Jurgis Pakerys	Graduate School of Linguistics, Philosophy and
Vilnius University	Semiotics (GSLPS)
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jurgis.pakerys@flf.vu.lt	

Dative and accusative of the causee in the Baltic periphrastic permissive constructions[1]

1. Original dative marking of the permittee (< recipient) is used in permissive constructions based on the development 'give' > 'allow, let' (Lithuanian *duoti,* Latvian *dot*, Old Prussian *dāt*), cf. 'give' in (1a) and 'allow' in (1b):

(1) Lithuanian (constructed)
a.   *Tėv-as   dav-ė   **vaik-ui**   peiliuk-ą   pažais-ti*
     father-NOM.SG give-PST.3   child-DAT.SG   pocket.knife-ACC.SG   play-INF
     'Farther gave a pocketknife for the child to play with'
b.   *Tėv-as   dav-ė   **vaik-ui**   dar   truputį   pažais-ti*
     father-NOM.SG allow-PST.3   child-DAT.SG   still   a.little   play-INF
     'Farther allowed the child to play a little bit more'

2. In other constructions, the dative of the permittee is new, it competes with the accusative and eventually may replace it. The rise of the dative marking can be modeled in three stages and is related to the development of manipulative construction.

Stage I
- Non-manipulative transitive predicate ('release')
- Patient is marked by ACC
- Adjunct INF-clause of goal/purpose can be added ('release them' + 'to go')

Stage II
- Predicate is interpreted as a manipulative verb ('release to go' > 'allow to go')
- Human patient is interpreted as a manipulee[2]
    - DAT is introduced alongside ACC
    - DAT correlates with non-implicative/attempted manipulation, i.e. success is not implied and the manipulee retains more control (Givón 2001b: 66–68)
- Adjunct INF-clause > Complement INF-clause

Stage III
- DAT is generalized (to mark non-human participants of the construction as well)
- ACC becomes marginal or is no longer used

3. Lithuanian *leisti* 'release' > 'allow, let'
Stage I
(2) Lithuanian (constructed)
a. *Tėv-as   leidži-a   **al-ų**   į   ąsot-į*
   father-NOM.SG   release-PRS.3 beer-ACC.SG   to   pitcher-ACC.SG
   'Farther releases (i.e. pours) beer into the pitcher'

b. *Mam-a   leidži-a   **vaik-ą**   į   lauk-ą   (ei-ti)*
   mother-NOM.SG   release-PRS.3 child-ACC.SG   to   outside-ACC.SG go-INF

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[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Tertia Decima, Salos, August 1, 2016.
[2] For the definition of manipulation verbs and manipulees, see Givón 2001a: 151–153.

'(lit.) Mother releases the child (to go) outside'

Stage II
- DAT (3b) is used alongside ACC (3a):

(3) Old Lithuanian

      a. *Leis-ke-t*   ***Bernel-us***   *manęspi*   *ei-ti*
          let-IMP-2PL   child-ACC.PL   1.SG.ALL   go-INF
          'Let the children come to me'   (Mažvydas, *Forma Chrikstima*, 1559, 96; LKŽe)

      b. *Da–łáiſ–ki–i*   ***waikĕl–amus***   *yr*   *nĕ*   *dráuſ–kí–i*
          PRV-let-IMP-2PL   child-DAT.PL   and   NEG   forbid-IMP-2PL
          ių   *maneſṕ*   *ei–t*
          3.GEN.PL   1.SG.ALL   go-INF
          'Permit the children and do not forbid them to come to me' (Daukša, *Kathechismas*, 1595, 5,1-3; COLT)[3]

Stage III
- ACC is almost completely ousted from the constructions with INF-clauses in modern Lithuanian, but still possible, cf. (4) (GEN of negation < ACC). Constructions like (2b) without the INF-clauses are quite frequent.

(4) Lithuanian

     [vaikin-as]   *ne-leidži-a*   ***manęs***   *ei-ti*   *į*   *gėli-ų*
     boyfriend-NOM.SG   NEG-let-PRS.3   1.GEN.SG   go-INF   to   flower-GEN.PL
     skyri-ų
     department-ACC.SG
     '[boyfriend] does not allow me to go to the floral department' (forum post, May 26, 2008, diacritics added[4])

4. Latvian *laist* 'release' > 'allow, let'

Stage I
- *laist ūden-i* (ACC) 'release (pour) water', *laist bērn-u* (ACC) *ārā (iet)* '(lit.) release the child (to go) outside', etc.

