Datives and Ditransitives in Lithuanian

Milena Šereikaitė
Yale University
milena.sereikait@yale.edu
sereikaite.com
Ditransitives across languages and frameworks

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Today

- This talk provides an overview of Lithuanian ditransitive predicates and examines the nature of dative case assignment.[1]

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[1] Some of the facts presented here come from my joint work with Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Marcel Pitteroff (see Sigurðsson et al. 2018), and my dissertation (see Šereikaitė 2020).

Today

- In this talk, I will contrast two types of ditransitives:

Two Groups of Ditransitives

- ditransitives with IOs (indirect objects) with **a non-structural inert dative (term from McGinnis 1998)**

    (1) Tėv-as   dav-ė   vaik-ui   obuol-į.
        father-NOM give-PST.3 child-DAT apple-ACC
        'The father gave the child an apple.'

- ditransitives with IOs with **a structural accusative case**

    (2) Aukl-ė   apav-ė   mergait-ę šilt-ais   batuk-ais.
        nanny-NOM put.on-PST.3 girl-ACC warm-INS shoes-INS
   'The nanny put warm shoes on the girl.'

- Ditransitives can have at least two distinct types of Applicative Phrases:[2]
    - The applied argument can be assigned **a non-structural dative** by an Appl head along with a θ-role.
    - The applied argument in the ApplP can receive **a structural case** from v/Voice.

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[2]See Šereikaitė and Wood (2020) as well as Wood's (2021) talk on ditransitives and nominalizations in Icelandic for this observation.

Today

- I show that Lithuanian has:

  (3)   Two Non-structural Datives

       Quirky Dative Subject   Inert Dative of IOs
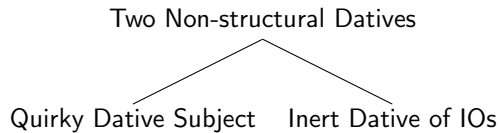
➡ Some languages allow only quirky datives, while others allow only inert datives.

➡ Some languages allow both: Albanian and Georgian (see McGinnis 1998), Choctaw (see Tyler 2020), etc.

Today

- Ditransitives like *give* have an inert ApplP with an IO assigned a non-structural case, which:
  - is not visible for A-movement in the passive (**The IO can never be a subject!**)
  - does not block A-movement of the theme.

(4) Tėv-as   dav-ė   vaik-ui   obuol-į.
     father-NOM give-PST.3 child-DAT apple-ACC
   'The father gave the child an apple.'

(5)
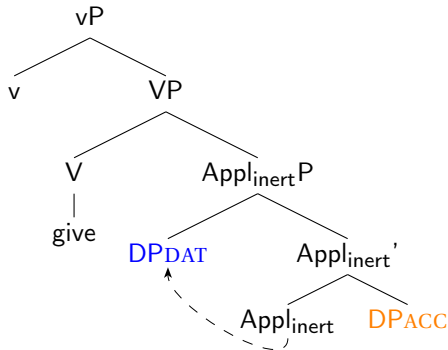
Today

- *Lack*-class predicates have **a dative quirky subject** which is visible for A-movement.[3]
- I will show that this case:
  - is obligatorily assigned just like **an inherent case**
  - can be optionally overwritten by nominative, and thus it also patterns like **a structural case**.

(6) Jon-ui   pritrūk-o   pinig-ų.
     Jonas-DAT run.short-PRS.3 money-GEN

     'Jonas ran short of money.'

(7)

_____
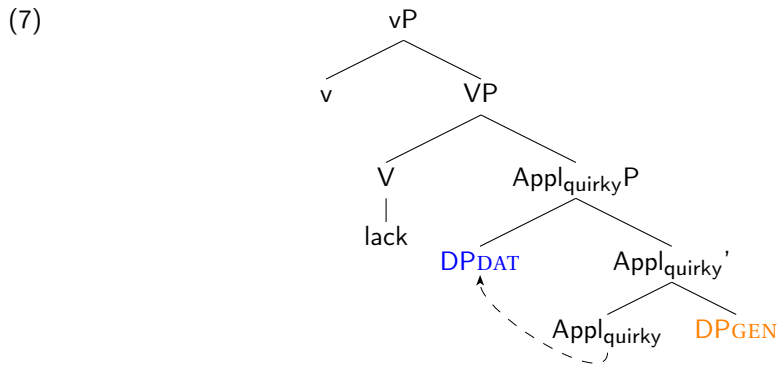
[3]Zaenen et al. 1985; Fanselow 2002; Pankau 2016, etc.

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Two groups of ditransitive predicates

- I classify Lithuanian ditransitives according to the type of case an indirect object is assigned.

Types of ditransitives in Lithuanian

- Group 1: an indirect object is marked with dative, which is a type of non-structural case.

- Group 2: an indirect object is marked with a structural case, which is accusative.

Group 1

- Lithuanian has a number of ditransitive predicates. Verbs like 'give' take a dative indirect object (IO) and an accusative direct object (DO).

(8) Tėv-as   dav-ė   vaik-ui   obuol-į.
     father-NOM give-PST.3 child-DAT   apple-ACC
     'The father gave the child an apple.'

