The dual face of dependent case:
On Lithuanian genitive of negation

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1   Introduction

- Lithuanian Genitive of Negation (GN) is a type of case that prima facie tracks and overwrites structural accusative case, when the verb is negated as in (1a-1b)[2]

(1)   ***Lithuanian***

    a. Jonas   per-skaitė   laišką.
        Jonas.NOM PRV-read.PST.3 letter.**ACC**
        'Jonas read the letter.'

    b. Jonas   **ne**-per-skaitė   **laiško**/*laišką.
        Jonas.NOM **NEG**-PRV-read.PST.3 letter.**GEN**/letter.ACC
        'Jonas didn't read the letter.'   (Arkadiev 2016:38)

- However, GN does not affect non-structural case, e.g., dative of monotransitives (2a-2b) or ditransitives (3a-3b)

(2)   a. Jonas   tarvano   atėjūnams.
        Jonas.NOM serve.PST.3 invaders.**DAT**
        'Jonas served the invaders.'

    b. Jonas   **ne**-tarnavo   **atėjūnams**/*atėjūnų.
        Jonas.NOM **NEG**-serve.PST.3 invaders.**DAT**/invaders.GEN
        'Jonas didn't serve the invaders.'

(3)   a. Tėvas   davė   vaikui   obuolį.
        Father.NOM give.PST.3 child.**DAT** apple.ACC
        'The father gave the child the apple.'

    b. Tėvas   **ne**-davė   **vaikui**/*vaiko   obuolio.
        Father.NOM **NEG**-give.PST.3 child.**DAT**/GEN apple.GEN
        'The father didn't give the child the apple.'

- In Russian, GN has been taken as an *unaccusativity test*: GN **can overwrite** NOM subjects of **unaccusatives**, but **does not affect** NOM subjects of **unergatives** (Pesetsky 1982)

- Nevertheless, Lithuanian is exceptional in that, as we show, GN cannot overwrite nominative case regardless of a verb class

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[2]Note that the DP realized in the genitive under negation in Lithuanian can be referential, unlike Russian. Thus, Pereltsvaig's (1999) Referentiality Constraint does not hold for Lithuanian.

(4) **Lithuanian**

Traukinys/*traukinio   ne-atvažiavo.
Train.$\boxed{\textbf{NOM}}$/train.GEN $\boxed{\textbf{NEG}}$-arrive.PST.3
'The train didn't arrive.'   *Unaccusative*

(5) Jonas/*Jono   ne-dirbo.
Jonas.$\boxed{\textbf{NOM}}$/Jonas.GEN $\boxed{\textbf{NEG}}$-work.PST.3
'Jonas didn't work.'   *Unergative*

- The Lithuanian data raise important questions:

    – How and where in the derivation is GN determined?

    – Why is GN not realized on, e.g., unaccusatives?

Proposal:

(i) We argue that GN is a realization of dependent case

- GN not only tracks structural case in Lithuanian, but, more specifically, structural accusative case

(ii) Dependent case in Lithuanian is realized as genitive under c-commanding negation

- Dependent case is usually realized as accusative in nominative-accusative languages but that is not necessary — dependent case c-commanded by negation is realized as genitive

(iii) Otherwise it is realized as accusative

- Roadmap

    – Section 2 Previous Approaches

    – Section 3 Our Approach to Genitive Case

    – Section 4 Genitive as a type of dependent case

    – Section 5 Realizing structural case as accusative and genitive

    – Section 6 Implications

2   Previous approaches

- Lithuanian GN is a syntactic phenomenon (Arkadiev 2016), for the most part

- In contrast, Russian GN can be influenced by semantic factors (Kagan 2013), which have lead a number of researches to adopt a semantic approach to GN (see Neidle 1988, Pereltsvaig 1998, 1999, Borschev and Partee 2002, Partee and Borschev 2004)

    – Within the scope of sentential negation

- Syntactic approaches to Russian GN analyze it through covert case stacking (Pesetsky 2013)/replacement (Richards 2013):

