Chapter 3

Strong vs. weak definites: Evidence from Lithuanian adjectives

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While Lithuanian (a Baltic language) lacks definite articles, it can use an adjectival system to encode definiteness. Adjectives can appear in a bare short form as in *graži* 'beautiful.NOM.F.SG' and a long form with the definite morpheme *-ji(s)* as in *gražio-ji* 'beautiful.NOM.F.SG-DEF'. In this paper, I explore definiteness properties of Lithuanian nominals with long and short form adjectives. Recent cross-linguistic work identifies two kinds of definites: strong definites based on familiarity and weak definites licensed by uniqueness (Schwarz 2009; 2013; Arkoh & Matthewson 2013; Jenks 2015; i.a.). Following this line of work, I argue that short form adjectives, in addition to being indefinite, are also compatible with situations licensed by uniqueness, and in this way resemble weak article definites. Long form adjectives pattern with strong article definites, as evidenced by familiar definite uses and certain bridging contexts parallel to the German data (Schwarz 2009). This study provides novel evidence for the distinction between strong versus weak definites showing that this distinction is not necessarily reflected in determiner patterns, but it can also be detected in the adjectival system.

1 Introduction

There is a tradition in the literature to define definiteness either in terms of uniqueness (Russell 1905; Strawson 1950; Frege 1892) or in terms of anaphoricity (familiarity) (Christophersen 1939; Kamp 1981; Heim 1982). Nevertheless, a detailed study of German articles by Schwarz (2009) demonstrates that both familiarity and uniqueness are necessary tools to capture definite uses. Specifically, Schwarz provides empirical evidence showing that there are two semantically distinct definites in German: a strong article definite licensed by familiarity and

a weak definite licensed by uniqueness. The distinction between the two articles is visible not only in anaphoric and uniqueness-based contexts, but also in bridging contexts where a part-whole relation is licensed by the weak definite article, and the product-producer context is compatible with the strong definite article. The dichotomy of strong and weak definites has been supported by a number of other studies from different languages including: Akan (Arkoh & Matthewson 2013), ASL (Irani 2019 [this volume]), Austro-Bavarian (Simonenko 2014), and Icelandic (Ingason 2016).

This paper is the first attempt to bring into the discussion of strong versus weak definites articleless languages like Lithuanian, which uses the adjectival system as one of the means to express definiteness. While Lithuanian lacks definite articles, it has the suffix *-ji(s)* associated with definiteness (Ambrazas et al. 1997). This definite morpheme appears on a variety of non-NP categories, but for present purposes I focus on adjectives. Adjectives can appear in a bare short form as in (1a) and a long form with a definite morpheme *-ji(s)* as in (1b). Gillon & Armoskaite (2015) report that the nominals with short adjectives can be definite or indefinite depending on the context, while nominals with long adjectives are necessarily interpreted as definites, as reflected in the glosses in (1).

(1)   a.   *graž-i*   *mergin-a*
           beautiful-NOM.F.SG girl-NOM.F.SG
           'a/the beautiful girl'

      b.   *graž-io-ji*   *mergin-a*
           beautiful-NOM.F.SG-DEF girl-NOM.F.SG
           'the beautiful girl'

In this study, I provide novel evidence for the distinction between strong versus weak article definites (Schwarz 2009) by exploring definiteness properties of Lithuanian nominals with short and long adjectives. In particular, I demonstrate that long form adjectives function like familiar definites, and are equivalent to the German strong article, as they emerge in anaphoric expressions that refer back to linguistic antecedents (2). This reference otherwise is not possible with short form adjectives. The long forms pattern with the strong article in German not only in standard anaphoric cases, but also in product-producer bridging contexts as will be illustrated in §4.

(2)   *Marija pristatė   mane savo **pusbroliui** iš   Vilniaus. **Gražus-is**   /*
      Marija introduced me   self **cousin**   from Vilnius beautiful-DEF /
      *#**gražus** pusbrolis galantiškai nusilenkė ir   pabučiavo man į ranką.*
       beautiful cousin   gallantly bowed   and kissed   me to hand
      'Marija introduced me to **her cousin** from Vilnius. **The beautiful cousin**
      gallantly bowed and kissed my hand.'

While the nominals with short form adjectives can indeed function like indefinites by introducing a new discourse referent, I provide new data showing that they can also occur in situations licensed by uniqueness as evidenced by larger situations based on general world knowledge, e.g. generic rules as in (3). This observation suggests that short adjectives pattern in a similar way to the weak definite that is associated with uniqueness. The similarity of short adjectives with weak definites is further supported by the felicity of short forms in part-whole bridging contexts, which in German also require the weak article (see §4).

(3) *Praėjus dviem savaitėm po   rinkimų, prezidentas turi teisę atleisti **naują***
    passed two   weeks   after elections president   has right fire   new
    */ #**naują-jį ministrą pirmininką** tik   išskirtiniais atvejais.*
    / new-DEF minister   prime   only exceptional cases
    'Two weeks after the election, the president has a right to fire **the new
    prime minister** only in exceptional cases.'

Nevertheless, a difference between Lithuanian and German occurs in larger situations that include specific unique individuals. German permits only the weak article in such a context, whereas Lithuanian uses the long form adjective as in (4). A similar type of distinction is also observed by Jenks (2015) between bare nouns versus definite demonstratives and pronouns in Thai.

(4) *Po   rinkimų **naujas-is** / #**naujas** prezidentas paskambino miestelio*
    after elections new-DEF / new   president   called   city
    merui.
    mayor
    'After the elections, **the new president** called the city mayor.'

Overall, the Lithuanian data provide additional support for Schwarz's (2009) proposal that definiteness is a two-fold phenomenon consisting of uniqueness and anaphoricity that can be expressed by two separate forms/articles in a language. The adjective-based definite expressions presented here broaden the typological landscape on how languages encode strong vs. weak article distinction by demonstrating that this distinction is not necessarily reflected in determiner patterns, but it can also be detected in the adjectival system. The Lithuanian data included in this paper have been tested with 7 informants who worked with the author, who is also a native speaker of Lithuanian. In addition to that, an online survey with 20 additional native speakers has been carried out. This was a questionnaire study on Google Forms where the speakers had to read a sentence and select an appropriate adjective that sounded the most felicitous in a given context. While a number of instances show a very clear semantic contrast between

long and short adjectives, the results from other examples exhibit a certain degree of variation. Particularly, this arises in the contexts that are compatible with both familiar and uniqueness uses. Indeed, Schwarz (2019 [this volume]) notes that there exist contexts where strong versus weak distinction can be blurry and languages show some variation with respect to which definite form is used. I will review the variation patterns exhibited by the data and discuss what consequences they have for the theory.