Group 1: NOM-DAT-ACC

- *atleisti* - 'to forgive', *duoti* - 'to give', *paaiškinti* - 'to explain', *padovanoti* - 'to give as a gift', *parduoti* - 'to sell', *paskolinti* - 'to lend', *pavesti* - 'to entrust', *pristatyti* - 'to deliver', *siųsti* - 'to send', *teikti* 'to give/render', *užminti* 'to ask a riddle'

- Lithuanian lacks prepositions that assign dative case.[4]

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[4]With an exception of speakers from the East part of Lithuania who allow the preposition *prie* 'near' to appear with a dative complement (pc. Jurgis Pakerys)

Group 2

- Verbs like *mokinti* 'to teach' can also be ditransitive. The IO is accusative and the DO is marked with genitive.[5]

(9) Iev-a   mok-ė   užsienieči-us   lietuvių   kalb-os.
    Ieva-NOM teach-PST.3 foreigners-ACC Lithuanian language-GEN
    'Ieva taught the foreigners Lithuanian.'

- In some cases, the accusative IO can also be followed by the instrumental DO.

(10) Aukl-ė   apav-ė   mergait-ę šilt-ais   batuk-ais.
     nanny-NOM put.on-PST.3 girl-ACC warm-INS shoes-INS
     'The nanny put warm shoes on the girl.'

Group 2: NOM-ACC-INS or NOM-ACC-GEN

- *apkaltinti* 'to blame', *nudžiauti* 'to hang up (for drying)', *apauti* 'to put on (smb's) shoes/boots (for smb)', *aprengti* 'to dress', *uždengti* - 'to cover'
- *mokinti* - 'to teach', *pakviesti* - 'to invite', *prašyti* - 'to ask', *klausti* - 'to ask'

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[5] Note that 'teach' can also be transitive and take either an IO or a DO.

Passivization

- Group 1 : the dative IO cannot advance to nominative in the passive, thus it does not pattern like a DP with a structural case.[6]
- The theme (DO) becomes a grammatical subject. **No symmetric passives!**

(11) a. Tėv-as   dav-ė   vaik-ui   obuol-į.
         father-NOM give-PST.3 child-$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$ apple-ACC

         'The father gave the child an apple.'   (Ambrazas et al. 1997:279)

      b. *Vaik-as   buv-o   tėv-o   duo-t-as   obuol-į.
         child-$\boxed{\text{NOM}}$ be-PST.3 father-GEN give-PASS.PTCP-NOM apple-ACC

         'The child was given an apple by the father.'

      c. Vaik-ui   buv-o   tėv-o   duo-t-as   obuol-ys.
         child-$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$ be-PST.3 father-GEN give-PASS.PTCP-NOM apple-NOM

         'The child was given an apple by the father.'   (Sigurðsson et al. 2018:1)

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[6]Sigurðsson et al. 2018; Šereikaitė 2020, also see Woolford 2006 for passives and non-structural case.

Passivization

- **Group 2**: the accusative IO must advance to nominative in the passive, thus it patterns like a DP with a structural case.
- It is not possible for the accusative IO to be retained (examples not included).[7]

(12) a. Aukl-ė   apav-ė   mergait-ę šilt-ais   batuk-ais.
          nanny-NOM put.on-PST.3 girl-$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$ warm-INS shoes-$\boxed{\text{INS}}$
          'The nanny put warm shoes on the girl.'

     b. Mergait-ė buv-o   apau-t-a   aukl-ės   šilt-ais   batuk-ais.
          girl-$\boxed{\text{NOM}}$ be-PST.3 put.on-PASS.PTCP-NOM nanny-GEN warm-INS shoes-$\boxed{\text{INS}}$
          'The girl was put on warm shoes by the nanny.'

(13) a. Iev-a   mok-ė   užsienieči-us lietuvių   kalb-os.
          Ieva-NOM teach-PST.3 foreigners-$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$ Lithuanian language-$\boxed{\text{GEN}}$
          'Ieva taught the foreigners Lithuanian.'

     b. Užsienieči-ai buv-o   moko-m-i   Iev-os   lietuvių   kalb-os.
          foreigners-$\boxed{\text{NOM}}$ be-PST.3 teach-PASS.PTCP-NOM Ieva-GEN Lithuanian language-$\boxed{\text{GEN}}$
          'The foreigners were taught Lithuanian by Ieva.'

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[7] It is not possible to form impersonal passives with these predicates. However, impersonal passives are attested in the language (see Šereikaitė 2020).

Nominalizations

- A DP, which would normally be assigned structural accusative in the active, becomes genitive and occurs pre-nominally in nominalizations.[8]
- Šereikaitė 2020 shows that examples like (14) are complex event nominalizations (in the sense of Alexiadou and Grimshaw 2008) which have a *v*P layer.

  (14) a. Petr-as   aug-in-o   triuši-us.
            Petras-NOM grow-CAUS-PST.3 rabbits-ACC
            'Petras was growing rabbits.'

        b. Petr-o   triuši-ų   **aug-in-im-as**
            Petras-GEN rabbits-GEN grow-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM
            (i) 'Petras' growing of rabbits', (ii) 'growing of Petras' rabbits'   (Pakerys 2006:129)

- In nominalizations, the inherent case is retained and occurs post-nominally.

  (15) a. Marij-a   abejoj-o   pergal-e.
            Marija-NOM doubt-PST.3 victory-INS
            'Marija was doubting the victory'

        b. Marij-os   **abejoj-im-as**   pergal-e
            Marija-GEN doubting-NMLZ-NOM victory-INS
            'Marija's doubting of victory'

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[8]See Pakerys 2006; Vladarskienė 2010; Zaika 2016; Anderson 2015; Šereikaitė 2020.

