A Third Number: Discussing Duals in Lithuanian Language

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Recommended Citation
doi:10.21427/D7N440
Available at: https://arrow.tudublin.ie/itbj/vol16/iss1/3

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Abstract

Modern Lithuanian has two grammatical numbers: singular and plural, nevertheless literature sources note the existence of the dual number residue in Lithuanian. This phenomenon is prominent in Austronesian languages as stated by Schwartz (1989:237-238) and there are different types of duals. However, in European languages this phenomenon is not as widely spread. This paper overviews the constructions of such phenomenon and presents results of a small research which looked at the frequency of the usage of dual pronouns and demonstratives in the Lithuanian language. Data for the research was taken from the Corpus of Lithuanian Language compiled by Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania which is accessible online. The main aim is to discuss the place of duals in Lithuanian language and to establish whether it is still frequently used by the Lithuanian language speakers.

1. Introduction

Every culture understands the world in different ways and it is safe to say that one of the ways to transfer such information is through language. The existence of syntactic, phonetic and morphological patters that exist through different languages has been widely discussed and through such discussions, the different perspectives of the existent world were revealed. This paper is set to reveal the complex understanding of the Lithuanian culture through an extraordinary feature of dual number, or as Ambrazas (2006) states the residue of it.

What is the category of number and what are duals? What type of number system does Lithuanian language has? Are duals considered a part of the grammatical class? If not, what are the functions of duals? These are just some of the questions that this paper addresses. Moreover, an empirical research was completed in order to establish the frequency of the dual usage, to observe which duals are preferred by the speakers and which are less used.

2. Framework, Methodology and Data

This research adapts quantitative and qualitative methodology. The data is extracted from Corpus of Lithuanian Language (CLL) which was compiled by the Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania. It is accessible online through vdu.lt. It is a database of journal articles, administrative literature, fiction, non-fiction and a small amount of spoken language. This corpus is not annotated and consists of approximately 102 million tokens and is the biggest corpus of the Lithuanian language. Nevertheless, the tools of this corpus are not elaborate. Figure 1 indicates the distribution of literature that this corpus is composed of.

Words that carry dual number were chosen and were searched using the tools of the corpus. The examples were extracted and compared. Also the frequency of the word occurrence was noted and the numbers compared. The next section briefly overviews the class of number in order to fully understand the phenomenon.

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1 http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/
3. The Category of Number
This chapter discusses the grammatical category of number. Miller (1993:12-13) points out that numerating items is an abstract and arbitrary depending on the cultural understanding and the enumerating system, however, it occurs in all of the languages unexceptionally. It seems to be apparent that the category of number is simple, nevertheless, Corbett (2012:7) marks that number is a morpho-syntactic category and is not as clear as it appears. This means that languages mark it differently and there are various systems of number. To clarify, the category of number does not discuss the numerals like 1, 2, and 3; it rather takes scope over the ways that language encodes the opposition of one, two, three or more referents in the clause. As it is further outlines, this class is multi-layered and more complex.

Pavey (2010:191) explains that in most languages there are distinction between singular and plural, some languages have dual in addition to traditional binary opposition and only a few have trial number which refers to the three referents. It is clear that the class of number encodes the perception of what the culture groups together as an entity: single person/ item, two people/ items, three as a group marking the importance of all, or distinguishes just the opposition between ‘one’ and ‘more than one’, or all of the above. Bhat (2004:91) states that the agreement of number is more complex than it seems in the cases of languages which have specific differentiation of ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’ numbers, nevertheless, in languages with the ‘singular’ and ‘plural’ distinction, the agreement always corresponds between the noun or the pronoun and the entity it refers to. It needs to be clarified that this paper acknowledges the existence of number systems that enumerate the events in the predication. However, this paper is set out to analyses only the nominal constructions.

