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Non-canonical marking of subjects and objects in Baltic

Peter Arkadieiev

University of Zürich, Slavisches Seminar



**Universität
Zürich**^{UZH}

The Baltic languages

- The branch of Indo-European closest to Slavic
- Three extant languages:
 - Latvian
 - Lithuanian
 - Latgalian
- While Latvian and Lithuanian are state languages, Latgalian is a minority language in Latvia, where it is considered a dialect or a “historical variety” of Latvian



Map by courtesy of Yury Koryakov

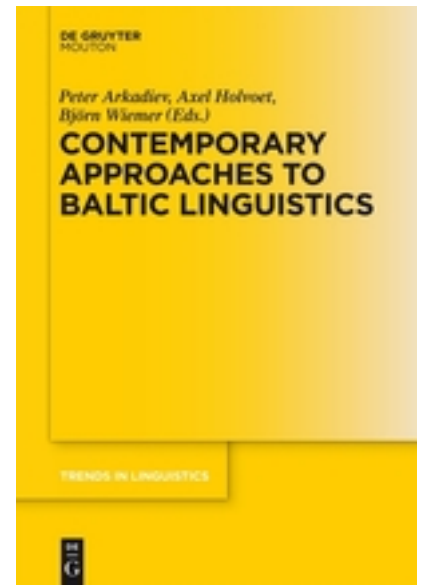
The Baltic languages

- Lithuanian and Latvian have been documented since mid-16th century, Latgalian since mid-18th century.
- The Baltic languages, especially their phonology, morphology and the lexicon, have always been considered of prime importance for Indo-European studies.
- This has resulted in a clear historical-comparative bias in their research at the expense of synchronic and typologically-oriented studies.
- This bias has been overcome only fairly recently, thanks to work of such scholars as Emma Geniušienė, Axel Holvoet, Björn Wiemer, Ilja Seržant and others.

The Baltic languages

- An already somewhat outdated overview:

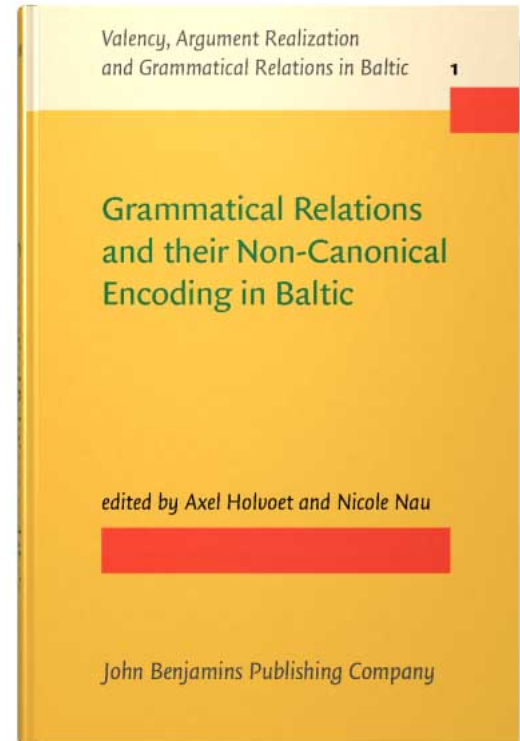
Peter Arkadiev, Axel Holvoet & Björn Wiemer. 2015.
Baltic linguistics: state of the art. In: Peter
Arkadiev, Axel Holvoet & Björn Wiemer (eds.),
Contemporary Approaches to Baltic Linguistics.
Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 1–109.



The Baltic languages

- The book most relevant for today's talk:

Axel Holvoet & Nicole Nau (eds.). 2014.
Grammatical Relations and their Non-Canonical Encoding in Baltic. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.



Case systems

- Morphologically fairly well-behaved “classic” Indo-European “flexive” case paradigms:
 - cumulative expression with number (SG/PL) and gender (M/F);
 - several inflectional classes with counterparts in other IE lgs;
 - largely uniform across nouns, adjectives and pronouns (modulo some class-specific endings).
- Some complications:
 - loss of the Instrumental in Latvian with non-trivial consequences for morphosyntax (Andronov 2001, Holvoet 2010);
 - rise of new locative cases in Lithuanian (e.g. Seržant 2004a,b, Hill 2020);
 - reshaping of declensions in Latgalian (Nau 2011).

Argument marking

- Nominative-accusative alignment.
- The finite verb agrees with the nominative argument in person and number (but in the 3rd person number distinctions are neutralised).
- In periphrastic forms consisting of a finite auxiliary and a participial form of the lexical verb, the latter agrees with the nominative argument in number and gender.

Argument marking

- Lithuanian (constructed)

(1) a. *Aš* *dirb-u*.
1SG.NOM work-PRS.1SG
'I am working.'

b. *Aš* *mat-au* *paukšt-j*.
1SG.NOM see-PRS.1SG bird-ACC.SG
'I see a bird.'

Argument marking

- Lithuanian (constructed)

- (2) a. *Lin-a* *yra* *dirb-us-i*.
Lina-NOM.SG be.PRS.3 work-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
'Lina has worked.'
- b. *Lin-a* *yra* *mači-us-i* *paukšt-j*.
Lina-NOM.SG be.PRS.3 see-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F bird-ACC.SG
'Lina has seen a bird.'

Non-canonical argument marking

- Alongside this straightforward nominative-accusative pattern there exists a considerable number of non-canonical argument-marking constructions, involving both “subjects” (more agent-like participants) and “objects” (more patient-like participants), see e.g. Say 2014 on “A and P loci of non-transitivity”.
- These patterns range from those unique to just one language (e.g. Lithuanian) to those found across the Baltic-Slavic-Finnic area.