Nominalizations

- Both internal arguments are retained in nominalizations with ditransitives.
- Group 1: The dative of the applied argument is retained and occurs post-nominally, which is expected if the dative is a non-structural case.
- The theme argument (DO) raises to a pre-nominal position and receives genitive case.

  (16) Marij-a   dav-ė   policij-ai   melagingus parodym-us.
        Marija-NOM give-PST.3 police- DAT false   evidence- ACC
        'Marija gave police false evidence.'

  (17) [Marij-os   melagingų parodym-ų   **dav-im-as**   policij-ai]   geruoju ne-si-baig-ė.
        Marija-GEN false   evidence- GEN give-NMLZ-NOM police- DAT well   NEG-RFL-end-PST.3
        'Marija's giving of false evidence to police didn't end up well.'

Nominalizations

- Group 2: both internal arguments are also retained, but they show a different pattern with respect to case.
- The applied argument raises to a pre-nominal position and becomes genitive, thus behaves like a DP with a structural case.
- The genitive theme argument remains in a post-nominal position: it is assigned a non-structural case.[9]

   (18) a. Iev-a   mok-ė   užsienieči-us   lietuvių   kalb-os.
             Ieva-NOM teach-PST.3 foreigners-ACC Lithuanian language-GEN
             'Ieva taught the foreigners Lithuanian.'

         b. Iev-os   neapdairus užsienieči-ų   **mok-ym-as**   lietuvių   kalb-os
             Ieva-GEN reckless   foreigners-GEN teach-NMLZ-NOM.SG Lithuanian language-GEN
             'Ieva's reckless teaching of Lithuanian to foreigners'

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[9]This examples is adapted from Šereikaitė & Wood 2020.

Summary

|	dative IO	accusative IO
Advances to NOM in passives	*	✓
Undergoes GEN of negation	*	✓
Advances to GEN in nominalizations	*	✓

Table: Two types of IOs

|	Internal arguments	Type of Case
Group 1	DAT-ACC	IO is marked with a non-structural case
Group 2	ACC-GEN	IO is marked with a structural case
	ACC-INS	

Table: Types of Ditransitives in Lithuanian

Summary

- The IO, which is an applied argument, receives a non-structural dative from an ApplP along with a theta-role.
- The IO receives a structural accusative case from v/Voice, and thus behaves like a direct object in terms of case assignment while being an applied argument at the same time.
- Both ApplPs are low as they don't not allow symmetric passives.

(19) Group 1 'give'
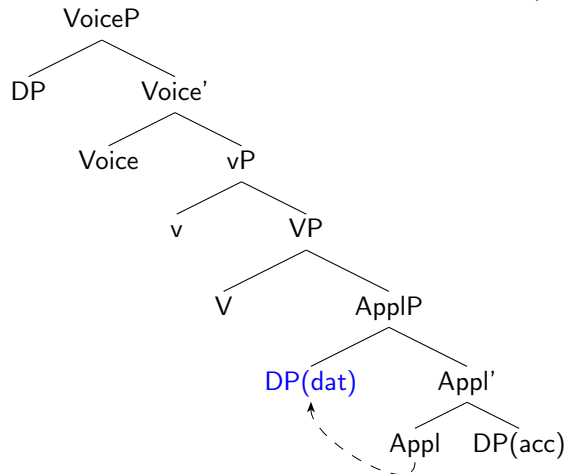
(20) Group 2 'teach'
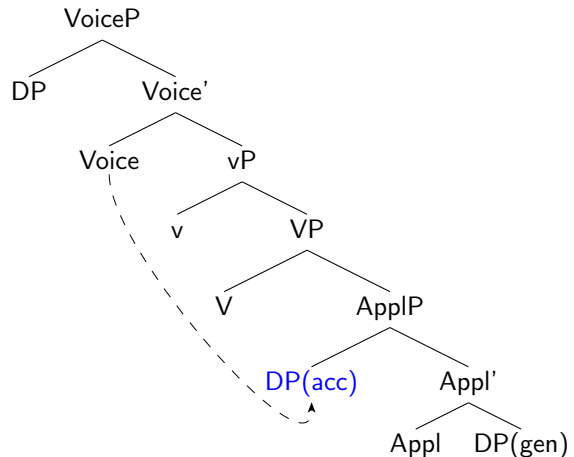
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Different Types of Datives

Inert Dative vs. Quirky Dative

Inert vs. Quirky dative

- In this section, I compare the dative IO of 'give' with the possessor dative of 'lack'-class predicates.

  (21) Tėv-as   dav-ė   vaik-ui   obuol-į.
        father-NOM give-PST.3 child-DAT apple-ACC
        'The father gave the child an apple.'

  (22) a. Mums   pritrūk-o   pinig-ų.
            we.DAT run.short-PST.3 money-GEN
            'We ran short of money.'

       b. Mes   pritrūk-o-me   pinig-ų.
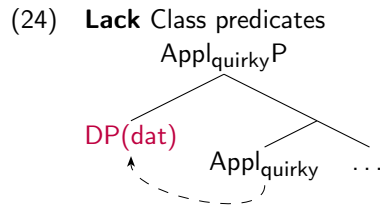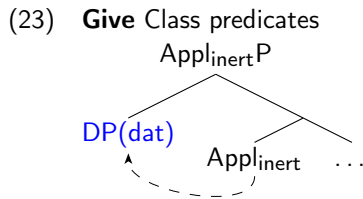   we.NOM run.short-PST-1PL money-GEN
            'We ran short of money.'