There are several levels that the class of number takes scope over. Pavey (2010:191) states that grammatical number on the noun phrase is a core level operator and therefore modifies the entire meaning of the phrase. This means the agreement in number has to be
carried not only by the noun or pronoun, but also by the entire phrase constituents. Labutis (2002:30) states that all adjectival words in Lithuanian do not carry an inherent number, however, when used in a phrase it has to agree with the nominal of the phrase in gender and number and most often in case. Number, also is reflected in the syntactic level. Bhat (2004:16) states that usually arguments agree with the predicate by number and person and are expressed by the noun phrase or the corresponding pronoun. This agreement also depends on the number system of the language and it is reflected on all of the items of the noun/ pronoun phrase.

In many languages the number is marked inflectionally, as stated by Miller (1993: 11) and rarely derivational if marked on the nouns, however, there are a few exceptions. Pavey (2010:192), gives an example of Mangghuer language from Mongolic branch, China where there are no specific markers on the noun phrase elements if the numeral is used in the clause, however, if the numeral is not used, then the plural marker is used meaning ‘some’ or ‘a few’ of the referents. In any event, all number systems in the nominal constructions enumerate the referents that are being discussed in the act of speech. These referents can be noted in the construction by different means: noun, noun + modifiers, demonstratives, pronouns etc.

Givon (2001: 55, 57-59) states that nouns are concrete entities and therefore the pronouns that refer to the same nouns are considered to be referring to the same concrete entities. Furthermore, it is also noted that the noun dependants of the noun phrase in most cases need to agree with the head noun in number (Givon, 2001:57-58). The class of nouns does not pose many issues, on the contrary to the class of pronouns. Bhat (2004:2) notes that the category of pronouns takes scope over much more than personal pronouns and the division is not clear. Pronouns also are considered to ‘stand for’ nouns in the sentence which is also questioned by Bhat (2004:2) and Lyons (1968) suggesting that they refer to the entire noun phrase in most of the cases. Furthermore, Bhat (2004:2-4) suggests classifying pronouns into two types: personal pronouns (mainly first and second) and other pronouns like demonstratives, interrogatives, identifiers, relatives, correlatives etc, and refer to such as general pronouns, explaining that classical categorization does not fully describe the morpho-syntactic and mainly semantic functions of the class of pronouns.

It was also suggested by Bhat (2004:15) that third person pronoun could be classified together with the remote demonstrative as it refers to the non-participant of the speech in the speech act and therefore does not carry same characteristics as a first and second pronoun. This paper acknowledges the existence of different classification and distinction between first and second person pronouns and their different characteristic from the rest of the items in the pronoun category, however, the main scope of the paper is not connected to the pronoun classification and all types of pronouns will be considered falling under the general class of pronouns.

Pavey (2010:191-192) notes that singular traditionally is an unmarked category in languages, however, there are languages that have different type of classification like in South-Central Papuan, Papua New Guinea, where the dual is the unmarked category while all other have specific suffixes. As mentioned earlier, Austronesian languages have vast number of types of duals, on the other hand, Indo-European languages have very little examples of existing dual. Corbett (2012:28-29) gives an example of the Slovene, a South Slavonic language, where dual number is optional and depends on the speakers wish to use it, therefore the existence of duals in Lithuanian poses such interest. Givon (2001: 64) proposes that the dual form could be treated as the initial stage of the evolution into plural and notes that such
residues can still be confirmed by Hebrew ‘im’ which occurs in most of the words which encode the meaning of two as seen in the Example (1) adapted from Givon (2001: 64):

(1) a. yad yad-ayim
    /hand/ /hands/

  b. regel ragl-ayim
    /foot/ /feet/

Adapted from Givon (2001: 64)

In Uto-Aztecan language the dual is formed by adding a dual suffix, nonetheless, in combination with other suffixes it marks plural, but the amount of nouns used in dual is considerably small and restricted to animacy (Givon, 2001:64). This shifts the discussion from the general class of numbers to the Lithuanian number system which is discussed in the next section.