This paper is structured as follows. In §2, the main typological facts of nominals with short and long adjectives will be presented. In §3, I review different approaches that have been used to capture definite uses with a particular focus on Schwarz's (2009) proposal and studies supporting it. §4 compares the definite use of short and long adjectives with strong and weak articles in German illustrating the parallels between the two languages. It is demonstrated that the long form enforces familiarity just like the strong article does in German, and the short form is compatible with uniqueness in a similar way to the weak article in German. §5 concludes.

2 Typological background

This section describes the basic patterns of the way Lithuanian marks definiteness in relation to other languages. Lithuanian lacks (in)definite articles, and thereby a bare noun is ambiguous between definite and indefinite readings as in (5). Article-less languages, like, for example, most Slavic languages, have been argued to have a DP layer with an empty D category (Rappaport 1998; Leko 1999; Pereltsvaig 2007; i.a.). However, this proposal has been challenged by a number of researchers (Bošković 2009; 2012; Bošković & Gajewski 2011; Despić 2011; i.a.) claiming that nominals in these languages are simply NPs. The recent work on Lithuanian indicates that even though no overt article is present within a nominal, at least definite expressions are always DPs (Gillon & Armoskaite 2015).

(5)   *mergin-a*
       girl-NOM.F.SG
       'a/the girl'

Nevertheless, Lithuanian has some morphological means to mark definiteness, namely the suffix *-ji(s)*. I will call this suffix a *definite form*. The definite form cannot be attached to nouns as shown in (6).

(6) * *mergin-a-**ji***
     girl-NOM.F.SG-DEF
     Int. 'the girl'

The suffix *-ji(s)* occurs with non-NP categories,[1] e.g. adjectives, recall our minimal pairs from (1) repeated here in (7).[2] The traditional Lithuanian Grammar (Ambrazas et al. 1997: 142) defines the short form as indefinite, "unmarked", and the long form as definite, "marked". Gillon & Armoskaite (2015) show that both forms can in fact be definite.

(7) a. *graž-i*   *mergin-a*
         beautiful-NOM.F.SG girl-NOM.F.SG
         'a/the beautiful girl'
     b. *graž-io-**ji***   *mergin-a*
         beautiful-NOM.F.SG-DEF girl-NOM.F.SG
         'the beautiful girl'

Lithuanian, at least typologically, is different from some Slavic languages that have a definite suffix. For example, Bulgarian, unlike Lithuanian, has an option to attach the definite suffix *-ta* to a noun (8a) as well as to an adjective (8b).

(8) Bulgarian
     a. *kniga-**ta***
         book-DEF
         'the book'
     b. *xubava-**ta** kniga*
         nice-DEF   book
         'the nice book'

The Lithuanian short vs. long adjective pairs are cognate with short and long adjective forms found in Serbo-Croatian (see Aljović 2010 and references therein) and Old Church Slavonic (Šereikaitė 2015). The definite suffix *-ji(s)* is originally a pronominal form (Ulvydas 1965; Stolz 2008) where *'jis'* stands for 'he' and *'ji'*

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[1]Other categories that can take the definite form are: pronouns like *mana* 'mine' vs. *mano-ji* 'mine-DEF', demonstratives *ta* 'that' vs. *to-ji* 'that-DEF', relative pronouns *kuri* 'who/which' vs. *kurio-ji* 'who/which-DEF', etc. For a full list see Stolz (2008: 223–224).

[2]The definite form *-ji(s)* is subject to elision. The glide *j* is omitted before the sibilant consonant /s/ as in e.g. *graž-us* 'beautiful-NOM.SG.M' + *jis* = *gražus-is* 'the beautiful'.

stands for 'she'.[3] Both short and long adjectives agree with the noun as indicated in (7). The definite form *-ji(s)* also shows agreement in number, gender and case with the noun as illustrated in Table 1 for both singular and plural masculine forms. However, for the reader's convenience and for the matter of space, I gloss *-ji(s)* as DEF.

Table 1: Inflectional paradigm of short and long adjectives of *jaunas* 'young' (adapted from Stolz 2008)

	jaun-as-M.SG	*jaunas-is*-M.SG-DEF	*jaun-i*-M.PL	*jaunie-ji*-M.PL-DEF
NOM	*jaun-as*	*jaun-as-is*	*jaun-i*	*jaun-ie-j-i*
GEN	*jaun-o*	*jaun-o-j-o*	*jaun-ų*	*jaun-ų-j-ų*
DAT	*jaun-am*	*jaun-a-j-am*	*jaun-iems*	*jaun-ies-iems*
ACC	*jaun-ą*	*jaun-ą-j-į*	*jaun-us*	*jaun-uos-i-us*
INST	*jaun-u*	*jaun-uo-j-u*	*jaun-ais*	*jaun-ais-i-ais*
LOC	*jaun-ame*	*jaun-a-j-ame*	*jaun-uose*	*jaun-uos-i-uose*

In this paper, I will be looking at the instances with a single adjective, be it a short form or a long form. For completeness, observe that the occurrence of two long adjectives with a definite meaning is judged as odd at least in default cases (9b).[4]

(9) a. *graž-us*   *sen-as*   *lok-ys*
         beautiful-NOM.M.SG old-NOM.M.SG bear-NOM.M.SG
         'a beautiful old bear'

     b. ?? *gražus-is*   *senas-is*   *lokys*
         beautiful-NOM.M.SG-DEF old-NOM.M.SG-DEF bear-NOM.M.SG
         'the beautiful old bear'

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[3]There are several theories about the origin of the definite form *-ji(s)*. Stolz (2008) argues that the definite marker used to function as a relative pronoun in preliterate times, while Rosinas (1988) suggests that this definite marker is a "postposed deictic pronoun". In Valeckienė (1986), definite forms are treated as apposition constructions where the definite form is the apposition proper.

[4]Note that in formal written contexts or contexts that require emphasis/exaggeration the occurrence of two long forms is acceptable. Not only the discourse plays a role, but also prosody. The examples in (9b) are judged as grammatical when there is a pause between the two adjectives. I thank Solveiga Armoskaite (personal communication) for bringing this up to my attention.

Thereby, Lithuanian, at least in standard, discourse-neutral cases, does not permit multiple definite forms in the context of a definite noun phrase,[5] unlike for example Greek (see Alexiadou (2014) and references therein) which is known for multiple marking of definiteness (10).