Non-canonical argument marking

- Lexically vs. structurally determined non-canonical marking:

- is licensed by particular (semantically-defined) classes of predicates	- potentially occurs with all verbs licensing a particular argument
- potentially occurs with all forms of the predicates that license it	- is licensed by particular verbal forms (e.g. non-finites) and syntactic constructions
- shows few behavioural properties of “canonical” subjects resp. objects	- retains the behavioural properties of the “canonical” subjects resp. objects

Non-canonical argument marking

- Lexically vs. structurally determined non-canonical marking:
 - not a dichotomy, since some constructions (e.g. the Latvian dative, or the Lithuanian subject genitive of negation) show mixed properties;
 - behavioural properties of objects (and often of subjects as well) are hard to evaluate independently (see e.g. Holvoet’s 2013 notion of “diffuse grammatical relations”).

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- Primarily experiencers with predicates denoting cognition, emotion, feelings, pain etc., but not only those.
- A phenomenon well-studied from a typological perspective (e.g. Aikhenvald et al. eds. 2001, Bhaskararao & Subbarao eds. 2004).
- A salient property of the languages of Europe outside the core of SAE (Bossong 1998, Say 2014).
- Recently extensively studied for Baltic (Holvoet 2013, 2015, 2016; Seržant 2015a; Wiemer & Bjarnadóttir 2014).
- NB: non-nominative marking of the subject as a rule implies non-accusative (sometimes nominative) marking of the object.

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- One-place predicates

Lithuanian: Dat

(3) *Ligoni-ui* *pa-gerėj-o.*

patient-DAT.SG PVB-get_better-PST.3

‘The patient has become better’ (Wiemer & Bjarnadóttir 2014: 341)

Acc, cf. the notion of “transitive impersonal” (Malchukov 2008), also with reference to Slavic (Lavine 2010, 2014):

(4) *Šiḡnakt* *man-e* *labai* *deg-in-o.*

this_night 1SG-ACC very burn-CAUS-PST.3

‘This night I felt hot.’ (lit. it burned me) (Wiemer & Bjarnadóttir 2014: 334)

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- Two-place predicates
 - non-nominative A + nominative P (what is the evidence that the latter is not a canonical subject?)
 - non-nominative A + non-nominative P
 - with some predicates, both patterns are attested

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- Dat + Nom

Latvian

(5) *Man* *sāp* *galv-a*.

1SG.DAT hurt.PRS.3 head-NOM.SG

‘I have a headache.’ (Holvoet 2015: 85)

- Dat + Nom vs. Acc

Lithuanian

(6) *Man* *skaud-a* *galv-a / galv-q*.

1SG.DAT hurt-PRS.3 head-NOM.SG/ACC.SG

‘I have a headache.’ (ibid.)

See Seržant (2013) for arguments that Acc is a recent development.

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- Dat + Nom: not only pain verbs

Lithuanian (Holvoet 2013: 265)

(7) a. *Vaik-ams* *patink-a* *ryški-os* *spalv-os*.
child-DAT.PL like-PRS.3 lively-NOM.PL.F colour-NOM.PL
'Children like lively colours.'

b. *Vaik-ams* *bū-tų* *patik-usi-os*
child-DAT.PL be-IRR.3 like-PST.PA-NOM.PL.F
ryški-os *spalv-os*.
lively-NOM.PL.F colour-NOM.PL
'Children would have liked lively colours.'

- NB verb agreement with the Nom argument.

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- Dat + Gen
- Lithuanian

(8) *Jon-ui* *pa-gail-o* *Egl-és.*

Jonas-DAT.SG PVB-pity-PST.3 Egle-GEN.SG

‘Jonas took pity on Eglė.’ (Wiemer & Bjarnadóttir 2014: 307)

With some verbs, Gen of the second argument is arguably related to the partitive Gen discussed below.

(9) *Jolyt-ei* *reiki-a* *param-os.*

Jolyte-DAT.SG need-PRS.3 support-GEN.SG

‘Jolytė needs support.’ (ibid: 315)

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Should all non-accusative second arguments be considered instances of “non-canonical object-marking”?

- Lithuanian:

- (10) a. *padėti vaikams* ‘to help children’ (dative)
b. *prašyti mokytojo* ‘to ask the teacher’ (genitive)
c. *prekiauti gėlėmis* ‘to trade in flowers’ (instrumental)
d. *stovėti virtuvėje* ‘to stand in the kitchen’ (locative)
+ all sorts of prepositional phrases governed by various verbs

Some of these obliquely-marked objects can be promoted to Nom in passives (Geniušienė 2016: 57; Anderson 2015b).

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Alternations between Acc and oblique cases:
- Lithuanian (Anderson 2011, 2015a): Acc vs. Ins
 - verbs of movement of body-parts
 - verbs of sound emission
 - verbs of clothing

- (11) a. *traukyti pečius / pečiais* ‘to shrug one’s shoulders’
b. *žvanginti raktus / raktais* ‘to jingle the keys’
c. *avėti batus / batais* ‘to wear shoes’

The semantic difference between the variants is subtle; Acc is chosen “when the internal argument has more features of a prototypical patient in the sense of Dowty (1991)” (Anderson 2015a: 285)

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Alternations between Acc and oblique cases:
- Latvian (Holvoet & Nau 2014: 11-12) verbs of physical impact
(12) *sist suni* Acc / *sunim* Dat ‘to hit a dog’
- The difference is arguably related to aspect, i.e. semelfactive (‘strike a blow’) with Dat vs. durative/iterative (‘beat repeatedly’) with Acc.

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Genitive objects with “intensional verbs”:
 - ‘want’, ‘wait’, ‘ask for’, ‘look for’, ‘require’, ‘fear’ etc.
 - subject to many studies in formal semantics, mainly on the basis of Russian (e.g. Partee & Borschev 2009, Kagan 2012);
 - related to quantificational uses of Gen;
 - an areal phenomenon (Seržant 2015b); see Haspelmath & Michaelis 2008 for (imperfect) parallels from Germanic and Romance;
 - well-attested in Lithuanian and Latgalian (Nau 2014), but lacking in modern Latvian due to the general trend to avoid Gen with verbs (Berg-Olsen 2000).

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Holvoet & Nau (2014: 18-19):

(13) Lith. *mokausi magijos* (Gen)

Latv. *mācos maģiju* (Acc)

‘I am studying magic.’

