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BALTIC LINGUISTICS

Šauti šautuvu or *iš šautuvo*?
About two constructions of the instrument
in Lithuanian

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In Lithuanian, the instrument of verbs of shooting may be formulated in two different syntactic constructions: the instrumental case or the preposition *iš*. These two constructions are often considered to be synonyms. A detailed study of numerous contexts where these constructions appear shows that they are not equivalent but correspond to two different representations of the event shooting: the instrumental case defines the process, providing it with qualitative determinations, whereas the preposition *iš* constructs the exteriorization of the projectile. We will show that these hypotheses on the semantics of the instrumental case and of the preposition *iš* permit one to account for the different uses of the two constructions and for their differences in acceptability, should differences arise. This analysis is based on the Theory of Predicative and Enunciative Operations of A. Culioli. It argues for the thesis that grammar and lexicon are not to be dissociated.

Keywords: case, instrumental, preposition, synonymy, relator, semantics, syntax, predicative operations, enunciative operations

0. Introduction

In Lithuanian, the instrument of verbs of shooting may be formulated in two different syntactic constructions: the instrumental case or the preposition *iš*. These two constructions are often considered to be synonyms (cf. Šukys 1998, 409). In fact, in most contexts—especially those of murders—, one can have both constructions without the slightest difference of interpretation. Example (1)[1], which was extracted from an advertisement and where the two constructions follow each other, is a good illustration of this so-called 'synonymy':

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[1] This example, with the two constructions following each other, is emblematic. Still, it is to be noted that the instrumental case usually predominates in contexts of shooting sports, as we shall see below.

(1) *Atvykstant kartu ne mažiau kaip 3 asmenims—*
10 šūvių iš Glock 17 pistolet-o ir 10 šūvių
10 shots *iš* Glock 17 pistol-GEN.SG and 10 shots
iš Steyer pistolet-o
iš Steyer pistol-GEN.SG
Jums kainuos tik 50Lt asmeniui.
10 šūvių pistolet-u Steyer, 10 šūvių
10 shots pistol-INS.SG Steyer 10 shots
pistolet-u Glock 17, 10 šūvių Glock 21 pistolet-u
pistol-INS.SG Glock 17 10 shots Glock 21 pistol-INS.SG
jums kainuos—80Lt asmeniui.
'If you come in a group with a minimum of 3 people, 10 shots with a Glock 17 pistol and 10 shots with a Steyer pistol will cost you only 50Lt per person. 10 shots with a Steyer pistol, 10 shots with a Glock 17 pistol, 10 shots with a Glock 21 pistol will cost you 80Lt per person.'

The theory of semantic roles does not distinguish between the different constructions: *pistolet-u* ('pistol-INS.SG') and *iš pistolet-o* ('*iš* pistol-GEN.SG') are two syntactic realizations of the same role, that of the instrument. The question that arises is how to define the notion of 'instrument'. Nilsen (1973), after a detailed study of this role in English, concluded that it should be divided into four distinct ones. This question is indeed complex and one finally realizes that any detailed description of any linguistic phenomenon shows a proliferation of values[2], which, depending on the granularity of the study, may be multiplied *ad infinitum*. For this reason, we will only use the term 'instrument' as a label for the constructions we are studying, without giving it any other status. More generally, following A. Culioli, we consider that language is not a means to encode preexisting cognitive categories, but that it is itself a 'meaningful representational activity' (see Culioli 1983). Language is seen as an arrangement of complex operations, of which the different markers we have in languages are the tracks. Thus, different syntactic constructions are the tracks of

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[2] In this respect, one could also cite Cruse (1973), who analyzed the syntactic properties of agentive verbs in English and came to the conclusion that the role 'agent' should be divided into 4 distinct functions: *volitive, effective, initiative* and *agentive*.

different linguistic operations, and it is the linguist's task to uncover them. Our analysis will then proceed from the linguistic forms to try to describe the way the meaning of the utterance constructs itself in the tangle of interrelations among these forms. The question raised by this case of syntactic 'synonymy' is then to determine the underlying differences between the two constructions under consideration.

1. Hypotheses

In order to analyze this problem, we will start by proposing general hypotheses on the functioning of a case and of a preposition[3].

Cases and prepositions have in common the fact that they put two elements in relation with each other. This basic connecting function was long ago noted by numerous linguists[4]. We will follow Pottier (1974, 1997) and Hagège (1982, 1997) among others, who introduced the concept of *relator* to account for this function, and will use it to define cases and prepositions. We then consider that we have, in all instances, a relation which can be noted x R y. But we add a crucial note to this commonly admitted general definition: the relation established by the case or the preposition is non-symmetric, insofar as y is the source of determinations for x. In all instances, y corresponds to the noun introduced by the preposition and the noun inflected with the instrumental case. The identification of x is more difficult because a verb is involved. A study of its semantics is necessary.

Our conception of the semantic identity of units is based on the thesis that we never observe the 'raw' or inherent meaning of a lexical unit or any marker. Rather, the meanings attributed to a unit are always the product of interactions with its co-text and context. We maintain that any uttered word has a context, even when it seems isolated: it always has an intonation, it is always part of a context, a situation, i. e., it is always inscribed in a set of relations. As Victorri (1999, 87) underlines,

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[3] For a thorough analysis of this question, see de Penanros (2013).

[4] See for instance Dumarsais (1778–1779), Hjemslev (1935), Brøndal (1950), Fillmore (1968), etc.