4. Lithuanian Duals

Givon (2001: 63) explains that number classification is usually divided into two domains: singular and plural, where singular is considered to be an unmarked form of the nominal and the marked form is the plural or dual. There are other types of numeral systems in the world and for example, as stated by Schwartz (1989:238), there are three singular dual numbers in Yapese which include dual, inclusive dual and exclusive dual. However, in standard Lithuanian grammars there are only two grammatical numbers: singular and plural. Dual in Lithuanian is not considered to be a grammatical category and is mentioned only as a possibility to derive pronouns with the meaning of ‘two’. Karaciejūtė (2012:50) notes that Lithuanian differentiates between singular and plural grammatical numbers, which is confirmed by Ambrazas (2006:101-102). Nevertheless, Ambrazas mentions the existence of the dual number in certain pronouns, mainly personal pronouns and some demonstratives like mudu ‘the two of us’, judu ‘the two of them (masculine)’, jiedvi ‘the two of them’ (feminine), anuodu ‘the two of those (masculine)’, aniedvi ‘the two of them (feminine)’ etc. (Ambrazas, 2006:184-185). Moreover, both pronouns abu masculine and abi feminine have the dual semantic meaning encoded without the dual number markings (ibid.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>Derived from NOM</th>
<th>Derived from ACC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 PL</td>
<td>Mes</td>
<td>Mudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We</td>
<td>To of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>Jūs</td>
<td>Judu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>You</td>
<td>Two of You</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Jie / Jos</td>
<td>Jiedu / Jiedvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TeyM / theyF</td>
<td>Two of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Šie</td>
<td>Šiedu / Šiedvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TheseM / TheseF</td>
<td>Two of these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Tie / Tos</td>
<td>Tiedu / tiedvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ThoseM / ThoseF</td>
<td>Two of those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Anie / Anos</td>
<td>Aniedu / aniedvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ThoseM / ThoseF</td>
<td>Two of those</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives abdu and abidvi are derived from the previously noted abu, and abi adding the dual suffix –du; -dvi meaning ‘two’. These suffixes as seen from the example (2)
are used to form other dual pronoun and demonstratives. As can be seen from the examples, the forms of dual are derivational and therefore considered to be somewhat productive. It also needs to be noted that Lithuanian also distinguishes between the proximity of the items in the act of speech when using demonstratives tie / tos, anie/ anos ‘those’. Tie / tos are the items that are in closer proximity of the speaker than the ones that are being referred to by the demonstratives anie/ anos.

Paulauskienė (2006a: 73), supported by Ambrazas (2006:102), states, that the residue of dual in the modern Lithuanian is enough of evidence to state that there was a more complicated number system which included the distinction between one, two and more than two. Also, it is discussed by Paulauskienė (2006b) the issues of the first grammar books which were written about Lithuanian Language and refers mostly to Klein who lived and published Lithuanian grammars in 17th century (republished in 1950’s). The dual number is also featuring in Klein’s discussions as seen in the example (3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>DUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Aš ‘I’</td>
<td>Mudu &amp; wedu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Manės ‘me’</td>
<td>Mudu &amp; wedu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Manę ‘me’</td>
<td>Mudu &amp; wedu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Man ‘for me’</td>
<td>Mum dwiem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Paulauskienė (2006b:52)

Paulauskienė (2006b:52) notes that the forms are irregularly inflected as case inflection for the singular is more elaborate than the case markings in dual. Furthermore, Paulauskienė (2006b:52-53) points out that there are several things that are not discussed by Klein but evident from the examples; for instance, the existence of the synthetic form derived using du / dvi meaning ‘two’ and the a lexical form of wedu which is entirely lost in modern Lithuanian. From this example it is seen that the first pronoun in plural has 4 cases, but the dual pronouns are inflected only in the two cases where NOM GEN and ACC have the same word forms with the DAT carrying a different inflectional suffix.