(14) Lith. *bitė ieško medaus* (Gen)

Latv. *bite meklē medu* (Acc)

‘The bee is looking for honey.’

(15) Lith. *laukė tinkamo momento* (Gen)

Latv. *gaidīja izdevīgu brīdi* (Acc)

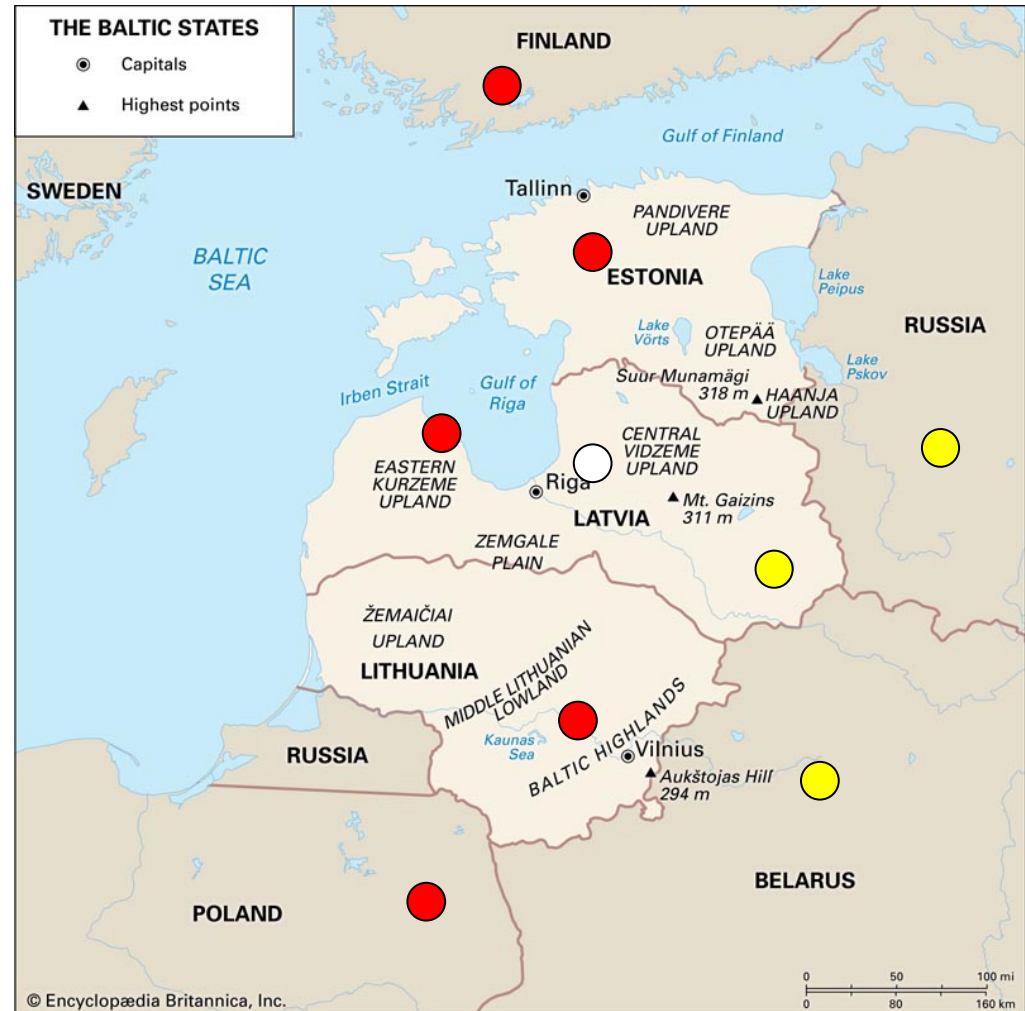
‘He was waiting for a favourable moment.’

Lexically-determined non-canonical marking of objects

The areal distribution of Genitive/Partitive objects with intensional verbs

- stable;
- receding
- absent.

Cf. the map on object Gen/Part of negation below.



Partitive subjects and objects

- A borderline case: partitive subjects and objects
 - found with mass nouns and plurals;
 - not restricted to any particular class of verbs, but do not occur with all of them, either;
 - for subjects, more restricted than for objects;
 - interact with aspect, especially in Finnic (see e.g. Huumo 2010, 2013);
 - an areal phenomenon (Seržant 2015b);
 - well-attested in Lithuanian and Latgalian (Nau 2014), but lacking in modern Latvian due to the general trend to avoid Gen with verbs (Berg-Olsen 2000).

Partitive subjects and objects

- Lithuanian subject partitive genitive

(16) *Mokykl-oje* *pa-daugėj-o* *mokini-u.*
school-LOC.SG PVB-increase-PST.3 pupil-GEN.PL
'In school, the number of pupils has increased.' (Wiemer & Bjarnadóttir 2014: 305)

- Latgalian object partitive genitive (Nau 2014: 232):

(17) *i* *maiz-is* *pierk-a* *i* *trauk-u*
and bread-GEN.SG buy-PST.3 and bowl-GEN.PL
'They bought bread and dishes.'

Partitive subjects and objects

- Cumulative preverbs selecting partitive S/P arguments.
- Lithuanian *pri-*
intransitive verb: subject

(18) *Pri-važiav-o žmoni-ų.*
PVB-drive-PST.3 people-GEN.PL
'There have arrived a lot of people.' (Seržant 2014: 261)

transitive verb: object

(19) *J-i pri-kep-ė pirag-ų.*
3-NOM.SG.F PVB-bake-PST.3 pie-GEN.PL
'She (has) baked a lot of pies.' (Holvoet & Nau 2014: 11)

Partitive subjects and objects

- Lithuanian partitive subjects: where is the borderline with other constructions?