> La construction du sens d'un mot hors énoncé peut être considéré comme un cas très particulier du processus d'interaction dans lequel le co-texte est vide. Cela ne signifie pas qu'il n'y a pas d'interaction du tout: il existe toujours un contexte, en l'occurrence la situation où un sujet, linguiste, lexicographe ou simple locuteur (ce sont des situations très différentes!) s'adonne à l'activité métalinguistique qui consiste à s'interroger sur le sens d'un mot.

We also maintain that the local or concrete values of a unit are not primary, but proceed directly from the properties of the terms of the co-text, as the contrast between the following phrases shows: *iš virtuvės* 'iš kitchen.ɢᴇɴ.sɢ', ('**out of** the kitchen') / *iš ryto* 'iš morning. ɢᴇɴ.sɢ' ('**since** morning') / *iš bado* 'iš hunger.ɢᴇɴ.sɢ' ('**of** hunger'), *šovė* 'shoot.ᴘsᴛ.3' *mintis* 'thought.ɴᴏᴍ.sɢ' ('a thought **popped up**') / *šovė* 'shoot.ᴘsᴛ.3' *medžiotojas* 'hunter.ɴᴏᴍ.sɢ' ('the hunter **shot**') / *šovė* 'shoot.ᴘsᴛ.3' *raketa* 'rocket.ɴᴏᴍ.sɢ' ('the rocket **blasted off**'). At the same time, the unit itself constrains its environment and imposes a certain value on its co-text. For instance, a phrase like ***nuo** rudens* '*nuo* autumn.ɢᴇɴ.sɢ' 'from/since the fall' at the beginning of a sentence may serve as a temporal locator to any kind of process, and the possible continuations are infinitely various (*pradėjo filosofijos studijas* 'started philosophy courses'*, atlyginimai augs dar 14,5%* 'wages will increase by 14,5%', etc.), whereas the phrase ***iš** rudens* '*iš* autumn.ɢᴇɴ.sɢ', ('in the fall') considerably limits the possible continuations, which all tend to be related to agriculture or to the question of survival during winter (*sėjami augalai* 'plants are sown'*, dirva buvo nuskusta* 'the soil was scraped off'*, būdavo pasirūpinama maisto atsargų* 'care was taken of food stocks', etc.). One consequence of this observation is that the semantics of a unit should not be reduced to one of the concrete values it is likely to have. Likewise, the semantics of a unit should not be conceived as a set of semes inferred from the various values observed, these features being in fact the product of the different interactions of the unit with the various elements of its co-text. We then consider that the definition of the semantics of a unit has to be conceived as an **abstract** form, which, on the one hand, configures the environment of the unit, and on the other hand, is invested by the terms of the co-text.

The dictionary (DLKŽ) gives the following values of the verb *šauti*[5] (to shoot):

1. 'paleisti šaudmenį' ('to discharge ammunition')
2. 'su trenksmu sprogti, išlėkti' ('to explode, to rush out noisily')
3. 'smarkiai eiti, bėgti, skristi' ('to dart, rush, shoot quickly')
4. 'sklęsti, stumti' (duris) ('to push a bolt')
5. 'kišti, stumti į krosnį' ('to shove into the stove')
6. 'šaudyklę stumti audžiant' ('to throw the shuttle weaving')
7. 'tiestis' ('to stretch oneself')

The study of the verb in context[6] shows that the value most represented (around 45% of the whole) is absent from the definition in the dictionary: it expresses the sudden appearance of an idea or a thought in someone's mind (see (2)).

(2)   *Staiga*   *Rit-ai*   *į*   *galv-ą*   *šovė*   *dar*
     suddenly Rita-DAT.SG in head-ACC.SG shoot.PST.3 again
     vien-a   *genial-i*   *idėj-a.*
     one-NOM.SG   brilliant-NOM.SG   idea-NOM.SG
     'Suddenly, another brilliant idea struck Rita's mind.'

It then turns out that the verb *šauti* may signify an appearance (coming into view) as well as a 'disappearance', or at least a rapid departure, in any direction (see (3) & (4)).

(3)   **Skraidynė šau-te**   **šov-ė**   **vertikaliai aukštyn**
     flying_craft shoot-BUD   shoot-PST.3 vertically   upwards
     ir greitai dingo beribėse Visatos platybėse...
     '**The flying craft all of a sudden dashed vertically upwards** and quickly disappeared in the endless immensity of the Universe.'

(4)   *Automobilis* [...] *šiek tiek sulėtino greitį,*
     o   ***tuomet šovė***   ***į priekį***
     and   then   shoot.PST.3   forward

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[5] We will study the construction of the verbs *šauti* and *šaudyti.* These two verbs share the same semantics. We consider that the determinations provided by the suffix -*dy*- are secondary for the question we deal with here.

[6] We studied a corpus of 1635 occurrences of the form *šovė* (shoot.PST.3) and 465 occurrences of the form *šauna* (shoot.PRS.3) from the Lithuanian database.

ir tuoj dingo iš akių.
'The car reduced speed a little, **then dashed forward** and imme-
diately disappeared from our sight.'

The verb *šauti* is also often employed to express a rise or a fall of
quantified values (see (5) & (6)). It is to be noted that this rise or fall is
important: the value goes from a—high or low—position to another—
very low or very high—position.

