Lithuanian Evidentials and Passives of Evidentials

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Passive of a Passive?

- Lithuanian has been claimed to exhibit a passive of a passive (Keenan and Timberlake 1985, Baker et al. 1989, Bruening 2013, Kiparsky 2013, i.a.)

(1) Vėj-as   nupūt-ė   tą lapel-į.
    wind-NOM blow-PRS.3 that leaf-ACC
    'The wind blew down that leaf.'   Active

(2) Tas lapel-is   buv-o   (vėj-o)
    that leaf-NOM.M.SG be-PRS.3 wind-GEN
    nupūs-t-as/-a
    blow-PTCP-NOM.M.SG/-N
    'That leaf was blown down (by the wind).'   Passive

Passive of a Passive?

- (3) has been claimed to be the passive of a passive.
- The thematic subject and the theme appear in GEN case, which is characteristic of *by*-phrase.

(3) To   lapelio   būta   vėjo   nupūsto.
     that.GEN leaf.GEN   be.PASS.NOM   wind.GEN   blow.PASS.GEN

'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'[1]
('by that leaf there was blown down by the wind') (Kiparsky 2013:24)

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[1]Glosses retained from the source.

Today

- We demonstrate that the construction is not a passive of a passive, but rather a passive of an evidential (Blevins 2003, Lavine 2006, 2010; Ambrazas 1994, Holvoet 2001, Aikhenvald 2004, Wiemer 2006).

Why it Matters

- Recent analyses use the Lithuanian construction to support a generalized demotion head/operation for the passive (e.g. Bruening 2013, Kiparsky 2013)

- Perlmutter and Postal (1977 and subsequent) argued that only verbs with a thematic subject can undergo passivization, and hence passives cannot.

- We provide evidence for this generalization and claim that the passive does not demote the theme of a passive (or an unaccusative).

Why it Matters

Proposal:

- a 'by'-phrase semantically saturates the initiator θ-role; OR
- a head encoding an existential quantifier merges to Voice^0 at LF to existentially close the initiator θ-role

Why it Matters

- Our analysis of the evidential provides evidence for Blain and Déchaine's (2006) claim that the locus of evidentiality crosslinguistically is not limited to CP, but can appear lower in the clause.

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Evidentials

- Lithuanian has an evidential (EVID) construction (Lavine 2010, i.a.) that overlaps morphosyntactically with the passive (PASS)

Evidentials

- Lithuanian has an evidential (EVID) construction (Lavine 2010, i.a.) that overlaps morphosyntactically with the passive (PASS)

- We provide 9 arguments to distinguish the PASS from the EVID.

Passive vs Evidential

- **I. Interpretation**: the PASS is neutral for evidentiality, (4), whereas the EVID is interpreted as inferential based on visual evidence, (5).

(4) Passive

Tas   lapelis   buvo   vėjo   nupūs-t-as.
that leaf.NOM.M.SG be.PST.3 wind.GEN blow-PTCP-NOM.M.SG

'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'

(5) Evidential

Vėjo   nupūs-t-a   tas   lapelis   vakar.
wind.GEN blow-PTCP-N that.NOM leaf.NOM yesterday

'The wind **must have blown down** that leaf yesterday.'

Passive vs Evidential

- **II. Auxiliary**: the finite auxiliary is absent in the EVID, (7), but is obligatory in the past tense in the PASS (6).

(6)   Passive

Tas lapelis   ***(buvo)**   vėjo   nupūs-t-as.
that leaf.NOM.M.SG *(be.PST.3) wind.GEN blow-PTCP-NOM.M.SG

'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'

(7)   Evidential

Vėjo   **(*buvo)**   nupūs-t-a   tas   lapelis   vakar.
wind.GEN (*be.PST.3) blow-PTCP-N that.NOM leaf.NOM yesterday

'The wind must have blown down that leaf yesterday.'

Passive vs Evidential

- **III. Agreement**: In the EVID, the passive participle appears in the non-agreeing/neuter form, (9), whereas in the PASS it optionally agrees with the NOM subject, (8).