(10) Greek (Alexiadou 2014: 19)
   to   vivlio to   kokino to   megalo
   the book the red   the big
   'the big red book'

The definite suffix can also be used to refer to kinds (Rutkowski & Progovac 2006). The short adjective simply denotes a bear that happens to be white as in (11a). In contrast, the long adjective is ambiguous between the definite reading and the kind reading expressing a certain species of bears, namely the polar bear *Ursus maritimus*, as in (11b).[6]

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[5]Nevertheless, Stolz (2008) gives the example in (i.a) and claims that two definite adjectives can in fact occur together. Note that this instance includes coordination. It might be that the first adjective has been accompanied by a noun which then has been elided. Observe that the example becomes ungrammatical in default cases without the conjunct (i.b).

(i) a. *Trūksta   greta nuostabių-**jų**   ir gražių-**jų***
      lack.PRS.3 near wonderful.GEN.F.PL-DEF and beautiful.GEN.F.PL-DEF
      atstovių
      representatives.GEN.F.PL

      'The wonderful and beautiful representatives are missing.' (adapted from Stolz 2008: 226)

   b. * *Trūksta   greta nuostabių-**jų**   gražių-**jų***
      lack.PRS.3 near wonderful.GEN.F.PL-DEF beautiful.GEN.F.PL-DEF
      atstovių
      representatives.GEN.F.PL

      'The wonderful and beautiful representatives are missing.' (adapted from Stolz 2008: 226)

[6]An anonymous reviewer asks how nominals without modifiers express kinds in Lithuanian in general. Bare nominals can be kind-denoting. However, their use is restricted. Bare plural nominals are compatible with kind-denoting predicates like *extinct*, whereas bare singulars are not as exemplified below.

(i) a. *Tigrai   greitai išnyks.*
      Tigers.NOM.M.PL soon   extinct.FUT.3
      'Tigers will extinct soon.'

   b. # *Tigras   greitai išnyks.*
      Tiger.NOM.M.SG soon   extinct.FUT.3
      Int. 'The tiger will extinct soon.'

(11) a. *balt-as   lok-ys*
          white-NOM.M.SG bear-NOM.M.SG
          'a/the white bear'

  b. *balt-as-is   lok-ys*
      white-NOM.M.SG-DEF bear-NOM.M.SG
       (i) 'the white bear' ✓definite reading
       (ii) 'the polar bear' ✓kind reading

Interestingly, a long adjective with a definite meaning and a long adjective with a kind interpretation can be stacked together (12). Observe that the definite meaning of 'white' in default cases is disfavored. Šereikaitė (2017) argues that in Lithuanian a combination of a kind-level adjective and a noun syntactically is similar to a phrasal compound, whereas a definite adjective and a nominal do not function like a single syntactic unit. Instead, the definite adjective behaves like a modifier of a nominal.

(12) *graž-us-**is**   balt-as-**is**   lok-ys*
      beautiful-NOM.M.SG-DEF white-NOM.M.SG-DEF bear-NOM.M.SG

   (i)   'the beautiful polar bear'
   (ii) ?? 'the beautiful white bear'

Having presented the main typological facts on nominals with adjectives, I now turn to the theoretical discussion on two types of definites.

3 Two types of definites

This section describes different approaches that have been used to define definiteness. There has been extensive debate in the literature whether definiteness should be characterized by uniqueness or by familiarity. On the one hand, definite articles in expressions like *the moon* in (13) are argued to be licensed by uniqueness and no prior mention of the referent is necessary (Russell 1905; Strawson 1950; Frege 1892). The earlier versions of this approach, e.g. Strawson's (1950) work, that assume "absolute" uniqueness are problematic for instances that involve situational uniqueness. As mentioned by Schwarz (2013), there is a number of situations where the descriptive content of the definite expression holds true for more than one entity in the world. For example, the definite description *the projector* is used in (14), even though there is more than one projector existing in the world.

(13)   *Armstrong was the first man to walk on **the moon**.*

(14)   Context: Said in a lecture hall containing exactly one projector.
       ***The projector** is not being used today.* (Schwarz 2013: 537)

On the other hand, definite articles can be viewed as expressing anaphoricity, also often referred to as familiarity (Christophersen 1939; Kamp 1981; Heim 1982). Under this approach, definite nominals are anaphoric and need to be linked to a previously mentioned discourse referent. This is the so-called strong familiarity in Roberts's (2003) terms. While this anaphoricity-based analysis captures some of the uses of definite articles, it is still unclear how such an approach would account for cases as (15) that lack a prior mention of the definite description and instead include global familiarity.

(15)   *John bought **a book** and a magazine. **The book** was expensive.* (Schwarz 2013: 537)

Several attempts have been made to propose a mixed view of both approaches that would use both uniqueness and familiarity to license definites (Kadmon 1990; Farkas 2002; Roberts 2003). The hybrid view of definiteness requires different analyses for different uses of definites, and thus conceptually is somewhat a less desirable outcome. Nevertheless, this approach has been empirically supported by recent cross-linguistic work suggesting that neither the purely uniqueness-based approach nor the anaphoricity-based analysis can fully account for the full paradigm of definite uses.

One of the main empirical studies that supports the hybrid approach comes from Schwarz (2009; 2013). Schwarz shows that German has two types of definite articles that correspond to two semantically distinct definites. The weak definite contracts with a preposition in certain environments and the strong definite does not. Schwarz demonstrates that the weak definite is licensed by uniqueness and the strong definite is licensed by familiarity.[7] (16) involves a globally unique situation, and the contracted form *zum*, namely the weak definite, is felicitous. On the other hand, the non-contracted form *in dem*, thus the strong definite, is used with nominals that are anaphoric with preceding expressions as in (17). The strong vs. weak distinction has been shown to hold true in other environments that involve either unique definites or familiar definites e.g., different cases of bridging, larger situations or immediate situations (see §4 for some examples of these uses).

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[7]I gloss the weak article definite as D_{weak} and the strong article definite as D_{strong}.

(16) German (Schwarz 2009: 40)
*Armstrong flog als erster **zum** / #**zu dem** Mond.*
Armstrong flew as first one to-the$_{weak}$ / to-the$_{strong}$ moon.
'Armstrong was the first one to fly to **the moon**.'