(5)   ***Vilni-aus   birž-oje   vakar   žemyn***
       Vilnius-GEN.SG stock-LOC.SG yesterday downwards
       šov-ė   22 iš 25 prekiautų pozicijų,
       shoot-PST.3 22 of 25 sold   issue
       sumenko ir visų likvidžiausių akcijų kursai.
       '**Yesterday, on the stock exchange of Vilnius, 22 of the 25
       issues on sale plunged**, and all prices of liquid assets fell.'
(6)   ***Rusij-os   akcijų indeksas* RTS *pernai***
       Russia-GEN.SG stock index   RTS   last_year
       šovė   83% į viršų,
       shoot-PST.3 83% upwards
       o nuo šių metų pradžios paaugo dar beveik 20%.
       '**The** RTS **index of Russian stocks jumped 83% last year**
       and has risen by almost 20% since the beginning of this year.'

In all these uses, the verb *šauti* is frequently employed with adverbs
(like *staiga* 'suddenly', *ūmai* 'immediately', *smarkiai* 'quickly'), preposi-
tional phrases (like *iš karto* 'right away'), elements of comparison (like
tarsi strėlė 'like an arrow', *kaip kulka* 'like a bullet', *kaip iš patrankos* 'as
from a cannon' or verbal adverbs (*būdinys*[7]) which underline the inten-
sity or suddenness of the process. All these contexts refer to switching
from one position to another without transition, as happens in a shot
from a firearm, when the projectile is still in the barrel at time T, and
then suddenly it is not there any more: in (2), the brilliant idea was
not here, and suddenly it is here, in (3) and (4), the flying craft and
the car were here and suddenly they are no longer visible, in (5) and

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[7] The *būdinys* is a verbal adverb used in a reduplicated construction with the verb of
the same root.

(6), the stock values were at a certain level, and suddenly they are at another (very different from the previous one, as the interpretation in terms of big rise or fall shows). This property, shared by all the uses of *šauti*, tends to suggest a definition of this kind[8]:

> "*šauti* means that a term *a* is involved in an immediate switch between 2 strictly distinct positions (*k* and *l*)"
> - where *a* corresponds to the projectile—be it lexicalised or not—when *šauti* means to shoot, *k* and *l* corresponding respectively to the interior and the exterior of the weapon;
> - and where *a* corresponds to the subject when *šauti* means to explode, to appear, to disappear or to fly out, *k* and *l* corresponding respectively to the initial and final locations of the element it refers to.
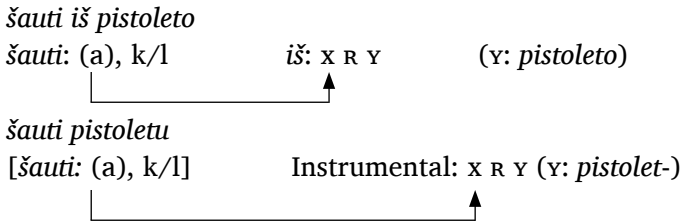
This definition also accounts for the value 'to push the bolt', a bolt having two opposed positions 'open (*k*) /closed (*l*)', and for its use in the field of weaving, where the shuttle (*šaudyklė*) is constantly thrown from one end (*k*) of the loom to the other (*l*) and back again. One can imagine that this property is also relevant for the value 'to shove into the oven or stove'. Any wise cook knows that this process must be as quick as possible, if one does not want to let all the heat out of the oven; the passage between 'outside' (*k*) and 'inside' (*l*) must then aim toward a 'switch' from one position to the other, with the transition limited to a minimum, that is, in other words, tending towards zero (in this case, the element *a* of the definition of *šauti* corresponds to the object).

This abstract definition of the semantics of *šauti* provides us with a framework to view the composition of meaning when the verb combines with the instrumental case or with the prepositional phrase. We will consider that the x of the preposition corresponds to the element *a*, that is, in the case we deal with here, to the projectile. As for the instrumental case, we will consider that x is the process taken as a whole[9].

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[8] This formulation is just a minimal hypothesis which would require further research to be finalised.

[9] As we shall see later, the noun in the instrumental case qualifies the process like an adverb, defining a type of shooting.

Figure 1. The preposition iš and the instrumental

šauti iš pistoleto
šauti: (a), k/l   *iš*: x r y   (y: *pistoleto*)

šauti pistoletu
[*šauti:* (a), k/l]   Instrumental: x r y (y: *pistolet-*)

Detailed analysis of the preposition *iš* and of the instrumental case leads us to propose the following definitions:

Semantics of the preposition *iš:*

1. *iš* is a relator: it posits a relation of location between terms x and y, where y is the source of determinations for x;

2. *iš* posits that y has a double status: it has an Interior (noted ı) and an Exterior (noted ᴇ);

3. *iš* posits that x, which is initially located in y's Interior, is located in y's Exterior.

The notion of Interior of y has to be understood as 'fully y', whereas the Exterior of y is 'not y': this may correspond to 'totally different from y', or 'y considered from an external point of view'. The interpretation of the 'Interior' and 'Exterior' of y very much depends on the properties of the terms involved in the construction. In the case we deal with here, which involves terms referring to concrete elements, the opposition between ı and ᴇ of y corresponds to 'ı: weapon / ᴇ: not weapon'; thus *iš* posits that x (*a*, the projectile) originates in the weapon but is located at something that is not the weapon, hence the interpretation in terms of 'out of the weapon'[10].

