

The past frequentative tense is typical only to the Lithuanian language. It distinguishes Lithuanian from all other Indo-European languages. The specialists of historical comparative linguistics emphasize its exclusiveness, novelty, however, the origin and the ground for the overall usage is left aside. The first grammars of Prussian Lithuania approach the tense differently: Klein differentiates the forms with the suffix *-dav-* as formation iteratives, meanwhile, Sapūnas includes the past frequentative tense into the paradigm of tenses. Therefore, Sapūnas and Šulcas distinguish repetition expressed by the grammatical suffix *-dav-* from formation iteratives (Sapūnas ir Šulcas 1673 in Sapūno ir Šulco Gramatika 1997). They notice that both iterative and habitual verbs obtain the same form (e.g. *šoko - šokinėdavo* , *šokinėjo – šokinėdavo*). Supposing that the iterative meaning is of the same level as the one of formation, theoretically it would not be possible to add two iterative suffixes to the same verb. After all, authors of grammars of the time knew classical Greek and Latin very well and were aware that there occur extra meanings of a tense in the complex system of tenses and that there is more than only a simple relation between the action and the moment of speech. For example, there is the opposition of tense as well as the opposition of aspect between *Present* and

*Aoristus* in the old Greek language.

The fact which could surprise any specialist of historical grammar is that having stated that the past frequentative tense is a new tense in the Lithuanian language the factors and terms for its origin and the ground for the overall usage are left aside. The question *Why the past frequentative tense was founded in the Lithuanian language?* has not been answered yet. The origin of the suffix *-dav-* has been studied; however, the functional necessity of the past frequentative tense related to aspect was explained only by Paulauskienė (Paulauskienė 1970:74, 1994: 328-332, 2003: 75-81). Unfortunately, the interpretation was neither corroborated nor negated. Whereas, the antithesis *parašė – parašydavo* is considered the antithesis of aspects not tenses in the newest academic publication *Studies in Lithuanian Grammar 2* (Holvoet 2004: 141-142) where the theory of Dambriūnas (Dambriūnas 1975: 171-179) is being referred to. It can be considered as a theoretical mistake which is probably supported by the review of the Lithuanian grammar by Girdenis and Žulys (Girdenis and Žulys 1973: 210). The relation of the past frequentative tense with aspect and the moment of speech is not considered here and it is claimed that past tenses are not defined properly in Lithuanian grammars as the forms of the past simple tense may express a repeated action as well.

Indeed, only verbs of imperfective aspect can be used in the repeated context as the meaning of one time is not indicated in them. Therefore, the forms of the past simple tense may be synonymous to the forms of the past frequentative tense in the case of imperfective aspect. The both forms can be interchanged if the action of distant past is being expressed:

*Gausiau tada žemė derėdavo (=derėjo), girios kugždėdavo  
(=kugždėjo) žvėrių, paukščių ir žmonės tvirtesni, veiklesni būdavo  
(=buvo) (V.K.).*

However, verb forms of the perfective aspect of the past simple and the past frequentative tenses cannot be synonymous as both of them are marked: the



meaning of one time is denoted in the past simple tense, whereas, the meaning of repetition is denoted in the past frequentative tense. The meaning of one time is indicated by a prefix while the meaning of repetition is indicated by the suffix – *dav-*.

*Pritilo laukai, pritulo kaimai (...) tik tylių tilvikų pulkai kartais pakildavo iš žiemkenčiais sužaliavusių dirvų ir, liūdnai patrimtavę, vėl tylomis nusileisdavo žemėn savo dūmų dūmoti (A.V.).*

The following examples show that there is not only the opposition of aspects in the antithesis *parašė – parašydavo*:

*Tą dieną, kai mes pas juos nuvykome į svečius, Onutė šokinėjo per virvutę.*  
*Aš šiandien jau daug kartų valgiau.*

It is not possible to change the iterative verbs of the past simple tense (*šokinėjo, valgiau*) by the verbs in the past frequentative tense (*šokinėdavo, valgydavau*) in the examples above.

Generalizing meaning is characteristic to the past frequentative tense but it is also characteristic to all other tenses. Thus, all the tenses can be used as synonyms with the neutralization of the opposition of aspects in certain contexts (e.g. *Jis visada taip daro / padaro ir Jis visada taip darydavo / padarydavo).*

However, it may be stated that only formation iteratives can have the meaning of aspect when their formation iterative meaning fades. There is a synonymy in the following examples: *Dabar jis perrašo darbą iš naujo* and *Dabar jis perrašinėja darbą iš naujo* and *perrašo - perrašinėja* may form the opposition of aspects. *Jau perrašė darbą* (perfective aspect). *Kai mes nuėjom, jis dar perrašinėjo darbą* (imperfective aspect).

Since the Lithuanian language is the only European language that has the past frequentative tense to express a repeated action in the past, it is relevant to

study and analyze the equivalents of the tense in the English language.

The forms of the past frequentative tense are used to express a repeated action in the past. In some cases the frequency of the action is emphasized by lexical means.

*Baigęs darbus, Motiejus tvirtai užsklėsdavo duris. Guldavosi jis su pačia užkrosny, pasieny, kur nebuvo langų. (P.C.)*

*After all the housework Motiejus used to bolt the door; and he would go to bed with his wife in the inglenook.*

*Kelias dešimtis porų klumpių išskobęs, senis sustatydavo jas asloje ir iš eilės imdavo dailinti tikrai pasigėrėdamas. (L.P.)*

*After having curved several tens of clogs, the old man used to put them on the dirt floor and admiring take them one by one for decorating.*

*Turiu pasakyti, kad mano motina nors niekados blogo žodžio ant ponų nepasakydavo, bet malonės didelės neturėdavo. (J.Bil.)*

*I have to tell you that my mother never used to say anything wrong about the masters, still no one used to appreciate her.*

*Ji visuomet kietai miegodavo. Netgi dienos metu, dirbdama darbą, užsnūsdavo laukuose, linus raujant ar daržus ravint, nugriūdavo kur nors lysvėje ir užmigdavo. (P.C.)*

*She always used to sleep well. She used to fall asleep in the fields even at the daytime during work. Even while grubbing up flax she would fall anywhere in the fields and sleep.*

*Uždarbis būdavo vidutinis. Bet dažnai reikėdavo duoti kyšiai „meistrams“, - ir kartais tik tik pragyvenimui bepakakdavo. (J.Bil.)*

*The income was average. Yet we had sometimes to bribe masters, that*

*is why we often had to scrape a living.*

*Kiek kartų čia , tėvo skverno įsitvėręs, Jurgis eidavo arklių liuobti.  
(A.G.-G.)*

*Frequently Jurgis used to go to the horses together with his father.*

*Mieste neretai vykdavo demonstracijos, mitingai, streikai.*

*There were many often demonstrations, meetings and strikes took place in the city.*

*Retą kartą sueigon neprisėlindavo šnipai. (A.G.-G.)*

*It was almost never that spies would not attend the meetings.*

*Kasdien apeidavau vienuolyno mūrus, nors iš tolo norėjau tave pamatyti. (J.G.)*

*I used to come round the monastery every day as I wanted to see you even from afar.*

The above examples of the past frequentative tense have the equivalents of the past simple tense or *used to* and *would* in English. The past simple tense is used to express a past action; the repetition is emphasized by lexical means (e.g. *often*). When the past simple is used to refer to habitual past actions and events, the meaning is similar to *used to*. *Used to* and *would* possess the meaning of a repeated action in the past, the only distinction between them is that *used to* may describe past states and situations. Moreover, with *would* the past time-frame is to be established, which is often accomplished by a previous presence of *used to* (Carter and McCarthy 2006:610, 663).

The past frequentative tense can also be used when the number of actions that happened during some particular time is indicated; still, the total number is not established yet. Consider:

*Tas Antanas triskart per metus parvažiuodavo tėviškėn akacijų, visuomet atsiveždavo po knygu ryšeli ir išplatindavo tarp jaunuomenės. (J.Bil.)*

*Antanas used to come to his home three times a year to take acacias and he would always bring a packet of books and distribute among the youth.*

The above adduced example of the past frequentative tense has the equivalent of *used to* and *would* in English. Those are the means of expression of a repetitive action in English.

The past frequentative tense has a general meaning when it denotes that the action in the past was repeated an indefinite number of times in Lithuanian. In the cases like that it refers to repeated actions which do not last long. Consider:

*Ten, kur jis pasirodydavo, nušvisdavo žemė, po jos koju tirpdavo sniegas, pražysdavo gėlės ir trumpėdavo kalnų perėjios. (A.V.)*

*Everywhere he went the land used to light up, the snow would melt away, the flowers would bloom, the passes in the mountains would become shorter.*

*Garsus buvo bajoras... Visus priimdavo, visus žaliu vynu girdydavo, valgydindavo, nieko neatstumdavo, nieko nenuskriausdavo- nei didelio, nei mažo, nei vaiko, nei vargdienis našlaitėlės... (V.K.)*

*The lord was famous... He used to welcome, wine and dine everyone. No one was turned away or disadvantaged.*

The above examples of the past frequentative tense again have the equivalents of the past simple tense, *used to* and *would* in English. They all may possess the same meaning: repeated past actions or states.

The past frequentative tense may have a more or less general meaning in Lithuanian. The least general meaning is possessed but the past frequentative tense when it indicates the action taking place in some particular short time in the

past. Consider:

*Visiškai lengvai galima buvo pastebėti, kaip virpėjo jo pirštai, neramiai klajojo žvilgsnis, o žodžiai jo gerklėje užspringdavo. (T.T.)*

*One could easily notice his trembling fingers, his wandering look, even words used to choke up.*

*Nuo dvaro, aukštu keliu, jojo raitelis. Kartais kanopų klebetas nutildavo, kartais atsiliepdavo garsiau. (P.C.)*

*There was a horseman riding down the hill. The noise of the horse's hooves would fade away or even start sounding louder.*

*Visas plakėjo dėmesys buvo sukauptas į tą darbą. Kartais nuo karto jis lyžtelėdavo plaktuką, jį paseilindamas, ir lygiais lygiais dūžiais plakė siauručius dalgio ašmenis. (V.M.-P.)*

*All the attention of the hammerer was to the job he was doing. Sometimes he would lick the hammer and right away went on doing his job again.*

*Ten pokšėjo kirviai, čiuožė obliai ir lygiais tarpais pasigirsdavo vienodi, stiprūs dūžiai. (J.A.)*

*There was a sound of axes, planes and sometimes there was a sound of smooth powerful beats heard.*

*Aš atsimenu, kad mane vesdavo šokti, kviesdavo prie stalo, vėl vesdavo šokti, kol visai pasilpau. (T.T.)*

*I remember they used to invite me for a dance then again asked to the table, then again for a dance, till I lost all my energy.*

The past simple tense, *used to* and *would* are the equivalents of the examples of the past frequentative tense above.

The most general meaning is possessed but the past frequentative tense when it indicates the action taking place in some particular long time in the past:

*Kas silpnas, tas miške arba visai nedygdavo, arba išdygęs tuojau išnykdavo, užleidęs vietą stipresniam žaliūkui. (A.V.)*

*The weak ones either did not sprout in the forest at all or immediately died after.*

*Juk tapgi ir būdavo nuo amžių: kas pajėgesnis, tas ir kibdavo į gyvenimą. O kam neužtekdavo nei sugebėjimo, nei jėgos, tas smukdavo. (A.G.-G.)*

*It had always been like that: the more powerful used to survive, the others used to vanish as they had no power.*

*Tais laikais labai smarkiai buvo baudžiami tie, kurie sudrumsdavo tikybininkams ramybę, juos kiek nuskriausdavo. (P.P.)*

*The ones who used to disturb the believers had to be punished.*

The above presented examples of the past frequentative tense have the equivalents of the past perfect tense (when the result is relevant at some past moment), the past simple tense and *used to* in English. The forms of the past frequentative are not used in riddles, proverbs, sayings or aphorisms. In some cases the past frequentative tense is used to express a relatively stable action or state in the past.

*Dabar pasaulis visai ne tas kaip anais laikais, kada mažas buvau. O senovėje, kaip pasakoja mūsų tėvai, dar geriau būdavo, dar linksmiau gyvendavo. (V.K.)*

*The world has changed a lot since the times when I was small. In the old times, as our parents tell us, it (was) used to be much better, people (were) used to be more joyful.*

The above examples of the past frequentative tense have the equivalents of the past simple tense and the construction *used to* (which is the most frequent equivalent of the past frequentative tense) in English.

Nevertheless, the meaning of a fixed action or state is not typical to the past frequentative tense. Thus, the past simple is used more often in the cases like that.

In some particular contexts, the forms of the past frequentative tense may express the meaning that the agent is able to perform the action.

*Anksti pradėjęs dirbti dvare, Jurgis, nė iš piemenų dar neišaugęs, turėdavo arti su tokiais arkliais, kuriuos ir suaugęs darokas vos tepavaldydavo. (A.G.-G.)*

*Since his early age Jurgis had to work in the estate: to plough with the kind of horses the adults could hardly handle.*

*Toks gi vyras, po paraliais! Jautį nutrenkdavo! Kas tau? Kur tau sopa? (A.G.-G.)*

*What a man! He used to strike a bullock. What's wrong with you? Where does it hurt?*

The past simple tense (where the abilities of a person are referred to and the modal verb *could* is employed) and *used to* are the equivalents of the past frequentative tense in English.

Very often the forms of the past frequentative tense express isolated past action which has a relation with neither present nor any other action in the past.

