Voice and Case Phenomena in Lithuanian Morphosyntax

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Dissertation committee: David Embick, Heidi Harley, Florian Schwarz

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- This dissertation explores the relationship between Voice, case and subjecthood through the lens of Lithuanian, an understudied Baltic language.

- VoiceP introduces an external θ-role and is the locus of accusative case assignment, whereas vP introduces causative semantics.[1]

  (1) Jon-as   sudauž-ė   vaz-ą.
      Jonas-NOM break-PST.3 vaze-ACC

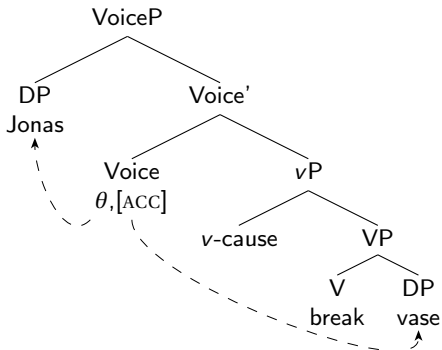   'Jonas broke the vase.'

  (2) Active Transitive

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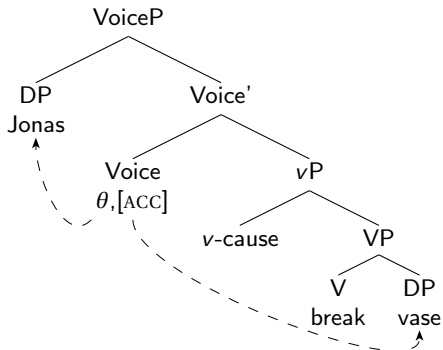
[1] Pylkkänen 1999, 2008; Schäfer 2008; Harley 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer 2015; i.a.

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- This dissertation provides a better understanding of how Voice impacts the assignment of case and what implications this interaction has for Case Theory.

[1]Pylkkänen 1999, 2008; Schäfer 2008; Harley 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer 2015; i.a.

Research Questions

1. What are the necessary or sufficient conditions for structural accusative case to be assigned?

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- Dependent Case Theory: the assignment of accusative case is dependent on a c-commanding DP with structural case.[2]

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- Dependent Case Theory: the assignment of accusative case is dependent on a c-commanding DP with structural case.[2]

Proposal

- Revised Burzio's Generalization: while accusative case must be assigned by a thematic Voice which introduces an external θ-role, the assignment of accusative case by Voice may vary independently from the selection of a specifier.

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Research Questions

2. What are the boundaries between structural and non-structural case, and when do these boundaries break down?

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[3]Chomsky 1981, 1986; Woolford 2006; Pesetsky and Torrego 2011; i.a.

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> ❷ What are the boundaries between structural and non-structural case, and when do these boundaries break down?

- Empirical work[3] on case has established a distinction between two cases:
  - Structural case is assigned on the basis of closest c-command to a DP in an A-position by a functional head.
  - Non-structural case is licensed thematically.

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Proposal

- Marked Structural Case: is an intermediate step between structural and non-structural case.
  - Like structural case, it is assigned by a thematic Voice head and is not related to θ-marking.
  - Like non-structural case, it is assigned obligatorily regardless of the featural makeup of the Voice (passive vs. active)

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1. What types of non-nominative subjects are there? Why do subjects vary as they do in terms of subjecthood properties they exhibit?

- Non-nominative subjects are normally assigned non-structural case lexically determined by a specific class of predicates.[4]
- Languages differ in properties associated with a canonical subject e.g., binding of the subject-oriented anaphor, ability to be PRO.

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  - Languages differ in properties associated with a canonical subject e.g., binding of the subject-oriented anaphor, ability to be PRO.

Proposal

- Non-nominative subjects do not form a homogeneous class and vary in terms of their case assignment.
  - The genitive subject of the evidential behaves like a canonical nominative subject and is assigned structural case by a functional head.
  - The dative subject of *lack*-class predicates shows only a subset of subjecthood properties and its case is non-structural assigned by a lexical verb.

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Outline of the dissertation

- To address this avenue of research, I collected and tested the data that consist of different types of Voice-related phenomena in Lithuanian that have been barely or not at all discussed in the literature.

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- To address this avenue of research, I collected and tested the data that consist of different types of Voice-related phenomena in Lithuanian that have been barely or not at all discussed in the literature.
- The dissertation consists of three main chapters and 8 case studies:
  - §2 Voice and Structural Accusative Case
    - Case Study 1 *-ma/-ta Impersonal*
    - Case Study 2 **Active Existential**
    - Case Study 3 *Passive*
  - §3 Marked Structural Case
    - Case Study 4 **help-class Predicates**
    - Case Study 5 *Ditransitives*
    - Case Study 6 *serve-class Predicates*
  - §4 Subjecthood and Case
    - Case Study 7 *Evidentials*
    - Case Study 8 *lack-class Predicates*

Today

- Structural Accusative Case
- Marked Structural Case

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Research Questions

1. What are the necessary or sufficient conditions for structural accusative case to be assigned?

Active Existential Construction

- The active existential[5] has an accusative theme, but lacks an overt nominative subject. The verb bears active morphology.

(3) Active Existential

    Val-ių   kvieč-ia   į dekanat-ą
    Valius-ACC invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC

    'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.'

                            (adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016:251)

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'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.'

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- The active existential has a grammatical object marked with structural accusative case.
- However, it lacks a syntactically projected implicit external argument.

---

[5] The study is based on Šereikaitė's (to appear) paper in *Linguistic Inquiry*.

Proposal

- This construction is a violation of Burzio's (1986) Generalization and its later versions.
- The active existential Voice is a type of Voice which assigns accusative case, but whose external argument variable is bound at the level of Voice^0 by the existential operator.

(4) Active Existential
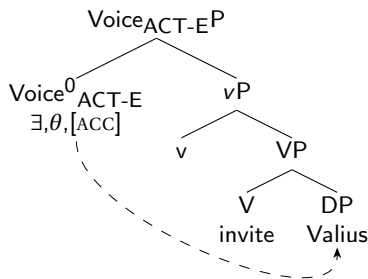
Active Existential

Theme Grammatical Object

ACC Theme = Grammatical Object

- I compare the accusative theme of the active existential with:

  - the accusative theme grammatical object of transitives

  - the nominative theme grammatical subject of passives

ACC Theme = Grammatical Object

- I compare the accusative theme of the active existential with:

  - the accusative theme grammatical object of transitives

  - the nominative theme grammatical subject of passives

➡ The theme of the active existential behaves like a grammatical object of transitives constructions bearing structural accusative.

Genitive of Negation

- When the verb is negated, the object bearing structural accusative case appears with genitive.[6]

(5) *Active Transitive*

    a. Tėv-as   kvieč-ia   Val-ių/*Val-iaus.
       father-NOM invite-PRS.3 Valius-‍ACC‍/Valius-GEN

       'The father is inviting Valius.'

    b. Tėv-as   ne-kvieč-ia   Val-iaus/*Val-ių.
       father-NOM ‍NEG‍-invite-PRS.3 Valius-‍GEN‍/Valius-ACC

       'The father is not inviting Valius.'

---

[6] Arkadiev 2016; Sigurðsson and Šereikaitė 2018.

Genitive of Negation

- The theme of the active existential also becomes genitive, and thus behaves like the object of the transitive.

(6) Active Existential

Val-iaus/*Val-ių   ne-kvieč-ia   į dekanat-ą
Valius-GEN /Valius-ACC NEG -invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC

'It is not the case that someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.'

Genitive of Negation

- The theme of the active existential also becomes genitive, and thus behaves like the object of the transitive.

(6) Active Existential
     Val-iaus/*Val-ių   ne-kvieč-ia   į dekanat-ą
     Valius-GEN /Valius-ACC NEG -invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC
     'It is not the case that someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.'

- In contrast, the theme subject of the passive or unaccusative does not allow genitive.

(7) Passive
     Val-ius/*Val-iaus   nėra   kviečia-m-as   tėv-o.
     Valius-NOM /Valius-GEN NEG .be.PRS.3 invite-PASS.PTCP-NOM father-GEN
     'Valius is not being invited by the father.'

