

Non-Canonical Case Patterns in Lithuanian
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1. Introduction¹

The “wrong” Case:

- Oblique Passive:

(1) **Darbininkas** buvo advokato atstovautas
Worker-NOM.M.SG was lawyer-GEN represented-PASS-M-SG
‘The worker was represented by the lawyer’

- Dative/Genitive Objects of Purpose Clauses:

(2) Padovanau vyrui patogų krėslą **knygai** skaityti
give-PST-1-SG husband-DAT comfortable-ACC chair-ACC book-DAT to-read
‘I gave my husband a comfortable chair to read books in’

(3) Berniukas nuėjo į parduotuvę **pieno** nupirkti
boy-NOM PREF-go-PST to store-ACC milk-GEN PREF-to-buy
‘The boy went to the store to buy milk’

- Instrumental Alternations:

(4) Mergaitė apsirengė **džinsais**
girl-NOM PERF-SI-dress-PAST jeans-INST
‘The girl put on jeans’

Not wrong, just misunderstood: narrow view of Case theory

By expanding Case theory, the Lithuanian data are unexceptional

2. Case Theory

- Standard Theory: Structural vs. Inherent (Chomsky 1981, 1986)
 - Structural Case: regular, predictable. Generally, Nominative subjects, Accusative objects. Licensed by a functional head: T for Nominative, *v* for Accusative

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- Inherent Case: non-structural: determined by a lexical item, associated with a theta role
- Other types of Case:
 - **Lexical Case** (aka Quirky Case; Babby 1986, Richardson 2007, *inter alia*)
Unpredictable, strong lexical requirement of the verb
Cannot be overridden in Case Conflicts
 - **Semantic Case** (Babby 1986, 1994, Richardson 2007)
Direct contribution to meaning of the sentence
Bare-NP adverbs
Association with theta role
Alternations based on semantic features, e.g. definiteness or animacy
 - **Inherent Case** redefined (Woolford 2006)
Predictable from the theta role: Dative on Goal/Beneficiary, Ergative on Agent
Possibly licensed by an applicative head
- Lithuanian (and Slavic, at least) need:
 - Lexical: Oblique Passive
 - Inherent: Dative goals/beneficiaries, Dative experiencers, Purpose clauses
 - Semantic: Instrumental alternations
- Problems:
 - Difference between Semantic and Inherent
 - Licensing

3. Oblique Passives

- Verbs that take Genitive and Dative arguments can passivize (Ambrazas 2007, contra Freidin 1996, Woolford 2006)
- (5) a. Mes atstovavome darbininkams/*darbininkus
we represented workers-DAT/*ACC
'We represented the workers'
- b. Darbininkai/*-ams buvo mūsų atstovaujami
workers-M-PL-NOM/*DAT were us-GEN represented-M-PL
'The workers were represented by us'
- Not structural case: no alternation with Genitive of Negation
- (6) a. Jis megsta alų
he like-PRES beer-M-ACC
'He likes beer'

- b. Jis nemegsta alaus/*alų
he NEG-like-PRES beer-M-GEN/*ACC
'He doesn't like beer'
- (7) a. Jis atstovauja darbininkams
he represent-PRES workers-DAT
'He represented the workers'
- b. Jis neatstovauja darbininkams/*darbininkų
he NEG-represent-PRES workers-DAT/*GEN
'He didn't represent the workers'
- Keep Case with deverbal nouns
- (8) a. Rašymas laiško/*laišką
writing letter-GEN/*ACC
'the writing of letters'
- b. Vadovavimas darbininkams/*darbininkų
representing workers-DAT/*GEN
'the representing of the workers'
- Not for all instances of non-structural case
- (9) a. Jonas vadovauja fabrikui
Jonas-NOM managed factory-DAT
'Jonas managed the factory'
- b. Fabrikas/*-ui buvo Jono vadovaujamas
factory-M-SG-NOM/*DAT was Jonas-GEN managed-M-SG
'The factory was managed by Jonas'
- (10) a. Jonas ieško namo
Jonas-NOM looked-for house-GEN
'Jonas looked for the house'
- b. Namai/*-o yra Jono ieškomas
house-M-SG-NOM/*GEN is Jonas-GEN looked-for-M-SG
'The house is looked for by Jonas'
- (11) a. Studentai klauso radijo
students-NOM listened-to radio-GEN
'The students listened to the radio'