(20) *Mūs-ų Lietuvos-oje yra įvairiausi-ų žmoni-ų.*
1PL-GEN Lithuania-LOC.SG be.PRS.3 various-GEN.PL people-GEN.PL
'There are all kinds of people in this Lithuania of ours.' (Holvoet & Nau 2014: 17)

(21) *Filharmonij-oje knibždėj-o įvairiausi-ų žmoni-ų.*
philharmonic-LOC.SG swarm-PST.3 various-GEN.PL people-GEN.PL
'All kinds of people were swarming in the concert hall.' (Lenartaitė-Gotaučienė 2014: 138)

Partitive subjects and objects

- Parameters of cross-linguistic variation (cf. Seržant 2015b):
 - partitivity expressed by a dedicated form (e.g. Finnic partitive case) or by the genitive / ablative etc?
 - types of clauses admitting partitive subjects (e.g. existential and change of location in Lithuanian vs. only change of location in Standard Russian);
 - types of verbs admitting partitive objects (Finnic > Lithuanian, Belarusian, Northwest Russian > Standard Russian);
 - aspectual restrictions (only bounded/perfective readings in Lithuanian and Russian vs. unbounded/imperfective readings in Baltic Finnic).

Genitive/partitive of negation

- Object Genitive of negation:
 - A well-known phenomenon in Slavic (see e.g. Pirnat 2015, Arkadiev & Kozhanov Ms.), subject to variation, from obligatoriness in Polish to complete lack in Czech.
 - Obligatory in Lithuanian (Arkadiev 2016), subject to variation in Latgalian (Nau 2014), almost absent in Latvian (e.g. Menantaud 2007, Leinonen 2016).
 - Shared with Baltic Finnic (see Arkadiev & Kozhanov Ms. for an areal-typological overview with references).
 - Clearly related to the quantificational partitive genitive, see Miestamo 2014, Seržant 2015b, 2022).
 - Does not always correlate with the subject Gen of negation.

Genitive/partitive of negation

- Local vs. long-distance in Lithuanian (Arkadiev 2016):

- (22) a. *Jon-as* *per-skait-ė* *laišk-q.*
PN-NOM.SG PVB-read-PST.3 letter-ACC.SG
'Jonas read the letter.'
- b. *Jon-as* *ne-per-skait-ė* *laišk-o.*
PN-NOM.SG NEG-PVB-read-PST.3 letter-GEN.SG
'Jonas didn't read the letter.'
- c. *Jon-as* *ne-nor-i* [*skaity-ti* *laišk-o*].
PN-NOM.SG NEG-want-PRS.3 read-INF letter-GEN.SG
'Jonas doesn't want to read the letter.'

Genitive/partitive of negation

- Subject genitive of negation:
 - A well-known topic of Russian linguistics (see Babby 1980, Paducheva 2004, Borschev & Partee 2001, Partee & Borschev 2007)
 - Licensed by a specific construction and simultaneously lexically restricted – in Baltic much more than in Russian.
 - Basically only with existential predicates.
 - Clearly related to the quantificational genitive.
 - Also attested in Baltic Finnic (e.g. Metslang 2012, Lees 2015); for comparison with Baltic, see Leinonen 2016, Kalnača et al. 2019.

Genitive/partitive of negation

- Subject genitive of negation
- Latvian: only with 'be' and optional (Nau 1998: 51-52)

(23) *Cilvēk-i sak-a, ka Diev-a nav.*
human-NOM.PL say-PRS.3 that God-GEN.SG NEG.COP.PRS.3
'People say that there is no God.'

(24) *Tagad nav t-as tilt-s.*
now NEG.COP.PRS.3 DEM-NOM.SG.M bridge-NOM.SG
'Now this bridge doesn't exist anymore.'

See Kalnača et al. (2019: 67-73) for a quantitative corpus study.

Genitive/partitive of negation

- Lithuanian: presupposition and perspective effects familiar from Russian (Aleksandravičiūtė 2013)

- (25) a. *Vyr-ai* *kiem-e* *ne-buv-o.*
man-NOM.PL yard-LOC.SG NEG-be-PST.3
'The men were not in the yard.' ('men' are topical and the sentence is about their location)
- b. *Vyr-ų* *kiem-e* *ne-buv-o.*
man-GEN.PL yard-LOC.SG NEG-be-PST.3
'There were no men in the yard.' ('yard' is topical and the sentence is about who was therein)