(8) Passive

Tas lapelis   buvo   vėjo   **nupūs-t-as/-a**.
that leaf.NOM.M.SG be.PST.3 wind.GEN blow-PTCP-NOM.M.SG/-N

'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'

(9) Evidential

Vėjo   **nupūs-t-a**   tas   lapelis   vakar.
wind.GEN blow-PTCP-N that.NOM leaf.NOM yesterday

'The wind must have blown down that leaf yesterday.'

Passive vs Evidential

- The two constructions differ in terms of the status of the GEN DP:
    - the GEN DP is a **by-phrase** in the PASS
    - the GEN DP is a **grammatical subject** in the EVID

Passive vs Evidential

- **IV.Optionality:** GEN is optional in PASS, but obligatory in the EVID (in non-pro drop context).

(10) Passive

Tas lapelis   buvo   **(vėjo)**   nupūs-t-as
that leaf.NOM.M.SG be.PST.3 wind.GEN blow-PTCP-NOM.M.SG
(vėjo).
wind.GEN

'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'

(11) Evidential

*(**Vėjo**) nupūs-t-a   tas   lapelis   vakar.
wind.GEN blow-PTCP-N that.NOM leaf.NOM yesterday

'The wind must have blown down that leaf yesterday.'

Passive vs Evidential

- **V.Word Order:** GEN in the PASS is neutrally final or immediately before the participle, but neutrally initial in the EVID.

(12) Passive

Tas lapelis buvo **(vėjo)** nupūs-t-as
that leaf.NOM.M.SG be.PST.3 wind.GEN blow-PTCP-NOM.M.SG
(vėjo).
wind.GEN

'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'

(13) Evidential

Vėjo nupūs-t-a tas lapelis vakar.
wind.GEN blow-PTCP-N that.NOM leaf.NOM yesterday

'The wind must have blown down that leaf yesterday.'

Passive vs Evidential

- **VI.Subjecthood:** Subject-oriented anaphor *savo* vs anti-subject-oriented pronoun (Timberlake 1982:515)

(14) *Grammatical Subject*

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

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

(15) *Grammatical Object*

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

'Domantas divided employees$_i$ according to their$_i$ beliefs.'

Passive vs Evidential

- Passive NOM binds *savo*, thus is a grammatical subject, whereas GEN 'by'-phrase may not.

(16) *Grammatical Subject*

Tarnautojai$_i$ buvo   rūšiuo-t-i   Domanto
employees.M.PL.NOM be.PST.3 divide-PTCP-M.PL.NOM Domantas.GEN
pagal   **savo**$_i$ / jų$_i$ įsitikinimus.
according.to self.GEN / their.GEN beliefs

'The employees$_i$ were divided by Domantas according to their$_i$ beliefs.'

(17) *By-phrase*

Tarnautojai   buvo   rūšiuoja-t-i   **Domanto**$_i$
employees.M.PL.NOM be.PST.3 divide-PTCP-M.PL.NOM Domantas.GEN
pagal   **jo**$_i$ / *savo$_i$ įsitikinimus.
according.to his.GEN / *self.GEN beliefs

'The employees were divided by Domantas$_i$ according to his$_i$ beliefs.'

Passive vs Evidential

- Evidential GEN binds *savo*, thus behaves like **a subject**.

(18) *Grammatical Subject*

Vakar **Domanto**$_i$ rūšiuo-t-a tarnautojai
yesterday Domantas.GEN divided-PTCP-N employees.NOM
pagal **savo**$_i$ / *jo$_i$ įsitikinimus.
according.to self.GEN / *his.GEN beliefs

'Yesterday Domantas$_i$ must have divided employees according to his$_i$ beliefs.'

Passive vs Evidential

- **VII.Nominative Object:** Evidential NOM binds the anti-subject oriented pronoun, and thus behaves like **a grammatical object**.

(19)   *Grammatical Object*

Vakar   Domanto   rūšiuo-t-a   **tarnautojai**$_i$ pagal
Yesterday Domantas.GEN divided-PTCP-N employees.NOM according

jų$_i$ / *savo$_i$ įsitikinimus.
their.GEN / *self.GEN beliefs

'Yesterday Domantas must have divided employees$_i$ according to their$_i$ beliefs.'