*Juos matydavo žingsniuojančius (tiksliau pasakius- dičkis žingsniuodavo, o mažasis biznodavo risčiuke) į upės pusę, kur dunksojo išsprogdinto geležinkelio tilto griaučiai. Nusileidę į paupį, kareiviai užsirangydavo ant mūrinio tilto polių, susėsdavo nukarę*

*kojas ir ilgai taip sėdėdavo susiglaudę, sužiurę į plačius, ramius vandenis. (P.C.)*

*They were often seen pacing (the big one would always march and the small one would always jog) in the direction of the river where the wrecks of the broken railway bridge were. At the river the hikers would climb on the pilings of the masonry bridge, would swing their legs and would sit there for long shoulder to shoulder looking into the water.*

From the examples above and their translations it is evident that the past frequentative tense has the equivalents *used to*, *would* and the past simple tense in English. As it has already been noted, they all may express the same meaning; thus, can be used as the equivalents of the past frequentative tense in English.

Sometimes the forms of the past frequentative tense may express results which are received after some prior action.

*Jų kaimuose tik ir sutikdavai senius ir vaikus, nes visi paaugliai ir jaunieji išeidavo buožėms tarnauti už bernus, mergas ir piemenis. (A.V.)*

*You could only meet children and old people in those villages as all the youngsters and juveniles used to go to work as shepherds for the rich.*

Thus, the most corresponding and suitable English equivalents of the past frequentative tense are *used to*, *would* and the past simple tense. Lexical means are used to express the full meaning of the past frequentative tense in English as well.

Whereas, the examples of the past simple tense have the equivalents of the past simple, past continuous, past perfect and even present perfect tenses in English. The most suitable and frequent equivalents of the past simple tense of the non-contact meaning are the past simple tense (with the verbs of both



perfective and imperfective aspect) and the past continuous tense (with the verbs of imperfective aspect) in English. As it has already been emphasized, the past continuous tense is used to refer to continuous actions where the focus is on the duration. The past simple tense, however, is used to refer to more general actions and events. The verbs of the perfective aspect are not used to refer to the actions where the focus is on the duration; thus, the examples of the past simple tense of the non-contact meaning with the verbs of the perfective aspect do not have the equivalent of the past continuous tense in English. The past simple tense of the non-contact meaning which is used to express repeated past actions is synonymous to the past frequentative tense; therefore, *used to* and *would* may be their equivalents in English as well.

Moreover, the past simple tense of the perfective meaning possesses the present perfect tense as its most suitable equivalent in English; meanwhile, the past simple tense of the plusquamperfective meaning has the past perfect tense as its most suited equivalent in English.

### **3. Compound Tenses of Lithuanian and their Equivalents in English**

#### **3.1. The Relation of Participles to Conjugation Paradigms. General Overview**

In order to compare formal expression of past in Lithuanian and English, it is essential to elucidate some topics of general linguistics. One of the major subjects is the integration of the participle into conjugation paradigms in several different languages possessing different conjugation systems. Hence, it will be possible to observe how diverse the participle is.

The formation of word forms in many cases is similar to the word formation. For instance, participles of Indo-European languages are derived from simple forms of conjugated verbs and infinitives. The aim of such formation is to render expression by predicate forms into the attributive feature of an object.

Since verbs expressing predicate features are diverse in their meanings and functions in the language, participles express that diversity as well. It is not possible to analyze everything in a doctoral thesis but it is possible to answer the question why this derivative (the participle), is a form of a verb and why it has not changed into any another part of speech.

The attributes indicated in academic and practice grammars, i.e. time and reflexivity do not relate the participle to finite verb forms. The participle was considered a separate part of speech in antiquity. The rule said that the nominal (the noun) is inflected but has no tenses, the verb has tenses but is not inflected and the participle has tenses and is inflected; thus, it is to be considered a separate part of speech. Nevertheless, grammars of both old classical languages (Greek, Latin) and new modern ones, one way or another, include the participle into the system of finite verb forms. Even if the participle is not included it is still abutted to the system. Historical development of the participle and its incorporation into conjugation paradigms is different in various Indo-European languages. The whole study of historical and synchronic grammar could be dedicated to the issues of participles being included into the conjugation paradigms and their relations to finite verb forms.

Thus, to avoid immoderate digression from the subject, it should be noted that it is not morphological features (inflection, formation of forms) that relate Lithuanian participle to finite verb forms but categorial meaning of the stem of the verb. All morphologically expressed predicate categories of the verb do not remain in the process of formation of the participle; the categories of person, mood and predicative tense disappear since the tense of the participle does not depend on the sentence; it (the tense) is a compound part of the stem covered with adjectival inflections which denote case, number and gender. That is the essential distinction in tense of finite and declinable forms. Participles, as well as nouns, obtain the reflexive marker (reflexive affix) from verbal stems of finite verb forms. Participles possessing non-reflexive verbal stems can never be reflexive. It is the stem only that can possess the ability to attach adverbs and control cases the same as they are managed by fundamental finite verbs, e.g. *gražiai rašo* (writes well) – *gražiai rašantis*, *gražiai rašęs*, *gražiai rašomas*, *gražiai rašytas* (well written), *rašo pieštuku* ( writes with a pencil), *rašomas pieštuku* (written with a pencil) etc.

Moreover, it is not morphological features or grammatical categories that retain attributively employed participles in the system of verb forms. Hence, the relation between participles and finite forms of the verb should be determined in those cases when the participle in the nominative case (as well as the adjective in the position of agreement attributive) according to its secondary function reappears in predicate position and the predicate categories of the participle previously removed in the process of formation are recovered either by the participle alone or together with the auxiliary finite verb. Both the adjective and the noun are used with the auxiliary verb, e.g. *Vaikas (yra) geras* (The child is good). *Tėvas (yra) mokytojas, mama- medicinos sesuo* (Father is a teacher and mother is a nurse). *Išalkęs vaikas/ Vaikas (yra) išalkęs, alkanas* (Hungry child/ The child is hungry). Moreover, after participles formed from the verbs expressing active action find themselves in the predicate position and together with the auxiliary verb obtain previously possessed grammatical categories of the fundamental word, i.e. the categories of person, mood, predicative tense, they

entirely approach finite verbs and even become their synonyms, e.g. *Tėvas jau yra išvažiavęs* // *Tėvas jau išvažiavo* (*Father has already left*). Whereas, such compound form is not synonymous with the simple form but it is the only possible; moreover, it is incorporated in the system of finite forms. However, all the English tenses are compound except affirmative simple present and past tenses. They are formed with the help of auxiliary verbs and participles. As it has already been indicated, there are the following past tenses of English: the past simple tense (*I saw him last night. Did you see him last night? I didn't see him last night.*), the past continuous tense (*I was reading when he came.*), the past perfect tense (*When I came home they had already left.*), the past perfect continuous tense (*She had been trying very hard to achieve all she had*), future in the past (*I knew Julie would make dinner.*).

The participle of the old Greek language is included into the paradigms of finite verbs without any auxiliary verbs (Козаржевский 1975:196). Simple finite verbs of Latin (of all moods, even the infinitive tenses) possess forms of the active, the passive and the medium. Nevertheless, alongside there are also analytic forms composed of passive participles and the auxiliary verb *esse* (*to be*) in all tenses (Dumčius, Kuzavinis and Mironas 1978: 66-67; Kuzavinis and Valkūnas 1997: 260-262). Thus, the system of tenses in Latin is very complex. Nevertheless, the author of the first Lithuanian Grammar states the Lithuanian language favours participles a lot and possesses more of them than Latin and thus is richer in this respect; moreover, it has more tenses of participles since there are four active tenses: the present, the imperfect, the perfect and the future tenses and there also are three passive voice tenses: the present, the past and the future which is dual: the first and the second (here Klein multiplies the number of participles by attaching half-participles S.P.) (Klein 1653 in Balčikonis 1957:504).

The incorporation of Lithuanian participles into the system of finite verb forms can be analyzed by comparing Lithuanian to the modern Germanic, Romanic and Slavic languages. Tenses in Germanic and Romanic languages are formed with the help of participles and auxiliary verbs. These are “adhesive”

syntactic constructions the members of which are spelled separately but their position is fixed. Moreover, they remind of grammatical forms of one word by this fixed position but not of a combination of two or more words.

However, before analyzing the relation of Lithuanian participles with finite forms of the verb and searching for the equivalents of them in English it is relevant to review Slavic languages as well as Latvian (which is our neighbour language). The Russian language at first sight seems to have a quite simple system of tenses which consists of three tenses: the present, the past and the future. The present and the future tenses have finite forms with the inflections of a person, whereas, the past tense does not employ the inflections of a person, however, it expresses the gender and the number (which is not typical to the other two tenses). Those are the forms inherited from the participle which even cannot be termed the participle since it is never used as an agreement word and is never declined. The person is indicated by a word used as the subject (pronouns, nouns which are replaced by the third person pronouns: substitutes) (Table No.1).

Table No.1. The conjugation paradigm of Russian past tense.

Singular	Plural
Я делал,-а	Мы делали
Ты делал,-а	Вы делали
Он делал, она делала	Они делали

The participle with the formant *l* is completely blended into simple in respect of forms but semantically complex system of tenses and it is rather problematic to recognize (without any specific linguistic knowledge) that the conjugation of Russian past tense employs a personal pronoun having a function of the subject and a participle. There are no analytic tenses with auxiliary verbs in Russian.

There are various finite forms in Czech which are both simple and

compound; the participle with *l* is also found there. However, it is incorporated into the paradigm of tenses differently than it is used in the Russian language.

When the agent is a person or somebody who can act by oneself, the participle with *l* possesses an auxiliary verb which always has a fixed second position in the sentence, e.g.

*Potkal jsem v parku známéneko // I have met a friend in the park.*

*Přišla jsi pozdě // I have come back late. Dnes jsi přišla pozdě // I have come back late today.*

As we can see in the examples above, there is an analytic form and the position of the auxiliary verb depends on whether the sentence is started with the participle (then the auxiliary verb is in the postposition) or with another word (then the auxiliary verb is in the preposition in respect of the participle).

However, when the action is spontaneous self-contained and is not dependant on the will of a person, the participle with *l* may have no auxiliary verb and remain single in the system of finite forms, e.g.

*Teplota klesla na nulu //The temperature has dropped to zero. Na unicích už světla světla // Lights have already been on in the streets.*

The Czech language uses only a participle for generalizations, e.g.

*Všichni se tomu divili // Everybody has been wondering at that. Ve světové válce bojovali na frontě i ženy // During the world war even women were fighting in the front lines.*

Furthermore, the auxiliary verb is not used for neuter gender participles, e.g.

*Celou noc pršelo // The whole night has passed. Bylo nám zima // There was winter here. (Poldauf 1968: 183-184).*

Analytic constructions are also characteristic to conjugation paradigms of verbs in Bulgarian (Bontcheva 1999). The participle plays a major role in the system of finite forms of the verb. Bulgarian compound past tenses possess the same Slavic participle with *l*: *Perfect* (*живял съм* // *have lived*), *Plusquamperfect* (*бях живял* // *had lived*) *Futurum Exactum* (*ще съм живял*), *Futurum exactum praeteriti* (*цях да съм живял*) (the previous examples of the tenses above require a broader context to find the equivalents in English). Hence, it is reasonable to conclude that the participle with *l* is substantial in the paradigms of conjugation in Slavic languages (Бончева- ДЕРЕЖАН 1985:167-169).

Polish also employs simple and analytic tenses, there is also the past tense with the participle with *l* which possesses formal markers of gender and number; and in the first and second person it even has inflections of the person; the third person is only the participle with the markers of the gender and the number. Such forms of the past tense are spelled as one word; nevertheless, academic Polish grammars consider them to be analytic. That is because the features of the participle as name form as well as the markers of person can be seen in one word; they can not be considered simple auxiliary verbs (Urbańczyk 1984:202). The paradigm of the past tense of the Polish verb *czekać* (*to wait*) is the following (tables No.2 and 3).

Table No.2. The paradigm of the past tense of the Polish verb *czekać* (singular)

Masculine gender	Feminine gender	Neuter gender
Czekał-em	czekała-m	(czekało-m)
Czekał-eś	czekała-ś	(czekało-ś)
Czekał	Czekała	Czekało

Table No.3. The paradigm of the past tense of the Polish verb *czekać* (plural)

Masculine gender	Non-masculine gender
czekali-śmy	czekaly- śmy
czekali-ście	czekaly- ście
Czekali	Czekaly

Latvian possesses a special present and future tense reported speech participle which is not declined. This is a new later form which does not belong to the inherited old system of verb forms. Latvian grammars name such participial forms *modus relativus* (lat. *atstāstījuma izteiksme- relatīvais mods*). It is used to report the facts heard from other people. Usually the words *they said, they say, I have heard* are used in the main clause and the form of reported speech (*modus relativus*) is used in the subordinate clause (Bergmane 1959: 624-627).

This mood (*modus relativus*) employs four tenses; there are two simple tenses: present and future in addition to two compound tenses: present and future, which, however, are used to express actions which took place in the past as well. Simple tenses are particular because they employ single participles. Participles which end in affixes *-ot, -oties* (reflexive form) are specific to the simple present tense while participles ending in affixes *-šot, -šoties* are used for the future simple tense, e.g.

*Vai tiesa, ka nātres lienot pa logu iekšā? // Is it true that nettle is coming inside through the window? (the present simple tense)*

*Man Akmentiņš stāstīja, ka tu viņu nākamsvētdien apmeklēšot. // Akmentinis was telling me that you were going to visit him the following Sunday. (the future simple tense)*



Compound tenses are formed with the help of the reported speech participle of the auxiliary verb and a simple participle, e.g.