Stage II
- Marginal use of *laist* as 'let' in modern Latvian
- ACC (5a) is default, but DAT (5b) is also possible (Pakerys 2016: 453):

(5) Latvian

      a. [...] *laiž*   ***četrgadīg-u***   ***mazul-i***   *rāp-tie-s*
          let.PRS.3   4.year.old-ACC.SG.M   kid-ACC.SG   climb-INF-RFL
          tur   *augšā*
          there   up
          '[They] let 4-year-old kid climb up there' (LVK2013)
      b. *Viņ-a*   *laiž*   ***viņ-am***   *ves-t*   *viņ-u*
          3-NOM.SG.F   let.PRS.3   3-DAT.SG.M   take-INF   3-ACC.SG.F
          pa   *krog-iem*
          round.to   pub-DAT.PL

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[3] Note that ACC (> GEN of negation *jų*) is used in the construction of manipulative *drausti* 'forbid' alongside DAT of *leisti* 'let'.

[4] http://www.supermama.lt/forumas/index.php?showtopic=425139&st=360.

'She lets him take her round to the pubs' (Cedriņš, *Pasaka par vakariem*, 1986, California[5])

5. Latvian *ļaut* 'release' > 'allow, let'

Stage I
- Not attested (?)
- Cf. idiomatic *ļaut vaļu* 'give freedom of action', where 'give' reflects earlier use of *ļaut* as 'release'.
- For the reconstruction of meaning from the Indo-European perspective, see IEW 682 ('nachlassen'), LIV² 399 ('nachlassen, (zu)lassen'), cf. also Lithuanian *liauti(s)* 'stop', Old Prussian *aulāut* 'die'.

Stage II
- ACC (6a) is used alongside DAT (6b):

(6) Old Latvian
    a. [...] *meintiņ-as*[6]   ***puiśch-us***   *ne*   *ļauj*   *apģehrb-tee-s*
       girl-NOM.PL   boy-ACC.PL   NEG   let.PRS.3   dress-INF-RFL
       '[...] the girls are not allowing the boys to get dressed'
       (Fürecker, *Lettisches und Teutsches Wörterbuch*, 1650, ms. 1 77,19;
       ACC also in ms. 2 129,5; COLV)

    b. [...] *in* *ne*   *ļahw-a*   ***t-eem***   ***Ļaud-im***
       and   NEG   allow-PST.3   DEM-DAT.PL   people-DAT.PL
       Grehk-u   *darrih-t*
       sin-ACC.SG   do-INF
       'and [he] did not let the people commit a sin'
       (Mancelius (ed. by Adolphi), *Das Haus=, Zucht= vnd Lehrbuch Jesus Syrachs*, 1685, 71B, 23-24; COLV)

Stage III
- ACC is ousted in modern Latvian and only DAT is available, cf. (7):

(7) Latvian
    Likten-is   ***viņ-ām***   *ļauj*   *iepazī-t*   *dzīv-es*
    fate-NOM.SG   3-DAT.PL.F   let.PRS.3   get.to.know-INF   life-GEN.SG
    ciešan-as
    suffering-ACC.PL
    'Fate allows them to come to know the sufferings of life' (LVK2013)

6. What about Latvian *likt* 'leave' > 'let' > 'make' (also 'order') + DAT?

- Only DAT marking of the second participant of *likt* 'make'/'order, tell' is available in modern Latvian, cf. (8):

(8) Latvian (constructed)
    Māt-e   *liek*   ***bērn-am***   *strādā-t*
    mother-NOM.SG   make.PRS.3   child-DAT.SG   work-INF
    'Mother makes the child work/tells the child to work'

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[5] http://jaunagaita.net/jg168/JG168_Cedrins.htm (August 1988).

[6] = *meitiņ-as*.

- DAT marking is fully consistent with non-implicative nature of 'tell, order', but one expects ACC in the case of 'make' (implicative manipulation) and it is attested in the earlier stages of Latvian, cf. (9):

(9) Old Latvian

wiņsch	*leek*	***śaw-u***	***Śaul-i***	*uslehk-t* [...]
3.NOM.SG.M	make.PRS.3	RPO-ACC.SG.F	sun-ACC.SG	rise-INF
un	*leek*	***Leet-u***	*lih-t* [...]	
and	make.PRS.3	rain -ACC.SG	rain-INF	

'He causes his sun to rise [...] and causes the rain to rain'
(Glück, *Tas Jauns Testaments*, 1685, Matthew 5:45; COLV)

- ACC is to be interpreted as original (archaic), as it had to mark the direct object of *likt* *'leave' (cf. modern Latvian *pa-likt* 'leave')
- When the change of *likt* meaning (function) 'leave' > 'let' occurred, DAT was introduced (non-implicative manipulation, cf. above)
- When the change of 'leave' > 'make' occurred, DAT was eventually generalized, but ACC is occasionally found in earlier stages (one may also consider possible influence of German *lassen*-constructions where ACC is used to mark the causee).

Abbreviations

1 – 1st person, 2 – 2nd person, 3 – 3rd person, ACC – accusative, ALL – allative, DAT – dative, DEM – demonstrative, F – feminine, GEN – genitive, IMP – imperative, INF – infinitive, M – masculine, NEG – negation, NOM – nominative, PL –plural, PRS – present, PRV – preverb, PST – past, RFL – reflexive, RPO – reflexive possessive pronoun, SG – singular

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