    - GN replaces structural case (meaningless case) but not non-structural case, such as instrumental (meaningful case)
    - GN is stacked on the structural nominative and accusative cases, but is eliminated in the context of lexical case[3]

    (6) ***Russian***

    a. Anna pišet pis'mo ručkoj.
        Anna writes letter.$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$ pen.$\boxed{\text{INSTR}}$
        'Anna is writing a letter with a pen.'

    b. Anna **ne** pišet pis'ma ručkoj.
        Anna $\boxed{\textbf{NEG}}$ writes letter.$\boxed{\textbf{GEN}}$ pen.$\boxed{\text{INSTR}}$
        'Anna is not writing a letter with a pen.'   (Richards 2013:2)

- For Richards (2013), GN is assigned syntactically and is subject to timing:

    - It applies to nominative subjects of passives (7) suggesting that movement to SpecTP takes place after GN assignment
    - The nominative subject of unaccusatives show that same behavior as in (8a).[4]

    (7) ***Russian Passive***

    Pis'ma ne bylo polučeno.
    letter.$\boxed{\text{GEN}}$ $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$ was received
    'No letter was received.'   (Richards 2013:25)

    (8) ***Russian Unaccusative***

    a. Edinorogov ne suščestvujet.
        unicorns.$\boxed{\text{GEN}}$ $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$ exist.NEUT.SG
        'Unicorns don't exist.'   (Kagan 2013:51)

    b. Poezda ne prihodilo
        train.$\boxed{\text{GEN}}$ $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$ arrive.NEUT.SG
        'No train has arrived.'   (Nikita Bezrukov, p.c.)

- Lithuanian GN patterns like Russian in not alternating with lexical case as well, recall e.g., (2b) repeated here as (9)

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[3]For different syntactic approaches to Russian GN also see Pesetsky (1982), Bailyn (2004).

[4]Note that the subject of unaccusatives in Russian can either undergo GN or stay nominative, which yields different interpretations respectively (e.g., Babby 1980, Pesetsky 1982). When the subject is genitive, the negation scopes over the existential as in (8b). When the subject is nominative, the existential scopes over negation as exemplified below.

(i) Poezd ne prishel.
     Train.NOM NEG arrive.PST.3.SG.
     'The train hasn't arrived.'   (Nikita Bezrukov, p.c.)

(9) **_Lithuanian_**

>Jonas **ne**-tarnavo **atėjūnams**/*atėjūnų
>Jonas.NOM [NEG]-serve.PST.3 invaders.[DAT]/invaders.GEN
>'Jonas didn't serve the invaders.'

- However, Lithuanian GN poses problems to case-stacking approaches:

  1. GN cannot replace a structural nominative DP, e.g., a subject of passives (10) or unaccusatives (11)
     - While this is an unaccusative diagnostic in Russian, it's not in Lithuanian
  2. GN is not sensitive to timing: the passive subject is never genitive regardless of whether it is in SpecTP (10a) or in situ (10b).

(10) **_Lithuanian Passives_**

>a. Laiškas/*laiško **ne**-buvo skaito-m-as.
>Letter.[NOM]/letter.GEN [NEG]-be.PST.3 read.-PRT-NOM.M.SG
>'A letter was not being read.'

>b. Pamokos metu **ne**-buvo skaito-m-as laiškas/*laiško.
>Lesson time [NEG]-be.PST.3 read.PRT letter.[NOM]/letter.GEN
>'A letter was not being read during the lesson.'

(11) **_Lithuanian Unaccusatives_**

>a. Traukinys/*traukinio ne-atvažiavo.
>Train.[NOM]/train.GEN [NEG]-arrive.PST.3
>'The train didn't arrive.'

>b. Vakar **ne**-atvažiavo traukinys/*traukinio
>Yesterday [NEG]-arrive.PST.3 train.[NOM]/train.GEN
>'Yesterday, the train didn't arrive.'