The question arises then, how did dual number disappear from a language? Aikhenvald (2003:244) states that most of the Indo-European languages have lost the grammatical dual through the process of grammaticalization. Peterson (1995:48-49) quoted in Aikhenvald (2003:245) explains that the process of dual grammaticalization in Lithuanian has changed the classification of plural gender and therefore there are no gender differentiation in first person plural as seem in the example (4) adapted from Aikhenvald. This theory seems plausible in regards to the gender distinction, however, the examples are not accurate as the second person plural in Lithuanian is jūs and the dual forms also pose some issues. If to look closer to the example (2) it has two types of dual: derived from NOM and from ACC and the number of actual duals are not accounted correctly in Aikhenvald (2003) as well.
Corbett (2012:25-26) notes that the Tundra Nenets from Uralic language family distinguish singular, dual and plural and the verb obligatory agrees in number with the noun phrases. However, the speaker has a choice to use plural or dual agreement on the verb itself and both are grammatically correct, still, if the subject is used in plural, a dual marker on the verb is unacceptable. In Lithuanian, if the argument is used in the dual, the verb carries plural as there are no dual markings as seen from the Example (5):

(5)  

Buv-o  
AUX-3.SG.PST  
āštunt-a  
eight-SG.F.NOM.  
ryt-o,  
morning-SG.M.GEN.  
veikiausiai  
most likely  

aniedu  
them two  
lik-o  
stay-3.PL.PST.  
kaimeł-yje.  
village-SG.M.LOC.  
/It was eight in the morning, most likely the two of them stayed in the village/.  

Adapted from CMLL.

In this sentence the verb carries the third person plural marker in the past tense while the argument – the doer of the action – is expressed through the demonstrative aniedu in dual.

As mentioned above, Ambrazas (2006), Balkevicius (1989), Paulauskiene (2006) and many others state that Lithuanian number is the binary opposition between singular and plural. Roduner and Čižik (2006:67), on the other hand, enumerate three numbers in Lithuanian: singular, plural and dual, noting that dual is used only with several personal pronouns and some demonstratives. Roduner and Čižik (2006:74) propose to add Lithuanian dual to be a part of the number system as it seems to have inflectional properties. As seen from the examples in Example (6), the dual in Lithuanian mostly is used with the first and second pronouns.

This is also evident that there is masculine and feminine distinction in the suffixes. Roduner and Čižik (2006:74) same as Karaciejūtė (2012:49) note that Lithuanian suffixes carry more than one meaning and therefore number is marked together with gender and case by one suffix. In the case of dual, the case is usually NOM as there are no more inflectional variants left from Old Lithuanian. Ambrazas (2006:102) explains that in a few of the dialects the dual number is still retained, however, it is used only in nominative and accusative cases and are at all times used with the numeral du and dvi ‘two’ or the adjective abu, abi, abudu, abidvi meaning ‘both’.

Adapted from Aikhenvald (2003)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/I was walking down the street/</td>
<td>/We were walking down the street/</td>
<td>/Two of us were walking down the street/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/You were walking down the street/</td>
<td>/You were walking down the street/</td>
<td>/Two of you were walking down the street/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jis ėjo gatve.</td>
<td>Jie ėjo gatve.</td>
<td>Juodu ėjo gatve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/He was walking down the street/</td>
<td>/They were walking down the street/</td>
<td>/Two of them were walking down the street/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Roduner and Čižik (2006:74)

Karaciejūtė (2012) conducted a research by collecting real speech samples from the Varėna sub-dialect speakers in the East Aukštaitija, Lithuania. One of the examples which is presented in the Example (7) reveals the strategy where the speaker uses a dual number agreement on the argument realised as a noun phrase. The noun phrase includes the numeral du meaning ‘two’ and the noun in, as it appears, the dual number:

(7) Paskui išvažiav-o, tai po to, tada dar du laišk-u
Later leave-3.SG.PST, so after that then more two letter-DU
atraš-ė t-as staršin-a mums.
write-3.SG.PST that-SG.M.NOM. officer- SG.M.NOM we-PL.DAT.
/Later he left, so after that, then that officer wrote two letters to us./

Adapted from Karaciejūtė (2012:50).