Semantics of the instrumental case:

1. the instrumental case is a relator: it posits a relation of location between terms x and y, where y is the source of determinations for x;

2. y defines x in providing it with qualitative properties.

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[10] In this case, ᴇ of y fortuitously corresponds to the exterior of the weapon in the trivial sense of the word.

Given these two definitions, with verbs of firing, we have the expression of **two different representations of the event *shooting***.

> In *šauti šautuvu*$_{\text{INS}}$, the instrumental case constructs the name of the weapon as a term which **defines the shooting with qualitative properties**: the name of weapon provides defining properties to the shooting, the phrase *šauti + šautuvu* is interpreted as a particular type of shooting[11] (in that it is rifle shooting, which distinguishes it from pistol shooting or submachine gun shooting for instance). In *šauti iš šautuvo, iš* **spatializes the shooting** by putting the spotlight on the movement of the projectile from the interior of the weapon to the exterior.

In numerous contexts, these two representations of the shooting are equivalent, in the sense that the difference in meanings involved (type of shooting *versus* movement of a projectile) is not relevant: the two constructions are then interchangeable. But we maintain that these semantic differences are implicated in all cases even if they are not interpretable and that they can account for the differences in use of the two constructions.

2. Methodology

The present analysis is based on a corpus of 2500 occurrences drawn from the database of *Kompiuterinės lingvistikos centras* (donelaitis.vdu. lt) and submitted to native Lithuanian speakers. It is to be noted that only long-lasting interviews, face to face, where the informant was immersed for several hours in a variety of contexts—long ones, showing the paragraphs preceding and following the studied sequence—could give contrasting results, that is where the answers varied between the instrumental case and the prepositional phrase. Short questionnaires—and when the occasion arose, the on-line questionnaires—which concerned only one or two sequences, almost invariably yielded the

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[11] One can note that it is possible to define a type of shooting otherwise than by type of weapon. The type of ammunition used may also play this role, and it is still the instrumental case which is used: *šauti tikr-omis kulk-omis, šrat-ais* (to fire real-INS.PL, bullet-INS. PL, pellet-INS.PL) 'to fire real bullets, pellets'.

answer '*iš*' and not the instrumental case. This may indicate that the case is losing ground to the preposition, which is, as we know, a general tendency in case languages.

In any case, this practical difficulty of the study points out that the two expressions are extremely close and that the differences between them are virtually non-existent in the Lithuanian speakers' consciousness. However, the study of numerous occurrences of these two constructions shows that, even if the instrumental case and the preposition *iš* are most of the time substitutes for each other, there are still some regularities which depend on the type of context involved: one form massively employed in certain contexts, which often goes hand in hand with informants less convinced by the proposed modification (replacing the prepositional phrase by the noun phrase in the instrumental case or vice versa).

We will thus present the evidence supporting our hypotheses on these markers by expounding successively the two series of arguments they are based on: firstly, the types of **contexts where one marker quantitatively predominates**, secondly, the cases when the use of one or the other construction is **collocationally constrained**.

3. Evidence

3.1. Instrumental case: a type of shooting

3.1.1. Types of contexts where the Instrumental case predominates

3.1.1.1. Sport shooting — One observes that the instrumental case predominates in the cases when the weapon qualitatively defines the firing. That is, for instance, contexts of sport shooting.

(7)   *Di Dona   nugalėjo   šaudym-o   pneumatin-iu*
      Di Dona   won   shooting-GEN.SG pneumatic-INS.SG
      pistolet-u   iš 10 metrų   atstumo   varžybose.
      pistol-INS.SG   at 10 meters   distance   competition
      'Di Dona won the competition in air gun shooting at a distance of 10 meters.'

(8)   *Raudondvario pradinės mokyklos komanda užėmė 4-ąją vietą.*
      Varžyb-ose   buvo šaudoma   šautuv-u
      competition-LOC.PL was   shoot.PPRP   rifle-INS.SG

> *ir   pistolet-u.*
> and   pistol-INS.SG
> 'The team from the elementary school at Raudondvaris took the 4th place. **It was a rifle and pistol shooting competition**.'

What matters in such cases is the type of competition, the type of weapon employed; the bullets and their target as such are secondary.

| 3.1.1.2. Instruction manuals of weapons | The instrumental case is also massively employed in instruction manuals for weapons. The main thing in this case is not the projectile reaching a |

target, but the process itself, the way you shoot, i. e. the qualitative determination of the process:

(9) *Šiuo   šautuv-u   / ?Iš šio   šautuv-o*
     this.INS.SG gun-INS.SG / ?iš DEM gun-GEN.SG
     šaudoma   tik   nuo   trijų taškų atramos,
     shoot.PPRP only   from   tripod
     todėl jis yra labai stabilus. Specialus mechanizmas neleidžia patekti į vamzdį dulkėms ir purvui.
     '**With this gun, you can only shoot from a tripod**, that is why it is very stable. A special mechanism prevents dust and dirt from getting into the barrel.'

However, it is to be noted that the instrumental case predominates in the contexts treating the general handling of the weapon (see also (10)). If the question is about the bullets to be used with the weapon considered, the preposition *iš* is employed (see (11)), but we will come back to this point in part 3.2.