(8) Unaccusative
     Traukin-ys/*traukin-io ne-atvažuoj-a.
     train- NOM /train-GEN NEG -arrive-PRS.3
     'The train is not arriving.'

Binding

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

(9) Grammatical Subject

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

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

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

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

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

(10) 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.'

Binding

- The theme of the active existential patters like a grammatical object in that it binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun.

(11) Active Existential

Val-ių$_i$ kvieč-ia   į dekanat-ą   dėl   **j-o**$_i$/*sav-o$_i$ prast-ų
Valius-ACC invite-PST.3 to dean's.office-ACC because his-GEN/self-GEN bad-GEN

pažym-ių.
grades-GEN

'Someone is inviting Valius$_i$ to the dean's office because of his$_i$ bad grades.'

Binding

- The theme of the active existential patters like a grammatical object in that it binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun.

(11)   Active Existential

Val-ių$_i$ kviеč-ia   į dekanat-ą   dėl   **j-o**$_i$/*sav-o$_i$ prast-ų
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pažym-ių.
grades-GEN

'Someone is inviting Valius$_i$ to the dean's office because of his$_i$ bad grades.'

- In contrast, the theme of the passive binds the subject-oriented anaphor.

(12)   Passive

Tarnautoj-ai$_i$ yra   rūšiuoja-m-i   Domant-o   pagal
Employees-NOM be.PRS.3 divide-PASS.PTCP-NOM Domantas-GEN according.to
sav-o$_i$/j-ų$_i$ įsitikinimus.
self-GEN/their-GEN beliefs

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

Interim Summary

- The theme of the active existential lacks properties associated with a theme grammatical subject. It patterns like a grammatical object of an active transitive.

	Active Existential	Transitive	Passive
GEN of Negation	✓	✓	*
Binding of *savo*	*	*	✓
Optional case transmission	✓	✓	*

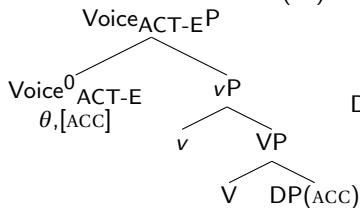Table: Behavior of the theme across constructions

Active Existential

Initiator

Absence of the Projected Initiator

- The active existential has a thematic VoiceP - a projection, which introduces an external argument θ-role.
- However, it lacks a syntactically projected initiator unlike the active transitive.

(13) Active Existential

$$\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT-E}}\text{P}$$

Voice$^0_{\text{ACT-E}}$
θ,[ACC]

vP

v VP

V DP(ACC)

(14) Active Transitive

$$\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT}}\text{P}$$

DP(NOM)

Voice$_{\text{ACT}}$'

Voice$^0_{\text{ACT}}$
θ,[ACC]
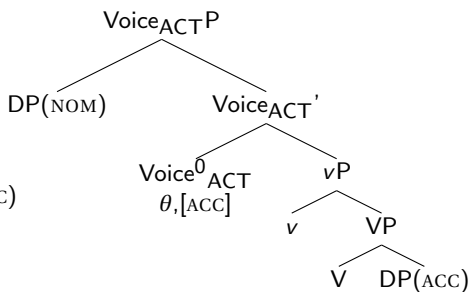
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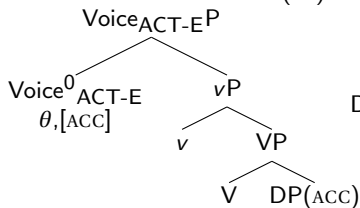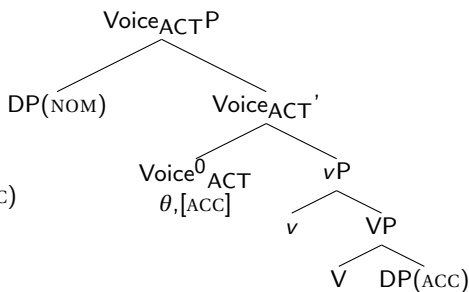
(13) Active Existential

```
        Voice_ACT-E P
        /         \
  Voice^0_ACT-E    vP
   θ,[ACC]        /  \
                v    VP
                    /  \
                   V   DP(ACC)
```

(14) Active Transitive

```
            Voice_ACT P
           /          \
      DP(NOM)      Voice_ACT '
                  /          \
            Voice^0_ACT       vP
             θ,[ACC]         /  \
                            v    VP
                                /  \
                               V   DP(ACC)
```

➤ The licensing of structural accusative case is dissociable from the presence/absence of the external argument, contradicting Burzio's Generalization.

Thematic VoiceP

- The thematic VoiceP is signaled by material that points to the initiator, such as instruments or agent-oriented adverbials.[7]

- The active existential is compatible with both.

(15)   Active Existential

    Lyg šaud-ė   dien-ą mišk-e **su patrank-omis.**
    as.if shoot-PST.3 day-ACC forest-LOC with cannons-INS

    'It seems that someone fired shots in the wood during the day with cannons.'

(16)   Active Existential

    Man   atrod-o,   kad Val-ių **tyčia**   kvieč-ia į dekanat-ą.
    me.DAT appear-PST.3, that Valius-ACC intentionally invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC

    'It appears to me that someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office intentionally.'

---

[7]Bruening 2013; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer 2015.

Absence of Initiator

- There is an on-going debate whether implicit arguments are projected in the syntax.[8]

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[8]Rizzi 1986; Roeper 1987; Williams 1987; Bhatt and Pancheva 2006; Landau 2010; Legate 2014; i.a.

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- The active existential lacks a projected implicit initiator in SpecVoiceP.
- To show that, I compare the active existential with:
  - *-ma/-ta* Impersonal - has a projected initiator
  - Passive - lacks a projected initiator.

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➡ The active existential patterns like the passive.

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Binding

- The unpronounced initiator of the *-ma/-ta* impersonal binds the subject-oriented anapahor *savo*.

(17)   -ma/-ta Impersonal

Dažnai **IMP**ᵢ praranda-m-a   žmogiškum-ą dėl   **sav-o**ᵢ   kalt-ės.
often   lose-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] humanity-ACC because.of self-GEN fault-GEN

'One often loses humanity because of one's own fault.'

Binding

- The unpronounced initiator of the *-ma/-ta* impersonal binds the subject-oriented anapahor *savo*.

(17)   -ma/-ta Impersonal

Dažnai **IMP**$_i$ praranda-m-a   žmogiškum-ą dėl   **sav-o**$_i$ kalt-ės.
often   lose-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] humanity-ACC because.of self-GEN fault-GEN

'One often loses humanity because of one's own fault.'

- The demoted initiator of a passive cannot bind the subject-oriented reflexive *savo*.

(18)   Passive

Šiame fabrike darbuotoj-ai   (yra)   rūšiuoja-m-i   pagal
this   factory employees-NOM be.PRS.3 divide-PASS.PTCP-NOM according.to
(*sav-o$_i$ įsitikinim-us).
self-GEN beliefs-ACC

'In this factory, the employees are being divided according to his beliefs.'
[according to the initiator's beliefs]

Binding

- Like the initiator of the passive, the initiator of the active existential cannot bind the subject-oriented reflexive *savo*, thus it is not projected.

(19) Active Existential

   Val-ių   kvieč-ia   į (*sav-o_i biur-ą).
   Valius-ACC invite-PRS.3 to self-GEN office-ACC

   'Someone_i is inviting Valius to his_i office.'

(20) Active Existential

   Jon-ui   ištryp-ė   darž-ą   su (*sav-o_i bat-ais).
   Jonas-DAT trample-PST.3 garden-ACC with self-GEN shoes-INS

   'Someone_i trampled on Jonas's garden with his_i own shoes.'

Depictives

- The nominative subject of the transitive agrees with the depictive in number, gender and case.

(21) Active Transitive

Kažk-as$_i$ pakviet-ė Valių į vakarėl-į **išgėr-ęs**$_i$.
someone-NOM.M.SG invite-PST.3 Valius-ACC to party drunk-ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG

'Someone$_i$ invited Valius to the party drunk$_i$.'

Depictives

- The nominative subject of the transitive agrees with the depictive in number, gender and case.