Genitive/partitive of negation

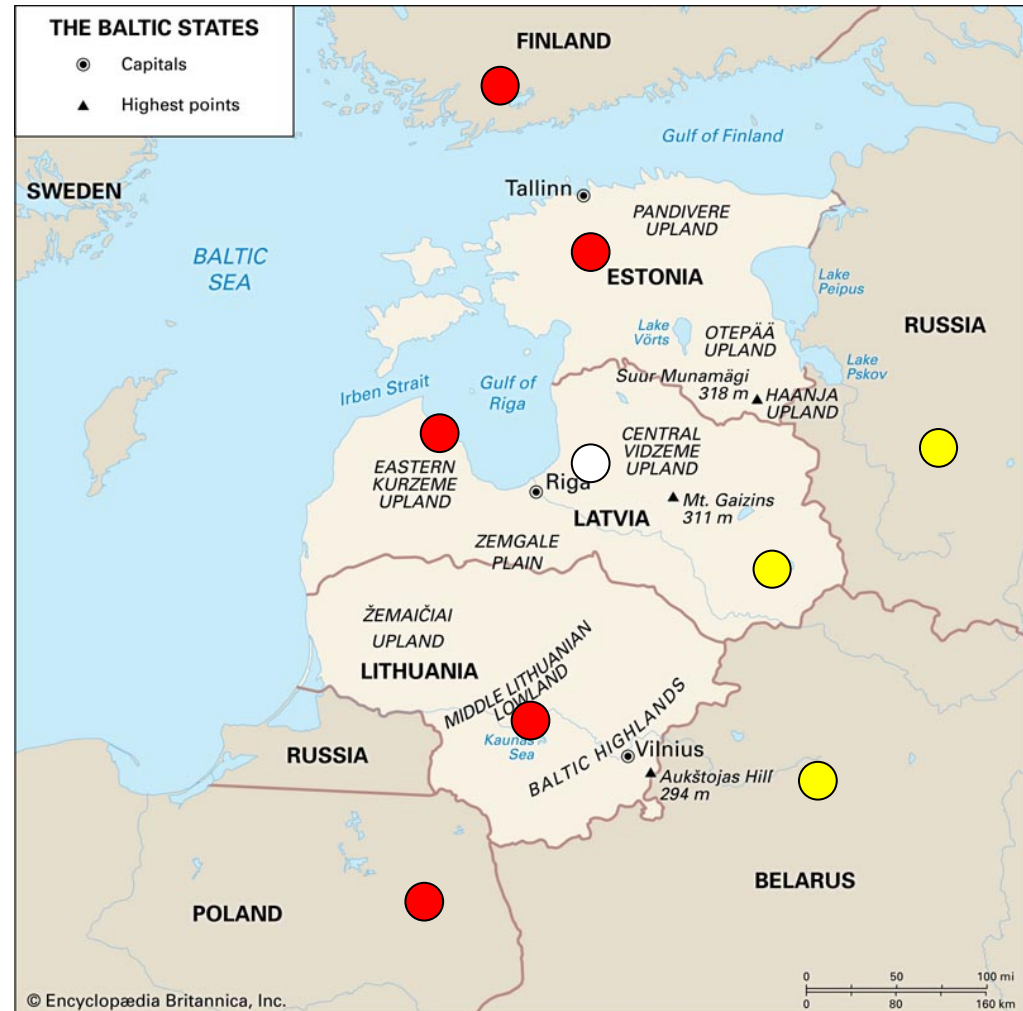
- Latgalian and Lithuanian: attested with a broader range of verbs
- Latgalian (Holvoet & Nau 2014: 15)

(26) *a zalt-a naud-ys na-pa-za-ruodēj-a vys*
but gold-GEN.SG money-GEN.SG NEG-PVB-RFL-show-PST.3 PTCL
'But the golden money didn't show up at all!'

Genitive/partitive of negation

Partitive object under negation:

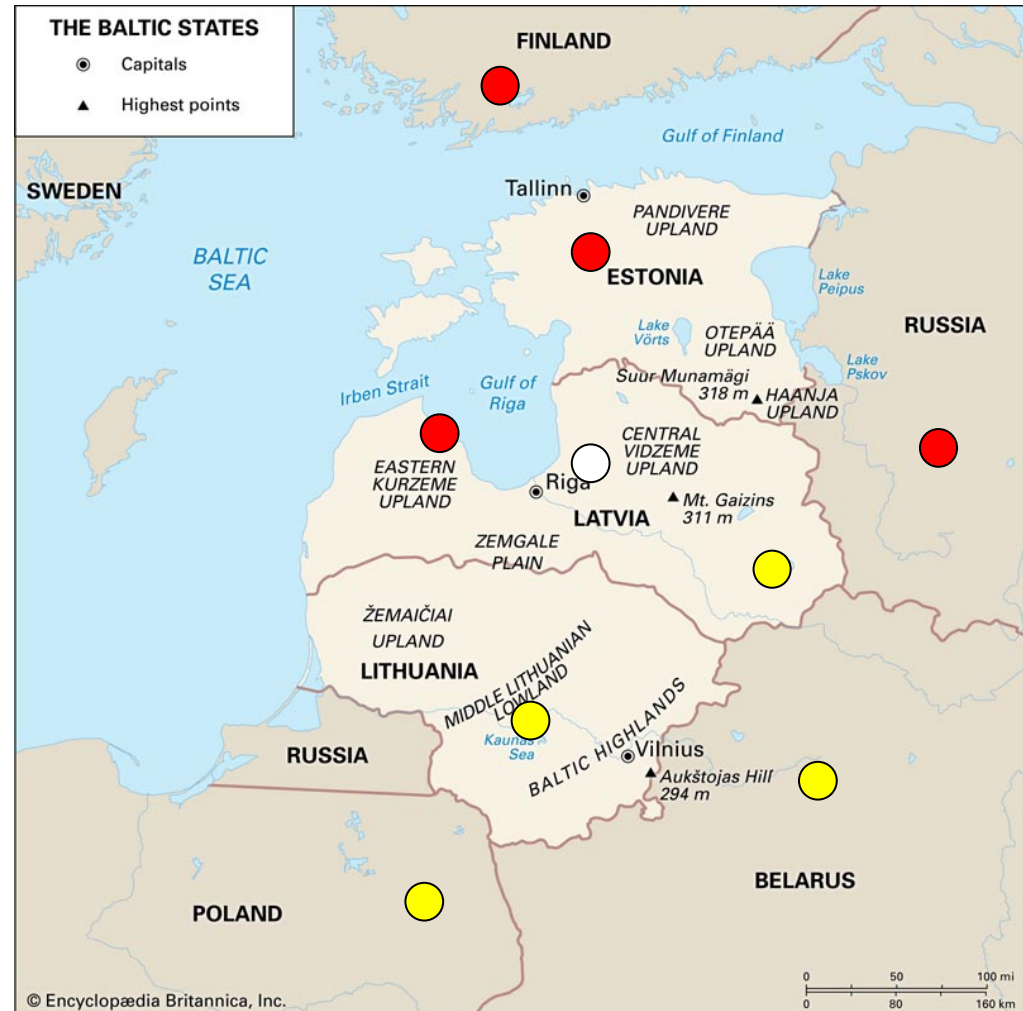
- obligatory;
- optional;
- none.



Genitive/partitive of negation

Partitive subject under negation:

- productive;
- restricted;
- marginal.



Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- By definition, always involves alternations between the default canonical encoding (Nom resp. Acc) and non-canonical encoding under some morphosyntactic conditions.
- Triggers:
 - negation (Nom/Acc > Gen), see above;
 - modality: the Latvian Debitive (Nom > Dat, Acc > Nom);
 - evidentiality: Lithuanian (Nom > Gen, (Acc > Nom));
 - non-finiteness:
 - Nom > Dat / Acc with participles;
 - Acc > Dat / Gen / Nom with infinitives and supines
 - Acc > Ins with a special lexically restricted participle in Lithuanian

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Latvian Debitive: a non-finite verbal form expressing obligation and necessity (Holvoet 1998, 2007, Daugavet 2017).
- Prefix *jā-* and the PRS.3 form + auxiliary (optional in Prs).
- “Inversion” of case-marking: Nom > Dat, Acc > Nom (except for 1st and 2nd person pronouns, see Seržant & Taperte 2016 for more details).
- “Diffuse” grammatical relations (Holvoet 2013, Holvoet & Grzybowska 2014).

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Latvian debitive (Holvoet & Grzybowska 2014: 99)
- Intransitive verbs: Nom > Dat

- (27) a. *Es* *tur* *ej-u*.
1SG.NOM there go.PRS-1SG
'I am going there.'
- b. *Man* *tur* *jā-iet*.
1SG.DAT there DEB-go
'I must go there.'

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Latvian debitive (Holvoet & Grzybowska 2014: 99)
- Transitive verbs: Nom > Dat, Acc > Nom

- (28) a. *Es* *dzer-u* *ūden-i*.
1SG.NOM drink.PRS-1SG water-ACC.SG
'I am drinking water.'
- b. *Man* *jā-dzer* *ūden-s*.
1SG.DAT DEB-drink water-NOM.SG
'I must drink water.'

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Latvian debitive (Holvoet & Grzybowska 2014: 99)
- Transitive verbs: Nom > Dat, Acc retained with personal pronouns

(29) a. *Es* *tev-i* *brīdin-u*.
1SG.NOM 2SG-ACC warn.PRS-1SG
'I warn you.'

b. *Man* *tev-i* *jā-brīdina*
1SG.DAT 2SG-ACC DEB-warn
'I must warn you.'

- Seržant & Taperte (2016) show that there is variation between Nom and Acc object marking with other nominals.

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- The debitive form of copular constructions retains agreement of the predicate nominal with the subject (Holvoet & Grzybowska 2014: 105):

- (30) a. *Jūs* *es-at* *man-i* *vies-i*.
2PL.NOM be.PRS-2PL 1SG.POSS-NOM.PL.M guest-NOM.PL
'You are my guests.'
- b. *Jums* *jā-būt* *man-iem* *vies-iem*.
2PL.DAT DEB-be 1SG.POSS-DAT.PL.M guest-DAT.PL
'You must be my guests.'

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- The debitive can be formed from the periphrastic perfect, in which case the object retains Nom marking and the participle agrees with the Dat subject (Holvoet & Grzybowska 2014: 102):

(31) *Tev* *t-o* *film-u* *jā-būt* *redzēj-uš-am*.
2SG.DAT DEM-ACC.SG film-ACC.SG DEB-be see-PST.PA-DAT.SG.M
'You must have seen this movie.'

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Is the structure of the Debitive (32a) similar to that of verbs with lexically-determined Dat-Nom case frame (32b)?

- (32) a. *Man* *jā-redz* *š-ī* *film-a.*
1SG.DAT DEB-see DEM-NOM.SG.F film-NOM.SG
'I must see this movie.'
- b. *Man* *patīk* *š-ī* *film-a.*
1SG.DAT please.PRS.3 DEM-NOM.SG.F film-NOM.SG
'I like this movie.'

- Holvoet & Grzybowska (2014: 109-112): evidence from agreement suggests difference in structure

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Periphrastic perfect of the debitive vs. of lexical verbs:

- (33) a. *Man* *ir* *bij-is* *jā-lasa*
1SG.DAT be.PRS.3 be-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M DEB-read
š-ī *grāmat-a.*
DEM-NOM.SG.F book(F)-NOM.SG
'I have had to read this book.' (default agreement)
- b. *Man* *ir* *patik-us-i*
1SG.DAT be.PRS.3 like-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
š-ī *grāmat-a.*
DEM-NOM.SG.F book(F)-NOM.SG
'I have liked this book.' (agreement with the Nom)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Behavioural properties of the arguments of the debitive (based on Holvoet & Grzybowska 2014: 112-121):

	Dat argument	Nom argument
control of regular reflexives	yes	no
control of possessive reflexives	yes	yes when fronted
control of ellipsis in coordination	no	no
target of ellipsis in coordination	no	yes when fronted

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Behavioural properties of the arguments of the dative (based on Holvoet & Grzybowska 2014: 112-121):
 - the Dat argument does not retain all the properties of a canonical subject;
 - the Nom argument does not assume all these properties, either, at least when postverbal;
 - topicalisation of the Nom argument enhances its subject properties.
- “Diffuse grammatical relations”.

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Lithuanian impersonal evidential (Timberlake 1982, Lavine 2006, 2010, Spraunienė et al. 2015, Usonienė & Šinkūnienė 2017, Šereikaitė 2020).
- Evidentiality in Lithuanian is expressed by participles used as independent predicates without any “finite” auxiliary (Litvinow 1989, Gronemeyer 1997, Wiemer 2006, Holvoet 2001, 2007: Ch. 4, 5).
- A cross-linguistically common (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004: 117–119) and areally well-attested (Wälchli 2000, Kehayov 2008) strategy.