(17) German (Schwarz 2009: 30)
*In der New Yorker Bibliothek gibt es **ein Buch** über Topinambur.*
in the New York library exists EXPL a book about topinambur
*Neulich war ich dort und habe #**im** / **in dem** Buch nach einer*
recently was I there and have in-the$_{weak}$ / in the$_{strong}$ book for an
Antwort auf die Frage gesucht, ob man Topinambur grillen
answer to the question searched whether one topinambur grill
kann.
can
'In the New York public library, there is **a book** about topinambur.
Recently, I was there and looked in **the book** for an answer to the
question of whether one can grill topinambur.'

To encode these uses of definites, Schwarz (2009; 2013) proposes the following analysis. The denotation of the weak article introduces a unique referent in a given situation as in (18) thereby capturing the situational uniqueness, which has been problematic for the early proponents of the uniqueness approach. The strong article definite defined in (19) not only has a unique referent, but also includes an additional argument that is identical to previously introduced individual within a certain situation/context. Both the strong and weak articles are related: the strong article is a combination of the weak article plus the anaphoric link.

(18) $[[D_{weak}]] = \lambda s_r.\lambda P.\iota x.P(x)(s_r)$ (Schwarz 2009: 264)

(19) $[[D_{strong}]] = \lambda s_r.\lambda P.\lambda y.\iota x.P(x)(s_r) \wedge x=y$ (Schwarz 2009: 260)

Schwarz's proposal that there are two semantically distinct articles in natural language has been supported by recent work. Note that English does not show morphological distinction and uses *the* for both types of definites as in (20).

(20) *Amy bought a book about **the**$_{weak}$ sun. **The**$_{strong}$ book was expensive.* (Ingason 2016: 115)

However, a number of other languages employ different types of morphosyntactic means to express different definite uses. For instance, Ingason (2016) argues that Icelandic parallels with German in having two distinct phonological exponents for two semantically distinct definites. In general, the article in Icelandic is usually expressed as a suffix attached to a noun in both anaphoric and uniqueness-based contexts. Nevertheless, the morphological distinction between two types of definite uses emerges in the presence of evaluative adjectives. In situations that include an evaluative adjective intervening between a determiner and a noun, the free article *HI* is used. Specifically, the free article functions as a unique definite and corresponds to the weak article in German as in (21). This article cannot be used anaphorically, and instead the demonstrative is used in this type of environment as illustrated in (22). The demonstrative, thus, behaves like the strong definite in German.

(21) Icelandic (Ingason 2016: 123)
Context: First mention of the World Wide Web.
*Tim Barners Lee kynnti   heiminn fyrir **hinum**   / #**þessum***
Tim Berners Lee introduced world.the to   HI-the$_{weak}$ / this$_{strong}$
ótrúlega veraldarvef.
amazing world.wide.web
'Tim B. Lee introduced the world to **the amazing World Wide Web**.'

(22) Icelandic (Ingason 2016: 133)
*Hún fékk engin góð svör   frá #**hinum**   / **þessum** hræðilega*
she got no   good answers from HI-the$_{weak}$ / this$_{strong}$ terrible
stjórnmálamanni.
politician
'She got no good answers from **the terrible politician**.'

In addition, Fering Frisian (Ebert 1971) and Austro-Bavarian (Simonenko 2014) have also been reported to have two distinct morphological forms to express both definites in this respect resembling German and Icelandic.

Another important case worth mentioning comes from Akan (Kwa, Niger-Congo). Akan, unlike German, has only one overt form used for one of the definites. According to Arkoh & Matthewson (2013), the weak definite article is realized as zero, and thus bare nominals are used in this context (23). Nevertheless, Akan employs an overt form for anaphoric uses, namely the demonstrative *nʊ*, as in (24), equivalent to the German strong article.

(23) Akan (Arkoh & Matthewson 2013: 2)
  Ámstrɔ̀ŋ   nyí nyímpá áà ó-dzí-ì   kán tú-ù   kɔ́-ɔ̀   ɔ̀sìrán
  Armstrong is   person REL 3.SG.SBJ-eat-PST first uproot-PST go-PST moon
  Ø   dɔ̀.
  the~weak~ top
  'Armstrong was the first person to fly to **the moon**.'

(24) Akan (Arkoh & Matthewson 2013: 2)
  *Mɔ̀-tɔ́-ɔ̀   èkùtú. Èkùtú **nɔ́**   yὲ dὲw pápá.*
  1.SG.SBJ-buy-PST orange orange the~strong~ be nice good
  'I bought **an orange**. **The orange** was really tasty.'

Similarly to Akan, numeral classifier languages like Thai also have been shown to employ bare nominals to express weak definites as in (25), whereas the strong definite expressions are encoded by demonstratives or overt pronouns as in (26) (Jenks 2015).

(25) Thai (Jenks 2015: 106)
  *duaŋ-can (#**duaŋ nán**) sàwàaŋ mâak*
  moon   CLF   that bright very
  '**The moon** is very bright.'

(26) Thai (Jenks 2015: 112)
  Previous discourse: 'Yesterday I met a student…
  (*nákrian*) **khon nán** / (**kháw**) *chalàat mâak*
   student CLF   that / 3P   clever very
  '**That student / (s)he** was clever.'

All in all, empirical evidence from these languages draws a new perspective on definiteness showing that definiteness is a two-fold phenomenon. Both uniqueness and familiarity are necessary tools to capture different uses of definite descriptions. These findings make the hybrid approach the most accurate account of all the existing approaches so far. This approach will also be supported by the Lithuanian data presented in the subsequent section.

4 Strong vs. weak distinction in Lithuanian

In this section, I explicitly discuss the occurrence of Lithuanian nominals with long and short adjectives in familiar and unique definite environments, and bridging contexts based on the examples from Schwarz (2009). I demonstrate that the

nominals with two distinct adjective forms correspond to the two distinct definite uses, namely familiar uses and unique uses. The long adjective with the definite morpheme *-ji(s)* is analogous to the German strong article and is licensed by familiarity – recall our original example (2), repeated here in (27). The short form adjective, in addition to its indefinite use, is compatible with uniqueness (3), repeated in (28). From now on, the short form will be glossed as weak and the long form will be glossed as a strong definite. For the reader's convenience, I provide glosses only for expressions under the discussion. To draw clear parallels between nominals with long and short adjectives, and the strong and weak articles, the Lithuanian data will be compared with German.

(27) *Marija pristatė mane savo **pusbroliui** iš Vilniaus.*
Marija introduced me self cousin from Vilnius
***Gražus-is** / #**gražus** pusbrolis galantiškai nusilenkė ir*
beautiful-DEF~strong~ / beautiful~weak~ cousin gallantly bowed and
pabučiavo man į ranką.
kissed me to hand
'Marija introduced me to **her cousin** from Vilnius. **The beautiful cousin** gallantly bowed and kissed my hand.'