(21) Active Transitive

Kažk-as$_i$ pakviet-ė Valių   į vakarėl-į **išgėr-ęs**$_i$.
someone-NOM.M.SG invite-PST.3 Valius-ACC to party   drunk-ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG

'Someone$_i$ invited Valius to the party drunk$_i$.'

- It is ungrammatical for the depictive to predicate over the initiator of the passive.

(22) Passive

Val-ius   buv-o   pa-kvies-t-as   į vakarėlį *išgėrus-io$_i$.
Valius-NOM be-PST.3 invite-PASS.PTCP-NOM to party   drunk-ACT.PTCP.GEN.M.SG

'Valius was invited to the party by a drunk person.'

Depictives

- If the initiator of the active existential is not projected, it should not be able to control a depictive.
- This prediction is borne out. The active existential patterns like the passive.

(23) Active Existential

Val-ių   pakviet-ė   į vakarėl-į *išgėr-ęs_i.
Valius-ACC invite-PST.3 to party-ACC drunk-ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG

'Someone_i invited Valius to the party drunk_i.'

Agreement

- In the perfective evidential, the grammatical subject agrees with the participle in number, gender and case or occurs with the neuter non-agreeing form.

(24) Active Transitive

Girdėjau, kažk-as   buv-o   pakviet-ęs   /
hear   someone-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 invite-ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG /
pakviet-ę   Val-ių   į vakarėlį.
invite-ACT.PTCP.N Valius-ACC to party

'I heard that someone had invited Valius to the party.'

Agreement

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(24) Active Transitive
Girdėjau, kažk-as   buv-o   pakviet-ęs   /
hear   someone-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 invite-ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG /
pakviet-ę   Val-ių   į vakarėlį.
invite-ACT.PTCP.N Valius-ACC to party

'I heard that someone had invited Valius to the party.'

- There is no agreement between the initiator of the active existential and the participle. Only the non-agreeing form is available.

(25) Active Existential
Gridėjau, Val-ių   buv-o   pakviet-ę   / *pakviet-ęs   į
hear   Valius-ACC be-PST.3 invite-ACT.PTCP.N / invite-ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG to
vakarėlį.
party

'I heard that someone had invited Valius to the party.'

Scope

- The overt subject *kažkas* 'someone' may take a wide scope over negation.

  Context: there is a committee of 10 people that can nominate Valius for a scholarship. We count the votes for the nominations and see that 9 out of 10 anonymous committee members nominated Valius for the scholarship. Then we can report the results by saying...

(26) Kažk-as   ne-nominav-o   Val-iaus.
     Someone-NOM NEG-nominate-PST.3 Valius-GEN

     'Someone has not nominated Valius.'   ∃ > ¬

Scope

- In the active existential, negation must take a wide scope over the existential. This is predicted if the subject is unprojected and bound at the level of VoiceP.

  Context: there is a committee of 10 people that can nominate Valius for a scholarship. We count the votes for the nominations and see that 9 out of 10 anonymous committee members nominated Valius for the scholarship. Then we can report the results by saying...

(27) #Val-iaus ne-nominav-o.
     Valius-GEN NEG-nominate-PST.3

     'No one nominated Valius.'   # ¬ > ∃, *∃ > ¬

Interim Summary

- The active existential lacks a projected initiator just like the passive, whereas the *-ma/-ta* impersonal has a projected initiator.

Table: Behavior of the initiator across different constructions

Diagnostic	Active Existential	Passive	*-ma/-ta* Impers.	Active Trans.
binding of 'savo'	*	*	✓	✓
allows depictives	*	*	N/A	✓
allows agreement	*	N/A	N/A	✓
wide scope of negation	*	N/A	N/A	✓

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allows agreement	*	N/A	N/A	✓
wide scope of negation	*	N/A	N/A	✓
allows unaccusatives	*	*	✓	✓
binding of 'each other'	*	*	✓	✓
binding of 'sau'	*	*	✓	✓
binding of 'jo'	*	%	N/A	objects/adjuncts
control into adjuncts	*	*	N/A	✓
word order	theme-V	theme-V	Init.-V-theme	Init.-V-theme

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- Burzio's Generalization claims that accusative is available only if there is a projected external argument.

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- Burzio's Generalization claims that accusative is available only if there is a projected external argument.

	Theme	Initiator	BG
-ma/-ta Impersonal	ACC object	projected Initiator	✓
Passive	NOM subject	no projected Initiator	✓
Active Existential	ACC object	no projected Initiator	unexpected

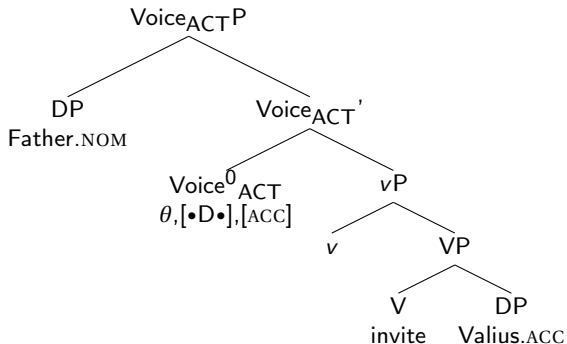Table: Theme and Initiator across constructions

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Table: Theme and Initiator across constructions

➡ The active existential contradicts Burzio's Generalization.
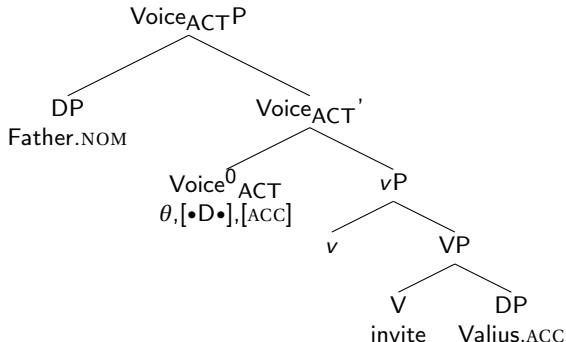
Active Existential

Analysis

Analysis: Active Transitive

(28)   Active Transitive

VoiceACTP
├── DP
│   Father.NOM
└── VoiceACT'
     ├── Voice⁰ACT
     │   θ,[•D•],[ACC]
     └── vP
          ├── v
          └── VP
               ├── V
               │   invite
               └── DP
                    Valius.ACC

---

[9] Müller 2010

Analysis: Active Transitive

(28) Active Transitive

Tree structure:
- Voice$_{ACT}$P
  - DP (Father.NOM)
  - Voice$_{ACT}$'
    - Voice$^0_{ACT}$, θ,[•D•],[ACC]
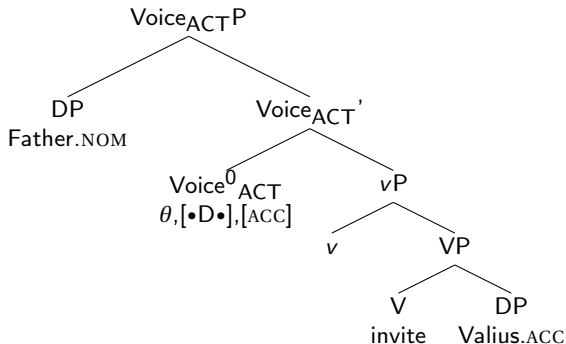   - vP
      - v
      - VP
        - V (invite)
        - DP (Valius.ACC)

- The active transitive has a thematic Voice, Voice$_{ACT}$, which introduces an external argument variable represented by θ.