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Active evidential participles: Nom subject, agreement in number and gender

- (34) a. *Aš gyven-u iliuzij-omis.*
1SG.NOM live-PRS.1SG illusion-INS.PL
'I feed on illusions.' (constructed)
- b. *Dar niekas man nesakė,*
kad aš gyven-qš iliuzij-omis.
that 1SG.NOM live-PRS.PA.NOM.SG.M illusion-INS.PL
'Nobody has told me yet that I [they say] fed on illusions.' (CCL)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Impersonal passive evidential participles:
 - formally passive participle in a special non-agreeing form;
 - with intransitive verbs Nom > Gen

- (35) a. *Čia didel-is med-is aug-o.*
here big-NOM.SG.M tree-NOM.SG grow-PST.3
'A big tree grew here.' (constructed)
- b. *čia dideli-o medži-o aug-t-a.*
here big-GEN.SG.M tree-GEN.SG grow-PST.PP-DF
'evidently, a big tree had grown here.' (Spraukienė et al. 2015:342)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- Impersonal passive evidential participles:
 - formally passive participle in a special non-agreeing form;
 - with transitive verbs Nom > Gen, Acc > Nom
- (36) a. *Traktori-us* *vež-ė* *durp-es.*
tractor-NOM.SG carry-PST.3 peat-ACC.PL
'The tractor carried peat.' (constructed)
- b. ...*traktori-aus* *vež-t-a* *durp-ės...*
tractor-GEN.SG carry-PST.PP-DF peat-NOM.PL
'... evidently, a tractor was carrying peat' (Spraukienė et al. 2015: 343)
- NB the Nom object fails to control agreement.

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- The Gen subject apparently retains its subject properties (Holvoet 2007: 100-103, Lavine 2006, Šereikaitė 2020):
 - tends to be obligatory, in contrast to the Gen agent of regular passives;
 - tends to occur in the initial (topical) position, in contrast to the Gen agent of regular passives;
 - controls reflexives:

(37) *Mam-os_i* *jau* *es-a-m-a* *savo_i* *kaim-e*.
mother-GEN.SG already be-PRS-PP-DF RPOSS village-LOC.SG
'Mother is (presumably) already in her village.' (Timberlake 1982: 516)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- The impersonal evidential can be formed from all types of constructions, including copular, perfect and passive, in all of which the lexical predicate agrees with the genitive subject:
- copula + predicate nominal

- (38) a. *J-o* *tév-as* *buv-o* *medžiotoj-as*.
3-GEN.SG.M father-NOM.SG be-PST.3 hunter-NOM.SG
'His father was a hunter.'
- b. *J-o* *tév-o* *bū-t-a* *medžiotoj-o*.
3-GEN.SG.M father-GEN.SG be-PST.PP-DF hunter-GEN.SG
'(I heard) his father was a hunter.' (Holvoet 2007: 90)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- The impersonal evidential can be formed from all types of constructions, including copular, perfect and passive, in which the lexical predicate agrees with the genitive subject:
- perfect ('be' + active participle)

(39) a. *Kulk-a* *buv-o* *išěj-us-i* *kiaurai.*
bullet(F)-NOM.SG AUX-PST.3 exit-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F through
'The bullet had passed through.' (constructed)

b. *Kulk-os* *bū-t-a* *išěj-usi-os* *kiaurai.*
bullet(F)-GEN.SG AUX-PST.PP-DF exit-PST.PA-GEN.SG.F through
'The bullet had evidently passed through.' (CCL)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking

- The impersonal evidential can be formed from all types of constructions, including copular, perfect and passive, in which the lexical predicate agrees with the genitive subject:
- passive ('be' + passive participle)

- (40) a. *Kuodel-is* *buv-o* *užbur-t-as*.
tow(M)-NOM.SG AUX-PST.3 enchant-PST.PP-NOM.SG.M
'The tow was enchanted.' (constructed)
- b. *kuodeli-o* *užbur-t-o* *bū-t-a*.
tow(M)-GEN.SG enchant-PST.PP-GEN.SG.M AUX-PST.PP-DF
'The tow had evidently been enchanted.' (fairytale)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- Dat and Acc marking of subjects in embedded participial clauses (Arkadiev 2012, 2013):
 - the participle itself in a special non-inflected form (“gerund”) signaling switch-reference;
 - Dat in adverbial clauses, Acc in complement clauses;
 - attested in all Baltic languages but most productive in Lithuanian;
 - historically constructions with fully agreeing participles (Ambrasas 1990);
 - parallels in Finnic, older Slavic and other Indo-European.

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- Lithuanian (CCL):

(41) *Vidurnakt-j pa-jut-au [kažk-q mieg-a-nt*
midnight-ACC.SG PVB-feel-PST.1SG someone-ACC.SG sleep-PRS-PA
mano lov-oje]...
1SG.POSS bed-LOC.SG

‘At midnight I felt somebody sleeping in my bed.’

(42) *Kodėl ne-pa-dar-ei savo darb-o*
why NEG-PVB-do-PST.2SG RPOSS work-GEN.SG
[man mieg-a-nt]?
1SG.DAT sleep-PRS-PA

‘Why didn’t you do you work while I was sleeping?’

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- Embedded participial constructions can be formed on the basis of periphrastic constructions, such as passive and perfect:
 - the auxiliary is uninflected;
 - the participle agrees with the Acc/Dat subject.

(43) *dat-a rod-o [j-j buv-us perraš-o-m-q]*.
date-NOM.SG show-PRS 3-ACC.SG.M be-PST.PA rewrite-PRS-PP-ACC.SG
'... the date shows that it was being rewritten.' (CCL)

(44) *Vartoj-a-m-a [es-a-nt pa-varg-usi-oms rank-oms]*.
use-PRS-PP-DF be-PRS-PA PVB-tire-PST.PA-DAT.PL.F arm(F)-DAT.PL
'It is used when one's arms are tired.' (Google)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- NB lexically-assigned non-Nom subjects (as well as Gen partitive subjects and Gen subjects of negated existentials) never trigger agreement on participles in periphrastic forms:

(45) *Mums* *bū-ty* *reikėj-ę* *daug* *laik-o*.
1PL.DAT be-IRR(3) need-PST.PA.DF much time-GEN.SG
'We would need much time.' (constructed)

(46) *Buv-o* *privažiov-ę* *policij-os* *automobili-ų*...
be-PST.3 arrive-PST.PA.DF police-GEN.SG car-GEN.PL
'There had arrived a lot of police cars...' (CCL)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of subjects

- Non-canonically marked subjects of embedded participial clauses and of the impersonal evidential are “true subjects”.
- They retain the behavioural properties of canonical subjects (e.g. position wrt verb, binding of reflexives, control of ellipsis in coordination etc.).
- They control agreement of those elements that would agree with the Nom subject.
- The case-marking (Nom and non-Nom alike) of both the subject and the elements agreeing with it is determined “globally” by the whole construction, not “locally” by the verb (cf. “complementising case”, Dench & Evans 1988; Arkadiev 2013).