- We have seen that one way of talking about genitive under negation is to say that it is only assigned if accusative is assigned

- However, there is no indication that structural case is assigned and then genitive overwrites that (assigned on top of the accusative)

  - As we demonstrate, GN only tracks structural accusative but not structural nominative case

3   Our Approach to Genitive Case

3.1   Structural Genitive Case

- The environment in which genitive is assigned under negation is identical to accusative case assignment:[5]

  - A nominative DP in the same dependency is needed for accusative to be realized and also for genitive to be realized

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[5]Note that GN that is only affected by the sentential negation rather than phrasal. Phrasal negation does not trigger genitive as indicated below: it does not overwrite structural accusative (i-b) or lexical case (ii-b).

- We offer a new account of GN, arguing that it is a reflection of dependent case on a case realization disjunctive hierarchy (Marantz 1991)

  - On such an algorithm (e.g., McFadden 2004, Preminger 2014), dependent case is accusative and unmarked case is nominative (in NOM-ACC languages)

- For Lithuanian we argue that unmarked case is realized as nominative whereas dependent case has two realizations:

  - either as accusative
  - or as genitive under c-commanding negation

- This proposal accounts for the cases in passives and unaccusatives in (11)–(10) that are problematic for case-stacking approaches

- Under this approach, Lithuanian GN is a type of structural case, but note that Lithuanian has other types of genitives as well

3.2 Other types

- Lithuanian has non-structural genitive that is retained under A-movement as exemplified with verbs like *šalintis* 'to avoid' as in (12).

  (12) ***Non-Structural Genitive***
  - a. Žmonės   šalino-si   Jono.
       People.NOM avoid-PST.3-RFL Jonas.GEN
       'People were avoiding Jonas.'

  - b. Jono   buvo   šalina-m-a-si   žmonių.
       Jono.GEN be.PST.3 avoid-PRT-[-AGR]-RFL people.GEN
       Lit. 'Jonas was being avoided by people.'

  - c. *Jonas   buvo   šalina-m-as-si   žmonių.
       Jonas.NOM be.PST.3 avoid-PRT-[-NOM.M.SG]-RFL people.GEN
       Int. 'Jonas was being avoided by people.'

- Partitive Genitive (Genitive of Indefinite Quantity): the genitive is used to denote a part or indefinite quantity of the object.

(i) a. Jis   supranta   matematiką ir fiziką.
       He.NOM understand.PRS.3 math.ACC   and physics.ACC
       'He understands math and physics.'

   b. Jis   supranta   **ne** tik matematiką/*matematikos, bet ir   fiziką.
       He.NOM understand.PRS.3 **not** only math.**ACC**/math.GEN,   but and physics.ACC
       'He understands not only math, but also physics.'

(ii) a. Jis   gina   ją   žodžiais ir darbais.
       He.NOM defend.PRS.3 her.ACC words.INST and works.INST
       'He defends her by words and work.'

   b. Jis   **ne** tik žodžiais/*žodžių,   bet ir   darbais ją   gina.
       He.NOM **not** only words.**INST**/words.GEN, but and works.INST her.ACC defend.PRS.3
       'He defends her not only by words, but also by work.'

(13) **Partitive Genitive**

    a. Aš   nu-pirkau   obuolius.
       I.NOM PRV-buy.PST.1.SG apples.ACC
       'I bought the apples.'

    b. Aš   nu-pirkau   obuolių.
       I.NOM PRV-buy.PST.1.SG apples.GEN
       'I bought some apples.'

- Lithuanian also has genitive that surfaces in evidential constructions; this type may be structural.

    (14) Inga   nuramino   vaiką.
          Inga.NOM calmed.down child.ACC
          'Inga calmed the child down.'   *Active*

    (15) **Evidential Genitive**

       a. Ingos   nuramin-t-a   vaikas.
          Inga.GEN calm.down-PPRT-[-AGR] child.NOM
          'Inga must have calmed the child down.'   *Evidential*

       b. Vaiko   bū-t-a   nuramin-t-o   Ingos.
          Child.GEN be-PPRT-[-AGR] calm.down-PPRT-GEN.M.SG Inga.GEN
          'The child must have been calmed down by Inga.'   *Passive Evidential*

4 Genitive as a realization of dependent case

- Being in the scope of negation is not enough for the GN to be assigned.