---

[9] Müller 2010

Analysis: Active Transitive

(28)   Active Transitive
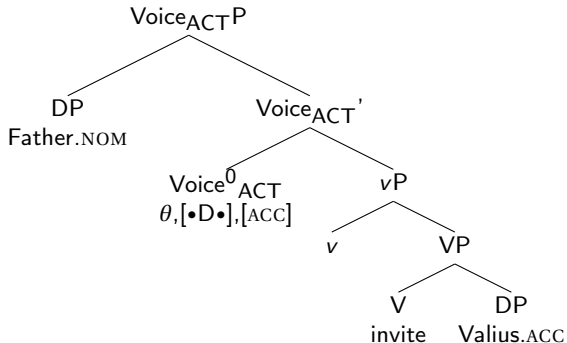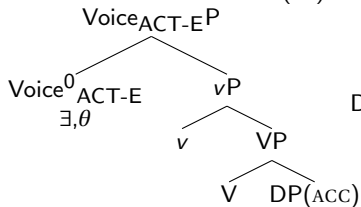

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Analysis: Active Transitive

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- The active transitive has a thematic Voice, Voice$_{ACT}$, which introduces an external argument variable represented by θ.
- Voice$_{ACT}$ requires a specifier to be merged in SpecVoice$_{ACT}$P, which is encoded by the [•D•] feature.[9]
- The variable is saturated by the thematic subject in SpecVoice$_{ACT}$P.

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[9]Müller 2010
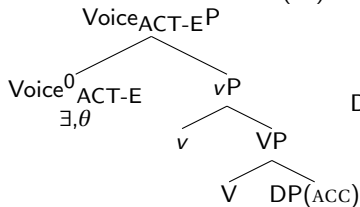
Analysis: Active Existential
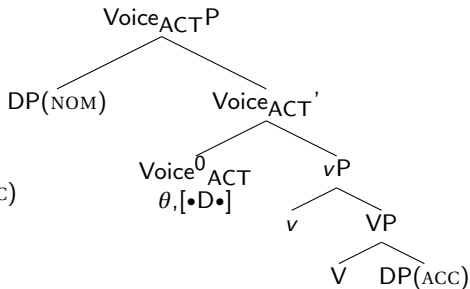
(29) Active Existential

$$\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT-E}}\text{P}$$

Voice$^0_{\text{ACT-E}}$ $\exists,\theta$ vP

      v VP

         V   DP(ACC)

(30) Active Transitive

$$\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT}}\text{P}$$

DP(NOM)   Voice$_{\text{ACT}}'$

     Voice$^0_{\text{ACT}}$ $\theta,[\bullet\text{D}\bullet]$ vP
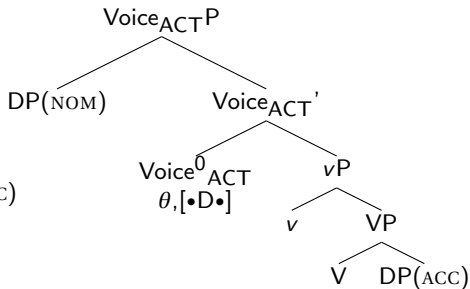
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             V   DP(ACC)

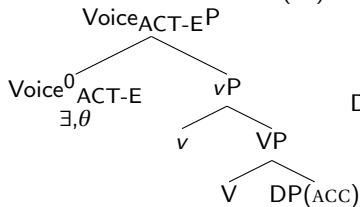# Analysis: Active Existential

(29) Active Existential

(30) Active Transitive

- The active existential also has a thematic Voice, Voice$_{\text{ACT-E}}$, which introduces an external argument variable represented by θ.

Analysis: Active Existential

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Voice$_{\text{ACT-E}}$P
- Voice$^0_{\text{ACT-E}}$ $\exists,\theta$
- vP
  - v
  - VP
    - V
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(30) Active Transitive

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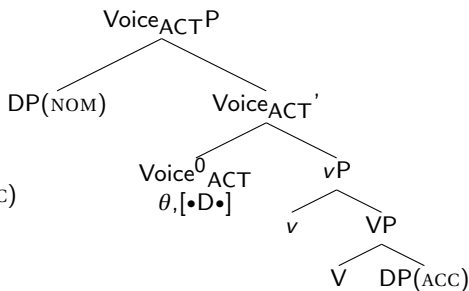 - vP
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- The active existential also has a thematic Voice, Voice$_{\text{ACT-E}}$, which introduces an external argument variable represented by θ.

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Analysis: Active Existential

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$$\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT-E}}\text{P}$$

Voice$^0_{\text{ACT-E}}$
$\exists, \theta$

vP

v VP

V   DP(ACC)

(30) Active Transitive

$$\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT}}\text{P}$$

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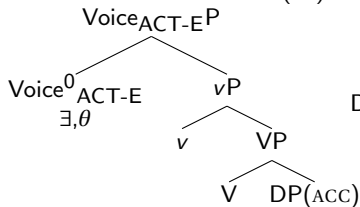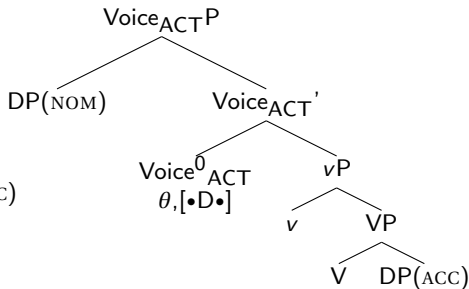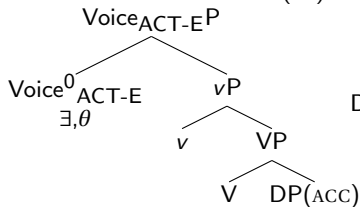
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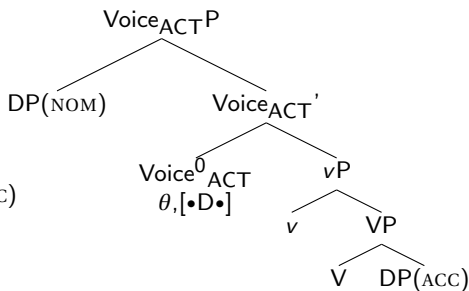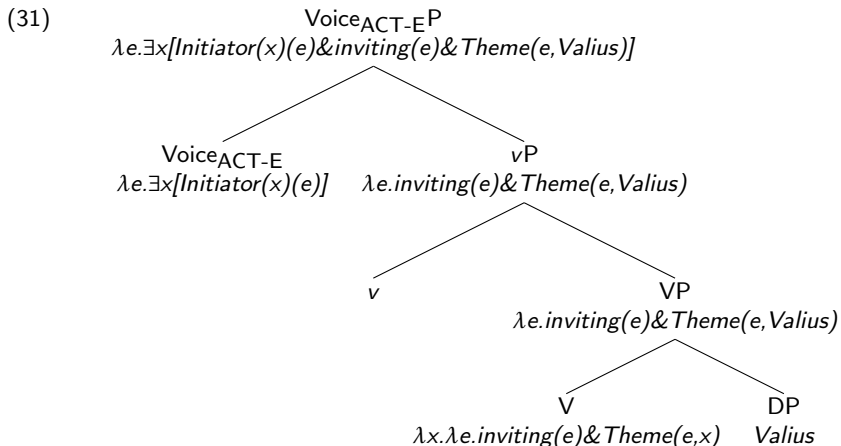

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- The active existential also has a thematic Voice, Voice$_{ACT-E}$, which introduces an external argument variable represented by θ.

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- Voice$_{ACT-E}$ is different from Voice$_{ACT}$ in that its external argument variable is introduced already bound at the level of Voice^0.

Analysis

- The existential operator that binds the external argument variable is a part of the lexical entry of this Voice head.

(31)

$\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT-E}}\text{P}$
λe.∃x[Initiator(x)(e)&inviting(e)&Theme(e,Valius)]

$\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT-E}}$
λe.∃x[Initiator(x)(e)]

*v*P
λe.inviting(e)&Theme(e,Valius)

v

VP
λe.inviting(e)&Theme(e,Valius)

V
λx.λe.inviting(e)&Theme(e,x)

DP
Valius

Analysis: Why in the lexicon?

- In passives, the Voice head also enters the derivation with an external argument variable.

---

[10]Roberts 1987; Williams 1987; Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Bruening and Tran 2015; Sigurðsson 2017; Schäfer 2017

Analysis: Why in the lexicon?

- In passives, the Voice head also enters the derivation with an external argument variable.
- Given that *by*-phrases are optional, the external argument can be saturated by a *by*-phrase, or when no *by*-phrase is present, by the Existential Closure in the post-syntactic LF component.[10]

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(32) Val-ius   buv-o   pakvies-t-as   (tėv-o).
      Valius-NOM be-PST.3 invite-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG father-GEN

      'Valius was invited (by the father).'