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Objects of infinitival clauses in Lithuanian:
- canonical Acc (Gen under local or matrix negation, Arkadiev 2016)

(47) *Jon-as* *nor-i* [*per-skaity-ti laišk-q*].
Jonas-NOM.SG want-PRS.3 PVB-read-INF letter-ACC.SG
'Jonas wants to read the letter.'

(48) *Jon-as* *ne-nor-i* [*per-skaity-ti laišk-o*].
Jonas-NOM.SG NEG-want-PRS.3 PVB-read-INF letter-GEN.SG
'Jonas wants to read the letter.'

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Objects of infinitival clauses in Lithuanian (Franks & Lavine 2006):
- Nom in impersonal matrix constructions

(49) *J-am* *ne-patik-o* [*laukel-is* *ar-ti*].
3-DAT.SG.M NEG-like-PST.3 field-NOM.SG plough-INF
'He did not like to plough the field.' (Ambrasas (ed.) 1997: 638)

- Gen in purpose clauses with verbs of motion

(50) *Jon-as* *atėj-o* [*ap-lanky-ti* *draug-o*].
Jonas-NOM.SG come-PST.3 PVB-visit-INF friend-GEN.SG
'Jonas came to visit his friend.' (constructed)

- Dat in purpose clauses with other verbs or nouns (NB OV order)

(51) *lššov-ė* [*žmon-ėms* *pagąsdin-ti*].
shoot-PST.3 people-DAT.PL frighten-INF
'(He) fired to scare the people.' (Ambrasas (ed.) 1997: 557)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Objects in infinitival clauses in Lithuanian:
 - Nom objects have received greatest attention, being an areal feature found in Baltic Finnic as well as older and dialectal East Slavic (Larin 1963, Timberlake 1974, Ambrazas 2001, Ron'ko 2017, Ms., Zimmerling 2019);
 - Dat objects in purpose clauses are unique to Lithuanian, although can be linked to some constructions in old Indo-European (Ambrazas 1981, 1989);
 - Gen objects in goal infinitives are paralleled by Gen objects with the Supine in Latgalian and older/dialectal Lithuanian as well as Slavic.

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Gen objects of the Supine (cf. Arkadiev 2013: 424, 2014: 70-72)
- Latgalian

(52) *nu-skrēj-a* [*vylk-a* *sys-tu*]
PVB-run.PST-3 wolf-GEN.SG beat-SUP
'she ran outside to beat the wolf' (Nau 2014: 227)

– vs. Acc with Infinitive

(53) *suok* [*vec-i* *sis-t*]
start.PRS.3 old_man-ACC.SG beat-INF
'she starts to beat the old man' (Nau 2014: 229)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Gen objects of the Supine (cf. Arkadiev 2013: 424, 2014: 70-72)
- In Latgalian, the Infinitive can replace the Supine, the case marking of the object being retained (Nau 2014: 228).
- This is what has obviously happened in Lithuanian, being facilitate by a higher degree of phonological similarity between the two non-finite forms.

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Lithuanian: Acc > Ins with a participle-like non-finite form denoting simultaneity and attested only with verbs of motion (Otrębski 1965: 184-185; Gliwa 2003):

(54) *grįžo j krantą,*
[*ved-in-a* *dv-iem* *vaik-ais*]
lead-PTCP-NOM.SG.F two-INS.PL child-INS.PL
'she returned to the beach leading two children' (CCL)

- Cf. the productive converb of simultaneity with Acc object:

(55) *su-grįž-o,* [*neš-dam-a* *puodel-j* *silpn-os* *arbat-os*]
PVB-return-PST.3 carry-CVB-SG.F cup-ACC.SG weak-GEN.SG.F tea-GEN.SG
'she came back, carrying a cup of weak tea' (CCL)

Structurally-determined non-canonical marking of objects

- Lithuanian: Acc > Ins with a participle-like non-finite form denoting simultaneity and attested only with verbs of motion (Otrębski 1965: 184-185; Gliwa 2003).
- The origins of this form and its peculiar case-marking properties are so far obscure.
- No parallels in the other Baltic languages or elsewhere.

Summary

- Baltic languages offer a wide and variegated array of constructions with non-canonical case-marking of arguments.
- Perhaps the most notable and unfamiliar from the perspective of contemporary European languages are the numerous constructions where non-canonical marking is determined structurally rather than lexically.
- The triggers of non-canonical marking involve those clausal functional layers that are built “on top of” the regular argument- and propositional structure of the clause, i.e. negation, modality, evidentiality and, most notably, non-finiteness as a signal of subordinate status (cf. “modal” and “complementising” uses of case in Australian languages, Dench & Evans 1988; Arkadiev 2013, 2014).

Summary

- Some of these constructions, like Genitive of negation or Nominative objects, find parallels in areally close Slavic and Finnic languages, and have most probably been subject to areal diffusion.
- Others, like Accusative and Dative subjects in participial clauses, represent a rather peculiar mix of local innovations with Indo-European archaisms, thus a productive reuse of old structures that the neighbouring Slavic got rid of.
- Still others, like the Lithuanian Genitive and Dative objects of infinitives or Genitive subjects of impersonal evidentials, even if motivated diachronically, are unique in Europe and rare on the global level.

Summary

- The data of the Baltic languages can enrich linguistic typology and linguistic theory in many domains, and case-marking, argument structure and relations between morphology and syntax in general are one of those areas where taking into account the Baltic material can prove to be particularly fruitful.

Thank you for your attention!
Danke für ihre Aufmerksamkeit!
Ačiū už jūsu dėmesį!
Paldies par jūsu uzmanību!



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