Such examples show that the dual number is productive and it is used not only on the pronouns and demonstratives, but also on the noun phrases in the non-agent position. Nevertheless, the number of the examples was very limited and so low, that Karaciejūtė (2012) made a conclusion that the dual number in the sub-dialect is used just for highlighting a specific argument in the context of the speech act.

Aikhenvald (2003:247) explains that in most languages the classification of nouns and agreement in number most often is closely connected to other types of noun classification. For example, animate nouns and human noun classes carry the category of number in Australian Anindilyakwa language (Leeding 1996) only human nouns in North Arawak, Palikur Language (Aikhenvald & Green 1998). Roduner and Čižik (2006:71) explains that most research of languages with dual number show similar patterns. It was explained that the animacy hierarchy plays a major role in assigning number to the nominal and pronouns as personal pronouns were dominant in assigning dual (Roduner and Čižik, 2006:71). As suggested by (Givon, 2001:64), animacy is one of the criteria for the languages to have dual number. Roduner and Čižik (2006:73) point out that the rules of such hierarchy does not allow the existence of dual if there is no plural and there cannot be trial if there is no plural and dual (more on the animacy hierarchy see Corbet 2002; Dixon 1979, Corbett 2000). As seen from Karaciejūtė’s (2012) research Lithuanian duals are not restricted strictly to animate entities and Roduner and Čižik (2006:76) also points out that the dual number can be used on any noun phrases, therefore, the animacy theory can be questioned. Demonstratives can refer to any type of referent that can be human, non-human and inanimate so in the case of Lithuanian language animacy theory should be rejected.
5. Research

Corbett (2012:29) points out that if the language uses the dual for specific purposes and it is not obligatory for special class of nouns, the main reason for the existence of dual, as discussed in relation to Slovene, is to highlight the information of the two of the discussed items. Such suggestion by Corbett (2012) explains the existence of the dual pronouns in Lithuanian. This research was inspired by few factors:

1) The claims by most linguists that the dual number is extinct and only the residue remains in Lithuanian.
2) The existence of productive dual constructions in Austronesian languages while very few Indo-European languages have such number classification.

It is also mentioned that there is a reduction in the usage of the opposition between the ‘two’ and ‘more than two’ referents moving closer to the binary distinction of ‘single’ and ‘more than one’ items (Ambrązaitis, 2006:i85). The curiosity about the productivity was raised by claims that only the residue of the dual number is left in the Lithuanian language, while clearly it is still used in a daily life (observation is mine). Moreover, Karaciejūtė (2012:49) raises the question whether dual is a semantic or grammatical category as it clearly carries the characteristics of both: it carries the meaning of ‘two’ and it is morphologically marked on the nominal, however, it is syntactically non-obligatory. Roduner and Čižik (2006:75-78) discuss the tendency of declining in the usage of the Lithuanian dual as it has become optional with pronouns and unusable with nouns. This claim, as seen from Karaciejūtė’s (2012) research, can be discarded as the dual number is not productively, but still used in some of the dialects in Lithuania. It is also noted that the main function of the dual in Lithuanian is to mark the close relationship between the two referents and the importance of such depends solely on the speaker (Roduner and Čižik, 2006:75-78).