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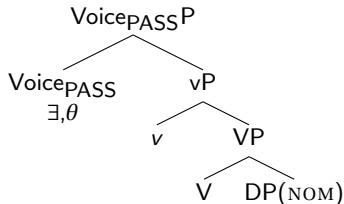
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---

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Analysis: Why in the lexicon?

- In the active existential, *by*-phrases are always blocked.

(34) *Val-ių   kvieč-ia   į dekanat-ą   kažkien-o.
     Valius.ACC invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC someone-GEN

   Lit. 'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office by someone.'

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> ➧ The existential operator, which binds the initiator variable, is built into the active existential Voice head lexically rather than being introduced by an unselective binding operation of the Existential Closure that applies at LF.

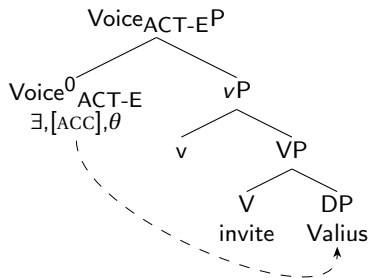# Analysis: Case Assignment
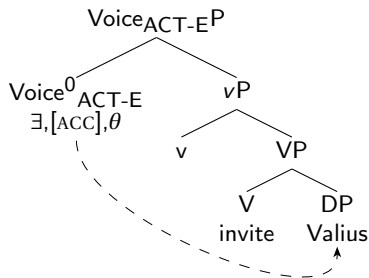
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Analysis: Case Assignment

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- The active existential has a thematic active Voice head, namely Voice^0$_{\text{ACT-E}}$, which is a source of the accusative case.

Analysis: Case Assignment

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- The active existential has a thematic active Voice head, namely Voice$^0_{\text{ACT-E}}$, which is a source of the accusative case.
- However, there is no initiator in SpecVoice$_{\text{ACT-E}}$P which indicates that no external argument is necessary in the specifier position for the accusative case to be assigned by this Voice head.

Analysis: Case Assignment

- The active existential counterexemplifies Burzio's Generalization and Dependent Case Theory whereby the assignment of accusative is dependent on the co-occurrence of higher clause-mate DP with structural case.

Analysis: Case Assignment

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- I propose a revised version of Burzio's generalization where the assignment of accusative case is not dependent on the presence of a projected initiator.

Analysis: Case Assignment

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- I propose a revised version of Burzio's generalization where the assignment of accusative case is not dependent on the presence of a projected initiator.

Revised Burzio's Generalization

- While accusative case must be assigned by a thematic Voice which introduces an external θ-role, the assignment of accusative case by Voice may vary independently from the selection of a specifier.

Table of Contents

Research Questions

2. What are the boundaries between structural and non-structural case?

Case Studies

- §2 Voice and Structural Accusative Case
  - Case Study 1 *-ma/-ta Impersonal*
  - Case Study 2 *Active Existential*
  - Case Study 3 *Passive*
- §3 Marked Structural Case
  - Case Study 4 ***help-class Predicates***
  - Case Study 5 *Ditransitives*
  - Case Study 6 *serve-class Predicates*
- §4 Subjecthood and Case
  - Case Study 7 *Evidentials*
  - Case Study 8 *lack-class Predicates*

Structural vs. Non-Structural Case

- Structural case is assigned on the basis of closest c-command to a DP in an A-position by a functional head e.g., assignment of nominative to a subject.

---

[11]This is the type of case that in McGinnis' (1998) work is known as inert.

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Proposal

- Marked Structural Case: is an intermediate step between structural and non-structural case.

---

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Help-class Constructions

- *Help-class* predicates[12] take a dative direct object which:
  - advances to a nominative subject → behaves like structural case
  - is retained in the passive → behaves like non-structural case

---

[12]The study is based on my joint work with Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Marcel Pitteroff, see Sigurðsson et al. 2018.

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(36)   a. Vaik-as   padėj-o   tėv-ui/*tėv-ą.
           Child-NOM help-PST.3 father-[DAT]/father-ACC
           'The child helped the father.'

       b. Tėv-as   buv-o   vaik-o   padeda-m-as.
           Father-[NOM] be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PASS.PTCP-NOM
           'The father was (being) helped by the child.'   *Agreeing Passive*

       c. Tėv-ui   buv-o   vaik-o   padeda-m-a.
           Father-[DAT] be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
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Marked Structural Case

- Help-class constructions do not have two distinct datives: i) structural dative and ii) inherent dative.

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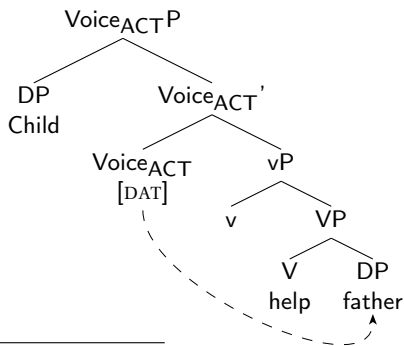
Marked Structural Case

- Help-class constructions do not have two distinct datives: i) structural dative and ii) inherent dative.
- The dative case of *help*-class predicates is marked structural case.
- Like structural accusative case, the dative of *help*-class predicates is assigned by a thematic Voice head rather than along with a θ-role.[13]

(37) *Active*

---

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Marked Structural Case

- Like inherent case, the dative of *help*-class predicates is assigned obligatorily regardless of the featural makeup of the Voice (passive vs. active).

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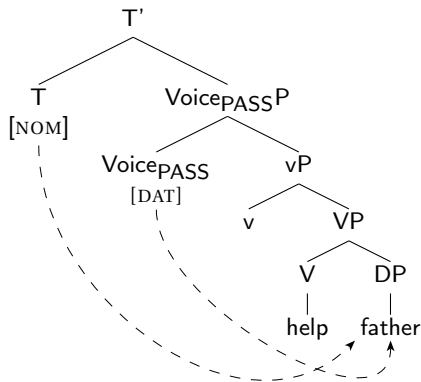
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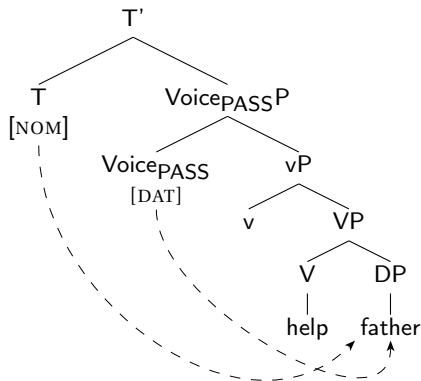

- Once this case is assigned, it can optionally be overwritten by nominative and become a grammatical subject.[14]

---

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Help-class Constructions

Passives

Passives with Help-class Predicates

Help-class predicates

- *atstovauti* - 'to represent', *kenkti* - 'to harm', **padėti** - 'to help', *pirmininkauti* - 'to chair', **pritarti** - 'to approve, to give support to', *vadovauti* - 'to govern, manage'

- *Help*-class constructions form two types of passives which differ from each other in terms of the grammatical function of the theme.[15]

  - Agreeing Passives - the theme advances to a nominative subject

  - Impersonal Passives - the theme retains its dative case and behaves like an object rather than a quirky subject.

---

[15]Sigurðsson et al. 2018

Binding

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

(39) Grammatical Subject

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

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

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

(40) 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.'

Binding

- In agreeing passives, the nominative theme binds the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*, and behaves like a grammatical subject.

    Agreeing Passive

(41) **Tėv-as**$_i$ buv-o   vaik-o   padeda-m-as   **sav-o**$_i$**/jo**$_i$ namuose.
     Father-NOM be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PASS.PTCP-NOM self-GEN/his.GEN house.

     'The father$_i$ was being helped by the child in his$_i$ house.'

Binding

- The dative theme in the impersonal binds the anti-subject oriented pronoun *jo* and behaves like a grammatical object.

  Impersonal Passives

(42) **Tėv-ui**$_i$ buv-o vaik-o   padeda-m-a   *sav-o$_i$/**jo**$_i$ namuose.
       father-DAT be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] self-GEN/his.GEN house

       'The father$_i$ was being helped by the child in his$_i$ house.'