'Lack' class DAT-GEN

- *pritrūkti* - 'to run short of', *reikėti* - 'to need', *užtekti* - 'to have enough', *pakakti* - 'to suffice', *stigti* - 'to be short of', *trūkti* - 'to lack', etc.

Different Types of Datives

- These are two distinct datives assigned by two distinct applicative heads.

(23) **Give** Class predicates

Appl$_{inert}$P

DP(dat)　　Appl$_{inert}$　　. . .

(24) **Lack** Class predicates

Appl$_{quirky}$P

DP(dat)　　Appl$_{quirky}$　　. . .

Non-structural case is licensed thematically e.g., goal arguments are often marked with dative.[10] Two types of non-structural datives:

- Inert case - is syntactically **invisible** for A-movement and retained in the derivation
  → a dative indirect object

- Quirky case - is syntactically **visible** for A-movement and can be overwritten by nominative
  → a dative subject of 'lack' class predicates

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[10]There are at least two additional datives found in Lithuanian: i) a structural dative assigned to a grammatical subject e.g., PRO; ii) a marked structural dative assigned to a direct object of *help*-class predicates (see Šereikaitė 2020).

Binding: Subjecthood Test

- The nominative grammatical subject binds the subject-oriented reflexive anaphor *savo*.

(25) Grammatical Subject

Domantas$_i$ rūšiavo tarnautojus pagal **savo**$_i$ / *jo$_i$ įsitikinimus.
Domantas.NOM divided employees.ACC according.to self.GEN / *his.GEN beliefs

'Domantas$_i$ divided employees according to his$_i$ own beliefs.'

- The grammatical object binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *jų*.

(26) Grammatical Object

Domantas rūšiavo **tarnautojus**$_i$ pagal **jų**$_i$ / *savo$_i$ įsitikinimus.
Domantas divided employees.ACC according.to their.GEN / *self.GEN beliefs

'Domantas divided employees$_i$ according to their$_i$ beliefs.' (Timberlake 1982)

Binding: Inert Dative

- In the passive of ditransitives, the dative object does not advance to subject position.
- It binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *jos* and behaves like an object.[11] The object in (27b) has undergone A-bar movement.

(27) Group 1 Ditransitives

    a. Tėv-as   dav-ė   **motin-ai**$_i$ vaik-ą   **jos**$_i$/*sav-o$_i$ namuose.
        father-NOM give-PST.3 mother-DAT child-ACC her.GEN/self-GEN house

        'The father gave the mother$_i$ the child in her$_i$ house.'

    b. **Motin-ai**$_i$ buv-o duo-t-as   vaik-as   **jos**$_i$/*sav-o$_i$ namuose.
        mother-DAT be-PST.3 give-PASS.PTCP-NOM child-NOM her.GEN/self-GEN house

        'The mother$_i$ was given the child in her$_i$ house.'   (Sigurðsson et al. 2018:5)

> ➡ The dative is i) retained i.e., does not advance to nominative; ii) is invisible for A-movement.
> ➡ Thus, it behaves like inert case (see McGinnis 1998).

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[11]Sigurðsson et al. 2018; Šereikaitė 2020

Binding: Quirky Dative

- The dative quirky subject of 'lack' class predicates binds the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*.
- The quirky dative also alternates with nominative as in (29).[12]

  Quirky Dative Subject

(28) **Jon-ui**$_i$ pritrūk-o   pinig-ų   **sav-o**$_i$ reikm-ėms.
      Jonas-$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$ run.short-PRS.3 money-GEN self-GEN needs-DAT

      'Jonas$_i$ ran short of money for his$_i$ own needs.'

(29) Mes   pritrūk-o-me   pinig-ų.
      we.$\boxed{\text{NOM}}$ run.short-PST-1PL money-GEN

      'We ran short of money.'

➡ Quirky dative - is syntactically **visible** for A-movement (unlike the inert dative).

➡ Using evidence from the preposition *po*, I show that the quirky dative can be overwritten by nominative.

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[12]There is no semantic difference between (28) and (29). However, dative is preferred over nominative.

Preposition *Po*

- The preposition *po* roughly means 'each'. It imposes a distributive reading.[13]

(30) a. Jie   su-valg-ė   obuol-į.
      they.NOM PFV-eat-PST.3 apple-ACC

      'They ate an apple.'

   b. Jie   su-valg-ė   po   obuol-į.
      they.NOM PFV-eat-PST.3 DISTR apple-ACC

      'They ate an apple each.'   (Anderson 2015:305)

(31) a. Du lingvist-ai   peržiūrėj-o   kiekvien-ą tekst-ą.
      two linguists- NOM review-PST.3 every-ACC text-ACC

      'Two linguists reviewed every text.'

   b. Kiekvien-ą tekst-ą peržiūrėj-o po   du lingvist-us/*du   lingvist-ai.
      every-ACC text-ACC review-PST.3 DISTR two linguists- ACC /two linguists-NOM

      'A (different) pair of two linguists reviewed every text.'[14]

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[13] The Russian preposition *po* exhibits similar characteristics to the Lithuanian *po*; see Pesetsky 1982; Borik 1995; Franks 1995; Harves 2003; Bailyn 2012.