(10) *Šiuo   šautuv-u   / ?iš šio šautuvo   šaudoma*
     DEM.INS.SG gun-INS.SG / ?iš DEM gun-GEN.SG shoot.PPRP
     stovint,   atsigulus,   itt.
     stand.GERPRS lie.GERPST   etc.
     'You shoot this gun standing up, lying down, etc.'
(11) *Iš šio   šautuv-o   / ?šiuo   šautuv-u*
     Iš DEM.GEN.SG gun-GEN.SG / ?DEM.INS.SG gun-INS.SG

> *šaudoma   9mm   kalibr-o   kulk-omis.*
> shoot.PPRP 9mm calibre-GEN.SG bullets-INS.PL
> 'You shoot this gun using 9,5 calibre bullets.'

3.1.1.3. Shoot-ing as an eventuality	The instrumental case also predominates in in-stances when the shooting is taken into account as an eventuality. See example (12) with a context of

sociological analysis, and example (13) where the shooting is presented as an abstract hypothesis.

(12) **Sociologin-iu   aspekt-u   nusišauti**
sociological-INS.SG aspect-INS.SG commit_suicide
pistolet-u   ar medžiolini-u   šautuv-u,
pistol-INS.SG or hunting-INS.SG rifle-INS.SG
du skirtingi dakykai.
'**Sociologically, to commit suicide with a pistol or a hunting rifle** are two very different things.'

(13) *Pamaniau, kad verčiau jau būčiau laiku nusišovusi. O jeigu jau neįstengiau nusišauti, —*
ne   taip jau   lengva nusišauti   medžioklini-u
NEG so   already easy   commit_suicide hunting-INS.SG
šautuv-u   /   ??iš medžioklinio šautuvo,
rifle-INS.SG /   ??iš   hunting rifle
— *tuomet reikėjo pasikasti po siena.*
'I thought it would be better if I had committed suicide on time. And if I was not able to shoot myself dead,—**it is clearly not that easy to kill oneselfwith a hunting rifle**—, I had to dig under the wall.'

It is perfectly possible to use the prepositional phrase with the verb *nusišauti* (to shoot oneself dead) and this construction is quite wide-spread in contexts of effective shooting. However, what matters here, again, is that the name of weapon provides a qualitative definition of the shooting: the bullet, its origin and destination are not relevant, and *iš* is not employed.

3.1.1.4. Foren-
sic medicine

In contexts of effective, concrete shooting, the in-
strumental case is also used to provide a qualitative
determination of the process.

(14) *Kūną tyręs medicinos ekspertas priklaupė.*
—Šaut-a standartini-u lazerin-iu pistolet-u, sere.
shoot-PPP standard-INS.SG laser-INS.SG pistol-INS.SG sir
Ginklo tipas neaiškus—tiesą sakant, bet kuris iš dešimčių,
parduodamų iš po prekystalio. Lygiai tokiais pat šūviais nukau-
tos ir kitos aukos.
'The medical expert who examined the body put one knee on
the floor. "**They shot a standard laser gun, Sir.** The weapon
model is unclear: to tell the truth, it can be any of the dozen
types which are sold under the counter. These are exactly
the same shots as those which killed the other victims."'

Example (14) is about an examination by a medical expert: he is capable
of determining which TYPE of shooting causes this TYPE of wounds, but
he does not know exactly which weapon is involved, and to determine
this is not his object. What matters here are the qualitative determina-
tions of the shooting, and hence of the wound, which explains the use
of the instrumental case.

3.1.1.5. One
'idiomatic
expression'

The semantics of the instrumental case, which posits
a qualitative determination of the process, explains
the particular use of *šaudyti patrankomis* (to shoot
cannons-INS.PL), to express 'to take extreme measures, to crack a nut
with a sledgehammer' (See (15)).

(15) *Žvirbl-ių patrank-omis/ ?iš patrank-ų*
sparrow-GEN.PL cannon-INS.PL / ? *iš* cannons-GEN.PL
niekas ne-šaudo.
nobody NEG-shoots
'Nobody shoots sparrows with cannons.'
(= No need to take extreme measures.)

There is no reference to genuine shooting of the sparrows here; rather
we have an image of the employment of extreme measures for a baga-
telle. In this case, the name of the weapon is less an instrument than

a qualification of a process: the noun *patranka* (cannon) in the instrumental case defines the shooting as being a drastic measure. And this basic qualitative value explains the privileged use of the instrumental case in this expression.

3.1.2. Collocational constraints

This function of the instrumental case which constructs the name of the weapon as providing the shooting with defining qualitative properties also explains the fact that not all the names of weapons are possible with this construction: only the names of weapons typical enough to define a type of shooting are possible, whereas weapons' brand names cannot be used.

(16) *šaudyti   pistolet-u,   kulkosvaidž-iu,*
    shoot.INF   pistol-INS.SG   machine_gun-INS.SG
    automat-u,   revolver-iu,   patrank-a,
    submachine_gun-INS.SG   revolver-INS.SG   cannon-INS.SG
    šautuv-u,   ?Kalašnikov-u   / iš Kalašnikovo,
    rifle-INS.SG ?Kalashnikov-INS.SG / iš Kalashnikov
    *Mauseri-u   /iš Mauserio, *Berett-a   /
    *Mauser-INS.SG / *iš* Mauser   *Beretta-INS.SG /
    iš Berettos, itt.
    iš Beretta
    'to shoot a pistol, a machine-gun, a submachine gun, a revolver, a cannon, a rifle, a Kalashnikov, a Mauser, a Beretta, etc.'

It is to be noted that this partition is not frozen: the noun 'Kalashnikov', which has entered common use and represents a particular type of weapon in the collective imaginary, now appears to be possible in the instrumental case.