(28) *Praėjus dviem savaitėm po rinkimų, prezidentas turi teisę atleisti*
passed two weeks after elections, president has right fire
***naują** / #**naują-jį** ministrą pirmininką tik išskirtiniais*
new~weak~ / new-DEF~strong~ minister prime only exceptional
atvejais.
cases
'Two weeks after the election, the president has a right to fire **the new prime minister** only in exceptional cases.'

This study gives additional insights into the debate on how definiteness should be characterized, and also broadens the typological landscape of how languages express the two definites. The exploration of nominal expressions accompanied by adjectives shows that Lithuanian typologically belongs to the group of languages like Akan (cf. 23–24) or Thai (cf. 25–26) since it uses a bare form, the short adjective, in situations with a unique referent, and it has one marked form, namely the long adjective, that is equivalent to the strong article in German. At the same time, Lithuanian manifestation of definiteness through adjectival system resembles Icelandic which also exhibits the strong vs. weak distinction whenever evaluative adjectives intervene between D/n categories (cf. 21–22).

Before I proceed to our discussion of definites, a couple of general remarks regarding definiteness in Lithuanian should be kept in mind. As has been illustrated by Gillon & Armoskaite (2015), a number of factors can affect the definiteness of a nominal, e.g. word order or aspect. The basic word order in Lithuanian is SVO. The syntactic position that has been reported to be mostly neutral with respect to definiteness is the initial subject position. Even though the definite interpretation is slightly preferred for the initial subject, both definite and indefinite readings are available depending on the context (29).

(29) *Žmog-us*   *atvyk-o.*
      human-NOM.M.SG arrive-PST.3
      'The/a man arrived.' (Gillon & Armoskaite 2015: 74)

The interpretation of the object in SVO instances is dependent on the aspect. The imperfective aspect, which is unmarked, permits both definite or indefinite readings of the object depending on the context (30a). In contrast, the perfective aspect, which is realized with a prefix on a verb, requires the object to be definite, (30b).

(30) a. *Jon-as*   *valg-ė*   *obuol-į.*
          Jonas-NOM.M.SG eat-PST.3 apple-ACC.M.SG
          'Jonas ate the/an apple.' (Gillon & Armoskaite 2015: 75)

      b. *Jon-as*   *su-valg-ė*   *obuol-į.*
          Jonas-NOM.M.SG PRF-eat-PST.3 apple-ACC.M.SG
          'Jonas ate up the/#an apple.' (Gillon & Armoskaite 2015: 76)

In order to ensure that the (in)definiteness of nominal expressions that we are testing is purely dependent on the context and is not influenced by the aforementioned factors, the examples are set up in such a way that the target nominal expression appears in a subject initial position. The cases where the tested nominals appear in the object position will include the imperfective aspect which does not reinforce the definite reading. Lastly, recall from §2 that nominals with long adjectives can have either definite or kind-level interpretations (11b), repeated here with the original glosses in (31). The nominals in our examples will include evaluative adjectives like *strange* or classifying adjectives such as *young* which lack a kind-level interpretation and provide a good testing ground for (in)definite interpretation of nominals.

(31) *balt-as-**is**   lok-ys*
      white-NOM.M.SG-DEF bear-NOM.M.SG

  (i) 'the white bear' ✓definite reading
  (ii) 'the polar bear' ✓kind reading

Having said that, I now review the basic descriptive facts that have been associated with short and long forms in the literature.

4.1 Definite vs. indefinite noun phrases with adjectives

In this sub-section, I show that nominals with short form adjectives can have an indefinite reading whereas those with long form adjectives cannot. The Lithuanian Grammar (Ambrazas et al. 1997) defines the short form adjective as indefinite/unmarked and the long form adjective with the definite suffix as definite/marked. Indeed, nominals accompanied by short adjectives can be used to introduce a new discourse referent, a typical function of indefinites as in (32). The nominal with short form *strange* is used here to introduce a discourse-new information, i.e. the stranger that my friend has never heard about. Nominals with long adjectives, in contrast, are infelicitous in this context (32).

(32) Context: I am telling Mary for the first time about my evening at the bar
      where I have met a stranger that I have never seen before.
      *Vakar   bare sutikau **keistą**   / #**keistą-jį**   vaikiną.*
      yesterday bar   met   strange$_{\text{weak}}$ / strange-DEF$_{\text{strong}}$ guy
      'Yesterday, at the bar, I met a strange guy.'

The long form is acceptable in cases that include a prior mention of the linguistic antecedent (33). This suggests that nominals with long adjectives enforce an anaphoric interpretation which is a common feature of definite expressions.

(33) Context: I have heard about a strange guy from Mary. Finally, yesterday I
      was able to meet that guy and now I am telling this story to Mary.
      *Vakar   bare sutikau **keistą-jį**   vaikiną.*
      yesterday bar   met   strange-DEF$_{\text{strong}}$ guy
      'Yesterday, at the bar, I met the strange guy.'

Another environment showing the same pattern is existential sentences with a post-verbal subject. The subject in this construction can only be indefinite (Gillon

& Armoskaite 2015). While nominals with short adjectives are possible in this environment, nominals with long adjectives are not (34). This pattern is further evidence that short adjectives can behave like indefinites, in contrast to long adjectives that lack this function.

(34) Context: I have heard a rustling sound in the bushes, I went closer and…
      Ten   buvo **graži**   / #**gražio-ji**   katė.
      there was beautiful_weak / beautiful-DEF_strong cat
      'There was a beautiful cat.'

    Taking these facts into account, at the first blush, there seems to be a sharp contrast between nominals with short and long form adjectives in terms of their (in)definite use. Nominals with short form adjectives occur in indefinite environments. In contrast, the presence of a long adjective in nominal expressions is incompatible with an indefinite context, and instead is licensed by linguistic antecedents exhibiting the behavior of strong, familiarity definites to which I now turn to.

4.2 Familiarity

Familiarity definites are referential expressions licensed by an anaphoric link to a preceding expression. In German, as has already been discussed, the strong article, the non-contracted form, is used in such cases (17), repeated here in (35).

(35) German (Schwarz 2009: 30)
      *In der New Yorker Bibliothek gibt   es   **ein Buch** über Topinambur.*
      in the New York   library   exists EXPL a   book about topinambur
      Neulich war ich dort   und habe #**im**   / **in dem**   *Buch nach*
      recently was I   there and have   in-the_weak / in the_strong book for
      einer Antwort auf die Frage   gesucht, ob   man Topinambur grillen
      an   answer to the question searched whether one topinambur grill
      kann.
      can
      'In the New York public library, there is **a book** about topinambur. Recently, I was there and looked in **the book** for an answer to the question of whether one can grill topinambur.'