*Dežurējošā masa pasniedza zimbti, ko esot atstājis doktors Noleja. //  
A nurse on call delivered a note which was purportedly left by doctor  
Noleja.*

However, it is possible to use only a participle without an auxiliary verb in Latvian if it cannot be considered to be as a compound form of the present tense e.g.

*Senāk naudu taisījuši noādas kā tagad zabākus. // In the old days they  
used to make money from leather; the same as footwear is made  
nowadays.*

There is no auxiliary verb with *-ot (esot)* in the example above, however, it can be implied there. Accordingly, in similar cases it is almost impossible to distinguish between the indicative mood and the narration participle in Lithuanian, e.g.

*Tėvas išvažiavęs ir negrižęs.  
Father has left and hasn't come back.*

In the previous example it is possible to presuppose the following forms of the auxiliary verb: *yra išvažiavęs* // *has left* (indicative mood) and *esąs išvažiavęs* // *has left* (participles in the narration). The example *Tėvas išvažiavęs ir negrižęs* can be interpreted differently: if we modify the sentence into a compound one then there will be a predicatively used participle without an auxiliary verb, e.g.

*Sako, kad tėvas išvažiavęs ir negrižęs.  
They say that father has left and hasn't come back.*

However, exactly the same information is received if the forms of the indicative mood are used instead of the participle, e.g.

*Sako, kad tēvas išvažiavo ir negrižo.*

*They say that father has left and hasn't come back.*

Moreover, the auxiliary verb *yra* (third person singular of the verb *to be*) can be used in the first example (*Sako, kad tēvas yra išvažiavęs ir negrižęs. // They say that father has left and hasn't come back.*); in that case there will be analytic indicative mood. Such unexpected digression to Lithuanian has been made since grammars of Latvian (which is Lithuanian related language) provide narration (narrative mood) only with present and future forms with special indeclinable participle. However, it becomes evident that in some cases participles which are used to compose forms of the indicative mood are used to narrate. Though, Latvian grammars warn not to mix them with the indicative mood, e.g. *Reiz te Vigantē dzīvojis tads nebēdnieks puika. Bijis liels peldētājs: līdz Daugavas vidum un atpakaļ atpeldēt – viņam nekas, bet bijis tomēr liels palaidnieks un brīnum nepaklausīgs.* (Bergmane 1959:624-627). Lithuanians seems to have direct formal and semantic equivalent for the previous Latvian example: *Kartą ten Vigantėje gyvenęs toks pramušgalvis vaikėzas. Buves geras plaukikas: ligi Dauguvos vidurio ir atgal atplaukti jam buve vieni niekai, tačiau jis buves labai išdykęs ir siaubingai nepaklusnus.* The auxiliary verb *esot*, possessing the form of narrative mood, is implied in the text; it composes analytic narrative form. It is possible to create the modality of the narrative speech with the use of the parenthesis *esą* in Lithuanian. It will be neither a special form of the mood nor will it make compound form with the participle since it is separated from the text with the help of commas as well as the intonation.

Expressions with parenthesis *esą* are often used. It should be used while translating the Latvian text above into Lithuanian: *Esą, kartą ten Vygantėje*

*gyvenęs pramušgalvis vaikėzas*. Moreover, the Lithuanian language uses this parenthesis both with the participle and without it, e.g.

*Tą namą, esą, ne jis statęs, o jo broils. Tą namą, esą, ne jis statė, o jo broils. Tas namas prie ežero, esą, ne jo, o brolio.*

The parenthesis *esą* is not defined in any Lithuanian syntax. Whereas, the dictionary of the Lithuanian language (Keinys 1993:152) claims that the form *esą* is a particle denoting indirect speech which provides the sentence with the meaning of evidentiality and the following examples are given : *Jis, esą, nežinąs (Grūžiai). Davė, esą, tyčia (Rudamina). Eik su manim, esą, miškan (Baranauskas). Esą rytoj ateisiu ir susitarsim (Seirijai)*. The areas of Serijai and Gūžiai are far away from each other and there is also a distance to the folklore recorded by Baranauskas. Thus, it is possible to state that the parenthesis *esą* was used in whole Lithuania and provided with the modality which can be determined lexically (with the help of words *sakė // they said, girdėjau // I have heard, pasakojo // they have told*). The difference is in nuance when finite indicative forms are used in a sentence and when a sentence possesses no verbs and a broader context is required. In English, however, reported speech is used in such cases.

### **3.1.1. Grammatical Status of Lithuanian Predicative Active Participles**

In Lithuanian the participle without an auxiliary verb is used to narrate the facts and events reported by other people without expressing personal opinion and attitude towards the given information. The narrator as thought is standing aside, trying to suggest and demonstrate that he or she is not aware whether the information is real and reliable. The difference between the participial narration and indicative mood narration is very slight and may be extinguished by some words used in the context (*girdėjau // I have heard, pasakojo // they were*

telling/told, sakė // they said), e.g.

*Girdėjau, kad ne už Tupikio ji tekanti, bet už jo gyvenimo (Ž) // Girdėjau, kad ne už Tupikio ji teka, bet už jo gyvenimo (They say she is not marrying Tupikis but his life).*

Although, the use of participles in the syntactic position of finite verbs changes modal connotation of the sentence, equal modality is seen in the presented examples. Jablonskis in his grammar published in 1922 claims the following concerning the expression of the predicate:

It is possible to say

1. Jonas buvo visų stumdomas. 2. Jis bus visų mylimas. 3. Jis yra ir vilką matęs. 4. Tėvas buvo tuokart kur išvažiavęs. 5. Genys kiškį klausia: „Kodėl tu toks nuliūdęs? Kur eini?“ Kiškis sako: „Kur aš nebūsiu nuliūdęs! Manęs niekas nebijo, o aš turiu visų bijoti! Einu ir prisigirdysiu!“

He also claims that it is possible to say the same but without the indicative mood:

1. Jonas buvęs visų stumdomas. 2. Jis būsiąs visų mylimas. 3. Jis esąs ir vilką matęs. 4. Tėvas buvęs tuokart kur išvažiavęs. 5. Genys kiškį klausiąs: kodėl jis esąs toks nuliūdęs? Kur einąs?“ Kiškis sakąs: kur jis nebūsiąs nuliūdęs - jo niekas nebijąs, o jis turįs visų bijoti! Einąs ir prisigirdysiąs!“

Such usage of participles instead of indicative mood is the feature of narrative (indirect) speech where the narrator does not use his own words to express information but the words of other people (Jablonskis 1957: 312-313). Hence, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Jablonskis (Jablonskis 1957) asserted what proved to be the truth: participles are used in narrative speech. Participial

narration is performed in all tenses; however, most often it is being narrated about the past, about the facts which were once heard, about previous events. In those cases present and future forms possess a very distinct meaning of relativity. Overall, the term *modus relativus* is originated from the fact that it is narrated with the help of compound tenses where the participle is used in the subordinate clause; or it is narrated by presuming that the fact was heard before from someone else (past situation).

For some period of time there have been two views on the grammatical status of *modus relativus* in Lithuanian linguistics. The first opinion is based on Jablonskis' claim that participles are used in narrative speech instead of *modus indicativus* and, hence, it is a particular modal variant of it, possibly used alternately with the forms of indicative mood (Paulauskienė 1971:159). Consider:

*Kryžiuočiai, negalėdami paimti Veliunos tvirtovės, šaukėsi (indicative mood) velnio pagalbos, ir velnias, suteikęs berniukui didžiulę galią, liepė (indicative mood) nunešti kryžiuočiams šį akmenį pilį sugriauti. Berniukas nešęs, nešęs, pavargęs ir nutaręs pasilypėti ant akmens ir žvilgterėti, ar dar toli Veliuona. Tuo metu pragydo (indicative mood) gaidys. Taip ir liko (indicative mood) akmenyje berniuko pėdos antspaudas.*

*Crusaders couldn't conquer the castle of Veliuona and thus they were calling for the help of the devil. The devil granted a boy enormous power and ordered him to go to the crusaders and bring them a stone which will destroy the castle. The boy was carrying the stone but got tired and decided to climb on the stone to look if Veliuona was far away. At that moment a rooster started crowing. The imprint of the boy's foot remained there since then.*

English employs past tenses (the past simple tense to refer to past actions and the past continuous tense to refer to past continuous actions where the focus

is on the duration of the action) to tell the story and, thus, it is clear that English does not distinguish between the forms of *modus relativus* and *modus indicativus*.

Paulauskienė (1979a: 155) refers to Jablonskis in all her works and insists that *modus relativus* is not a morphological category. According to her, the decline of this mood is inevitable as there are internal and external factors determining that i.e. the synonymy of *modus relativus* and *modus indicativus* as well as the influence of other languages. She asserts that there is not a single case in modern Lithuanian where *modus relativus* could not be interchanged or substituted by *modus indicativus* (e.g. *Pasakojo vaidilos, kad Perkūnas apkarūnavęs (apkarūnavo) Žilvino dvasią gintaro karūna ir apgyvendinęs (apgyvendino) ją jūros dugne atstatytuose Jūratės rūmuose.* (A.V.) // *Priests told that Perkūnas had crowned the spirit of Žilvinas with an amber diadem and had housed it in Jūratė's palace at the bottom of the sea. Daktaras paskui pasakodavosi, kad niekad dar nebuves matęs (nebuvo matęs) paukščio, taip matroną primenančio* (Pr.M.) // *The doctor then used to say that he had never seen a bird so similar to a matron.* The translation into English demonstrates that English does not distinguish between the forms of *modus relativus* and *modus indicativus*; the examples are translated the same. Moreover, Paulauskienė claims that the participle in the narrative speech is the synonym of indicative mood (Paulauskienė 1971: 158-159; 1979b:63-69). Consider:

*Daugelyje pasaulio šalių žinoma legenda apie senų senovėje sumanytą Babilone pastatyti tokį bokštą, kokio dar niekas pasaulyje nebuvo regėjęs (indicative.). Tas bokštas turėjęs siekti dangų. Pasak legendos, jį statė (indicative) žmonės, kurie kalbėję viena kalba. Toks sumanymas nepatikęs dievui, todėl jis taip padaręs, kad žmonės užmiršę savo senąją kalbą ir kiekvienas ėmęs kalbėti skirtinga kalba. Negalėdami susikalbėti, ir nepastatę Babilono bokšto<...> (K.M.)*

*Many countries know the legend about the tower which was planned*

*to be built in the city of Babylon in the days of old. The tower had to be so immense that it should have reached the sky and it had to be the first such tower in the whole world. According to the legend, the tower was being built by people speaking a single language. God did not like the idea so he made the people to forget their old language and then everyone started speaking a different language. As the people were no longer able to communicate with each other, they could not build the tower<...>*

As it is seen from the example above, finite forms of indicative mood may be identical to participles in respect of modality (modality in the translation is evident only in the first underlined sentence, later it is not observed, although it is not sure if the events narrated were real or not). Thus the meaning of finite forms of indicative mood and of participles is the same as the situation unifies it.

The second opinion on status of *modus relativus* in Lithuanian linguistics was introduced by Lazauskas (1937:24-26). It states that the participle, which is used to narrate past events, can be considered to be a member of the paradigm of morphological mood. Lazauskas' motive was that the fifth mood would enable participles to relate with inflective verbs more closely, which is groundless since the reality does not depend on our intention to link something together. He also indicated that the Latvian language had the narrative (oblique) mood. Unfortunately, Lazauskas did not notice the most important thing that special present and future participles (already without the meaning of participles) perform the role of narrative speech in Latvian (Endzelīns 1951: 976; Bergmane 1959: 624; Nītiņa 2001: 105-107). Therefore, Lithuanian *modus relativus* should not be compared with the Latvian narrative mood. This mood is not regarded as other old inherited Latvian moods in the academic grammar of the Latvian language (Bergmane 1959: 624). The opinion was adjusted by Gailiūnas and introduced into Lithuanian academic grammar (LKG 1971) and has remained there till the publication of Lithuanian Grammar in English (LG 2006). The opinion has been supported by Ambrazas in all his works (Ambrazas 1970: 6-13,

1977: 7-54, 1979: 188-209). Unfortunately, the postulate of general linguistics contradicts the opinion. It declares that if a form belongs to a paradigm there has to be at least one context where it cannot be changed by other form of the same paradigm. However, *modus relativus* has no such context in narrative speech. Furthermore, both *modus indicativus* (which is the unmarked member in the paradigm of moods) and participial narration do not possess any suffix indicating mood, thus, they belong to the same unmarked member as its peripheral form of modality.

Moreover, Holvoet renames the phenomenon (which has been referred to as *modus relativus* (or participial narration) in Lithuanian linguistics) the category of *evidentiality*. He refers to other linguists and claims that this category has parasitical expression and that the means of expression of the category are peripheral types of usage of other categories (mood, tense etc) (Holvoet 2004:107, Willett 1988:51 quoted in Holvoet 2004: 107). This interpretation appears to be sound since relativity could be identified only if the participle appears in the relative clause the predicate of which shows the relation with what was reported in the principal clause, e.g. *O aš girdėjau, kad velnias judu atvilkęs* (Pr.M.). *Girdėjo kalbant, kad jis turėjęs kitą motutę, kuri mirusi ir jį visai dar mažą palikusi* (J.Bil.). These are the examples of a beautiful Lithuanian form of expression, unfortunately, they can be translated literally neither into English (English does not possess such form (Nuyts 2006:10)) nor Russian, therefore, they are condemned to extinction. Accordingly, recent generation does not use written narrative participial speech any more.