3.2. Prepositional phrase: focus on the projectile and its trajectory

3.2.1. Types of contexts where the prepositional phrase predominates

3.2.1.1. Focus on the bullets | In contexts where the focus is on the projectile, the preposition *iš* is massively employed whereas the instrumental case is more difficult: see (17), where the verb is in the passive voice and where the subject *jos* ('they') refers to the bullets.

(17) *Į įvairias jo kūno vietas buvo paleisti devyni šūviai. Lietuvis nukautas 7,65 milimetro kulkomis.*
Jos*   galėjo būti šautos   iš pistolet-o*
they could be   shoot.PPP *iš* pistol-GEN.SG
/ ??pistolet-u   'Walther'.
/?? pistol-INS.SG   Walther
'Nine shots were fired at various parts of his body. The Lithuanian man was shot with 7.65 mm bullets. **They may have been fired from a Walther pistol.**'

For the same reason we have the preposition *iš* in (11), repeated here as (18):

(18) *Iš šio   šautuv-o   šaudoma   9mm*
Iš DEM.GEN.SG gun-GEN.SG shoot.PPRP 9mm
kalibr-o   kulkomis.
calibre-GEN.SG bullets-INS.PL
'You shoot this gun using 9 mm calibre bullets.'

3.2.1.2. Focus on the target | In contexts where the emphasis is on the target, the preposition *iš* is also predominant. There is no occurrence of *šauti į taikinį* (to shoot at a target) with a name of weapon in the instrumental case in the Lithuanian database.

(19) *šaudyti   iš pistolet-o   į taikin-į*
shoot.INF *iš* pistol-GEN.SG at target-ACC.SG
to shoot at a target with a pistol

(20) *Dar moku gerai į   taikin-į   šaudyti*
still can   well at target-ACC.SG shoot.INF
iš pistolet-o   /   ??pistolet-u,
iš pistol-GEN.SG / ??pistol-INS.SG
o iš Melkaškės/*Melkaške su optika tai ir į musę galiu
pataikyti, va...
'I am still good at shooting at a target with a pistol, and
with a telescopic *melkashka* I can even hit a fly, man!'

The only occurrences found are from the internet and all relate to the field of sport; see example (21), which is about the rules of a shooting competition.

(21) *Pagal varžybų nuostatus komandų dalyviai turėjo šaudyti dviejų*
rūšių ginklais: koviniu pistoletu ir automatiniu šautuvu „M-14".
Kovini-u   pistolet-u   buvo šaudoma į
combat-INS.SG pistol-INS.SG was   shot.PPRP at
„krūtinės" taikin-į.
chest   target-ACC.SG
Bandomiesiems šūviams buvo skirta 1 min., o devyniems
įskaitiniams šūviams—2 min.
'According to the statutes of the competition, the team par-
ticipants had to fire two types of weapons: a combat pistol
and a M-14 submachine gun. **With the combat pistol one
had to shoot at a 'chest' target**. One minute was given for
test firing, and two minutes for the nine recorded shots.'

The main thing here is not the target itself, but the kind of weapon used in such or such event, hence the use of the instrumental case and not the preposition *iš*.

3.2.1.3. Focus on the bullets, their trajectory and/or target | Example (22) illustrates a case where the emphasis is both on the target (cf. the use of *į taikinį* (to the target)) and on the projectile (cf. the subject of the sentence: *kulkos* (bullets)), and where, according to our hypothesis, the preposition *iš* is employed:

(22) **Šaud-ant   iš pneumatin-ių   šautuv-ų**
shooting-GERPRS *iš* pneumatic-GEN.PL guns-GEN.PL

/ *??šautuv-ais,*
/ ??guns-INS.PL
kulkos lėkė tiesiai į taikinį.
'**When shooting with air rifles**, bullets flew directly into the target.'

The preposition *iš* is also typical of contexts of ballistics: in such a context, the weapon, the projectile and its trajectory are precisely what matters. This is an ideal context for *iš*, and the instrumental case does not work well here:

(23) ***Iš kokio ginklo / ??Kok-iu ginkl-u***
iš which weapon / ??which-INS.SG weapon-INS.SG
buvo šaudyta,
was shoot.PPP
turės nustatyti balistikos ekspertai. Vakar jie galėjo pasakyti tik tiek, kad
*E.**Bitaitis galėjo būti nušautas iš pistoleto***
E. Bitaitis could be shot_dead iš pistol
/ *?pistolet-u.*
/ ? pistol-INS.SG
'Ballistics experts will have to establish **which weapon was shot**. Yesterday they could only say that **E. Bitaitis could have been killed with a pistol**.'

Even if this context seems similar to the one in (14), because it is, roughly speaking, about 'police scientists' in both examples, we see the subtle difference between forensic and ballistics experts as it is expressed in the Lithuanian language: the first ones study the properties of the wounds they come across, whereas the latter deal with bullets and trajectories in order to identify the position of the shooter and his weapon.