Passive vs Evidential

- **VIII.Unaccusatives**: EVID may apply to unaccusatives, but PASS may not.

(20) a. Jon-as   numir-ė praeitą rudenį.
          Jonas.NOM die.PST.3 last.ACC fall.ACC

          'Jonas died last fall.'   Active

      b. Jon-o   numir-t-a praeitą rudenį.
          Jonas.GEN die-PTCP-N last.ACC fall.ACC

          'Jonas must have died last fall.'   Evidential

      c. *Jono   buv-o   numir-t-a   praeitą rudenį.
          Jonas.GEN be-PST.3 die-PTCP-N last.ACC fall.ACC

          'It was died by Jonas last fall.'   Passive

Passive vs Evidential

- **IX. Quirky Subjects**. Non-nominative subjects retain their case in the evidential.[2]

(21) a. Man   trūk-o   pinigų.
         me.DAT lack-PST.3 money.GEN

         'I lacked money'.   **Active**

      b. Man   / *mano (*buv-o)   trūk-t-a   pinigų   vakar.
         me.DAT / me.GEN (be-PST.3) lack-PTCP-N money.GEN yesterday.

         'I must have lacked money yesterday.'   Evidential

_____

[2]See Šereikaitė 2016 on 'lack'-class verbs in Lithuanian; see Babby 1980, Moravcsik 1995, Richards 2012, on related case stacking/replacement patterns in other languages.

Passive vs Evidential

- Predicates with non-nominative subjects cannot be passivized.

(22) a. Man   trūk-o   pinigų.
          me.DAT lack-PST.3 money.GEN

    'I lacked money'.   **Active**

  b. *Pinig-ai   buv-o   trūk-t-i
      money-M.PL.NOM be-PST.3 lack-PST.PASS.PTCP-M.PL.NOM
      mano.
      me.GEN

    'The money was lacked by me.'   Passive

Interim Summary

- In the PASS:
    - the NOM theme is **a grammatical subject**, the GEN agent is **a by-phrase**

(23) Passive
Tas   lapelis   buvo   vėjo   nupūs-t-as.
that leaf.NOM.M.SG be.PST.3 wind.GEN blow-PTCP-NOM.M.SG
'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'

Interim Summary

- In the PASS:
  - the NOM theme is **a grammatical subject**, the GEN agent is **a by-phrase**

(23) Passive
Tas lapelis   buvo   vėjo   nupūs-t-as.
that leaf.NOM.M.SG be.PST.3 wind.GEN blow-PTCP-NOM.M.SG
'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'

- In the EVID:
  - the NOM theme is **a grammatical object**, the GEN agent is **a grammatical subject**.

(24) Evidential
Vėjo   nupūs-t-a   tas   lapelis vakar.
wind.GEN blow-PTCP-N that.NOM leaf.NOM yesterday
'The wind must have blown down that leaf yesterday.'

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Passive of a Passive?

- This construction is not passive of a passive, but it is a passive of evidential.

(25) To   lapelio būta   vėjo   nupūsto.
      that.GEN leaf.GEN be.PASS.NOM wind.GEN blow.PASS.GEN

      'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'
      ('by that leaf there was blown down by the wind') (Kiparsky 2013:24)

Passive of a Passive?

More accurately:

(26) Evidential

Vėjo   nupūs-t-a   tas   lapelis   vakar.
wind.GEN blow-PTCP-N that.NOM leaf.NOM yesterday

'The wind must have blown down that leaf yesterday.'

(27) Passive of Evidential

To   lapelio   bū-t-a   vėjo
that.GEN.M.SG leaf.GEN.M.SG be-PTCP-N wind.GEN

nupūs-t-o.
blow-PTCP-GEN.M.SG

'That leaf must have been blown down by the wind.'

Passive of Evidential!

(28)   Passive of Evidential

To   lapelio   bū-t-a   vėjo
that.GEN.M.SG leaf.GEN.M.SG be-PTCP-N wind.GEN
nupū̃s-t-o.
blow-PTCP-GEN.M.SG

'That leaf must have been blown down by the wind.'