To clarify the frequency of usage and the productivity of the dual in Lithuanian, such dual constructions of such pronouns were chosen for research in the corpus: mes ‘we’, jūs ‘youpl’, jie ‘they’, sie ‘these’, tie ‘those’, anie ‘those’, mudu abudu ‘two of us together’, kuriuodu ‘which the two of them’. As most of the pronouns in Lithuanian form the masculine and feminine forms, both types of dual forms were administered through the corpus. It needs to be noted that the pronoun jūs ‘youpl’ does not have a feminine distinction therefore the space in the table is left blank. The constructions were searched in the corpus and from 140,921288 tokens such results were extracted which are presented in the Table (1):

Table (1): The frequency of the dual pronouns in CLL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mes</th>
<th>Jcs</th>
<th>Jie</th>
<th>Šie</th>
<th>Tie</th>
<th>Anie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine Dual:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/We/</td>
<td>MUDU</td>
<td>JUDU</td>
<td>JIEDEU</td>
<td>ŠIEDU</td>
<td>TIEDU</td>
<td>ANIEDU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Youpl/</td>
<td>5571</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>3661</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine Dual:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/They/</td>
<td>JOS</td>
<td>ŠIOS</td>
<td>TOS</td>
<td>ANOS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/These/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>/Those/</td>
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<td>/These/</td>
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<td>/Those/</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from the Table (1) that the usage of the duals on the pronouns is very high. The most frequent pronoun that was used in dual was of the first person plural mudu of
5571, while the second most frequent was not of the second but of the third person masculine *jiedu* which was 3661. As it was already mentioned, the personal pronouns were used more than demonstratives, the most frequent being *tiedu* 287 and least frequent *aniedvi*. It needs to be mentioned that the amount of duals in feminine were used considerably less. Moreover, Karaciejūtė (2012:50) states that the feminine dual is a rarity in the East Aukštaitija as well. According to Holvoet and Semenienė (2006:106) and Paulauskiénė (2006a:72), masculine gender assignment carries a function of marking mixed group referents, i.e. if the group consists of feminine and masculine animate arguments, masculine is used to refer to such group. In her research Bruno (2012) states that in Lithuanian, masculine gender assignment to the loan words of English was used as the neutral gender as there is no formal neutral gender in Lithuanian. As this research only used qualitative analysis, it cannot draw clear conclusions what type of referents were discussed. A more thorough qualitative research is needed to draw the conclusion whether feminine gender duals are declining.

The main function of the first and second personal pronoun, as stated by Bhat (2004) is to mark the speaker and the interlocutor of the act of speech and therefore the indefiniteness of both is considered to be a common characteristic. The rest of the pronouns on the other hand carry the characteristic of the definiteness as they refer to the specific entities (ibid.). Balkevičius (1963:22) states that in Lithuanian language the functions of the first and second personal pronouns correspond to the ones discussed by Bhat (2004), stating that the first personal pronoun is used by the speaker, the second personal pronoun is used to note the interlocutor of the speech act. This explains the high number of duals that were used in the first personal pronoun, however, the second personal pronoun in plural is less used than the third PP.

The research also searched for the frequency of the *mudu abudu* ‘two of us together’ usage. Such construction is presented in the Example (8):

(8) *Tau tek-s nešio-tis mudu abudu šird-yje.*
You SG.DAT. have-2SG.FUT. carry-INF_REF. weDU. two together heart-SG.F.LOC.
/You will have to carry us together in the heart/.
Adapted from CMLL

*Mudu abudu* carries a double marking of dual from morphological and semantic perspectives. Morphologically both words in the phrase are constructed using the suffix –*du* and the semantic meaning both are dual. The languages usually do not prefer the excessive marking for semantic meaning. The explanation two this phenomenon of over specification can be grounded on the speakers wish to shift the focus from the actor of the predicate to the direct argument. The second reason for such construction possibly lies in the agreement of the dual number in the phase level of *mudu abudu*, however this claim needs to be analysed in more detail which is not the main focus of this paper.