[14] https://www.researchgate.net Accessed 03-04-2019

Preposition *Po*

- The preposition *po* can be applied to any argument which would normally be assigned structural case.
- The complement of the preposition is always assigned accusative case.

	po + DP$_{ACC}$
thematic subject of transitives	✓
thematic subject of unergatives	✓
grammatical subject of unaccusatives	✓
grammatical subject of passives	✓
accusative grammatical object	✓
nominative grammatical object	✓

Table: The list of DPs compatible with the preposition *po*

Preposition *Po*

- DPs with inherent case cannot be complements of *po*.[15] The inert dative needs to be obligatorily assigned, but its assignment is blocked by *po*.

  Group 1 Ditransitives

  (32) *Jon-as   dav-ė   po   vaik-ą/vaik-ui   obuol-į.
       Jonas-NOM give-PST.3 DISTR child-ACC /child-DAT apple-ACC

  'Jonas gave each child an apple.'   (Sigurðsson et al. 2018:8)

- If the *lack*-class construction were ambiguous between two structures i.e., one with a dative DP possessor and another one with a nominative DP possessor, then we would expect it to be compatible with *po*.

  'Lack-class'

  (33) *Kuprin-ės truk-o   po   vaik-ą/vaik-ui.
       bag-GEN   lack-PST.3 DISTR child-ACC /child-DAT

  'Each child lacked a bag.'

- The dative of *lack*-class predicates is not possible with *po*, thus it behaves like an inherent case in that it needs to be assigned obligatorily. But it can also be overwritten by nominative.

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[15] Anderson 2013, 2015; Sigurðsson et al. 2018; Šereikaitė 2020

Summary

- The IO is assigned a non-structural case. Specifically, it is assigned an inert dative case. The dative IO is not visible for A-movement and it does not block A-movement of the theme in the passive.
- The quirky dative is a grammatical subject. It is visible for A-movement.

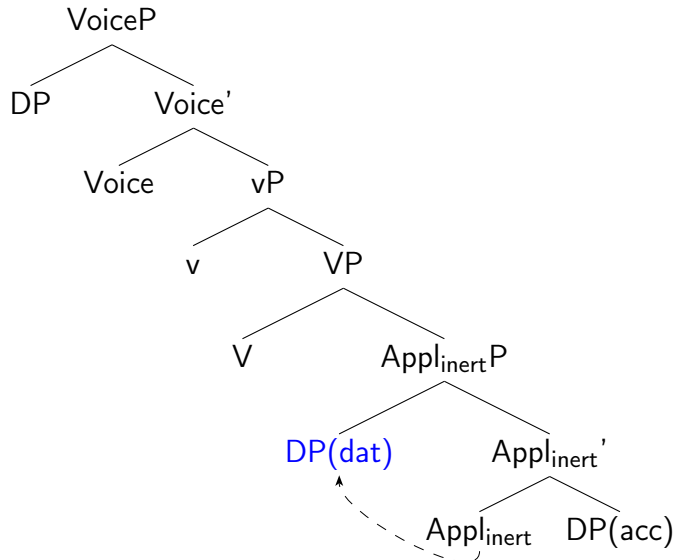|	dative IO	quirky dative subject
Advances to NOM	*	✓
Binds the subject-oriented anaphor	*	✓
Can become a relativized element	*	%

Table: Two types of datives

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Passives of Ditransitives

- Recall that the IO, which is an applied argument, receives non-structural dative from an ApplP.
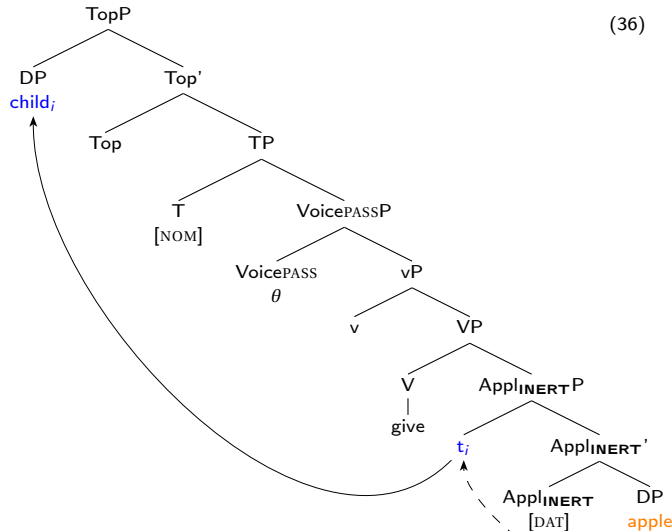
  (34) Group 1 'give'

Passives of Ditransitives

- When passivized, the external argument is suppressed, the dative IO does not advance to nominative, it retains its case.
- The theme argument is assigned nominative by T. The dative IO undergoes A'-movement to SpecTopP.[16] The theme receives nominative from T and stays in situ.

(35)

(36) Vaik-ui buv-o duo-t-as obuol-ys.
child-DAT be-PST.3 give-PTCP-NOM apple-NOM
'The child was given an apple.'

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[16] I assume that TopP is a position for discourse 'old information' (see Šereikaitė 2020).