3.2.2. Collocational constraints

The semantics of the preposition *iš* which spatializes the shooting, focusing on the projectile, its origin or destination, explains the fact that only the prepositional phrase can be employed when the shooting is expressed by constructions which, in one way or another, put the

emphasis on the projectile: *paleisti šūvį į ką* ('to let off a **shot**')*, atidengti* **ugnį** *į ką* ('to open **fire**')*, pliekti* ('to machine-gun'):

(24) *paleisti **šūvį** į ką iš ko/*kuo, atidengti **ugnį** į ką iš ko /*kuo,*
pliekti *iš ko/??kuo*
'to fire **a bullet** into someone with sth, to open **fire** on some-
one with sth, to **machine-gun** with sth'

(25) *Jis ketvirtadienio vakarą prie Jugoslavijos federalinio parlamento*
Belgrade
iš pistolet-o / ***pistolet-u** **paleido šūvį**
iš pistol-GEN.SG / *pistol-INS.SG sent shot
sau **į** **galv-ą.**
himself-DAT.SG into head-ACC.SG
'Thursday evening, near the Federal Parliament of Yugoslavia
in Belgrade, **he shot himself in the head with a pistol**.'

For the same reason, the instrumental case is possible with the nouns *šaudymas* (shooting) or *šūvis* (shot, see (1) for instance), but it is not employed with the nouns *salvė, papliūpa* (salvo) which posit a number of simultaneous projectiles, and hence, by virtue of their very semantics, focus on the projectile:

(26) *salvė iš patrank-os* / **patrank-a*
salvo *iš* cannon-GEN.SG / *cannon-INS.SG
'cannon salvo'

According to the same principle, the verb *iššauti,* which is defined as *paleisti kulką iš šaunamojo ginklo* (to fire a bullet out of a firearm), and which, as such, emphasizes the projectile, turns out to be a perfect candidate for use with the preposition *iš*. In a corpus of 474 occur-rences of the form *iššovė* (shoot.PST.3) from the Lithuanian database, the instrument of the process is mentioned 97 times, with the follow-ing partition between the two possible constructions: 95 occurrences of the preposition *iš* and only 2 of the instrumental case. As has been shown previously (see de Penanros 2010), the prefix *iš-* has the same semantics as the preposition *iš*: it locates one term x in the Exterior of a term y (neither of these terms being necessarily lexicalized). We hypothesize that x corresponds to the element *a* of the definition of the verbal base, i. e. the projectile, and y is its localization. y has a

double status: ɪ, the initial localization, and ᴇ, a localization which is strictly distinct from it. The prefix *iš-* then reconstructs the verbal base *šauti* by locating the element *a* (x, the projectile) in the Exterior with respect to its initial localization (ʏ), hence the interpretation of the prefixed verb in terms of 'to fire a bullet **out of** a firearm': this hypothesis[12] permits us to explain the fact that the verb *iššauti* in itself focuses on the projectile, which explains its privileged use with the prepositional construction to introduce the instrument.

The semantics of the preposition *iš* also explains the contrasting statistics for the bow and arrow. The Lithuanian database gives 160 occurrences of shoot *iš lank-o/iš lank-ų* (*iš* bow-ɢᴇɴ.sɢ/ɢᴇɴ.ᴘʟ) but 0 occurrences of 'shoot *lanku/lankais* (bow.ɪɴs.sɢ /ɪɴs.ᴘʟ)'. On the internet, the occurrences of 'shoot *lanku.*ɪɴs.sɢ/*lankais.*ɪɴs.sɢ' exclusively relate to the field of sport, and the noun *lankas* is most of the time modified by an adjective: *skriemulinis* ('compound'), *olimpinis* ('Olympic'), *tradicinis* ('traditional'), *senovinis* ('ancient'), or even *Robino Hudo laikų* ('from the time of Robin Hood'), which conforms to our general observations on the use of the instrumental case to provide a qualitative determination of the process. However, apart from these instances, it remains true that for this name of weapon, the use of the preposition massively exceeds that of the instrumental case.

I form the hypothesis that this is linked to the properties of the bow itself: with a bow, contrary to a firearm, the arrow (i. e. the projectile) necessarily has a visibility: it is at the center of the process. The properties of bow shooting are in keeping with the semantics of the preposition *iš* which precisely defines the shooting as a way to let off a projectile from a weapon, hence the privileged construction with this preposition. This analysis seems to be confirmed by the fact that only the prepositional phrase is possible with the term *ragatkė* (slingshot),

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[12] We have here a good illustration of the differences between prepositions and prefixes, where prepositions only introduce arguments (or 'modifications' to use Davidson's terminology) of verbs, whereas prefixes reconstruct a verbal base to create a complex predicate (see Paillard 2010 for an analysis of prefixed verbs in terms of complex predicates). In other respects, one can also note that the semantics of the prefix *iš-* is echoing that of the verb *šauti* which also constructs two positions (Interior and Exterior/ *k* and *l*). This semantic coincidence would explain why the prefix seems devoid of any semantic value in the verb *iššauti*, and seems limited to the function of perfective marker (see de Penanros 2010, 121).

whose French translation *lance-pierre* (launch-stone) clearly shows the preponderant importance of the projectile:

(27)   *šaudyti iš ragatk-ės*   / **ragatk-e*
       shoot   *iš* slingshot-GEN.SG / *slingshot-INS.SG
       'to shoot a slingshot'

3.3. Further evidence from the interpretations of the verb *sužeisti* (to wound)

Our hypotheses on the semantics of the preposition *iš* and of the instrumental case in Lithuanian also permit us to account for the differences of interpretation of the instrument used with verbs other than *šauti* and its derivatives. Since the preposition *iš* posits the location of an element x in the Interior, then in the Exterior of an element y, the sequence *iš pistoleto* (iš y) necessarily involves a projectile, hence a shot. This is not true of the NP in the instrumental case *pistoletu*, which defines a process providing it with qualitative properties.