The following example cannot be regarded as *modus relativus* since the participle indicates surprise but not the relation: *Žiūriu, žiūriu - devynios stirnos viena koja bešokančios* (T). This form is also in the process of extinction. However, passive participles with impersonal, neutralized meaning of voice are still in active use, e.g. *Čia jis gyveno, kūrė, mylėjo. // Čia jis yra gyvenęs, kūręs, mylėjęs (modus indicativus) // Čia jo gyventa, kurta, mylėta. Juk ir seniau būta raganių, o dabar jų dar padaugėjo. Įspausti arklio pėdsakai dar žymėjo, kaip jo ateita, apsisukta ir vėl nueita atgal* (J. B.).



Wiemer also states that Lithuanian participial speech adjoin other grammatical categories where the same participles are the members of the paradigm. He also indicates that participles do not possess the meaning of evidentiality in Lithuanian. This meaning can be noticed only in some constructions where participles are the core. He also claims that the grammatical category of evidentiality is noticed in some specific genres e.g. folklore, journalism (Wiemer 2006: 33-49).

Supposing participles were used as a special form to define past events, then perhaps they might be qualified as narrative mood. Then, obviously, it should be expected to be used mostly in fairytales. However, in most of authentic fairytales collected in 'Lithuanian Folklore' (Sauka ed. 1965) participial narration is not used; instead, indicative mood is used to narrate. Probably fairytales were narrated in everyday language where indicative mood dominates, e.g.

*Kitąsyk, labai seniai gyvenu vienas žmogus. Jis turėjo du sūnu: vienas buvo labai darbštus, o antras, jaunesnis, niekuo neužsiimdavo, tik sėdėdavo, gulėdavo ir kūną augino. Tėvas sakydavo:*

*-Kas bus iš tavęs? Anas brolis darbininkas, visko moka, o tu nieko nemoki. Kuo užpelnysi sau duoną?*

*O anas nieko nešnekėdavo, tik tiek, kur jis galėtų baimę atrasti (Sauka 1965:265).*

The fairytale is narrated purely with the forms of past tenses of modus indicativus. Naturally, forms of participial narration are found in the book as well, e.g.

*Iš labai senų laikų girdis (indicative mood) vieno senelio ir bobutės pasaka. Jiedu gyvenę labai didelį laisvę. Nereikdavę jiems dirbt, nes turėję labai gerą šunį, katras juos girnydavę ir penėdavę, visa pristatydavę, ko tik jų širdis geisdavus. Kai tas šuva pasenėjęs ir maitinti nebegalėdavę, senis su boba išvarė (indicative mood) jį laukan (Sauka 1965:151).*

Having analysed the entire book, it is evident that the narration when the participle is used in the position of a conjugated verb form a very small part of all the narration. Presumably, this ‘parasitical’ category of evidentiality is more typical of publicistic style, although, examples with participial narration are also found in classical Lithuanian literature, e.g.

*Tai atsitikę vieną kartą, kai jis ėjęs namo, kaip vietiniai žmonės sako, snukiu ardamas. Bet neparėjęs namo, o pakeliui įvirtęs į griovį. Išlipti jis nebeįstengęs daugiau ir dėl to šaukęsis pagalbos. Ar ilgai jis ten šūkavęs – kas pasakys, tik parvažiuodamas iš turgaus vienas žvejys jį pastebėjęs. –Ko čia šūkauji?– paklauseš žvejys. Ar tu nematai, kad aš griovy?–pykęs Plonis.–Ar girtas esi? (I.S.)*

*Girdėjo kalbant, kad jis turėjęs kitą motutę, kuri mirusi ir jį visai dar mažą palikusi (Bil.).*

Although, the geography of the predicative usage of participles in fiction covers almost all Lithuania (Simonaitytė, Žemaitė, Vaižgantas, Biliūnas, Cvirka, Krėvė), probably some of the authors have learnt the usage of participles from others or from grammars. The most natural usage of participles is in the texts of Samogitia region and it is the most unnatural in the texts of Dzūkija region (Morkūnas 1991: 35).

The category of evidentiality is typical not only of Lithuanian (Holvoet 2004:106, Wiemer 2006: 33-49, Hengeveld 2004:1197-1198). In the extract in German (by Markus Werner, *Am Hang*. 2004:45-46) there are examples of tense forms of modus conjunctivus (Ger. *Konjunktiv I*) which possess the meaning of evidentiality, they are translated as participial narration into Lithuanian (the translation is by Tekorius who is originally from Samogitia region):

*Etwas würde mich noch interessieren, sagte ich, nämlich die Sache*

mit Hesses Regenschirm. Was hat Ihre Frau so beeindruckt an ihm? –Das habe er sich auch gefragt, sagte Loos, zumal dieser Schirm nun wirklich ein simpler schwarzer Herrenschirm gewesen sei so wie sein eigener und so wie Millionen andere. Und nicht nur sich selbst habe er gefragt, sondern später im Hotelzimmer – sie hätten im Bellevue übernachtet – auch seine Frau. Auch er, ihr Ehemann, habe er zu ihr gesagt, besitze einen Regenschirm, aber offenbar sei sein Regenschirm für sie der Inbegriff des Unbedeutenden, während sie vor Hesses Regenschirm fast wie vor einem Heiligtum gestanden habe. Ob sie ihm nicht erklären wolle, was sie an diesem Regenschirm verzücke. Sie habe ihn angelächelt und ihn ans Freud-Museum in Wien erinnert, das sie einmal zusammen besucht hätten und in dem eine angerauchte Zigarre von Sigmund Freud ausgestellt sei, die er, Loos, im Unterschied zu ihr geradezu andächtig betrachtet habe. Er habe seiner Frau recht geben müssen, denn diese Zigarre habe ihn tatsächlich intensive berührt. Und damit sei das Thema erledigt gewesen. Im Bett habe ihm seine Frau dann noch ein Gedicht vorgelesen, das, auf ein DIN-A4-Blatt gedruckt, im Hesse-Museum aufgelegen habe und von dem sie sehr angetan gewesen sei. Zwei Zeilen daraus habe sie ihm dreimal vorgelesen, weshalb er sie auswendig könne...

-Vienas dalykėlis mane dar domintu,- įsiterpiau,- tas nutikimas su Hesės skėčiu. Kuo jūsu žmoną jis taip paveikė?

-To ir aš klausiu savęs,- atsakė Loosas,- juo labiau, kad šitas skėtis iš tikrųjų buvo paprastas juodas vyriškas skėtis- kaip jo paties, kaip milijonai kitų. [Here the direct speech stops and it is not Loos but some third person (the author of the book) who starts the narration about some facts which are known to him, i.e. the direct speech changes into the indirect one which possesses the forms of the predicate with the meaning of the category of evidentiality- S.P.] Ir

*klausęs jis ne tik savęs, bet paskui viešbučio kambaryje – nakvoję jie „Bellevue“ – taip pat ir žmonos. Ir jis, jos vyras, turįs tokį pat, bet tikriausiai jo skėtis jau esąs nereikšmingo žmogaus daiktas, o prie Hesės skėčio ji stovėjusi tarsi prie šventenybės. Ar negalėtų paaiškinti, kuo tas skėtis ją taip žavįs. Ji nusišypsojusi ir priminusi jam Froido muziejų Vienoje, kuriame kitados buvę kartu ir kur rodomas Zigmundo Froido pradėtas rūkyti cigaras, nuo kurio jis, ne taip kaip ji, negalėjęs atitraukti savo pamaldaus žvilgsnio. Teke pripažinti, kad žmona buvusi teisi, nes tas cigaras iš tikrųjų jam griebeš už širdies. Tuo tema buvusi baigta. Paskui, jau lovoje, žmona jam dar paskaičiusi eilėraštį, kuris, išspausdintas DIN-A4 puslapyje, gulėjęs po stiklu Hesės muziejuje ir kuris jai nepaprastai patikęs. Dvi eilutes ji pakartojusi tris kartus, todėl mokąs jas atmintinai“.*  
(Marcus Werner. *Prie Šlaito*. 2004, p.46).

As it has already been indicated, the marked examples of modus conjunctivus in German are used to express indirect speech. It carries a neutral to slightly more claiming meaning: the claim reported (to the reporter using Konjunktiv I) might be true or not true, or unknown (Helbig and Buscha 2001: 169-186). It is not used often in modern everyday spoken German, although it is often found in German newspapers and magazines. In the Lithuanian translation we find the participial narration which also possesses the meaning of the category of evidentiality. It is not very typical to modern everyday Lithuanian since it can be easily replaced by the forms of simple tenses. In English the forms of participial narration are translated as a narration, e.g. *Ir klausęs jis ne tik savęs<...> // He was asking not only himself; <...> jos vyras, turįs tokį pat <...> // her husband had the same kind;<...> jo skėtis jau esąs <...> // his umbrella was;<...> prie Hesės skėčio ji stovėjusi <...> // she was standing next to the Hesses umbrella; Ji nusišypsojusi ir priminusi jam Froido muziejų <...> // She smiled and reminded him Freud museum etc. Depending on the context, all past tenses may be used; only the rule of sequence of tenses (i.e. when the principal*

clause is in the past tense, the verb in the subordinating clause also should be in the past tense) has to be observed in the narration. Hence, English does not distinguish between a participial narration and a simple narration in Lithuanian.

### 3.1.2. Grammatical Status of Lithuanian Predicative Passive Participles

Forms of passive participles which are not in agreement and are not declined are used instead of conjugated forms of the verb in the Lithuanian language (both written and spoken). In this case the category of voice is being related to. Benveniste claims that the category of voice is one of the most complicated grammatical categories which can confound our standard linguistic thought (Бенвенист 1974:184). The category of voice presents to be indispensable, however, a number of languages do not possess it; it seems to be simple, yet, there might be an immense complication while interpreting it; and, although it appears to be symmetrical, in fact it involves numerous inconsistencies in its morphological expression. The opposition of active and passive voice develops itself as a fundamental feature of thought, whereas, the category of voice has not been highly significant in the Indo-European languages since it has developed in a relatively near historical past. Linguists of comparative linguistics claim that the opposition of active and passive voice is recent. Moreover, they argue that passive voice has developed from middle voice and, although, those are two distinct categories, there still exists direct relation between them (Бенвенист 1974:184; Перельмутер 1977: 161-162).

The complexity of the category of voice is reflected in Lithuanian linguistics as well. When there is a distinct opposition between active and passive voice, passive forms (which are declined and in agreement) are created from transitive verbs (*skaitė knyga* → *skaityta knyga*). However, the forms which are not in agreement and function as predicates only are created from all verbs when the action is not related to the object, when they allow answering questions like: “*What is the agent doing?*”, “*What is going on (generally)?*” (e.g. *Jonas skaito*,

*rašo, aria.*) Transitive verbs are used in their absolute meaning without an indication that the action proceeds into the object. Thus, they become the same as intransitive verbs: *Jonas guli, serga, miega, džiaugiasi, tikisi.*

The forms of passive participles which are not in agreement are created from both transitive and intransitive verbs. They have all four tenses (the same as conjugated verbs of indicative mood). Passive participles which are declined and in agreement are more related to adjectives, they cannot be reflexive, moreover, in case they are created from intransitive verbs or from transitive verbs in absolute meaning, they can easily convert into verbal adjectives, e.g. *gyvenamasis namas // residential house, miegamasis kambarys // bedroom, siuvamoji mašina // sewing-machine etc.*

Meanwhile, the forms which are not in agreement are always used as conjugated verbs and they can be reflexive. They differ from the forms of active voice in modality but not in voice. Sližienė claims that such forms do not possess the meaning of passive voice as they do not express passive relation between the indicated action and the object or the person which is expressed by the subject of the sentence. Moreover, their meaning is cognate to the meaning of active forms (Sližienė 1967:74, LKG 1971:51). The idea is sustained by some linguists who analyse other languages (e.g. Slavic language). It is being asserted that in some cases passive and active voice relate not only in the aspect of voice but in mood as well (Doros 1975:81).

Examples of past tense in impersonal constructions validate the modal relation between the forms of active and passive voice. The translation into English indicates the neutralisation of passive and active voice, e.g.

*Ant šakelių ant žaliųjų vainikai (vainikus) kabinta. (T)*

*Wreaths were hung on green branches.*

*Slibinas (Slibiną) imta vaizduoti kaip savarankiškas valdovas (savarankišką valdovą) (D.S.).*

*They started depicting the dragon as an independent ruler.*

*Vilnų vardas rodo, kad indoeuropiečių jau seniai prisijaukinta avis (avi) ir laikyta ji (ja) ne tik dėl mėsos ir kailio, bet ir dėl vilnos.*  
(Ka.B.)

*The name of wool shows that Indo-Europeans domesticated the sheep long ago; and they raised them not only for food and fur but for wool as well.*

However, Sirtautas claims that the form is more essential than the substance and questions the fact that passive forms of participles which are not in agreement may obtain the meaning of active voice. He criticizes Sližienė and attempts to negate her claim that in this case passive and active forms interrelate while referring to syntactic features of voice. He claims that essential attributes of passive are of syntactic nature: the nominative of the object and the genitive of the subject indicate that there cannot be even an implication of any meaning of active voice. Moreover, Sirtautas presents the following example (with the intransitive verb *tikėtis*): *Matyt grafų kitados tikėtasi, kad viešpats laimins jų giminę* (A. V.). He claims that the verb *tikėtis* possesses both the genitive (*grafų*) and the equivalent of the nominative (who/what?), which in this case is a subordinate clause (Sirtautas 1968: 130-131).