- Passive: auxiliary present
- Evidential: auxiliary is nonfinite and shows neuter morphology
- Passive: participle agrees with its grammatical subject
- Evidential: grammatical subject is GEN

Passive of Evidential!

- Evidential: GEN theme binds *savo* as the grammatical subject:
  - 'that leaf' = subject
  - 'wind' = by-phrase

(29) **To**   **lapelio**$_i$ bū-t-a   (vėjo)
     that.GEN.M.SG leaf.GEN.M.SG be-PTCP-N wind.GEN
     nupūs-t-o   nuo **savo**$_i$/*jo$_i$ šakelės.
     blow-PTCP-GEN.M.SG from self.GEN/*his.GEN branch.GEN

     'That leaf$_i$ must have been blown off its$_i$ branch (by the wind).'

Summary

- Lithuanian exhibits an evidential, with grammatical subject raising to GEN
- Lithuanian evidential may apply to unaccusatives, passives
- Lithuanian passive may not apply to unaccusatives, passives

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Lithuanian Evidential

Question: what's the structure of the Lithuanian evidential?

(30) Evidential

Vėjo   (*buvo/*bū-t-a)   nupū-t-a   tas
wind.GEN (*be.PST.3/*be-PTCP-N) blow-PTCP-N that.NOM
lapelis   vakar.
leaf.NOM yesterday

'The wind must have blown down that leaf yesterday.'

Lithuanian Evidential

Genitive is a structural case

- appears on grammatical subject, be it an agent or theme
- inherent case is retained, rather than genitive overwriting / stacking / replacing the genitive (genitive patterning like structural nominative)

Lithuanian Evidential

Genitive is a structural case:

- it triggers agreement on the passive participle, like structural nominative (unlike quirky dative subject)

(31) To   lapelio   bū-t-a   vėjo
      that.GEN.M.SG leaf.GEN.M.SG be-PTCP-N   wind.GEN
      nupūs-t-o.
      blow-PTCP-GEN.M.SG

      'That leaf must have been blown down by the wind.'

(32) T-as   lapel-is   buv-o   vėj-o
      that-M.SG.NOM leaf-M.SG.NOM be-PST.3   wind-M.SG.GEN
      nupūs-t-as.
      blow-PTCP-NOM.M.SG

      'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'

Lithuanian Evidential

Nominative on object?
Hypothesis: EvidP is between TP and VoiceP (Blain and Déchaine 2006)
determining use of a nonfinite T, and of a VoiceP that assigns nominative
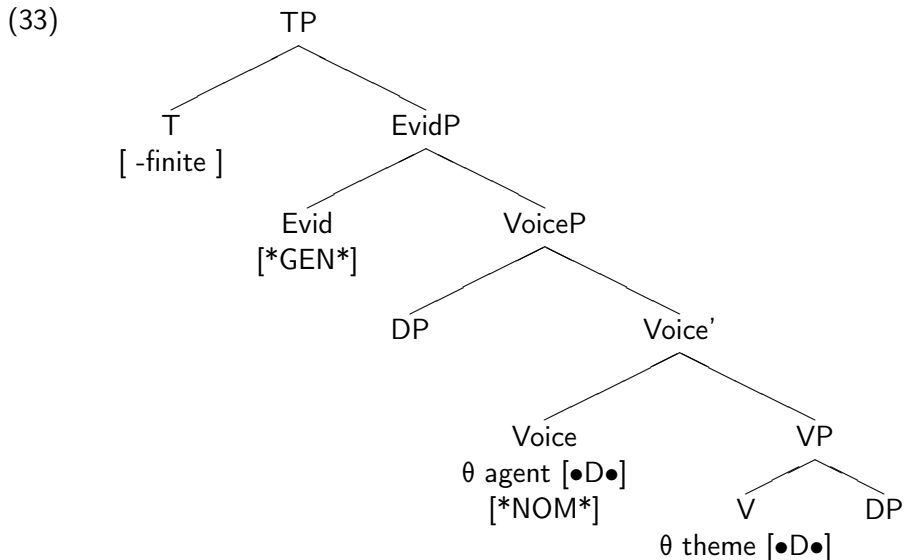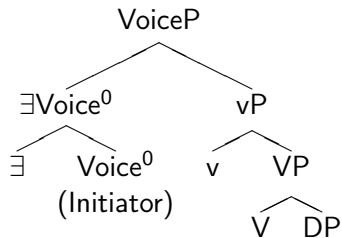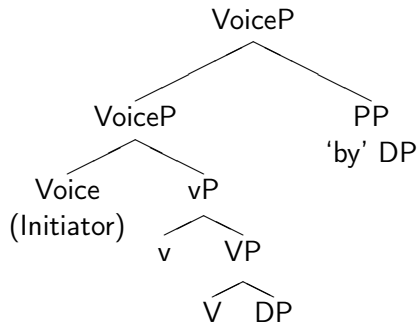rather than accusative