Quirky Datives

- 'Lack' class predicates are 'double unaccusatives': they cannot be passivized or form agent nominals.
- The low quirky Appl head assigns a quirky dative case to the applied argument in SpecApplP. This case is licensed thematically, just like an inherent case, but DPs marked with this case are visible for A-movement.
- This case can be optionally overwritten by nominative.[17]

(37)
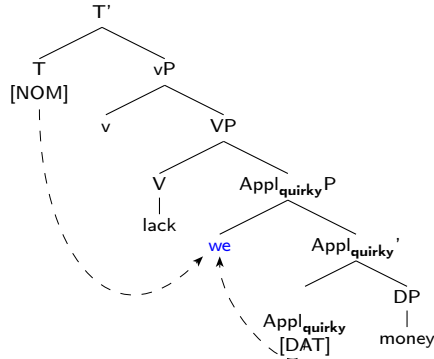
(38) Mums pritrūk-o pinig-ų.
us.$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$ run.short-PRS.3 money-GEN
'We ran short of money.'

(39) Mes pritrūk-o-me pinig-ų.
we.$\boxed{\text{NOM}}$ run.short-PST-1SG money-GEN
'We ran short of money.'

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[17]For case stacking/overwriting accounts see Pesetsky 2013; Richards 2013.

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Conclusion

- At least two types of IOs can be found in Lithuanian ditransitives: 1) IOs with a structural case and 2) IOs with an inherent inert case.
- On the surface, dative DPs look the same, but careful investigation reveals that at least two types of datives can be found in Lithuanian: quirky vs. inert.
- Applied dative arguments in the ApplP can be assigned distinct non-structural cases which interact with A-movement in intricate ways.

THANK YOU!

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Table of Contents

Reduced Relative clauses: inherent dative

- In reduced relative clauses, the relativized element can only occur in a subject position. If XP can be relativized in reduced relatives, then that XP is a subject.[18] This restriction holds true for Lithuanian.

(40) [Tėv-ai$_i$,   [t$_i$ duod-a-nt-ys   vaik-ams   klaun-us]],   šypsoj-o-si.
parents-NOM.M.PL   give-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.PL children-DAT.M.PL clowns-ACC.M.PL] smile-PST.3-RFL.
'Parents$_i$ [t$_i$ giving children toy clowns] were smiling.'

(41) Jon-as   padėj-o   [vaik-ams$_i$,   *[tėv-ai   duod-a-nt-iems   t$_i$ klaun-us]].
Jonas-NOM help-PST.3 children-DAT.M.PL [parents-NOM.M.PL give-PRS-ACT.PTCP-DAT.M.PL   clowns-ACC.M.PL]
Intended 'Jonas helped children$_i$ [parents giving t$_i$ toy clowns].'

(42) Jon-as   mat-ė   [klaun-us$_i$,   *[tėv-ai   duod-a-nči-us   vaik-ams   t$_i$]].
Jonas-NOM see-PST.3 clowns-ACC.M.PL parents-NOM.M.PL give-PRS-ACT.PTCP-ACC.M.PL children-DAT.M.PL
Intended 'Jonas saw toy clowns$_i$ [parents giving children t$_i$].'

- The dative IO cannot become a relativized element, and thus does not function like a subject.

---
[18]See Poole (2015), also see Bhatt (2008) for a discussion of these clauses.

Reduced Relative clauses: quirky dative

- On the other hand, the quirky dative subject can function like a relativized element for some speakers. The following examples are attested instances. Nevertheless, my consultants judged these as ungrammatical.

(43) %Finansavim-as yra   didel-is pasirinkim-as versl-ui$_i$,   [t$_i$ reiki-a-nči-am   apyvartini-o
      funding-NOM   be.PRS.3 big-NOM choice-NOM   business-DAT   need-PRS-ACT.PTCP-DAT.M.SG working-GEN
      kapital-o   greitai].
      capital-GEN quickly

      'Funding is an important choice for business$_i$ [t$_i$ needing working capital quickly].'[19]

(44) %Šitie   kišenpinig-iai   gali bū-ti pagrindini-u šaltini-u   finansavimo nekilnojamojo turto
      these.NOM pocket.money-NOM can be-INF main-INS   source-INS funding   real   estate
      pirkėj-ams$_i$, [t$_i$ reiki-a-nt-iems   kapital-o   trumpalaikiu pagrindu].
      buyers-DAT   need-PRS-ACT.PTCP-DAT.M.PL capital-GEN temporary   basis

      'This allowance can be the main source for the buyers$_i$ of real estate [t$_i$ needing capital on a short-term basis].'[20]
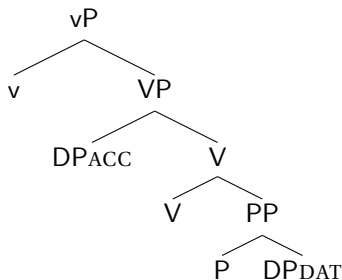
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[19] http://www.paskolospigiau.lt/kai-bankai-sako-kad-jokios-pajamos-nesibazavo-kompanijos-sako-taip/ Accessed on 02-06-2020.
[20] http://www.mulenruzas.lt/kietas-pinigu-skolintojas-gali-buti-teisus-jums/ Accessed on 02-06-2020.