    For the anaphoric reference, Lithuanian employs a nominal with a long form adjective. The first sentence in both examples in (36–37) introduces a new individual which is expressed by a bare nominal. In the subsequent sentence in (36–37),

that individual is mentioned for the second time and this time it is accompanied by an adjective. Only the long form adjective is possible in these situations and the short form adjective is infelicitous. The use of the long adjective in these examples is parallel to the use of the strong article in German in the anaphoric context as in (35).

(36) *Neįtikėtina, vakar   meno galerijoje vaizdo kameros užfiksavo **katiną**.*
incredible yesterday art   gallery   screen cameras captured cat.
Keistas-is / #***keistas*** ***katinas*** *nepabūgo žmonių ir*
strange-DEF$_{strong}$ / strange$_{weak}$ cat   not-scared people and
vaikščiojo po   parodą   it tikras meno žinovas.
walked   through exhibition as real   art   connoisseur
'Incredible, yesterday in the art gallery, cameras captured **a cat**. **The strange cat** was not afraid of people and walked through the exhibition as a true art connoisseur.'

(37) *Marija pristatė   mane savo **pusbroliui** iš   Vilniaus.*
Marija introduced me   self cousin   from Vilnius
Gražus-is / #***gražus*** *pusbrolis galantiškai nusilenkė ir*
beautiful-DEF$_{strong}$ / beautiful$_{weak}$ cousin   gallantly   bowed   and
pabučiavo man į ranką.
kissed   me to hand
'Marija introduced me to **her cousin** from Vilnius. **The beautiful cousin** gallantly bowed and kissed my hand.'

Nevertheless, not all cases are that transparent. Examples like (38) present a situation where both the linguistic antecedent and its anaphoric expression are identical. The newly introduced antecedent in the first sentence in (38) takes the short form adjective, which, as discussed above, can function as indefinite. The anaphoric expression in the following sentence in (38) can appear in the long form as expected, given that the long form encodes anaphoricity. However, the short form is not completely ruled out here as well. While 18 out of 27 speakers selected the long form, the rest of the speakers allowed the short form as well. It can be hypothesized that the short form is available in this situation because it is used as a unique definite assuming that there is a unique famous writer that the speaker is referring to. I will come back to this type of use of short adjectives in §4.3.

(38) *Jonas pas save vakarienės pakvietė **žymų** **rašytoją** ir seną*
Jonas to his dinner invited famous_{weak} writer and old_{weak}
*politiką. **Žymus-is** / žymus rašytojas maloniai priėmė*
politician famous-DEF_{strong} / famous_{weak} writer pleasantly accepted
Jono kvietimą.
Jonas invitation.
'Jonas has invited **a famous writer** and an old politician for dinner. **The famous writer** pleasantly accepted Jonas' invitation.'

Anaphoric expressions can be more general than their antecedents. The more general anaphoric definite in German is expressed by the strong article (39) and the weak article definite is prohibited. The same behavior is observed in situations where the anaphoric phrase is an epithet as in (40).

(39) German (Schwarz 2009: 31)
*Maria hat **einen Ornithologen** ins Seminar eingeladen. Ich halte **von***
Maria has an ornithologist to-the seminar invited I hold of
***dem** / #**vom** Mann nicht sehr viel.*
the_{strong} / of-the_{weak} man not very much
'Maria has invited **an ornithologist** to the seminar. I don't think very highly of **the man**.'

(40) German (Schwarz 2009: 31)
Hans** hat schon wieder angerufen. Ich will **von dem** / #**vom
Hans has already again called I want of the_{strong} / of-the_{weak}
***Idioten** nichts mehr hören.*
idiot not hear
'**Hans** has called again. I don't want to hear anything anymore from **that idiot**.'

Similarly, long adjectives can appear with anaphoric nominals that do not completely match their antecedents. For example, the proper name *Darius* in the second mention is referred to as 'clingy guy' with the adjective in the long form, rather than short as illustrated in (41). Additionally, the long form is also preferred over the short one with anaphoric epithets (42).

(41)   ***Darius** man šiandiena skambino net   dešimt kartų. **Įkyrus-is***   /
      Darius me today   called   even ten   times clingy-DEF$_{strong}$ /
      #***įkyrus***   *vaikinas visiškai pamišo.*
      clingy$_{weak}$ guy   totally went.mad
      '**Darius** called me today at least ten times. **The clingy guy** went totally
      mad.'

(42)   ***Darius**, būdamas vos   penkerių metų, laimėjo matematikos olimpiadą.*
      Darius being   only five   years won   math   olympiad
      Jaunas-is   / #***jaunas***   *genijus labai didžiuojasi savo pasiekimais.*
      young-DEF$_{strong}$ / young$_{weak}$ genius very proud   self achievements
      'When being only five years old, Darius won the math olympiad. The
      young genius is very proud of his achievements.'

Lastly, the strong vs. weak distinction can be captured in covarying uses where the value of the quantifier determines the value of the definite. German co-varying anaphoric uses are incompatible with the weak article and select the strong article instead (43).

(43)   German (Schwarz 2009: 33)
      *Jedes Mal, wenn **ein Onithologe** im   Seminar einen Vortrag hält,*
      every time when an ornithologist in-the seminar a   lecture holds
      *wollen die Studenten **von dem**   **Mann** wissen ob   Vogelgesang*
      want the students of   the$_{strong}$ man   know whether bird.singing
      grammatischen Regeln folgt.
      grammatical   rules   follows
      'Every time **an ornithologist** gives a lecture in the seminar, the students
      want to know from **the man** whether bird songs follow grammatical
      rules.'

Again, the long form adjective seems to be equivalent to the German strong article and surfaces in covarying uses as a part of the anaphoric expression (44).[8] In addition, the nominal with short form is felicitous for 12 speakers out of 27. Indeed, this context suffices to identify a unique famous artist. The speakers selecting the short form might be accessing this reading given that the short form, as will be demonstrated below, is compatible with uniqueness.

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[8]This example is modeled on the basis of Ingason's (2016: 134) example from Icelandic.

(44) *Kiekvieną kartą kai* **kino žvaigždė** *aplanko mokyklą, studentai*
      every   time when movie star   visits school   students
      visuomet klausia žymio-jo / *žymaus* **artisto** *ar* *aktoriai*
      always ask famous-DEF_{strong} / famous_{weak} artist whether actors
      gerai uždirba.
      earn well
      'Every time **a movie star** visits the school, students always ask **the famous artist** if actors earn well.'