- b. Radijas/*-o paprastai yra studentų klausomas
radio-M-SG-NOM/*GEN usually is students-GEN listened-to-M-SG
'The radio is usually listened to by students'

BUT:

- (12) a. Jonas padėjo vaikui
Jonas-NOM helped child-DAT
'Jonas helped the child'
- b. *Vaikas buvo Jono padėtas
child-M-SG-NOM was Jonas-GEN helped-M-SG
'The child was helped by Jonas'
- (13) a. Lietuva prekiauja gintaru
Lithuania trades amber-M-SG-INST
'Lithuania trades (in) amber'
- b. *Gintaras Lietuvos prekiaujamas
Amber-M-SG-NOM Lithuania-GEN traded-M-SG
'Amber is traded by Lithuania'
- (14) a. Jis tikrai tiki savo teisumu
He truly believes self's justice-INST
'He truly believes in his justice'
- b. *Jo teisumas buvo visų tikėtas
His justice-NOM was everyone-GEN believed-PASS
'His justice was believed by everyone'

- Conclusions: not all non-structural objects behave the same with regard to passivization
- Passivization cannot be used as a determining factor for Inherent vs. Lexical Case
- Licensing: Lexical licensed below the passive head (Svenonius 2001)
- Problems:
 - Instrumental: Maybe Inherent or Semantic Case?
 - Impersonal passive: different case facts!

4. Case in Purpose Clauses

- Dative (From Dambriunas 1966)

(15) Jis samdo mane *darbui* dirbti
He-NOM hire-PAST-3 me-ACC work-DAT to-do
'He hired me to do *work*'

(16) Jis nusipirko naują plunksną *tam svarbiam laiškui* rašyti
He-NOM buy-PAST-3 new-ACC quill-ACC that-DAT important-DAT letter-DAT to-write
'He bought a new quill to write *that important letter*'

- Genitive (from Franks & Lavine 2006)

(17) Išsiuntė mergaitę *vandens* atnešti
sent-PST girl-ACC water-GEN PREF-to-bring
'They sent the girl to bring water'

(18) Atvažiavo *kelio* taisyti
arrive-PST road-GEN to-fix
'They came to fix the road'

- Issues:
 - Word order: stronger for Dative
 - Genitive/Dative interpreted in two places
 - Optionality of infinitive

(19) a. Iššovė žmonėms pagąsdinti
PREF-fired people-DAT to-frighten
'He fired to frighten people'

b. *Iššovė žmonėms
*'He fired for people'

Ambrazas 2007:557

- Franks & Lavine 2006
 - Structural case: marked by a head, overridden with Lexical Case
 - Key issue: get the movement for Case without look-ahead (because the verb would assign Accusative)
 - Keep the NP active in the syntax so it can move: *v* doesn't discharge its Case feature, and NP moves to get Case
 - Problems:
 - C with NP complement?
 - Accusative as a last resort?

- Without infinitive:
 - Dative appears to be Inherent Case, interpreted along the lines of Goal/Beneficiary
 - Genitive is Semantic Case: goals of motion are genitive
 - Could be Structural Case licensed by the upstairs verb of motion, which would account for the Genitive even with VO word order
- With the infinitive:
 - Puzzle: why does the object appear before the verb?
 - Note: intransitive infinitives are fine, as are Lexical Case verbs
 - Some infinitives are obligatory, as in (19) above, showing that the object is a constituent with the following verb
- Possible analysis: Relative clause

(20) Pastatė daržinę [_{NP} šienui [_{CP} OP [_{TP} sukrauti *t*]]]

- Gets the interpretation, and constituency
- Moving the object allows the Inherent Case to be licensed
- Like an Applicative head licensing Datives in Spanish, etc., some purpose-clause head C_p licenses this Dative
- Inherent Case can be overridden by Lexical, but it overrides Structural
- Remaining Questions:
 - Are the bare-NP and infinitival object Datives the same thing?
 - Why isn't the infinitive always optional? What's the difference in meaning where it's obligatory?
 - Why does the NP move?
 - Why don't Lexical NPs move?