Two structures

- It has been proposed that ditransitive predicates are associated with two structures.[21]
- In Russian, two types of syntactic hierarchies between the two internal arguments are possible: IO>DO and DO>IO.
- Boneh and Nash 2017 propose that Russian ditransitives have two underlying structures:

(45) DO>IO

```
        vP
       /  \
      v    VP
          /  \
     DPACC    V
             /  \
            V    PP
                /  \
               P   DPDAT
```

(46) IO>DO

```
          vP
         /  \
        v   ApplP
           /   \
      DPDAT    Appl'
              /   \
           Appl    VP
                   /‾\
                ...DPACC
```

---
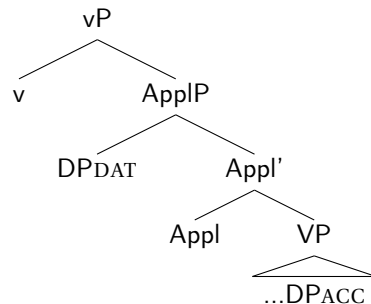
[21]See e.g., Anagnostopoulou 2003; Bruening 2010.

Two Structures

Group 1

- Lithuanian ditransitive predicates like *duoti* 'give' seem to be associated with two structures.

Word Order

- Two distinct word order patterns can be found with 'give': IO>DO and DO>IO.
- The two readings have distinct definiteness effects.[22]

(47) a. Mergait-ė dav-ė   vaik-ui   obuolį.
       girl-NOM   give-PST.3 child-DAT apple-ACC
       'The girl gave the boy an apple.'

     b. Mergait-ė dav-ė   obuol-į   vaik-ui.
       girl-NOM   give-PST.3 apple-ACC child-DAT
       'The girl gave the apple to a/(the) boy.'   (Mathiassen 1996:242)

---

[22] Generally, indefinite nominals tend to occur in a sentence-final position in Lithuanian (see Gillon and Armoskaite 2015).

Word Order

- Nevertheless, if an IO is a pronoun, then it often precedes a verb. The preverbal position is associated with old information.[23]

(48) Mergait-ė jam   dav-ė   obuol-į.
      girl-NOM him.DAT give-PST.3 apple-ACC
      'The girl gave him an apple.'   (Mathiassen 1996:242)

(49) Mergait-ė jam   jį   dav-ė.
      girl-NOM him.DAT he.ACC give-PST.3
      'The girl gave it to him.'   (Mathiassen 1996:242)

---

[23]The same word order effects can be observed with *patikti* 'like'.

(i) Man   patink-a muzik-a.
     me.DAT like-PRS.3 music-NOM
     'I like music.'

(ii) Tu   man   patink-i.
     You.NOM me.DAT like-PRS.2.SG
     'I like you.'

(iii) Man   patink-i   tu.
      me.DAT like-PRS.2.SG you.NOM
      'I like YOU.'

Pronominal Binding

- Facts from pronominal binding suggest that DAT>ACC and ACC>DAT combinations are possible.

(50) DAT>ACC

    a. Aš   davi-au   tėv-ams$_i$ jų$_i$ vaik-us.

        I.NOM give-PST.1SG parents-DAT their.GEN children-ACC

        'I gave the parents$_i$ their$_i$ children.'

    b. Aš   davi-au   jų$_{j/*i}$ vaik-us   tėv-ams$_i$

        I.NOM give-PST.1SG their.GEN children-ACC parents-DAT

        'I gave the parents their$_i$ children.'

(51) ACC>DAT

    a. Aš   davi-au   vaik-us$_i$ jų$_i$ tėv-ams.

        I.NOM give-PST.1SG children-ACC their.GEN parents-DAT

        'I gave the children$_i$ to their$_i$ parents.'

    b. Aš   davi-au   jų$_{j/*i}$ tėv-ams   vaik-us$_i$.

        I.NOM give-PST.1SG their.GEN parents-DAT children-ACC

        'I gave the children to their$_i$ parents.'

Variable Binding

- DAT>ACC and ACC>DAT combinations are possible.

(52) DAT>ACC

    a. Aš   davi-au   kiekvien-ai$_i$ motin-ai   jos$_i$ vaik-ą.
        I.NOM give-PST.1SG every   mother-DAT her.GEN child-ACC

        'I gave every mother$_i$ her$_i$ child.'

    b. Aš   davi-au   jos$_{j/*i}$ vaik-ą   kiekvien-ai$_i$ motin-ai.
        I.NOM give-PST.1SG her.GEN child-ACC every   mother-DAT

        'I gave every mother her$_i$ child.'
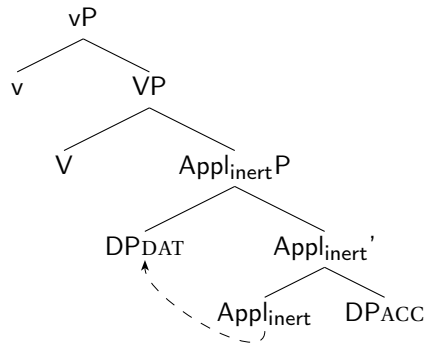
(53) ACC>DAT

    a. Aš   davi-au   kiekvieną$_i$ vaik-ą   jo$_i$ motin-ai.
        I.NOM give-PST.1SG every   child-ACC his.GEN mother.DAT

        'I gave every child$_i$ to his$_i$ mother.'

    b. Aš   davi-au   jo$_{j/*i}$ motin-ai   kiekvien-ą$_i$ vaik-ą.
        I.NOM give-PST.1SG his.GEN mother.DAT every   child-ACC

        'I gave every child to his mother.'