Binding

- The dative theme in the impersonal binds the anti-subject oriented pronoun *jo* and behaves like a grammatical object.

Impersonal Passives

(42) **Tėv-ui**$_i$ buv-o vaik-o padeda-m-a *sav-o$_i$/**jo**$_i$ namuose.
father-DAT be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] self-GEN/his.GEN house

'The father$_i$ was being helped by the child in his$_i$ house.'

- The dative quirky subject of *lack*-class predicates binds the subject-oriented anaphor.

Quirky Dative Subject

(43) **Jon-ui**$_i$ trūkst-a pinig-ų **sav-o**$_i$ reikm-ėms
Jonas-DAT lack-PRS.3 money-GEN self-GEN needs-DAT

'Jonas lacks money for his own needs.'

Ditransitives

- In ditransitive constructions, the indirect object is assigned inherent dative which is retained under passivization. It is ungrammatical to promote the dative indirect object to a nominative subject.

(44) Ditransitives

    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)

Binding

- In the passive of ditransitives, the dative object does not advance to a subject. It binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *jo* and behaves like an object.

(45) 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$_i$
        mother-DAT be-PST.3 give-PASS.PTCP-NOM child-NOM her.GEN/self.GEN
        namuose.
        house

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

➡ The inherent dative is invisible for A-movement, a DP marked with this case retains its grammatical status.

Interim Summary

	Theme in Agreeing PASS with *help*-class	Theme in Impersonal PASS with *help*-class	IO in PASS with *ditransitives*
binding of *savo*	✓	*	*
ability to be PRO	✓	*	*
agreement	✓	*	*

Table: Passives of *help* constructions and ditransitives

- The dative theme of *help*-class is retained in the impersonal passive. It is not visible for A-movement and does not become a grammatical subject.
    - The dative of *help*-class behaves like inherent dative.
- The theme advances to nominative and patterns like a grammatical subject in the agreeing passive.
    - It behaves like a DP marked with structural case.

Help-class Constructions

Nominalizations

Complex Event Nominalization

- In nominalizations, the theme with structural accusative case advances to genitive and precedes the deverbal noun.[16]
- The nominative agent also bears genitive.[17]

(46) a. Jon-as   sunaik-in-o   augal-us   per   kelias minutes.
          Jonas-⎡NOM⎤ destroy-CAUS-PST.3 plants-⎡ACC⎤ within couple minutes
          'Jonas destroyed the plants in a couple of minutes.'

      b. Jon-o   augal-ų   sunaik-in-im-as   per   kelias minutes
          Jono-⎡GEN.H⎤ plants-⎡GEN.L⎤ destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM within couple minutes
          'Jonas' destruction of the plants in a couple of minutes'

---

[16]Pakerys 2006; Vladarskienė 2010; Zaika 2016

[17]The two genitives in nominalizations are morphologically identical for 3rd person, but distinct for 1st and 2nd person singular.

Complex Event Nominalization

- The inherent dative cannot be replaced by genitive. It retains its case and occurs post-nominally.

(47) Vaik-as   netikėtai   dav-ė   tėv-ui   obuol-į.
      child-NOM unexpectedly give-PST.3 father-[DAT] apple-ACC

      'The child unexpectedly gave the father the apple.'

(48) vaik-o   netikėtas   obuol-io   **dav-im-as**   tėv-ui/*tėv-o
      child-GEN unexpected apple-GEN give-NMLZ-NOM father-[DAT]/father-GEN

      'child's unexpected giving of the apple to the father'

(49) *vaik-o   netikėtas   tėv-o/tėv-ui   obuol-io   **dav-im-as**
      child-GEN unexpected father-GEN/father-DAT apple-GEN give-NMLZ-NOM

      'child's unexpected giving of the apple to the father'

(Adapted from Sigurðsson et al. 2018:9)

Complex Event Nominalization

- The dative of *help*-class predicates is retained when in situ, thus behaves like inherent case.

Complex Event Nominalization

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- The theme becomes genitive when it precedes the deverbal noun, thus behaves like structural case.

Complex Event Nominalization

- The dative of *help*-class predicates is retained when in situ, thus behaves like inherent case.
- The theme becomes genitive when it precedes the deverbal noun, thus behaves like structural case.

(50) a. Parlamentas   pritar-ė   projektui.
          parliament-GEN approve-PST.3 project-[DAT]

   'The parliament approved the projected.'

   b. [Parlament-o   greitas **pritar-im-as**   projekt-ui/*projekt-o
       parliament-GEN quick approve-NMLZ-NOM project-[DAT]/project-GEN

   'Parliament's quick approval of the project'

   c. Parlament-o   greitas projekt-o/*projekt-ui   **pritarimas**
       parliament-GEN quick project-[GEN]/project-DAT approve-NMLZ-NOM

   'Parliament's quick approval of the project'

Help-class Constructions

Preposition *po*

Marked Structural: Between structural and non-structural

- Evidence from the preposition *po* demonstrates that:[18]

---

[18]Anderson 2013; 2015; Sigurðsson et al. 2018

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- Evidence from the preposition *po* demonstrates that:[18]

➡ *Help*-class predicates do not have two distinct datives: i) structural dative and ii) inherent dative.

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[18]Anderson 2013; 2015; Sigurðsson et al. 2018

Marked Structural: Between structural and non-structural

- Evidence from the preposition *po* demonstrates that:[18]

  ➡ *Help*-class predicates do not have two distinct datives: i) structural dative and ii) inherent dative.

  ➡ The dative of *help*-class predicates is a type of structural case, but it is marked in that it is assigned obligatorily like inherent case.

---

[18] Anderson 2013; 2015; Sigurðsson et al. 2018

Preposition *Po*

- The preposition *po* roughly means 'each'. It imposes a distributive reading.[19]

(51)   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)

---

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

Preposition *Po*

- The distributive *po* can also function as a subject e.g., a subject of passives.
- The preposition assigns accusative case to its complement.

(52) Plantacijoje nuo kiekvieno medžio darbinink-ų buv-o   nuskin-t-os
      plantation from each   tree   workers-GEN be-PST.3 pick-PASS.PTCP-NOM
      kriauš-ės/*kriauš-es.
      pears-$\boxed{\text{NOM}}$/pears-ACC

      'In the plantation, pears were picked by workers from each tree.'

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(52) Plantacijoje nuo kiekvieno medžio darbinink-ų buv-o nuskin-t-os
plantation from each tree workers-GEN be-PST.3 pick-PASS.PTCP-NOM
kriauš-ės/*kriauš-es.
pears-⟨NOM⟩/pears-ACC

'In the plantation, pears were picked by workers from each tree.'

(53) Plantacijoje nuo kiekvieno medžio darbinink-ų buv-o nuskin-t-a
plantation from each tree workers-GEN be-PST.3 pick-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
po kriauš-ę/*kriauš-ė.
⟨DISTR⟩ pear-⟨ACC⟩/pear-NOM

'In the plantation, a (different) pear was picked by workers from each tree.'

Preposition *Po*

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- The complement of the preposition is always assigned accusative case.

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	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*.[20] The inherent dative needs to be obligatorily assigned, but its assignment is blocked by *po*.

Ditransitives

(54) *Jon-as   dav-ė   po   vaik-ą/vaik-ui   obuol-į.
      Jonas-NOM give-PST.3 DISTR child-$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$ /child-$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$ apple-ACC

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

---

[20] Anderson 2013, 2015

Preposition *Po*

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(54)   *Jon-as   dav-ė   po   vaik-ą/vaik-ui   obuol-į.

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

- If the dative of the *help*-class were ambiguous between inherent and structural, then we would expect it to be compatible with *po*.

help-class

(55)   *Advokat-ai   padėj-o   po   darbinink-ą/darbinink-ui

       lawyers-NOM help-PST.3 DISTR worker-$\boxed{\text{ACC}}$/worker-$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$

       'The lawyers helped one worker each.'

---

[20] Anderson 2013, 2015

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- DPs with inherent case cannot be complements of *po*.[20] The inherent dative needs to be obligatorily assigned, but its assignment is blocked by *po*.