Nevertheless, the genitive *grafų* acquires the meaning of the subject and the subordinate clause obtains the meaning of the object since the verb *tikėtis* requires the genitive but not the nominative. Thus, here we relate to the syntactical form which is cognate to the active voice. In the example *Čia žmogaus eita* the genitive is in the syntactical position of the subject in the nominative case. In the example *Čia žmogusėjo (yra ejęs)* the case which expresses the agent in both cases naturally precedes the predicate. In case of the relocation, there would be an equal inversion, e.g. *Čia eita žmogaus// Čiaėjo žmogus// Čia ejęs žmogus*. In the examples above, where modal relation between the forms of active and passive voice is observed, the nominative of the object can be replaced by the genitive of the object (that is why the genitive is entered

in the brackets).

Furthermore, the following examples demonstrate that there are cases where the agent is not stated, the genitive of the object is used with the forms of passive which are not in agreement and the passive form does not substitute the genitive of the object with the nominative of the subject, e.g.

*Labai peikta carą – anuometiniu mano supratimu, žiaurų viršininką, kuris šaudė ir korė, kas jam po ranka pakliūdavo.*

*Valdovo raštineje buvo įsivesta tuose plotuose jau nuo XIa vartotą senąją bažnytinę slavų kalbą. (Z.Z.)*

*Savo žemę daugiau mylėta. Amerikon nesidanginta. (M.)*

*Sudėtingiausių reiškinių paaiškinimą nūnai norima (ir kadaise norėta-S.P.) rasti kaip tiktai čia – pirminėse būties sąlygose. (D.S.)*

*Piešiniiais imama (imta- S.P.) braižyti urvų sienas. (D.S.)*

Paulauskienė claims that those passive predicative forms perform the function of depersonalization but not the change of the relation between the action and the object (Paulauskienė 1979a: 105). Lukšytė draws similar conclusions about those forms and suggests it is not some special meaning of modality which could be named mood but it is the meaning of generalization of a person, unmarking, impersonal meaning (Lukšytė 1991: 92-97). Such depersonalization is also referred to as the passive with a zero agent (Плунгян 2003:218-219).

In English the forms are translated as the passive voice. The passive voice is used when the focus is on the action. It is not important or not known; however, who or what is performing the action. Consider:

*Sudėtingiausių reiškinių paaiškinimą nūnai norima (ir kadaise norėta – S.P.) rasti kaip tiktai čia – pirminėse būties sąlygose. (D.S.)*

*The explanation of the most complicated phenomena is expected (was expected) to be found here in the original environment of the*



*existence.*

In the example above the focus is on the fact that it is expected to find the explanation, but it is not known, however, who is expecting to get it. The passive voice is frequently found in writing, and its use in modern English is common mode of expression.

Generally, when passive predicative forms are used instead of conjugated verbs the aim is to emphasize objective relations and the action which is being performed. Thus, passive constructions are suitable for impersonal scientific language where the agent is not relevant.

However, it is understandable why such discussion was raised at the beginning of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. 1) Then linguists did not apply the principle of privative opposition; they were not aware that if there was an opposition there had to be a neutralisation of it as well, i.e. the approach of opposite forms to synonymy. 2) Facts from other languages indicating that passive forms could obtain active meaning were not considered, e.g. Latin deponent verbs. Deponent verbs are active in meaning and passive in form (*hortor, hortārus sum, hortāri // raginti*) (Dumčius 1978:69).

The examples above demonstrate depersonalization and generalization, and any significant modal distinction from the indicative is not observed. However, the use of participles instead of conjugated verbs could acquire different options of modality which cannot be considered as independent members of mood paradigm, e.g. the future tense in the indicative mood has such meanings which do not express a future action (i.e. presumption, ability, abruptness, order etc.). However, those meanings have never been regarded as a separate mood.

*Pelenė ėmė klausinėti, ar gerai jos linksminosi ir ar buvo vakaryktė gražuolė. –Buvo, kaip nebus (=galėjo nebūti)- atsakė seserys. (J.Blč.)*

In the example above the future tense is used to express the past. The future tense can also be used to express the imperative mood, e.g.

*-Štai tau trys kuodeliai linų. Suverpsi be verpstės ir išlenksi be lenkčio.* (A.L.)

Here the future tense could be substituted by the imperative mood which can have two meanings: an order to perform an action immediately or an order to perform an action in a more distant future (LKG 1971: 120-122). Furthermore, that is not a stylistic use of the future tense and the meanings do not possess any special forms which could distinguish them from the future simple tense.

Moreover, modus relativus does not possess any special form of the mood. However, Ambrazas claims (in all modern Lithuanian grammars) that modus relativus possesses both a separate modal meaning (which is opposite to the meaning of modus indicativus) and a system of forms (Ambrazas 1985, 1994, 1996, 1997, 2006). He claims that only active participles can be attached to the system of forms of relative mood. Moreover, he states that relative mood (modus relativus) is formed with active participles in the nominative case and that both the indicative mood (modus indicativus) and the relative mood have four tenses: the present, the past, the past frequentative and the future tense (Ambrazas 1997:345).

Though, earlier Ambrazas claimed that passive participles could be attached to modus relativus. He stated that the forms of passive participles of neuter gender in the present and the past tenses could be in opposition to the forms of the present and the past tenses in the indicative mood on the basis of modal meaning, e.g. *brolio gyvenama: brolis gyvena (plg. brolis gyvenąs); brolio gyventa: brolis gyveno (plg. brolis gyvenęs)* (Ambrazas 1977: 25-26). Moreover, he claimed that according to formal features they correspond to compound forms of passive voice in the present tense with zero link-verb (with reference to Balkevičius 1963:95-96 – S.P.). However, there is no solid decision on the grammatical status of predicative passive participles which are not in agreement and their relation with conjugated forms of tenses in the indicative mood, although the opposition is indicated.

The opinion was reflected in the Lithuanian grammar where *modus relativus* is defined as follows: the relative mood is made of active participles in all four tenses and passive participles in the present and past tenses in the nominative (LKG III 1976:317). Except that passive forms, which are not in agreement, are not declined and, thus, they do not possess the nominative case.

In English such synonymy of predicative forms will have one form of expression as well. Consider:

*Seniau Lietuvoje kitaip žmonės gyvenę // Seniau Lietuvoje kitaip žmonės gyvenę // Seniau Lietuvoje kitaip žmonių gyventa // People used to live different in Lithuania before.*

The above translation of the three Lithuanian forms into English demonstrates that English does not distinguish them. And there is only one equivalent in English (*used to* in this particular case; *used to* refers to a past repetitive action which happened regularly in the past but no longer does so).

Since the use of participles in the position of conjugated verbs is not the primal function of the expression of the subject-matter, the difference between the participle and the conjugated verb may be even more distinct. The role of the depersonalization has already been defined; moreover, there might be modal distinctions which can not equal to the modality of morphological mood where the members of the same paradigm are distinguished by an invariant meaning. Here there is modal distinction which can be eliminated by the context or the elements of the situation. In such cases only participles are used:

*O šeiminkės dukterų pasislėpta ir žiūrėta, kaip Onytės kirpta ir siūta. (P.C.)*

*The daughters of the landlady hid and watched how Onytė was cutting and stitching.*

*Netoli miške būta kito skruzdėlyno. (P.M.)*

*There was another anthill not far away in the forest.*

*Tame daikte, kur jie apsistojo, seniau, matyti būta pilies. (J.B.)*

*Before there probably had been a castle in the place they stayed in.*

The passive participles can be replaced with the active participles of the narrative speech in the examples above with no change in the information and modality. Consider:

*O šeimininkės dukterys pasislėpusios ir žiūrėjusios, kaip Onytės kirpusi ir siuvusi.*

*The daughters of the master hid and watched how Onytė was cutting and stitching.*

*Netoli miške būvęs kitas skruzdėlynas.*

*There was another anthill not far away in the forest.*

*Tame daikte, kur jie apsistojo, seniau, matyti buvusi pilis. (J.B.)*

*Before there probably had been a castle in the place they stopped off.*

Thus, this replacement indicates complete neutralization in the opposition between the forms of passive and active voice. Predicative use of passive and active participles differs from the forms of the indicative mood in the attitude of the narrator towards the narrated ideas i.e. the narrator is indifferent. The examples above are translated by the use of indicative passive tenses into English with no regard to whether it is narrated with passive or active participles in Lithuanian. Thus, it can be stated that there is no difference in English when there is a narration with the use of passive or active participles in Lithuanian. Moreover, English does not distinguish between indicative and relative mood while translating from Lithuanian, since there are only three moods in English: the indicative mood, the imperative mood, and the subjunctive mood (Carter and

McCarthy 2006:307; Sinclair 1990: 195-196).

The forms of the passive voice with the meaning of the active voice are usually used as the predicate without an auxiliary verb. However, when it is narrated about some past events which are in relation to the present i.e. the results of the action are relevant at present, it is possible to use a present tense form of the auxiliary verb, in spite of the fact that the language would sound more natural without the auxiliary verb which is usually omitted in the present tense in Lithuanian. The ability to omit stipulates an inverse process i.e. the ability to insert, e.g. *Kur tai (yra) matyta! Kur tai (yra) girdėta! Jo čia (yra) būta.* Passive forms which are not in agreement and which are used with the past tense of the auxiliary verb cannot be interpreted as the neutralization of voice; they sustain the meaning of the passive voice (e.g. *Padarėme, kaip buvo numatyta // We did it as it had been decided*).

### **3.2. The Grammaticalization of Predicative Compound Constructions**

Historic comparative grammar of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century maintained the idea that inflections and suffixes of formation indicate grammatical meanings in morphological languages. It was stated that the grammar of inflectional Indo-European languages is at the end of a word. However, text linguistics allowed searching for grammar in all the text (Heidolph *et al.* 1981). Syntactical constructions frequently merge into one grammatical item. Although graphically the elements of it are presented separately, functionally those constructions are one form. Such are analytic tenses both in English and in Lithuanian.

Analytic constructions are formed with participles and tense and mood forms of the auxiliary verb in Lithuanian. The constructions correlate with simple forms in the predicative position. However, there was a discussion about the grammatical status of compound (analytic) constructions in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The basis for it was the view on the grammatical form i.e. it was stated that

grammatical form had to be of morphological type. The discussion was not only about Lithuanian compound tenses but also about English, German and French analytic constructions (Жирмунский 1965: 5-57; Серебренников 1965:100-104; Guillaume 1973: 73-86).

In Lithuanian the term compound tenses (*sudurtiniai laikai*) was introduced by Jablonskis and in 1985 the term was changed into compound (*sudėtiniai laikai*) tenses (Грамматика литовского языка 1985) as the term was translated into Russian by one word only *сложные времена*. After all, it more reasoned to name them compound (*sudėtiniai*) tenses in Lithuanian as well, since they are not a simple morphological form but a combination of two words, i.e. an analytic construction.

What are those compound tenses? Compound forms of tenses and moods are formed by present participles with the affix *be-* and the forms of conjugation of the auxiliary verb *būti* (to be). The system of compound tenses is shorter than the one of other tenses as there are no forms the present tense. Furthermore, the forms of the past simple are used more frequent, meanwhile, the forms of other tenses are uncommon that much in the standard Lithuanian unless in the writings of Samogitia ( DLKG 1994: 349, DLKG 1997: 349, DLKG, 2005: 349).

In 1922 Jablonskis wrote that present participles were used in compound tenses without the prefix *be-* (*bedarąs, bedirbąs*) in his grammar. In addition, he claimed that a participle without a gender *esu, esi, yra* is used for the indicative mood of the present tense (Jablonskis 1957: 311-312).

On the other hand, Sližienė claims that there are no such forms of participles as *bedirbąs* with the auxiliary verb of the present tense, thus, there can be no compound present tense (Sližienė 1961: 67-73, 1964: 81-95, 1969: 18-26). Sirtautas objected the idea and claimed that the system could be formed by the forms of the present tense with the zero auxiliary verb: *berašąs – buvo berašąs – būdavo berašąs – bus berašąs* (Sirtautas 1968). Although there was a discussion about the issue, the grammaticalization of the constructions and their relation to the conjugated forms was neglected (Girdenis and Žulys 1973: 208-209; Žulys 1979).

However, even in English or French there may be small insertions between the auxiliary verb and the participle, e.g. *He has secretly written to her. He has already come. Je le vois, je lui ai dit* (unstressed pronouns can be inserted into the analytic construction), *J'en e l'ai pas vu* (a negative can be inserted between the auxiliary verb and the participle).

The nature of analytic constructions is syntactical in all the languages, although, they are not homogeneous in all the languages. The distinction depends on the type of the language, i.e. they are freer and resemble word combinations in some languages, and meanwhile, they approach the form of a compound word in other ones. Zhirmunsky claims that at first it might seem that *word combination* as *word form* is a logical contradiction. However, what might seem as a contradiction from the view of formal logic, it can actually exist as a real linguistic fact. Thus, it should be acknowledged that this contradiction is dialectical. He insists that we should consider the development of the language and look into it dynamically but not statically; only then, he claims, the process of syntactic constructions changing into word forms which sustain the particularity of their syntactic formation will be comprehensible (Жирмунский 1961: 8; 1976: 82-125).

The claim is correct since all the compound words originated from syntactic constructions. Historical syntax finds its old models in the morphological composition of a word. For instance, historical grammar explains the insertion of a reflexive affix between the prefix and the root of the word in Lithuanian by claiming that the prefix and the reflexive affix were separate words. Just, the reflexive affix always followed the word and took the 'second place' (the same is even now in the Czech language). Thus, if the prefix was in the first place in a sentence, the reflexive affix followed it and took the second place; if there was no prefix the reflexive affix still sustained its second place and followed the verb. Hence, after the syntactical constructions had transformed into words, the reflexive affix retained its position between the prefix and the root (in prefix verbs) and remained at the end of the root (after all formation affixes) in case of simple (non-prefix) verbs. It is possible to present more examples when

syntactic constructions transform into words, however, it is not the object of the investigation.