Ditransitives: Two Structures

- I tentatively suggest that Lithuanian, just like Russian, has two types of structures.
- For the IO-DO pattern, the dative IO is introduced as the specifier of an ApplP.[24]
- I assume that Lithuanian ditransitives have low ApplPs since they do not allow symmetric passives.

(54) IO-DO

```
                          vP
                         /  \
                        v    VP
                            /  \
                           V    Appl_inert P
                                /      \
                            DP_DAT    Appl_inert '
                              ↑       /        \
                               \   Appl_inert  DP_ACC
                                ⌐ ⌐ ⌐ ⌐ ⌐
```

---

[24]See Šereikaitė 2020 showing that some Lithuanian constructions can have high applicatives as well.

Genitive of Negation

- When a verb is negated, the grammatical object bearing structural accusative case (55a) appears with genitive case as in (55b).[25]

(55) a. Mam-a   kvieči-a   Vali-ų/*Vali-aus.
      mother-NOM invite-PRS.3 Valius-$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$/Valius-GEN

      'The mother is inviting Valius.'

   b. Mam-a   ne-kvieči-a   Vali-aus/*Vali-ų.
      mother-NOM $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$-invite-PRS.3 Valius-$\boxed{\text{GEN}}$/Valius-ACC

      'The mother is not inviting Valius.'

---

[25]Lithuanian genitive of negation is different from Russian genitive of negation, which can be applied to the theme of unaccusatives (Pesetsky 1982). For additional arguments showing that Lithuanian genitive of negation tracks structural accusative case see Sigurðsson and Šereikaitė 2018. See also Arkadiev 2016 for an overview of Lithuanian genitive of negation.

Genitive of Negation

- Group 1: the dative IO can never become genitive when negation is present. Instead, the accusative theme becomes genitive.

(56) a. Tėv-as   dav-ė   vaik-ui   obuol-į.
          father-NOM give-PST.3 child-$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$ apple-ACC

          'The father gave the child an apple.'

      b. Tėv-as   ne-dav-ė   vaik-ui/*vaik-o   obuoli-o.
          father-NOM $\boxed{\text{NEG}}$-give-PST.3 child-$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$/child-GEN apple-GEN

          'The father didn't give the child an apple.'

Genitive of Negation

- Group 2: the accusative IO can become genitive, and thus it behaves like a DP marked with a structural object case.

(57) a. Aukl-ė   apav-ė   mergait-ę šilt-ais   batuk-ais.
       nanny-NOM put.on-PST.3 girl-ACC warm-INS shoes-INS
       'The nanny put warm shoes on the girl.'

  b. Aukl-ė   ne-apav-ė   mergait-ės/*mergait-ę šilt-ais   batuk-ais.
       nanny-NOM NEG-put.on-PST.3 girl-GEN/girl-ACC   warm-INS shoes-INS
       'The nanny didn't put warm shoes on the girl.'

(58) a. Iev-a   mok-ė   užsienieči-us lietuvių   kalb-os.
       Ieva-NOM teach-PST.3 foreigners-ACC Lithuanian language-GEN
       'Ieva taught the foreigners Lithuanian.'

  b. Iev-a   ne-mok-ė   užsienieči-ų/*užsienieči-us   lietuvių   kalb-os.
       Ieva-NOM NEG-teach-PST.3 foreigners-GEN/foreigners-ACC Lithuanian language-GEN
       'Ieva didn't teach the foreigners Lithuanian.'

Passives of Ditransitives

- When passivized, the external argument is suppressed, the dative IO does not advance to nominative, it retains its case.

- The theme argument is assigned nominative by T and it raises to SpecTP position. The dative IO does not block A-movement.

(59) Theme Passive
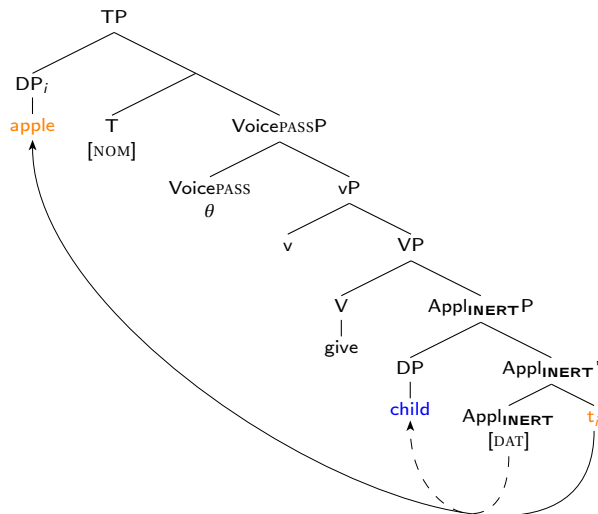
(60) Obuol-ys   buv-o   duo-t-as
apple-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 give-NOM.M.SG
vaik-ui.
child-DAT

'The apple was given to the child.'

Ditransitives with a genitive IO

- Group 2: the genitive IO of ditransitives allows the IO to become a grammatical subject when it is followed by a to-infinitive complement.

(61) Marija   paprašė Jono   palikti   salę.
      Marija-NOM asked   Jonas-GEN leave-INF hall-Eacc

      'Marija asked Jonas to leave the hall.'

(62) Janas   buvo   praprašytas   palikti   salę.
      Jonas-NOM be-Epst.3 ask-PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG leave-INF hall-Eacc

      'Jonas was asked to leave the hall.'