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  help-class

(55) *Advokat-ai padėj-o   po   darbinink-ą/darbinink-ui
     lawyers-NOM help-PST.3 DISTR worker-[ACC]/worker-[DAT]

     'The lawyers helped one worker each.'

➡ The dative of *help*-class predicates is not possible with *po*, thus it behaves like an inherent case in that it needs to be assigned obligatorily.

---
[20]Anderson 2013, 2015

Preposition *Po* and Passives

- The preposition *po* can be applied to the nominative subject of passives.

Passive + *po*

(56) Plantacijoje nuo kiekvieno medžio darbinink-ų buv-o   nuskin-t-a
      plantation   from each   tree   workers-GEN be-PST.3 pick-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]

      po   kriauš-ę/*kriauš-ė.
      DISTR pear-ACC/pear-NOM

      'In the plantation, a (different) pear was picked by workers from each tree.'

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     plantation   from each   tree   workers-GEN be-PST.3 pick-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
     po   kriauš-ę/*kriauš-ė.
     DISTR pear-ACC /pear-NOM

     'In the plantation, a (different) pear was picked by workers from each tree.'

- The theme of *help*-class predicates also becomes a nominative subject under passivization.

  Agreeing Passive with *help*-class

(57) Darbinink-ai buv-o   padeda-m-i   advokat-ų.
     workers-NOM be-PST.3 help-PASS.PTCP-NOM lawyers-GEN

     'The workers were helped by the lawyers.'

Preposition *Po* and Passives

- The preposition *po* can be applied to the nominative subject of passives.

  Passive + *po*

(56) Plantacijoje nuo kiekvieno medžio darbinink-ų buv-o nuskin-t-a
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'In the plantation, a (different) pear was picked by workers from each tree.'

- The theme of *help*-class predicates also becomes a nominative subject under passivization.

  Agreeing Passive with *help*-class

(57) Darbinink-ai buv-o padeda-m-i advokat-ų.
workers-NOM be-PST.3 help-PASS.PTCP-NOM lawyers-GEN

'The workers were helped by the lawyers.'

➡ The preposition *po* should be compatible with the agreeing passive of *help*-class predicates.

Preposition *Po* and Passives

- It is ungrammatical to apply the preposition *po* to the theme of *help*-class predicates under passivization!

  Agreeing Passive with *help*-class and *po*

(58) *Advokat-ų buv-o   padeda-m-a   po   darbinink-ą/darbinink-ui
       lawyers-GEN be-PST.3 help-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] DISTR worker-ACC/worker-DAT

      'Each worker was being helped by the lawyers.'

Preposition *Po* and Passives

- It is ungrammatical to apply the preposition *po* to the theme of *help*-class predicates under passivization!

  Agreeing Passive with *help*-class and *po*
(58) *Advokat-ų buv-o padeda-m-a po darbinink-ą/darbinink-ui
      lawyers-GEN be-PST.3 help-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] DISTR worker-ACC/worker-DAT

      'Each worker was being helped by the lawyers.'

> ➡ The dative of *help*-class predicates behaves like an inherent case in that it needs to be assigned obligatorily not only in the active, but also in the passive!

Interim Summary

	ACC object	DAT object *help*-class	DAT object *ditransitives*
NOM case in Passives	✓	✓(optional)	*
GEN in Nominalizations	✓	✓(optional)	*
NOM with evidentials	✓	*	*
GEN of Negation	✓	*	*
allows preposition *po*	✓	*	*

Table: Summary of Diagnostics

- The dative case of *help*-class predicates can be replaced by other structural cases in passives and nominalizations, thus patterns like structural case.

Interim Summary

	ACC object	DAT object *help*-class	DAT object *ditransitives*
NOM case in Passives	✓	✓(optional)	*
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GEN of Negation	✓	*	*
allows preposition *po*	✓	*	*

Table: Summary of Diagnostics

- The dative case of *help*-class predicates can be replaced by other structural cases in passives and nominalizations, thus patterns like structural case.

- However, this case is marked: the dative case must be obligatorily assigned in the active and passive, which is a characteristic behavior of inherent case.

Marked Structural Case

Analysis

Locus of Marked Structural Case

- The marked structural dative of *help*-class predicates is assigned by a thematic VoiceP. The assignment of dative is parallel to the assignment of structural accusative case.

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     Child-NOM help-PST.3 father-$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$/father-ACC

     'The child helped the father.'

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(59) Vaik-as   padėj-o   tėv-ui/*tėv-ą.
      Child-NOM help-PST.3 father-$\boxed{\text{DAT}}$/father-ACC

      'The child helped the father.'

(60) *Active*
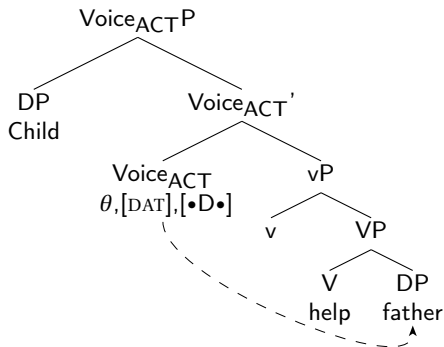
Passives

- The dative of the *help*-class predicates is obligatory in the passive.

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- In the impersonal passive, the passive Voice assigns the dative and the theme retains its status as a grammatical object.

(61) Tėv-ui   buv-o   vaik-o   padeda-m-a.
      Father-**DAT** be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]

      'The father was being helped by the child.'   Impersonal Passive

Passives

- The dative of the *help*-class predicates is obligatory in the passive.
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      Father-**DAT** be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]

      'The father was being helped by the child.'   Impersonal Passive

(62)
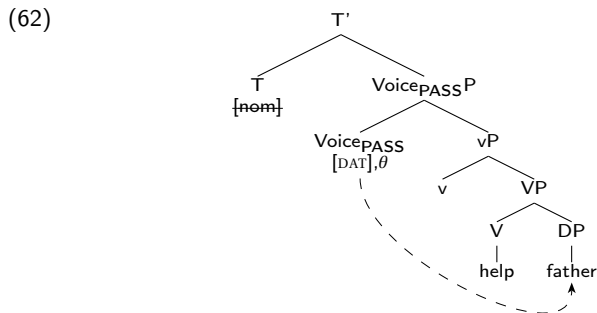
Passives with help-class predicates

- The dative theme can optionally be overwritten by nominative and become a grammatical subject forming the agreeing passive.

(63) Tėv-as   buv-o   vaik-o   padeda-m-as.
     Father-**NOM** be-**PST**.3 child-**GEN** help-**PASS**.**PTCP**-**NOM**

     'The father was (being) helped by the child.'   *Agreeing Passive*

(64)
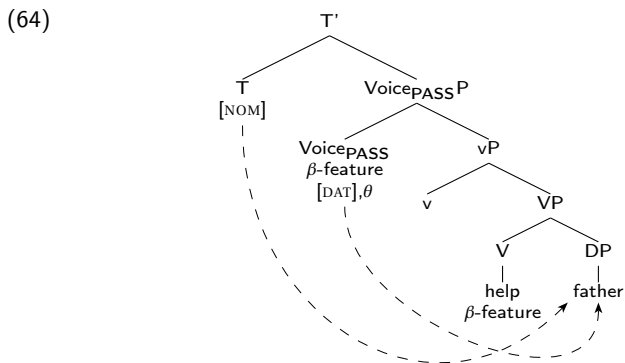
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Conclusion

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Conclusion

- This dissertation provided new empirical discoveries with consequences both for how case is assigned and the range of possible types of cases.
- I have provided important insights about conditions that govern the assignment of structural accusative case, suggesting that Burzio's Generalization is not a linguistic universal but a typological tendency.
- Specifically, I have proposed a new flavor of active Voice: one that assigns accusative case and yet semantically introduces the initiator as existentially bound rather than projecting a specifier.

Conclusion

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Conclusion

- This dissertation contributes to Case Theory by showing that there exist mixed cases like marked structural case.
- Marked structural case - is an intermediate step between structural case and non-structural case.
- I have established various syntactic tests to distinguish between different types of datives in the language. Specifically, I have identified three distinct datives in Lithuanian:
  - Marked Structural Dative
  - Inherent Dative
  - Quirky Dative

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Appendix: Partial pro-drop

- Lithuanian is a partial pro-drop language.[21] Its 1st and 2nd definite subject pronouns are optionally null.