The elements of compound sentences are graphically presented as separate segments. Thus, it is possible to receive a syntactical comment that there are three separate words in the constructions like *he has written*, although functionally that is only one form of the verb.

There are free syntactic constructions which are functionally related to simple forms in the Lithuanian language. However, it is essential to establish that relation. If they are in the opposition (on the basis of one invariant meaning) to the simple forms of tenses and moods, then they are in the same paradigm. If they are synonymous, then they exist alongside the paradigm and complement it (similarly as prepositional constructions complement the paradigm of the case in the Lithuanian language).

*-O aš, berneli, manai, jaunas nesu buvęs, mergų nesu mylėjęs, vai ir kaip dar mylėjau. (V.K.)*

The distinction between the simple construction (*buvau, mylėjau*) and the compound form (*nesu buvęs, nesu mylėjęs*) is very subtle. The simple form expresses some distant past action, state, event, meanwhile, the compound forms express some quality or condition because of some past events, experiences, actions (perfective meaning).

The Russian language does not possess means to express such synonymy:

*А я, паренёк, думаешь молодым небыл, девушек не любил, ещё как любил.*

The forms in the Russian translation are the same and unfortunately the stylistic distinction is lost.

English has means to express such stylistic distinction.



*You think I haven't been young and haven't loved girls? No doubt I did love.*

In the example above the present perfect tense refers to past actions and events the results of which are relevant at the present moment, meanwhile, the past simple tense is used for past actions and events with no reference to the present moment. The auxiliary verb *did* emphasizes the fact that the situation definitely occurred in the past.

### **3.3. *Būti* (to be) with Active Participles**

Jablonskis, even at the beginning of the 20th century, noticed that compound inceptive tenses (*pradėtiniai sudurtiniai laikai*) are not very widely used in written language; that they are often forgotten even in spoken language (Jablonskis 1957: 312). Moreover, there is another question, whether compound tenses are in opposition to simple tenses or, perhaps, they are synonymous.

Suppose, there are compound forms with zero auxiliary verb. Even Ambrazas claims that such forms are used in the dialects of Samogitia and western upper Lithuania (those are regions the compound tenses came from into standard Lithuanian) and that they are still in use. He also gives the paradigm of them in his study about participles (Ambrazas 1979):

Present tense *ans yr(a) sergąs* 'he is being ill'

Past tense *jis buvo šiek tiek sergąs* 'he was being a bit ill'

Future tense *ka būsi rūkąs, kvėpės* 'if you are being smoking there will be a smell'

Thus, there have been forms without a prefix *be-*. Their meaning should be the same as the meaning of the corresponding forms of simple tenses since the meaning expressed by the present participle corresponds with the meaning

expressed by the auxiliary verb: *yra sergas* = *serga*. Such the construction must be older than the participle with the particle *be-* and with the zero auxiliary verb: *bedirbąs*, *besergąs*, *beturiąs* and in comparison with the corresponding conjugated verb of the present tense there could be distinguished a slight difference in modality but not in tense; and the difference could be compensated with the context or even the intonation, e.g.:

*Žiūriu, žiūriu – devynios stirnos viena koja bešokančios (= šoka).*

*(J.Jabl)*

*Pasirodo ir Barbė jaunikį beturinti (= turi.) (I.S.)*

*Mes pilnas kertes priverkėme, o čia ryto metą, praušus, tik mamytė kyšt – bejeinanti (= įeina) su ryšeliu karštais vėdarais nešina. (L.P.)*

*Rožytė tuojau nubėgo ir atkišo duris, manydama išvysti pavargėlį, bet žiūri – juodas gauruotas lokys bestovįs (= stovi.) (J.Blč.)*

Thus, the question is whether the present participle with the particle *be-* alone could be substituted by the simple verb of the present tense (not risking too much about the accuracy of the information conveyed).

Let us analyse the past simple tense as there are no examples of the past frequentative tense: the examples in the contemporary Lithuanian grammars are all borrowed from Jablonskis (maybe even created by Jablonskis himself according to the analogy with the past simple tense), e.g.:

*Vėlai jie ateidavo mūsų kviesti: būdavom beeiną ir patys iš namų, kai ateidavo prašyti (LKG II 1971: 146).*

Compound forms of the past simple tense is formed with the verb *buvo* (*was, were*) + *be* + *present participle*: *buvo beeinąs*, *beimąs*, *buvo bestovįs* and has the following meanings:

1) to express intended action or that action which was in the progress but interrupted by some other action:

*Ir Vilius buvo besukąs (= suko = ketino sukti) karčemos link, kai Amoras prisėdo Viliaus kojas. (I.S.)*

*Jis atsisėdo patogiai ir buvo bepradedąs (= rengėsi) sakyti, bet šeimininkė patraukė ratelį į šalį ir priėjo prie svečių. (J.Blč.)*

With regard to time, the compound forms coincide to the forms of the present simple tense. There is only an additional meaning of intended action along to another action which interrupts it, e.g.:

*Buvau jau berašanti jam laišką, bet pamačiau jį patį ateinant. =Jau rengiausi jam rašyti laišką, bet pamačiau jį patį ateinant.*

English does not possess special forms to express the meaning, however, it may be conveyed lexically (e.g. with the verb *intend* or *was about to*): *I intended to write // was about to write him a letter when I saw him coming.*

2) to express the action which began some time ago and had been in progress during some other action and worked as if the background of it:

*Kai įėjome į klasę, vaikai jau buvo suoluose besėdį (= sėdėjo).  
*When we entered the classroom the children were already sitting.**

*Kai mes nuėjome jų kviesti, jie patys jau buvo beiną (=ėjo) iš namų.  
*When we went to invite them they were already leaving the house.**

In this case the past continuous tense expresses the meaning that the action was already in progress when some other action began. The constructions (*buvo*

*beina, buvo besėdį*) may be replaced by the forms of the past simple tense (*ėjo, sėdėjo*) in Lithuanian. Both, compound forms and the past simple tense have the same equivalent in English and are translated the same. Moreover, there are not many examples of this type; they are found only in the grammar of Lithuanian (LKG II 1971: 146).

Hence, it can be stated that the equivalents in brackets demonstrate that the compound forms of the past tense can be replaced by the forms of past simple tense. Hence, restricted usage of the compound forms in respect of the area (only in the region of Samogitia) and regular synonymy with the simple forms (after mingling and fading of dialects) are some of the major inner causes resulting in disappearance of the compound form from active contemporary usage in Lithuanian.

Unfortunately, the compound forms were not sustained by the Russian language during Soviet times; the simple form was supported, e.g.:

*Kai buvau beeinanti iš namų, suskambo telefonas.*

*Когда уже выходила из дома, зазвенел телефон.*

Moreover, the forms will not be supported by the bilingualism with the English language, since the compound forms are translated by the past continuous tense into English which corresponds past simple tense in Lithuanian (or with the help of lexical means), e.g.:

*Kai buvau beeinąs (=ėjau) iš namų, suskambo telefonas.*

*When I was leaving the house the phone rang.*

*Kai įėjau į auditoriją, studentai jau buvo besėdį (=sėdėjo).*

*When I came into the class the students were already sitting.*

In order to explore the current usage of such compound forms, a survey has been rendered. Sixty seven students of Humanities (from Vytautas Magnus

University and Kaunas University of Technology) have participated in the research (age range 19-23). They have been asked to recognize the compound forms and indicate their meanings. The presumption has been that the students should use the forms since they are found in Lithuanian classical literature and are included in Lithuanian grammars as a norm. The results of the survey indicate that 75% of the respondents acknowledge the forms; nevertheless, they never apply them.

Moreover, the analysis of modern Lithuanian literature has been made. Modern texts of various authors\* have been analysed. The results of the analysis of modern Lithuanian literature confirm that the authors use the forms sporadically (there have been found only 10 compound inceptive tenses in the analyzed 1433 pages). In some texts (e.g. by Ivanauskaitė) the constructions have not been found at all. In other sources only one type of constructions has been found (with the meaning that the action was intended to be performed, however, it was interrupted by some other action). Consider:

*Buvo beketinąs vytis Morkūnas, bet pasiliko (J.Ap. 68); Šiaip jaukiai bešnekant vyras jam pakišo pasirašyti lapą, vaikas jau paėmė kotelį ir*

*buvo bamerkiąs į violetinę rašalinę, bet liko taip stovėti, pakėlęs į orą šitą violetinę pokarinę poezijos plunksną (J.Ap. 83).*

*Gaučys buvo benorįs nusivilkti ir pasikabinti savo drėgną nuo šlapdribos bulatą, bet atsiminė komendantės žodžius ir nusileido žemyn į gatvę (R.G. 74); Tris stiklines Kolia susistatė priešais save į eilę, pripylė į visas lygiai iki pusės, buvo betiesiąs ranką į alų, bet apsigalvojo (...) (R.G. 80); Ji prisitraukė stiklinę arčiau, buvo bekelianti, persigalvojo, nustūmė į šoną (R.G. 117).*

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\* The age and origin of the authors varies: Šerelytė Renata, born in 1970 in the region of Kupiškis: 'Vardas tamsoje' (2004, 204 p.), Ivanauskaitė Jurga, born in 1961 in Vilnius: 'Placebas' (2003, 386 p.), Granauskas Romualdas, born in 1939 in Mažeikiai: 'Duburys' (2003, 257 p.), Aputis Juozas, born in 1936 in the region of Raseiniai: 'Smėlynuose negalima sustoti' (1996, 277 p.), Bubnys Vytautas, born in 1932 in the region of Prienai: 'Balandžio plastėjime' (2002, 309 p.).

*Kitaryt, kai mudu su Cezare, apsitaisę pandžabiais, jau buvome beišeina, jis pusmirkom sudėbčiojo (V.B. 8). Vos spėjęs pasidžiaugti Egono nuoširdumu, turėjau nusivilti ir jau buvau bekylas išeiti iš kambario, bet tuomsyk pro duris įpuolė Čezarė, pasienin nubloškė brezentinę kėdutę su pagalvėle, apsižvalgė (V.B. 27); Žengtelėjo atatupsčia ir jau buvo beužverias duris, tačiau sulaikė pro skaudžią raudą tariami žodžiai: „Nuodėmės drasko, plėšo... Viešpatie, tu leidai mus į pasaulį ne tam, kad nuodėmių kalnus susipiltume...“ (V.B. 79).*

*Buvau beišjungianti, kai balsas staiga nutilo, o ekrane – lyg tarp kitko – vieną sekundės dalį, užsitęsusią iki amžinybės, šmėstelėjo mano mielas muzikos mokytojas (V.B. 53); –Matai, dukra mano...– buvo bepradedas, bet susigriebė, atsikrenkštė ir rūsčiai suraukė antakius (V.B. 104).*

Thus, as it has already been mentioned, compound inceptive tenses were not sustained by the Russian language. Equally, they are not sustained by the English language since they are translated by the past continuous tense (with no meaning of an inceptive tense) or with the help of lexical means. Therefore, it can be claimed that compound inceptive tenses are included in Lithuanian grammars, they are observed in folklore, classics, however, the forms are not used in practice. Furthermore, facts indicate gradual decline in use of compound inceptive forms.

### **3.4. Compound Forms with Present Tense Passive Participles**

The particularity of present tense is reflected in the compound forms (or the forms of syntactical origin) with the present tense passive participles. That means that an action or a state coincides with the moment of speech or with any other

moment. The past is expressed by the past simple or the past frequentative tense of the auxiliary verb, whereas, the present tense of the passive participle means the concurrence of an action or a state and the tense of the auxiliary verb. Thus, the compound passive forms differ from the adequate simple forms in respect of voice but not tense, e.g.

*mylėjo (active voice) // loved – buvo mylimas (passive voice) // was loved*

*suko (active voice) // turned – buvo sukamas (passive voice) // was turned*

*mušė (active voice) // beat – buvo mušamas (passive voice) // was beaten*

Jablonskis notices and defines this distinction of Lithuanian from classical languages. He claims that passive voice is formed with passive participles in Lithuanian and that the passive voice cannot be made without those participles. According to Jablonskis there are no simple verbs which can form the voice. He notes that passive participles cannot be replaced with simple passive verbs in the expressions like *medis buvo skeliamas, jo skeliamas, sveriamas, skeldinamas; tas vaikelis mūsų visų mylimas*. If we use simple verbs, he claims, for such expressions, we only employ verbs of active voice, thus, it is possible to say: *medį skėlė, medį jis skėlė, svėrė, skeldino; tą vaikelį mes visi mylim*. Moreover, Jablonskis notices that Latin sentence *liberi a parentibus educantur* (where *educantur* is a simple active verb) can be translated into Lithuanian as follows (active or passive): *vaikai (yra) tėvų auklėjami; vaikus tėvai auklėja* (Jablonskis 1957: 297).

Thus, if Lithuanian possesses no simple passive tenses, then obviously English does not have them as well. The forms of passive voice are very strongly incorporated into the system of tenses in English.

Considering the status of voice in Lithuanian grammars, it is possible to draw a conclusion that voice is a morphological category since it is included into

the chapter *Morphological Categories of Verbs*. However, the category of voice is defined as follows: the voice of verbs is distinguished according to relation of the action to the agent, which is expressed by the subject in a sentence (DLKG 1997:317). Except it is syntax and not morphology. Morphological category of voice can be considered while comparing the forms of declension and the forms in agreement since they are composed with special formants (suffixes) which indicate voice distinction: active voice is formed with the suffixes *-nt-* and *-us-* (*dirba-nt-is, -i, dirb-us-i, dirb-usi-o*), passive voice is formed with the suffixes *-m-* and *-t-* (*dirb-a-m-as, -a, dirb-t-as, -a*).