- Lithuanian GN necessarily tracks dependent case which in our account has two realizations.

4.1 Genitive tracks Dependent Case

- It is realized in environments where the structural accusative would otherwise surface.

    – When a DP_1 c-commands DP_2 from an A-position, then DP_2 gets dependent case realized as accusative at Vocabulary Insertion (VI) and DP_1 has the unmarked case realized as nominative; see (1a), repeated in (16).

       (16) Jonas   per-skaitė   laišką.
          Jonas.NOM PRV-read.PST.3 letter.ACC
          'Jonas read the letter.'

    – However, when dependent case is c-commanded by negation, its realization at VI is genitive case; see (1b) repeated in (17).

       (17) Jonas   **ne**-per-skaitė   **laiško**/*laišką.
          Jonas.NOM NEG -PRV-read.PST.3 letter. GEN /letter.ACC
          'Jonas didn't read the letter.'   (Arkadiev 2016:38)

- GN applies to accusative objects of to-infinitive clauses

(18) a. Skaity-ti knygas yra gerai.
Read-INF books.`ACC` is good.
'To read books is good.'

b. **Ne**-skaity-ti knygų/*knygas yra blogai
`NEG`-read-INF books.`GEN`/book.ACC is bad.
'Not to read books is bad.'

- GN applies to accusatives objects of ditransitives

(19) a. Tėvas davė vaikui obuolį.
Father.NOM give.PST.3 child.DAT apple.`ACC`
'The father gave the child the apple.'

b. Tėvas **ne**-davė vaikui obuolio/*obuolį.
Father.NOM `NEG`-give.PST.3 child.DAT apple.`GEN`/apple.ACC
'The father didn't give the child the apple.'

- Applies to the accusative theme of dative-experiencer constructions with 'ache' type verbs.

(20) a. Man skauda galvą.
me.DAT ache.PRS.3 head.`ACC`
'I have a headache.'

b. Man **ne**-skauda galvos/*galvą.
me.DAT `NEG`-ache.PRS.3 head.`GEN`/head.ACC
'I don't have a headache.'

- GN applies to the accusative theme argument of impersonals.

  - Presumably, these have an implicit argument.

(21) a. Mane pykina.
Me.`ACC` sick.PRS.3
'I feel sick.'

b. Manęs/*mane **ne**-pykina
Me.`GEN`/me.ACC `NEG`-sick.PRS.3
'I don't feel sick.'

(22) a. Vaiką mėto spuogais.
Child.`ACC` throw.PRS.3 pimples.INST
'The child is covered with pimples.'

b. Vaiko/*vaiką ne-mėto spuogais.
Child.`GEN`/child.ACC `NEG`-throw.PRS.3 pimple.INST
'The child is not covered with pimples.'

4.2 Genitive does not track Unmarked Case

- Genitive is not realized under negation where unmarked case is found,

- GN does not apply to a nominative thematic subject of:

  - transitives

(23) Jonas/*Jono **ne**-per-skaitė laiško.
Jonas.NOM/Jonas.GEN NEG -PRV-read.PST.3 letter.GEN
'Jonas didn't read the letter.'

  – unergatives

(24) Jonas/*Jono **ne**-dirba.
Jonas.NOM/Jonas.GEN NEG -work.PRS.3
'Jonas does not work.'

- GN does not apply to a nominative derived subject of:

  – Passives

(25) Laiškas/*laiško **ne**-buvo skaito-m-as.
Letter.NOM/letter.GEN NEG -be.PST.3 read-PRT-NOM.M.SG
'A letter was not being read.'

  – Unaccusatives

(26) Traukinys/*traukinio **ne**-atvažuoja.
train.NOM/train.GEN NEG -arrive.PRS.3
'The train doesn't arrive.'

- GN does not apply to the nominative theme of dative experiencer constructions with 'like' class verbs.

(27) a. Man patinka muzika.
me.DAT like.PRS.3 music.NOM
'I like music.'

  b. Man **ne**-patinka muzika/*muzikos.
me.DAT NEG -like.PRS.3 music.NOM/music.GEN
'I don't like music.'