(65) **(Aš)** kvieč-iau Val-ių į dekanat-ą.
      I.NOM invite-‾PST.1SG‾ Valius-ACC to dean's.office-ACC

      'I was inviting/invited Valius to the dean's office.'

- 3rd person definite pronouns cannot be null unless they have a previously mentioned linguistic antecedent.

(66) *(**Jis/jie**) kviet-ė Val-ių į dekanat-ą.
      he.NOM/they.NOM invite-‾PST.3‾ Valius-ACC to dean's.office-ACC

      'He/they was/were inviting/invited Valius to the dean's office.'

(67) **Jon-as**$_i$ sak-ė, kad **(jis**$_i$**)** nupirk-o motin-ai nam-ą.
      Jonas-NOM say-PST.3 that he-NOM buy-PST.3 mother-DAT house-ACC

      'Jonas$_i$ said that he$_i$ bought the mother a house.'

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[21]Holmberg 2005, 2010; Holmberg, Nayudu, and Sheehan 2009

Appendix: Active Existential

- However, when the initiator is interpreted as the indefinite pronoun 'someone' or 'some people', the subject can be null.
- The initiator can be either animate or inanimate.

(68) Active Existential

    a. Lyg šaud-ė   dien-ą mišk-e.
       as.if shoot-PST.3 day-ACC forest-LOC

       'It seems that (someone) fired shots in the wood during the day.'

    b. Jam   pavog-ė   arkl-į.
       he.DAT steal-PST.3 horse-ACC

       'Someone stole a horse from him.'

    c. Val-iui   atsiunt-ė pakvietim-ą į vakarėl-į.
       Valius-DAT send-PST.3 invitation-ACC to party-ACC

       'Someone has sent Valius an invitation to the party.'

    d. Man atrod-o,   kad mane su-kandžioj-o.
       me.DAT appear-PST.3 that me.ACC PRF-bite-PST.3

       'It appears to me that something bit me (all over).' (e.g., mosquitoes)

Appendix: Topicalized Object

- In fact, the theme of the active existential bears identical binding relations to a topicalized grammatical object meaning that it has undergone A-bar movement to a projection above TP.

(69) Topicalized Object

Val-ių$_i$ tėv-as mat-ė **j-o**$_i$/*sav-o$_i$ namuos-e.
Valius-ACC father-NOM see-PST.3 his-GEN/self-GEN house-LOC.

'It was Valius$_i$ that the father saw in his$_i$ house.'

(70) Active Existential

Val-ių$_i$ kviеč-ia į dekanat-ą dėl **j-o**$_i$/*sav-o$_i$ prast-ų
Valius-ACC invite-PST.3 to dean's.office-ACC because his-GEN/self-GEN bad-GEN
pažym-ių.
grades-GEN

'Someone is inviting Valius$_i$ to the dean's office because of his$_i$ bad grades.'

Appendix: Unaccusatives

- The active existential is incompatible with unaccusative predicates which lack a thematic VoiceP.

(71)   Active Existential

*Per   žin-ias   mes   sužinojo-me, jog šiandiena mir-ė   nuo grip-o.
through news-ACC we.NOM learn-PST.1PL that today   die-PST.3 from flu-GEN.

'On the news we have learned that today someone/some people died from flu.'

Appendix: Word Order

- Word order in Lithuanian may vary depending on the 'communicative intention'. Ambrazas et al. (1997) note that in Lithuanian, old information precedes new information.

- The active existential is similar to passives in that it is also used in situations where the initiator is unknown, less relevant to the hearer.

- In the active existential, the Topic of the sentence is the grammatical object, and therefore it occupies the pre-verbal position.

(72) Jon-as   man   sak-ė,   kad vakar **vien-ą student-ą pakviet-ė** į
      Jonas-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday one-ACC student-ACC invite-PST.3 to
      dekanat-ą.
      dean's.office-ACC

      'Jonas told me that yesterday someone invited one student to the dean's office.'
      (theme-verb)

Appendix: Why in the lexicon?

- The English implicit object may also be existentially bound in the lexicon.
- (i) has an interpretation where there is no one that I read a book to. The implicit object cannot take scope over 'to no one' instead it scopes beneath the PP.
- The implicit object's inability to have a wide scope over the PP can be accounted for if we assume that the implicit object is bound in the lexicon.

(i)   I read to no one.   (Kyle Johnson (pc))

Appendix: Restructuring

- *Bandyti* 'to try' is a restructuring predicate whose complement is no bigger than vP, and thus lacks VoiceP.
- The theme of the infinitive becomes the nominative grammatical subject of the matrix verb forming a long-distance passive.

(73) Long-distance Passive

    a. Jon-as   band-ė [aug-in-ti   šiuos augal-us miške].
        Jonas-NOM try-PST.3 grow-CAUS-INF these plants-ACC forest

        'Jonas tried to grow these plants in the forest.'

    b. Šie augal-ai$_i$ buv-o Jon-o   bando-m-i   [aug-in-ti   t$_i$
        these plants-NOM be-PST.3 Jonas-GEN try-PASS.PTCP-NOM grow-CAUS-INF
        miške].
        forest

        'These plants were tried to grow in the forest by Jonas.'

Appendix: Restructuring

- The theme of *help*-class predicates can become a nominative subject.

(74) Tėv-as   buv-o   padeda-m-as   Jono.
     father-$\boxed{\text{NOM}}$ be-PST.3 help-PASS.PTCP-NOM Jonas-GEN

     'The father was (being) helped by Jonas.'

- If the dative were obligatorily assigned by *v* in the infinitive, then it should be possible for the theme to optionally advance to a grammatical subject of the matrix and form a long-distance passive.

- However, it is ungrammatical to form a long-distance passive!

(75) Long-distance Passive with help-class predicates

   a. Jon-as   band-ė padė-ti tėv-ui.
      Jonas-NOM try-PST.3 help-INF father-DAT

      'Jonas tried to help the father.'

   b. *Tėv-as$_i$ buv-o   bando-m-as   [t$_i$ padė-ti Jon-o].
      father-$\boxed{\text{NOM}}$ be-PST.3 try-PASS.PTCP-NOM   help-INF Jonas-GEN

      'The father was tried to help by Jonas.'

Appendix: Restructuring

➧ The marked structural dative must be assigned by a thematic Voice. The complement of restructuring lacks VoiceP. As a result, the dative cannot be assigned and the derivation crashes.

(76)   *Long-distance Passive with help 👶👶👶
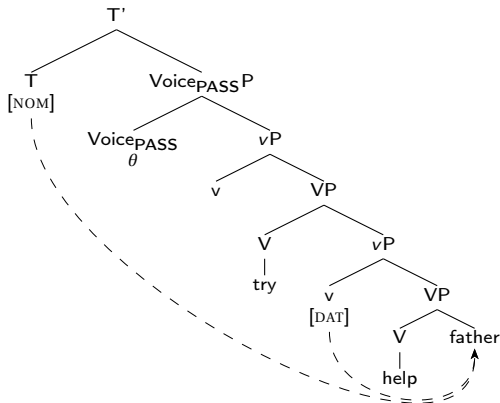
Appendix: Selection

Appendix

- The thematic Voice head assigns dative case when a matrix verb belongs to *help*-class predicates.
- To ensure that the Voice head assigns dative rather than accusative case, I propose that the Voice head and the predicate enter into agreement relationship.
- Voice head enters the derivation with uninterpretable β-feature which is checked by another feature of the same kind on the verb.[22]

(77) *Active*

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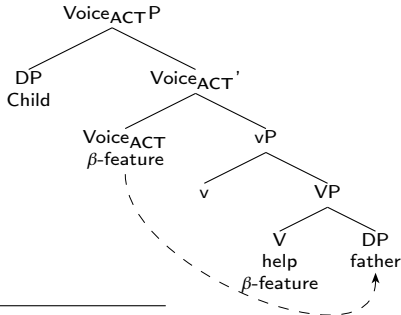
[22]For a similar type of slectional relationship between T and v in Irish see McCloskey 2007.