The construction with *kurioudu* was found only 4 times and one of such examples is illustrated in the Example (9):

(9) *[…] mano tėv-as paėm-ė du pинig-u, kurioudu*
[… my father-SG.NOM. take-3SG.PST. two money-DU.M. which two of them*
*[… t-as pon-as met-ė ant stal-o […].*
*that-SG.NOM. lord-SG.NOM. throw-3SG.PST. on table-SG.M.GEN. […]*
/[…] my father took the two coins, which two of them the lord threw on the table […]/.
Adapted from CMLL
This example incorporates the classical example of Old Lithuanian type of usage of dual number not only on the pronoun but also on the nominal phrase du pinigu ‘two coins’. The money is transcribed in countable equivalent of ‘coins’ as in Lithuanian pinigas ‘money’ can occur in plural meaning ‘money’ and in singular meaning ‘one’ either ‘a coin’ or ‘a note’.

Corbett (2012:49) suggests classifying the features of languages into morpho-semantic and morpho-syntactic. The former describes the features that carry semantic meaning and are coded morphologically but does not carry any significant importance in syntax, where the latter defines features that are of syntactic importance and is distributed accordingly across the constituents of the clause (ibid.). Following such description, dual number in Lithuanian falls under the morpho-semantic feature as it does not participate in agreement and carries the meaning of two. On the other hand, clauses having dual argument have to be marked by plural as dual carries the semantic meaning of more than one, therefore it partially participates in syntactic marking. Similarly, the same phenomenon is noted my Corbett (2012:50) in Maltese, where the opposition between the singular and the plural is morpho-syntactic and dual number is used only optionally marked by plural agreement markers and is considered to be morpho-semantic.

In the Example (9) the dual number does not reach further than the phrase level as the predicate agrees with the agent mano tėvą ‘my father’ in number and person. Such findings obviously show the productivity of dual which reaches further than the pronouns in some dialects as seen from the dialect of Varėna in the findings of Karaciejūtė (2012:52) and the findings of this research. The findings of this research agree with the findings of Roduner and Čižik (2006:80) who explain that the productivity of the dual in Lithuanian defines the dual as part of the number class rather than the residue. Dual on the other hand as seen from the description is not considered to be a grammatical number in Lithuanian language. Therefore, the agreement in dual is carried only on the constituents of the noun phrase that the speaker chooses to use. Furthermore, dual is used not only on the animate or noun phrases referring to humans as seen in the Example (7) and Example (9).

5. Conclusion and further research indications

Nolan (2012:22) states that operators like number are effective on the level of CORE of the phrase, in the case of Lithuanian - the level of the noun or pronoun phrase. As it was established that the dual number in Lithuanian is not a grammatical category, or at least does not fully fall under such classification, dual pronouns in such case is stored in lexicon as a separate entry. This, however, does not explain how Lithuanian dual number can be derived using, for example, the questions words like kurie ‘which’ into kuriedu ‘which two.’ This research indicated that the dual is still productive and was used quite frequently in Lithuanian language. It occurs on the most plural pronouns including demonstratives.

In Role and Reference Grammar, as noted by Nolan (2012), qualia theory is incorporated to explain a various qualitative features in the clause. Qualia theory, which was developed by Pustejovski (1995) and adapted in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:184-186) states that the qualitative features of the noun phrase add to the composition of the predicate and the clause. As the noun phrase can be substituted by the pronoun phrase and the pronoun phrase can be marked by dual number which carries the meaning of two, it is safe to state that the dual number itself adds to the
predication of the sentence. However, this suggestion needs to be analysed using RRG theoretical framework which is not covered by the main scopes of this paper.

**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 1st person</td>
<td>GEN. genitive case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 2nd person</td>
<td>INF. infinitive case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 3rd person</td>
<td>LOC. locative case M. masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC. accusative</td>
<td>NOM. nominative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT. dative case</td>
<td>PST. past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU. dual</td>
<td>PL. plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. feminine</td>
<td>PP. personal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT. Future tense</td>
<td>REF. reflexive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG. singular</td>
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**References**