To summarize, I have examined the behavior of nominals with short and long adjectives in anaphoric environments that include identical and non-identical linguistic antecedents, more general anaphoric phrases and anaphoric expressions in covarying uses. It has been demonstrated that Lithuanian, similarly to German, has one form that functions like a familiar definite, namely the long form adjective with the definite suffix *-ji(s)*. Nominals with short form adjectives lack anaphoric properties. However, they arise in contexts where there is a possibility of a referent to count as being unique.

4.3 Uniqueness

The fact that nominals with short adjectives can be indefinite, as illustrated in §4.1, is only one part of the story. Gillon & Armoskaite (2015) point out that, depending on the context, the short form adjectives can also have a definite reading. I now investigate this possibility by showing that nominal expressions with short forms can occur in situations that are licensed by uniqueness.

4.3.1 Larger situation environments

Larger situation environments (Hawkins 1978) license weak definites and permit only weak articles in German as illustrated in (45).

(45) German (Schwarz 2009: 31)
      Der Empfang wurde **vom** / #**von dem** **Bürgermeister** *eröffnet.*
      The reception was by-the_{weak} / by the_{strong} mayor   opened
      'The reception was opened by **the mayor**.'

Interestingly, both types of adjectives are available in Lithuanian, but are associated with different readings. The nominal with a short form stands for a unique individual licensed by general world knowledge as exemplified in (46). (46) is a

general rule where following the law the president can fire anyone who occupies the role of the new prime minister.

(46) *Praėjus dviem savaitėm po   rinkimų, prezidentas turi teisę atleisti*
      passed two   weeks   after elections president   has right fire
      naują   / #***naują-jį***   ***ministrą pirmininką*** *tik   išskirtiniais*
      new$_{\text{weak}}$ / new-DEF$_{\text{strong}}$ minister   prime   only exceptional
      atvejais.
      cases
      'Two weeks after the election, the president has a right to fire **the new prime minister** only in exceptional cases.'

In contrast, the long form denotes context-specific unique individuals. For example, once the election happened, everyone knows who is the new president. Thus, there is a specific unique individual, and to encode such a reading the long form is used as in (47).

(47) *Po   rinkimų **naujas-is**   / #**naujas** prezidentas paskambino*
      after elections new-DEF$_{\text{strong}}$ / new$_{\text{weak}}$ president   called
      miestelio merui.
      city   mayor
      'After the election, **the new president** called the city mayor.'

Note that it is not uncommon to encode different types of uniqueness context by different forms. For instance, Thai makes a distinction between unique individuals that are supported by the world knowledge and those that are not (Jenks 2015). Generally, Thai provinces elect one Senator and two Ministers of Parliament. In (48), the bare noun phrase, generally used for weak definites, denotes a unique senator and this referent is licensed by the world knowledge. To encode a reading that distinguishes a unique individual from another individual, the demonstrative, typically used for anaphoric references, is used (49).

(48) Thai (Jenks 2015: 107)
      sɔ̌ɔ-wɔɔ chiaŋ-mày (#***khon nán***) *gròot   mâak*
      senator Chiang.Mai   CLF   that angry very
      'The/#that Senator from Chiang Mai is very angry'

(49) Thai (Jenks 2015: 107)
      sɔ̌ɔ-sɔ̌ɔ chiaŋ-mày #(***khon nán***) *gròot   mâak*
      MP.   Chiang.Mai   CLF   that angry very
      '#The/that M.P. from Chiang Mai is very angry.'

Additionally, unique definite nominals can also be based on social or cultural knowledge (Hawkins 1978). Again both forms are possible in Lithuanian yielding different interpretations. Lithuanian comparative adjectives occur with the suffix *-esn-*, which is equivalent to the English *-er* in cases like *smarter*. Both short and long adjectives can have a comparative form. The short form with the comparative suffix as in (50) refers to a generic set of children that is unique. Nevertheless, in contrastive sentences that include a specific unique set of children both forms are available (51).

(50)   *Mokslo   komitetas   norėtų,   kad mokyklą pradėtų lankyti*
        education committee would.want that school   begin   attend-INF
        jaun-esn-i   / #***jaun-esn-ie-ji***   *vaikai.*
        young-COMP-NOM.M.PL$_{weak}$ / young-COMP-NOM.M.PL-DEF$_{strong}$ children
        'The education committee wants **the younger children** to start attending the school.' (adapted from the Internet)

(51)   ***Jaun-esn-ie-ji***   / ***jaun-esn-i***   *vaikai*
        young-COMP-NOM.M.PL-DEF$_{strong}$ / young-COMP-NOM.M.PL$_{weak}$ children
        *žaidė   smėlio dėžėje, o   **vyr-esn-ie-ji***   /
        played sand   box,   while old-COMP-NOM.M.PL-DEF$_{strong}$ /
        vyr-esn-i   *vaikai   laipiojo   medžiais.*
        old-COMP-NOM.M.PL$_{weak}$ children climbed trees.
        'The **younger children** were playing in the sand box, while **the older children** were climbing the trees.'

4.3.2 Bridging context

I establish a further distinction between nominals with short and long adjectives by exploring bridging contexts (Clark 1975). There are two types of bridging contexts: part-whole and product-producer. The latter licenses the unique definite article, whereas the former is associated with the familiar definite. This contrast is reflected in German: the weak article is permitted in the part-whole context (52) and the strong article is realized in the product-producer environment (53).

(52)   German (Schwarz 2009: 52)
        Der Kühlschrank *war so groß, dass der Kürbis   problemlos **im***   /
        the   fridge   was so big   that the pumpkin problem   in-the$_{weak}$ /

#*in dem*   *Gemüsefach untergebracht werden konnte.*
 in the$_{strong}$ crisper   stowed   be   could
'**The fridge** was so big that the pumpkin could easily be stowed in **the crisper**.'

(53)   German (Schwarz 2009: 53)
        Das Theaterstück *missfiel*   *dem Kritiker so sehr,*   *dass er in seiner*
        the play   displeased the critic   so much that he in his
        Besprechung kein gutes Haar #***am***   / ***an dem***   ***Autor** ließ.*
        review   no   good hair   on-the$_{weak}$ / on the$_{strong}$ author left
        '**The play** displeased the critic so much that he tore **the author** to pieces in his review.'