If the voice is defined syntactically, there is the following opposition: all simple finite forms of the verb, active participles, compound inceptive and perfect tenses with active participles can be used in the active voice, e.g. *nešu, nešiau, nešdavau, nešiu; buvau/būdavau/būsiu benešas; esu/buvau/būdavau/būsiu nešes; nešas, nešes, nešdavęs, nešiqs*. Passive participles and compound forms with passive participles can be used in the passive voice, e.g. *esu/buvau/būdavau, būsiu nešamas, neštas; nešamas, neštas* (DLKG 1979:317-318). The definition is not accurate, since it is mentioned that passive participles are used in the passive voice, however, active participles are not mentioned at all. Moreover, half-participles are not mentioned as well, although, the actions they express are related to the subject. Half-participles are defined as special forms of active present tense participles which indicate a subordinate action performed by the same agent performing an action in the main clause (DLKG 1997:361).

Voice is distinguished as a form of a verb indicating the relation between the participants in a narrated event (subject, object) and the event itself in the English language. Common distinctions of voice found in languages are those of active, passive, and middle voice. These distinctions may be made by inflection, as in Latin, or by syntactic variation, as in English (Shibatani 1999:406; 2004:1145-1148; Carter and McCarthy 2006:929). The active-passive opposition can be illustrated by the following sentences:



Active voice: *the hunter killed the bear.*

Passive voice: *the bear was killed by the hunter.*

According to definitions of voice in all modern Lithuanian grammars, the morphological category of mood is based on foundation of the syntactical opposition. Maybe the aim was to ‘defend’ the compound constructions as tense forms in Lithuanian.

Considering expression of past in Lithuanian, it is logical to refer to Jablonskis again. He claims that there is no opposition of active and passive voice in the system of tenses. English, however, possesses equal forms of active and passive voice expressing past (*we built the house / the house was built*). Whereas, the forms of active and passive voice are not equal morphologically: the forms of active voice are simple and do not possess any special indicator of voice (*dirbo*), the forms of passive voice are syntactical constructions with the participle possessing the suffix which indicates the passive voice (*buvo dirb-a-m-as*) in Lithuanian.

The members of the opposition may be of equal value on the syntactical level (*buvo dirbęs – buvo dirbtas*), however, the passive construction in this case can possess only the participle of the past tense.

Thus, the grammatical ‘picture’ in the Lithuanian language is quite complicated here and it definitely differs from English. Theoretically, it is not possible to integrate the constructions into the system of conjugation paradigms of simple morphological tenses. Simple and compound forms could be included into the same general paradigm only if it was possible to reject so called ‘constricted morphologism’ and understand the grammar more broadly, not identifying it with the morphology. Furthermore, the basis for more broad understanding of grammar is provided by analytic languages where a syntactic construction turns into a form of a word.

Syntactic constructions contact with morphological ones and occupy some medium position in Lithuanian; they are detached from absolutely free word combinations, however, they are not included into the paradigms of morphological forms. If they were included into the paradigms of conjugated

forms, they would be opposite to the conjugated forms, but not synonymous; and only in some cases of neutralisation they could become synonymous. However, analytic constructions (called compound tenses and moods in Lithuanian grammars) are mainly synonymous with simple morphological forms possessing adequate meanings.

### **3.5. Compound Forms with Past Tense Active and Passive Participles**

The relation of the past simple tense with compound forms (or constructions) with past tense active and passive participles is different than the relation with the constructions with present tense participles (section 3.4.). It is necessary to refer to the principle of privative oppositions which was applied in morphology to create the theory of the paradigm of cases by Jakobson (the theory was not created only by Jakobson, however, it was generated during a linguistic discussion as Jakobson's conclusion (Якобсон 1985). It states that two basic features are characteristic to grammatical paradigm:

1. there has to be one invariant meaning common to all members;
2. members of the paradigm have to distinguish each other on the basis of the common meaning (i.e. to be in the opposition) and only in some contexts or situations the opposite members of the paradigm may approach each other and become synonyms (the case of neutralization) (Якобсон 1985; Fanning 1991:52-57).

How to apply the principle of oppositions to the paradigm of forms expressing past? All modern Lithuanian grammars claim that compound forms with past participles belong to the general paradigm of tense forms since they have specific meanings of time. The forms (or syntactic constructions) are defined as the compound perfect tenses which are used to 'denote a state resulting from a previous action which is relevant at a certain moment in the present, past or future' (LG 2006:248; DLKG 1997:300). There is common invariant meaning with the forms of the past simple tense; however, it is

important to clarify if there is an opposition based on that meaning. Lithuanian compound forms of with the past participle possess two meanings of past tenses: the perfective and the plusquamperfective meaning. Though, it is reasonable to state that if the simple form of the past simple tense did not possess those meanings then the compound forms with the past tense participles would really be opposite to the simple forms and would be included into the same paradigm. However, as it has already been presented the past simple tense possesses both the perfective and the plusquamperfective meaning (sections 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.).

Hence, the compound forms of the perfective and the plusquamperfective meaning cannot be in the opposition (based on those meanings) to the simple tense forms. They are synonymous with the simple forms and exist near the paradigm. The only difference from the past simple tense forms is that the same construction can not obtain two meanings. The simple form of the past simple tense *gyvenau*// *lived* can have (1) the meaning of a fact which is isolated from the moment of speech (e.g. *Kadaise gyvenau geriau negu dabar* // *Before I lived better then now*) or (2) the meaning of a result (*Ir aš ten gyvenau* (= *esu gyvenęs, puikiai pažįstu šį kraštą*) // *I also have lived there* (= *I know the place*)). In English, however, there are two different tenses (the past simple tense (1) and the present perfect tense (2)) which are opposite but not synonymous in their meanings. The past simple tense refers to an action in the past (past time is clearly separated from the moment of speaking) and the present perfect tense refers to an action which happened in the past, however, the past time-frame is connected with the present as the result is relevant *now*.

It is logical to analyse the relation of Lithuanian simple past tense forms with the forms of analytic constructions in the context, e.g.

*Aš nesuprantu, į ką jie atsigimė* (= *yra atsigimę*). *Visų vaikai kaip vaikai ir žmonės kaip žmonės, o pas mus vis kitaip.* (A.V.)

*I have no idea who they take after! The children of all people are all like others and ours are like no one else's*

*Viskas nutilo (=yra nutilę), viskas nurimo (=yra nurimę), vienos tik žvaigždės mirkčioja, dega. (M.)*

*Everything around has become quiet and calm, only stars are twinkling and burning.*

The synonyms in the examples above are essential part for the present tense situation where simple forms of the past simple tense are used synonymously with more or less free analytic constructions with auxiliary verbs and past participles.

*-Turbūt pavargęs esi iš kelio? – O, be galo pavargau!(J.Blč.)*

*'You must be tired from the journey'.*

*'Oh, yes, am very tired.*

*Į amžiną tinginį pavirtai, pasileidęs (=esi) ant miego, ar tai prideda tokiam jaunam? (Ž.)*

*You have become a real slob and sleepyhead. Does that become a young man?*

The examples above have the equivalents of the present perfect and sometimes of the present simple tense in English. They are translated the same as the forms of the past simple tense with the perfective meaning. Moreover, it is claimed that compound forms are relatively rare in everyday usage, the simple past forms 'being the dominant item in the simple past stratum' in Lithuanian (Johanson 2000:105).

Simple and compound forms of the past simple tense with the plusquamperfective meaning are used synonymously very similarly. However, a broader context is required to foreground the concurrence of the state resulting from the previous past action and the indicated moment in the past. Lithuanian grammars define the past simple tense with the plusquamperfective meaning as the tense the forms of which refer to the result related to some other past action

or situation. Thus, the forms of the past simple tense with the plusquamperfective meaning often come together with other forms of past tenses (LKG II 1971:98-99).

*Išdžiūvęs gomurys aitariai degė, galva sukosi. Nuo prakaito ji beveik apako (=buvo apakusi). Plušėjo kaip apdujusi nieko aplink nebematydama. (J.B.)*

*Her dry throat was burning, her head was spinning. She had almost got blind from the sweat. She saw nothing around as she was working like dizzy.*

*Šeštadienio vakarą Petras, grįžęs su dėde namo, rado netikėtą svečių: atvažiavo (=buvo atvažiavęs) brolis (V. M.-P.)*

*Saturday night Petras came home and found an unexpected guest as his brother Vincas had came.*

Simple forms are used synonymously with the analytic forms in the texts above (the same as with the perfective meaning). Analytic forms change simple ones and vice versa, e.g.

*O ką čia taip šunys buvo užpuolę (=užpuolė)? (A.V.)*

*Who had been attacked by the dogs?*

*Buvau manęs (=maniau) į gegužinę neiti, bet kad taip, tai būtinai eisiu. (K.B.)*

*I had decided not to go to the festival, but then I decided I had to go.*

In English the situation is less ‘complicated’. There are perfect tenses which clear meanings and reference points. As it is possible to notice from the English equivalents of the examples above, the simple tense or the compound forms are translated into English according to their meanings, i.e. if it is a plusquamperfective meaning then the past perfect tense (which refers to the time-

frame leading up to the point in the past or to ‘the time up to then’) is used.

Synonyms differ in meaning; however, the difference is not a direct opposition (in case one form can be replaced by some other form). Nevertheless, there are cases when the past simple tense cannot be replaced by an analytic form. Analytic forms cannot be used instead of simple forms of the past simple tense when it refers to past which is not related to any specific time reference (the moment of speech, the present moment, the past moment, a past action etc.), when only past events with no resultative states are referred to.

*Nulenkė žemai žemai žilą galvą, kaip ir slėpdamas nuo manęs savo veidą, padėkojo drebančiu balsu ir drebančiom rankom paėmė duoną, peržegnojo ją ir idėjo krepšin (J.Bil.)*

*The man bent his white-haired head extremely low as if hiding his face, thanked me with his trembling voice, took bread with his shaking hands, made the sign of the cross on it and put it away in his sack.*

*Aplinkui dar tebuvo naktis, bet rytų pusėje blyško ir raudo dangus. (J.Bil.)*

*The night was still all around, only the sky was getting pale and red in the east.*

*Plačios smailaviršūnės eglės atsargiai laikė ant savo palinkusių garbanotų šakų minkštas sniego gniūžtes. (V.M.-P.)*

*Wide high firs with spiky tops were cautiously bearing soft snow wisps on their leaning wavy branches.*

*Bėgiojo viena pas kitą, šnibždėjos, stovinėjo pavartėse, priemenių duryse, prie šulinių ir narstė jaunosios Pečiūrienės kaulelius. (A.V.)*

*They were all running one after other, whispering and standing at the gates, doors, wells and all were gossiping about Pečiūrienė.*

As it has already been mentioned, the examples with the forms of the past simple tense above possess the meaning of the past tense with no relation to the present or any other moment. Mostly those are the examples referring to the past actions which took place in the past with no time reference, they are used to tell about past, to express successive past actions etc. English employs the past simple tense to tell about past events with no reference to present or successive past actions. Also, if it is important to emphasize the duration of the action, the past continuous tense is used. Thus, the examples above are translated as past simple (*bent, thanked, took, made the sign of the cross, put away*) and past continuous tense (*was getting pale and red, were bearing, were running, were whispering, were standing, were gossiping*).

However, analytic narrative forms with resultative qualitative meaning are not usually replaced by simple forms, e.g.

*-O man iš tiesų negera mintis buvo galvon atėjusi, - tariau seneliui  
(J.Bil.)*

*'I have had a bad thought' I said to my grandpa.*

*Po insulto kurį laiką jis buvo viską užmiršęs, dabar pamažu pradeda atsiminti.*

*He has lost his memory after the stroke. Now he is getting it back.*

Moreover, even in these cases the synonymy with simple forms is possible, e.g.

*Nors toliau nuo miestelio nebuvo nuėjęs (=nenuėjo), o apie pasaulio ir žmonių reikalus nedaug teišmanė, tačiau žodžiai laisvė ir lygybė jam buvo suprantami ir brangūs. (J.Bil.)*

*Even though he hadn't seen the world, such words as freedom and equality were valued and well understood to him.*

Lithuanian analytic forms have the equivalents of analytic perfect tenses in English. The past perfect tense is used when the results of the action are related to some past situation, time or action, and the present perfect tense is used when the results of the past action are related to the present.

If the resultative meaning of analytic constructions is strong, the participle becomes adjectival and the verbal meaning of the construction disappears, e.g.

*Kai mes nuėjome lankyti, ligonis jau buvo miręs (=negyvas).*

*When we came on a visit the patient had died.*

Analytic forms of the past frequentative tense sometimes can be replaced with the simple forms, however, some stylistic damage is observed, e.g.

*Juk mama Barbikę taip pat visada nurengdavo, kai jinai būdavo sušlapusi (=sušlapdavo), ir paguldydavo į lovą (I.S.)*

*Every time Barbikė got wet, Mom used to undress and put her into bed.*

English employs the same equivalent (*used to*) as translating the simple form of the past frequentative tense. Thus, English does not distinguish between simple or compound forms in Lithuanian.

Sometimes analytic forms of the past frequentative tense cannot be replaced by simple ones. Consider:

*Lyg mažutę savanoris Moniką tuojau sodindavo ant kelių, įdėdavo į rankas cukrainį ar šiaip niekutį, o jeigu ji būdavo atsigulusi – išplėšdavo iš lovos. (P.C.)*

*The volunteer used to put Monika in his lap, give her a sweet or a trinket; and if she had gone to bed, he would wake her up and snatch her away from it.*



The analytic form of the past frequentative tense above has the equivalent of the past perfect in English which is used to refer to past actions or situations that occurred before a particular time in the past.