- GN does not apply to nominative objects of evidential constructions with a evidential genitive subject.

(28) a. Ingos nuramin-t-a vaikas.
Inga.GEN calm.down-PPRT-[-AGR-] child.NOM
'Inga must have calmed the child down.'

  b. Ingos **ne**-nuraminta vaikas/*vaiko
Inga.GEN NEG -calm.down-PPRT-[-AGR-] child.NOM/child.GEN
'Inga must have not calmed the child down.'

4.3 Genitive does not track non-structural case

- GN cannot track non-structural case, e.g., dative objects of monotransitives and ditransitives

(29) a. Jonas tarvano atėjūnams.
Jonas.NOM serve.PST.3 invaders.DAT
'Jonas served the invaders.'

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b. Jonas   **ne**-tarnavo   **atėjūnams**/*atėjūnų
Jonas.NOM $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$-serve.PST.3 invaders.$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$/invaders.GEN
'Jonas didn't serve the invaders.'

(30) a. Tėvas   davė   vaikui   obuolį.
Father.NOM give.PST.3 child.$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$ apple.ACC
'The father gave the child the apple.'

b. Tėvas   **ne**-davė   **vaikui**/*vaiko   obuolio.
Father.NOM $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$-give.PST.3 child.$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$/child.GEN apple.GEN
'The father didn't give the child the apple.'

- GN does not apply to quirky subjects of 'lack' class verbs

(31) a. Man   trūksta   pinigų.
me.$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$ lack.PRS.3 money.GEN
'I lack money.'

b. Man/*manęs   **ne**-trūksta   pinigų.
me.$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$/me.GEN $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$-lack.PRS.3 money.GEN
'I don't lack money.'

4.4   GN does not track adjuncts

- The pronoun *kas/kiekvieną* 'every/each' takes accusative temporal noun DP and does not allow GN.

(32) a. Jis   ateina   kiekvieną dieną.
He.NOM come.PRS.3 every.ACC day.ACC
'He comes every day.'

b. Jis   **ne**-ateina   kiekvieną   dieną/*kiekvienos   dienos.
He.NOM $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$-come.PRS.3 every.$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$ day.$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$/every.GEN day.GEN
'He does not come every day.'

4.5   Summary

- GN tracks Dependent Case.

- GN does not track:

  - Unmarked Case: nominative subjects and nominative objects
  - Non-Structural Case: inherent and quirky datives

- GN cannot apply to NOM objects, but it affects ACC objects suggesting that it really tracks case rather than a grammatical function.
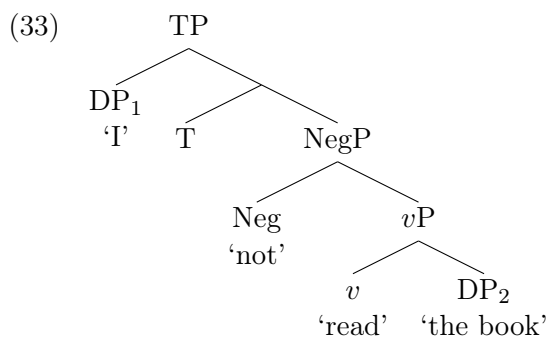
- We summarize our findings in Table 1

	Environment	GN
Dependent Case	ACC object of transitives	✓
	ACC object of to-infinitive	✓
	ACC object of ditransitives	✓
	ACC object of impersonals	✓
	ACC object of 'ache'-class verbs	✓
Unmarked Case	NOM subject of transitives	*
	NOM subject of unergatives	*
	NOM subject of unaccusatives	*
	NOM subject of passives	*
	NOM theme of 'like'-class verbs	*
	NOM object of evidentials	*
Non-Structural Case	DAT object of monotransitives	*
	DAT object of ditransitives	*
	DAT quirky subject of 'lack'-class verbs	*

Table 1: Summary of what type of case GN tracks

5 Realizing structural case as accusative and genitive

5.1 Analysis

- We argue that structural case, [STR], is either assigned in syntax (as well as non-structural case) or determined at Spell-Out