    Placing the short form adjective in the part-whole environment results in felicity. In the situation where I am telling my friend for the first time about my car breaking down, to refer to *the old engine* which is part of my car, the short form is used (54). This gives additional evidence for the short form being compatible with situations governed by uniqueness. In contrast, the long form becomes acceptable in bridging contexts if the listener has some prior knowledge about the old engine from before (55).

(54)   Context: I am telling my friend for the first time about what happened to my car yesterday. My friend has no prior knowledge about the car.
        Vakar   *sugedo*   *mano **automobilis**, kurį vairavau ištisus*
        yesterday broke.down my   car   that drove   whole
        *dešimtmečius! Autoserviso darbuotojai dabar taiso **seną***   / #***seną-jį***
        decades   repair.shop employees now fix   old$_{weak}$ / old-DEF$_{strong}$
        ***variklį**. Tikiuosi automobilis ir*   *vėl*   *važiuos*   *puikiai.*
        engine   hope   car   and again will.drive well
        'Yesterday, my **car**, that I have been driving for entire decades, broke down. The mechanics now are changing **the old engine**. I hope that the car will work great again!'

(55)   Context: I have told my friend before that my car kept on breaking down because the old engine was not working properly. Today, I met my friend and told him again about my problems with the old engine.
        Vakar   *sugedo*   *mano **automobilis**. Autoserviso darbuotojai dabar*
        yesterday broke.down my   car   repair.shop employees now

*taiso #**seną** / **seną-jį** **variklį**. Tikiuosi automobilis ir vėl*
fix old_{weak} / old-DEF_{strong} engine hope car and again
važiuos puikiai.
will.drive well
'Yesterday, my **car** broke down. The mechanics now are changing **the old engine**. I hope that the car will work great again!'

If the long form indeed functions like a strong article, it should appear in product-producer bridging. This prediction is borne out. Modifying the author of the book by a long form yields felicity as in (56). 20 speakers prefered the long form, their judgment is illustrated in the example. 7 speakers selected the short form. While it is unclear why some speakers use the short form in this context, the contrast for the rest of 20 speakers is pretty robust.

(56) **Knyga** *"Lietus" sulaukė neįtikėtino populiarumo, nepaisant to, kad*
book 'Rain' received incredible popularity despite that
talentingas-is */ #**talentingas** rašytojas nusprendė likti anonimas.*
talented-DEF_{strong} / talented_{weak} writer decided remain anonymous
'The book 'Rain' became incredibly popular despite the fact that **the talented writer** decided to remain anonymous.'

All in all, the examination of larger situations and bridging contexts provides us with some evidence showing that nominals with short form adjectives can have a definite reading. Short adjectives resemble weak definites given their acceptability in part-whole bridging contexts and larger situations based on general world knowledge. The fact that nominals with long adjectives are allowed in larger situations, but do not emerge in part-whole bridging contexts tell us that this form lacks the properties of a true weak article definite. While a precise characterization of the conditions that govern the use of long forms in larger situations requires further research, it is rather intriguing that the similar split within this environment also exists in numeral classifier languages like Thai.
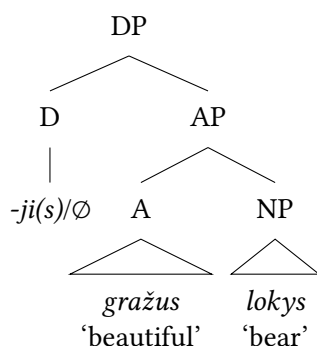
4.4 Section summary and implications

To summarize this section, I have provided additional arguments that nominals with long form adjectives lack indefinite uses and indeed function like definites as has been suggested by Gillon & Armoskaite (2015). Specifically, using different familiarity environments and product-producer bridging contexts, it was demonstrated that nominals with long form adjectives resemble German nominals with the strong article licensed by familiarity. Furthermore, while nominals with short

adjectives seem to be unmarked for definiteness, as noted by Ambrazas et al. (1997), definite contexts were presented that trigger the occurrence of the short form. The nominals with short form adjectives surface in part-whole bridging contexts and larger situations based on general world knowledge, and thereby function like weak definites.

Given that I argued for the presence of the two adjective forms in Lithuanian that occur in definite environments, an anonymous reviewer asks what the basic structure of a Lithuanian noun phrase would be. Indeed, these findings provide important implications for how the structure of a noun phrase could look like. Following Gillon & Armoskaite (2015), I assume that definite phrases in Lithuanian involve a D layer. The long form, which is the short form plus the definite suffix *-ji(s)* expresses anaphoricity. I take the D head to be *-ji(s)*.[9] Recall that short form is compatible with uniqueness, which suggests that in those cases there also should be a D head, but it is not overtly expressed. Therefore, the D head can be encoded either by the suffix *-ji(s)* or be marked as null as illustrated in (57).

(57)   The basic structure of Lithuanian definite nominals

```
                    DP
                  /    \
                 D      AP
                 |     /   \
           -ji(s)/∅   A     NP
                    /   \    |
                 gražus  lokys
               'beautiful' 'bear'
```

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[9]Note that the suffixation of the definite morpheme is subject to local adjacency. The suffix cannot be realized on the adjective if there is an adverb intervening between the D head and the noun as shown in (i).

(i)   a.   *gražus-**is**   lokys*
           beautiful-DEF bear
           'the beautiful bear'

      b.   * *labai gražus-**is**   lokys*
           very beautiful-DEF bear
           'the very beautiful bear'

5 Conclusion

This paper has intended to show that the distribution of short and long form adjectives in Lithuanian supports Schwarz's (2009; 2013) claim that there exist two types of definites: familiar definites and unique definites. The detailed analysis of nominals with two kinds of adjectives has revealed interesting parallels between two distinct languages, Lithuanian and German. Lithuanian, similarly to German, can use two forms to encode definiteness: long form adjective are compatible with familiarity and short from adjectives are compatible with uniqueness. This distinction emphasizes the need to adopt the hybrid approach that includes both familiarity and uniqueness for the analysis of definite uses. The reality of strong vs. weak distinction is supported further by identifying genetically unrelated languages that uses similar means to encode this distinction. Lithuanian patterns with languages like Akan and Thai since it uses a bare form, the short adjective, for uniqueness and it has one marked form, namely the long adjective, that is equivalent to the strong article in German.

Long and short form demonstratives are also distinguished in Lithuanian. Further research would be to see what the nature of the definite interpretation of these forms is, and how this can be related to short vs. long adjective variations in Slavic.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

COMP	comparative morpheme
DEF	the definite morpheme *–ji(s)*
D_{weak}	the weak article definite
D_{strong}	the strong article definite

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