Lithuanian grammars claim that sometimes simple forms of the past frequentative tense possess the meaning of compound forms of the past frequentative tense (LKG II 1971:158), e.g.

*Užtat vidurvasarij, kada aptirpdavo (=būdavo aptirpęs) žemesniųjų kalnų sniegas ir nuslūgdavo (=būdavo nuslūgęs) ledynų upeliai, vienuolyną aplankydavo daugybė žmonių ir sunešdavo daug pinigų ir maisto. (A.V.)*

*In summer, when the snow of smaller mountains used to melt away and the streams of glaciers used to run low, many people would visit the monastery and bring much money and food.*

As it is seen from the examples above, English employs the same means to convey repeated actions in the past no matter if they are expressed by simple or compound forms of the past frequentative tense in Lithuanian (*used to* in this particular case which is referred to past repetitive actions).

English equivalents demonstrate that compound forms of the past frequentative tense may refer to two distinct meanings although the form of expression is the same: when synonymous to the forms of the past frequentative tense they possess the equivalent of the past frequentative tense in English (*used to*); meanwhile, when they cannot be replaced by the forms of the past frequentative tense they obtain the meaning of pluperfect and the equivalent is the past perfect tense in English.

Since the forms of simple and analytic past tenses are often synonymous in Lithuanian, the paradigmatic relation between analytic constructions and simple forms is quite tenuous. Thus, it is reasonable to state that simple forms are in opposition with analytic forms only in the cases when simple forms possess some specific meanings which cannot be conveyed by analytic forms.

There is only voice distinction between the analytic tense forms with passive participles and the forms with active participles, e.g.

*Šitie jo bruožai yra pavidėti iš tėvo. // Šiuos bruožus jis yra pavidėjęs / pavidėjo iš tėvo.*

*These features have been inherited from his father. // He has inherited these features from his father*

The translation to English demonstrates that there is distinction in voice but not tense as well. Using a form of a verb gives us the option of not mentioning the person or thing responsible for the action (the agent of the action). This is applicable both in English and Lithuanian. Sometimes it is simply impossible to use active voice since the agent of the action cannot be indicated as it is unknown (*He's almost certainly been murdered*); or it is not important who or what the agent is (*I had been told that it would be perfectly quiet*); or it is obvious who or what it is (*More people have been treated in hospital this year than at any time since the start of the Health Service*.) etc. (Sinclair 1990: 404).

A more thorough analysis of passive analytic constructions would lead the researcher from the study of tense expression into the analysis of the category of voice, into its purpose to depersonalize the statement, to eliminate the agent or to make it less defined. When the agent is not well-defined but implied, the analytic passive voice form may be replaced by the simple one in an undefined personal sentence in Lithuanian. Consider:

*Ta byla buvo svarstyta ir Strasbūre // Ta byla svarstė ir Strasbūre.*  
*The case was also argued in Strasbourg.*

In English when the agent is unknown the passive voice is always employed. Thus, there is only one way to express such depersonalized statements in English. Thus, there is no tense but only voice distinction in the opposition of

active/passive voice in English.

Thus, the contrastive analysis of Lithuanian and English demonstrates that Lithuanian compound constructions are synonymous with simple tenses. Lithuanian analytic constructions with active present tense participles are synonymous to the simple tense forms. The difference between analytic constructions and simple tense forms indicates the distinction in modality but not in tense. Thus, the analytic forms are in continual decline. Lithuanian compound forms with active past tense participles are synonymous with the simple tense forms of perfective and plusquamperfective meanings. Lithuanian compound forms with passive present tense participles differ from the equivalent simple tense forms in voice but not in tense. Analytic constructions with passive past participles are mostly detached from simple tense forms in tense (especially the constructions with the stem of the verb of perfective aspect). English, however, does not distinguish between Lithuanian simple and compound forms.

## Conclusions

Conclusions made on the basis of the aim, tasks raised and results obtained from the study are the following:

1. Lithuanian employs two simple tenses: the past simple and the past frequentative tense and compound forms, which are (with some small exceptions) in synonymy with simple ones, to express past. English possesses more tenses than Lithuanian to express past: the past simple, the past continuous, the past perfect, the past perfect continuous and the present perfect tense (which is referred to as a past action the results of which are relevant at the present moment, i.e. a past time-frame that connects with the present). *Used to* and *would* are also employed to express repeated actions in the past in English.

1.1. The results of the analysis demonstrate that Lithuanian past simple tense possesses all the meanings of all English past tenses. It possesses the meaning of:

- Single or repeated actions which occurred at some past time prior to the present moment. It corresponds with the meaning of English past simple tense which is English equivalent of the past simple tense of the non-contact meaning (both imperfective and perfective verbs may be used): *Silpni iš gymio, ligų nukankinti, vienas po kito mirė vaikai, ir jis laidojo juos be ašarų. // His weak sick children died one after another and he buried them with no tears. Daktaras įsižeidė ir nutilo. // The doctor got offended and hushed.*
- A past action which has current relevance (the results of the action are relevant at the present moment). It corresponds with the meaning of English present perfect tense which is English

equivalent of the past simple tense of the perfective meaning: *Jis parašė per dvidešimt raštų. // He has written over twenty writings.*

- A continuous action in the past. It corresponds with the meaning of English past continuous tense which is English equivalent of the past simple tense of the non-contact meaning (verbs of imperfective aspect are used): *Iš vamzdžio plonu, ilgu kaspinu driekėsi aitrus dūmas. // A thin bitter smoke was spreading from the pipe.*
- A past action which happened before some specific time in the past. It corresponds with the meanings of English past perfect tense (and the past perfect continuous tense when the focus is on the duration of the action) which is English equivalent of the past simple tense of the plusquamperfective meaning: *Šeštadienio vakarą Petras, grįžęs su dėde namo, rado netikėtą svečių: atvažiavo brolis. // Saturday night Petras came home and found an unexpected guest: his brother Vincas had arrived.*

1.2. The past frequentative tense belongs to the paradigm of simple tenses in Lithuanian. Although it is important to distinguish the aspectual opposition between the past simple tense and the past frequentative tense, the past frequentative tense cannot be defined as a version of the past simple tense and denied as a tense. The equivalents of the past frequentative tense in English are:

- *Used to* which is used to refer to past repetitive actions: *Jis dažnai mus lankydavo. // He often used to visit us.*
- *Would* which is also used to refer to repeated actions in the past (however, *would* requires an already established past time frame): *Ten, kur jis pasirodydavo, nušvisdavo žemė, po jos kojų tirpdavo sniegas, pražysdavo gėlės ir trumpėdavo kalnų perėjios. // Everywhere he went the land used to light up, the snow would melt*

*away, the flowers would bloom, the passes in the mountains would become shorter.*

- *The past simple tense which is used for habitual actions in the past: Jis eidavo į mokyklą kiekvieną dieną. // He went to school every day.*

2. The analysis of Lithuanian past simple tenses has demonstrated that it is necessary to relate them to aspect: imperfective forms of the past simple tense are employed to express both single and repeated actions: *Tą dieną jis ėjo į mokyklą* (single action); *Kiekvieną dieną jis ėjo (=eidavo) į mokyklą* (repeated action).

The forms of the past simple tense which express repeated actions are synonymous to the forms of the past frequentative tense: *Kiekvieną dieną jis keldavosi (kėlėsi) anksti.*

The forms of the past simple tense with the verbs of perfective aspect possess the meaning of a single time: *Jis nuėjo į mokyklą labai anksti.* The verbs of imperfective aspect may also be used to express the meaning of a single time action: *Mačiau, kaip jis ėjo į mokyklą.*

The past frequentative tense with the verbs of perfective meaning is used to express perfective repetitive actions: *Kiekvieną dieną jis atsikeldavo anksti.*

3. The meaning of the past frequentative tense cannot be considered a simple iterative since:
  - Both perfective and imperfective verbs possess the form of the past frequentative tense: *šoko – šokdavo // šokinėjo – šokinėdavo.* Therefore, one word cannot possess two separate same level affixes (e.g. a word cannot possess two separate case inflections at the same time);
  - The relation of the past frequentative tense with the moment of speech (the past frequentative tense cannot express a past action of

a non-distant past). It is not possible to say *Aš šiandien jau kelis kartus valgydavau* (only *valgiau*);

- There are contexts where the past frequentative tense cannot be replaced by the past simple tense: *Visada gaidys pragysdavo tuo pačiu laiku.*

4. Analytic forms of past tenses with past participles supplement simple forms similarly as prepositional constructions complement the paradigm of case in Lithuanian: performing additional functions they approach the paradigm of simple tenses differently. Analytic forms which are in opposition to simple ones and, thus, do not relate synonymously, and which cannot be replaced by simple forms (unless there is a change in meaning and the destruction of the sentence) are closest to the paradigm of simple tenses. The analytic form expressing an action of a distant past which took place before some other indicated past action cannot be replaced by a simple form: *Tąsyk jis jau buvo įkopęs į visas aukščiausias pasaulio viršūnes, išskyrus Everestą. // He had already climbed all the highest mountain peaks of the world except Everest. Kai mes nuvažiavome jo pasitikti, jis jau buvo nusipirkęs bilietą atgal. // When we went to meet him he had already bought a ticket back. The past perfect tense is used to refer to past actions which occur before a particular time in the past, thus, it is the equivalent of those forms in English.*

Analytic (or compound) forms (especially of perfective meaning) are synonymous with the forms of the past simple tense in all other cases: *Ir aš ten esu buvęs (=buvau), alų midų gėręs (=gėriau) // I have also been there and I have also tasted beer and hard drinks. The translation into English confirms that as well: the both forms have one equivalent, the present perfect tense (which is used to refer to actions of perfective meaning), in English.*

5. Lithuanian analytic forms differ from the corresponding English tenses in respect of free order of the components: in English only an adverb can be inserted between the auxiliary verb and the participle; the auxiliary verb cannot follow the participle; there can be only one negative in the sentence; thus, the auxiliary verb and the participle cannot be negated at the same time; the auxiliary verb cannot connect the participle and the adjective at the same time. However, a relatively free word order in Lithuanian enables to perform all the referred actions with Lithuanian analytic constructions: *Jis tąsyk iš namų išėjęs ir dar negrižęs buvo. To jis nebuvo negirdėjęs: žmonės apie šį įvykį tik ir tekalbėjo. Vaikas buvo patėvio sumuštą ir labai nelaimingą.*
6. Compound forms with active present tense participles (*buvau beeinąs*) are in continual decline. Besides, they are not in opposition to simple forms. Regular synonymy with the simple forms and the influence of neighbouring languages may be the most significant factor for the decline of the forms. Such forms possess one and the same equivalent in English: *Aš jau buvau beeinanti iš namų, tik atsiminiau neužgesinusi virtuvėje šviesos. Aš jauėjau iš namų, tik atsiminiau virtuvėje neužgesinusi šviesos. // I was about to leave the house when I remembered I had forgotten to switch off the light in the kitchen.*
7. Participial narration used instead of the indicative mood is not a separate mood in the general paradigm of moods since its meaning is not in the opposition to the meaning of the indicative. Those are regular synonymous forms which can be replaced by the forms of the indicative mood in every context. Consequently the participial narration is in continual decline as well; the modality it expresses remains in the main clause: *Žmonės kalbėjo, kad namai sudegę ligi pamatų // Žmonės kalbėjo, kad namai sudegę ligi pamatų.* Both examples have the same equivalent, i.e. the past perfect tense (which is used to refer to past actions which happened before some moment in the past) in English since the fact that



the narrator has heard the information from somebody else and has not witnessed it himself is indicated in the main clause: *People were telling that the house had burned down.*

8. There are two types of indeclinable predicative passive forms of past tense in Lithuanian:

- Indeclinable predicative passive forms of past tense possess the meaning of active voice and are used synonymously with the forms of active voice: *Jo čia tikrai būta // Jis čia tikrai buvo // Jis čia tikrai buvo.* They possess one equivalent, the present perfect tense, in English: *he has been here.*
- Predicative passive participles are used with the dative of the subject: *Man buvo nelaukta, netikėta, nežinoma, nepažįstama* ir t.t. // *It was sudden to me, it was unexpected to me, it was unknown to me, it was unfamiliar to me.* The constructions may be transferred into active voice personal ones: *Aš nelaukiau, nesitikėjau, nežinojau* // *I didn't expect, I didn't hope, I didn't know.* Passive forms are translated as passive; meanwhile, active forms are translated as active into English.

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## Abbreviations

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A.L. Aldona Liobytė  
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A.V. Antanas Vienuolis  
D. Kristijonas Donelaitis  
DLKG Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos gramatika  
D.S. Donatas Sauka  
E.M. Eduardas Mieželaitis  
I.S. Ieva Simonaitytė  
J.A. Jonas Avyžius  
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J.Bil. Jonas Biliūnas  
J.Blč. Juozas Balčikonis  
J.G. Juozas Grušas  
J.I. Jurga Ivanauskaitė  
J.Jabl. Jonas Jablonskis  
K.B. Kazys Binkis  
Ka.B. Kazimieras Būga  
K.M. Kazys Morkūnas  
LG Lithuanian Grammar  
LKG Lietuvių kalbos gramatika  
L.P. Lazdynų Pelėda  
M. Maironis  
M.V. Motiejus Valančius  
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Pr.M. Pranas Mašiotas

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R.Š. Renata Šerelytė  
S.N. Salomėja Nėris  
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