  - Calculation of feature valuation and case assignment via Agree does not take place until Spell-Out (Sigurðsson 2017, Sigurðsson et al. 2018)

- For Lithuanian, the syntax of 'I read the book' vs. 'I did not read the book' is identical with respect to the case features

  - There is no difference between the case features on these arguments at Spell-Out — they are all marked with [STR]

- It isn't until at the PF branch where [STR] gets interpreted, first as unmarked or dependent case, then finally as nominative, accusative, genitive

- [STR] is translated into unmarked case and dependent case on a disjunctive hierarchy (Marantz 1991) in PF

(33)

```
                TP
              /    \
         DP₁        \
         'I'    T    NegP
                   /      \
                Neg        vP
               'not'      /   \
                         v     DP₂
                      'read'  'the book'
```

- [STR] on DP$_2$ is mapped to dependent case, [DEP], at the Morphological Component (on the PF branch), if DP$_1$, that also bears [STR], is visible to DP$_2$ and DP$_1$ c-commands DP$_2$ (cf. Wood 2011). Otherwise DP$_2$ is mapped to unmarked case, [UNM].

- These case features are in turn realized according to the elsewhere principle, [UNM] as nominative and [DEP] as genitive (34a) or accusative (34b).

(34)   a. **Rule 1** DP$_{[DEP]}$ $\rightarrow$ DP$_{[GEN]}$ / Neg ___
       b. **Rule 2** DP$_{[DEP]}$ $\rightarrow$ DP$_{[ACC]}$ / elsewhere

5.2   Boundaries of GN

- Crucially, the determination of GN is not **at vP or VoiceP boundary**, but rather a finite *that*-clause CP boundary.

- The infinitive complement of the matrix clause that includes negation is affected by GN (long-distance GN), see (35), suggesting that the case dependency is the finite CP.

    (35)   Tėv-ai   ne-moko   vaik-ų/*vaik-us   dažy-ti   tvor-os/?tvor-ą
           fathers.NOM $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$-teach.PRS.3 children-$\boxed{\text{GEN}}$/*children.ACC paint-INF fence-$\boxed{\text{GEN}}$/?fence-ACC
           'Parents do not teach the children to paint the fence.'   (Arkadiev 2016:39)

- (36) shows that case cannot be determined across finite *that*-clause CP-boundaries.

    (36)   Jonas   ne-sakė   kad vaikai   dažė tvorą/*tvoros
           Jonas.NOM $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$-said that children.NOM paint fence.$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$/GEN
           'Jonas didn't say that children painted the fence.'

- The preposition *į* 'to' assigns accusative case to its complement. GN cannot overwrite the accusative complement.

    (37)   Jonas   **ne**-beldė   į duris/*durų
           Jonas.NOM $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$-knock.PST.3 to door.$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$/door.GEN
           'Jonas didn't knock on the door.'

- Genitive of negation cannot be transmitted to a full relative clauses, but it can be transmitted to a reduced relative clause

    (38)   Aš   ne-sutikau merginos/merginą, kuri pjovė žolę.
           I.NOM NEG-met   girl.GEN/girl.ACC   that cut   grass.ACC.
           'I haven't met a girl that was cutting a grass.'

    (39)   Aš   ne-sutikau merginos/*merginą pjaunančios žolės/?žolę.
           I.NOM NEG-met   girl.GEN/girl.ACC   cutting   grass.GEN/grass.ACC
           'I haven't met a girl cutting the grass.'

6 Implications

- We make a clear distinction between unmarked and dependent case, on the one hand, and their realization, on the other (as nom, acc, etc.).

- On our approach, GN in Lithuanian is a realization of dependent case.

- Our analysis predicts that we should find more than one realization of unmarked or dependent case in special environments cross-linguistically:

  - Marantz (1991) argues that the genitive case inside a DP is the realization of unmarked case.
  - Baker (2015) argues for an account of Finnish partitive as unmarked case.
  - Greek dative and genitive case objects have also been argued to qualify as dependent cases (Anagnostopoulou and Sevdali 2018).

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