Lithuanian Evidential

(33)

TP
├── T [-finite]
└── EvidP
    ├── Evid [*GEN*]
    └── VoiceP
        ├── DP
        └── Voice'
            ├── Voice θ agent [•D•] [*NOM*]
            └── VP
                ├── V
                └── DP θ theme [•D•]
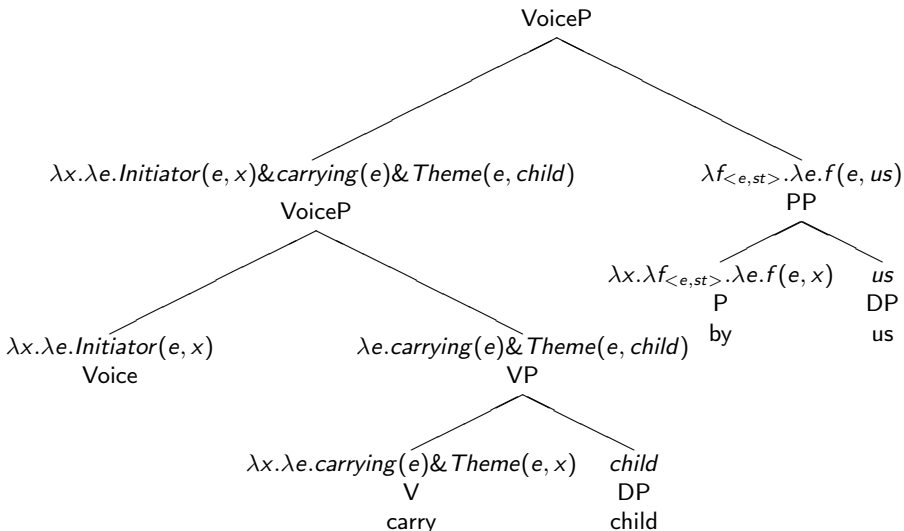
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Passive

Proposal:

- a 'by'-phrase semantically saturates the initiator θ-role; OR
- a head hosting an existential quantifier merges to Voice^0 at LF to existentially close the initiator θ-role

Passive

Semantics – with a 'by'-phrase

VoiceP

$\lambda x.\lambda e.Initiator(e,x) \& carrying(e) \& Theme(e, child)$
VoiceP

$\lambda f_{<e,st>}.\lambda e.f(e, us)$
PP

$\lambda x.\lambda e.Initiator(e,x)$
Voice

$\lambda e.carrying(e) \& Theme(e, child)$
VP

$\lambda x.\lambda f_{<e,st>}.\lambda e.f(e,x)$
P
by

us
DP
us

$\lambda x.\lambda e.carrying(e) \& Theme(e,x)$
V
carry

$child$
DP
child

Semantics – without a 'by'-phrase

$\lambda e.\exists x[\textit{Initiator}(e,x)]\&\textit{carrying}(e)\&\textit{Theme}(e,\textit{child})$
VoiceP