As a consequence, if the two constructions are equally possible with the verb *sužeisti* (to wound) for instance, their interpretation can be totally different. In particular, if the phrase *sužeisti iš pistoleto* implies a shot, because a projectile is necessarily at the heart of the process when *iš* is employed, this is not the case with *sužeisti pistoletu* which can perfectly signify that the weapon was used as a truncheon to hit someone (cp. (28) & (29)):

(28)   *Tą kartą* **iš** **pistolet-o**   **į** **galv-ą**
       that time *iš* pistol-GEN.SG in head-ACC.SG
       sužeid-ę   **vien-ą**   **bank-o**   **darbuotoj-ą**
       wound-PPA.NOM.PL one-ACC.SG bank-GEN.SG employee-ACC.SG
       plėšikai pagrobė 70 tūkst. litų.
       'That time, the burglars who **had wounded one employee of the bank by a pistol [shot] in the head**, had stolen 70 thousand litas.'

(29)   *Nusikaltėlis,*
       sužeid-ęs   *bank-o*   *tarnautoj-ą*
       wound-PPA.NOM.SG bank-GEN.SG employee-ACC.SG
       pistolet-u
       pistol-INS.SG

—*pistoleto rankena smogęs jam į viršugalvį—po kelių dienų buvo suimtas.*

'The criminal who **had injured a bank employee with a gun**—hitting him on the head with the pistol grip—was arrested a few days later.'

4. Conclusion

Our hypotheses on the semantics of the preposition *iš* and the instrumental case in Lithuanian have allowed us to account for the use of two seemingly synonymous constructions with verbs of shootings. In fact, they have permitted us to highlight the two ways of representing a shot that these linguistic forms construct. These syntactic constructions are in fact the tracks of two different semantic operations which posit two different representations of what a shot may be: the instrumental case qualitatively defines a type of shooting, whereas the preposition *iš* puts the emphasis on the movement of the projectile. One then understands why these two constructions are often interchangeable: in contexts of murders for instance, it is rarely essential to distinguish between a victim killed by a gun or by a bullet fired from a gun. The differences between the two constructions are then often uninterpretable and only a thorough study of a large number of contexts could help clarify the dividing line between them.

Generally speaking, this analysis of a micro-phenomenon argues for the atomistic thesis, which considers that each unit is meaningful and contributes to the construction of the utterance and its meaning. It aims to show that the constraints on use of words or forms boil down to questions of lexical semantics, and hence that grammar and lexicon are not to be dissociated. As A. Culioli (2005, 14) puts it: "Tout fait grammatical est un fait de lexique"[13], the barriers posited between semantics, syntax and pragmatics disappearing as soon as the analysis reaches a certain level of granularity. This study (see in particular the points concerning the collocational constraints) seeks to show, among other things, that what could have appeared to be pure syntactic constraints are in fact semantically motivated.

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[13] Any grammatical fact is a lexical fact.

One can note, in this respect, that the autonomy of syntax, once postulated in certain linguistic theories, is now largely abandoned, because the necessity of considering meaning in order to account for the forms observed in languages has become more and more obvious. Even Chomsky, in his Minimalist Program, recognizes the crucial role of the Lexicon, which now provides all the information: phonological, morphological and semantic.

To take just another example of this general tendency, Radical Construction Grammar, contrary to other varieties of Construction Grammars "appeals to a rich, fine-grained model of semantic structure, and places much of the explanatory power in semantic structure and the symbolic mapping between components of semantic structure and elements of syntactic structure in constructions" (Croft 2013).

The central difference between these theories and that elaborated by A. Culioli remains that, in the latter, language is not seen as a means to encode whatever semantico-cognitive substrate: it is itself an **activity**. Meaning, then, is not assumed to be given independently, but to be constructed in the utterance; it is considered unknown and to be uncovered, 'retraced' by the linguist from the forms observed in the diversity of languages and texts[14]. This theoretical difference entails a difference of methodology: within this framework, we do not know *a priori* what is an instrument or a cause, the linguist's analysis proceeds only from the forms he observes. His task is to try and reconstitute the operations of which they are the tracks. Hence the importance of studying language in its reality, its everyday reality, literary reality, juridical reality, etc., in the most microscopic facts, without *a priori* excluding anything that was naturally uttered/written, without separating the phenomena (intonation, morphology, pragmatics, syntax, etc.), but organizing them through rigorous analysis procedures.

This position does not mean that everything is language-specific, and that no generalization is possible. The linguist's objective is precisely, by a constant toing and froing between conceptual and empirical work, to seek out, in this infinite diversity of phenomena and languages, what constitutes the invariance of this human faculty, i. e., Language,

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[14] In this theoretical framework, 'text' refers to any sequence of language, be it written or oral.

which allows translation and the learning of other languages. This invariance is constituted by a set of abstract operations to which we can only have access through their infinitely variable manifestations that are the markers observed in languages.

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Abbreviations

Acc — accusative, BUD — verbal adverb, DAT — dative, DEM — demonstrative, GEN — genitive, GERPRS — present gerundive, GERPST — past gerundive, INS — instrumental, LOC — locative, NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, PL — plural, PPA — past active participle, PPP — passive past participle, PPRA — present passive participle, PPRP — passive present participle, PRS — present, PST — past, SG — singular

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