5. Instrumental alternations

- Verb classes that alternate between Accusative and Instrumental (from Ambrazas 2007)
 - Movement: body parts

(21) linguoti galva/galvą	shake head-INST/ACC
karpyti ausimis/ausis	move one's ears-INST/ACC
griežti/kalenti dantimis/dantis	gnash/chatter teeth-INST/ACC
skėsčioti/skeryčioti rankomis/rankas	throw up one's arms-INST/ACC
traukyti/trūkčioti pečiais/pečius	shrug one's shoulders-INST/ACC
vizginti uodega/uodegą	wag tail-INST/ACC

Exceptions:

<i>kratyti, kraipyti, purtyti galvą/galva</i>	<i>shake head-ACC/*INST</i>
<i>supti kojas/*kojomis</i>	<i>swing legs-ACC/*INST</i>
<i>gūžčioti pečiais/*pečius</i>	<i>shrug shoulders-INST/*ACC</i>

o Making sound

- (22) barškinti indais/indus rattle crocker-INST/ACC
 žvanginti raktais/raktus jingle keys-INST/ACC
 sambinti taurėmis/taures tinkle wineglasses-INST/ACC
 trenkti durimis/duris bang door-INST/ACC
 sumušti kulnims/kulnis click heels-INST/ACC
 birbinti vamzdeliu/vamzdelį play reed-pipe-INST/ACC
 čirpinti smuiku/smuiką play (lit. ‘make chirp’) fiddle-INST/ACC

o Dressing

(23)

Dressing	Wearing	Translation	Items of clothing
rengtis	devėti	get dressed/wear	all clothes
autis	avėti	put on/wear shoes	shoes, boots
gaubtis	gobėti	wrap on/wear	wraps, shawls
juostis	juosėti	belt, girdle/wear a belt	belts
mautis	mūvēti	slide on/wear	gloves, pants, rings
ryštis	ryšėti	tie on/wear	scarves, ties
segtis	segėti	fasten, button/wear	skirts, broches, buttons
vilktis	vilkėti	cover, put on/wear	outerwear
–	nešioti	wear	all clothes, accessories

- (24) Jonas avėsi naujus batus
 Jonas put-shoes-PST-SI new-ACC shoes-ACC
 i. Jonas put on new shoes
 ii. Jonas took off new shoes

- (25) Jonas avėsi naujais batus
 Jonas put-shoes-PST-SI new-INST shoes-INST
 i. Jonas put on new shoes
 ii. *Jonas took off new shoes

- Prefixes can also be used to resolve ambiguities. In addition to a perfectivizing prefix for these verbs, there is a prefix that indicates a reversal, in this case removal of the clothing item:

- (26) Jonas **apsiavė** naujus batus
 Jonas PERF-SI-put-shoes-PST new-ACC shoes-ACC
 Jonas put on new shoes/*Jonas took off new shoes

- (27) Jonas **nusiavė** naujus batus
 Jonas PREF-SI-put-shoe-PST new-ACC shoes-ACC
 Jonas took off new shoes/*Jonas put on new shoes

- Some prefixes add additional semantic context, or augment the number arguments these verbs can take:
- No Accusative if direct object is introduced

(28) ap(si)rišti galvą skarele/*skarelę
PREF-(SI)-to-tie head-ACC kerchief-INST/*ACC
'to tie a kerchief around one's head'

(29) susijuosti kelnes diržu/*diržą
PREF-SI-to-girdle trousers-ACC belt-INST/*ACC
'to girdle one's trousers with a belt'

- Only Accusative if PP or Dative NP

(30) užsirišti ant galvos skarelę/*skarele
PREF-SI-to-tie head-GEN kerchief-ACC/*INST
'to tie a kerchief on one's head'

(31) susijuosti juostą/*juosta ant marškinių
PREF-SI-to-put-on belt-ACC/*INST on shirt-GEN
'to tie a belt on one's shirt'

(32) (į)segti sagę į suknelę
(PREF)-to-fasten brooch-ACC to dress-ACC
'to fasten a brooch to one's dress'

(33) auti batokus vaikui ant kojų
to-put-on shoes-ACC child-DAT on feet-GEN
'to put shoes on a child'

- (30) – (33) are similar to *spray/load* alternations, but what about without prefixes?
- Same patterns for verbs with *si* and without
- Could be different interpretation of *si* as Accusative or Dative, but what about non-reflexive verbs?
- Semantic Case?
 - Alternation, semantic class of verbs
 - Assume theta role does not change
 - Change in meaning?

6. Conclusion

- Case Theory isn't fully able to account for the Lithuanian data
- Where to go from here
 - Issues of licensing: do different types of Case have different syntactic positions?
 - Further testing for differences in meaning and different behaviors
 - Nominative objects, Accusative without subjects??

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