$\lambda e.\exists x[\textit{Initiator}(e,x)]$
Voice

$\lambda e.\textit{carrying}(e)\&\textit{Theme}(e,\textit{child})$
VP

V   DP

$\lambda f_{<e,st>}.\lambda e.\exists x[P(e,x)]$

Voice
$\lambda x.\lambda e.\textit{Initiator}(e,x)$
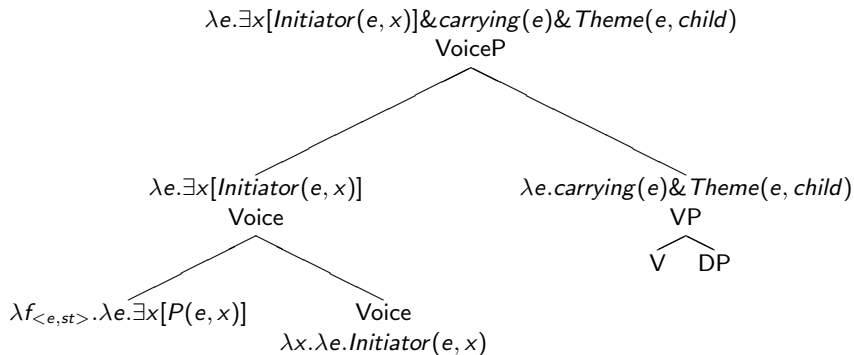
Conclusion

- The Lithuanian 'double passive' is an evidential of a passive, with the grammatical subject raising to genitive case.
- We proposed a theoretical analysis of the passive whereby existential closure applies directly to the functional head that introduces the thematic subject, and thus can only demote the thematic subject.

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THANK YOU!

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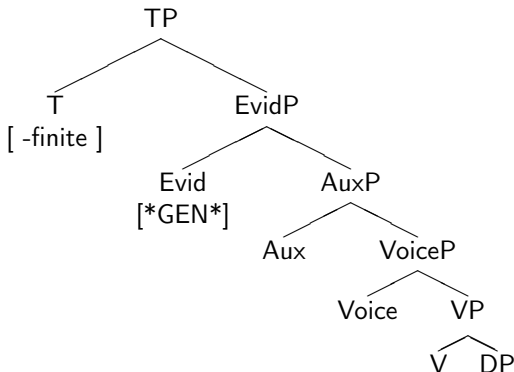
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Appendix 1

- Passive of Evidential or Evidential of a Passive?
  - Case Assignment
  - Semantic Scope
  - The evidential requires a non-finite T.

(34)

Appendix 2

- How do we know if the evidential is non-finite?
  - Evidential bears non-finite morphology - non-agreeing neuter participle.
  - It does not allow finite auxiliary in the passive.

Appendix 3

Evidence for the genitive DP of evidentials behaving like a grammatical subject with unaccusative verbs.

- NOM in unaccusative binds *savo*
- GEN in unaccusative evidential binds *savo*

(35) a. Tas   lapelis$_i$ nutrūko   nuo savo$_i$/*jo$_i$
         that.NOM leaf.NOM come-off-PST.3 from self.GEN/*his.GEN
         šakelės.
         branch.GEN

         'The leaf$_i$ came off its$_i$ branch.'

      b. To   lapelio$_i$ nutrūk-t-a   nuo savo$_i$/*jo$_i$
         that.GEN leaf.GEN come-off-PTCP-N from self.GEN/*his.GEN
         šakelės.
         branch.GEN

         'The leaf$_i$ must have come off its$_i$ branch.'

Appendix 4

In contrast, quirky dative subjects do not trigger agreement on the active participle, unlike structural nominative

(36) Gridėj-au,   Marij-ai   trūk-ę   tėv-ų
     hear-PST.1SG Marija-DAT lack-PST.ACT.PTCP.N parent-PL.GEN
     šilum-os.
     warmth-GEN.F.SG

     'I heard that Maria lacked parents' warmth.'

(37) Gridėj-au,   Marij-a   (yra)   gyven-us-i
     hear-PST.1SG Marija-NOM be.PRS.3 live-PST.ACT.PTCP-F.SG.NOM
     šiame bendrabutyje.
     this   dorm

     'I heard that Maria lived in this dorm.'